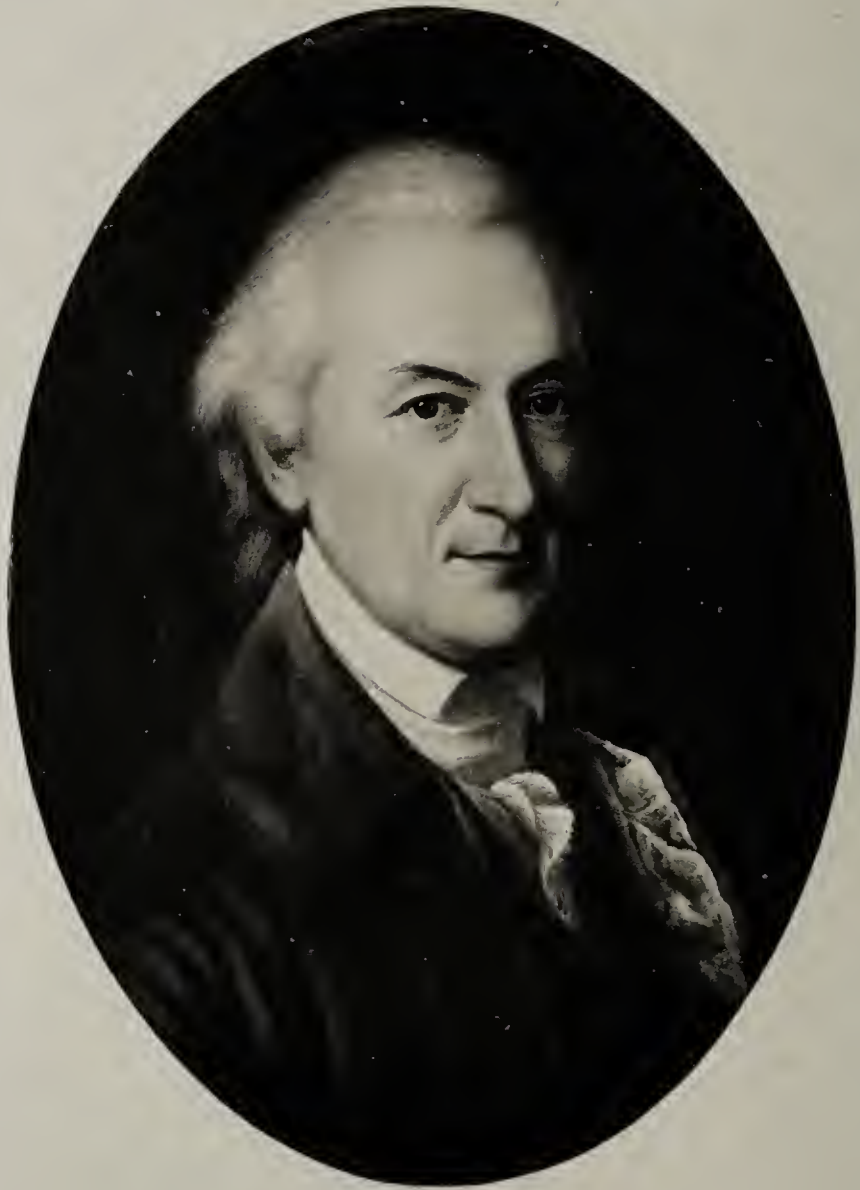




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THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
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VOL. XV.

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No. 1.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN DICKINSON,
1732-1808. BY CHARLES J. STILLÉ, LL.D.¹

BY HENRY FLANDERS.

At the time of our Revolution, when taxation of the Colonies was resisted on the ground that constitutionally there could be no taxation without representation, there was no real representation in England itself. Out of a population of eight millions there were only one hundred and sixty thousand electors. The House of Commons was the "representative of nominal boroughs, of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates."² Public morals had sunk to the lowest point of degradation. Seats in Parliament were bought and sold like commodities in the market. The members themselves were equally bought like sheep in the shambles. "Pensions and Court places were used to influence debates. Bribery was employed on a scale never known before."³

¹ THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN DICKINSON, 1732-1808. Prepared at the request of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., Philadelphia, 1891.

² Green's "History of the English People," p. 765.

³ Ibid.

The Treasury, it is said, spent in a single day as high as twenty-five thousand pounds in the purchase of members. It was an age of venality. The king, George the Third, instead of reigning by means of a responsible ministry, was determined to reign as king and ministry combined. "Walpole and Newcastle had made bribery and borough-jobbing the base of their power. George the Third seized it, in his turn, as a base of the power he proposed to give to the crown. The royal revenue was employed to buy seats and to buy votes."¹ Such was the condition of public affairs in England at the close of the French and Indian War, closed by the Peace of Paris in February, 1763.

By that peace France lost her dominion on the American continent. But the cost of the war which transferred that dominion to England had been enormous. At its termination the debt of England amounted to one hundred and forty million pounds. The public burthens pressed heavily. How were they to be borne? It was said that they had been, in part, incurred by protecting the Colonies against the French and Indians, and that the Colonies were justly bound to aid in discharging them. This was the opinion of the king and his minister, George Grenville, and the result was the passage of the Stamp Act,—that fatal act which, in its consequences, led to war, and war to the disruption of the British empire. The news of the passage of the Stamp Act caused universal excitement and alarm in the Colonies. It was a startling change in the policy of the mother-country, and put the whole industry and property of the Colonies at the mercy of Parliament.

It was at this portentous moment that we begin to get a distinct view of the men who, with few exceptions, had hitherto been little known beyond their own respective communities, but whose names now became household words throughout the Colonies. Among these names, and one of the most conspicuous, is the name of John Dickinson. After more than three-quarters of a century since his

¹ Green's "History of the English People," p. 765.

death, we are now presented with a history of his life. That history has been written by a gentleman whose historical studies, wide culture, literary tastes, and literary skill eminently qualified him for the task. The name of Dr. Stillé is an assurance that his work has been worthily and faithfully done; that he has not only given us the facts relating to the individual life whose career he has traced, but the spring and flow of those political movements amid the surges of which that life was passed. If the reader should hesitate, here and there, to adopt his opinions with regard to the men and events of the Revolutionary period, he will, perforce, concede the sincerity with which he holds them, and the ability with which he defends them.

John Dickinson occupied, during the earlier stages of the Revolutionary contest, a leading position in the councils of his country and in the affections of his countrymen, but during the progress of that contest he suffered an eclipse. He could not, at the time it was proposed, support the Declaration of Independence. He thought that final step should not be taken "without some prelusory trials of our strength," and because it was important to first ascertain the disposition of France, with whom the Congress was then negotiating, and because it would tend to disunite his countrymen at a moment when the union of all was essential to success.

At this day we are not apt to recall or to dwell upon the fact that in the controversy with England public sentiment in the Colonies was far from being unanimous. The Loyalists, so called, might regret or be strongly opposed to the measures of king and Parliament, but separation, as a remedy, they regarded with horror. They would petition, they would remonstrate, they would use all lawful methods of opposition, but revolution, armed resistance, independence, they shrunk from and abhorred. They believed the British connection necessary to the security, peace, and happiness of the Colonies. They saw only intestine strife, disorder, and anarchy if that connection should be dissolved. Mr. Dickinson, on the contrary, while anxious to preserve the tie

which bound the Colonies to the mother-country, would resist unconstitutional acts of Parliament by arms, if petition and remonstrance failed to effect their repeal. But later events showed that no petition, no remonstrance, no measures of non-exportation or non-importation could have any effect upon such a king as George the Third and such a Parliament as we have described in the outset of this article. Both king and Parliament were determined to tax the Colonies, and to curb that republican spirit which, under one form or another, was more or less apparent in all of them. Compromise was impossible.

And when the second petition to the king was rejected, "not a syllable, to my recollection," says Mr. Dickinson, "was ever uttered in favor of a reconciliation with Great Britain" ("Life," page 196). For him and for the men who had agreed with him the die was then cast. But at the time independence was proposed he did not think, as we have seen, that the hour had yet come; but that evil, and not good, would be the result of that final declaration. In taking this ground, his motives were clear and his courage of the highest order. But "he sank at once," says Dr. Stillé, "from the position of a leader, which he had held for twelve years, to that of a martyr to his opinions." But character and abilities such as his could not long be permitted to remain obscured or unemployed. "His public life," says Dr. Stillé, "was eclipsed, but not extinguished, by the attitude he assumed in regard to the Declaration of Independence." As we shall see hereafter, he proved his patriotism by remaining firm in defence of the cause, and in 1779 he was again returned to Congress from Delaware. In 1780 he was a member of the Delaware Assembly, and the next year President of that State. From 1782 until 1785 he was President of Pennsylvania.

But we must go back and, under the guiding hand of Dr. Stillé, rapidly trace the life of John Dickinson, through its more general aspects, from youth to age. But whoever desires to acquaint himself with the details of that life—with the early political history of Pennsylvania, with the men

and times of the Revolutionary period, and with the formative era of our Federal Constitution and government—should not only read, but study, this able, interesting, and valuable biography.

John Dickinson was born on the 8th of November, 1732, at Crosia-doré, a plantation in Talbot County, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, which had been settled by his Quaker ancestor, Walter Dickinson, in 1659.

“He was the second son of Samuel Dickinson, the grandson of the first proprietor of the estate, and of Mary Cadwalader, his second wife, sister of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, of Philadelphia. Samuel Dickinson had been bred to the law, and in the year 1740 he removed from Maryland to Delaware, where he had purchased a large estate in Kent County, near Dover. Here, shortly afterwards, he was appointed judge of the county court, and here he remained during the rest of his useful and honorable life.” (Page 14.)

His son, John Dickinson, was educated under the tuition of William Killer, a young Irishman, who was but ten years his senior, and under his direction “soon acquired, not only familiarity with the language of the classical authors, but also a thorough knowledge of their peculiarities of style.” The effect of his training under Mr. Killer is observable in all his writings.

His style “is remarkable, as we shall see, for its elegance, simplicity, directness, and clearness, qualities which were not conspicuous among men of his own generation who wrote in the English language.” (Page 18.)

“In 1750, when John Dickinson was eighteen years old, his mind was considered sufficiently mature to begin the study of the law. He was entered as a student in the office of John Moland, Esq., who seems to have been the most conspicuous member of the Philadelphia bar after the death of Andrew Hamilton in 1741. This Mr. Moland had been bred in the Temple, was commissioned as the king’s attorney in Pennsylvania, and was appointed a Provincial Councillor in 1759. The bar of this city had not at that time the reputation for learning and ability which it afterwards acquired. Secretary Peters in one of his letters speaks with scant respect of the lawyers of those days, ‘all of whom,’ says he, ‘except Francis and Moland, are persons of no knowledge, and, I had almost said, of no principle.’” (Page 19.)

After three years in the office of Mr. Moland, Mr. Dickinson went to London, and, in 1753, entered as a student of law in the Middle Temple. Among his fellow-students were Thurlow, Kenyon, Hill, afterwards Earl of Hillsborough, and Cowper, the poet. Dr. Stillé gives an interesting account of these Inns of Court, and of the instruction given there. He thinks the effect of this training in the Temple is observable in the attitude of the American lawyers who had been under its influence, in respect to the questions in controversy between England and the Colonies, and in the attitude of those in other parts of the country, particularly in New England, who had not had the benefit of that training.

“The resistance of the Central Colonies,” he says, “led by these Templars, was at the beginning a constitutional resistance within the lines of the English law; that of their opponents was a revolutionary resistance at all times, wholly discarding the injunctions of positive law when not in accord with their aims, and resting for their justification, very much as the French did in the Revolution of 1793, on alleged violations of what they were pleased to call the Rights of Man.” (Page 29 *et seq.*)

Dr. Stillé urges his theory with great persuasiveness, but in considering it we venture to keep a doubt in reserve.

In 1757, Mr. Dickinson returned to Philadelphia and entered upon the practice of his profession. Dr. Stillé tells us that while very little is known of his progress at the bar, “it is plain that he was not forced to wait long for clients.”

The first volume of Dallas’s Reports contains three cases (1760) in which Mr. Dickinson appeared as counsel.

“Unfortunately,” says his biographer, “none of his forensic arguments have come down to us; but there seems little doubt that upon them was founded the reputation which brought him early into public life. William Rawle the elder, in his account of the early bar, speaking, probably, more from tradition than from actual observation, says of Dickinson at a much later date, ‘He possessed considerable fluency, with a sweetness of tone and agreeable modulation of voice, not well calculated, however, for a large audience. His law knowledge was respectable, although not remarkably extensive, for his attention was directed to historical and political studies. Wholly engaged in public

life, he left the bar soon after the commencement of the American Revolution.'” (Page 37.)

He was elected a member of the Assembly of Delaware in 1760, and two years later a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania.

“‘I flatter myself,’ he writes to his friend George Read, ‘that I come in with the approval of all good men. I confess,’ he says, avowing his ambition for success in political life, ‘that I should like to make an immense bustle in the world, if it could be done by virtuous actions; but, as there is no probability in that, I am content if I can live innocent and beloved by those I love.’” (Page 38.)

Mr. Dickinson was now on his natural and proper stage. He was better fitted by nature and education for the discussion of those larger questions that engage the attention of statesmen than those more limited inquiries that try the faculties of lawyers.

“When Dickinson became a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, the questions which occupied the public attention, and which were discussed with masterly ability by Dickinson on the one side and Franklin and Galloway on the other, were fundamental, involving the fate of the Proprietary government and of the charter which had been granted to William Penn by Charles II. The interest awakened by these discussions was not of that limited and local character which ordinarily attaches to measures brought before a provincial legislature. The changes in the government proposed and argued upon were radical, and they embraced a discussion of the whole theory of Colonial government, and especially of that peculiar phase of it called Proprietary.” (Pages 38, 39.)

We have not space to go into these questions respecting the Proprietary government in detail. This part of the author’s work, however, is very valuable. Dr. Stillé gives his readers a clear idea of the condition of the Province at this period, and the grounds upon which the Proprietary government was both opposed and defended.

Mr. Dickinson resisted the popular demand, which was that the Proprietary government be overthrown, and a royal government, with the charter privileges reserved, substituted in its place.

“His chief opponent was Dr. Franklin, who found in this young man a foeman worthy of his steel. The representatives of the people of Pennsylvania had at least the advantage of hearing these fundamental questions, upon the decision of which so much depended, argued by the two greatest political philosophers of the day, Franklin and Dickinson. This was the first occasion on which these redoubtable antagonists met in conflict, and they never afterwards encountered each other, strange to say, in the discussion of political questions, except as champions of opposite principles. Each was well fitted for the combat.” (Page 41.)

Mr. Dickinson's defence of the Proprietary government, however able, was opposed to the popular feeling, and in consequence he lost his seat in the Assembly, “and did not regain it until 1770.” Meanwhile, Parliament had passed the “Sugar Act” and the “Stamp Act,” and alarm and indignation, everywhere throughout the Colonies, seized upon the public mind.

“At this time Mr. Dickinson, free from the anxieties and responsibilities of public life, determined to interpose. Like a vigilant sentinel, he saw, what many of his countrymen failed to see, the danger lurking in these two acts, and the fearful results that would follow if they should be allowed to be enforced without opposition. As the ‘Stamp Act’ was not yet passed,¹ he called attention to the provisions of the ‘Sugar Act,’ as a method of taxing us by act of Parliament. He printed a pamphlet in 1765 entitled ‘The Late Regulations respecting the British Colonies on the Continent of America considered.’” (Page 67.)

This pamphlet dealt mainly with the economic objections to the Sugar Act, and the proposed Stamp Act. He sought to show that English merchants and manufacturers would suffer more from the policy embodied in these acts than would the Colonies themselves. But considerations of this character did not stay the march of events; both the Sugar Act and the Stamp Act passed into laws, and the Colonists were confronted with the question as to the mode and means of redress. Massachusetts proposed a Colonial Congress, and this proposal was agreed to by nine of the Colonial Assemblies.

¹ Parliament at this time, March, 1764, had not actually passed the Stamp Act, but had resolved “that it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the Colonies.” The act itself was passed in March, 1765.

“The Congress met at New York on the 5th of October, 1764, nine Colonies being represented. Mr. Dickinson, as leader of the opposition to the Stamp Act in Pennsylvania, and as the man above all others in the country who was most familiar with the principle involved therein, was one of the delegates from this Province. His colleagues were Mr. Joseph Fox, who was Speaker of the House of Assembly, and Messrs. Bryan and Morton. . . .

“The fame of Mr. Dickinson as a student of constitutional history had evidently reached the Congress: he soon found himself a leader in this the earliest of our national Assemblies. He was appointed to prepare the resolutions which should set forth the opinions of the Congress, and he tried hard to solve the problem which confronted them, how they could escape taxation without denying the omnipotence of Parliament. By the eighth resolution it was asserted that the power of granting supplies to the Crown in Great Britain belonged solely to the Commons, because these supplies were wholly the gifts of the representatives of the people, and hence it involved an inconsistency on the part of the English Commons to give to his Majesty that which was not their own,—namely, the property of the Colonists. This refined and subtle view of the power of taxation was not original with Mr. Dickinson: it had been first put forward by Mr. Dulany of Maryland some years before, and it was thought a point so well taken by some of our friends in England that it was afterwards used (as we have said) by Lord Chatham as an argument in his great speech in the House of Lords denying the right of England to tax America. This seems now rather a narrow foundation to bear the weight of so imposing a claim as that of the imperial power of taxation; but it seems to have been adopted, with some other doubtful conclusions, because the Congress insisted upon resting their case alone upon the fundamental rights of the Colonists guaranteed by English law and their own charters, and not upon any theory of the natural rights of man.” (Pages 72-74.)

We may here observe that the Congress of 1774 did not rest their resistance to Parliamentary taxation upon so “narrow a foundation” as English law and the charters of the respective Colonies. They solemnly resolved that the foundation of their rights was *the law of nature*, the English constitution, and their charters. But, meanwhile, the determined attitude of the Colonies, as shown by the Congress of 1765, known as the Stamp Act Congress, and their resolute denial and resistance to the assumed right of taxation induced Parliament to repeal the obnoxious act. But the repeal, accompanied as it was by the declaratory act, that Par-

liament had the right to tax the Colonies in all cases whatsoever, "was but the guiling shore to a most dangerous sea." And on that question Chatham and Camden stood opposed to nearly the whole body of the legal ability of the kingdom. Accordingly, in little more than a year after the repeal of the Stamp Act, Parliament passed a bill imposing duties on tea, glass, paper, etc.

"The English ministry was probably misled by the strong emphasis which had been laid here during the controversies concerning the Stamp Act upon the alleged distinction between external and internal taxation. We had refused to submit to the latter, but admitted that the former might be binding upon the whole empire as a commercial regulation. In form the duties levied on paints, glass, tea, etc., were undoubtedly such a regulation, but it was at once contended here that, in point of fact and of principle, this was as much an exercise of the alleged right of Parliamentary taxation for the purpose of raising a revenue for imperial purposes as the Stamp Act itself. Although it was passed by the opponents of the Stamp Act, and by the Rockingham ministry, who professed to be our friends, the act met at once with opposition here." (Pages 78, 79.)

This act opened the fountain of discontent and controversy, and was the prelude to mighty troubles. It was in this hour of peril, when united resistance was essential, and when reasons should be found upon which that resistance could be justified, that John Dickinson came forward and rendered a great and signal service to his countrymen by the publication of what afterwards were known as the "Farmer's Letters." "These letters," says Dr. Stillé, "and the influence they had in preparing the minds of the people for the approaching crisis, form, in my opinion, a most important era in our Revolutionary history, and for that reason they deserve a careful examination in any story of Mr. Dickinson's life." This series of letters was printed in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*.

"The first letter was dated on the 7th of November, 1767, the anniversary of the day upon which William of Orange had landed in England, a day of ill omen to those who the Colonists contended were governing them in the same arbitrary manner as that in which James II. had governed their forefathers. The letters, fourteen in number, fol-

lowed one another in quick succession, and they were read by men of all classes and opinions throughout the continent as no other work of a political kind had been hitherto read in America. It was, of course, soon known that John Dickinson was their author, and people remembered that he was the person who had formulated what was a genuine Bill of Rights in the Stamp Act Congress. The more these letters were read, the more convinced people became that in the comprehensive survey they took of our political relations with the mother-country, especially as these were affected by the last obnoxious act of Parliament, and in the plans which were proposed to remedy the evil, Mr. Dickinson had struck the true key-note of the opposition to the ministerial measures. He appeared at this crisis, as he did in the Stamp Act Congress, as the leader and guide in the controversy. From this time until the Declaration of Independence the Pennsylvania idea, which was embodied by Mr. Dickinson in these Farmer's Letters, 'controlled the destinies of the country;' and Mr. Bancroft only does justice to Mr. Dickinson's position when he recognizes fully his commanding influence during that period." (Pages 79, 80.)

If the subject is now too remote, or the reader has not time or patience to recur to the originals, he will find the salient points of the "Farmer's Letters" in Dr. Stillé's sketch of them.

"The fame of Mr. Dickinson," he says, "as the author of these letters soon became widely spread, not only on this continent but in Europe, and, what is more to the purpose, his conclusions were generally adopted by his countrymen. The letters were read as they appeared, at intervals, with the utmost eagerness by that large number of intelligent persons throughout the Colonies who were profoundly anxious about the result of the controversy concerning the ministerial measures, and they doubtless gave the main impulse to the movement which, beginning with the circular letter of Massachusetts in February, 1768, gained strength every year until it found full expression in the first Continental Congress of 1774. There was a peculiarity about these letters which added much to their popularity, and that was their opportuneness. They crystallized opposition and made the discontented agree upon a common remedy. For a time all threats of armed resistance looking towards a project of independence ceased. Even men of the most advanced opinions thought it expedient to try the Farmer's way before moving forward in their own." (Pages 90, 91.)

The "Farmer's Letters" were not only universally read in the Colonies, but Dr. Franklin so highly approved them that he had an edition of them printed in London (1768),

with a preface written by himself. Subsequently, they were translated into French, and in the following year (1769) an edition was published in Paris. In Parisian *salons*

“their author was compared with Cicero; Voltaire joined the praise of the farmer of Pennsylvania and that of the Russians who aspired to liberate Greece.” (Page 92.)

The tone of the letters is conciliatory. While the author maintains that taxation is an invasion of the rights of the Colonies, “he shrinks, evidently with terror, from speaking of what may be the consequences of the persistent refusal of England to change her oppressive measures.” His remedy for our wrongs

“is based upon a cultivation of the spirit of conciliation on both sides, and Mr. Dickinson urges again and again upon his English readers the folly of their policy, by showing them the value of the American Colonies to them, and especially how the trade and wealth of the English merchants are bound up in the adoption of a liberal policy towards us. This is one of the most interesting and important topics discussed in these letters, and the subject is treated with elaborate skill, leading to convincing conclusions drawn from our history.” (Page 85.)

In July, 1769, as an outcome of the resistance of the Colonies, Parliament repealed the act imposing duties on certain articles, but “to maintain the principle of taxation” left in force the duty on tea, though at a reduced rate. The destruction of a shipment of tea at Boston by the *patriots* of that town induced Parliament to close its port and to declare its inhabitants in a state of rebellion. Mr. Dickinson disapproved the destruction of the tea. He thought that it was an act of violence which would bring to an end “all hopes of the success of his favorite policy of reconciliation.” He thought, too, that the people of Boston should pay for the tea which they had thrown overboard. He “had long been almost as much of a popular idol in Boston as he was in Philadelphia, but he soon ceased to have any worshippers.”

We must pass over the events that occurred in Pennsylvania in the interval between the repeal of the import duties (except the duty on tea) and the assembling of the Conti-

mental Congress at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774. We may mention, however, that

“Mr. Dickinson became again a member of the Assembly in 1771, and on the 5th of March of that year he drafted, at the request of the Assembly, a Petition to the King, which was unanimously adopted. This petition complained that, while many of the acts recently passed for the sole purpose of raising a revenue had been repealed, the duties on tea were still retained, adding, ‘we have reason to fear, forming a precedent for repeating such taxation hereafter.’ The petition, which is in the tone of the most loyal devotion to the Crown, asks that the people of Pennsylvania may be restored to the condition they were in before 1763.” (Page 98.)

Mr. Dickinson’s service in the Congress of 1774 was brief, but important. He

“was a member of the Congress of 1774 scarcely more than a week, having taken his seat on the 17th of October, and the Congress having adjourned on the 26th. He had been elected a member of the Assembly of the Province in the beginning of October, and was shortly afterwards chosen as a delegate to the Congress, having been up to this time excluded, as he always thought, by Galloway’s influence. During his short membership he left an ineffaceable mark of his influence upon its records. It was he who wrote the most memorable paper adopted by the Congress, the famous Petition to the King, described by an historian ‘as penned with extraordinary force and animation, in many parts rising to a very high strain of eloquence;’ and also the address to the people of Canada, a paper which explains more fully the principles of English constitutional liberty and their foundation in English law than any on the same subject in the language; the essays and speeches of Burke not excepted.” (Pages 140, 141.)

The petition and addresses adopted by the Congress produced no effect upon the government in England. Indeed, accompanied as they were by a resolution of Congress that it approved

“the opposition of the inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay to the execution of the late acts of Parliament, and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case all America ought to support them in their opposition,”

doubt was created as to “the sincerity of all the professions of loyalty which were made in the petition and the other

papers adopted by Congress." Nevertheless, the controversy had reached such a stage that a little more or a little less in the tone of resistance could hardly affect the issue. Apparently, at this time the fixed and steadfast policy of the English cabinet was to coerce the Colonies into submission. Accordingly, as their grievances remained unredressed, the Congress of 1775 assembled at Philadelphia on the 10th of May. Since the adjournment of the last Congress the Revolutionary movement had gained immense momentum. Blood had been shed at Lexington, and everywhere preparations were being made for war. A military association was formed in Philadelphia, Dickinson being one of its most active promoters, and on the 30th of June the Assembly passed a law for their organization and discipline. John Dickinson was elected colonel of the first battalion. Meanwhile he was serving as a delegate in the Congress, with instructions from the Assembly to use his utmost endeavors "to agree upon and recommend such further measures as shall afford the best prospect of obtaining redress of American grievances, and of restoring union and harmony between Great Britain and her Colonies."

In accordance with these instructions, Mr. Dickinson was an ardent advocate of the motion to send a petition to the king. This motion was opposed with great vehemence. The petition sent by the Congress of 1774 had been treated with neglect; indeed, was not even seen by the king. Why, then, sacrifice their self-respect and send another? Why excite a delusive hope of reconciliation and delay preparations for the impending struggle? Dickinson and Jay, on the contrary, contended that it would prove to the world that no proper efforts had been left untried to avert hostilities, and that it would serve to justify the consciences of their countrymen in taking up arms against their sovereign.

The motion to send a petition to the king prevailed. It was drawn by Mr. Dickinson. Mr. Jefferson gives this account of it: "Congress," he says, "gave a signal proof of their indulgence to Mr. Dickinson, and of their great desire not to go too fast for any respectable part of our body,

in permitting him to draw their second petition to the king according to his own ideas, and passing it with scarcely any amendment. The disgust against its humility was general, and Mr. Dickinson's delight at its passage was the only circumstance which reconciled them to it."¹

Whatever humility may be discovered in the petition to the king is abundantly offset by the "ringing words" of the declaration "announcing to the world our reasons for taking up arms against England," of which Mr. Dickinson was the author. In November, 1775, the Pennsylvania Assembly elected Dickinson to the Congress of 1776. He and his fellow-delegates were thus instructed:

"'You should use your utmost endeavors to agree upon and recommend the adoption of such measures as you shall judge to afford the best prospect of obtaining the redress of American grievances, and utterly reject any proposition (should such be made) that may cause or lead to a separation from the mother-country, or a change in the form of this government' (that is, the charter government of the Province).

"These instructions, like most of the important papers of the time, were drafted by Mr. Dickinson, who, it will be remembered, was a member not only of the Congress, but of the Assembly of the Province also, and they were adopted by that body without a dissenting voice." (Page 165.)

In view of these instructions, it is well to consider the character of the body which gave them:

"It must be remembered," says Dr. Stillé, "that the Assembly was not a popular convention, like so many of the meetings of the people in different parts of the country in those days,—professing to speak with the authority of the people, but having really no responsibility and no power whatever to carry out the measures they proposed,—but that it was the legal representative body, having full power of taxation under the charter. All its members under the existing law had taken the oath of allegiance to George III. before entering upon their duties; they were elected by a limited suffrage, and it was composed in a great measure of those whose religious principles forbade them to declare or maintain war. It is natural, then, to look upon such a body as eminently cautious and conservative, and certainly we cannot expect to find in it the enthusiastic utterances in favor of independence which had become fashionable elsewhere. But while others talked they worked quietly and effectively,—the olive-branch in one hand, and 'the lightning of Jove' in the other.

¹ Jefferson's Works, Vol. I. p. 9.

“Its acts show how the love of country was an impulse which, at that time, had penetrated the very hearts of all classes, and they are a better index of the current of popular feeling than the many foolish stories about the ‘toryism of the Quakers’ which have become traditional.”¹ (Pages 166, 167.)

Dr. Stillé’s account of the political condition in Pennsylvania in 1776 is very interesting and instructive. There were two parties,—the one led by Dickinson, Wilson, and Robert Morris, all anxious to preserve the Provincial charter, and to prevent a Declaration of Independence; and the other led by Franklin, Dr. Rush, and McKean, who contended “most strenuously that we should cease at once to recognize the authority of Great Britain in any form, whether exercised directly or through the provisions of a royal charter.” The result, as we know, was the overthrow of the Proprietary government, and the Declaration of Independence. We must refer the reader to the successive steps that were taken in Pennsylvania, and which led up to this result, as they are described in the fifth chapter of Dr. Stillé’s work. As he justly says:

“It is easy for us now to see that Dickinson made many mistakes, and that he was too distrustful of the people of the Colonies, and perhaps of that Providence that guided their steps; but we must remember that a lack of confidence or of enterprise does not imply a lack of self-denying patriotism.” (Page 197.)

And although his attitude in regard to the Declaration of Independence cost him his popularity, he evinced his “self-denying patriotism” by assuming command, within a week after the Declaration was adopted, of a brigade of Philadelphia Associators, who were ordered to the neighborhood of New York, where a force was concentrating, “either to defend that city, or to oppose the advance of the enemy across New Jersey.”

“Dickinson’s conduct on this occasion is beyond all praise. His duty as a soldier, he felt, was totally distinct from that as a legislator. Not a

¹ It was estimated by Dr. Rush that three-fourths of the taxes by which the war was supported in Pennsylvania were paid by non-combatants, or *Tories*.

trace of irritability or of dissatisfaction with the treatment he had received, which would have been so natural under the circumstances, appeared in his conduct. He sacrificed not only his opinions but his pride to the true instinct of patriotism, and he proved as loyal to his country in the field as if he had been defending there a cause which had been all his life dear to him." (Pages 201, 202.)

The revolutionary Convention, which had suspended the Proprietary government in Pennsylvania, on the 28th of September chose General Roberdeau, "a violent Whig but an excellent man," to supersede Dickinson in his military command.

"But the cup of indignity and humiliation forced upon him by his enemies in Pennsylvania had not yet been wholly drained. The Convention which had been chosen to frame a new Constitution met on the 20th of July; the first of all its revolutionary acts—and all its acts of ordinary legislation were revolutionary—was to elect a new set of delegates to Congress to replace those whose term had not expired, but who had offended the violent Whig partisans by refusing to vote for the Declaration. Mr. Dickinson was not re-elected, and the result seems to have made him, as it would appear to us, more angry than the occasion required. 'I had not been ten days in camp at Elizabethtown,' he said, many years after, 'when I was by my persecutors turned out of Congress. While I was exposing my person to every hazard, and lodging every night within half a mile of the enemy, the members of the Convention at Philadelphia, resting in quiet and safety, ignominiously voted me, as unworthy of my seat, out of the National Senate.' When the election of General Roberdeau was confirmed by the Convention on the 28th of September, Dickinson resigned his commission, on the double ground that the Convention, as an illegal body, had no right whatever to appoint military officers, and also because the design clearly was to insult him, although he had been faithfully performing his duties." (Pages 205, 206.)

The revolutionary Convention, which, nevertheless, doubtless represented a majority of the people, framed a permanent Constitution for Pennsylvania, and the first Assembly under it met in November. Mr. Dickinson had been elected a member from the county of Philadelphia. He took his seat, but regarding the body as an illegal one, he proposed to choose a speaker, and pass such acts as the public affairs might require, provided the majority would agree to call a

free Convention for the purpose of revising, altering, and amending the present Constitution.

“This proposition was not accepted by the Assembly, and Mr. Dickinson, disdaining to sit and legislate in a body so illegally constituted, retired from it. He left it, as he says, with a firm resolution on three points: 1st, that he would never again hold any office, civil or military, under such men; 2d, that he would retire to another State, where his services might be better appreciated; and 3d, that he would volunteer as a private soldier on the next call for the militia.” (Page 209.)

* * * * *

“On the 11th of December, upon the rumor that the British army was approaching Philadelphia, he removed with his family to his farm near Dover, in Delaware. There he had abundant opportunity during the next two years to ponder upon the mutability of human affairs and the ingratitude of mankind. He did not again return to Pennsylvania until the people of that State, tired of the unsuccessful attempts of their rulers to bring the Constitution of 1776 into satisfactory working order, called him again to her councils in 1782.” (Pages 211, 212.)

The next summer (1777) he served as a private soldier in the militia of Delaware, and was present with it at the battle of the Brandywine. After that battle he was appointed by the acting president of Delaware (Thomas McKean) a brigadier-general of the militia of that State, “an office which, however, he held for a few months only.”

On the 18th of January, 1779, he was sent by Delaware as a delegate to Congress. In the autumn of that year he resigned, and returned to his farm. Three years later (1782) he removed from Delaware back again to Philadelphia. He was elected the same year a member of the Council from the county of Philadelphia, “and in November he was chosen by the legislature president of the Council.” We must refer the reader to Dr. Stillé’s work for an account of affairs in Pennsylvania, under the presidency of Mr. Dickinson, and pass on to the part he took in the adoption of our present Federal system of government. He was a commissioner to the convention assembled at Annapolis, in the autumn of 1786, to consider the trade and commerce of the Union. He was sent by Delaware and was elected president. This body of commissioners, only

five States being represented, did not consider it proper "to proceed to business under such a defective representation," but in their report to Congress expressed

"their unanimous conviction that an effort should be made for the appointment of Commissioners to meet at Philadelphia on the second Monday in May next, to take into consideration the situation of the United States, and to devise such further provisions as shall appear necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union."

This suggestion was adopted by Congress, and as a result the Federal Convention assembled at Philadelphia in May, 1787, all the States being represented except Rhode Island.

"Mr. Dickinson took his seat in the Convention as a delegate from Delaware. It seemed eminently fitting and proper that he should take a leading part in this last and most successful attempt to establish a government which it was hoped would secure for his country a more perfect union. He had been conspicuous, it will be remembered, in all the Conventions which had been held since such meetings had been resorted to for the purpose of securing united and concerted action. Besides having represented his own State and that of Delaware many times in their different Assemblies and Conventions, he had been the delegate of both in the national Congress. He had been a member of the Congress that protested against the Stamp Act in 1765, a member of the first Continental Congress in 1774, and during four years of the Revolutionary War he had continued a most active member of that body. In this way his knowledge of public men in different parts of the country and his experience in public affairs had become invaluable. Moreover, he had been one of the most active members of the committee appointed by Congress in 1776 not only to draft treaties with foreign powers, but also to prepare articles of confederation between the States, and he had given special study to these subjects, believing that both measures were of such importance that they should be adopted before independence was finally declared.

"The original plan for the Confederation remains, in the handwriting of Mr. Dickinson, but it was not reported by the committee until the 12th of July, when he had left Congress and was in command of his regiment at Elizabethtown." (Pages 257, 258.)

We have not the space to review, at length, Mr. Dickinson's labors in the Federal Convention. A man of fortune, and supposed to be of aristocratic tendencies, he early perceived that, if the Colonies succeeded in the contest with

England, only one form of government was practicable for them,—namely, the republican form. And in the Convention, on the question of suffrage, he doubted “the policy of interweaving with a republican Constitution a veneration for wealth. It seemed improper that any man of merit should be subjected to disabilities in a republic, where merit was understood to form the great title to public trusts, honors, and rewards.”

But his great distinction as a member of the Convention was his strenuous advocacy of the equality and sovereignty of the States. He declared that he “would sooner submit to a foreign rule than be deprived in both branches of an equality in suffrage and thereby be thrown under the domination of the larger States.” And it was on his motion, after a protracted controversy, that the Convention determined that the Senate should be composed of members, two from each State, chosen by their respective legislatures.

“Mr. Dickinson’s theory of the Union was one which regarded the States as the stable factors and units of our political system. In the Convention he insisted frequently upon his favorite thesis, as he did during the remainder of his political life, that the States should have the power to check and control in a measure the acts of the President; but, strange to say, his opinion was due not so much to a jealousy of the power of the President as to the belief that authority thus exercised would be more readily supported by the people.” (Page 259.)

* * * * *

“He drafted the section which prohibits a new State from being formed from the junction of parts of two States without the consent of the States from which the parts were taken, as well as of Congress. He was at all times the champion of the Senate as the guardian and representative of the States. He urged State sovereignty, strange to say, as the guarantee of the stability of the Federal government. But he did it only, as has been said, as the advocate of a strong national government.” (Page 262.)

He was in favor of giving Congress the power to remove the President when requested by a majority of the State legislatures, and he was likewise in favor of a council to cooperate with the executive in the exercise of his functions, and who should have joint power with him in appointments

to office. He was in favor, too, notwithstanding his views on State sovereignty, of giving Congress a negative on the legislative acts of a State. This was curtailing the power of the States and enhancing the power of the general government. The proposal, nevertheless, received the support of Madison and Charles Pinckney, and Wilson considered it as the key-stone wanted to complete the wide arch of government they were raising. Rutledge denounced it. "If nothing else, this alone would damn, and ought to damn, the Constitution. Will any State ever agree to be bound hand and foot in this manner? It is worse than making mere corporations of them, whose by-laws would not be subject to this shackle." The votes on this proposal, however, were more than once equally divided, but it was happily defeated. The power exercised by the Supreme Court of the United States, to declare void a State law which runs counter to the Constitution, is sufficient to keep the legislature of a State within its proper orbit.

"Mr. Dickinson presented to the Convention important views concerning many other vital topics which were brought before it, especially in regard to the organization of the judiciary, but, after all, his great reputation as a member of that body must rest upon his having secured for each State, large and small, equal representation in the Senate, and upon his having forced the majority of the delegates to confine the operation of the principle of proportional representation to the House of Representatives." (Page 263.)

When the Constitution was submitted to the States for their ratification, a great opposition was immediately excited against it. Appearances indicated that the requisite number of States could not be obtained to ratify it. Mr. Dickinson, whose pen had hitherto exercised such influence upon the minds of his countrymen, again came forward, and in a series of essays endeavored to show the value and importance of the Constitution, and to answer the objections urged against its adoption.

"These letters, without pretending to the comprehensiveness and force of argument which characterize many of the papers of *The Federalist*,

had a wide influence. They were probably intended for a more numerous, and possibly a more popular, audience. Doubtless they did much—as Mr. Dickinson's writings always did—to remove prejudices, and they certainly proved that it was possible for the strongest and most conscientious advocate of State sovereignty to support warmly the adoption of the Constitution, and to do it in a tone of wise moderation." (Page 268.)

When the Constitution was finally ratified, and the government under it was organized, its course was watched with eager interest. Mr. Dickinson had been in favor of giving all necessary power to that government to make it effective within the sphere of its operation. But he could not contemplate, without alarm, an increase of its powers by means of interpretation. He would preserve the sovereignty of the States, and he thought liberty itself would be endangered if that sovereignty was shorn of its strength by the all-embracing powers of a consolidated national government.

That this high-toned gentleman, who had sat at the very cradle of our liberties, should embrace the principles of Tom Jefferson, with his "old red waistcoat and soiled corduroy breeches, his slippers down at the heels, and his unshorn beard" as evidence of republican simplicity, causes real astonishment to Dr. Stillé. He cannot satisfactorily account for the transformation. He labors at this moral and political problem with great zeal, but whatever solution he suggests evidently gives him no real relief.

"During the seventeen years," says Dr. Stillé, "that he lived after the Constitution was ratified, his keen interest in public affairs and the eagerness with which his opinions concerning the policy of public measures was sought led him often to express his opinions, although he held no official position. We are left to speculate, as we have said, as to the causes which changed the views of a man who had been regarded during his whole previous life as a conservative of the conservatives, and led him to support those who advocated the popular, almost revolutionary, doctrines which were at one time (when the influence of the French Revolution was first felt here) held by the anti-Federalists, and who were opposed to the administration of the Federal government under General Washington and Mr. Adams. In the absence of any trustworthy history of the rise of political parties in this country (*hiatus valde deflendus*), we are at a loss to explain accurately the causes of this wonderful transformation. We think it very clear, however, that the

Democratic views—if we may so call them—held by Mr. Dickinson were as different from those maintained by the anti-Federalists, in regard to the interpretation of the Constitution and to the ‘rights of man’ after the French model, as they were from those of Hamilton, Fisher Ames, or other pronounced Federalists. Mr. Dickinson, as representing Delaware, was necessarily an anti-Federalist and the opponent of any measure which looked towards the centralization of the national power, and that was enough in those early days to make him a good Democrat.” (Pages 279, 280.)

In a letter to his old friend, but former political enemy, Governor McKean, written during the fierce heats of the presidential election of 1800, which was to decide whether John Adams or Thomas Jefferson should be the next President, Mr. Dickinson says,—

“I cannot but entertain hopes that many thousands of the *deluded* inhabitants of Pennsylvania will become sincere converts to Republicanism when they find the government of Republicans uniting sound policy, firmness, justice, and mercy in its administration, and faithfully aiming at the promotion of general happiness. As for the *deluders*, the various classes of which have been well defined, may they ever be restrained by an unintermitting vigilance from endangering the public welfare. Their passions and prejudices deserve not the name of principles. They are hostile to liberty and the best interests of mankind, and I like the determination that gives them their proper title and meets them face to face.

“I hope my old friend will eminently contribute to vindicate the cause of truth, freedom, and human felicity. It is a cause allied to heaven, and it is better to defy its foes than to treat with them.” (Pages 286, 287.)

After the election was over, and on the day of Mr. Jefferson’s inauguration, he again wrote to Governor McKean, as follows :

“Having from my first outset in public life been deeply affected by the charms of Liberty, and having from that early period to my old age been, as thou knows, without fee or reward an advocate for her slandered righteous cause, the review affords me great satisfaction ; and I thank God that I have lived to see her sacred, salutary principles so warmly adopted by my fellow-citizens, and so far practised upon for the accomplishment of all the blessings that by the laws of our nature are made dependent on her existence.” (Page 286.)

But we must hasten to a close. We have endeavored to give the reader an outline of the life of John Dickinson : he will find the finished picture in the work of Dr. Stillé.

Mr. Dickinson died, in the last year of Mr. Jefferson's second term, on the 4th of February, 1808. Congress, on receiving intelligence of the sad event, adopted resolutions lamenting his death as a national loss ; and Mr. Jefferson, in a letter written on the 24th of the same month, pays this tribute to his memory :

“ A more estimable man or truer patriot could not have left us. Among the first of the advocates for the rights of his country when assailed by Great Britain, he continued to the last the orthodox advocate of the true principles of our new government, and his name will be consecrated in history as one of the great worthies of the Revolution. We ought to be grateful for having been permitted to retain the benefit of his counsel to so good an old age ; still the moment of losing it, whenever it arrives, must be a moment of deep-felt regret.” (Page 336.)

Since 1785, with the exception of his service in the Federal Convention of 1787, Mr. Dickinson had led the life of a private citizen in Delaware. But that life was not passed in indolent repose. His interest in public affairs was keen to the last, and occasionally he employed his pen in discussing them. He was the friend of education and sought to promote its cause. He was opposed to slavery, and sought to bring about its abolition in Delaware. He was charitable. Dickinson College was named after him ; so named, as expressed in its charter,

“ in memory of the great and important services rendered to his country by His Excellency John Dickinson, Esquire, President of the Supreme Executive Council, and in commemoration of his very liberal donation to the institution.”

Benevolence was one of the striking features of his character. But when he gave to public or private objects, he did not sound a trumpet before him, to have glory of men. No one, we think, can read Dr. Stillé's closing chapter, in which he describes Mr. Dickinson's private and domestic

life, without a heightened respect for the man, the citizen, and the patriot.

Mr. Dickinson married Mary, a daughter of Isaac Norris, known as Speaker Norris, July 19, 1770. She died five years before him, in 1803, leaving two children, a son and daughter.

A son of Chief-Justice Read, of Delaware, gives this description of Mr. Dickinson's personal appearance :

“I have a vivid impression of the man, tall and spare, his hair white as snow, his face uniting with the severe simplicity of his sect a neatness and elegance peculiarly in keeping with it; his manners a beautiful emanation of the great Christian principle of love, with that gentleness and affectionateness which, whatever may be the cause, the Friends, or at least individuals among them, exhibit more than others, combining the politeness of a man of the world familiar with society in its most polished forms with conventional canons of behavior. Truly he lives in my memory as the realization of my beau-idéal of a gentleman.” (Page 334.)

EXCHANGE OF MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES LEE.

(MS. of Elias Boudinot.)

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

[The following story of the exchange of Charles Lee, major-general in the Continental army, who was taken prisoner by the British on the 13th of December, 1776, at the village of Basking Ridge, Somerset County, New Jersey, is taken from a manuscript volume entitled "A Magazine for Miscellaneous Pieces and Publications collected and preserved by Elias Boudinot." The exchange of General Lee, for Major-General Richard Prescott of the British army, April 21, 1778, was arranged by Mr. Boudinot, the author of the story, when commissary-general of prisoners, his selection by the commander-in-chief for the office being related by himself: "In the spring of 1777, General Washington wrote me a Letter [dated Morristown, 1 April, 1777], requesting me to accept of a Commission as Commissary-General of Prisoners in the Army of America. I waited on him and politely declined the Task, urging the wants of the Prisoners & having nothing to supply them. He very kindly objected to the conduct of Gentlemen of the Country refusing to join him in his Arduous Struggle. That he had nothing in View but the Salvation of his Country, but it was impossible for him to accomplish it alone: that if men of Character & influence would not come forward & join him in his Exertions, all would be lost. Affected by this address, and Supposing that I could be of some Service to the Prisoners, and at the same time have an Eye on the military Power, & prevent its Incroachments on the Civil authority, I consented to accept the Commission, on the General's assurance that I should be supplied by the secret Committee of Congress with hard money for the relief of Prisoners, and that I should only be subject to his orders, in the Conduct of my department." The story of the exchange, entirely in the handwriting of Mr. Boudinot, contains some new and interesting incidents; the interview with General Lee at New York, in January, 1778, revealing as it does the peculiarities of that officer's mental organization, very far removed, indeed, from the sterling balance of his chief, whom he considered "not fit to command a sergeant's guard," being especially noteworthy. Although we have conclusive evidence that while in the hands of the enemy Lee indulged in both traitorous thoughts and actions, yet the perusal of the Boudinot narrative would indicate that he was rather the slave of an unbalanced mind and a jealous disposition than a deliberate traitor. From the time of his appointment as major-general, great reliance had been placed on his mil-



CARICATURE OF MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES LEE.

From a drawing by Kosciusko.

Original in the "Peters Collection," Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

itary knowledge and capacity, which were constantly and everywhere overrated, and the commander-in-chief himself, in the modest estimate of his own abilities, was not behind others in this delusion. This of course soon became apparent to Lee, and such an idea having once entered his mind would naturally increase, and finally overpower all sense and reason, ending in the belief that he alone was the man for the occasion. During General Lee's detention as a prisoner, Washington was extremely desirous for his exchange, deeming his services to be of the utmost importance, and his faith in his ability and usefulness never seemed to waver. A striking evidence of this was exhibited just before the battle of Monmouth Court-House, when, after having given the command of the advance to Lafayette, he on the following day transferred it to Lee, who, being strongly opposed to attacking the enemy, had at first refused to lead it. It is much to the credit of the brave young Frenchman, however, that he cheerfully complied with the wishes of the commander. General Lee was of considerable service in the early part of the war, both in New York City and in the Southern department, but from the time he rejoined the main army at Harlem Heights (October, 1776) the demons of jealousy, pride, and unrest seem to have possessed him, and death alone ended the struggle. Elias Boudinot, LL.D., so closely connected with the story, was born at Philadelphia, of French ancestry, May 2, 1740. After studying law under Richard Stockton, he settled at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, became eminent in his profession, and was an early advocate of independence. Mr. Boudinot was commissary-general of prisoners, 1777-78; member of Congress, 1778, '79 and 1781-84, and president in 1782. He was also a member of Congress 1789-95, and in October, 1795, was appointed director of the United States Mint, which office he resigned in 1805. He was the author of several publications, and was widely known as a philanthropist. Dr. Boudinot died at Burlington, New Jersey, October 24, 1821.]

In Dec^r 1776, Gen^l Lee being taken Prisoner at his Quarters at Baskinridge in the County of Somerset (New Jersey) about four miles to the left of his Troops, towards the Enemy, by his own extreme negligence & folly, was removed (after the british Cantonments were beaten up at Trenton & Princeton) to New York & confined to a handsome House, under the Care of 4 or 5 field officers, who lived with him & kept a genteel Table.¹ In this situation

¹ "General Lee was transferred from New Brunswick to New York on the 13th of January, 1777, and was confined in the City Hall, in rooms fitted up for the purpose. On June 7 he was placed for a time on board the 'Centurion' man-of-war, and on the 25th of December was released

he sent to congress, requesting a Committee of their Body, might be sent over to him, as he had something of consequence to communicate to them, and for the purpose, sent Gen^l Howe's safe Conduct, for their Security. This Congress very justly refused & treated the application with deserved Contempt. In January 1778, I was sent by Gen^l Washington over to New York (with consent of Gen^l Howe) to examine into the actual Situation of our Prisoners, and had orders to pay particular attention to Gen^l Lee, and accomplish his Exchange if possible.

The Morning after my Arrival, I waited on Gen^l Lee who received me with very great pleasure indeed, and asked me to breakfast with him the next day. This I did in Company with the officers who had the Care of him, and was treated with great politeness & affability. When Breakfast was over, Gen^l Lee asked me up into his Room. He soon began to complain very heavily of the treatment he had rec^d from Congress, in not complying with his request. I told him that I thought they had done perfectly right, not to trust any of their members within the British Lines, on such an Errand. He replied that he had obtained a safe passport for them from Gen^l Howe, and they might have come with the utmost safety. I then asked him what end would have been answered by their coming. Sir said he, I had discovered the whole plan of the summer's Campaign on the part of the British, and would have disclosed the whole to that Committee, by which Congress might have obviated all their Measures, for Mr. Boudinot it is in vain for Congress to expect to withstand british Troops in the Field. I answered that he must now be convinced, that without his Information, they had been withstood and that the Campaign had passed over, and the Enemy had gained no great advantage with all their force & strength. But (I continued) General will you answer me explicitly, did you inform General Howe, that this was your design, he answered by no

on parole, to the full liberty of the city and its limits, when he took up his quarters with two of his oldest and warmest friends in the British service."—*Moore's Treason of Charles Lee.*

means! Then Gen^l said I do tell me what reasons did you assign to General Howe for so extraordinary a Measure, as sending for three members of Congress to be permitted, to enter a garrisoned Town & to confer with their own General a Prisoner of War. To this he would give me no answer. But immediately began to urge the Improbability of our Troops under such an ignorant Commander in Chief, ever withstanding British Grenadiers & Light Infantry, and immediately put his hand into his Pocket & pulled out a manuscript of 2 or 3 sheets, and said he charged it on me to hearken to what he would read to me, and as soon as I returned to Jersey, that I would repair to Congress & not leave them till I had prevailed upon them to adopt his Plan.

He then read his manuscript, which was a laboured Argument to prove the impossibility of making head against the british army, and that therefore we should set it down as certain, that in the next Campaign, we must be compleatly defeated. He therefore urged, that Congress would immediately have a strong fortress built at Pittsburgh, and also several hundred Boats. That they would order all the Riches of the Country to be sent there, with the old Men, Women and Children, and that when they found themselves driven there, that Congress &c &c might take Boat & go down the Ohio to the Spanish Territory for protection.¹

¹ General Lee was a man of plans and devices, and it seems to have been a matter of very little moment, provided he could secure a hearing, whether he exerted his talents for America or its enemies. Besides the Pittsburgh plan, which, if not brilliant, is certainly characteristic, he was the author of several others. At New York, in March, 1777, he drew up a plan of campaign for the enemy which was partly adopted, and, according to Boudinot, was anxious to disclose the secrets he had obtained, which would have thwarted it; at Yorktown, in April, 1778, when a prisoner on parole, pledged on his "faith and sacred honor not to say nor do anything contrary to the interest of his majesty or his government," he submitted to Congress "A plan of an army and thoughts on the mode of conducting operations for the campaign;" and at Valley Forge, after re-joining the army, he laid before the commander-in-chief (June 15) a plan of the probable campaign of the enemy. All of these plans *may* have possessed more or less merit, but *probably* Lee's reputation as a strategist will rest upon the Pittsburgh plan rather than on any of the others.

The whole of this plan struck me in so absurd a light, added to the impropriety of reading such a thing to me who he knew was on my parole of Honor, within an Enemy's Lines, (for altho it had not been formally required, yet I considered myself, more firmly bound, if possible, than if it had been expressly given) that I could not but entertain the greatest Jealousy of the Integrity of Gen^l Lee. I answered without hesitation that I could not take any such Message to Congress from him, or any other, without the knowledge of the british general. That I thought he had been very wrong to attempt any such Communication to me knowing my situation, and that I should consider myself as having not heard it. That I wondered at his imprudence, in keeping such a Writing in his pockett, as the discovery of it in his Pockett & in his hand writing might cost him his life. He then waived the business & I left him.

I endeavoured to negotiate his Exchange, and it was agreed (hypothetically) that it should take place for Major General Prescott, subject to Gen^l Howe's approbation. Gen^l Howe objected, and ordered Gen^l Lee round by sea to Philadelphia, that he might be exchanged under his own eye. Gen^l Lee (abhorring the sea) applied to me by Letter and most earnestly requested that he might be permitted to go thro New Jersey under the care of a british officer, to which Gen^l Washington consented, and he accordingly went to Philadelphia, but no consent was obtained to the Exchange.¹

In the spring of 1778, a proposition was made by both parties for a partial Exchange of Prisoners, and I was ordered to German Town to meet the british Commissary [Joshua Loring], to attempt the business. When I was setting off from Camp, Gen^l Washington called me into his Room and in the most earnest manner entreated of me, if I wished to gratify him, that I would obtain the Exchange of

¹ General Lee arrived at Philadelphia March 25, 1778. His parole was enlarged on the 5th of April, and a few days after he visited Congress, then sitting at Yorktown, Pennsylvania. His exchange was arranged while he was at Yorktown.

Gen^l Lee, for he never was more wanted by him, than at the present moment, and desired that I would not suffer trifles to prevent it. I accordingly went, and made a pretty considerable Exchange of Prisoners, but quite new propositions were made for the Exchange of Gen^l Lee, which neither the General or myself had ever thought of. After reducing the Terms to as favourable a scale as I thought right, I agreed to it, on condition, that if General Washington was not pleased with the new plan, and notice was given of his refusal within 24 Hours, the Exchange was to be void, without any charge of failure on my part.

I arrived at head Quarters about 6 o'clock P.M. [April 22] and going into the General began to tell him of my success, when he interrupted me with much Eagerness, and asked me if I had exchanged Gen^l Lee. I informed him of what had been done; he replied sit down at this Table, and write a letter informing of my Confirmation of the Exchange and send one of my Horse guards immediately to the Enemies Lines with it. I assured him that next day would be time enough, but he insisted on its being immediately done, and I sent him accordingly, fixing the next day but one for Gen^l Lee's coming out to us [at Valley Forge].¹

When the day arrived, the greatest preparations were made for his reception. All the principal Officers of the Army were drawn up in two lines, advanced of the Camp about 2 miles towards the Enemy. Then the Troops with the inferior officers formed a line quite to head Quarters—all the music of the Army attended. The General with a great number of principal Officers and their Suites, rode about four miles on the road towards Philadelphia, and waited till Gen^l Lee appeared. General Washington dismounted

¹ "Valley Forge, 22 April, 1778.—Mr Boudinot, at Commissary Loring's request, met him at Germantown yesterday; from whence he is just returned, after having agreed on a final exchange of yourself and other officers, with that gentleman. That delay may not produce danger, I shall send in a flag tomorrow for your parole; and, when obtained, I shall most cordially and sincerely congratulate you on your restoration to your country and to the army."—*Washington to Lee.*

& rec^d. Gen^l Lee as if he had been his Brother. He passed thro the Lines of officers & the Army, who all paid him the highest military Honors to Head Quarters, where M^{rs} Washington was, and here he was entertained with an elegant Dinner, and the Music playing the whole Time. A Room was assigned him back of M^{rs} Washington's sitting room, and all his baggage was stowed in it. The next morning he lay very late, and Breakfast was detained for him.¹ . . .

Gen^l Washington gave him the Command of the right wing of the Army, but before he took Charge of it, he requested leave to go to Congress at York Town, which was readily granted.

Before he went I had an interview with him. He expressed himself under the greatest obligations to me, and assured me that he never should forget my kindness, but wished exceeding to know if I had made his Communication to Congress & what was their opinion of it. I assured him that I had not, and if he was wise, he would say nothing upon the subject. He said he was going to Congress for that purpose and he never would rest till it was done, as he was now more than ever convinced that nothing else could save us—That he found the Army in a worse situation than he expected, and that General Washington was not fit to command a Sergeant's Guard.

My Jealousy of him was greatly confirmed, and I began to interrogate him, about his reception at Philadelphia, and immediately brought about the question, whether he had seen Gen^l Howe. He told me that he had been closeted by him the Evening but one before he left the City. I

¹ From the text it would seem that General Lee arrived at Valley Forge on April 24, three days after his exchange; but, under date of the 28th, he wrote to Washington, in reply to his letter of the 22d, as follows: "By three doses of what Lord Chatham calls the great American Panacea, I find myself so much better [of an attack of the gout] and the indications so much weaker that I hope to set out tomorrow or the next day at furthest—but you may be assur'd that I will not defer my departure a single moment." The arrival and reception, as recorded by Mr. Boudinot, could not therefore have taken place until after April 28.

urged him to tell me the substance of the Conversation that passed between them. He told me that Gen^l Howe began to talk upon the claim of Independence by the Americans, that he thought it one of the most absurd & hopeless Expectations that could enter into the mind of sensible men—and as for you Lee, says he, what in the Devil could get into you to be so crazy who ought to know better. Lee answered that he thought it a very wise measure and that if it had not been done, the Americans would have been without Excuse. The General replied, why what end can it answer? do you think there is the most distant probability of their succeeding? To which Gen^l Lee replied, they were perfectly right—In case of a treaty what have they to give up, for what they may insist on receiving, had they made no claim to Independence. O Sir said the General, if that is all they mean by it, it may be proper enough, but I supposed they aimed at insisting on a separation from the Mother Country, but in this view it may be well enough. And so he said they parted, but General Howe sent him a store of Wine, Spirits, Porter &c. &c. to take out with him,—but the british soldiers finding out, that it was stored in the cellar of the House where he lodged, broke into it the night before he came away & stole the whole of it. All this increased my suspicions of Gen^l Lee exceedingly, and I watched him with a Jealous Eye.

He went to Congress, and as I was afterwards informed, he applied to Congress for a Committee to meet & confer with him. The President M^r Laurens was directed to this service, to whom Gen^l Lee communicated his Plan, which disgusted M^r Laurens so greatly that he would not even report it to Congress. This lessened the General so greatly in the Eyes of Congress, that they never paid much respect to him afterwards.

He returned to the Army [May 20] & took command of the right wing. He immediately began to cabal against Gen^l Washington & to quarrell with the Marquis La Fayette. He assured me himself, that Gen^l Washington was ruining the whole Cause, that he was looking forward to the British

evacuating Philadelphia & going to New York, and of course strengthening his left, while the right was totally unguarded; but Lee said that the Enemy would pass over to Chester & come suddenly on their right wing, and we should be wholly overthrown. He said he had urged this in Council, but that he had been overruled & therefore was no longer accountable.

When the british Army actually passed thro' Jersey & Gen^l Washington by his great precaution, had advanced two Brigades towards the Delaware, and therefore overtook the British at freehold, Gen^l Lee was greatly mortified & at first refused to take the Command of the advanced party & it was given to the Marquis La Fayette, but on finding that the advanced army was reinforced & raised to a very respectable Command, he insisted on the Command; and to keep Peace it was given to him.

Gen^l Lee accordingly came up with Gen^l Clinton near freehold Court House, and a skirmish took place. Gen^l Lee had considerable military knowledge & did very well on a small scale—but I have no doubt that whenever anything on a very large scale struck him, that a partial Lunacy took place.

His Behaviour this Morning [June 28, 1778] discovered this state of mind, which might have been increased from the peculiarity of his situation, and his exalted Ideas of the prowess of british Troops. In the midst of the Engagement, he rode up to a Lt Coll. of my acquaintance who had a single field piece firing and called to him, "Coll. have you seen any thing improper in my Conduct this morning?" the Coll. (who had been conscious of something wrong in the Gen^l all the morning, yet not choosing to acknowledge it) answered, no by no means—well then said the General, do you remember that. Such an Extraordinary Question from a Commander in Chief of a division, under such Extraordinary Circumstances, is full proof that he must have felt something unusual in himself.

The Issue was that he was beat, and had not Gen^l Washington have come up in a lucky moment & turned the fortune of the day, it might have been fatal to America.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

[The following unpublished letters of Franklin to his friend, Samuel Rhoads, who was Mayor of Philadelphia in 1774, were donated by Mr. Henry D. Biddle to the "Franklin Collection" of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. They are all franked "B Free Franklin."—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

LONDON July 8th 1765

DEAR FRIEND.

I have before me your Favour of May 20th wherein you mention that you had not heard from me, which I, a little wonder at, as I wrote to you the 14th of February, and find that Letters to some other Friends of the same date were got to hand.

I congratulate you on Your Retirement, and your being able to divert yourself with farming; 'tis an inexhaustible Source of perpetual Amusement. Your Country *Seat* is of a more secure kind than *that* in the Assembly: and I hope not so much in the Power of the Mob to jostle you out of. I say *hope*, for after what we have lately heard of your Mobs, one cannot say that any Property or Possession is Safe *certainly*.

I am much oblig'd to you for Spurring our Friends in their Correspondence. They have not been wanting.

The Malice of our Adversaries I am well acquainted with, but hitherto it has been Harmless; all their arrows shot against us, have been like those that Rabelais speaks of which were headed with Butter hardened in the Sun. As long as I have known the World I have observ'd that Wrong is always growing more Wrong, till there is no bearing it, and that Right however oppos'd, comes right at last.

The Change so much wish'd for & now become so necessary must sooner or later take Place, and I think it Near at hand whatever may be given out to the Contrary.

[Some lines mutilated.]

I have prophesied to them here, that they will by these Acts, Lose more in Trade than they Can Get in Taxes.

There was a Bill Brought in with a Clause to empower Military Officers to quarter Soldiers on Private Houses. This if it had passed we apprehended might be used to awe us & as an Instrument of Oppression upon Ocasion, and therefore we opposed it Vigorously. I think I may Value myself on having a considerable share in getting the Clause struck out, and another put in that may Ocasionally save our Province a great Deal of Money.

As to the House, I am sencible I give you a great Deal of Trouble, and I doubt not your Care to get it finish'd; but it seems to me that the Workmen have been unkind to keep Mrs. Franklin so Long unsettled.

My best Respects to good Mrs. Rhoads, your Son & Daughter, with Thanks for their Remembrance of me

I am, Dear Friend

Yours affectionately

B. FRANKLIN.

LONDON, June 26, 1770

DEAR FRIEND

It is a long time since I had the Pleasure of hearing from you directly. Mrs. Franklin has indeed now and then acquainted me of your Welfare, which I am always glad to hear of. It is, I fear, partly, if not altogether, my Fault that our Correspondence has not been regularly continued. One thing only I am sure of; that it has been from no want of Regard on either side, but rather from too much Business and Avocations of various kinds, and my having little of Importance to communicate.

One of our good citizens, Mr Hillegas, anxious for the future Safety of our Town, wrote to me sometime since, desiring I would enquire concerning the Covering of Houses here with Copper. I sent him the best Information I could then obtain; but have since receiv'd the enclos'd from an ingenious Friend, Mr Wooller, who is what they call here a Civil Engineer. I should be glad you would peruse it,

think of the matter a little, and give me your Sentiments of it. When you have done with the Paper, please to give it to Mr Hillegas. I am told by Lord Despencer, who has covered a long Piazza or Gallery with Copper, that the expence is charged in this Account too high; for his cost but $1/10$ ¢ foot, all Charges included. I suppose his Copper must have been thinner. And indeed it is so strong a Metal, that I think it may well be used very thin.

It appears to me of great Importance to build our Dwelling Houses, if we can, in a Manner more secure from Danger by Fire. We scarce ever hear of a Fire in Paris. When I was there, I took particular Notice of the Construction of their Houses; and I did not see how one of them could well be burnt. The Roofs are Slate or Tile the Walls are Stone; the Rooms generally lin'd with Stucco or Plaister instead of Wainscot; the Floors of Stucco, or of six square Tiles painted brown; or of Flag Stone or Marble,—if any Floor were of Wood, it was Oak Wood, which is not so inflammable as Pine. Carpets prevent the Coldness of Stone or Brick Floors offending the Feet in Winter, And the Noise of Treading on such Floors overhead is less inconvenient than that on Boards.—The Stairs too, at Paris are either Stone, or Brick with only a Wooden Edge or Corner for the Steps; so that on the Whole, tho' the Parisians commonly burn Wood in their Chimneys, a more dangerous kind of Fuel than that used here, yet their Houses escape extreamly well, as there is little in a Room that can be consumed by Fire except the Furniture. Whereas in London perhaps scarce a Year passes in which half a Million of Property and many Lives are not lost by this destructive Element. Of late indeed they begin here to leave off Wainscotting their Rooms, and instead of it cover the Walls with Stucco, often form'd into Pannels like Wainscot, which, being painted, is very strong and warm: Stone Staircases too, with Iron Rails, grow more and more into Fashion here: But Stone Steps cannot in some Circumstances be fixed; and there methinks Oak is safer than Pine; and I assure you that in many genteel Houses here,

both old & new, the Stairs and Floors are Oak, and look extremely well. Perhaps solid Oak for the Steps would be still safer than Boards; and two Steps might be cut diagonally out of one Piece.—Excuse my talking to you on a Subject with which you must be so much better acquainted than I am. It is partly to make out a Letter for renewing our Correspondence, and partly in hope that by turning your Attention to the Point some Method of great Security in our future Building may be thought of & promoted by you, whose Judgment I know has deservedly great Weight with our Fellow-Citizens.—For tho' our Town has not hitherto suffered very greatly by Fire, yet I am apprehensive, that some time or other, by a Concurrence of unlucky Circumstances, such as dry Weather, hard Frost, & high Wind, a Fire then happening may suddenly spread far and wide over our Cedar Roofs, and do us immense Mischief.—

If you favor me with a Line, let me know how good Mrs Rhoads does, and every one of your Children; and how it fares with my dear old Friend Mrs Paschal. With sincere Esteem, I am

Yours most affectionately

B. FRANKLIN

LONDON, Feb. 10, 1771.—

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your kind Favour of Nov. 9. and am glad to hear of the Welfare of you and yours.—

Mentioning to a Friend of mine, Mr Wooller, an Engineer, your Idea of Paint and Sand, to make Roofs durable and safer from Fire (which I hope you will try, as I think it very likely to succeed) he communicated to me an Account of a new Method of Covering in the North, that is in some respects similar, may be as durable, but in my Opinion not so safe. Perhaps it may be of use for Summer Houses, Barns, Outhouses, or Buildings where no Fire warms; and therefore I send you the Account enclos'd, but I think I should not care to trust it in a Dwelling House, in a Town, unless the under Side of the Boards was lathed & plaistered between the Rafters, which would add to the Expense; For

tho' the Outside, hardened by the Air, and paved, as it were, by the Sand, Shells, &c. might not readily take fire, the Tar coming thro' the Seams or Craiks of the Boards might be readily inflamed by a Candle from the Inside, placed carelessly by Servants in a Garret.

The Flatness of this Roof, as well as of those with Copper, lessens a good deal the Areas to be covered, & of course the Expense.

I am glad to hear that you have good Workmen in the Stucco Way, and that it is likely to take place of Wainscot.

In some of the Paris Buildings the Floors are thus formed. The Joists are large and square, & laid with two of their Corners up and down, whereby their sloping Sides afford Butments for intermediate Arches of Brick. Over the whole is laid an Inch or two of Loom, and on that the Tiles of the Floor, which are often six-square, & painted. The lower Corner of the Joists is cut off enough to admit of nailing to them the Laths that are to hold the Plaister of the Ceiling of the Room beneath. Where there is any Apprehension of Walls spreading by the Weight of such Floor they are prevented by Bars of Iron, with external **SS**. This kind of Floor seems safe from Fire; For Joists in contact with the Bricks above, and sheeled by the Plaister Ceiling below, are not very likely to kindle and burn. It likewise prevents in a good degree the Noise of what is doing overhead offending those below. But it is heavy, takes up more Room, requires great strength of Timber and is I suppose more expensive than Boards. I apprehend those Arches are not generally used; but the Tiles are more commonly laid upon rough Boards, and the Joists clos'd with fine Mortar or some kind of Cement.

Plaster Floors are of late coming again into use here. I know not whether we have the proper Materials in our Province; but I have been told there are Quarries of the kind in Nova Scotia near navigable Water.—I send you however an Account of the Method of laying such Floors.—Also some Specimens of a new discovered Limestone for Mortar that sets under Water, with a Written Account of

the Method of managing it. All from my Friend the ingenious M. Wooller.—

Remember me respectfully and affectionately to Mrs Rhoads & my dear old Friend Mrs Paschal.

With sincere Esteem, I am, dear Friend

Yours most affectionately

B. FRANKLIN

I send you also a Pamphlet on the Subject of securing Houses from Fire, tho' the Method is perhaps impracticable with us.—

LONDON Jan. 5, 1774

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your Favours of Oct. 29 and 31, inclosing the Votes, for which I thank you.

I am much obliged to the Assembly for the repeated Marks of their Confidence in me. The Great Officers of State having generally been in the Country, no public Business of consequence has for some time been transacted here. But the Parliament meets next Week, when all will return again to their Stations and the Duty of their Offices, and the Boards resume Business. I do not find that your Laws of last Winter have yet been presented, and the time is now near for carrying your Paper-money Act into Execution. At present I do not see any Difficulty likely to arise upon it, on the Part of the Board of Trade, unless one should be started on the Uncertainty, there being no mention of the Value or kind of the Money to be struck, whether Sterling or Proclamation, or any other. But it being an Act of Pennsylvania, I suppose it is to be understood that the Money will be of the Value of the present Currency of that Province. Virginia has lately had a Quantity of Copper-Halfpence struck at the Mint here for their Province. Inclos'd I send you a Specimen of them. They may serve to keep out the worthless counterfeit Trash of late so common.

With great Esteem & Respect, I am ever,

Dear Friend

Yours most affectionately

B. FRANKLIN.

ITINERARY OF GENERAL WASHINGTON FROM JUNE
15, 1775, TO DECEMBER 23, 1783.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from Vol. XIV. page 363.)

1779.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 6, 1779.

At Philadelphia: "I have lately been several times invited abroad with the General and Mrs. Washington. He always inquires after you in the most affectionate manner, and speaks of you highly. We danced at Mrs. Powell's your birth-day [January 6, 1706, O.S.], or night I should say, in company together, and he told me it was the anniversary of his marriage [January 6, 1759, N.S.]; it was just twenty years that night."—*Mrs. Bache to Dr. Franklin*, January 17, 1779.

Mrs. Powel (Elizabeth Willing), at whose house Mrs. Bache, daughter of Benjamin Franklin, "danced in company together" with General Washington, on the evening of January 6, 1779, was the wife of Samuel Powel, mayor of Philadelphia in 1775 and 1789. When in Philadelphia, Washington was a frequent visitor at the Powel house, still standing, on the west side of Third Street, between Walnut and Spruce Streets, No. 244; old number, 112.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 15.

At Philadelphia: "It is much to be regretted, that our prospect of any capital offensive operations is so slender, that we seem in a manner to be driven to the necessity of adopting the plan to remain entirely on the defensive; except such lesser operations against the Indians, as are absolutely necessary to divert their ravages from us. . . . The main body of the army must take a position so as to be most easily subsisted, and at the same time best situated to restrain the enemy from ravaging the country. If they should hereafter weaken themselves still more, so as to give a favor-

able opening, we should endeavour to improve it."— *Washington to the Committee of Congress.*

The Committee of Congress, appointed December 24, 1778, to confer with the commander-in-chief on the operations of the next campaign, was composed of James Duane, Jesse Root, Melancthon Smith, Gouverneur Morris, and Henry Laurens. After submitting a paper containing *Minutes* of the several topics which were likely to be brought forward in the conference, Washington, at the request of the committee, made several explanatory communications, from one of which the above extract is made. The plan of a defensive campaign, suggested by the commander-in-chief, was finally adopted, as being the best under the circumstances, and the least expensive.

MONDAY, JANUARY 18.

At Philadelphia: Present at a banquet given by Congress to the French minister, to celebrate the French alliance, at which thirteen toasts were drunk, accompanied by salutes of artillery.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20.

At Philadelphia: Informs the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, by letter, of his willingness to sit to Charles Willson Peale for his portrait, to be placed in the Council Chamber, as requested by them in a resolution of January 18.

For the history of this portrait, destroyed in September, 1781, and the engraving of it executed by Mr. Peale in 1780, consult the paper entitled "The History of a Rare Washington Print," *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*, Vol. XIII. p. 257.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 29.

At Philadelphia: "My long and unexpected stay in this City being attended with many inconveniences to the common business of the army, and in other respects, I feel myself under the necessity of requesting the permission of Congress to return; and, if consistent with their views, I should be glad to set out for the camp at Middlebrook on Monday next."— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1.

At Philadelphia: Sits to Pierre Eugène du Simitière for his portrait, the sitting being recorded in the note-book of

the artist, printed in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XIII. p. 359: "Paintings & Drawings done 1779 feby 1st a drawing in black lead of a likeness in profil of his Excellency general Washington, form of a medal, for my collection. N B the general at the request of the Hon. M^r Jay President of congress, came with him to my house this morning & condescended with great good nature to Sit about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour for the above likeness, having but little time to Spare being the last day of his stay in town."

The drawing by Du Simitière is not in existence, but the portrait is well known through engravings, the first of which was published at Madrid in 1781. See Baker's "Engraved Portraits of Washington," pp. 39, 41.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2.

Leaves Philadelphia: "Tuesday morning [February 2], His Excellency General Washington set off from Philadelphia to join the army in New Jersey. During the course of his short stay (the only relief he has enjoyed from service since he first entered into it), he has been honored with every mark of esteem which his exalted qualities as a gentleman and a citizen entitle him to. His Excellency's stay was rendered the more agreeable by the company of his lady, and the domestic retirement which he enjoyed at the house of the Honorable Henry Laurens, Esquire, with whom he resided."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, February 4, 1779.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 5.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook, New Jersey: "It was not till the 5th instant, I returned to this place. While in Philadelphia what between Congress and a special committee of that body I was furnished with ample employment. I had few moments of relaxation."—*Washington to General Schuyler*, February 11.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18.

At General Knox's quarters, Pluckamin: "The anniversary of our alliance with France was celebrated in proper style near headquarters, at Pluckemin. A splendid entertainment was given by General Knox and the officers of the

artillery. General Washington, and his lady, with the principal officers of the army and their ladies, and a considerable number of respectable ladies and gentlemen of the state of New Jersey, formed the brilliant assembly. About four o'clock sixteen cannon were discharged, and the company collected in a large public building to partake of an elegant dinner. In the evening a very beautiful set of fire works was exhibited, and the celebration was concluded by a splendid ball opened by his Excellency General Washington, having for his partner the lady of General Knox."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

This celebration was in honor of the first anniversary of the French alliance; it should properly have taken place on the 6th, but was deferred to the 18th because of Washington's absence from camp. General Knox, in a letter of February 28, wrote to his brother: "We had at the Park [of artillery] on the 18th a most genteel entertainment given by self and officers. Everybody allows it to be the first of the kind ever exhibited in this State at least. We had above seventy ladies, all of the first *ton* in the State, and between three and four hundred gentlemen. We danced all night—an elegant room, the illuminating, fireworks, &c., were more than pretty. It was to celebrate the alliance between France and America."

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: "Yesterday [February 25] I accompanied Major Cavil to head quarters, and had the honor of being numbered among the guests at the table of his Excellency, with his lady, two young ladies from Virginia, the gentlemen who compose his family, and several other officers. It is natural to view with keen attention the countenance of an illustrious man, with a secret hope of discovering in his features some peculiar traces of excellence, which distinguishes him from and elevates him above his fellow mortals. These expectations are realized in a peculiar manner, in viewing the person of General Washington. His tall and noble stature and just proportions, his fine, cheerful open countenance, simple and modest deportment, are all calculated to interest every beholder in his favor, and to command veneration and respect. He is feared even when silent, and beloved even while we are unconscious

of the motive. . . . In conversation, his Excellency's expressive countenance is peculiarly interesting and pleasing; a placid smile is frequently observed on his lips, but a loud laugh, it is said, seldom if ever escapes him. He is polite and attentive to each individual at table, and retires after the compliment of a few glasses. Mrs. Washington combines in an uncommon degree, great dignity of manner with the most pleasing affability, but possesses no striking marks of beauty."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

MONDAY, MARCH 8.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: "Nothing of importance has happened since you left us, except the enemy's invasion of Georgia, and possession of its capital [Savannah]. . . . The American troops are again in huts; but in a more agreeable and fertile country, than they were in last winter at Valley Forge; and they are better clad and more healthy, than they have ever been since the formation of the army. Mrs. Washington is now with me."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette, at Paris*.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell sailed from Sandy Hook, on the 27th of November, 1778, with more than two thousand land troops, covered by a small squadron under Commodore Parker. The fleet arrived at Tybee Island, near the mouth of the Savannah River, on the 23d of December. Six days afterwards the vessels and transports crossed the bar, and the troops were landed at daybreak three miles below the town. General Robert Howe, with about six hundred Continentals and a few hundred militia, opposed their advance, but was defeated, and Savannah passed into the hands of the British. An attempt was made to recapture it, October 9, 1779, by the combined French and American forces under D'Estaing and Lincoln, which failed, and the enemy retained possession until July 11, 1782, when it was evacuated.

MONDAY, MARCH 15.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: "It gives me very singular pleasure to find, that you have again taken a seat in Congress. I think there never was a time, when cool and dispassionate reasoning, strict attention and application, great integrity, and, if it was in the nature of things, un-

erring wisdom, were more to be wished for, than at the present.”—*Washington to Thomas Nelson.*

“ March 19.—We had a little dance at my quarters a few evenings past. His Excellency and Mrs. Greene danced upwards of three hours without once sitting down.”—*General Greene to Colonel Wadsworth.*

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: “ Speculation, speculation, engrossing, forestalling, with all their concomitants, afford too many melancholy proofs of the decay of public virtue, and too glaring instances of its being the interest and desire of too many, who would wish to be thought friends, to continue the war. Nothing, I am convinced, but the depreciation of our currency, proceeding in a great measure from the foregoing causes, aided by stockjobbing and party dissensions, has fed the hopes of the enemy and kept the British arms in America to this day. They do not scruple to declare this themselves, and add, that we shall be our own conquerors.”—*Washington to James Warren.*

TUESDAY, APRIL 13.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: “ We have passed a winter remarkably mild and moderate; since the 10th of January, we have scarcely had a fall of snow, or a frost, and no severe weather.”—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

SUNDAY, MAY 2.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: “ The whole of our army in this quarter was paraded in martial array in a spacious field, and a stage was erected for the accommodation of the ladies and gentlemen spectators. At the signal of thirteen cannon, the great and splendid cavalcade approached in martial pomp and style. A very beautiful troop of light horse, commanded by Major Lee, a Virginian, marched in front, then followed his Excellency the Commander in Chief and his aids de camp, next the foreign ministers and their retinue, and the general officers of our army and their aids, closed the procession. Having arrived

on the field of parade, the Commander in Chief, with the foreign ministers, and general officers, passed in front of the line of the army, from right to left, in review, and received the military honors due to their rank; after which the gentlemen dismounted and retired to the stage, and took seats with Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Greene, Mrs. Knox, and a number of other ladies who had arrived in their carriages. The army then performed the field manœuvres and evolutions, with firing of cannon and musketry.”—*Thacher’s Military Journal*.

This review of the army was held in honor of M. Gérard, the French minister, and Don Juan Marailles, a gentleman of distinction from Spain, who had arrived in camp the day previous, the arrival, as recorded by Dr. Thacher, having been announced by thirteen guns. M. Gérard visited the camp in order to consult with General Washington, respecting the operations of Count D’Estaing’s fleet.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: “Enclosed I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency three New York papers. The last contains extracts from Lord North’s speech at opening the budget, which seems to breathe a vigorous prosecution of the war. I have thought appearances for some time past wore this complexion. The English papers have frequently announced considerable reinforcements to the army in America, and have even specified the particular corps intended to be sent over. Nor can I see any sufficient reason to believe this will not be done.”—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

For some interesting facts respecting Lord North, and extracts from letters written to him by George III. at different times, on American affairs, see *Sparks*, VI. 531.

THURSDAY, MAY 6.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: Observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, recommended by Congress.

SATURDAY, MAY 8.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: “The rapid decay of our currency, the extinction of public spirit, the increasing

rapacity of the times, the want of harmony in our councils, the declining zeal of the people, the discontents and distresses of the officers of the army, and I may add, the prevailing security and insensibility to danger, are symptoms, in my eye, of a most alarming nature. If the enemy have it in their power to press us hard this campaign, I know not what may be the consequence. Our army, as it now stands, is but little more than the skeleton of an army; and I hear of no steps that are taking to give it strength and substance.”
— *Washington to Gouverneur Morris.*

General Washington expressed himself in a strain similar to the above, in writing to another friend, May 18th. “I never was, and much less reason have I now to be, afraid of the enemy’s arms; but I have no scruple in declaring to you, that I have never yet seen the time in which our affairs, in my opinion, were at so low an ebb as at the present; and, without a speedy and capital change, we shall not be able in a very short time to call out the strength and resources of the country. The hour is certainly come, when party disputes and dissensions should subside, when every man, especially those in office, should with hand and heart pull the same way, and with their whole strength. Providence has done, and I am persuaded is disposed to do, a great deal for us; but we are not to forget the fable of Jupiter and the countryman.”—*Sparks*, VI. 252.

FRIDAY, MAY 14.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: “Our brigade was paraded for the purpose of being reviewed by General Washington and a number of Indian chiefs. His Excellency, with his usual dignity, followed by his mulatto servant Bill, riding a beautiful grey steed, passed in front of the line and received the salute. He was accompanied by a singular group of savages, whose appearance was beyond description ludicrous.”—*Thacher’s Military Journal.*

TUESDAY, MAY 18.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: “The obligation I felt for the visit, which your Excellency did me the honor to make me, could only be increased by the manner in which you are pleased to mention the reception you met with.”—*Washington to Monsieur Gérard.*

While M. Gérard was in camp, he wrote to Count Vergennes, "I have had many conversations with General Washington, some of which have continued for three hours. It is impossible for me briefly to communicate the fund of intelligence, which I have derived from him, but I shall do it in my letters as occasions shall present themselves. I will now say only, that I have formed as high an opinion of the powers of his mind, his moderation, his patriotism, and his virtues, as I had before from common report conceived of his military talents and of the incalculable services he has rendered to his country."—*Sparks*, VI. 241.

TUESDAY, MAY 25.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: "The predatory war, which the enemy now seem resolved to carry on, will be very distressing. Little aid can be afforded from the army in its present situation, and the militia appear too ill provided with arms to defend themselves. How this can be remedied, and the army supplied, I know not."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

The British had recently sent a detachment of several ships and twenty-five hundred men into the Chesapeake, destroyed a large number of small vessels, sacked the town of Portsmouth, burned Suffolk, and carried on board a large quantity of tobacco and other plunder, and many negroes.

MONDAY, MAY 31.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: "The expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements, and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible. . . . So soon as your preparations are in sufficient forwardness, you will assemble your main body at Wyoming, and proceed thence to Tioga, taking from that place the most direct and practicable route into the heart of the Indian settlements."—*Washington to General John Sullivan*.

The atrocities of the Indians of the Six Nations in the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, and their continual raids upon the frontier settlements in New York, made this expedition a necessity. General Sullivan collected troops at Wyoming, and marched (July 31) up the Susquehanna with about three thousand soldiers to Tioga Point, where he met General James Clin-

ton, who had come from the Mohawk Valley with about sixteen hundred men to join him. On the 29th of August they fell upon some Tories and Indians at Chemung (now Elmira), and then pushed onward to the Genesec River, when the work of destruction began. On October 20, Washington wrote to the Marquis de Lafayette, at Paris, "General Sullivan has completed the entire destruction of the country of the Six Nations; driven all the Inhabitants, men, women, and children, out of it; and is at Easton on his return to join this army, with the Troops under his command. He has performed this service without losing forty men, either by the enemy or by sickness. While the Six Nations were under this rod of correction, the Mingo and Muncy tribes, living on the Aligany, French Creek, and other waters of the Ohio above Fort Pitt, met with similar chastismt. from Colo. Brodhead, who with 600 men advanced upon them at the same Instt., and laid waste their Country."

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: Receives and answers an address from the "Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Dutch Reformed Church at Raritan."

THURSDAY, JUNE 3.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: "I expect to set out this day towards the Highlands, by way of Morristown."— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, JUNE 6.

At Ringwood, New Jersey: "On the 1st instant in the morning, the enemy opened a battery at Stony Point, which lies on the west side of the Hudson at the landing at King's Ferry, against a small detached work at Verplanck's Point, on the east side, and kept up a constant fire upon it, in conjunction with their ships, till four in the afternoon, when the party stationed in it, finding that it was also invested on the land side in force, surrendered by capitulation."— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

Ringwood, known in the Revolutionary period as Ringwood Iron-Works, is a village in Passaic County, New Jersey, thirty miles northeast of Morristown and close to the New York line.

MONDAY, JUNE 7.

At Smith's Tavern, in the Clove: *Orderly Book.*—"The army is to encamp till further orders."

“June 10th.—Smith’s Clove [Orange County, New York] is a fine level plain of rich land, situated at the foot of the high mountains on the west side of Hudson river. It is about fourteen miles in the rear of the garrison at West Point, and surrounded on all sides by the high lands. The few families who reside here find a profitable employment in cultivating the fertile soil. Our brigade marched from quarters at Middlebrook on the 2d instant, and arrived at Morristown, where we received orders to leave all our heavy baggage, and proceed with all possible expedition, as the enemy was advancing towards West Point. Marched rapidly through Troy, Pompton and Ringwood, and on the 7th instant, encamped in the Clove.”—*Thacher’s Military Journal*.

FRIDAY, JUNE 11.

At Smith’s Tavern: “We have taken post for the present with the main body of the army in this Clove, where we are as well situated, as we could be anywhere else, to succor the forts [on the Hudson] in case the future operations of the enemy should be directed against them.”—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

Smith’s Tavern was at the upper end of the Clove. Its location is given in the copy of a contemporary map, published in Lossing’s “Life of Washington,” Vol. II. 543.

MONDAY, JUNE 14.

At Smith’s Tavern: *Orderly Book*.—“As the Commander-in-Chief sits out to-day for West Point, and may be absent two or three Days, Major Gen^l Putnam will take the Command of the troops in this Camp till his return.”

Washington remained in the Clove until the afternoon of June 21, when he set out for New Windsor, on the Hudson, six miles above West Point. Here he “established his head-quarters in the William Ellison house on the hill immediately south of the village. The house was removed many years ago.”¹ On the 22d, Washington visited West Point, and on the 24th he was present at the celebration of the festival of St. John the Baptist, by the “American Union Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons,” at the “Robinson House,” a little below West Point, on the opposite side of the river.

SUNDAY, JUNE 27.

At New Windsor, New York: “Your letter of yesterday came safe to my hands, and by the dragoon, who was the

¹ Rutenber’s “History of Orange County,” p. 143.

bearer of it, I send you two guineas for C——r.”—*Washington to Major Tallmadge.*

General Washington always had spies in New York. C——r, referred to in this letter, called in a later one Culper, had acted for a long time in that capacity. His intelligence was of great importance.

SUNDAY, JULY 4.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: *Orderly Book.*—“This day being the anniversary of our glorious independence, will be commemorated by the firing of thirteen cannon from West Point at 1 o’clock P.M. The Commander-in-Chief thinks proper to grant a general pardon to all prisoners in this army, under sentence of death. They are to be released from confinement accordingly.”

Washington left head-quarters in the morning of July 6, to visit the outposts below, and those which had been established by the enemy. He returned in the afternoon of the 7th.

FRIDAY, JULY 9.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “While the enemy are making excursions to distress the country, it has a very disagreeable aspect to remain in a state of inactivity on our part. The reputation of the army, and the good of the service, seem to exact some attempt from it. The importance of Stony Point to the enemy makes it infinitely desirable, that this post could be the object. The works are formidable, but perhaps on a fuller examination they may be found accessible. . . . I beg you to inform yourself as far as you can, and to give me your opinion of the practicability of an attempt upon this post. If it is undertaken, I should conceive it ought to be done by way of surprise in the night.”—*Washington to General Wayne.*

SATURDAY, JULY 10.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “I have received your favors from Luddington’s and Reading. It gives me great concern to hear of the ravages of the enemy. The conduct of the militia at New Haven does them the highest honor.”—*Washington to General Parsons.*

The British, under General Tryon and General Garth, landed near New Haven on the 5th of July, and the next day entered the town, plundered it, and burned the public stores. In approaching the town they were bravely met by the militia, of whom twenty-seven were killed and nineteen wounded.

SUNDAY, JULY 11.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "I request, that you will endeavour, as far as opportunity will permit, to ascertain as precisely as you can what number of houses they [the enemy] have destroyed in their expedition up the Sound." — *Washington to General Parsons.*

"According to General Parsons's returns, in compliance with the above request, the enemy burnt in Fairfield, on the 9th of July, ninety-seven dwelling-houses, sixty-seven barns, forty-eight stores, two meeting-houses, a church, court-house, jail and two school-houses. In Norwalk, they burnt, on the 11th of July, one hundred and thirty dwelling-houses, eighty-seven barns, twenty-two stores, seventeen shops, four mills, one church one meeting-house. At New Haven, the whole loss amounted to \$112,647; at Fairfield, \$181,366; at Norwalk, \$166,868; at Greenwich, \$29,935." — *Sparks, VI. 292.*

WEDNESDAY, JULY 14.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "I have reflected on the advantages and disadvantages of delaying the proposed attempt [on Stony Point], and I do not know but the latter preponderate. You may therefore carry it into execution to-morrow night, as you desired, unless some new motive or better information should induce you to think it best to defer it. You are at liberty to choose between the different plans on which we have conversed." — *Washington to General Wayne.*

THURSDAY, JULY 15.

At Fort Montgomery: "This day General Wayne marched down towards Stony Point, to take a view of the enemy, and, if an opportunity offers, to attempt something serious. I therefore wish you to put your brigade in motion about midnight, and march that way in order to act as his situation may make it necessary." — *Washington to General Muhlenberg.*

Fort Montgomery, one of the early fortifications of the Hudson Highlands, was about six miles above Stony Point. It stood on a promontory on

the upper side of a creek (Poplopen Kill), to the south of which was Fort Clinton. Both of these forts, finished in the spring of 1776, were taken by Sir Henry Clinton, October 6, 1777, but abandoned shortly afterwards. It was then determined to construct the fortifications intended for the future defence of the river at West Point, a position which, being more completely embosomed in the hills, was deemed more defensible.

FRIDAY, JULY 16.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander-in-Chief is happy to congratulate the army on the success of our arms under Brig. Gen. Wayne, who last night, with the corps of light infantry, surprised and took the enemy's post at Stony Point, with the whole garrison, cannon and stores, with very inconsiderable loss on our side."

"Stony Point 16th July 1779 2 o'clock A.M. Dear Gen^l—The fort & Garrison with Col^o Johnston are ours. Our Officers & men behaved like men who are determined to be free.—Yours most sincerely,

"ANT'Y WAYNE."

TUESDAY, JULY 20.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "They [the enemy] have now brought their whole force up the river, and yesterday they landed a body at Stony Point."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

It having been found that the maintenance of Stony Point would require a large body of men, and from the nature of the works, which had been constructed solely against an attack by land, it was decided to destroy them, remove the cannon and stores, and evacuate the post. This was accordingly done on the night of July 18.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 21.

At West Point: Washington made West Point his head-quarters on the 21st of July, and remained there till November 28, when the army went into winter-quarters. It was during this period that the strong works at this fortress and its vicinity were chiefly constructed.

The house occupied by Washington as head-quarters was situated in what is now called Washington's Valley, about a mile to the north of West Point. It was designated in general orders as "Moore's House," and was built prior to 1749 by John Moore, a prominent merchant of New York, and grand-

father of the celebrated Bishop of Virginia, Richard Channing Moore. The house must have been a large and costly structure, being known in its day as "Moore's folly," and is so marked on a plan of "*Hudson's-River from New-York to Albany*," included in Blodget's "Prospective Plan of the Battle fought near LAKE GEORGE on the 8th of September 1755," published at Boston in December of that year. The property, containing about eighteen hundred acres, which included West Point, was sold to the United States, in 1790, by Stephen Moore, a son of John Moore.

THURSDAY, JULY 29.

At Head-quarters, West Point: "I have a pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your obliging favor of the 15th instant, and in finding by it, that the author of the *Queries Political and Military* has had no great cause to exult in the favorable reception of them by the public. Without a clue, I should have been at no great loss to trace the malevolent writer."—*Washington to Joseph Reed.*

These "Queries" were written by General Charles Lee, and printed anonymously in the *Maryland Journal*, a paper published by William Goddard, a friend of General Lee. The "Queries" were penned in a very malignant spirit, and were designed to injure General Washington, as far as it could be done by such an effusion of spleen and ill temper. Much indignation was expressed against Goddard when the "Queries" appeared in his paper.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1.

At Head-quarters, West Point: "From what causes it proceeds I shall not undertake to say, but so the fact is, that we are laboring under the effects of two of the greatest evils, that can befall a state of war, namely, a reduced army at the beginning of a campaign, which more than probably is intended for a decisive one, and want of money, or rather a redundancy of it, by which it is become of no value."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph.*

MONDAY, AUGUST 23.

At Head-quarters, West Point: "I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency Major [Henry] Lee's report of the surprise & capture [August 19] of the garrison of Powles Hook [Jersey City]. The Major displayed a remarkable degree of prudence, address, enterprise, and bravery, upon this occasion, which does the highest honor to himself and

to all the officers and men under his command.”— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

At Head-quarters, West Point: “Admiral Arbuthnot, with about 3 or 4000 troops, is arrived at New York, and will, it is to be presumed, afford Sir Henry Clinton an opportunity of displaying his intentions or orders. I every moment look for the Chevalier de la Luzerne on his way from Boston to Congress.”— *Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette, at Paris.*

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

At Head-quarters, West Point: “I have had great pleasure in the visit, which the Chevalier de la Luzerne and Monsieur Marbois did me the honor to make at this camp; for both of whom I have imbibed the most favorable impressions, and I thank you for the honorable mention you made of me to them. . . . The operations of the enemy this campaign have been confined to the establishment of works of defence, taking a post at King’s Ferry, and burning the defenceless towns of New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk, on the Sound within reach of their shipping, where little else was or could be opposed to them, than the cries of distressed women and helpless children; but these were offered in vain.”— *Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette, at Paris.*

The Chevalier de la Luzerne succeeded M. Gérard as minister from France to the United States. He came to America in the same vessel (“*La Sensible*”) with John Adams, when the latter returned from his first mission to France, landing at Boston, August 2, 1779. The visit to Washington at West Point was made in a private capacity, when on his way to Philadelphia to exhibit his credentials to Congress. During the four years in which he acted as minister, M. de la Luzerne “conducted himself with a prudence, wisdom, and concern for their interests, that gained him the esteem and affection of the Americans.” M. Marbois, who accompanied him as secretary of legation, remained in this country until 1785, and after the return of Luzerne acted as *chargé d'affaires*. In 1803 he was appointed to cede Louisiana to the United States for fifty million francs, but had the skill to obtain eighty millions, a piece of diplomacy for which he was liberally rewarded by Napoleon.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7.

At Head-quarters, West Point: "Permit me, amongst the number of your friends, to congratulate you and my country on your late honorable and important appointment." — *Washington to John Jay.*

Mr. Jay was appointed, on the 27th of September, minister plenipotentiary to Spain, to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce, and to obtain loans or subsidies. He sailed from Chester, below Philadelphia, October 26, but, being driven to the West Indies by a storm, did not reach Cadiz until January 22, 1780. Spain, not having acknowledged the independence of the United States, at first refused to receive him as an American minister, and he was for some time engaged with Count Florida Blanca, the Spanish premier, in informal negotiations. After many months of fruitless labor, Mr. Jay, having been appointed a commissioner, proceeded to Paris (June, 1782), and, with Adams, Franklin, and Laurens, signed the preliminary articles of peace between the United States and Great Britain, November 30, 1782.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21.

At Head-quarters, West Point: "In a letter of the 15th instant from General Gates, he writes to me, 'My intelligence from all quarters and reports from all stations, announce that the enemy are preparing to evacuate Newport. Monday or Tuesday it is imagined they will take their departure.'" — *Washington to the President of Congress.*

The evacuation of Newport took place on the 25th of October. Sir Henry Clinton wrote to Lord George Germain that the troops from Rhode Island arrived on the 27th, the evacuation having been executed without sacrifice or molestation from the enemy.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1.

At Head-quarters, West Point: "Stony Point, which has been a bone of contention the whole campaign, and the principal business of it on the part of the enemy, is totally evacuated by them. Rhode Island is also abandoned, and the enemy's whole force is drawn to a point at New York." — *Washington to Edmund Pendleton.*

Stony Point and Verplanck's Point had been at first taken by the British with a view to offensive operations against Washington's army. When such a movement was found impracticable, and a Southern expedition was resolved upon, it was determined to evacuate these posts.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

At Head-quarters, West Point: "Being absent from Head-Qrs. on a visit to several out-posts of the army, when your favor of the 2d instant arrived, and not returning till last night, it was not in my power to answer it before."—*Washington to General Duportail.*

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

At Head-quarters, West Point: "Whereas by the sudden movement of the Army to winter quarters it will be difficult to procure the necessary supplies of Forage, which by your representation cannot be furnished unless you are authorized to impress the same, therefore you are hereby authorized where Forage & pasture cannot otherwise be procured, by yourself or Assistants & Forage masters to impress the necessary Forage for the Army on the march of the Army through the State of New York and New Jersey to their winter Stations, when this warrant is to cease, and you are to pay particular attention to have the Inhabitants satisfied for their Forage & to take as equally as possible from each according to what can be spared."—*Washington to Clement Biddle, Commissary-General of Forage, MS. Letter.*

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 24.

At Head-quarters, West Point: "I am now using my best endeavours to get things in train for putting the army in quarters. The instant matters will permit, I shall go forward myself."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29.

At Peekskill, New York: "I am now thus far on my way to Jersey, and I shall put the Virginia Troops in motion, as soon as it can be done, for Philadelphia."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"November 30, 1779.—Early in the morning Gen. Washington crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry, into the Jerseys."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7.

At Morristown, New Jersey: "We have taken up our quarters at this place for the winter. The main army lies

within three or four miles of the town.”—*Washington to Governor Livingston.*

Washington's head-quarters at Morristown (where he arrived December 1) were at the residence of the widow of Colonel Jacob Ford, who had commanded a regiment of Morris County militia during the retreat through New Jersey in 1776. The house, which is still standing, is situated on Morris Avenue (formerly the Newark and Morristown turnpike), about half a mile northeast of the public square. It is now in possession of the "Washington Association of New Jersey," incorporated March 20, 1874, for the purpose of maintaining it "through future generations sacred with its peculiar historic associations."

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "The situation of the Army, with respect to supplies, is beyond description, alarming. It has been five or six weeks past on half-allowance, and we have not more than three days bread at a third allowance, on hand, nor any where within reach. When this is exhausted, we must depend on the precarious gleanings of the neighboring country. Our magazines are absolutely empty every where, and our commissaries entirely destitute of money or credit to replenish them. We have never experienced a like extremity at any period of the war. We have often felt temporary want from accidental delays in forwarding supplies, but we always had something in our magazines, and the means of procuring more. Neither one nor the other is, at present, the case. This representation is the result of a minute examination of our resources."—*Washington to Joseph Reed.*

MONDAY, DECEMBER 27.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: Present at the celebration of the festival of St. John the Evangelist by the "American Union Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons."

"In the Morris Hotel, a building then used as a commissary's storehouse, the chief often participated in the rites of Free-masonry, in a room over the bar, which was reserved for a ball-room and for the meetings of the Masonic Lodge."—*Lossing's Field-Book*, I. 307.

1780.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1780.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "The present situation of the army with respect to provisions, is the most distressing of any we have experienced since the beginning of the war. For a fortnight past the troops, both officers and men, have been almost perishing for want. They have been alternately without bread or meat the whole time, with a very scanty allowance of either and frequently destitute of both." — *Washington to the Magistrates of New Jersey.*

"January, 1780.—The weather for several days has been remarkably cold and stormy. On the 3d instant, we experienced one of the most tremendous snow-storms ever remembered; no man could endure its violence many minutes without danger of his life. Several marquees were torn asunder and blown down over the officers' heads in the night, and some of the soldiers were actually covered while in their tents, and buried like sheep under the snow. . . . The snow is now from four to six feet deep, which so obstructs the roads as to prevent our receiving a supply of provisions. For the last ten days we have received but two pounds of meat a man, and we are frequently for six or eight days entirely destitute of meat, and then as long without bread. The consequence is, the soldiers are so enfeebled from hunger and cold, as to be almost unable to perform their military duty, or labor in constructing their huts."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

SUNDAY, JANUARY 9.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "Circumstanced as things are—men half-starved—imperfectly cloathed—riotous—and robbing the Country people of their subsistence from sheer necessity I think it scarcely possible to embrace any moment however favourable in other respects for visiting the enemy on Staten Island, and yet if this frost should have made a firm and solid bridge between them and us I should be unwilling—indeed I cannot relinquish the idea of attempting it." — *Washington to General Irvine.*

MONDAY, JANUARY 10.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "I have determined in case the present condition of the Ice and prospect of its continuance will warrant the enterprize, to make an attempt

upon the enemy's quarters and posts on Staten Island."—*Washington to General Irvine, MS. Letter.*

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12.

At Head-quarters, Morristown : "Friday Evening is determined upon for the execution of the intended enterprise, unless prevented by the intervention of Weather or some unforeseen accident."—*Washington to General Irvine.*¹

"January 17th.—A detachment consisting of about two thousand five hundred men, under the command of Major-General Lord Stirling, was a few days since sent off in about five hundred sleighs on a secret expedition. The sleighs were procured and preparations made, under the pretence of going into the country after provisions. It is now ascertained that the object of the expedition was to attack the enemy in their works on Staten Island, by surprize. Our party passed over on the ice from Elizabethtown in the night (January 14), but the enemy having received intelligence of their design, retired into their strong works for safety, and the object of the enterprize was unfortunately defeated ; they, however, brought off a quantity of blankets and stores. The snow was three or four feet deep, and the weather extremely cold, and our troops continued on the island twenty-four hours without covering, and about five hundred were slightly frozen, and six were killed by a party of horse, who pursued our rear guard. A number of tents, arms, and a quantity of baggage, with several casks of wine and spirits, were brought off, with seventeen prisoners."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22.

At Head-quarters, Morristown : "I have been at my prest. quarters since the 1st day of Decr. and have not a Kitchen to cook a Dinner in, altho' the Logs have been put together some considerable time by my own Guard. Nor is there a place at this moment in which a servant can lodge, with the

¹ Sparks prints this letter, "Head-Quarters, Morristown, 12 January, 1780." The original, among the Irvine papers in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the draft and transcript, in the Department of State at Washington, are all dated "Head Quarters West point." Letters were written from the Morristown head-quarters, on the 11th and 13th, and it is difficult to understand, with snow from three to four feet deep, as recorded by Thacher, and a distance of more than fifty miles in a straight line between the two points, how Washington could have been at West Point, New York, on the 12th. The heading of the letter, which is only signed by Washington, is doubtless an error, unnoticed at the time.

smallest degree of comfort. Eighteen belonging to my family, and all Mrs. Ford's, are crowded together in her Kitchen, and scarce one of them able to speak for the colds they have caught."—*Washington to General Greene.*

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "With respect to provision, the situation of the army is comfortable at present on this head, and I ardently pray, that it may never be again as it has been of late. We were reduced to a most painful and delicate extremity; such as rendered the keeping of the troops together a point of great doubt. The exertions of the magistrates and inhabitants of this State were great and cheerful for our relief."—*Washington to Elbridge Gerry.*

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "I thank your Excellency for the agreeable intelligence you gave me of his Most Christian Majesty's intentions to send over succors of arms and ammunition. It is a new and valuable proof of his friendship, and will be of essential utility."—*Washington to the Chevalier de la Luzerne.*

"February 14th.—Having continued to this late season in our tents, experiencing the greatest inconvenience, we have now the satisfaction of taking possession of the log huts, just completed by our soldiers, where we shall have more comfortable accommodations."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "I am much indebted to your Excellency for announcing my election as a member of the Philosophical Society. I feel myself particularly honored by this relation to a society, whose successful efforts for promoting useful knowledge have already justly acquired for them the highest reputation in the literary world."—*Washington to Joseph Reed.*

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 29.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "We have opened an assembly at Camp. From this apparent ease, I suppose it is

thought we must be in happy circumstances. I wish it was so, but, alas, it is not. Our provisions are in a manner, gone. We have not a ton of hay at command, nor magazine to draw from. Money is extremely scarce, and worth little when we get it. We have been so poor in camp for a fortnight, that we could not forward the public despatches, for want of cash to support the expresses.”—*General Greene to Joseph Reed.*

An engraved fac-simile of the original subscription paper for these assemblies will be found in Smith and Watson's *Historical and Literary Curiosities*, published at Philadelphia in 1847. It is as follows: “The Subscribers agree to pay the sums annexed to their respective Names, and an equal quota of any further Expence which may be incurred in the promotion and support of a dancing assembly to be held in Morristown this present Winter 1780. Subscription Monies to be paid into the hands of a Treasurer, hereafter to be appointed.” The subscribers, thirty-five in number, include Washington, whose name heads the list, and opposite to each name is set the amount of subscription, four hundred dollars, about eleven dollars in specie.

SATURDAY, MARCH 18.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: “The oldest people now living in this country do not remember so hard a winter as the one we are now emerging from. In a word, the severity of the frost exceeded anything of the kind that had ever been experienced in this climate before.”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*, at Paris.

“March, 1780.—The present winter is the most severe and distressing, which we have ever experienced. An immense body of snow remains on the ground. Our soldiers are in a wretched condition for the want of clothes, blankets and shoes; and these calamitous circumstances are accompanied by a want of provisions. It has several times happened that the troops were reduced to one-half, or to one-quarter allowance, and some days have passed without any meat or bread being delivered. The causes assigned for these extraordinary deficiencies, are the very low state of the public finances, in consequence of the rapid depreciation of the continental currency,¹ and

¹ Continental paper-money began to depreciate early in 1777. On the 1st of January of that year the value of one hundred dollars in specie was one hundred and five dollars in Continental money, and so rapid was the depreciation, that by March, 1780, it took three thousand seven hundred and thirty-six dollars in paper to represent one hundred dollars in specie.

some irregularity in the commissary's department. Our soldiers, in general, support their sufferings with commendable firmness, but it is feared that their patience will be exhausted, and very serious consequences ensue."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

SUNDAY, APRIL 2.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "I have received intelligence, which seems to place it beyond doubt, that the Enemy are about to make a further embarkation of Troops from New York, and the common opinion is, that they are going to reinforce Sir Henry Clinton."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The first embarkation of troops for the invasion of South Carolina, amounting to between five and six thousand men, left Sandy Hook, December 26, 1779, under convoy of five ships of the line and several frigates, commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot. General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis went with them. The second detachment, referred to above, consisting of twenty-five hundred men, sailed from New York, April 7.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "The Chevalier de la Luzerne, Minister of France, with another French gentleman, and Don Juan de Miralles, a gentleman of distinction from Spain, arrived at headquarters from Philadelphia, in company with his Excellency General Washington. . . . General Washington accompanied his illustrious visitors to take a distant view of the enemy's position and works on York and Staten island, and of the different posts of our army, while preparations were making for a grand field review of our troops."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

In giving an account to M. de Vergennes of his visit to camp, M. de la Luzerne said, "The time which I passed with General Washington has convinced me more than ever of the very great advantage, which the republic derives from his services. His virtues have gained for him the affection of the army which he commands, and the confidence and respect of the generals and other officers."—*Sparks, VII. 28.*

MONDAY, APRIL 24.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "A field of parade being prepared under the direction of the Baron Steuben, four battalions of our army were presented for review, by the

French minister, attended by his Excellency and our general officers. Thirteen cannon, as usual, announced their arrival in the field, and they received from the officers and soldiers the military honors due to their exalted rank. . . . In the evening, General Washington and the French minister, attended a ball [at the Morris Hotel] provided by our principal officers, at which were present a numerous collection of ladies and gentlemen of distinguished character. . . . On the 25th, the whole army was paraded under arms, to afford M. de la Luzerne another opportunity of reviewing the troops, after which he was escorted part of the way to Philadelphia. The Spanish gentleman remained dangerously sick of a pulmonic fever at head quarters, and on the 28th he expired.”—*Thacher’s Military Journal*.

SATURDAY, APRIL 29.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: “The Remains of Don Juan de Miralles are to be inter’d this afternoon at Morris Town. The funeral procession will move from Head Quarters between 4 and 5 o’clock. It is His Excellency’s desire that all the Officers who can attend consistent with the safety and police of the Camp should be invited to the funeral—as he wishes to show all possible respect to the memory of a very respectable subject of the King of Spain.”—*Colonel Scammell to General Irvine, MS. Letter*.

“I accompanied Doctor Schuyler to head quarters, to attend the funeral of M. de Miralles. The deceased was a gentleman of high rank in Spain, and had been about one year a resident with our Congress, from the Spanish Court. The corpse was dressed in rich state, and exposed to public view, as is customary in Europe. . . . His Excellency General Washington, with several other general officers, and members of Congress, attended the funeral solemnities, and walked as chief mourners. The other officers of the army, and numerous respectable citizens, formed a splendid procession, extending about one mile.”—*Thacher’s Military Journal*.

SUNDAY, APRIL 30.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: “I am extremely sorry to communicate to your Excellency, the painful intelligence of the death of Don Juan de Miralles. This unfortunate event happened at my quarters the day before yesterday, and his

remains were yesterday interred with all the respect due to his character and merit."—*Washington to Don Diego Navarro, Governor of Cuba.*

Don Juan de Marailles was supposed to be an unofficial agent of the Spanish government, but had no instructions directly from the court. Congress showed every mark of respect to this agent which was due to his personal character, but carefully avoided treating with him in any public capacity, except through the intervention of the French minister.

TUESDAY, MAY 9.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "Our brigade was paraded for inspection and review by Baron Steuben, in the presence of his Excellency General Washington. The troops appeared to much advantage, and the officers received the thanks of the Baron for the military and soldierly appearance of the men."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

SUNDAY, MAY 14.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "The arrival of the Marquis de Lafayette opens a prospect, which offers the most important advantages to these States, if proper measures are adopted to improve it. He announces an intention of his court to send a fleet and army to coöperate effectually with us."—*Washington to James Duane.*

The Marquis de Lafayette sailed from Boston, January 11, 1779, in the new American frigate "Alliance," and arrived at Paris February 12. He took much pains in laying before Count de Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, a clear and correct statement of the situation of the United States, and on his own responsibility urged him to send a land force as well as a fleet to co-operate with Washington's army. These views were supported by D'Estaing, who had returned to France, and they were adopted by the ministry in sending out the auxiliary force of six thousand men under Count de Rochambeau, which arrived at Rhode Island July 10, 1780. Lafayette sailed from Rochelle, in the French frigate "Hermione," March 19, and arrived in Boston harbor April 27. He at once informed Washington that he had affairs of the utmost importance which he should, at first, communicate to him alone, and on the 2d of May set out for head-quarters, which he reached on the 10th.

MONDAY, MAY 29.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "Four battalions of our troops were paraded for review by the committee of Con-

gress, in the presence of General Washington; they were duly honored with the military salute."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

The committee of Congress, consisting of Philip Schuyler, John Mathews, and Nathaniel Peabody, had been instructed to proceed to head-quarters, and, in conjunction with the commander-in-chief, to effect such reforms and changes in all the departments of the army as its condition required. In a report, which they made to Congress soon after their arrival, the committee represented "that the army was five months unpaid; that it seldom had more than six days provisions in advance, and was on several occasions, for sundry successive days, without meat; that the army was destitute of forage; that the medical department had neither sugar, tea, chocolate, wine, nor spirits; and that every department was without money, or even the shadow of credit."

THURSDAY, JUNE 1.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "We have received advice from New York, published by authority, of the surrender of Charleston. As I dare say you will have seen the hand-bill, and, as I am pressed for time, I shall not go into particulars."—*Washington to General Howe*.

The surrender of Charleston to Sir Henry Clinton, with the garrison, commanded by Major-General Lincoln, took place on the 12th of May. It remained in the possession of the British until December 14, 1782. Clinton sailed from Charleston, with Admiral Arbuthnot, on the 5th of June, leaving Cornwallis in chief command of the British troops at the South. He arrived at New York June 17.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7.

At Springfield, New Jersey: The enemy having landed on the night of June 6 at Elizabethtown Point, and advanced the next morning to within half a mile of Springfield, Washington put the army in motion and reached the Short Hills, or heights of Springfield, ten miles southeast of Morristown, in the afternoon of the 7th. After some skirmishing, the enemy retired in the night to Elizabethtown Point. It was on this occasion that Mrs. Caldwell, the wife of the Rev. James Caldwell, was shot by a British soldier while sitting in her house, at Connecticut Farms, in the midst of her children.

Washington remained at Springfield until June 21, when, suspecting a design against West Point, the army commenced moving slowly to the North River, arriving the following day at Rockaway Bridge, about eleven miles north of Morristown. On the 23d the enemy advanced in force from Elizabethtown towards Springfield, burned the village, and retired the same day to their former position. In the night they crossed over to Staten Island, and took up their bridge.

SUNDAY, JUNE 25.

At Whippany, New Jersey: "On receiving intelligence of the Enemy's withdrawing from the Point, all the Troops were put under marching orders for the North River; but the weather prevented them from commencing their march before this morning."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

TUESDAY, JUNE 27.

At Ramapo, New Jersey: "Before this time, the Connecticut division will probably have joined you [at West Point]. The rest of the army arrived here yesterday. The delay, which has occurred, makes it probable, that the enemy either had not any intention, or have relinquished the project, of attacking West Point."—*Washington to General Robert Howe.*

Ramapo was a small settlement on the Ramapo River in Bergen County, New Jersey, about five miles south of the present Suffern's Station on the New York and Erie Railway, and nearly seven miles below the present village of Ramapo, in New York. Washington remained at Ramapo until July 1, when he made his head-quarters at Preakness, about five miles northwest of Passaic Falls (now in the city of Paterson), occupying the house of Colonel Theunis Dey, until the 29th, when the army left for the North River. The "Dey House" is still standing, and "a century ago, must have been one of the finest in New Jersey, for it is yet remarkable for its architectural symmetry and the artistic finish of the masonry."¹

TUESDAY, JULY 4.

At Head-quarters, Preakness, New Jersey: "We are in hourly expectation of a considerable French land and sea force, which is intended to coöperate with us against the common enemy. We are for this purpose endeavouring to

¹ "Washington's Headquarters at Preakness," by William Nelson.—*Magazine of American History*, III. 490.

draw out a competent reinforcement of men and supplies to enable us, in conjunction with our allies, to strike decisively at the Enemy. I fear we shall notwithstanding the emergency of the occasion fall very short of the number of men required.”—*Washington to Colonel Daniel Brodhead, at Fort Pitt, MS. Letter.*

THURSDAY, JULY 6.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: “I give it decisively as my opinion—that unless the States will content themselves with a full and well-chosen representation in Congress and vest that body with absolute powers in all matters relative to the great purposes of war, and of general concern (by which the States unitedly are affected, reserving to themselves all matters of local and internal polity for the regulation of order and good government) we are attempting an impossibility, and very soon shall become (if it is not already the case) a many-headed monster—a heterogenous mass—that never will or can steer to the same point.”—*Washington to Fielding Lewis.*

FRIDAY, JULY 14.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: “I have the honor to inform Congress, that I have this moment received a letter from Major General Heath, dated Providence on the 11th, informing that the afternoon of the 10th the French fleet arrived off Newport, that the signals of recognizance had been made, and the fleet was standing into the harbor when the express came away.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, JULY 16.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: “I hasten to impart to you the happiness I feel at the welcome news of your arrival; and, as well in the name of the American army, as in my own, to present you with an assurance of our warmest sentiments for allies, who have so generously come to our aid. As a citizen of the United States, and as a soldier in the cause of liberty, I thankfully acknowledge this new

mark of friendship from his Most Christian Majesty, and I feel a most grateful sensibility for the flattering confidence he has been pleased to honor me with on this occasion.”—
Washington to the Count de Rochambeau.

As soon as the Count de Rochambeau arrived at Newport, he wrote to General Washington, and enclosed a copy of his instructions from the King, and an account of his voyage.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 19.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: “By despatches received last evening from the Count de Rochambeau, I am informed, that the French fleet and Army, consisting of eight Ships of the Line, two Frigates, and two Bombs, and upwards of five thousand men, have arrived at Newport.”—
Washington to General Greene.

“July 20th. *Orderly Book.*—The Commander-in-chief has the pleasure to congratulate the army on the arrival of a large land and naval armament at Rhode Island, sent by his Most Christian Majesty to coöperate with the troops of these States against the common enemy, accompanied with every circumstance that can render it honorable and useful.”

SUNDAY, JULY 23.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: “Sunday I attended a sermon preached by Mr. Blair, chaplain of the artillery. The troops were paraded in the open field, the sermon was well calculated to inculcate religious principles, and the moral virtues. His Excellency General Washington, Major Generals Greene and Knox, with a number of other officers were present.”—*Thacher’s Military Journal.*

MONDAY, JULY 24.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: “The intelligence I have received from different quarters is of the same nature as that of yours, and speaks of an embarkation destined against our allies at Rhode Island.”—*Washington to General Howe.*

THURSDAY, JULY 27.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: “Mr. Clinton still continues to threaten your countrymen with a combined attack.

You will judge, as well as I, of the probability of his being sincere; but I have put the troops here under marching orders, and I have ordered those at West Point to King's Ferry. If Clinton moves in force to Rhode Island, we may possibly be able to take advantage of it."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

"According to orders, our brigade marched from Prackanes [Preakness] on the 29th of July, and encamped at Paramus at night, fifteen miles. The men were exceedingly affected with the heat and fatigue. We marched on the succeeding day at two o'clock in the morning. . . . We arrived at the North river and crossed the ferry [King's Ferry], August 1st, where we found the whole of our army collecting to a point."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

MONDAY, JULY 31.

At the "Robinson House": "I arrived here last night; having met your favours of the 25th and 26th at Paramus [July 29], where the army then lay. Immediately upon hearing that the transports, with the troops, which had been some days on board, had sailed eastward, I put the army in motion again; they will cross the ferry to-day, and will be joined by the troops from hence. I propose moving as rapidly as possible down towards Kingsbridge, which will either oblige the enemy to abandon their project against Rhode Island, or may afford us an opportunity of striking them to advantage in this quarter."—*Washington to General Heath.*

The "Robinson House," a little below West Point, on the opposite side of the river, was, at the beginning of the war, the country residence of Colonel Beverly Robinson, who married a daughter of Frederick Phillipse, the owner of an immense landed estate on the Hudson. Robinson was a Virginian by birth, the son of John Robinson, President of the Council of Virginia in 1734, and afterwards Speaker of the House of Burgesses.¹ Though

¹ John Robinson was Speaker of the House of Burgesses at the time (January, 1759) when, by a vote of the House, he was directed to return their thanks to Colonel Washington, on behalf of the colony, for the distinguished military services which he had rendered to his country. Mr. Robinson discharged the duty with great dignity, but in such terms of praise as to entirely confound the young hero, who was present as a member. He rose to express his acknowledgments, but could not give utterance to a single syllable.

opposed to the measures which led to the separation of the colonies from the mother-country, he took sides with the loyalists when independence was declared. The house is still standing, and possesses considerable historical interest as having been the head-quarters of Arnold at the time he commanded at West Point, and was maturing his plans to surrender that post to the British.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 1.

At Peekskill, New York: "We are thus far, my dear Marquis, on our way to New York. To-morrow the whole army was to have taken up its line of march, and would have moved with all the rapidity in our power to this object, had we not a few hours since received advice from the Sound, dated yesterday, that the fleet of transports [of the enemy] had put back, and were steering Westward."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

"Within Peekskill village, opposite the West Chester County Bank, is the old Birdsall residence, a part of which is a grocery store. This building was erected by Daniel Birdsall, one of the founders of the village. It was occupied by Washington when the headquarters of the army were there."—*Lossing's Field-Book*, I. 737.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 3.

At Head-quarters, Peekskill: "You are to proceed to West Point, and take the command of that post and its dependencies, in which all are included from Fishkill to King's Ferry."—*Washington to General Arnold.*

"It is now ascertained, August 4th, that the formidable manœuvre of our army has effected the object intended. The enemy's expedition to Rhode Island has returned to New York, in consequence probably of the alarm excited for the safety of that city. Orders are now received, for our army to recross the Hudson to the Jersey shore."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

SATURDAY, AUGUST 5.

At Head-quarters, Peekskill: "In consequence of his [Clinton's] return, the army is recrossing the River and will proceed to Dobbs' Ferry, about ten miles from Kingsbridge, where we intend to establish a communication that will save

ble. The Speaker, observing his embarrassment, relieved him with admirable tact. "Sit down, Mr. Washington," said he; "your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess."

us considerable land transportation, in case New York is our eventual object.”— *Washington to the Count de Rochambeau.*

“Our brigade crossed the ferry in the night of the 5th, and encamped in a field about five miles from the ferry. The crossing of the whole army, occupied three days and nights, during which a vast number of large boats and floats were continually in motion. On the 6th, marched to Greenbush, and on the 7th and 8th, the whole army arrived and encamped at Orangetown.”— *Thacher's Military Journal.*

TUESDAY, AUGUST 8.

At Tappan, New York: “We are now going, agreeably to my original design, to establish as soon as possible a communication for the present across the river at Dobbs' Ferry, in order to aid our land transportation and facilitate our supplies of bread.”— *Washington to General Heath.*

Tappan, or Orangetown, as it was more often called during the Revolutionary period, then in Orange (now Rockland) County, New York, was about two miles from the western landing at Dobbs's Ferry, and close to the New Jersey line. While at Tappan, Washington made his head-quarters at the De Wint house, a low one-story brick and stone dwelling, which is still standing; here he remained until the 23d of August, when the army moved to Bergen County, New Jersey.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 11.

At Head-quarters, Tappan: “We shall have occasion to throw up some small works at Dobbs' Ferry, to secure the intended communication at that place; and, in order that we may be enabled to finish them in the most expeditious manner, you will be pleased to order sixty of Colonel Baldwin's Artificers to come immediately down here.”— *Washington to General Arnold.*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 24.

At Teaneck, New Jersey: “You are appointed to the command of the Light Infantry, and four brigades from your own wing, to be employed upon a forage down to Bergen, and from thence up to the English neighborhood.”— *Washington to General Greene.*

MONDAY, AUGUST 28.

At Head-quarters, Teaneck: "The intelligence brought by the Alliance,¹ of the second division [of French troops] being blocked up in Brest by thirty-two British ships of the line, has made a material change in the prospects of the campaign. This, and the extreme distress of our magazines, have determined me to dismiss all the militia in service, except such as were wanted for immediate purposes." — *Washington to the President of Congress.*

On the 23d of August, in order to cover the foraging party under General Greene, the army broke camp at Tappan and moved ten miles lower down, to *Teaneck*, a high ridge of land which rises out of the meadows a few miles back of the Palisades, Bergen County, New Jersey. On the 4th of September, the forage being accomplished, the whole army marched about two miles to the westward, and went into camp at Kinderhamack, New Barbadoes Township, west of the Hackensack River. The army remained at this encampment, called in general orders "Steenrapie," until the 20th, when it returned to Tappan.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

At the "Hopper House," Bergen County, New Jersey: A council of war, in which it was decided that it was not advisable to make any attempt against New York till the second French division should arrive, or till there should be a naval superiority to co-operate with the movements on land.

"About four miles south of the Ramapo Pass, and three from Suffern's Station [New York and Erie Railway], on the road to Morristown, is the 'Hopper House,' where Washington made his head-quarters from the 2d [? 4th] until the 18th of September, 1780. . . . This is the house wherein those letters of Washington, beginning with 'Head-quarters, Bergen County,' were written; it being in New Jersey, about two miles from the New York line. It was here that he received [September 5] the news of the defeat of Gates at the disastrous battle near Camden, on the 16th of August, 1780; and from hence he set out on his journey to Hartford, on Monday, the 18th of September, to meet the French officers in council." — *Lossing's Field-Book*, I. 782.

¹ The frigate "Alliance" arrived at Boston from L'Orient on the 16th of August. She had on board two thousand stands of arms, several cannon, and a quantity of powder for the American army.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

At Head-quarters, "Hopper House": "If convenient to you, I have the honor to propose the 20th instant for our interview at Hartford, where I hope we shall be able to combine some plan of future operation, which events will enable us to execute. . . . The Marquis de la Fayette and the Commandant of Artillery and Engineers will accompany me."—*Washington to the Count de Rochambeau.*

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.

At Hackensack, New Jersey: In attendance at the funeral of Brigadier-General Enoch Poor. "The corpse was followed by the officers of the New Hampshire brigade; the officers of the brigade of light infantry, which the deceased had lately commanded. Other officers fell in promiscuously, and were followed by his Excellency General Washington, and other general officers."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

General Poor died September 8, from a wound received in a duel with a French officer. His remains were interred in the burial-ground of the old Reformed Dutch Church, at Hackensack. In a letter to the President of Congress, dated September 15, Washington wrote, "It is with extreme regret, that I announce the death of Brigadier-General Poor on the 9th [?] instant, an officer of distinguished merit, who as a citizen and a soldier, had every claim to the esteem of his country."

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

At Head-quarters, "Hopper House": "The 20th instant is appointed for an interview with Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier de Ternay, in which we shall probably combine several plans, dependent for their execution on different contingencies. One of these will be the arrival of a detachment from your fleet."—*Washington to the Count de Guichen.*

The Chevalier de Ternay wrote also to the Count de Guichen, requesting him to send four ships of the line to the coast of the United States; but he had left the West Indies and sailed for France before the letters arrived. M. de Monteil, his successor, could not decipher them, and of course no reinforcements were forwarded from the fleet.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13.

At Head-quarters, "Hopper House": "The army was paraded to be reviewed by General Washington, accompanied by a number of Indian chiefs. His Excellency, mounted on his noble bay charger, rode in front of the line of the army, and received the usual salute."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

At Head-quarters, "Hopper House": "I shall be at Peekskill on Sunday evening, on my way to Hartford, to meet the French admiral and general. You will be pleased to send down a guard of a captain and fifty men at that time, and direct the quartermaster to endeavour to have a night's forage for about forty horses."—*Washington to General Arnold.*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.

At Head-quarters, "Hopper House": "To-morrow I set out for Hartford, to have an interview with the French General and Admiral. In my absence, the command of the army devolves upon you."—*Washington to General Greene.*

Washington did not in reality set out till Monday the 18th, having been delayed one or two days longer than he expected. On the 20th the army moved back to its old quarters at Tappan.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

Leaves Head-quarters for Hartford: Crosses the Hudson at King's Ferry, where he is met by General Arnold, who accompanies him to Peekskill, where they pass the night. In the morning, Washington resumed his journey, and Arnold returned to his quarters at the "Robinson House."

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21.

At Hartford, Connecticut: In conference with the Count de Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay.

"Upon their appearance in Hartford [Washington and his suite], they were received with imposing ceremonies. The Governor's Guards, and a company of artillery, were on duty upon the occasion. They saluted Wash-

ington, as he entered the town, with thirteen guns. Trumbull, and Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, and other distinguished personages of the State, met him as he advanced. They gave him a cordial welcome—and, through crowds that rent the air with cheers, and strained to catch a sight of the illustrious Commander-in-chief, the latter made his way, together with Knox and La Fayette, to the residence of their mutual friend, Colonel Wadsworth—there upon the site where the Historical Society of Connecticut now lifts its walls—and where, in a beautiful mansion, still standing, though upon another spot, himself and his principal officers were nobly entertained during their stay. The same ceremony was repeated soon after Washington came upon the French commander and suite. They were formally received at the City Landing, after crossing the ferry—and marching to the area in front of the Capitol, were there met by General Washington and his military companions. . . . The interview between the commanders was continued at the house of Colonel Wadsworth—whither the parties retired.”—*Stuart's Life of Jonathan Trumbull*, p. 485.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

At Hartford: “Thursday night, the Conference was concluded. Friday saw the French officers start on their return to Newport—the Governor’s Guards again in martial array—escorting the distinguished guests to the River bank, while thirteen guns renewedly rent the air.”—*Life of Jonathan Trumbull*, p. 488.

“I was at Hartford, forty leagues distant from here [Newport, Rhode Island], with M. de Rochambeau. We were only six, the Admiral, his Chief of Engineers [Desandrouins], his son, the Vicomte de Rochambeau, and two aids-de-camp, of whom I was one. He had an interview there with General Washington. M. de Rochambeau sent me in advance to announce his arrival, and I had time to see this man, illustrious, if not unique in our century. His handsome and majestic, while at the same time mild and open countenance perfectly reflects his moral qualities; he looks the hero; he is very cold; speaks little, but is courteous and frank. A shade of sadness overshadows his countenance, which is not unbecoming, and gives him an interesting air. His suite was more numerous than ours. The Marquis de Lafayette, General Knox, Chief of Artillery, M. de Gouvion, a Frenchman, Chief of Engineers, and six aids-de-camp [among whom were McHenry and Hamilton], accompanied him. He had besides an escort of 22 dragoons.”—*Count de Fersen, Magazine of American History*, III. 305.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

Leaves Hartford: “General Washington and suite shook hands with the hospitable Wadsworth, the worthy Governor Trumbull, and numerous other friends—and, amid volleys

of huzzas, started for the Head Quarters of the Army.”—*Life of Jonathan Trumbull*, p. 488.

In consequence of an insufficiency of naval force, and the arrival at New York of Admiral Rodney, from the West Indies, with a fleet, the Hartford conference resulted in no fixed plan of operations. The interview, however, was important and serviceable in establishing amicable relations between the two commanders.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25.

At the “Robinson House”: “General Arnold is gone to the Enemy. I have just now received a line from him, enclosing one to Mrs. Arnold, dated on board the Vulture. From this circumstance, and Colo. Lamb’s being detached on some business, the command of the Garrison, for the present, devolves on you.”—*Washington to Colonel Wade*, at West Point.

Washington reached Fishkill on his return from Hartford on the afternoon of the 24th, soon after leaving which he met M. de Luzerne, the French minister, with his suite, on his way to visit the Count de Rochambeau at Newport, who induced him to turn back and pass the night at Fishkill. He left early the next day, and, after examining the redoubts on the river, arrived at the “Robinson House,” Arnold’s head-quarters, about noon, one hour after the traitor’s escape.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26.

At the “Robinson House”: “I arrived here yesterday, on my return from an interview with the French general and admiral, and have been witness to a scene of treason, as shocking as it was unexpected. General Arnold, from every circumstance, had entered into a plot for sacrificing West Point. He had an interview with Major André, the British adjutant-general, last week at Joshua H. Smith’s, where the plan was concerted. By an extraordinary concurrence of incidents André was taken while on his return, with several papers in Arnold’s hand-writing, that proved the treason. The latter unluckily got notice of it before I did, went immediately down the river, got on board the Vulture, which brought up André, and proceeded to New York.”—*Washington to Governor Clinton*.

Major André and Joshua Hett Smith were brought to the "Robinson House" on the morning of the 26th, the former from Colonel Sheldon's quarters in Lower Salem, and the latter from Fishkill. They were sent over to West Point the evening of the same day, and on the morning of the 28th were conveyed in separate barges down the river to Stony Point, and from thence conducted, under a strong escort, to Tappan, where the main body of the army was encamped.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27.

At the "Robinson House": "I have concluded to send Major André of the British army, and Mr. Joshua H. Smith, who has had a great hand in carrying on the business between him and Arnold to Camp [at Tappan] to-morrow. . . . I intend to return to-morrow morning."—*Washington to General Greene.*

Joshua Hett Smith, at whose house, near Stony Point, Arnold and André held their interview (September 22), was tried by a military court and acquitted. He was soon afterwards arrested by the civil authorities and committed to the jail at Goshen, Orange County, whence he escaped and made his way through the country, in the disguise of a woman, to New York. Smith went to England with the British army at the close of the war, and in 1808 published a book in London entitled "An Authentic Narrative of the Causes which led to the Death of Major André," a work of very little reliable authority. He died at New York in 1818.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28.

At Head-quarters, Tappan: Summons a board of general officers to examine into the case of Major André, adjutant-general of the British army.

The board, which was composed of fourteen general officers, General Greene presiding, met on the following day (September 29), and, after maturely considering the facts, reported, "That Major André, Adjutant General of the British Army, ought to be consider'd as a Spy from the Enemy, and that, agreeably to the Law and usage of Nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death."

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 1.

At Head-quarters, Tappan: *Orderly Book*.—"Major André is to be executed to-morrow at 12 o'clock precisely. A Battalion of 80 Files from each wing to attend the Execution."

“October 2d.—Major André is no more among the living. I have just witnessed his exit. It was a tragical scene of the deepest interest. During his confinement and trial, he exhibited those proud and elevated sensibilities which designate greatness and dignity of mind. Not a murmur or a sigh ever escaped him, and the civilities and attentions bestowed on him were politely acknowledged. . . . The fatal hour having arrived, a large detachment of troops was paraded, and an immense concourse of people assembled; almost all our general and field officers, excepting his Excellency and his staff, were present on horseback; melancholy and gloom pervaded all ranks, and the scene was affectingly awful.”—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5.

At Head-quarters, Tappan: “We are now drawing an inactive campaign to a close; the beginning of which appeared pregnant with events of a favorable complexn. I hoped, but I hoped in vain, that a prospect was displaying, which wd. enable me to fix a period to my military pursuits, and restore me to domestic life. . . . We have been half of our time without provision, and are likely to continue so. We have no magazines, nor money to form them; and in a little time we shall have no men, if we had money to pay them. We have lived upon expedients till we can live no longer. In a word, the history of the war is a history of false hopes and temporary devices, instead of system and economy.”—*Washington to General John Cadwalader.*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6.

At Head-quarters, Tappan: *Orderly Book.*—“The General will beat at 7 o'clock to morrow morning, the assemble at $\frac{1}{2}$ past eight, and the march will commence at 9 precisely.”

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7.

At Paramus, New Jersey: “The main body of the army, the forage about Orange town and the lower Country being exhausted, moved this morning, and is now arrived here. We have had a cold, wet and tedious march, on account of the feeble state of our Cattle, and have not a drop of rum to give the troops. My intention is to proceed with them to the country in the neighborhood of Passaic Falls.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 8.

At Preakness, New Jersey: "The French Fleet has been blocked up in the harbor of Newport almost ever since its arrival there, by a superior British squadron; which superiority has been lately increased by the arrival of Admiral Rodney from the West Indies with ten ships. Count de Guichen touched nowhere upon this coast, though, by a variety of accounts, he was up as high as the latitude of twenty-six degrees, and perhaps higher."—*Washington to General Gates.*

On arriving at Preakness the commander-in-chief re-established himself at his old head-quarters, the "Dey House," where he remained until November 27.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: "The want of provisions is a clog to our operations in every quarter. We have several times, in the course of this campaign, been without either Bread or Meat and have never had more than four or five days beforhand. . . . The state of Virginia are desirous of an expedition to Detroit, and would make great exertions to carry it into execution. But while the enemy are so formidable to the southward, and are making such strides in that quarter, I fear it will require a greater force of men and supplies to check them than we, since the defeat near Camden, shall be able shortly to draw together."—*Washington to Colonel Brodhead, Commanding at Fort Pitt, MS. Letter.*

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 14.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: "I am now to request that you will proceed to West-Point, and take upon you the command of that post and its dependencies."—*Washington to General Heath.*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: "The plan proposed for taking A[rno]ld the outlines of which are communicated in your letter wh'ch was this moment put into my hands without a date—has every mark of a good one—I therefore agree

to the promised rewards, and have such entire confidence in your management of the business as to give it my fullest approbation; and leave the whole to the guidance of your own judgment, with this expressed stipulation & pointed injunction, that he A[rnol]d is brought to me alive. No circumstances whatever shall obtain my consent to his being put to death—the idea which would accompany such an event would be that ruffians had been hired to assassinate him,—my aim is to make a public example of him—and this should be strongly impressed upon those who are employed to bring him off.”—*Washington to Major Henry Lee.*

Soon after arriving at head-quarters, at Tappan, the commander-in-chief sent for Major Henry Lee, and informed him that he was extremely desirous of securing the person of General Arnold, then in New York City, and that he relied upon him to furnish a trustworthy agent for the purpose. Major Lee, after considerable persuasion, induced John Champe, a sergeant-major in his legion, to undertake the service by making a pretended desertion to the enemy from the camp at Tappan. The desertion took place at night, and so well was it managed that Champe, although hotly pursued by a party of his fellow-dragoons, succeeded in getting into New York, and, after being examined by Sir Henry Clinton, was sent to Arnold, who made him sergeant-major in a legion he was raising for an expedition southward. Having settled upon a plan, Champe found means to inform Major Lee, who communicated the details to Washington, and the letter above quoted, containing his positive injunction that the traitor must be taken alive, was written for final instructions. The capture was arranged for the night of November 5, but on that day, unfortunately, Arnold moved his quarters, and the legion to which Champe belonged was sent shortly afterwards to Virginia. He finally succeeded in escaping and joined “Lee’s Legion;” but Washington, knowing that he would immediately be hanged if caught by the enemy, discharged him from the service, after munificently rewarding him. Sergeant Champe was born in Loudon County, Virginia, in 1752, and died in Kentucky about the year 1798.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 22.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: “Congress having been pleased, by their resolution of the 5th instant, to authorize me to appoint an officer to the command of the Southern army, in the room of Major-General Gates, till an inquiry can be had into his conduct as therein directed, I have thought proper to choose you for this purpose. You will, therefore, proceed without delay to the Southern army,

now in North Carolina, and take the command accordingly. . . . I have put Major Lee's corps under marching orders, and, so soon as he is ready, shall detach him to join you."—*Washington to General Greene.*

General Gates, who had been appointed by Congress, on the 13th of June, to the command of the Southern army, independent of the commander-in-chief, was totally defeated by Lord Cornwallis at Camden, South Carolina, August 16, 1780. "This battle terminated the military career of General Gates, whose singular fortune it was to conduct the most prosperous and the most disastrous of the military enterprises of the war." He was removed from command and suspended from service until inquiry should be had as to his conduct.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: "Our affairs at the southward put on a more pleasing aspect since the defeat of Colonel Ferguson. Lord Cornwallis was retreating precipitately from Charlotte, and giving up a fine district of country, which he had in possession."—*Washington to Governor Clinton.*

The battle of King's Mountain, near the line between North and South Carolina, in which a body of British regulars and Tories, under Major Patrick Ferguson, was defeated and obliged to surrender, was fought October 7. Major Ferguson and one hundred and fifty of his men were killed, and about the same number were wounded. The attacking party, composed of hardy mountaineers from Virginia and North Carolina, under Colonels Campbell, McDowell, Cleaveland, Shelby, and Sevier, having accomplished the object for which they assembled, returned to their homes. Their loss was twenty men, and a number wounded.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: Is visited by the Marquis de Chastellux, major-general in the French army.

"After riding two miles along the right flank of the army, and after passing thick woods on the right, I found myself in a small plain, where I saw a handsome farm; a small camp which seemed to cover it, a large tent extended in the court, and several waggons round it, convinced me that this was his Excellency's quarter; for it is thus Mr. Washington is called in the army, and throughout America. M. de la Fayette was in conversation with a tall man, five foot nine inches high (about five foot ten inches and a half English), of a noble and mild countenance. It was the General himself. I was soon off horseback, and near him. The compliments were short; the

sentiments with which I was animated, and the good wishes he testified for me were not equivocal. He conducted me to his house, where I found the company still at table, although the dinner had been long over. He presented me to the Generals Knox, Wayne, Howe, &c. and to his *family*, then composed of Colonels Hamilton and Tilgman, his Secretaries and his Aides de Camp, and of Major Gibbs, commander of his guards; for in England and America, the Aides de Camp, Adjutants and other officers attached to the General, form what is called his *family*. A fresh dinner was prepared for me, and mine; and the present was prolonged to keep me company.”—*De Chastellux, Travels in North America*, I. 112.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 24.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: Reviews the army at the different camps, accompanied by the Marquis de Chastellux.

“At our return we found a good dinner ready, and about twenty guests, among whom were Generals Howe and Sinclair. . . . The conversation was calm and agreeable; his Excellency was pleased to enter with me into the particulars of some of the principal operations of the war, but always with a modesty and conciseness, which proved that it was from pure complaisance he mentioned it. . . . The weather was so bad on the 25th, that it was impossible for me to stir, even to wait on the Generals, to whom M. de la Fayette was to conduct me. I easily consoled myself for this, finding it a great luxury to pass a whole day with General Washington, as if he were at his house in the country, and had nothing to do. The Generals Glover, Huntingdon, and some others, dined with us, and the Colonels Stewart and Butler, two officers distinguished in the army. The intelligence received this day occasioned the proposed attack on Staten Island to be laid aside. . . . It was determined therefore that the army should march the next day to winter quarters, and that I should continue my route to Philadelphia.”—*De Chastellux*, I. 124.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26.

At Head-quarters, Preakness: *Orderly Book*.—“The army will march to-morrow morning. The *Generale* will beat at nine. The *Assemblee* at half past nine, and the march will commence precisely at ten.”

The Marquis de Chastellux left camp early in the morning of the 27th. It was this visit to Washington that brought out his admirable pen-portrait of the commander-in-chief, so frequently quoted: “It is not my intention to exaggerate. I wish only to express the impression General Washington has left on my mind; the idea of a perfect whole, that cannot be the produce of enthusiasm, which rather would reject it, since the effect of proportion is to diminish the idea of greatness. Brave without temerity, laborious without ambition, generous without prodigality, noble without pride, virtuous

without severity; he seems always to have confined himself within those limits, where the virtues, by cloathing themselves in more lively, but more changcable and doubtful colours, may be mistaken for faults. *This is the seventh year that he has commanded the army, and that he has obeyed Congress; more need not be said, especially in America, where they know how to appreciate all the merit contained in this simple fact.* Let it be repeated that Conde was intrepid, Turenne prudent, Eugene adroit, Catinat disinterested. It is not thus that Washington will be characterized. It will be said of him, AT THE END OF A LONG CIVIL WAR, HE HAD NOTHING WITH WHICH HE COULD REPROACH HIMSELF. . . . In speaking of this perfect whole of which General Washington furnishes the idea, I have not excluded exterior form. His stature is noble and lofty, he is well made, and exactly proportioned; his physiognomy mild and agreeable, but such as to render it impossible to speak particularly of any of his features, so that in quitting him, you have only the recollection of a fine face.”—*Travels in North America*, I. 137.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

At Head-quarters, Prækness: “You will march with the division under your command to the ground in the neighborhood of Morristown, which Colonel Craig has pitched upon for the winter cantonment of the line, and on which he has been preparing huts.”—*Washington to General Wayne*.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28.

At Morristown, New Jersey: “I arrived at this place to-day, having yesterday broken up the camp near Passaic Falls, and detached the troops to their different places of cantonment. I shall repair to New Windsor, where I purpose to establish my winter-quarters, after having made some necessary regulations here and visited the hospitals.”—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

“Nov. 1780.—To the Expenditures on a journey (after the army left the field for Winter Quarters) to Morristown Fleming Town—Halkets Town—New Germⁿ Town—Sussex C^t House &c. to the Cantonment at New Windsor—476 Doll^{rs} & £102.14.”—*Washington's Accounts*.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6.

At New Windsor, New York: “December 6th.—At evening his Excellency Gen. Washington, arrived at New Windsor, where he took winter-quarters.”—*Heath's Memoirs*.

Washington remained at New Windsor until June 25, 1781, occupying his old quarters, the "William Ellison House." This is the house referred to by Lossing (*Field-Book*, I. 681) as a "plain Dutch house, long since decayed and demolished. In that humble tenement Lady Washington entertained the most distinguished officers and their ladies, as well as the more obscure who sought her friendship."

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "The army is cantoned in the following manner. The Pennsylvania line near Morristown; the Jersey brigade at the entrance of the Clove, to cover the communication; the New York brigade in the vicinity of Albany, furnishing the garrison of Fort Schuyler; and the New England lines at West Point and its dependencies; the regiments much weakened by discharging the levies."—*Washington to Baron Steuben.*

"December 10.—A little before noon, Gen. Washington visited West Point."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "It gives me much pleasure to hear, that my letters of introduction were serviceable to you. I am persuaded there is not wanting a disposition in Congress, or the individual States at the southward, to afford you every support, which the unhappy state of our finances will admit."—*Washington to General Greene.*

"Public credit is so totally lost, that private people will not give their aid, though they see themselves involved in one common ruin. It is my opinion that General Washington's influence will do more than all the assemblies upon the continent. I always thought him exceeding popular; but in many places he is little less than adored, and universally admired. His influence in this country might possibly effect something great. However, I found myself exceedingly well received, but more from being the friend of the General, than from my own merit."—*Greene to Hamilton, January 10, 1781.*

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 19.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: Entertains the Marquis de Chastellux, on his way to Stillwater and Saratoga.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "Disappointed of the second division of French troops, but more especially in the expected naval superiority, which was the pivot upon which every thing turned, we have been compelled to spend an inactive campaign, after a flattering prospect at the opening of it, and vigorous struggles to make it a decisive one on our part."—*Washington to Benjamin Franklin, at Paris.*

The second division of French troops destined for America, which had been blockaded in the harbor of Brest, never arrived, although provision had partly been made for quartering them at New London, Norwich, Lebanon, Windham, and other Connecticut towns.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "You will take command of such of the detachments of water guards, now on the river, as you may think necessary, and with them attempt to surprise and bring off General Knyphausen from Morris's House on York Island, or Sir Henry Clinton from Kennedy's House in the city, if, from the tide, weather, and other circumstances, you shall judge the enterprise practicable."—*Washington to Colonel Humphreys.*

"On the 25th inst. Major Humphries, Aide-de-camp to the Commander in Chief, went [from the post at Dobbs's Ferry] towards New York on an enterprize; he was attended by Capt. Welles, of the Connecticut line, Lieut. Hart, Ensign M'Calpin, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. M'Guyer, and twenty-four non-commissioned officers and privates, in one barge and two whale-boats. The wind was very fresh at north-west in the night, and the boats were forced past the City, and one of them almost down to Sandy-Hook—one of the boats put in at Staten Island: at length the three went round to Brunswick, from whence the Major and all the others, returned to the army on the 1st of January."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At West Point: "Gen. Washington visited the Point, and, with a number of other officers, dined with our General."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

(To be continued.)

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.¹

BY HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

The settlement of Pennsylvania being due to the unrest of the members of a religious sect whose advanced thought brought them into conflict with existing conditions in England, and the moral and mental breadth of its founder having led him to offer it as a home, not only for those of his own way of thinking, but for all in that island and upon the Continent who had in vain wrestled against intolerance, it was but natural that his province should attract more men of learning than other colonies whose promoters were simply seeking for profit, or were bent upon the enforcement of illiberal policies. Therefore it came about that among the early colonists of Pennsylvania were an unusual number of men of scholarly attainments, some of whom had been doughty champions upon one side or the other in the polemical warfare then being everywhere waged, a struggle necessary for, and preparatory to, the establishment of the principle that humanity is capable of governing itself. Penn, the founder of a successful State and a practical legislator whose work has stood the test of time, as well as the most conspicuous figure among the colonizers of America, was a student of Oxford University and a profuse writer of books of verse, travel, doctrine, and controversy, which made a strong impress upon the thought of his time. James Logan devoted the leisure left to him after attending to the interests of the proprietor to the translation from the Latin of the Cato Major and the Moral Distichs, and he

¹ In the preparation of this paper I have used freely Dr. Stillé's "Memoir of William Smith" and Wickersham's "History of Education in Pennsylvania," and I am indebted to Mr. F. D. Stone for calling my attention to the interesting fact that the Constitution of 1776 provided expressly for university education.

collected a library of rare books which was then unrivalled upon this side of the Atlantic, and even now would be considered extraordinary. David Lloyd, a lawyer, ready and pertinacious in the discussion of all questions affecting the polity of the province, was equally skilful in the drafting of acts of Assembly and the compilation of the laws. George Keith, trained in the schools of Edinburgh, was the author of numerous treatises upon theology, and, together with Penn and Robert Barclay, of Ury, defended the Quaker doctrines against the assaults of the learned divines of the European churches. Francis Daniel Pastorius, lawyer, linguist, and philosopher, proud of his pedigree, and fresh from the public discussion of abstruse questions of ethics and government upon the university platforms of the Continent, signalized his arrival at Germantown by the preparation and publication, in 1690, of his "Four Treatises," and left for future generations a bibliography in manuscript of the volumes in his library. Ludwig, Count Zinzendorf, of noble lineage and influential surroundings, came with the Moravians, whose leader he was, to the hills of the Lehigh, but was not prevented by the practical duties of looking after the welfare of his flock from writing numerous collections of hymns, sermons, and addresses. Christopher Taylor, familiar with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, of which he had prepared and published a text-book, had long been the head of a school at Edmonton in Essex. Not only were there many such individual instances of more than ordinary learning, but the sects from which the early population of Pennsylvania was mainly drawn, though they regarded the amusements and adornments of life as frivolities by means of which Satan was enabled to lead souls astray, were, nevertheless, people of great intellectual activity, finding prolific expression abroad in a flood of publications, and it was not surprising that soon the printing-houses of the Bradfords, Keimer, Sower, Ephrata, Franklin, and Bell, the most productive in the colonies, sprang up here to supply their mental needs. A community with such examples before them, and permeated

with such influences, could not long remain without an institution giving the opportunities for the higher education of youth. The frame of government announced by Penn as early as April 25, 1682, provided that the "Governor and Provincial council shall erect and order all publick schools and encourage and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions," and directed the council to form a "committee of manners, education, and arts, that all wicked and scandalous living may be prevented, and that youth may be successively trained up in virtue and useful knowledge and arts." At the meeting of the council on the 17th of Eleventh Month, 1683, a "school of arts and sciences" was proposed, and in 1689 the William Penn Charter School, still in existence and doing most valuable work, was formally opened. Following the suggestion of the petition of Anthony Morris, Samuel Carpenter, Edward Shippen, David Lloyd, and others, the Assembly, in its charter granted in 1711, provided for the instruction of "poor children" in "reading, work, languages, arts, and sciences." This school, in its successful operation, was the forerunner of the University of Pennsylvania, and the later institution had, like its predecessor, its origin in that spirit of broad philanthropy, regardful of the welfare of the lowly, which has ever been characteristic of Philadelphia, and has resulted in the establishment of so many of her public institutions.

In 1740 a number of citizens of different religious denominations united in raising subscriptions for the purpose of erecting a large building to be used as a charity school for the instruction of poor children gratis in useful literature and the Christian religion, and also as a place of public worship. In addition to the establishment of the school, they had in view the special object of providing a convenient house in which George Whitefield could preach whenever he came to Philadelphia. The lot was purchased on the 15th of September of that year and the building was erected. Subsequently the design was enlarged to include the idea of an academy, and on the 1st of February, 1749,

the lot and buildings were conveyed to James Logan and twenty-three other trustees, upon the trust that they should keep a house or place of worship for the use of such preacher as they should judge qualified, and particularly for the use of Whitefield, and a free school for the instructing, teaching, and education of poor children, and should have power to found an "academy, college, or other seminary of learning for instructing youth in the languages, arts, and sciences." The same year Benjamin Franklin, ever quick to catch inspiration from the events occurring around him, published his "Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania." He alleges in his autobiography that the foundation of the academy was due to the publication of this paper and his own subsequent personal efforts. He says, "This I distributed among the principal inhabitants gratis; and as soon as I could suppose their minds prepared by the perusal of it I set on foot a subscription for opening and supporting an academy—avoiding as much as I could, according to my usual rule, the presenting myself to the publick as the author of any scheme for their benefit." The question may be raised whether this account, written many years later, is quite accurate. Dr. Caspar Wistar, a contemporary, and himself long identified with the work and fame of the University, says, in his "Eulogium on William Shippen," p. 21, while speaking of the services of Phineas Bond, "In conjunction with the much respected Thomas Hopkinson, he originated the scheme of the college now the University of Pennsylvania." The trustees, among whom Thomas Hopkinson, Tench Francis, and Richard Peters, with Franklin, appear to have been particularly active and efficient, secured among themselves and their friends an endowment for the academy amounting to eight hundred pounds a year for five years, and the city gave an additional sum of one hundred pounds a year for five years, and two hundred pounds in cash.

The institution thus established was incorporated by Thomas and Richard Penn, proprietors and governors of the province, on the 13th of July, 1753, under the name of

“The Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School in the Province of Pennsylvania.” The charter sets out, that it having been represented by the trustees named that for establishing an academy “as well to instruct youth for reward as poor children whose indigent and helpless circumstances demand the charity of the opulent,” several benevolent persons have paid subscriptions expended in the purchase of lands and a building commodious for maintaining an academy “as well for the instruction of poor children as others whose circumstances have enabled them to pay for their learning,” and that favoring such useful and charitable designs, the trustees are given power to purchase lands, to receive any sum of money or goods “therewith to erect, set up, maintain, and support an academy or any other kind of seminary of learning in any place within the said province of Pennsylvania where they shall judge the same to be most necessary and convenient for the instruction, improvement, and education of youth in any kind of literature, erudition, arts, and sciences which they shall think proper to be taught;” to sue and be sued, and to have a seal, and to make ordinances and statutes for their government. A confirmatory charter was granted by the same proprietaries, dated June 16, 1755, which changed the name to that of “The Trustees of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of the Province of Pennsylvania,” and limited the power to hold lands to an amount not exceeding five thousand pounds sterling in yearly value; and gave power to confer degrees and to appoint a provost, vice-provost, and professors. It is thus seen that the plan of the charitable school which originated in 1740 is not only maintained in the deed of 1749 and in both of the charters, but is made an essential and conspicuous feature of the design. It is of importance to call particular attention to this fact, because in all printed accounts of the University heretofore its origin has been assigned to the efforts of 1749, though the movement really began with the subscription purchase of land and erection of a building for a charitable school nine years before, and the institution is entitled to claim

1740 as the date of its birth, and philanthropy as its primary object.¹

By the confirmatory charter of 1755, the Rev. William Smith, M.A., was, at the request of the trustees, appointed the first provost. He was a native of Aberdeen in Scotland, and was graduated from the University there, became a clergyman of the Church of England, and coming first to New York and subsequently to Philadelphia, where an article written by him upon "The College of Mirania" had made a favorable impression, he was selected to take charge of the college and academy in 1754. To his intelligence, energy, and activity in its behalf its immediate and great success was mainly due. He submitted a plan of education, adopted and carried into effect in 1756, more comprehensive, as Dr. Stillé tells us, than any other then in existence in the American colonies.² When in England, in 1759, he secured from Thomas Penn a deed conveying for the benefit of the college one-fourth of the Manor of Perkasio, in Bucks County, consisting of about two thousand five hundred acres of land, and finding it in debt, he went again abroad, in 1762, and in two years, by indomitable exertion, secured, notwithstanding the opposition of Dr. Franklin, who "took uncommon pains to misrepresent our academy," the very large sum of £6921 7s. 6d. Of this amount, Thomas Penn, the chief patron of the college, whose gifts for the purpose during his life equalled £4500, contributed £500, the king £200, and there were over eleven thousand other contributors. In those days the pursuits of men were not so much differentiated as they have since become, and, as might have been expected from one with the acquirements and mental activities of Dr. Smith, his voice was heard and his hand was felt in all of the affairs of the province. As

¹ "There is also an Academy, or College, originally built for a Tabernacle by Mr. Whitefield."—*Burnaby*, p. 60.

² Rev. Andrew Burnaby, D.D., says, in his "Travels through North America in 1760," "This last institution is erected upon an admirable plan, and is by far the best school of learning throughout America."—*Third edition*, p. 66.

a clergyman, he preached fast-day sermons; as an orator, he delivered addresses upon public occasions; he made investigations in astronomy and other sciences, edited a magazine, and, moreover, he was a speculator in lands, and an active politician. He was regarded as the exponent of the views of the college and the custodian of its interests, and while it was benefited by his exertions, it also suffered through the antagonisms he aroused. A churchman and a friend of the proprietors, he cordially disliked and opposed the Quakers, who elected the Assembly and controlled public affairs, and the German Mennonites, Dunkers, and Moravians, through whose support they were able to do it. In 1755 he published a political pamphlet in which he denounced the Quakers for being influenced by interest rather than conscience, and accused the Germans of sympathizing with the French in their aggressions. He married the daughter of William Moore, president judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Chester County, an aristocratic and influential personage, living on his estate at Moore Hall, on the Pickering Creek, twenty-five miles from the city.

On the 23d of November, 1755, Moore, who, besides holding his peaceful judicial office, was a colonel in the militia, wrote a letter to the Assembly, saying that he was coming down to Philadelphia with two thousand men to compel them to pass a law providing means for military protection. His letter marked the beginning of a struggle that shook the whole province and was fraught with baleful consequences to both Smith and the college. During the succeeding two years numerous petitions were presented to the Assembly, charging Moore with tyranny, injustice, and even extortion, in the conduct of his office, and asking that he might be removed. The Assembly, after a hearing, many times adjourned in order to give him an opportunity to be heard, but which he declined to attend upon the ground that they had no authority to make the investigation, determined that he was guilty of the wrongs charged. Soon afterwards, October, 19, 1757, he wrote and published a paper wherein he fiercely reviewed their action, calling it

“virulent and scandalous,” and a “continued string of the severest calumny and most venomous epithets, conceived in all the terms of malice and party rage.” Immediately after the meeting of the new Assembly, composed for the most part of the same members as the preceding, they sent the sergent-at-arms with a warrant for the arrest of Moore and of Dr. Smith, who was supposed to have aided in the preparation of the paper. Upon being brought before the Assembly, they refused to make a defence, though Moore admitted he had written the paper, and declined to retract any of its statements, and it was ordered that he be confined until he should recant, and the address be burned by the hangman. They were given into the custody of the sheriff and were kept in jail in Philadelphia for about three months, “herding with common thieves and felons,” but after the adjournment of the Assembly were released upon a writ of *habeas corpus*. Smith went to England to prosecute an appeal to the crown, and on February 13, 1760, “His Majesty’s high displeasure” was announced to the Assembly at their unwarrantable behavior in assuming power that did not belong to them, and invading the royal prerogative and the liberties of the people. It was a personal triumph for Dr. Smith, but ere long came the Revolutionary War, when his opponents grasped the reins of power, and neither the royal government nor the king himself could render him any aid.

Early in 1779 the Assembly appointed a committee “To inquire into the present state of the college and academy,” and in July, General Joseph Reed, President of the State, suggested to the trustees that since some of them were under legal disqualifications, it would be wise not to hold a public commencement. When the new Assembly met, in September, the president in his message said, with reference to the college, that it “appears by its charter to have allied itself . . . closely to the government of Britain by making the allegiance of its governors to that State a prerequisite to any official act,” and that he could not think “the good people of this State can or ought to rest satisfied or the

protection of the government be extended to an institution framed with such attachments to the British government, and conducted with a general inattention to the authority of the State." A committee appointed to consider the subject reported, recommending a bill which should "secure to every denomination of Christians equal privileges, and establish said college on a liberal foundation, in which the interests of American liberty and independence will be advanced and promoted, and obedience and respect to the constitution of the State preserved." An act of Assembly was thereupon passed, November 27, 1779. It set out that the trustees had narrowed the foundations of the institution, and it declared the charters of 1753 and 1755 void. It provided that the estate, real and personal, should be vested in a board of trustees, consisting of the president and vice-president of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth, the speaker of the Assembly, the chief-justice of the Supreme Court, the judge of Admiralty, and the attorney-general, the senior ministers of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, German Calvinist, and Roman churches in the city, Benjamin Franklin, William Shippen, Frederick A. Muhlenberg, James Searle, William A. Atlee, John Evans, Timothy Matlack, David Rittenhouse, Jonathan Bayard Smith, Samuel Morris, George Bryan, Thomas Bond, and James Hutchinson, by the name of "The Trustees of the University of the State of Pennsylvania," and directed that confiscated estates of the yearly value of not over fifteen hundred pounds should be reserved for the maintenance of the provost and assistants and to uphold "the charitable school of the said University." An oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth was substituted for the former one to the crown, and means were provided to compel a transfer of the property by the trustees of the college to the trustees appointed by the act. This action of the Assembly has been characterized as a simple act of spoliation, and so much of it as took away the estates and franchises of the college was repealed in 1789, upon the ground that it was "repugnant to justice, a viola-

tion of the constitution of the Commonwealth, and dangerous in its precedent to all incorporated bodies." Its supporters had succeeded in driving Dr. Smith away from the city, but they had not been able to infuse life into the new University, and, though aided by a loan by the State of two thousand pounds, it languished in debt. The effect of the repeal was to renew the college, and, in consequence, there were two institutions having in view substantially the same objects and seeking the same support. They were united by an act of Assembly of September 30, 1791, which provided for the vesting of the estates of both in a board of new trustees, consisting of twelve elected by each, and the governor of the Commonwealth, under the name of "The Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania," who were given power "to do everything needful and necessary to the establishment of the said University and the good government and education of the youth belonging to the same, and to constitute a faculty or learned body to consist of such head or heads and such a number of professors in the arts and sciences, and in law, medicine, and divinity as they shall judge necessary and proper." The connection of the institution with the State was maintained by providing that the governor should be one of the trustees, and that an annual statement of the funds should be laid before the Legislature. This final act of fundamental legislation affecting the grant of rights to the University declared that "charity schools shall be supported, one for boys and the other for girls," thus preserving the chief thought which was in the minds of its originators in 1740. The school intended in its beginning to be a charity had been enlarged into a college and academy to teach the arts and sciences in 1753, and had now grown into a University, including in its course instruction in law, medicine, and divinity.

The school of medicine was opened in 1765 by Dr. John Morgan, that of law in 1791 by Justice James Wilson, and each was the first upon that special subject in America.

The reservation of confiscated estates in the act of 1779 was the first direct contribution made by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the cause of higher education. The lands so reserved were estimated to be worth £25,000, and in 1785 their annual value was £1381 5s. 7½*d.* By the act of March 19, 1807, the sum of \$3000 was granted "out of the monies they owe the State," to the trustees, "for the purpose of enabling them to establish a garden for the improvement of the science of botany and for instituting a series of experiments to ascertain the cheapest and best food for plants and their medicinal properties and virtues."¹ By act of May 5, 1832, their real estate in the city of Philadelphia was exempted from "county, poor, and corporation taxes" for fifteen years. A general act which became a law April 16, 1838, exempted "all universities, colleges, academies, incorporated, erected, ordained, or established by virtue of any law of this Commonwealth, with the grounds thereto annexed, from all and every county, road, city, borough, poor, and school tax." This act received judicial construction in the case of the City of Philadelphia *vs.* The Trustees, 8 Wright, 360, where it was held that the medical hall of the University, occupied by the faculty whose compensation was derived from the proceeds of their respective chairs, was under it exempt from taxation. Section 1, Article IX. of the present constitution of the State provides that the Assembly may by general law exempt from taxation "institutions of purely public charity," and the act of May 14, 1874, passed in pursuance of this article of the constitution, relieves from county, city, borough, bounty, road, school, and poor tax all universities, colleges, seminaries, and academies "endowed and maintained by public or private charity."

In 1838 the Legislature made provision for an annual appropriation of one thousand dollars for ten years to each university maintaining four professors and instructing one

¹ In W. P. C. Barton's "Compendium Floræ Philadelphicæ," published in 1818, there are numerous references to plants in the botanical garden of the University.

hundred students. The University of Pennsylvania received the annual sum until 1843. In that year the appropriation was reduced one-half, and the following year it failed utterly. The act of May 11, 1871, extended the power of the trustees to acquire real and personal property, and enabled them to hold an additional amount to the clear annual value of thirty thousand dollars. In 1872 the State gave to the University the sum of one hundred thousand dollars upon condition that it should raise an additional sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, "the entire appropriation to be expended in the erection of a general hospital in connection with said institution, in which at least two hundred beds free for persons injured shall be forever maintained," and the following year a further sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the same purpose, upon the condition that it should raise a like amount. By the act of May 29, 1889, the State made an appropriation of twelve thousand five hundred dollars, to be paid to the trustees for the erection of a veterinary hospital, upon the condition that they should furnish free of cost "to deserving young men of this State to the number of not less than twelve in attendance at one time, said young men to be nominated by the governor of the Commonwealth, and in perpetuity, free instruction in the art and science of veterinary medicine and surgery." It is interesting to note that this last act of legislation affecting the welfare of the University is one of generosity upon the part of the State, looking towards enlarged usefulness in the conduct of the institution and the further extension of its benefits among the people of Pennsylvania, and that the broad-minded and liberal policy adopted by Thomas Penn one hundred and forty years ago has been continued down to the present time. In the language of General John F. Hartranft, himself a distinguished soldier, governor of the State, and president of the Board of Trustees, in an address at the inauguration of the hospital thus established, this policy is "in keeping with the generosity of the great State which gave this institution its corporate existence, and is to-day, and it is hoped always

will be, proud of her offspring, the University of Pennsylvania.”

When the impartial historian comes to record the many events in which Pennsylvania has reason to take great pride, not the least of them will be the fact that in her first constitution, that of 1776, she made it a part of the fundamental law that “all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities.”

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM JENNISON, JR., LIEUTENANT OF MARINES IN THE CONTINENTAL NAVY.

BY CAPTAIN RICHARD S. COLLUM, U.S.M.C.

[William Jennison, Jr., was born August 4, 1757, at Milford, Massachusetts. He was prepared by the Rev. Amariah Frost, and entered Harvard College in July of 1770, from which he graduated four years later, with first honors. There was no public commencement that year. For six months he read law with Daniel Hitchcock, Esq., at Providence, Rhode Island. In April of 1775 he marched to Cambridge with a company of Minute-Men commanded by his father. At Roxbury he was appointed quartermaster of the Thirteenth Regiment, Colonel Joseph Reed, with which he served nine months. In April of 1776 he was appointed by the Navy Board of the Eastern Department a lieutenant of marines, and ordered to the frigate "Warren," Captain Hopkins, and one month later was detached on recruiting service. In June, however, he gave up this appointment, re-entered the army, and participated in some of the battles around New York. In February of 1777 he was again commissioned a lieutenant of marines, and made a three-months' cruise in the frigate "Boston," Captain Hector McNeil. With this vessel he was attached in various positions until her capture at the surrender of Charleston, South Carolina.]

1777.

December 25.—Capt. Samuel Tucker was appointed to the command of the *Boston*, and ordered to refit and prepare her for sea in sixty days.

December 26.—Rec'd an order from the Honourable Navy Board for the Eastern Department to repair on board the *Boston* as Lieut^t of Marines.

1778.

February 1.—The ship fell down to Nantasket Roads. [Next day the powder was taken on board.]

February 13.—Capt. Tucker went to Braintree in his Barge and brought the Hon^{ble} John Adams and suite on board.

February 15.—Sailed with a W.S.W. wind.

February 16.—At 7 P.M. in passing Half Way Rock, Mr Barron the ship's 1st. Lieutenant fell overboard and by catching hold of the flukes of the Anchor, which he was trying to fish, was haply caught and got on board.

February 20.—About one at night it began to blow strongly with squalls. A clap of thunder with sharp lightning broke upon the mainmast just above the upper moulding, which burnt several of the men on deck. A most terrible night! The captain of the mainmast was struck with the lightning which burnt a place on the top of his head about the bigness of a Quarter Dollar—he lived three days and died raving mad.

It was supposed by officers and men, that the lightning striking the mast had descended down to the hold of the ship and forced its way along the kelson and found its passage thro' the counter of the ship. Capt. Tucker placed me at the main hatchway to communicate the result of the soundings in the well-room—the first report was 4 feet of water in the hold; the second five feet; the third more, which confirmed us in the idea as above mentioned. In 10 or 15 minutes the Carpenter reported there was but three feet.

In the interim a ship was in pursuit of us, but we altered our course two points, and their being no lightning for some time, she lost sight of us and thus we escaped being captured, as we surely should have been in the morning, as she was a heavier ship than the Boston. She was direct from Halifax, a large frigate of 36 guns, well man'd and by some information from Boston knew of the ship's destination with Mr. Adams on board. Capt. Tucker had instructions not to risque the ship in any way that might endanger Mr. Adams, and was ordered to land him safe in France or Spain.

March 10.—At 11 A.M. discovered a vessel to windward; gave chase and came along side at noon. She fired three guns at us, one of which carried away our mizen yard. We returned a few shots and hoisted American colors, upon

which she struck her colors. Our boats were got out immediately, but a heavy swell prevented them getting to the ship before they had thrown overboard the mail, which sunk not more than a boat's hook length before our boats reached the ship. She was named the Martha, carried 16 nine pounders and was commanded by Capt. Peter McIntosh—bound from the Thames for New York. Her invoice (which we found stuck up in the carlings over his cabin) was footed £97,000 sterling. Hezekiah Welsh our third lieutenant was put on board as prize master. At 10 P.M. Capt. Tucker presented me with a small sword &c.

March 13.—At 10 A.M. discovered a vessel standing for us. Mr Barron, Capt Palmes and myself were sitting on the main gratings, when the captain called for the Gunner to fire a nine pounder. Mr. Barron proffered his service and went forward to the second Starboard gun which burst into many pieces—(one of which almost cut off a beam that crossed the forecastle) broke his right leg, blackened his face with powder and wounded three men badly. He was carried to the cockpit, to D^r Noel (who had been the principal surgeon in the army under Gen. Washington), who amputated his leg and dressed his wounds.

March 26.—Mr. Barron, the ship's first lieutenant died.

March 27.—The funeral service was read and Mr. Barron cast into his watery grave.

March 29.—At 8 made a signal for a pilot who came on board and told us that we were 15 leagues from the Cordouan light-house, and near the mouth of the Garonne, 27 miles from Bordeaux.

March 30.—At 1 P.M. passed the light-house and sailed to Blaye: then took another pilot (the King's pilots are not allowed to go beyond six leagues at one time), and came to until flood tide, for it is a very rapid river and flows at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ knots per hour. Then sailed up the river stern foremost. This day Mr. Adams, Capt. Tucker, Capt Palmes and D^r Noel were invited to dine on board a French frigate in the river.

April 1.—Arrived and moored the ship opposite the

suburbs. The ship was crowded with visitors, for the Boston was the first American ship of war to visit Bordeaux.

April 2.—Mr. Adams and the other passengers disembarked, and were treated with every mark of politeness and respect.

April 4.—Mr. Adams set off for Paris accompanied by Capt. Palmes, Mr Lee and J. Q. Adams.

May 13.—Regimentals for the Marines and uniforms ordered by Congress were brought on board and distributed to all officers and men.¹

May 21.—At 9 A.M. the pilot came on board with orders to unmoor ship.

May 22.—At 5 A.M. fell down the river—at 4 P.M. came to anchor 3 miles above Blaye—saluted the fort, which was returned.

June 6.—At 4 A.M. came to sail in company with a French Frigate, a lugger, and 40 merchantmen, and Capt Jones bound for Baltimore.

[After the "Boston" had put to sea, Captain Tucker summoned his commissioned officers to his cabin, where he announced to them that he had discretionary orders, either to return to America or go on a cruise. With the exception of one officer, who was anxious to return to his family in Virginia, all favored the cruise, and the "American decision, a majority, overruled him." After making numerous prizes, the frigate arrived at Boston October 23. On November 14 the Navy Board appointed Lieutenant Jennison purser of the "Boston," and, there being little prospect of the ship being soon ordered to sea, on April 29, 1779, he was granted permission to go on a cruise of two weeks, on the privateer "Resolution," to cut out some British vessels in the Gut of Canso, awaiting a convoy. The "Resolution" was owned by Adams, Martin &

¹ On board Ship Boston.

Wanted for the use and service of Marines belonging to this ship 40 Green coats faced with White,

40 White Waistcoats,

40 White Breeches.

The Buttons for the whole to be a plain white.

Coats to be open sleeved and a Belt to every Waistcoat.

In behalf of the Captain of Marines

WILLIAM JENNISON

Lieut of Marines.

Blake, mounted six guns, and was commanded by Able Gore, a master's mate. The cruise proved a failure, for the "Resolution" was captured and her officers and crew imprisoned at Halifax. Jennison was exchanged and reached the "Boston" September 29. We again take up the Journal.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

1779.

October 21.—Mr. Welsh came on board with orders for me to repair to the Hon^{ble} Navy Board, and to act as Purser until the one appointed should come from Philadelphia.

November 23.—At 11 A.M. the ship Providence, as Commodore, Queen of France, Ranger, The Irish Tartar of 20 guns, and several merchantmen, accompanied by the Boston set sail. Our destination is not to be known until we have passed Bermuda.

December 1.—Discovered land bearing S.W. about 7 leagues, which we judged the Bermudas.

December 2.—At 5 P.M. the S.W. part of the island bore N.E. about 5 leagues, lying in Lat. 32.10 N. and Long. 63.50 W., from which we take a new departure.

December 17.—At 4 P.M. discovered land, which we judged to be the shore between St Johns and Beaufort.

December 19.—Came to anchor 4 miles from Fort Moultrie, now called Sullivan's Island.

December 23.—At 4 A.M. set sail, crossed the bar and sailed up to Charleston.

1780.

January 16.—Capt. Tucker sent for me into his cabin and being informed that I was disagreeably confined to the company of his petty officers, allowed me to act as a volunteer, which by advice of Capt. Palmes and Lieut. Reed, of the Marines, who was appointed in my stead by my detention in Halifax prison, I accepted with gratitude.

January 19.—Gen. Lincoln with his aid Col. Laurens and several others came on board. When they disembarked the yards were manned and 13 guns discharged with three huzzas.

January 24.—The Commodore and Ranger, the French

ships Lively, 22 guns; Earl, 20 guns; Le Sensible 32 guns, fell down to Five Fathom Hold, and later crossed the bar.

January 27.—The Commodore and Ranger hove in sight and reported having seen thirteen large English men-of-war.

January 28.—Forty men were sent on board the Brecole to fit her for defence and I was desired to act as Purser on her.

February 5.—One thousand of the North Carolina Line arrived under command of Gen. Woodford.

February 26.—At 7 A.M. discovered a party of the enemy at Fort Johnson, which the Americans had demolished on the 20th. The Providence and Ranger who lay within reach fired upon them. This forenoon a flag was hoisted on the south east battery of Charleston.

February 28.—The Commodore came on board the Boston and ordered her and the Ranger to Fort Johnson in order to dispossess the enemy if possible. They brought two field pieces to play on us.

March 2.—The Providence, Boston and Ranger fell down opposite the Fort—at 11 A.M. the Brecole, Notre Dame and galleys fell down to our line. At 3 P.M. the galleys lay off Fort Johnson and kept up a scattering fire upon the enemy.

March 9.—The enemy were busy buoying the channel, 'till Capt. Hacker in the Lady Crosby, Notre Dame, 16 guns, and a galley were sent to drive them on board.

March 12.—This forenoon the enemy appeared in Wappoo Creek, with six square rigg'd vessels, under cover of a six gun battery, which they opened and began to play upon the galleys which lay in Ashley river, which caused them to move down the river.

March 14.—A plan was laid to moor boats in a line athwart the entrance of the harbor, capable of bearing a cable to bring their ships up, as they attempted to pass. Fourteen boats were procured and moored directly opposite Fort Moultrie.

March 16.—This day one Ballentine was hanged for secret correspondence with and attempting to sacrifice sev-

eral posts to the enemy. The enemy by sea busily employed in landing Marines, being entirely useless for them passing the Fort.

March 20.—This morning at day light, the fleet passed the bar and anchored in Five Fathom Hold. At 11 A.M. Gen. Lincoln came down and in the evening all the captains held a council of war on board the Commodore. At midnight they returned to their ships, whereupon every ship unmoored.

March 21.—This morning all the vessels sailed up and came to opposite Gadson's wharf, E.N.E. side of Charleston.

March 24.—Got our guns, powder and provisions out and put our provisions under the Exchange.

March 25.—Lieut. Deval was ordered to command a fort at Governor's Bridge, to which I was attached.

March 31.—The enemy's fleet weighed and passed Fort Moultrie under a severe fire. An ordnance store-ship in passing had her rudder shot away and ran aground. Her crew took to their boats, having first set her on fire, making a terrible explosion. She mounted 20 guns. The fleet came to anchor under Fort Johnson at 5 P.M. Not a vessel was stopped by the fort—except one had her fore top mast shot away and fell overboard.

April 8.—The enemy during last night hove up three redoubts in front of our lines.

April 10.—A summons was sent to Gen. Lincoln demanding a surrender of the garrison, stores &c.

April 15.—The redoubts before mentioned opened on our lines.

April 21.—A flag was sent to Gen. Clinton for a truce of six hours to digest articles of capitulation.

April 27.—The fort at Lampne's Point was evacuated and the troops with the major part of the garrison of Fort Moultrie were ordered up to defend the town.

April 28.—Col. Malmode was surprised and captured with his party.

May 6.—Fort Moultrie surrendered. Gen. Huger sur-

prised and Col. Washington obliged to swim across Santee River—his cavalry all cut to pieces.

May 8.—A flag from the enemy with a second summons.

May 9.—A flag was sent to the enemy with alterations to the articles of capitulation, but they were refused.

May 11.—A flag to the enemy accepting the terms offered.

May 12.—At 2 P.M. the British Grenadiers marched in and took possession of the Horn Work. Flags at all the forts were struck and the forts taken possession of by different parties of soldiers.

June 10.—Those of us who had been taken belonging to the sea service, were sent on board three vessels as cartels.

June 23.—We arrived at Chester below Philadelphia and were transported in a schooner to the city. Took lodgings on Spruce street until the 18th of July.¹

¹ Lieutenant Jennison left Philadelphia July 19 and arrived at Boston August 16, 1780.

PENNSYLVANIA WEATHER RECORDS, 1644-1835.

[We are indebted to the family of our late Vice-President, William M. Darlington, Esq., of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for the following valuable compilation of the variability of the winters in Pennsylvania for a period of near two centuries, found among his papers after his death.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

“Sometimes the ice so strong and firm we know
That loaded wagons on the rivers go!
But yet so temperate are some winters here
That in the streams no bars of ice appear.”

The foregoing lines are taken from the *Descriptio Pennsylvaniae* (in Latin verse) by Thomas Makin, published in 1729. The author had resided in the Province of Pennsylvania for forty years. He was clerk to the Assembly in 1699 and teacher of Latin in the Friends' Academy at Philadelphia. It is often asserted that our climate is changing, but recorded observations for more than two centuries show the contrary. The earliest authentic notices of the weather in this latitude are to be found in the “*History of New Sweden*,” as the Swedish settlements on the Delaware River were named. In the work referred to the author, at page 56, gives extracts from the journals of his grandfather, John Campanins, who was from 1642 to 1648 pastor of the church in New Sweden.

1644. January 1 to 10, cloudy and rainy weather, with occasional sunshine and somewhat warm; from the 10th to the 20th a pretty sharp cold and there fell a good deal of snow; afterwards rain and thick fogs with sunshine at intervals, wind shifting from northwest to southeast and from southeast to south. From the 20th to the 31st it blew at first cold and hard, then came snow and sleet, now and then warm sunshine, gusts of wind from north to northeast, northwest and south.

February, from the 1st to the 10th, cold and clear weather,

warm sunshine now and then, wind chiefly blowing from the east. From the 10th to the 20th, rain now and then and sometimes hail, in the interval cold and clear sunshine; winds south and north, southeast and northeast. From the 20th to the 28th, cold, with snow and then clear sunshine and some snow, wind north and northeast. March, from the 1st to the 10th, still clear weather, afterwards rain, thunder and lightning, with sleet and hail; wind north, southeast, east and southwest. From the 10th to the 20th, fine, clear spring weather, with now and then rains and hard gusts of wind, white frosts at night. From the 20th to the 31st there was rain, wind, thunder and lightning, with hail, and at intervals warm sunshine, nights starry and cold.

1645. The temperature of this year was mostly similar to that of the preceding.

1681. December 11, vessel arrived at Chester with settlers from England; the Delaware River frozen over that night.

1682. Winter mild; scarcely any ice.

1683. Cold and severe; Delaware frozen up for a few days.

1697. Loaded sleds passed on the ice from Philadelphia to Chester.

1704. This has been the hardest winter and deepest snow known by the oldest resident. Snow fell one yard deep. Intensely cold all winter.

1705. Deep snows; many deer found dead in the woods. Some came to the farms and ate fodder with the cattle.

1714. February, flowers seen in the woods.

1717. Greatest snow-storm since the settlement of the country.

1720. February 23, river clear of ice.

1721. November 11, "My ink freezes, which obliges me to conclude." Close of a merchant's letter dated Philadelphia. December 19, river full of ice.

1722. January 22, river still locked up.

1723. January 6, weather is yet very moderate, and the river free from ice.

1724. January 18, river very free from ice; December 22, river full of ice.

1725. March 3, snow fell near two feet deep last night.

1726. February 15, river driving with ice.

1727. February 13, river driving with ice.

1728. January 23, very hard weather for near two weeks; the river Delaware passable on the ice; booths set up on it in the middle of the river, which was closed by thick ice for three months; December 31, thirty-six vessels, besides small craft, frozen up at the docks.

1729. January 29, river still frozen up; February 17, open.

1730. January 20, deeper snow than for several years; river full of ice.

1731. February 2, river locked up with ice.

1732. January 25, river still fast; February 22, open.

1733. January 18, great snow at Lewes, Delaware; February 1, river still fast.

1734. January 1, river continues open; winter still moderate.

1735. January 10, river continues open; winter very moderate.

1736. January 6, river fast with ice; February, open.

1737. January 20, weather very cold; many persons frozen to death.

1738. January and February, river open through these months.

1739. January 25, river now open; fast since December 18.

1740. January, cold; March 15, ice broken on the Delaware.

1741. March 5, very cold; sleighs crossing the Delaware; severe winter throughout the country; cattle dying for want of fodder; many deer found dead in the woods and some came tamely to the plantations and fed on hay with the domestic animals; March 13, river navigable; winter had been very long and severe; snow in Lancaster County more than three feet deep; back settlers suffered for want of bread; many families had little else to subsist on than

the carcasses of deer found dead; very deep snow until the 19th of April.

1742. January 22, comet visible; river open; no mention of ice; Long Island Sound frozen.

1743. January 2, river open; no mention of ice.

1744. January 3, river full of ice; 19th, open.

1745. January, February, and March, winter moderate; river open; no mention of ice.

1746. January, February, and March, winter moderate; river open; no mention of ice.

1747. Cold; February 24, river open; frozen up since December 23.

1748. January and February, severe weather; river full of ice.

1749. January and February, severe weather; river full of ice.

1750. January 22, river broken up. Winter open, but cold spring. Considerable snow to the last of May in the country.

1751. (West of the Allegheny Mountains) January 9, at a Wyandot Indian town on the Muskingum near where Coshocton, Ohio, stands; wind southerly and warm. January 15, the river Scioto high and full of ice. January 27 (same county), snow fell six or seven inches deep; the wild rye grass appeared green and flourishing through it; at Philadelphia, on January 1, the Delaware full of ice; open for navigation on the 22d; February 17, the Big Miami River very high.

1752. January and February, in Southwestern Pennsylvania and Northwestern Virginia frost, snow, and bad weather; Philadelphia, February 18, the river has been full of ice, is now almost clear.

1753. January 2, navigation of the Delaware stopped by ice; January 23, now quite clear.

1753. December 27, the Allegheny River at Shannopins town, now Pittsburgh, partly frozen over; channel filled with floating ice; cold very severe; eastward at Philadelphia. December 29, navigation closed.

1754. January 15, river at Philadelphia clear of ice; remarkably cold and wet spring at the forks of the Ohio (Shannopins), now Pittsburgh.

1755. January 14, Delaware River closed; opened on the 21st and remained clear. July, warm sun; rivers very low, Braddock excepted.

1756. January and February, rivers at Philadelphia open; first mention of snow in March; Fort Duquesne nearly carried off by a freshet in the spring; the winter had been exceedingly cold.

1757. January 25, Susquehanna River now open; Delaware open throughout the winter.

1758. February 2, navigation of the Delaware has been stopped for some days; 16th, almost clear; December 5, Allegheny River full of floating ice; extremely severe weather throughout the North, with snow.

1759. January 8, Fort Pitt, the weather has been extremely severe.

December 24, Fort Pitt, "Winter threatening to set in full upon us;" at Philadelphia, river filled with ice the greater part of the month.

1760. January 17, Delaware now closed with ice; February 14, open; March 20, greatest snow fell at Philadelphia since the province was settled; fell eighteen hours from the northeast; December 20, Fort Pitt, "Allegheny River so full of ice it must be frozen in a few days unless we have a thaw."

1761. Navigation of the Delaware closed from January 15 to February 5. The winter in Canada reported mild.

1762. January 9, Fort Pitt, great rise of the rivers here; Fort Pitt surrounded by water; the rise of the rivers being about forty feet higher than usual, by which some houses, stores, etc., were carried away; the damage estimated at several thousand pounds; Philadelphia, January 10, sudden thaw; occasioning great inundation; violent northeast storm; March, heavy snows and rise of the rivers.

1763. January 13, navigation of the Delaware stopped by ice; February 14, thawing for some days.

1764. December 31, the Delaware frozen over in one night; passable in the morning.

1764. March 28. Snow fell two and one-half feet deep. Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers frozen over since the middle of the month.

1765. January 3, navigation at a stand for a week past; Philadelphia, February 7, on Tuesday an ox roasted whole on the Delaware; the novelty attracted a large crowd of people; January 31, Fort Pitt, the weather has been so uncommonly severe at this post that both rivers have been passable on the ice these six week; March 28, heavy snow-storm at Philadelphia, two and one-half feet in depth; trees broken down; travelling impeded.

1766. January 7, Delaware River closed throughout the month; weather very severe.

1767. January, Delaware River closed; full of ice; thermometer 5° ; thirty miles west of Philadelphia thermometer 22° below zero.

1768. February 11, Delaware clear of ice; March 24, on Saturday a violent northeast snow-storm.

1769. January, Delaware generally clear; winter moderately cold.

1770. January 11, much ice in the Delaware; navigation at a stand; November 25 and 26, in Western Pennsylvania, on the banks of the Youghiogeny River, the ground covered with snow, while on the mountains it is knee-deep.

1771. February 14, river Delaware full of ice; February 28, again clear.

1772. January 31, the cold this month at Philadelphia has been excessive; February 21, navigation open; mercury in thermometer 2° high; March 16, much snow last week; two feet deep in some places; June, great flood in the Ohio River. [Five feet higher at Wheeling than the subsequent great flood of 1832.]

1773. Philadelphia, January 9, mercury 9° below zero; January 20, river full of ice, navigation stopped; January 21, thermometer at zero; February 20, at Newcomerstown, on the Muskingum River, the season intensely cold; Feb-

ruary 28, much ice in the Ohio River; much snow and cold weather to 10th of March.

1774. January 12, river Delaware fast-bound with ice; February 14, river Delaware fast-bound with ice.

1775. January and February, much snow and ice eastward, but the winter comparatively mild; thermometer at Philadelphia marked on the 1st of January 25° ; February 1, 39° .

1776. At Philadelphia, thermometer lowest mark 25° , highest 48° ; lowest mark, February, 15° ; highest 52° ; comparatively a mild winter.

1777. January 5, Carlisle, Pa., the depth of snow makes it next to impracticable to travel beyond the mountains; the river Susquehanna is now difficult of passage.

1778. January 19, Delaware River closed; the winter generally an open one; much rain and very bad roads. In the spring the river Ohio very high.

1779. February, peach-blossoms, dandelions, crocus, and flowers near Philadelphia.

1779-80. The winter the most severe ever known in America; Long Island Sound frozen over and the Chesapeake passed with loaded sleds and sleighs at Annapolis; at Philadelphia the mercury in the thermometer never during the month of January, except on one day, rose to the freezing-point; ice sixteen to eighteen inches thick; cattle frost-bitten; ox roasted on the Delaware, opposite the city; squirrels and partridges found dead. February 11, Fort Pitt: "Capt. Finley has arrived and informs me the snow is four feet deep on the mountains;" such a deep snow and such ice have not been known at this place in the memory of the oldest natives; deer and turkeys die by the hundreds for want of food; the snow on the Allegheny and Laurel hills is four feet deep. December 7, Colonel Brodhead, commanding at Fort Pitt, sent a party of hunters to the Little Kenhawah to kill buffaloes, to supply the troops with meat, to be sent for in the spring.

1781. January 27, Philadelphia, the winter remarkably mild thus far. December 14, Fort Pitt, river freezing over to-night.

1782. January 30, the Delaware frozen over fast until February 16. February 28, Sunbury, Pa., deep snow now going off.

1783. March 18, Delaware River frozen over since the first of the year.

1784. January 13, Philadelphia, navigation suddenly bound. February 23, mercury below zero. All the rivers in Pennsylvania frozen so as to bear wagons and sleds with great weights. During the month of February a sudden thaw occurred which opened the rivers so as to set the ice driving; sudden cold again in one night stopped it. In March a general thaw took place with remarkable effects, especially on the Susquehanna, where the gorges of ice were extraordinary, occasioning great inundations and devastation of towns, destroying houses, barns, cattle, etc. On the Ohio River, the settlements being few, the damage was less. The freshet was about the same in height as the later one of 1832. December 20, Pittsburgh, a violent snow-storm. December 28, Ohio River between Fort Pitt and Fort McIntosh (now Beaver) packed with ice.

1785. January 20, Delaware River frozen over from side to side. In a few days it broke up. February 2, again frozen.

1786. January 21, mild weather until the 17th, when the Delaware froze over. March 24, Fort McIntosh (now Beaver), "The winter has been remarkably moderate, but little snow, not over four inches at any time; the air clear and the troops healthy; April 1, the snow fell upwards of a foot deep: 9th, weather so warm as to be disagreeable in the sun." Pittsburgh, December 9, Ohio River frozen over in many places; Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers both passable on the ice. December 10, Ohio pretty clear of ice.

1787. January 7, Fort Harmar (Marietta), the Ohio River was about thirty feet to the top of the banks. January 13, great flood in the rivers at Pittsburgh; a great part of the reserve tract overflowed; water higher than the pumpkin flood, 1810. January 27, a severe cold day. February 11, the weather has been very fine. December 25, Ohio River fast-bound with ice.

1788. January, Marietta, extremely cold; Ohio frozen; good crossing on the ice. January 28, snow deep since the 2d inst. February 5, thermometer 6° below zero at Philadelphia; at Pittsburgh, same day, 6° above zero. February 8, river at Pittsburgh frozen over; horses crossing on the ice. Washington, Pa., February 19, this country has never experienced a winter more severe; the mercury has been at this place 12° below the extreme cold point; at Muskingum 20° , and at Pittsburgh within the bulb or bottle. February 24, Ohio navigation shut or interrupted by ice since the 20th of December last. December, weather extremely cold; Ohio filled with floating ice. •

1789. January, Ohio River frozen over; January 3, ice broke up on the Schuylkill, doing much damage; it destroyed three bridges; January 19, sleighing from February 5 to March 8, the Delaware frozen and thawed four times; spring very cold until June 1; afterwards summer very warm.

1790. January 3, remarkably open winter at Philadelphia so far; boys bathing in the rivers; February 7, rivers frozen first time; May 1, flood in Chartiers Creek.

1791. January 1, the Ohio River has been closed for some time by ice; December 23, Delaware frozen over in one night.

1792. Winter severe in Ohio Valley, with deep snow.

1793. January 21, Philadelphia, winter has been very mild, now like April; February 12, snow about one and one-half feet deep, coldest weather this season.

1794. Pittsburgh, December 20, severe snow-storm; Ohio rivers high.

1795. January 19, winter very mild at Philadelphia until a few days ago, thermometer to-day 12° ; Delaware frozen over February 22, thermometer 10° at 7 A.M.

1796. January 31, thermometer at Lexington, Kentucky, at zero; river at Pittsburgh closed by ice, November 23; November 26, at Cincinnati, thermometer marked 3° below zero at sunrise; December 15, at Cincinnati, Ohio River full of ice; thermometer 14° below zero at Pittsburgh.

1797. February 2, Pittsburgh, rivers open, had been closed by ice since November 23, one of the coldest winters known; at Cincinnati, January 8, thermometer 18° below zero. Ohio River closed with ice for four weeks; the Mississippi River frozen down to Natchez; December 4, at Tuscarawas, Northwest Territory, now Ohio, snow eighteen inches deep, and thermometer at zero.

1798. Severe winter in the Ohio Valley.

1799. In Eastern Pennsylvania, much snow and ice throughout the winter from November to March. March 14, deep snow; June 6, severe frost.

1800. Winter more variable than the preceding one; deepest snow on March 8; two feet deep on a level.

1801. January 7, earthquake and meteor at Pittsburgh; at Philadelphia, very cold; January 16, bright light at 8 P.M. and rumbling sound.

1802. Philadelphia, very mild winter; no ice until February 4 and 6; freezes hard, but soon disappeared; 30th, very moderate; many shrubs in leaf and blossom. Pittsburgh, January 8, "Our days are as warm as the latter end of April and but little frost at night."

1803. January 22, Philadelphia, river full of ice; navigation stopped; winter cold, with continual snows until April.

1804. January 16, Philadelphia, moderate until now; January 21, river full of ice; January 23, deepest snow-fall.

1805. Philadelphia, March 2, the winter has been variable and peculiar, intense cold, deep snow, hail, sleet, high wind, and heavy rain.

1806. Philadelphia, January 18, great deal of ice; 21st, snow, sleighing fine. In March, snow throughout the month. December, the Ohio River filled with floating ice as far as the Little Kanawha.

1807. Philadelphia, January 9, the past few days the coldest weather for some years. March, much snow and rain. Pittsburgh, great flood in May in the Monongahela River; forty feet above the common level at Brownsville; much damage done.

1808. Philadelphia, January 20, much ice. February 1 to 20, much snow and rain.

1809. Philadelphia, January, snow and ice in quantity; 25th, the Delaware almost frozen over. March 14, snow eighteen inches, deepest this winter; 18th, warm, open doors and windows.

1810. Philadelphia, January 22, ice in Delaware, thick and strong. 21st February, clear of ice.

Pittsburgh, November 11, great flood in the rivers, thirty-seven feet above usual level; commonly known as the "Pumpkin Flood."

1811. Philadelphia, January and February, continual snow and ice. Lowest thermometer, 19°, 19th January.

December 2, second growth of apples at Washington, Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh, first steamboat on the Ohio launched in March. December 16, first of a series of shocks of earthquake. New Madrid, Missouri, destroyed.

1812. Philadelphia, river closed January 12; 19th, snow and sleighing. November, Ohio River and all its tributary streams high.

1813. Philadelphia, January 9, snow; river full of ice. 15th, snow a foot deep; 30th, river closed; February 26, river open.

1814. Philadelphia, January 9, navigation stopped by ice. Pittsburgh, 14th, very cold. A letter of this date from one of the Pittsburgh volunteer company at Erie says the lake is frozen out as far as can be seen.

1815. January 6 to 30, floating ice in the Delaware; 31st, hard frozen. 13th February, good road across the river; 27th, ice still firm.

1816. January 18, the bridge at Falls of Schuylkill, Philadelphia, broken down by heavy snow, supposed to be thirty tons on it.

1817. January 14, Philadelphia, first snow; 17th, rain and lightning. The Susquehanna frozen second time this winter at Wilkesbarre; 19th, Delaware closed. March 9, James Black, while driving the Pittsburgh stage, frozen to death. March, a very high flood in the Ohio River.

1818. Philadelphia, river closed by ice from January 31 to February 28. February 10, thermometer 4° below zero. March 8, great flood in the Ohio; sixty feet above low water at Marietta.

1819. Philadelphia, January 2, river almost free from ice; weather mild and pleasant; wind west. 9th, river filled with ice; 26th, free. Philadelphia, February 12, northeast snow-storm, a foot deep.

Pittsburgh, March 18, the winter has been mild beyond precedent.

1820. Philadelphia, January 1, much ice in the river; 16th, river broken up by a storm; January 2, Ohio River frozen over at Cincinnati; broke on the 13th.

1821. January 27, 28, and 29, Pittsburgh, thermometer marked 13° to 14° below zero. Philadelphia, January 6 and 7, heavy northeast snow-storm, eighteen to twenty-four inches deep. 19th, thermometer 3° below zero; 25th, 7° below. Cattle frozen to death. Coldest winter for many years.

1822. Philadelphia, January 8, ice; Schuylkill frozen; February 23, freshet in Pittsburgh; February 28, ice broken up in the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. December 6, Pittsburgh steamboats arrive and depart.

1823. Philadelphia, January 22, navigation of the Delaware free from ice.

1824. Philadelphia, January, light snow. Some sleighing. February mild.

1825. Pittsburgh, February 1, weather still very mild; rivers low. Philadelphia, 14th, like May. No ice.

1826. Pittsburgh, January 27, rivers closed with ice. Philadelphia, 31st, rivers closed.

1827. December 26, snow at Pittsburgh four inches deep; first of the season.

1828. Philadelphia, very mild winter. Navigation uninterrupted. Ice-houses unfilled. Pittsburgh, ditto. January, much rain fell within the last three months. The Ohio has been over its highest banks four times this season. February 11, peach-trees in bloom at Bellefonte, Centre

County. March 14, Pittsburgh, a distinct shock of an earthquake.

1829. Pittsburgh, part of the winter very severe; river open, January 16.

1830. Pittsburgh, January 15 to 30, snow and rain, rivers open. February 9, thermometer at 6 A.M. 10° below zero. Coldest weather for nine or ten years. Rivers closed by ice. Open and navigation commenced, February 22. Pittsburgh, December 22, cold and severe weather, after a fall of snow.

1831. Pittsburgh, January 18, snow twenty-two inches deep from the northeast and extended over the State, heaviest east of the mountains. Mails were stopped and roads impassable. February 10, for some days the weather has been extremely cold. February 14, rivers at Pittsburgh fast frozen. February 22, the Monongahela River opened below the bridge. November 22, nine months have passed with uninterrupted navigation. Severe snow-storm and some rain over all the State, November 21 and 22. Early in December, coldest weather for many years. Beaver Creek hard frozen over, November 30.

1831. December 2, heavy snow-storm at Erie, supposed to have been three feet deep. Lake harbors closed. December 7, river at Harrisburg frozen over. December 7, Ohio River still open, though filled with floating ice.

1832. Pittsburgh, February 10, greatest flood of this century in the rivers. The water ascended Wood Street to Second, on Liberty Street to the corner of Market, and the corners of Diamond and Jail Alleys.

1833. Cold; some ice.

1835. Pittsburgh, thermometer 4° below zero on the 4th and 8th of January, and cold until the latter part of the month. February, first half very cold.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

BUST OF THOMAS PENN BY PATIENCE WRIGHT.—A brief reference to this work appeared in an advertisement in a New York newspaper of the day, which was published in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE. It has escaped the notice of Mrs. Wright's biographer. Possibly some further mention may occur in the Minutes of the Philadelphia Library. If ever consigned to the care of the library, it has long since disappeared, and there is no traditional recollection of its having been in the custody of that institution.

Votes of Pennsylvania Assembly, p. 461, September 24, 1773.

"The Speaker laid before the House an Extract of a Letter to the Reverend *Richard Peters* from Mrs *Patient* [sic] *Wright*, in *London*, dated the 24th of *June* 1773, which was read and is as follows, viz. I Send you by Captain *Sutton* the Busto of the Proprietor *Thomas Penn*, Esq;—It is a Present from Lady *Juliana* his Wife to the People of *Pennsylvania*, to be lodged in the public Library.—Lady *Juliana* ordered me to send it to you, and to inform you she thought it a most excellent Performance, and that it was admired by the King and Queen and most of the Nobility in *England*. If any accident should happen in the Passage, or it may want any thing done to the Drapery, be pleased to apply to my Sister *Rachel Wells*, who has orders from me and Lady *Juliana* to inspect it and to keep the Key of the Case, until she hears further from us, as a few alterations are intended to make it keep for Posterity, in memory of the *Penn* Family and of Mrs. *Wright's* Ingenuity."

W. J. POTTS.

PROTEST OF FRIENDS CONFINED IN THE MASONIC LODGE, PHILADELPHIA, 1777.—The original of the following protest was presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Mr. Henry D. Biddle:

"September 12th 1777.

"We the Prisoners at the Lodge have demanded of Sam^l Caldwell & Alex^r Nesbit a Copy of the Authority by which they are about to remove us from Philad^a which they have refused—& We do hereby solemnly protest agt their Proceedings as illegal unjust arbitrary & contrary to the Rights of Mankind, with Leave to add such other Reasons in Support of this Protest as may hereafter occur.

"Done & protested In the Presence of us

" OWEN JONES
 " JOHN REYNELL
 " SAM. RHOADS
 " JOSEPH BRINGHURST
 " JOHN BROWN
 " THO^s WHARTON
 " JAM^s HUTCHINSON

“Notice was given that we had applied by Messengers to T M^oKean & J. Evans Judges of the Sup. Court for Hab^s Corp^s returnable before them forthwith, & demanded to be left here till those Writs arrived which they refused.”

THE NAME “PURITAN.”—Dr. George H. Moore gives the following accurate account of the epithet “Puritan.” Many persons are ignorant of the fact “that the name of ‘Puritan’ was itself originally a nickname, neither accepted nor acceptable to those to whom it was applied, but first ‘devised by Sanders, the Jesuit, to cast a reproach upon the persons and way of reformers, to render them suspicious and odious to the State.’ I state this on the authority of one of the most eminent of the early emigrants to Massachusetts, where he joined the elder Winthrop, and shared with him that distrust, if not hatred, of democracy which was and is the touchstone of the real, original, and only genuine New England Puritan, as I must call him, although in those days the name had not been accepted. I refer to John Cotton, ‘Bachelor in Divinity and Teacher of the Church of Christ at Boston in New England.’ It was very near the middle of the seventeenth century when this conspicuous divine, resenting the application of the name to himself and his associates by Roger Williams, significantly added to the account given above of the history of the nickname Puritan, that ‘the righteous hand of the Lord struck him with madness who invented the name—nor doth He delight in them that delight to take up a reproach against the innocent.’”

WILLIAM HENRY, OF LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA.—The originals of the following letters are in the “Henry Collection” of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

“Permit M^r Thomas Tomlin Pritchard, to pass to New Windsor in the province of New York, & to remain there, he behaving as Becometh. Given at Head Quarters in New York this 18th April 1776.

“HORATIO GATES

“Adjutant General.

“To All Officers Civil & Military

“&

“All Others whom it may Concern.”

“WAR OFFICE YORK 1st Oct. 1777

“SIR.

“Be pleased to use every Endeavour to expedite the March of any Troops at Lancaster so that they may join the General as speedily as possible. Deliver them any Arms or Necessaries you have taking care to deliver Articles to the Militia sparingly as they are wanted for Continental Troops. Major Wirtz has particular Directions & I beg your assistance to him in every Thing necessary.

“I am your obed Serv^t

“RICHARD PETERS, Secy.

“The Militia of this State will be provided for by the Government of it.

“W. HENRY ESQ.”

“H Q^r March 18, 1778.

“DEAR CAPT.

“With respect to your mode of punishing the market People it is not in all respects proper. As many of the disaffected persons are willing to be flogg’d if they can make money, should therefore be obliged to

you, if you would punish those who you suppose less criminal in the mode you have hitherto pursued—but those who you suppose, and it can be made appear, are the greatest Villains, you will send them to Camp to be tried for their Lives, as the Law of the Land requires their Execution for examples to evil doers, and prevent more effectually such villainous practices.

“Wishing you all possible success,

“I am Yr. Very Humble

“Serv^t

“ALEX. SCAMMELL.

“To CAPT. CHAMBERS.”

“CAMP March 19th 1778.

“SIR.

“I rec^d your favour of this date,—if the information you have rec^d of the Enemies design in coming out for forage should be true, I would not advise you to keep too near their lines for fear of being inclosed by them, for you may depend on their coming very strong.

“I am at present with my party at Doylestown, and the first information will move toward the Billet, where you may find me, the militia Horse is now on the lines, if you should meet with them they may be of service in giving you information.

“Gen^l Wayne is left this and gone to Head Quarters with all his party.

“I am Dear Sir with Respect

“your very Humble Servant

“JOHN LACEY JUN. B. G.

“To CAPT CHAMBERS.”

“WAR OFFICE 13 April 1778.

“SIR.

“The Board of War request you will come to York Town, as soon as the business you are engaged in will permit; & they desire you will tell me, by return of the Bearer, when we may expect to see you here.

“I am Sir

“Your Affectionate

“Humble Servant

“HORATIO GATES,

“President.

“WILLIAM HENRY ESQ.”

“WAR OFFICE June 8 1778

“SIR

“Gen^l Washington informs us that 1700 cartridge boxes are wanted in his army to furnish those who are destitute. Pray send to him immediately all you have, and set as many hands at work as possible in making more, forwarding them to camp from time to time as opportunities present—addressed to the Commissary of military Stores at Camp.

“Yr. h^{ble} Servant

“TIM. PICKERING JUN.

“By order of ye Board

“W^m HENRY ESQ.”

DEATH OF AN ONONDAGA CHIEF.—Died at Bethlehem, September 9, 1767, the Onondaga chief *Halhsitagechte*, who was on a visit here with David Zeisberger, and was buried September 10.

Queries.

FORTS IN PENNSYLVANIA.—Will the subscribers to the Magazine be pleased to furnish any information they possess of the history and location of Fort Anderson, Fort Adam Carson's, Fort Applesby's (sometimes on maps called Armstrong), Fort Bigham, Fort Bethlehem, Fort Augusta, Fort Beversread, Fort Armstrong (on maps of 1814), Fort Bedford, Fort Antis, and Fort Allen? They were all located in Pennsylvania.

E. H. O.,
Horse Guards, London, Eng.

PRICE GRAVES ON DICKSON FARM.—On the farm of Mr. James M. Dickson, Second and Adams Streets, near Crescentville, are the graves of three persons named Price, evidently a mother and her two sons. They are situated just back of the old spring-house, and the head-stones, which are of soapstone, stand so close together as to touch.

The letters remain very clear and distinct, except on the back of one (John's), which unfortunately has become somewhat broken and scarred. The inscriptions read as follows:

East stone.
For the
memory of
Elizabeth Price
who died
August the 2
1697

Middle stone.
For
The memory
of Rees
Price who
died July
the 17 day
1702
aged 23
years

Back of middle stone.
"These are first
That in this dust I lay
Gods Sabbath kept
To wit y^e Seventh day
In faith they dy:d
Here side by side remain
Till Christ shall come
To raise them up again".

West stone.
For
The memory
of John
Price who
died June the
11 day 1702
Aged 20
Years.

Back of west stone.
"This young man was
So much with grace indued
That of his own and
Brothers Death conclude
Saying Dear Brother
This Know well Do I
T'will not be long
Before we both must die".

Watson says of the Prices, that they were of Welsh origin, and were members of the Community of Seventh-day Baptists, the same who afterwards took the name of Keithian Baptists, from their union in sentiment with George Keith, who had been a Friend. They owed their origin to Abel Noble, who arrived in 1684, and formed a society of Baptists in Upper Providence, Chester County, where he baptized Thomas Martin, a public Friend, and others. This last, as a public minister, baptized Reese Price in 1697. In the year 1702, Reese and John Price and others built a meeting-house in Oxford Township on a lot given to them by Thomas Graves, but neglecting to get their deed in time, it came to pass that the Episcopalians got both the lot and house, the same premises on which now stands the Oxford Episcopal Church.

Can any one give further information about them, or to what Price family they belonged? I am informed that the brief of title to the Dickson farm shows that property never stood in their name.

Germantown, 1st Mo. 8th, 1890.

THOMAS H. SHOEMAKER.

JOSEPH LLOYD.—Can any one give me the names of the parents of Joseph Lloyd, attorney-at-law, whose address in 1813 was 201 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia, and the name and address of any of his descendants?

GENE.

BARBADOS ISLAND.—On an old draft of the "Manors of William Stadt and Gilbert," resurveyed for William Penn, Jr., by Thomas Fairman in 1704, "Barbados Island" is marked in the river Schuylkill near the line of Plymouth Township, county of Philadelphia. Does this island still bear the name?

H.

REBECCA NIXON.—Rebecca Hartshorn, born in October, 1714, at Middletown, N. J., married, first, — Wright; second, William Nixon, a cooper, born in December of 1714, in the manor of Hamilton, Ireland. She was baptized by Rev. Gilbert Tennant. After the decease of her husband, William Nixon, in October of 1775, at Elizabethtown, N. J., she removed to New York, where she died in 1780. She had five children,—Catherine, Ann, Rebecca, Sarah, and John. Information is requested of her descendants.

W. H. N.

New York.

FRANCIS LEE.—In compiling material for a genealogical sketch of the descendants of Francis Lee (b. 1749, d. 1815) I would like to ascertain a series of facts concerning him. He was from County Antrim, Ireland; first wife Jane Alexander; second wife's name unknown. He was by 1790 a resident of White Horse, Chester County, and was judge of the court. Previous to this he landed about 1770, and was a proprietor of the Indian Queen Hotel on Market Street, Philadelphia. Can any further information be furnished me?

FRANCIS B. LEE.

Trenton, N. J.

PORCELAIN MANUFACTORIES.—It is known that a porcelain factory existed in Philadelphia about 1770. The undersigned desires information relative to this factory and the wares produced, which are said to have been of a superior character. Are any pieces in the possession of Philadelphia collectors?

From about 1825 to 1838 fine porcelain was manufactured in Philadelphia by William Ellis Tucker, Thomas Tucker, and Judge Hemphill. Where was this factory situated (on Market Street)? Where can characteristic specimens of this ware be seen?

Information concerning either of the above factories or any of the early potteries in the United States will be thankfully received.

West Chester, Pa.

EDWIN A. BARBER.

Replies.

PORCELAIN MANUFACTORIES.—In the spring of 1770 a porcelain factory was erected in the District of Southwark, the proprietors of which advertised in the newspapers of that year under "China Proprietors." William E. Tucker's factory was located in 1830-31 at Chestnut Street and Schuylkill Second Street (now Twenty-first Street), and Joseph Hemphill's at the corner of Chestnut Street and Schuylkill Sixth Street

(now Seventeenth Street). Specimens of Mr. Tucker's manufacture are known to
ED. PENNA. MAG.

BARBADOS ISLAND.—This island lies opposite to Norristown and still bears the name.

VICKLORD OR VICKROY.—[Vol. XIV. p. 446.]—Your correspondent, "Inquirer," is evidently looking for information of Thomas Vickroy, who was a private in Captain Samuel Davidson's company of Colonel Smith's Battalion of Bedford County Associators. See *Penna. Arch., N.S.*, Vol. XIV. pp. 637-38.

Thomas Vickroy, of Bedford County, Pa., laid out the town of Pittsburgh in June, 1704.—*Craig's History of Pittsburgh*, p. 181. November 6, 1789, he was appointed coroner of Bedford County. October 25, 1790, he was reappointed.—*Penna. Arch., N.S.*, Vol. III. 765. November 4, 1813, Vickroy advertised Shade Furnace, situated in Somerset County, Pa., about seven miles north of Stoystown, for sale in the *Western Telegraph* of that date. This furnace was built by Gerehart and Reynolds in 1807 or 1808.—*Swank's History of Iron in all Ages*, p. 169. These may give "Inquirer" a clue by which to trace Vickroy.

Perhaps Hon. William M. Hall, of Bedford, Pa., may be able to give all the information desired.

ISAAC CRAIG.

Alleghany, Pa.

Book Notices.

FRANCES SLOCUM, THE LOST SISTER OF WYOMING. By John F. MeGINNESS. Royal 8vo, 250 pp. Price, cloth, \$3.00.

This is the first exhaustive history of the captivity, life, sufferings, and death of Frances Slocum ever published. Captured by Indians, November 2, 1778, from her father's house, which stood on the site of the present city of Wilkes-Barre, she was lost to her family for fifty years, notwithstanding they kept up a vigilant search for her almost to the period of her discovery, when she was found, in 1837, living in a cabin on the Mississinewa River, Indiana, as the widow of a Miami chief. Hon. Horace P. Biddle, of Logansport, Indiana, contributes a chapter of recollections of Frances Slocum, and among the official documents given are a copy of the treaty with the Miami Indians, in 1838, the petition of the captive to Congress, in 1845, and the will of her youngest daughter. The book is printed on heavy paper and illustrated with portraits of Frances Slocum, her eldest daughter, two sons-in-law, and youngest living descendant, besides several other members of her family. In pathos, strangeness of detail, and mystery, the story of Frances Slocum stands almost alone in Indian history.

THE ANCIENT VELLUM BOOK OF THE HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY, BEING THE ROLL OF MEMBERS, 1611-1682. By Lieutenant-Colonel G. A. Raikes, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1890.

As the historian of the Honourable Artillery Company, of London, the most ancient military corps in the British empire, if not in the world, our fellow-member, Colonel Raikes, has gained considerable distinction in literary and military circles. His "History of the Honourable Artillery Company, and of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Massachusetts," which has evidently been a labor of love, will ever remain a monument of painstaking labor and research to its compiler. We are indebted to the courtesy of Colonel Raikes for the handsome volume before us, which, in addition to the roll of members,

is embellished with notes and illustrations, and contains a complete index. It is gotten up in that costly style which in England is usual in bringing out works of this character.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF TENNESSEE AND THE ADJACENT STATES, and the State of Aboriginal Society in the Scale of Civilization represented by them. By Gates P. Thurston. Royal 8vo. 369 pp. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati. Price, \$4.00.

This work, a series of historical and ethnological studies, by the corresponding secretary of the Tennessee Historical Society, is a most valuable contribution to American archaeological literature. Recent excavations among the mounds and stone-grave cemeteries of Tennessee have brought to light a large number of new objects, illustrating the arts and industries of the Mound-Builders of the Mississippi Valley, many of which were discovered by the author, or under his supervision. More than five hundred of these are illustrated in the engravings of this work, of which a number represent the most advanced types of ancient art yet discovered north of Mexico. The descriptions are given by the author in a particularly interesting manner and are clear and exact. As a piece of book-making it is worthy of the imprint of its publishers, who have earned a deserved distinction in the publication of archaeological and historical works. The edition of the work will not repay the expense of the preparation of the illustrations, but it is the request of the author that the price shall be within easy reach of all interested in the subject.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE STATE OF OHIO. Illustrated with maps, plans, views, and relics. By Henry A. Shepherd. 4to. Cloth. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1890. Price, \$2.00.

The extensive and elaborate remains of the Mound-Builders in Ohio early engaged the attention of American and foreign archaeologists. In 1820 the American Antiquarian Society issued as their first volume Caleb Atwater's "Antiquities of Ohio and the West;" and later, in 1848, the Smithsonian Institution issued as the first volume of its "Contributions to Knowledge" the fine quarto volume on the "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," by Messrs. Squier and Davis. These works treat largely of the prehistoric remains of Ohio, but since their time more extensive explorations have been made, resulting in many new discoveries. More accurate surveys have also been made of the principal works. The author, in the present work, has endeavored to embody in it the results of all these recent discoveries, including extensive original surveys and explorations. He has critically digested much of the floating information that has been diffused through scores of works on American antiquities, reports of scientific societies, local histories, periodicals, etc., and thus presents in compact form an amount of archaeological information which cannot readily be obtained elsewhere. The illustrations have been especially prepared for this work, some from authentic designs already published, and others from original plans and drawings.

THE GERMAN SOLDIER IN THE WARS OF THE UNITED STATES. By J. G. Rosengarten. 12mo. 298 pp. J. B. Lippincott Company press, 1890.

We have received a copy of the second edition of this valuable work, which has been revised and greatly enlarged by Mr. Rosengarten, who has given to it much care and research. Whoever desires information on the subject of which it treats can refer to its pages and obtain what cannot elsewhere be found.



S. Austin Allibone

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No. 2.

S. AUSTIN ALLIBONE, A.M., LL.D.

BY REV. S. D. MCCONNELL, D.D.

[A paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, December 8, 1890.]

A great library is a sort of Hades. If one finds himself alone in it at twilight he has a sense of the presence of the dead about him. There are in it the spirits of many men. They are under a strange spell of silence. They would speak if they could. If they did, the sound would be a strange one. The undertone of the ghostly noise would be an unintelligible murmur of many voices, each one muttering to himself for lack of any other listener. A strident note such as men must always listen to would here and there strike through the inarticulate din; a few of lofty speech and noble thought would make themselves understood. One here and there would lift up a voice of such sweet and soul-compelling melody that the belated visitor walking among the alcoves must needs hear it. They are the veritable spirits in prison: the library is their prison-house. Some, probably most of them, are "condemned already." Their

“sins have gone before them to judgment.” They are sentenced to an eternal silence, which is literary damnation. Some Old Mortality of a librarian, once in half a lifetime, routs them out for a moment from their long slumber, but they sleep again. A few great ones are exalted to high station and have, for their reward, to speak continuously to the sons of men. But, altogether, they are so many,—so very many,—such “a multitude that no man can number.” Literally, from every nation and tribe and tongue do they come. If a mortal would hold converse with them he must be led by some guide, philosopher, friend. It was made possible for Dante to walk among the scenes and citizens of the nether world, because he had fit sponsors, guides, interpreters. A man of letters, a sweet woman, a saint, led him, each into a separate region. Virgil, Beatrice, and Saint Bernard alternately took him by the hand. Each led him to the company where his guide was at home. Dr. Allibone, uniting in himself the qualities of all three of Dante’s guides,—the man of letters, the sweet soul, and the Christian saint,—is our guide in the multitudinous world of English literature. It is not too much to say of him that he was the first man, and the last man, who knew the whole region. Before him, no man was great enough to survey the whole domain. Since him, the region has extended itself so infinitely that no man will ever again be able to explore its whole extent. His “Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors” will remain as the first and last perfect work of its kind. There is a peculiar satisfaction in the contemplation of such an accomplishment by such a man. It has especial claim upon our attention because the worker, the man who made the work possible, and the work itself, all belong in our good city. Author, publisher, promoters, and, above all, that tireless helpmeet of her husband, without whom, he declares, the work would never have been done,—all these were Philadelphians.

Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, in his speech at the dinner given to the Trustees of the Peabody Educational Fund in Philadelphia, in 1871, referred to the Dictionary as

“that great work, which is itself enough to give celebrity to the city in which it was produced.”

For all these reasons the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has always had a peculiar interest in the man and his work.

When it was completed, in 1872, this society at its annual meeting, John William Wallace, Esquire, in the chair, took formal action felicitating the world of letters upon the possession of a *Cosmos*, and congratulating its constructor. In 1890 the same society meets to pay its tribute to the memory of the dead author.

Just what was the work he did? What manner of man was he who did it?

When Dr. Allibone began his *magnum opus* there were, as he estimates, about six hundred and fifty thousand books in the English tongue. That was six hundred and forty-nine thousand more than any man, save a professional student, would read in a lifetime. “It has been computed that of all the volumes in the English language about fifty thousand would repay a perusal. Suppose a person to read a hundred pages a day; that is a hundred volumes a year—it would require five hundred years to exhaust such a library.” The books extant varied in interest and value just as widely as men do,—even more, for a man always has an intrinsic value as a man; if he is killed by the carelessness of a corporation, the jury will assess his value at least five thousand dollars. But a worthless book is worth just nothing at all. Now human energy and human time are limited. He is a benefactor who puts means into our hands to save either of them. But when the labor-saving machine is an illuminant as well, its maker is thrice a benefactor. To be a valuable guide through the labyrinthine world of books demands a rare combination of qualities. He must be a man of unprejudiced candor. He must have encyclopedic knowledge. He must possess a taste as discriminating as is a professional taster’s for wines or teas. He must have a sense of the proportionate relative values of things. He must be a man of infinite sympathy. He must look at the world with the cold

gray stare of Cotton Mather, and again with the grotesque leer of Sterne. He must be acute with the schoolman, judicious with the moralist, legal with the jurist, spiritually minded with the theologian, nimble with the wit, emotional with the poet, and comprehend the divine or fiendish curiosity of the man of science.

All this Dr. Allibone did.

He was not the first to attempt the task, but he was the first to even approximately succeed. Before his Dictionary there was the incomplete "Biographia Britannica" coming down only to the middle of the last century and breaking off at the letter F. There was Chalmers's "Biographical Dictionary" in thirty-two volumes, but coming down only to about the year 1800. There was Lowndes's "Biographer's Manual," meagre and unreliable. There was, best of all, Watt's "Bibliotheca Britannica," but even it was almost entirely wanting in the biographical feature.

Besides these were a host of smaller ones: collections of literary curiosities, lives of poets, painters, great men in every department of life, who had been authors *en passant*. But the whole field of English literature was, before Dr. Allibone did his work, in the same state as was the English language before Dr. Johnson did his. It is not too much to say that the names of these two men will survive while the tongue lasts. The one traced out the genesis of, arranged, and assigned a value to, its words; the other did the same thing for its books. But the amazing thing is that Dr. Allibone's Dictionary gives account of five times as many whole books as the great lexicographer's does of single words! And it should be remembered that Dr. Johnson employed a large staff of workers to aid him, while Dr. Allibone was the sole compiler of facts and criticisms, and author of the biographies of the writers assembled in his immense undertaking.

The learning which this involved is simply prodigious. Men move in the attainment of knowledge as a steamship goes through the water: it requires but a moderate force to propel it at a moderate speed, but, beyond a certain rate, to

increase the speed a mile an hour requires a force as great as for all the miles, up to that rate, put together. A certain amount of literary knowledge is easily attainable. Highways have been cast up all through the region along which the scholar may walk comfortably. But if he leave these and travel into unfrequented regions, *hic opus, hoc labor est*. All these by-paths seemed as easy to Dr. Allibone as did the king's highway. Led by him, we meet not Gildas only, but the obscure Nervinus also; not only Cædmon, but Egwin as well; not only Bede and Boniface, but Egbert and Willibald, Alcuin, Lanfranc, Anselm, Thomas of Bayeux, William of Malmesbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Thomas à Becket. These are familiar names. Their story is readily accessible. But where else than to Dr. Allibone will one go to learn of Tobias Tatwine, Fridegorde, John "the mass priest," of Guy Ingulf, Johannes Grammaticus, Gilbert Crispin, Laurence of Durham, William of Peterborough, and Baldwin the Archbishop?

What poring over ancient tomes, what plodding through monkish annals, what infinite capacity to "put yourself in his place," all this involves! Look, for example, at two or three of his authors, chosen almost at random. See how he does his work. Alcuin. He gives the source of information,—an anonymous Life, A.D. 829; Mabillon, "Acta Sanctorum;" Alcuin's own Epistles. From these he constructs a miniature sketch of his life. In it one sees the old Saxon England, its turbulence, the contrasted silence of its cloister with the court of Charlemagne, the strange university life of the period,—all in half a column, cut as clear as a cameo. To these he adds an extract from one of Alcuin's Latin letters, and the bibliography of his writings, describing fifty editions of them.

Or pass over seven hundred years, to Shakespeare, whom he calls "the most illustrious of the sons of men." Dr. Allibone gives to him forty-seven pages. There is probably no place in any language where the result of so much research is contained in the same space. He examines the origin and orthography of the poet's name; tells the story

of his life, omitting nothing that is known of it; gives a table of the order and dates of the plays and poems; a descriptive list of the early editions of the plays *seriatim*, to the number of more than three hundred; then a list of one hundred and sixty-six modern editions; a descriptive list of thirteen French translations, twenty-seven German, three Dutch, three Italian, three Spanish, and one Portuguese; a collection of the critical opinions upon Shakespeare from Spenser and Milton to Archbishop Trench and Professor Masson. Then, when our amazement at his labor is at its height, he stupefies us by adding a descriptive list of nine hundred and fifty-four books illustrative of Shakespeare! Or, again, coming down three centuries to our fellow-townsmen Benjamin Franklin. In a dainty miniature, where every stroke tells, he gives the story of his life and ancestry, his habits and traits, an estimate of his personal, political, scientific, and literary qualities, gives a classification of his three hundred and four books and pamphlets, quotes the estimates of Franklin by Lord Jeffrey and Sir Humphry Davy, and Franklin's opinion of himself,—and all this in two and a half pages!

But nowhere is his sagacity more conspicuously shown than in his estimate of his contemporaries. It is given to but few to judge fairly the men who live at the same time they do. To be able to say who is great and who is little, which is important and which unimportant among books, upon their appearance, is a rare accomplishment. Dr. Allibone gives twenty-five lines of his precious space to a man of whom probably not twenty-five people in America had then heard the name. Charles Darwin had then just published those modest little books which grew out of the voyage of the "Beagle." Yet Dr. Allibone's unerring instinct discerned in him, even then, the making of a great man, and he quotes with approval from a transient review the opinion that this was one of the most remarkable men of the century.

The biographical portion of his work was what cost most. An author's works are always open to examination at leisure;

but the author himself is usually little more than a name. No one sees a real, live author without a feeling of perplexity. Since he does not look as we think he ought to, it seems to us that he must be masquerading either in his books or himself, and we are not quite sure which is the real man. To catch him, pin him down, examine him, take off cloak after cloak of illusion and prejudice, this requires the skill and patience of a scientific expert. Dr. Allibone called all creation to the witness-stand, and then examined the men themselves. His correspondence includes autograph letters from almost every great personage of this century, from the Emperor William to Young, the Mormon king. He was a sort of literary confessor to whom living authors laid bare their lives. He sent to them innumerable printed circulars desiring information, to which they replied without hesitation, instinctively recognizing that their interrogator would use aright the items they gave him. But this most direct method of "taking lives" was available, of course, in comparatively few cases. For the rest he searched histories, periodical literature, biographies, pamphlets, confessions, chapbooks, in fact, everywhere under the sun. From all quarters he extracted his information. From his information he made up his judgments. When these are complete he sets down beside them the opinions of other men upon the same person or book, and then leaves the reader, with the case before him, to think about all he chooses. Think of the man who could record an intelligent estimate of the works and lives of fifty thousand English authors! The quotation of the opinions of competent critics upon the works chronicled he considered the distinctive peculiarity and merit of the Dictionary, instead of presenting his own verdict, which is the usual practice of bibliographers. That his judgments were sound ones is testified to by the highest authority. Lord Macaulay wrote to him, "I have had frequent occasion to consult your Dictionary, and I have scarcely ever failed to find what I sought. I have no hesitation in saying that it is far superior to any other work of the kind in our language."

Cardinal Wiseman wrote, "I have tested its value in two different ways: first, by looking at the accounts of comparatively unknown or obscure authors, hardly to be found in ordinary biographical works, and then by glancing at the history of celebrated ones, whose lives have occupied volumes. Your work stands both tests admirably. I have found more about the first class of workers than I could have anticipated in so comprehensive a work; while the interesting points in the literary lives of those belonging to the second are brought out in sufficient detail, and treated with sufficient accuracy to render further reference or inquiry unnecessary. I congratulate you upon the success of your herculean undertaking."

Prescott, Holmes, Irving, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Bancroft, Lord Brougham, Carlyle, Sir David Brewster, De Quincey, Disraeli, Dickens, Lord John Russell, and a host of others have left on record a similar testimony.

Nor is the quantity of his work any less amazing than its quality. The manuscript of the Dictionary (when copied for the press by his wife's loving and helpful hand) made twenty thousand foolscap pages. One would have thought that this might have passed for a man's life-work.

But now see what else he did. For eleven years he was editor of the books of the American Sunday-School Union. (Alas that all Sunday-school books are not compelled to pass through such hands!) The amount of literature, if it may be called such, which thus passed under his review is not to be counted by volumes,—it probably amounted to several tons. During that period he himself wrote an "Improved Question-Book on the Life of Christ," "Explanatory Question-Book on the Gospels," "Alphabetical Index to the New Testament," "Question-Book on the Parables," "Question-Book on the Acts," "Union Bible Companion." In 1873 was issued by the firm of J. B. Lippincott & Co. his "Poetical Quotations from Chaucer to Tennyson," containing five hundred and fifty authors and four hundred and thirty-five subjects, with copious indexes, followed, in 1875, by "Prose Quotations from Socrates to Macaulay," five hun-

dred and forty-four authors and five hundred and seventy-one subjects, and, in 1879, by "Great Authors of all Ages."

I have ventured to say that no man would ever be able to follow in Dr. Allibone's steps. The world of books has grown too wide for any one man to explore. If the region of review and periodical literature be added to it, it becomes as impracticable as it would be to sail through all space. Solomon said, even in his day, that "of making many books there is no end." Had he lived in Dr. Allibone's day, and been able to look a single generation into the future, he would have strongly appreciated the truth of his estimate. There were six hundred and fifty thousand books in the English language thirty years ago. There have probably been more volumes in the generation since that time than in all the centuries previous. The first volume of the Dictionary, which includes names from A to K, appeared several years before the concluding ones, and therefore many new writers with these initials could not be noticed; nor could others who sprang into life during the long time requisite for the manuscript to go through the press. The whole army of authors has now grown too large for any one man to call its roll.

In May, 1879, at the urgent and repeated solicitation of Mr. James Lenox, of New York, Dr. Allibone removed to that city, and for nine years was engaged in the Lenox Library, in preparing a descriptive catalogue, and in showing and explaining to such strangers and scholars who visited it, its bibliographical wonders.

Who, and what manner of man, was he who performed such Titanic literary tasks?

Samuel Austin Allibone was born in Philadelphia, April 17, 1816. He was descended from one of those French Huguenots who seem to have left a strain of gentleness, exquisitely interwoven with vigor, in all their descendants. The old French form of the name was Alban or Albon, anglicized to Allibone. Dr. Allibone and that noblest gentleman in America, Thomas Dabney, shared the same blood and were spiritually akin. Each might have lived

the other's life. His maternal ancestors, Thomas and Agnes Croasdale, came to Philadelphia in the "Welcome," in 1682, with William Penn. His paternal ancestor, Benjamin Allibone, of Pennsylvania, is supposed to be a descendant of Sir Richard Allibone, who sat on the trial of the Seven Bishops, and died in 1688. ("State Trials," vol. xii. page 190.) There is but one family of the name in the books of heraldry, and the arms signify distinction during the Crusades. He married a daughter of Alexander Henry, that eminent merchant and Christian philanthropist. At his death he left her and two daughters, one of them the wife of Charles Carver, Esquire, of this city.

He was a book-lover from his boyhood; one of that rare and noble class of men who are scholars by special grace of God. He could never have been else than a scholar, if he had tried. And he did try. He set about to be a merchant, and fortunately did not succeed. That avocation was as unnatural for him as it would have been for Byron to keep accounts, or Dr. Johnson to play the fiddle, or Bancroft to write poetry, or a greyhound to turn a spit. When another man in his place would have been busy with prices current, Dr. Allibone was studying book catalogues. When the thrifty merchant would have been looking out for a job lot, the born *littérateur* was attending a book auction. When he should have been attempting to kill a rival merchant, he was busy trying to "take the life" of some old dead and buried author. When he should have been making a fortune, he was making a library. Of course he did not succeed as men of a different type succeed. If he had, he would have made failure of his life. But his scant success was not from lack of either industry or method. No more industrious man ever lived. He watched the clock and counted the moments while he worked. If an idler stole fifteen minutes of his time, his conscience gave him no rest till he had made it up. One who knew him better than any other person living, long ago wrote of him this:

"The bracing winds of autumn, the breezes of early spring, and the invigorating days of winter equally fail to

draw this recluse from his imprisonment. The influence of moonlight evenings is also resisted, except on rare occasions when a partially-enlightened conscience, or the remonstrance of friends, impels him to an owlish perfunctory tramp of a few squares. That sight and health should remain after such a prolonged warfare against all the laws of nature is certainly wonderful, and tends to prove how nearly the human frame can be converted into a machine. On Sunday, of course, the hermit emerges from his seclusion, and, either as superintendent of a Sunday-school or teacher, allows himself little more rest than during the remaining six. It must be acknowledged, however, that in spite of efforts to listen attentively to the sermon, the clergyman does occasionally appear to him to be engaged in announcing editions of books; and it is fortunate that the delusion has never been sufficiently strong to provoke an audible comment.

“One might suppose that the work which has occupied so many years would be sufficiently absorbing for the thoughts and hand of one man; but this is far from being the case. In addition to the harassing investigation into conflicting authorities, the reviewing new books, the conducting an extensive correspondence, and attention to some of the claims of civilized life, this unceasing worker has compiled exhaustive indexes to various books of reference in his library, for his own convenience; and also, as a labor of love, performed the same office for the public, to a work which necessitated the preparation of nearly four hundred printed columns! His last effort in this direction has been an ‘*Alphabetical Index to the New Testament*,’ prepared during spare moments on Sundays, also arranged with sub-indexes to the principal subjects.”

And the same writer adds, “If he could have had his methodical way, the streets would all be regularly numbered, and families would be compelled to live in the houses in alphabetical order. Cars would be run always according to their numbers; and the generals of our armies would have arranged to have the battles of the war fought alphabet-

ically, beginning with *Antietam* and ending with the *Wilderness*."

(This sketch, at length, is to be found in Duyckinck's "*Cyclopedia of American Literature*.")

But his method was that of a student, and not of a tradesman. When he commenced his great work—a task which would require years of uninterrupted labor, freedom from harassing anxiety, and great preliminary outlay—it was his great good fortune to have for a neighbor and friend a sagacious and broad-minded man whose name will be one of the few which will survive when the history of the nineteenth century in America comes to be written. Mr. George W. Childs, the book publisher, was far-sighted enough to see both the literary and commercial value of Dr. Allibone's project, and by becoming his associate made its execution possible. May one be permitted to say, in passing, that few men, living or dead, have done more to further art and letters than this same silent man, beloved of many thousands, to whom the *Dictionary of Authors* is fittingly dedicated?

In studying the life of any man it would be unscientific as well as uncandid to omit mention of that which was one of its controlling motives. Men of the second rank of greatness are often non-religious. They are not great enough to have "become as little children." Men of the first rank are ordinarily devout. They can dare to be.

When Dr. Allibone was about twenty years old he was baptized and confirmed in Saint Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. He attributed his decision to take this step largely to the perusal of Bishop McIlvaine's book upon the *Evidences of Christianity*. From that time he did indeed "continue to be Christ's faithful soldier and servant, and to fight manfully under Christ's banner until his life's end." His strong, serene, cheerful faith was never clouded. Seeking to benefit the ignorant, the prisoners, and the sorrowful, regardless of fatigue or pressing occupations, was his habit while he lived. It would be impossible to enumerate the various societies to which he gave efficient personal aid, the night-schools, Bible classes, and mission Sunday-schools

which received his instructions, as well as the weekly visits to the little children of the Orphans' Asylum, and to the sad inmates of the Wills Hospital, to whom he would read of Him who opened the eyes of the blind. At Saint Peter's Church, for a long time during the rectorship of Bishop Odenheimer, he was a teacher; and afterwards, for about nineteen years at Saint Philip's Church, he was the active and loyal superintendent of the Sunday-school, very rarely absent from the two sessions each Sunday, and never a moment late. No work, however, gave Dr. Allibone such pleasure at the time and such satisfaction in the retrospect, as the Sunday afternoons spent later in life at the Eastern Penitentiary, where his cheerful manner and unusual tact gained entrance to many hearts, and prepared the way for the reception of the message of the gospel. He had the happiness in numerous instances to see the good results from these efforts. At Girard College, for many years, he addressed the boys once each month; and visits and letters from some of his auditors there showed that the seed "fell into good ground and brought forth fruit."

What his townsmen thought of his character is shown by the fact that in 1854 the Reform Convention nominated him for mayor of the city. The political exigency which brought this about need not be detailed here. But his own sagacity is shown by his reply to the Executive Committee, in which he declines, and advises his friends to work for reform by giving their votes to the best of the two existing parties, and not to throw it away on the third party candidate.

The valedictory with which he closed his great work shows the very secret spirit of the man. "My first emotion is a feeling of profound gratitude to that Almighty Being, without whose help all labor is ineffectual, and without whose grace all wisdom is folly, by whom my life has been prolonged and my health preserved until I have brought to a happy consummation the object of so much deep solicitude, absorbing labor, and anxious care."

His beautiful face, his gracious manner, the invincible

sweetness of his temper, his charm as a companion, his skill as a *reconter*, his quips and jests and dainty whimsies, —these were parts of the furnishing of the man, all unsuspected by the myriads of scholars and workers who daily pile up their debt to him as a Master of Letters. The memory of the man is the priceless heritage of a few; his literary and philanthropic work was his gift to the many. The world is the better, the richer, and the more wholesome for the presence in it of such a man. Men of letters quickly discovered his greatness. In 1861, Harvard created him a Master of Arts; and in the same year the University of the City of New York honored itself by conferring upon him the title of LL.D.

Had he then no faults? No doubt; but I never saw them, or heard them spoken of. They were like the errors in his Dictionary, few in number and not visible unless one seeks for them.

He is a rare man whose faults are not visible until one focuses his vision and looks to see them.

In 1888, worn with the labors of ten men, he went to Europe for rest. At Lucerne, Switzerland, he died, September 2, 1889.

In accordance with his earnest wish, his earthly remains were not brought to his native land. They rest in the beautiful cemetery of Friedensthal (the Valley of Peace) at Lucerne. The last lines of his favorite selection when asked for his autograph (from Mrs. Barbauld's "Poem on Life") are carved at the base of the cross which stands above his grave:

"Say not, Good-night! But in some brighter clime
Bid me, Good-morning!"

ITINERARY OF GENERAL WASHINGTON FROM JUNE
15, 1775, TO DECEMBER 23, 1783.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from page 87.)

1781.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 3, 1781.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "To-day at noon I received yours of the 2d in the morning by Major Fishbourn, who has given me a full account of the unhappy and alarming defection of the Pennsylvania line."—*Washington to General Wayne.*

On the 1st of January (about nine o'clock at night) a mutiny broke out among the Pennsylvania troops, in winter-quarters on Kimball Hill, near Morristown, New Jersey. About thirteen hundred men paraded under arms, refused obedience to their officers, killed Captain Billings, mortally wounded Captain Talbot, and committed various outrages. On the following day the mutineers marched in a body towards Princeton with six field-pieces, avowing their intention to proceed to Philadelphia, to demand from Congress a redress of their grievances. General Wayne overtook them on their march, and obtained a formal statement of their claims, which were: That many soldiers had been detained beyond the term of their enlistment; that the arrearages of pay and the depreciation had not been made up; and that they were suffering every privation for want of money and clothes. The matter was referred to the President of the Council of Pennsylvania, Joseph Reed, who, in conjunction with a committee appointed by Congress, consisting of General Sullivan, Mr. Witherspoon, and Mr. Mathews, made a satisfactory agreement with the soldiers at Trenton, January 11. Two emissaries or spies sent among them with overtures from Sir Henry Clinton were given up, tried by a court-martial, and executed. The whole affair resulted in the disbanding of a large part of the Pennsylvania line for the winter, but it was recruited in the spring to its original complement.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 11.

At West Point: A council of war held at General Heath's quarters, to consider what measures were necessary to be adopted with respect to the Pennsylvania line.

“January 11th.—Accounts were received from the southward that the American army in that quarter were in a most miserable condition, on account of cloathing and provisions and that their sufferings were greater than those experienced by the main army.”—*Heath's Memoirs*.

MONDAY, JANUARY 15.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “I should have done myself the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of the letter you did me the favor to write on the 26th of December, at the moment of its receipt, had not some affairs of a very unusual nature, which are too recent and notorious to require explanation, engaged my whole attention. I pray you now to be persuaded, that a sense of the patriotic exertions of yourself and the ladies who have furnished so handsome and useful a gratuity for the army, at so critical and severe a season, will not easily be effaced, and that the value of the donation will be greatly enhanced by a consideration of the hands by which it was made and presented.”—*Washington to Mrs. Sarah Bache*.

Mrs. Sarah Bache, daughter of Dr. Franklin, took a prominent part in carrying out the plans of an association of the ladies of Philadelphia, formed for the purpose of collecting contributions in aid of the soldiers. The “handsome and useful gratuity for the army” was a contribution of two thousand and five shirts, a practical application of funds and labor highly creditable to its members. The association was formed in the summer of 1780, and on July 4, Mrs. Joseph Reed, then at the head of it, but who died on the 18th of September following, wrote to Washington that “200,580 dollars, and £625. 6. 8d. making the whole in paper money 300,634 dollars,” had been collected, and requesting directions how best to dispose of it. Of this sum, the Marquis de Lafayette contributed one hundred guineas in specie in the name of his wife, and the Countess de Luzerne six thousand dollars in paper.

MONDAY, JANUARY 22.

At West Point: “His Excellency Gen. Washington, the Marquis de la Fayette, and a number of French gentlemen, visited the Point.”—*Heath's Memoirs*.

Count Dumas, aide to General Rochambeau, one of the “French gentlemen” referred to by General Heath, has left us in his Memoirs an account of the return of the party to New Windsor: “After having visited the forts and reviewed the garrison, as the day was declining, and we were going to mount our horses, the General perceived that M. de la Fayette, in conse-

quence of his old wound [received at the battle of Brandywine], was very much fatigued. 'It will be better,' said he, 'to return by water; the tide will assist us in ascending against the stream.' A boat was soon manned with good rowers, and we embarked. The cold became excessive; we had to make our way between the large flakes of ice which the river brought down. A heavy snow and the obscurity of the night soon rendered the danger more imminent and the management of the boat, which filled with water, became increasingly difficult. We coasted the rocks which lined the right bank of the Hudson, between West Point and New Windsor, at the foot of which it is impossible to land. General Washington, perceiving that the master of the boat was very much alarmed, took the helm, saying, 'Courage, my friends; I am going to conduct you, since it is my duty to hold the helm.' After having with much difficulty made our way against the stream and the ice, we landed, and had to walk a league before we reached the head-quarters."

TUESDAY, JANUARY 30.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: *Orderly Book*.—"The General returns his thanks to Major-Gen'l Howe for the judicious measures he pursued, and to the officers and men under his command, for the good conduct and alacrity with which they executed his orders, for suppressing the late mutiny in a part of the New Jersey line."

On the evening of January 20 the New Jersey troops stationed at Pompton, New Jersey, revolted, their demands being similar to those of the Pennsylvania line. By order of the commander-in-chief, a detachment consisting of five hundred rank and file, properly officered, from the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire lines, under the command of Major-General Robert Howe, marched on the 23d, and reached Pompton on the 27th. His instructions were to grant no terms while the revolted troops were with arms, and, if successful in compelling a surrender, to instantly execute a few of the most active leaders. The mutineers were disarmed, three of the ringleaders shot, and order restored. Washington himself went to Ringwood, ten miles north of Pompton, on the 26th, and remained until the 28th, when he returned to head-quarters.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 4.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "The measure adopted by Congress of appointing Ministers of War, Finance, and for Foreign Affairs, I think a very wise one. To give efficacy to it, proper characters will, no doubt, be chosen to conduct the business of these departments. . . . I am pleased to hear that Maryland has acceded to the confeder-

tion, and that Virginia has relinquished her claim to the Land West of the Ohio."—*Washington to General Sullivan.*

Maryland had steadily refused to ratify the "Articles of Confederation," adopted by Congress, November 15, 1777, until the conflicting claims of the Union and of the separate States to the crown-lands should be adjusted. This point was finally settled by the cession of the claiming States to the United States of all the unsettled and unappropriated lands for the benefit of the whole Union. The objection of Maryland having been removed by the settlement of this question, her delegates signed the "Articles of Confederation" on the first day of March, 1781. By this act of Maryland, all the other States having previously ratified the Articles, they became the organic law of the Union, and on the 2d of March Congress assembled under the new powers. A few weeks prior to this date Congress had introduced a much-needed reform into the administration, by abolishing the several committees and boards of its members, on whom all the great executive duties had heretofore devolved. On January 10 an office for the Department of Foreign Affairs was established, and on February 7 it was resolved: "That there be a superintendent of finance, a secretary of war, and a secretary of marine." On February 20, Robert Morris was elected Superintendent of Finance; on the 27th, Major-General Alexander McDougall, Secretary of Marine; and on August 10, Robert R. Livingston, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The election for Secretary of War did not take place until October 30, when Major-General Benjamin Lincoln was elected.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "General [Daniel] Morgan's signal victory over Colonel Tarleton and the flower of the British army [battle of Cowpens, South Carolina, 17th January] reflects the highest honor upon our arms, and I hope will at least be attended with this advantage, that it will check the offensive operations of the enemy, until General Greene shall have collected a much more respectable force than he had under his command by the last accounts from him."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "I have ordered a detachment to be made at this post, to rendezvous at Peekskill on the 19th instant, which, together with another to be formed at Morristown from the Jersey troops, will amount to about twelve hundred rank and file. The destination of this detachment is to act against the corps of the enemy

now in Virginia, in conjunction with the militia, and some ships from the fleet of the Chevalier Destouches, which he informs me sailed the 9th instant from Newport. You will take the command of this detachment, which you will in the first instance march by battalions towards Pompton, there to rendezvous and afterwards to proceed with all possible despatch to the Head of Elk. . . . When the object of the detachment is fulfilled (or unfortunately disappointed), you will return to this post with it by the same route, if circumstances admit, and with as much expedition as possible.”
— *Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

The object of this expedition was the capture of Arnold, who, having been made a brigadier-general in the British service, was then in Virginia, with a body of troops, engaged in predatory excursions, inflicting much injury by burning and pillage. The force from the French fleet at Newport, which was expected to support Lafayette, consisted of a ship of the line and two frigates under the command of M. de Tilly, who entered Chesapeake Bay, but did not remain for fear of being blockaded. He therefore put to sea, and arrived at Newport a few days after the detachment had started.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “The flattering distinction paid to the anniversary of my birth-day is an honor for which I dare not attempt to express my gratitude. I confide in your excellency’s sensibility to interpret my feelings for this, and for the obliging manner in which you are pleased to announce it.”— *Washington to Count de Rochambeau.*

“Newport, February 12, 1781.—Yesterday was the anniversary of your Excellency’s birth day. We have put off celebrating that holiday till to-day, by reason of the Lord’s day and we will celebrate it with the sole regret that your Excellency be not a Witness of the effusion and gladness of our hearts.”— *Rochambeau to Washington.*

The celebration is said to have consisted of a parade of the French troops, the firing of a salute, and, in honor of the occasion, a suspension of further labors for the day. This is, probably, the earliest public recognition of Washington’s birthday. It was held, as will be noted, according to the *Old Style* of computing the length of the year.

THURSDAY, MARCH 1.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “I have just received letters from the Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier

Destouches, informing me of their intention to operate in the Chesapeake Bay with their whole fleet, and a detachment of eleven hundred French troops, grenadiers and chasseurs included. The Chevalier expects to sail the 5th of this month, so that you will arrive at the Head of Elk, before he appears in the Bay. . . . I shall set out in the morning for Rhode Island, where I hope to arrive before the fleet sails, to level all difficulties and be in the way to improve circumstances.”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

“On the morning of the 2d of March, Gen. Washington set out from New-Windsor, for Rhode-Island.”—*Heath's Memoirs.*

SUNDAY, MARCH 4.

At Hartford, Connecticut: “March fourth—D.[ies] Dom.[inicus]. General Washington came with his aids Col. —, Col. Tilgham [Tilghman]. The Genl left an order for a General Court Martial for the trial of Alexander McDowell for desertion—set out for Newport—M. Gen. Howe with him. Col. Trumbull accompanied them to Lebanon.”—*Diary of Jonathan Trumbull.*

MONDAY, MARCH 5.

At Lebanon, Connecticut: Reviews the Legion of the Duke de Lauzun, in quarters at Lebanon.

TUESDAY, MARCH 6.

At Newport, Rhode Island: “This day General Washington, who was expected, arrived about two o'clock. He first went [from the ferry at Jamestown, by the admiral's barge] to the Duc de Bourgogne [the flag-ship], where all the generals were. He then landed; all the troops were under arms; I was presented to him. His face is handsome, noble and mild. He is tall (at least, five feet, eight inches). In the evening I was at supper with him. I mark, as a fortunate day, that in which I have been able to behold a man so truly great.”—*Diary of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French army, p. 93.*

“Washington landed at Barney's Ferry—the corner of the Long Wharf and Washington Street. The French troops formed a close line, three deep

on either side, from the ferry house up the Long Wharf and Washington Square to Clarke Street, where it turned at a right angle and continued to Rochambeau's head-quarters. The following night the town was illuminated. At that time the inhabitants were poverty stricken, and comparatively few were able to take part in the joyful ceremony; but that all should share in the honors paid so distinguished a visitor, the Town Council ordered that candles should be purchased, and given to all who were too much distressed, through continued losses, to purchase for themselves; so that every house should show a light. The procession was led off by thirty boys, bearing candles fixed on staffs, followed by Gen. Washington, Count Rochambeau and the other officers, their aids and the procession of citizens. The night was clear, and there was not a breath to fan the torches. The brilliant procession marched through the principal streets, and then returned to the head-quarters. On reaching the door, Washington waited on the step until all the officers and their friends had entered the house; then, turning to the boys who had acted as torch-bearers he thanked them for their attention. This was glory enough for the young patriots."—*Newport Illustrated*, p. 36.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7.

At Newport: Attends a ball given by the Count de Rochambeau, at Mrs. Cowley's Assembly Room, and opens it by request, his partner being Miss Margaret Champlin, afterwards Mrs. Dr. Benjamin Mason.

"The dance selected by his partner was 'A Successful Campaign,' then in high favor; and the French officers took the instruments from the musicians, and played while he danced the first figure with one of the most beautiful and fascinating of Newport's many belles."—*Newport Illustrated*, p. 44.

THURSDAY, MARCH 8.

At Newport: Receives and answers an address from the inhabitants of Newport. Committee: Christopher Ellery, William Channing, William Taggart, and Solomon Southwick.

"I found myself on duty all of last week. . . . add to this the arrival of the celebrated Washington the Atlas of your country. Our army received him with the marks of distinction due to his rank and to his personal qualities; we had not eyes enough to see him with. Man is born with a tendency to pride and the further he progresses in his career in an elevated rank the more his self love nourishes this vice in him but so far from this Washington although born with every superior quality adds to them an imposing modesty which will always cause him to be admired by those who have the good fortune to see him; as for esteem he has already drawn to himself that

of all Europe even in the heart of his enemies and ours 'tandem oculi nostri, videuntur honorem et virtutem.'"—*Chevalier de Silly to Solomon Drowne, 15th March, 1781.*

SUNDAY, MARCH 11.

At Newport: "I informed you on the 8th in the evening, that the French fleet had put to sea. By advices from New London, the British did the same yesterday morning with their whole force. They gave out publicly, that they were bound for the Chesapeake."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

Washington remained at Newport until the 13th, and was the recipient of many attentions of a private character from the prominent inhabitants of the town. During his stay he was the guest of Count de Rochambeau, who occupied the house of William Vernon, in New Lane, No. 302 (north-east corner of Mary and Clarke Streets), as his head-quarters.

TUESDAY, MARCH 13.

Leaves Newport: Passes through Bristol, Rhode Island, and arrives at Providence in the evening.

"March 13, 1781.—General Washington passed through Bristol on his way to Providence. When the news of his approach was received, a company of inhabitants, mounted upon horseback, went down to the ferry to meet him, and to escort him to the village. Accompanied by his aids, he passed directly through the town, riding the entire length of Hope Street. As he passed State Street, a salute was fired in front of the Court House, which then stood in the middle of the street. When he passed Bradford Street, the inhabitants, clad in their best apparel, stood upon either side of the street, being divided according to their sexes, and as he passed, showed their respect for him by strewing his path with flowers, evergreens, etc., accompanied with the highest marks of civility. When Washington reached the Bridge he turned to the inhabitants, and addressed them in brief but eloquent manner, returning the kindness and civility which had been shown him."—*Munro's History of Bristol, p. 242.*

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14.

At Providence, Rhode Island: Receives and answers an address from the inhabitants of the town, and in the evening attends a military ball.

Count Dumas relates in his Memoirs the following interesting story of Washington's reception at Providence: "After having conferred with Count Rochambeau, as he [Washington] was leaving us to return to his

head-quarters near West Point, I received the welcome order to accompany him as far as Providence. We arrived there at night [March 13]; the whole of the population had assembled from the suburbs, we were surrounded by a crowd of children carrying torches, reiterating the acclamations of the citizens; all were eager to approach the person of him whom they called their father,¹ and pressed so closely around us that they hindered us from proceeding. General Washington was much affected, stopped a few moments, and pressing my hand, said, 'We may be beaten by the English; it is the chance of war; but behold an army which they can never conquer.'"

Both Irving and Bancroft refer to this incident as having occurred on the return of Washington to head-quarters, after his *first* interview with Rochambeau, at Hartford, September 21, 1780, six months earlier in time. The text of Dumas in its connections is confusing, but it should be noted that his Memoirs were written late in life, when the memory of dates and places goes easily astray.

THURSDAY, MARCH 15.

Leaves Providence: Early in the morning of the 15th, General Washington and his suite continued their journey, being escorted a few miles from the town by a civil and military cavalcade. While in Providence he was entertained at the house of the Hon. Jabez Bowen.

FRIDAY, MARCH 16.

At Hartford, Connecticut: General Washington arrived at Hartford on the evening of Friday, March 16.

SATURDAY, MARCH 17.

At Hartford: "It would have afforded me the greatest pleasure, had I been able to extend my late visit to Newport, as far as Boston; but the important operations, which may be expected at the southward, made it necessary for me to return as soon as possible to the North River."—*Washington to Governor Hancock.*

¹The earliest application of the epithet "Father of his Country" to Washington, which has come to our knowledge, occurs in a German almanac, the "Nord Americanische Calender," for the year 1779, printed at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The frontispiece—of the full size of the page, small quarto, an emblematic design—presents in the upper portion of it a figure of Fame, with a trumpet in her right hand and in her left a medalion portrait, laureated, inscribed, "Waschington." From the trumpet proceed the words, "Des Landes Vater,"—the FATHER OF THE COUNTRY.

“ March seventeenth. Saturday—Dined at Mr. Platt’s with Gen. Washington, and spent the afternoon—he came to my lodgings—communicated Mr. Southwick and Com. General’s letters—conversed on various subjects.”—*Diary of Jonathan Trumbull.*

SUNDAY, MARCH 18.

Leaves Hartford: “ Lord’s Day—March eighteenth, General Washington came on Friday night—went out this morning.”—*Diary of Jonathan Trumbull.*

TUESDAY, MARCH 20.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “ March 20th.—In the afternoon, Gen. Washington arrived at head-quarters, at New-Windsor, from the eastward.”—*Heath’s Memoirs.*

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “ I returned to this place yesterday at noon. I did not prosecute my intention of visiting Springfield, as I wished not to be out of the line of communication from the southward, on account of the important intelligence which may be hourly expected from that quarter.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

“ To the Expenditures on a journey to Rhode Island, on a visit to the French army. . . . 19,848½ Doll^{rs} = To Specie Expenditures on this journey—p^r My Mem^m B^k—where Paper w^d not pass. . . . £68.12.0.”—*Washington’s Accounts.*

THURSDAY, MARCH 22.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “ I am much indebted to you for announcing my election as a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. I feel myself particularly honored by this relation to a society, whose efforts to promote useful knowledge will, I am persuaded, acquire them a high reputation in the literary world.”—*Washington to Joseph Willard.*

MONDAY, MARCH 26.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “ The many remarkable interpositions of the divine government, in the hours of our deepest distress and darkness, have been too luminous to suffer me to doubt the happy issue of the present contest;

but the period for its accomplishment may be too far distant for a person of my years, whose morning and evening hours, and every moment (unoccupied by business), pants for retirement, and for those domestic and rural enjoyments, which in my estimation far surpass the highest pageantry of this world.”—*Washington to General Armstrong.*

SATURDAY, MARCH 31.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “I was last evening honored with your favor of the 19th instant by the *Hermione*, by way of Philadelphia, and with a duplicate from Newport. I am obliged by the minute detail you were pleased to give me of the action on the 16th instant, between the squadron of his Most Christian Majesty under your command, and that of the British under Admiral Arbuthnot.”—*Washington to the Chevalier Destouches.*

The French squadron under the Chevalier Destouches, with a detachment of troops, sailed from Newport for the Chesapeake on the 8th of March, to co-operate in the movement of Lafayette against Arnold. They were pursued by Admiral Arbuthnot and forced to an engagement, in which, though the honors of war were with the French, some of their vessels suffered so severely that they were obliged to return to Newport to repair damages. Arbuthnot made all speed to the Chesapeake, which he effectually blockaded. Washington wrote to Colonel John Laurens, at Paris, under date of April 9: “The failure of this expedition, which was most flattering in the commencement, is much to be regretted; because a successful blow in that quarter would, in all probability, have given a decisive turn to our affairs in all the Southern States; because it has been attended with considerable expense on our part, and much inconvenience to the State of Virginia, by the assembling of its militia; because the world is disappointed at not seeing Arnold in Gibbets.”

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4.¹

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “General Greene has had a general engagement with Lord Cornwallis [battle of Guilford Court-House, 15th March], from which, though he suffered a defeat, he might ultimately derive advantages, had his Lordship no prospect of fresh succours.”—*Washington to General Lincoln.*

¹“April 4th.—Gen. Washington visited West-Point.”—*Heath's Memoirs.*

The battle of Guilford Court-House, North Carolina, was one of the most sanguinary battles of the war; and, although the enemy remained masters of the field, their army was too much shattered to resume offensive operations. After issuing a proclamation boasting of his *victory*, Cornwallis retired to Wilmington, from whence, on the 25th of April, he set out on his fatal march into Virginia.

THURSDAY, APRIL 5.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "While we lament the miscarriage of an enterprise, which bid so fair for success, we must console ourselves in the thought of having done everything practicable to accomplish it. I am certain that the Chevalier Destouches exerted himself to the utmost to gain the Chesapeake. The point upon which the whole turned, the action with Admiral Arbuthnot, reflects honor upon the Chevalier and upon the marine of France. As matters have turned out, it is to be wished that you had not gone out of the Elk. But I never judge of the propriety of measures by after events. Your move to Annapolis, at the time you made it, was certainly judicious. . . . I imagine the detachment will be upon its march this way before this reaches you."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

FRIDAY, APRIL 6.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "I have communicated to the general officers, at present with the army, my sentiments on the subject; and they are unanimously of opinion, that the detachment under your command should proceed and join the southern army. . . . You will therefore immediately on receipt of this, turn the detachment to the southward."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

At the time of receiving this order Lafayette was at the Head of Elk, preparing to march back with his troops to the banks of the Hudson, in pursuance of his original instructions. He immediately turned southward, and when the detachment reached Baltimore, finding that the men were suffering for the want of suitable clothing, borrowed money on his own credit to supply the material. After being joined by General Wayne (June 10), with about one thousand of the American line, the movements of Lafayette were so prudent and skilful that they contributed in no slight degree to the success of the campaign.

SUNDAY, APRIL 8.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "Intelligence has been sent to me, by a gentleman living near the enemy's lines, who has an opportunity of knowing what passes among them, that four parties have been sent out with orders to take or assassinate your Excellency, Governor Clinton, myself and a fourth person, whose name is not known."—*Washington to Governor Livingston.*

"This kind of intelligence was not uncommon. It was probably sometimes sent out through secret channels by the enemy, with the view of exciting alarm and vigilance at certain points, when they wished to draw attention away from others. It is certain, also, that plans were concerted for seizing the principal persons among the Americans. On one or two occasions Governor Livingston narrowly escaped. One of the spies, who came out with Sir Henry Clinton's proposition to the Pennsylvania mutineers, declared after he was taken, and repeated it at the time of his execution, that he knew a party, who had formed a scheme to seize General Washington, and he pretended to reveal the manner in which they proposed to carry it into effect."—*Sparks, VII. 472.*

THURSDAY, APRIL 26.

At West Point: "Gen. Washington visited West Point and Monsieur Beville, Quarter-Master of the French army at Newport."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

MONDAY, APRIL 30.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "I am very sorry to hear of your loss. I am a little sorry to hear of my own; but that which gives me most concern is, that you should go on board the enemy's vessels, and furnish them with refreshments. It would have been a less painful circumstance to me to have heard, that in consequence of your non-compliance with their request, they had burnt my house and laid the plantation in ruins. You ought to have considered yourself as my representative, and should have reflected on the bad example of communicating with the enemy, and making a voluntary offer of refreshments to them with a view to prevent a conflagration."—*Washington to Lund Washington.*

During an expedition by General Phillips, up the Chesapeake Bay and its principal rivers, in the early part of April, one of his smaller vessels ascended the Potomac and menaced Mount Vernon. Lund Washington, who had charge of the estate, met the flag which the enemy sent on shore, and saved the property from ravage by furnishing the vessel with provisions. Washington's decided disapproval of this action is pretty conclusively conveyed in the letter from which the above extract is made. Lund Washington, manager of the Mount Vernon estate from 1760 to 1785, was a great-grandson of Lawrence Washington, brother of John Washington, the great-grandfather of General Washington; this made them cousins in the third remove. He was born October 21, 1737, and died in July, 1796. His own plantation, "Hayfield," was about four miles from Mount Vernon.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 9.

At West Point: "Went to the Posts at West Point, and found by enquiry of General Heath that all the meal [meat?] deposited in the advanced redoubts for contingent purposes would not, if served out, serve the army two days."—*Washington's Journal*.

On May 1, 1781, Washington began "A concise journal of military transactions," the original manuscript of which is preserved in the Library of the Department of State, at Washington, D.C. The journal ending November 5 was printed in the *Magazine of American History* for 1881, and from this our extracts are made. The following, from the prefatory note, exhibits in a striking manner the condition of the army at the time, and the prospects of the campaign: "Instead of having magazines filled with provisions, we have a scanty pittance scattered here and there in the different States—Instead of having our arsenals well supplied with military stores, they are poorly provided, and the workmen all leaving them—Instead of having the various articles of Field equipage in readiness to deliver, the Quartermaster-General (as the denier resort, according to his acct.) is but now applying to the several States to provide these things for their troops respectively. Instead of having a regular system of transportation upon credit—or funds in the Quartermaster's hands to defray the contingent Expences of it, we have neither the one nor the other; and all that business, or a great part of it being done by military Impress, we are daily and hourly oppressing the people,—souring their tempers, and alienating their affection—Instead of having the Regiments compleated to the new establishment (and which ought to have been so by the — of — agreeable to the requisitions of Congress), scarce any state in the Union has, at this hour, an eighth part of its quota in the field—and little prospect, that I can see, of ever getting more than half.—In a word—instead of having everything in readiness to take the Field, we have nothing—and instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and gloomy defensive one—unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships

—Land Troops—and money from our generous allies—& these, at present, are too contingent to build upon.”

FRIDAY, MAY 11.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “My public letters to Congress will have informed you of the situation of this army, and I have no scruple in giving it as my decided opn., that, unless a capital change takes place soon, it will be impossible for me to maintain our Posts, and keep the army from dispersing.”—*Washington to General Sullivan.*

MONDAY, MAY 14.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “I have had the honor of receiving your Excellency’s letter of the 11th instant. Give me leave to congratulate you on your safe arrival, and your appointment to the command of his Most Christian Majesty’s fleet and sea forces upon these coasts. . . . I have appointed Monday, the 21st of this month, for the time of our interview at Weathersfield.”—*Washington to Count de Barras.*

“Newport, May 11th.—I have the honor to announce to your Excellency my arrival at Boston, on the 6th of this month, in the frigate Concord; the King having appointed me to the command of his squadron in these seas. I arrived here yesterday. The Count de Rochambeau has communicated to me the letter, which he had the honor to write to your Excellency, requesting an interview. When he shall receive your answer, we will conform to your decision. I am very impatient to have the honor of making an acquaintance with you, and to assure you that I have nothing so much at heart as to render myself serviceable to the King and to the United States.”—*Count de Barras to Washington.*

Count de Barras was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Admiral de Ternay, which occurred at Newport, December 15, 1780. During the interval the command of the squadron had devolved on the Chevalier Destouches.

TUESDAY, MAY 15.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “For the honor conferred on me by the President and Fellows of the University of Yale College, by the degree of Doctor of Laws, my warmest thanks are offered; and the polite manner, in which you are pleased to request my acceptance of this distin-

guished mark of their favor, demands my grateful acknowledgments.”—*Washington to Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College.*

WEDNESDAY, MAY 16.

At West Point: “Went to the Posts at West Point—received a particular acct. of the surprize of Colo Green & the loss we sustained.”—*Washington’s Journal.*

Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, in command of an outpost on the Croton River, not far from Pine’s Bridge, was surprised early in the morning of the 13th by a band of Tories under Colonel Delancey. “They first attacked Col. Greene’s and Major Flagg’s quarters, and killed the Major when in bed. The Colonel being badly wounded in the house, was carried into the woods and barbarously murdered [Thacher].” Greene, in the words of Irving, was “a true soldier of the Revolution; he had served at Lexington and Bunker’s Hill; followed Arnold through the Kennebec wilderness to Quebec; fought under the walls of that city; distinguished himself by his defence of Fort Mercer [Red Bank] on the Delaware, and by his kind treatment of his vanquished and wounded antagonist, Colonel Donop. How different the treatment experienced by him at the hands of his tory countrymen!”

THURSDAY, MAY 17.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: “The Count de Rochambeau having received despatches from the court of France by his son, the Viscount de Rochambeau, on the 6th instant, has requested an interview with me. I have appointed the place of meeting at Weathersfield, on Monday next, for which purpose I shall set out hence to-morrow. I am in hopes, that we shall be able, from the intelligence received, to settle a definitive plan of the campaign.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

At the Hartford conference (September 21, 1780) it had been decided to send a trusty messenger to the French court to hasten the despatch of reinforcements, and the Viscount de Rochambeau, who was serving on the staff of his father, was selected for the mission. The viscount reached Boston on his return, May 6, bringing news of the sailing from Brest, on March 22, of the Count de Grasse with a strong squadron escorting a convoy of transports, laden with supplies. All the restrictions imposed upon the Count de Rochambeau by De Sartine, the former Minister of Marine, had also been removed, the new ministry giving him full power to act as he thought best.

FRIDAY, MAY 18.

Leaves New Windsor: "Set out this day for the Interview at Weathersfield with the Count de Rochambeau & Admiral Barras.—reached Morgans Tavern 43 miles from Fishkill Landing after dining at Colo. Vandebergs."—*Washington's Journal*.

SATURDAY, MAY 19.

At Wethersfield, Connecticut: "Breakfasted at Litchfield—dined at Farmington—& lodged at Weathersfield at the House of Joseph Webb Esqr. (the Quarters wch were taken for me and my suit)."—*Washington's Journal*.

"Hartford, May 29, 1781.—On Saturday the 19th inst. his excellency General Washington, accompanied by Gen. Knox, Gen. Du Portail, and their respective suites, arrived at Wethersfield; being escorted into town by a number of gentlemen from Hartford and Wethersfield. As he dismounted at his quarters he was saluted by the discharge of thirteen cannon, by the corps of artillery, under the command of Cap. Frederick Bull. On Monday the 21st inst. his excellency the Count de Rochambeau, commanding the army of his most Christian Majesty at Newport, Gen. Chatteleu, and their suites, arrived at Wethersfield. They were met at Hartford, by his excellency General Washington, the officers of the army, and a number of gentlemen, who accompanied them to Wethersfield, where they were saluted with the discharge of cannon. Every mark of attention and politeness were shewn their excellencies, and the other gentlemen of the allied armies while attending the convention."—*Connecticut Historical Collections*, p. 55.

SUNDAY, MAY 20.

At Wethersfield: "Had a good deal of private conversation with Gov^r Trumbull who gave it to me as his opinion that if any important offensive operation should be undertaken he had little doubt of our obtaining Men & Provision adequate to our wants."—*Washington's Journal*.

"Lord's Day, May twentieth.—Went with Capt. Fred. Bull in a carriage to Wethersfeld—attended divine service with General Washington per tot diem. Mr. March preached. Mat. 7: 3—blessed are the poor of spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven."—*Diary of Jonathan Trumbull*.

MONDAY, MAY 21.

At Wethersfield: "The Count de Rochambeau with the Chevr de Chastellux arrived about noon—the appearance of

the British fleet (under Adml Arbuthnot) off Block Island prevented the attendance of the Count de Barras."—*Washington's Journal*.

TUESDAY, MAY 22.

At Wethersfield: "Fixed with Count de Rochambeau upon a plan of Campaign—in substance as follows—That the French Land force (except 200 men) should march so soon as the Squadron could sail for Boston—to the North River—& there, in conjunction with the American, to commence an operation against New York. . . . or to extend our views to the Southward as circumstances and a naval superiority might render more necessary and eligable."—*Washington's Journal*.

"Tuesday, twenty-second. Fair—dined with General Washington, Rochambeau &c. at Stillman's."—*Diary of Jonathan Trumbull*.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 23.

At Wethersfield: "Count de Rochambeau set out on his return to Newport, while I prepared and forwarded dispatches to the Governors of the four New England states calling upon them in earnest & pointed terms, to compleat their Continental Battalions for the Campaign."—*Washington's Journal*.

"Wednesday, twenty-third. Fair—dined at Colyer's with the Generals—supra public expense. Guards—Artillery."—*Diary of Jonathan Trumbull*.

THURSDAY, MAY 24.

Leaves Wethersfield: "Set out on my return to New Windsor—dined at Farmington and lodged at Litchfield."—*Washington's Journal*.

FRIDAY, MAY 25.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "Breakfasted at Squire Cogswells—dined at Colo. Vandeburgs & reached head Quarters about sunset."—*Washington's Journal*.

"To the Expence of a Journey to Weathersfield for the purpose of an Interview with the French Genl. & Adm. . . . 8376½ Doll^{rs}. . . . To Specie expended in this Trip. . . . £35.18.0."—*Washington's Accounts*.

SATURDAY, MAY 26.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "Received a Letter from the Honble Jno. Laurens minister from the United States of America at the Court of Versailles—informing me that the sum of 6,000,000 of Livres was granted as a donation to this country—to be applied in part to the purchase of arms—cloaths—&c. for the American Troops and the balance to my orders."—*Washington's Journal*.

The provision of this donation, that the balance, after paying for the military articles purchased in Europe, should be subject to the order of the commander-in-chief, aroused the jealousy of Congress, the members of which were not satisfied that the head of the army should possess such an agent, in addition to his military power. But fortunately M. de la Luzerne discovered in Count de Vergennes's letter to him, that General Washington, "or some other person," was indicated. The knowledge of this fact quieted the anxieties of Congress and relieved Washington from a task which he had no desire to perform and which would have excited the jealousy of his enemies. Prior to this date, France had donated to the United States the sum of three millions of livres, making, with the six millions mentioned above, nine millions in all, or about one million eight hundred thousand dollars.

FRIDAY, JUNE 15.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: Issues an order, congratulating the army on the successes of the American arms under General Greene in South Carolina, reciting the forced evacuation of Camden by Lord Rawdon, the surrender of Orangeburgh to General Sumter, of Fort Mott to General Marion, and Fort Granby to Lieutenant-Colonel Lee; and declaring these brilliant successes to be a presage that, with proper exertions, the enemy would soon be expelled from every part of the continent.

MONDAY, JUNE 18.

At Head-quarters, New Windsor: "Brigaded the Troops, and made an arrangement of the army, which is to march for the new Camp in three divisions—the 1st on Thursday the 21st.—the 2d on the 23d.—and the 3d on the 24th. inst."—*Washington's Journal*.

"June 23d.—The army is now concentrated to a point in this place [near Peekskill], and encamped in two lines, and in the same regular order that

the troops usually form in a line of battle, occupying a very large extent of ground and covering fields of corn, grain and meadows. Our brigade is stationed on the left of the second line. The campaign is now about to be opened, and we expect in a few days that the French Army will form a junction with us to co-operate with our troops."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

MONDAY, JUNE 25.

At Head-quarters, near Peekskill: "Joined the army at its Encampment at Peekskill—Mrs. Washington set out at the same time towards Virginia. . . . Had an interview with Govr. Clinton, Lieut. Govr Courtlandt & Generals Schuyler & Tenbrook."—*Washington's Journal*.

"The Van Cortlandt House, two miles east of Peekskill, erected in 1773, in the midst of one of the fine estates of that family, was occupied by Washington, for a brief space, as head-quarters."—*Lossing's Field-Book*, I. 738.

TUESDAY, JUNE 26.

At Head-quarters, near Peekskill: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander-in-Chief has the pleasure of announcing to the army the approach of the troops of his most Christian Majesty under the command of his Excellency Lieutenant-General Count de Rochambeau."

THURSDAY, JUNE 28.

At Head-quarters, near Peekskill: "I am extremely obliged to you for the assistance you have already afforded us in the article of flour. Without that aid, we should have been already distressed; and I must confess to you, that I see no prospect of being supplied, but through your means, as, by the last letters from the President and Council of Pennsylvania, I could expect little or nothing from that quarter."—*Washington to Robert Morris*.

"Not being prepared in my official character with funds or means of accomplishing the supplies you need, I have written to General Schuyler and to Mr. Thomas Lowrey in New Jersey, requesting their immediate exertions to procure upon their own credit one thousand barrels of flour each, and send the same forward in parcels as fast as procured to camp, deliverable to your Excellency's order; and I have pledged myself to pay them in hard money for the costs and charges, within a month, six weeks, or two

months. I shall make it a point to procure the money, being determined never to make an engagement that cannot be fulfilled; for if by any means I should fail in this respect, I will quit my office as useless from that moment."—*Robert Morris to Washington, May 29.*

FRIDAY, JUNE 29.

At Head-quarters, near Peekskill: "On the 29th [of June], I got on horseback to see some barracks which had been occupied by an American regiment during the winter; my purpose was to establish a hospital there. On the road I met General Washington, who was going to review a part of his troops. He recognized me, stopped and invited me to dine with him at three o'clock. I repaired thither; there were twenty-five covers used by some officers of the army and a lady to whom the house belonged in which the general lodged. We dined under the tent. I was placed alongside of the general. One of his aides-de-camp did the honors. The table was served in the American style and pretty abundantly: vegetables, roast beef, lamb, chickens, salad dressed with nothing but vinegar, green peas, puddings and some pie, a kind of tart, greatly in use in England and among the Americans, all this being put upon the table at the same time. They gave us on the same plate beef, green peas, lamb, &c."—*Diary of Claude Blanchard, p. 115.*

SATURDAY, JUNE 30.

At Head-quarters, near Peekskill: "In the fullest confidence I inform you, that I intend to make an attempt by surprise upon the enemy's posts on the north end of York Island on Monday night."—*Washington to Governor Clinton.*

MONDAY, JULY 2.

On the march to Valentine's Hill: "At three o'clock this morning I commenced my march with the Continental Army in order to cover the detached Troops—and improve any advantages which might be gained by them—made a small halt at the New bridge over Croton abt. 9 miles from Peekskill—another at the Church by Tarry Town till Dusk (9 miles more) and compleated the remaining part of the

mar[ch] in the night—arriving at Valentine's Hill (at Mile square) about sunrise. Our Baggage & Tents were left standing at the Camp at Peekskill."—*Washington's Journal*.

TUESDAY, JULY 3.

At Valentine's Hill: "I spent good part of the day in reconnoitering the Enemys works.—In the afternoon we retired to Valentine's Hill [four miles from Kings Bridge] & lay upon our arms—Duke Lauzen & Waterbury lay on the East side of the Brunx river on the East Chester road."—*Washington's Journal*.

"Valentine's Hill, eight o'clock, P.M., 3 July, 1781.—The operations of this day are over, and I am sorry to say, that I have not had the happiness to succeed to my wishes, although I think very essential benefit will result to our future operations from the opportunity I have had, in a very full manner, to reconnoitre the position and works of the enemy on the north end of York Island. . . . The American army and the Legion of the Duke de Lauzun will march to-morrow to White Plains. If it will be convenient to you, I shall be happy to receive your Excellency with your troops at that place the day after to-morrow."—*Washington to Count de Rochambeau*.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 4.

Near Dobbs Ferry, Phillipsburg: "Marched & took a position a little to the left of Dobbs ferry & marked a Camp for the French Army upon our left.—Duke Lauzen marched to the White pln. & Waterbury to Horseneck."—*Washington's Journal*.

"North Castle, July 4th.—I arrived here with the first brigade yesterday at nine o'clock in the morning. The second brigade, by a forced march, joined me in the afternoon; and we are now all together ready to execute your orders. I wait with the greatest impatience to hear from you and the Duke de Lauzun."—*Rochambeau to Washington*.

THURSDAY, JULY 5.

Visits the French army at North Castle: "General Washington came to see M. de Rochambeau. Notified of his approach, we mounted our horses and went out to meet him. He received us with the affability which is natural to him and depicted on his countenance. He is a very fine looking man, but did not surprise me as much as I expected from the descriptions I had heard of him. His physiognomy is

noble in the highest degree, and his manners are those of one perfectly accustomed to society, quite a rare thing certainly in America. He paid a visit to our camp, dined with us, and later we escorted him several miles on his return and took leave of him.”—*Diary of Baron Cromot du Bourg, Magazine of American History, IV.*

On the 6th of July the French troops broke camp at North Castle and marched to make a junction with the main body of the American army at Phillipsburg, twelve miles from Kings Bridge. The junction was made in the evening, on the grounds which had been marked out on the left of the American lines, the right of which rested on the Hudson, near Dobbs Ferry. The line of the French army extended to the Brunx River, with a valley of considerable extent between the two armies. Washington made his headquarters at the house of Joseph Appleby, the “Appleby Place,” on the cross-road from Dobbs Ferry to White Plains, and about three and a half miles from the ferry. The house, which was destroyed some years ago, stood on a little elevation, still called Washington’s Hill. Rochambeau’s quarters were at the Odell house, still standing, about a mile and a half east of the “Appleby Place.”

FRIDAY, JULY 6.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: *Orderly Book*.—“The Commander-in-chief with pleasure embraces the earliest public opportunity of expressing his thanks to his Excellency, the Count de Rochambeau, for the unremitting zeal with which he has prosecuted his march, in order to form the long wished-for junction between the French and American forces; an event, which must afford the highest degree of pleasure to every friend of his country, and from which the happiest consequences are to be expected.”

SATURDAY, JULY 7.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: “Our army was drawn up in a line and reviewed by General Rochambeau, Commander in Chief of the French army, with his Excellency General Washington, and other general officers.”—*Thacher’s Military Journal.*

SUNDAY, JULY 8.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: “In the afternoon of the 8th General Washington reviewed the two armies; we

went first to the American army, which may have amounted to four thousand and some hundred men at the most. It seemed to me to be in as good order as possible for an army composed of men without uniforms and with narrow resources. The Rhode Island regiment, among others, is extremely fine. We went thence to the French army, which, though unpretending, has quite another style. The Americans admit it; they all seemed to be delighted as well as their General.”—*Diary of Baron Cromot du Bourg.*

TUESDAY, JULY 10.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: “Another review took place in presence of the French ambassador, from Philadelphia, after which the French army passed a review in presence of the general officers of both armies.”—*Thacher’s Military Journal.*

“The heat was excessive; it was not moderated until the 10th by a great rain which lasted all night and passed through all the tents. I dined that day at the intendant’s [M. de Tarlé] with General Washington. He was rather grave; it was said that there had been a little misunderstanding between him and General Rochambeau. General Washington’s army was encamped near ours; it was about 4000 men.”—*Diary of Claude Blanchard, p. 120.*

SATURDAY, JULY 14.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: “I went with M. de Rochambeau to dine with General Lincoln, where also were General Washington, Messrs. de Viosmenil, de Chatelux and de Lauzun. There were conferences enough to give me the impression that within a very short time some movement will be made; in fact at five o’clock in the afternoon M. de Rochambeau made his preparations for a march.”—*Diary of Baron Cromot du Bourg.*

“July 14th.—Near 5000 men being ordered to march for Kingsbridge, to cover and secure a reconnoitre of the Enemy’s works on the No. end of York Island, Harlaem river, & the Sound, were prevented doing so by incessant rain.”—*Washington’s Journal.*

WEDNESDAY, JULY 18.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: “I passed the North River with Count de Rochambeau—Genl. de Beville, his

Qr. Mr. Genl. & Genl. Duportail in order to reconnoitre the Enemy Posts and Encampments at the North end of York Island—and took an Escort of 150 Men from the Jersey Troops on the other side.”—*Washington's Journal*.

SATURDAY, JULY 21.

On the march to Kings Bridge: “ Again ordered abt. 5000 men to be ready to march at 8 o'clock [in the evening], for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy's Posts at Kingsbridge—and to cut off, if possible, such of Delaney's Corps as should be found without their lines. At the hour appointed the march commenced in 4 columns on different roads. . . . At Mile Square (Valentine's hill) the left column of the American Troops and right of the French formed their junction, as did the left of the French also by *mistake*, as it was intended it should cross the Brunx by Garrineaus, & recross it at William's bridge.—The whole Army (Parson's division first) arrived at Kingsbridge [fourteen miles from New York] about daylight & formed on the heights back of Fort Independence—extending towards delancy's Mills.”—*Washington's Journal*.

SUNDAY, JULY 22.

At Kings Bridge: “ After having fixed upon the ground, & formed our line, I began, with General Rochambeau and the Engineers, to reconnoitre the enemy's position and works.”—*Washington's Journal*.

“ While near the enemy's lines, the army was drawn up in a line of battle, and General Washington, General Rochambeau, and all the general officers and engineers, were employed in reconnoitering the different positions of the enemy's works in all directions.”—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

MONDAY, JULY 23.

On the march to Phillipsburg: “ Went upon Frogs Neck to see what communication could be had with Long Isld, the Engineers attending with Instrumts, to measure the distance across, found it to be — yards. Having finished the reconnoitre without damage—a few harmless shot being

fired at us—we marched back about Six o'clock by the same road we went down & a reversed order of March, and arrived in Camp about Midnight.”—*Washington's Journal*.

“July 23.—At half-past five in the morning we mounted again to make a reconnoissance of a part of Long Island which is separated from the continent by the Sound; several vessels which were there fired upon us without doing us any harm. We returned thence to Morrisania to examine again a part of the island on our way back. I need not mention the sang froid of General Washington, it is well known; but this great man is a thousand times more noble and splendid at the head of his army than at any other time.”—*Diary of Baron Cromot du Bourg*.

On the 23d of July, Washington and Rochambeau dined at the Van Cortlandt mansion, about one mile north of Kings Bridge.

MONDAY, JULY 30.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: “I think we have already effected one part of the plan of the campaign settled at Weathersfield; that is, giving a substantial relief to the southern States, by obliging the enemy to recall a considerable part of their force from thence. Our views must now be turned towards endeavouring to expel them totally from those States, if we find ourselves incompetent to the siege of New York.”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

“August 4, 1781.—I have seen General Washington, that most singular man—the soul and support of one of the greatest revolutions that has ever happened, or can happen. . . . He is of tall and noble stature, well proportioned, a fine, cheerful, open countenance, a simple and modest carriage; and his whole mien has something in it that interests the French, the Americans, and even enemies themselves in his favor. . . . He has ever shown himself superior to fortune, and in the most trying adversity has discovered resources till then unknown; and, as if his abilities only increased and dilated at the prospect of difficulty, he is never better supplied than when he seems destitute of every thing, nor have his arms ever been so fatal to his enemies, as at the very instant when they had thought they had crushed him for ever. . . . In all these extensive states they consider him in the light of a beneficent God, dispensing peace and happiness around him. Old men, women and children, press about him when he accidentally passes along, and think themselves happy, once in their lives, to have seen him—they follow him through the towns with torches, and celebrate his arrival by public illuminations. The Americans, that cool and sedate people, who in the midst of their most trying difficulties, have attended only to the directions and impulses of plain method and common sense, are roused,

animated, and inflamed at the very mention of his name : and the first songs that sentiment or gratitude has dictated, have been to celebrate General Washington."—*Abbé Robin*, one of the chaplains to the French army.

MONDAY, AUGUST 6.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: "The Commander in Chief, attended by a number of the General officers, reconnoitred towards King's Bridge, covered by strong detachments of cavalry and infantry."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 11.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: "Robt. Morris Esqr. Superintendant of Finance & Richd. Peters Esq. a member of the Board of War, arrived at camp to fix with me the number of men necessary for the next campaign—and to make the consequent arrangements for their establishment and Support."—*Washington's Journal*.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 14.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: "Received dispatches from the Count de Barras, announcing the intended departure of the Count de Grasse from Cape Francois with between 25 & 29 Sail of the line & 3200 land Troops on the 3d Instant for Chesapeake bay. . . . Matters having now come to a crisis, and a decisive plan to be determined on—I was obliged, from the shortness of Count de Grasse's promised stay on this coast—the apparent disinclination in their naval officers to force the harbour of New York, and the feeble compliance of the States to my requisitions for men, hitherto, & little prospect of greater exertion in future, to give up all idea of attacking New York; & instead thereof to remove the French Troops & a detachment from the American Army to the Head of Elk, to be transported to Virginia for the purpose of cooperating with the force from the West Indies against the Troops in that State."—*Washington's Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 15.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: "The Concorde frigate has arrived at Newport from Count de Grasse. He was to

leave St. Domingo the 3d of this month, with a fleet of between twenty-five and twenty-nine sail of the line, and a considerable body of land forces. His destination is immediately for the Chesapeake; so that he will either be there by the time this reaches you, or you may look for him every moment.”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 16.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: “In the morning the regiment of Bourbonnais manœuvred before General Washington who seemed well satisfied. In the afternoon he saw that of Deux Ponts which was no less successful.”—*Diary of Baron Cromot du Bourg.*

“August 16th.—Letters from the Marqs. de la Fayette & others, inform that Lord Cornwallis with the Troops from Hampton Road, had proceeded up York River & landed at York and Gloucester Towns where they were throwing up works on the 6th inst.”—*Washington’s Journal.*

FRIDAY, AUGUST 17.

At Head-quarters, Phillipsburg: “In consequence of the despatches received from your Excellency by the frigate *La Concorde*, it has been judged expedient to give up for the present the enterprise against New York, and turn our attention towards the south, with a view, if we should not be able to attempt Charleston itself, to recover and secure the States of Virginia, North Carolina, and the country of South Carolina and Georgia. We may add a further inducement for giving up the first-mentioned enterprise, which is the arrival of a reinforcement of near three thousand Hessian recruits. For this purpose we have determined to remove the whole of the French army, and as large a detachment of the American as can be spared, to the Chesapeake, to meet your Excellency there.”—*Washington to Count de Grasse.*

“The whole of the French army, with the two regiments of New Jersey, first regiment of New-York, Col. Hazen’s regiment, Col. Olney’s regiment of Rhode-Island, Col. Lamb’s regiment of artillery, and the light troops under the command of Col. Scammel, were detached for the expedition against Lord Cornwallis, and the army under his command, at York-Town, in Virginia.”—*Heath’s Memoirs.*

SUNDAY, AUGUST 19.

Leaves Phillipsburg: "The want of Horses, or bad condition of them in the French Army delayed the March till this day. . . . Passed Sing Sing with the American column—The French column marched by the way of North castle Crompond & Pines bridge being near ten miles further."—*Washington's Journal*.

"August 19th.—About noon, his Excellency Gen. Washington left the army, setting his face towards his native State, in full confidence, to use his own words, 'with a common blessing,' of capturing Lord Cornwallis and his army."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

MONDAY, AUGUST 20.

At King's Ferry: "The head of the Americans arrived at King's ferry about ten o'clock and immediately began to cross."—*Washington's Journal*.

During the crossing of the allied armies at King's Ferry, Washington had his head-quarters at the Joshua Hett Smith house, about two and a half miles below Stony Point, the western landing of the ferry. The house, which possesses historical interest, from being the place at which André and Arnold had their meeting (September 22, 1780), is still standing. It is beautifully situated on the ridge of a hill which commands an extensive view of the Hudson.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 21.

At King's Ferry: "In the course of this day the whole of the American Troop, all their baggage, artillery & stores crossed the river."—*Washington's Journal*.

"On the 21st. the [French] army left Northcastle. In the evening I received orders from the general [Rochambeau] to carry a letter to General Washington, who was already on the other side of the North river, where we also were beginning to form some establishments. The Americans were already much farther off than I had supposed; I joined them nevertheless: General Washington was occupying Smith's house, famous owing to the fact that there André and Arnold had held their meeting. General Washington was taking tea; I took it with him."—*Diary of Claude Blanchard*, p. 127.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22.

At King's Ferry: "August 22d, 23d, 24th & 25th—Employed in transporting the French Army—its baggage and stores over the river."—*Washington's Journal*.

“ August 22.—The troops arrived in quite good season at their camp [at King’s Ferry], which was pitched on the brow of a hill overlooking the North River. They remained there the 23d and 24th. During this time arrangements were made for the passage of the River by all the trains and troops, quite a difficult matter, there being but few boats. *August 23.*—As the Headquarters remained at Peskill [Peekskill], there being at King’s Ferry only the single house which belonged to the man who owns the Ferry, M. de Rochambeau was not willing to pass so near West Point as nine miles, without seeing it. He left by boat at eight o’clock in the morning to visit it with General Washington and several officers.”—*Diary of Baron Cromot du Bourg.*

FRIDAY, AUGUST 24.

At King’s Ferry: “From the progress already made in our march towards the Chesapeake, it is estimated that the troops may arrive at the Head of Elk by the 8th of September.”—*Washington to Count de Grasse.*

“On the 25th. I went myself to the spot [King’s Ferry] and saw many of the troops and much baggage cross. General Washington was there; they had provided a pavilion for him, from which he examined everything very attentively. He seemed, in this crossing, in the march of our troops towards the Chesapeake bay and in our reunion with M. de Grasse, to see a better destiny arise, when at this period of the war, exhausted, destitute of resources, he needed a great success which might revive courage and hope. He pressed my hand with much affection when he left us and crossed the river himself. It was about two o’clock. He then rejoined his army, which had commenced its march in the morning, as also the first division of our army.”—*Diary of Claude Blanchard.*

MONDAY, AUGUST 27.

At Chatham, New Jersey: “I must entreat you, if possible, to procure one month’s pay in specie for the detachment, which I have under my command. Part of those troops have not been paid anything for a long time past, and have upon several occasions shown marks of great discontent. The service they are going upon is disagreeable to the northern regiments; but I make no doubt that a *douceur* of a little hard money would put them in proper temper. . . . The American detachment will assemble in this neighborhood to-day; the French army to-morrow.”—*Washington to Robert Morris.*

“ When they arrived at Philadelphia, the Army discovered great discontent at not receiving certain arrears of pay long withheld from them. It was thought neither prudent or safe to proceed farther without making pay at least in part. Money was also wanted to hire vessels & other means to proceed down the Chesapeake Bay. The Treasury was empty—Congress had no means to raise the money—requisitions had been voted in vain. In this exigency the vigorous exertions of the Hon. Robert Morris the Superintendent of Finances, relieved their distress. He went out among his mercantile & other Friends, and borrowed on his own responsibility upwards of 30,000 Dollars which answered every purpose, and the Army soon appeared before York Town.”—*MS. of Elias Boudinot.*

Twenty thousand hard dollars of this amount was borrowed from Count de Rochambeau, which Mr. Morris engaged to replace by the 1st of October. The arrival of Colonel Laurens at Boston from his mission to France, on the 25th of August, with two millions and a half of livres, part of the donation of six millions, enabled the Superintendent of Finance to fulfil his engagement.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 28.

At New Brunswick, New Jersey: “ Aug. 28.—To Expenditures on my March from y^o White Plains, or Dobb’s Ferry by y^o way of King’s ferry to Brunswick inclusive . . . £38.15.0.”—*Washington’s Accounts.*

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 29.

At Trenton, New Jersey: “ September 1st.—Letters were received from Gen. Washington, dated at Trenton, the 29th ult.”—*Heath’s Memoirs.*

“ August 30th.—As our intentions could be concealed one march more (under the idea of Marching to Sandy hook, to facilitate the entrance of the French fleet within the Bay), the whole Army was put in motion in three Columns. . . . I set out myself for Philadelphia to arrange matters there. . . . Arrived at Philadelphia to dinner and immediately hastened up all the vessels that could be procured—but finding them inadequate to the purpose of transporting both Troops and Stores, Count de Rochambeau and myself concluded it would be best to let the Troops march by land to the Head of Elk, & gave directions accordingly to all but the 2d York regiment, which was ordered (with its baggage) to come down in the Batteaux they had in charge to Christiana bridge.”—*Washington’s Journal.*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 30.

At Philadelphia: “ On Thursday, the 30th of August, at one o’clock in the afternoon, his Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the American armies, accompanied by the Generals Rochambeau and Chastellux, with their respective

Suites, arrived in this city. The General was received by the militia light horse in the suburbs, and escorted into the town; he stopped at the City Tavern and received the visit of several gentlemen; from thence he proceeded to the house of the Superintendent of Finance [Robert Morris], where he now has his head quarters. About three o'clock he went up to the State House, and paid his respects to Congress. He then returned to the Superintendent's, where his Excellency the President of Congress [Thomas M'Kean] with the Generals before mentioned, General Knox, General Sullivan, and several other gentlemen, had the pleasure of dining with him. After dinner some vessels belonging to this port, and those lying in the stream, fired salutes to the different toasts which were drank. In the evening the city was illuminated, and his Excellency walked through some of the principal streets, attended by a numerous concourse of people, eagerly pressing to see their beloved General."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 1.

"August 30th, 1781.—Went out to meet his Excellency General Washington, who arrived in this city about one o'clock, amidst the universal acclamations of the citizens, who displayed every mark of joy on the occasion. His Excellency alighted at the City Tavern, received the compliments of many gentlemen, who went out to escort him, and of others who came there to pay him their respects, and then adjourned to my house [South Front Street] with his suit, Count de Rochambeau, the Chevalier Chastellux, General Knox, General Moultrie, and others, to dinner. The owners of several ships in the harbor ordered them out into the stream, and fired salutes, whilst we drank, The United States, His Most Christian Majesty, His Catholic Majesty, The United Provinces, The Allied Armies, Count de Grasse's speedy arrival, &c &c."—*Diary of Robert Morris*, *Diplomatie Correspondence*, XI. 462.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 2.

At Philadelphia: "Should the retreat of Lord Cornwallis by water be cut off, I am persuaded you will do all in your power to prevent his escape by land. May that great felicity be reserved for you."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

"A certain warrior [Marquis de Lafayette] at the head of twelve or fifteen hundred men, has found means to keep his ground all this time in Virginia; the impetuous Arnold, and the active Cornwallis, not daring to at-

tempt any thing against him. You will doubtless suppose, that this *warrior* is one of those men, whom long experience and brilliant successes, have rendered formidable to the enemy. This leader, I assure you, is a man of only twenty-four years of age, who has left the arms of an affectionate and amiable wife, a residence among pleasures and high life, where his name, and an alliance with an illustrious family, opened a great way to the greatest dignities, to come to this country, and, under the American *FABIUS*, defend the sacred cause of liberty, and learn to serve his king and country.”—*Abbé Robin*.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

At Philadelphia: “On Monday and Tuesday last the French army, under the command of his Excellency Count de Rochambeau, passed in review before his Excellency the President and the Honorable the Congress of the United States, at the State House in this city. The President was covered, his Excellency General Washington, Commander-in-Chief, the Count de Rochambeau, etc., stood on his left hand, uncovered.”—*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 8.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4.

At Philadelphia: “In the evening I repaired to the house of M. de la Luzerne [north side of Chestnut Street, between Sixth and Seventh Streets], who was giving a great dinner to the chief officer of the Congress, General Washington, and the principal officers of our troops.”—*Diary of Claude Blanchard*, p. 136.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5.

Leaves Philadelphia: “The rear of the French army having reached Philadelphia, and the Americans having passed it, the stores having got up and every thing in a tolerable train here; I left this city for the head of Elk to hasten the embarkation at that place, and on my way—(at Chester)—received the agreeable news of the safe arrival of the Count de Grasse in the Bay of Chesapeake with 28 sail of the line and four frigates, with 3000 land Troops which were to be immediately debarked at Jamestown and form a junction with the American army under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette.”—*Washington’s Journal*.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

At Head of Elk, Maryland: "I have been honored by your Excellency's favor of the 2d instant, and do myself the pleasure to felicitate you on the happy arrival of so formidable a fleet of his Most Christian Majesty in the Bay of Chesapeake under your Excellency's command."—*Washington to Count de Grasse.*

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

At Head of Elk: "I shall set out for the theatre of action to-morrow, and hope to have the pleasure of communicating with you personally in a few days, and of making every arrangement, in conjunction with the admiral, which may be deemed necessary."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

At Baltimore, Maryland: "General Washington accompanied by the Count Rochambeau, general Hand, major general baron Viomenil, brigadier general Chatelux and Gen. Clinton passed through town, the eighth September, most of the allied army going by water from Elkton to Annapolis. On this occasion the town was illuminated and an address from the citizens and inhabitants, was presented to the commander in chief, which he answered."—*Annals of Baltimore.*

"Baltimore, September 11, 1781.—Last Saturday afternoon [September 8] his excellency general Washington (accompanied by adjutant general Hand, and other officers of distinction) arrived at the Fountain-Inn, in this town, on his way to Virginia. His excellency was received in this vicinity, and escorted to his quarters, by Captain Moore's troop of light dragoons, where he was most respectfully complimented by a number of gentlemen. The Baltimore artillery companies gave his excellency a handsome salute, and the inhabitants in general, seemed to vie with each other in testifying their respect and affection for his person and character. In the evening every part of the town was elegantly illuminated. Very early the next morning his excellency (with his attendants) proceeded on his journey, the object of which is obvious, and, undoubtedly, of the last importance."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 18.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9.

At Mount Vernon, Virginia: "September 9th—I reached my own Seat at Mount Vernon (distance 120 miles from the

H'd of Elk) where I staid till the 12th, and in three days afterwards—that is on the 14th—reached Williamsburg.”—*Washington's Journal*.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.

At Mount Vernon: “We are thus far on our way to you. The Count de Rochambeau has just arrived. General Chastellux will be here, and we propose, after resting to-morrow, to be at Fredericksburg on the night of the 12th. The 13th we shall reach New Castle; and the next day we expect to have the pleasure of seeing you at your encampment [at Williamsburg].”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

At Mount Vernon: “I intended on passing through Maryland, to have done myself the pleasure to have called on your excellency, but circumstances pressing upon me, as I advanced on my march, and time slipping too fast from me, I found a necessity of getting on with that rapidity as has obliged me to proceed without calling at Annapolis.”—*Washington to Governor Lee*.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

At Williamsburg, Virginia: “In the evening about four o'clock twenty-one pieces of cannon were fired on the arrival of his Excellency General George Washington. There was a universal joy amongst our officers and soldiers, especially the French troops, on his arrival.”—*Journal of Lieutenant William Feltman*, Collections, Hist. Soc. of Penna., 1853.

Washington's head-quarters at Williamsburg were at the *Wythe House*, “a stately colonial mansion, fronting upon a long narrow common, called the Palace Green.” The house, a large two-story brick building, is still standing; it was the home of George Wythe, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and sole Chancellor of Virginia for more than twenty years.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17.

Visits Count de Grasse: “In company with the Count de Rochambeau, the Chevr Chastellux, Genls. Knox and Du-

portail, I set out for the interview with the Admiral, and arrived on board the *Ville de Paris* (off Cape Henry) the next day by noon, and having settled most points with him to my satisfaction except not obtaining an assurance of sending ships above York—and one that he could not continue his fleet on this station longer than the first of November, I embarked on board the *Queen Charlotte* (the vessel I went down in), but by hard blowing and contrary winds, did not reach Williamsburg again till the 22d.”—*Washington's Journal*.

“*September 25th.*—Admiral de Barras having joined the Count de Grasse with the Squadron and Transports from Rhode Island, and the latter with some Frigates being sent to Baltimore for the remainder of the French army, arrived this day at the usual port of debarkation above the College Creek, and began to land the Troops from them.”—*Washington's Journal*.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28.

On the march for Yorktown: “Having debarked all the Troops and their Baggage—marched—and encamped them in Front of the city—and having with some difficulty obtained horses and waggons sufficient to move our field Artillery, Intrenching Tools—and such other articles as were indispensably necessary—we commenced our march for the Investiture of the Enemy at York.—The American Continental, and French troops formed one column on the left—the first in advance—the Militia composed the right column. . . . About noon the head of each column arrived at its ground. . . . The line being formed all the Troops—officers & men—lay upon their arms during the night.”—*Washington's Journal*.

“On the night of September 28, Washington and his staff bivouacked on the ground in the open air. He slept under a mulberry-tree, the root serving for a pillow.”—*Irving*, IV. 356.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29.

Before Yorktown: “Moved the American Troop more to the right, and Encamped on the East side of Be[a]ver dam Creek, with a morass in front about cannon shot from the enemy's lines—Spent this day in reconnoitering the enemy's

position, & determining upon a plan of attack & approach which must be done without the assistance of shipping above the Town as the Admiral—(notwithstanding my earnest solicitation) declined hazarding any vessells on that station.”—*Washington's Journal*.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

Before Yorktown: “The enemy abandoned all their exterior works, & the position they had taken without the Town; & retired within their Interior works of defence in the course of last night—immediately upon which we possessed them & made those on our left (with a little alteration) very serviceable to us—We also began two enclosed works on the right of Pidgeon Hill—between that & the ravine above More's Mill.”—*Washington's Journal*.

On the 30th the place was completely invested by the allied armies, their line extending in a semicircle at a distance of about a mile and a quarter from the British works, each wing resting upon the York River. The French occupied the left, the Americans the right, while Count de Grasse with his fleet remained in Lynn Haven Bay, to beat off any naval force which might come to the aid of Cornwallis. On the extreme left of the besieging army were the regiments of Gatinois (Royal Auvergne), Touraine, and Agénois, under the Marquis de St.-Simon, and next to them were the light-infantry regiments of Saintonge, Soissonais, Royal Deux-Ponts, and Bourbonnais, commanded by the Baron and Viscount Vioménil. The French artillery and the quarters of General Washington and Count de Rochambeau occupied the centre; and on the right, across a marsh, were the American artillery, under General Knox; the Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania troops, under Steuben; the New York, Rhode Island, and New Jersey troops, with sappers and miners, under General James Clinton; the light infantry, under the Marquis de Lafayette; and the Virginia militia, under Governor Nelson. The quarters of General Lincoln were on the banks of Wormley's Creek, on the extreme right. During the siege the Americans and French, under Generals Choisy and Weedon and the Duke de Lauzun, blockaded Gloucester.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 1.

Before Yorktown: “This afternoon, three o'clock his excellency Gen'l Washington, Gen. Duportail and several other engineers crossed at the mill dam to take a view of the enemy's works. His excellency sent one of his Aides de Camp for Capt. Smith and his guard of fifty men to

march in front of his Excellency as a covering party, which we did, and went under cover of a hill, where we posted our guard, when his Excellency Gen'l Washington and Gen'l Duportail with three men of our guard advanced within three hundred yards of the enemy's main works, which is the town of York."—*Journal of Lieutenant William Feltman.*

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6.

Before Yorktown: "Before morning the Trenches were in such forwardness as to cover the men from the enemy's fire—The work was executed with so much secrecy & dispatch that the enemy were, I believe, totally ignorant of our labor till the light of the morning discovered it to them."—*Washington's Journal.*

"October 7th and 8th.—Was employed in completing our Parallel—finishing the redoubts in them and establishing Batteries."—*Washington's Journal.*

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9.

Before Yorktown: "We erected a battery last night in front of our first parallel, without any annoyance from the enemy. Two or three of our batteries being now prepared to open on the town, his Excellency General Washington put the match to the first gun, and a furious discharge of cannon and mortars immediately followed, and Earl Cornwallis has received his first Salutation."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

"October 9th.—About 3 o'clock P.M. the French opened a battery on our extreme left of 4 sixteen pounders, and six Morters & Howitzers—and at 5 o'clock an American battery of six 18s & 24s; four Morters & 2 Howitzers began to play from the extremity of our right.—October 10th—The French opened two batteries on the left of our front parallel. . . . And the Americans two Batteries between those last mentioned & the one on our extreme right.—October 11th—The French opened two other batteries on the left of the parallel."—*Washington's Journal.*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12.

Before Yorktown: "Began our second parallel within about 300 yards (and in some places less) of the enemy's

lines—and got it so well advanced in the course of the night as to cover the men before morning.”—*Washington's Journal*.

“I cannot but acknowledge the infinite obligations I am under to His Excellency, the Count de Rochambeau, the Marquis St. Simon, commanding the troops from the West Indies, the other general officers, and indeed the officers of every denomination in the French army, for the assistance which they afford me. The experience of many of those gentlemen, in the business before us, is of the utmost advantage in the present operation. And I am sensible it must give your Excellency and Congress the highest pleasure to know, that the greatest harmony prevails between the two armies. They seem actuated by one spirit, that of supporting the honor of the allied arms, and pushing their approaches with the utmost vigor.”—*Washington to the President of Congress, October 12.*

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 14.

Before Yorktown: “The day was spent in completing our parallel and maturing the Batteries of the second parallel—the old batteries were principally directed against the abattis and salient angles of the enemy's advanced redoubts on their extreme right and left, to prepare them for the intended assault for which the necessary dispositions were made for attacking the two on the left, and,—At half after six in the evening both were carried—that on their left (on the Bank of the river) by the Americans, and the other by the French Troops. The Baron Viominel commanded the left attack & the Marq's de la Fayette, the right, on which the light Infantry were employed. . . . The bravery exhibited by the attacking Troops was emulous and praiseworthy—few cases have exhibited stronger proofs of Intripidity, coolness and firmness than were shown upon this occasion.”—*Washington's Journal*.

“During the assault, the British kept up an incessant firing of cannon and musketry from their whole line. His Excellency General Washington, Generals Lincoln and Knox, with their aids, having dismounted, were standing in an exposed situation waiting the result. Colonel Cobb, one of General Washington's aids, solicitous for his safety, said to his Excellency, ‘Sir, you are too much exposed here, had you not better step a little back?’ ‘Colonel Cobb,’ replied his Excellency, ‘if you are afraid, you have liberty to step back.’”—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 15.

Before Yorktown: "Busily employed in getting the Batteries of the second parallel compleated, and fixing on new ones contiguous to the Redoubts which were taken last night.—*October 16th*—About four o'clock this morning, the enemy made a Sortee upon our second parallel and spiked four French pieces of Artillery and two of ours, but the guards of the Trenches advancing quickly upon them, they retreated precipitately. . . . About 4 o'clock this afternoon the French opened two Batteries of 2 24s & four 16s each—3 pieces from the American grand battery were also opened the others not being ready.—*October 17th*—The French opened another Battery of four 24s & two 16s and a Morter Battery of 10 Morters and two Howitzers—The American grand Battery consisting of 12 twenty-four and eighteen prs, 4 Morters and two Howitzers."—*Washington's Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 17.

Before Yorktown: "About ten o'clock the enemy beat a parley, and Lord Cornwallis proposed a cessation of Hostilities for 24 hours, that Commissioners might meet at the house of a Mr. Moore (in the rear of our first parallel) to settle terms for the Surrender of the Posts of York and Gloucester."—*Washington's Journal*.

"*October 18th*.—The Commissioners met accordingly; but the business was so procrastinated by those on their side (a Colo. Dundas & a Maj'r Ross) that Colo. Laurens & the Viscount de Noailles, who were appointed on our part could do no more than make the rough draft of the articles which were to be submitted for Lord Cornwallis' consideration."—*Washington's Journal*.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 19.

Surrender of Yorktown: "In the morning early I had them [the articles of surrender] copied and sent word to Lord Cornwallis that I expected to have them signed at 11 o'clock—and that the Garrison would march out at two o'clock—both of which were accordingly done."—*Washington's Journal*.

“ At about twelve o'clock, the combined army was arranged and drawn up in two lines extending more than a mile in length. The Americans were drawn up in a line on the right side of the road, and the French occupied the left. At the head of the former the great American commander, mounted on his noble courser, took his station, attended by his aids. At the head of the latter was posted the excellent Count Rochambeau and his suite. . . . It was about two o'clock when the captive army advanced through the line formed for their reception. Every eye was prepared to gaze on Lord Cornwallis, the object of peculiar interest and solicitude; but he disappointed our anxious expectations; pretending indisposition, he made General O'Harra his substitute as the leader of his army. This officer was followed by the conquered troops in a slow and solemn step, with shouldered arms, colors cased and drums beating a British march. Having arrived at the head of the line, General O'Harra, elegantly mounted, advanced to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, taking off his hat, and apologized for the non appearance of Earl Cornwallis. With his usual dignity and politeness his Excellency pointed to Major General Lincoln for directions, by whom the British army was conducted into a spacious field where it was intended they should ground their arms.”—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20.

Before Yorktown: *Orderly Book*.—“ The General congratulates the army upon the glorious event of yesterday. . . . Divine service is to be performed to-morrow in the several brigades and divisions. The Commander-in-chief earnestly recommends, that the troops not on duty should universally attend, with that seriousness of deportment and gratitude of heart, which the recognition of such reiterated and astonishing interpositions of Providence demands of us.”

“ The surrender of Yorktown produced, as may well be supposed, the greatest excitement throughout the continent. It was justly considered as decisive of the issue of the struggle. The successive steps in the transaction, beginning with the first movement of the combined armies from the vicinity of New York, and extending to the complete investment of the British camp at Yorktown, were taken with such rapidity, the combinations were so skilfully arranged, the result so speedily secured, that the imaginations of men were dazzled, and the hearts of the friends of the American cause were filled with rapturous admiration and gratitude. Dr. Franklin thus wrote to Washington from Paris, on receiving the intelligence: ‘ All the world agree, that no expedition was ever better planned or better executed. It has made a great addition to the military reputation you had already acquired, and heightens the glory that surrounds your name, and that must accompany it to our latest posterity.’ ”—*Upham*, II. 60.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21.

Visits Count de Grasse: "The prisoners began their march [to Winchester, Virginia, and Fort Frederick and Fredericktown, Maryland] & I set out for the Fleet to pay my respects & offer my thanks to the Admiral for his important services."—*Washington's Journal*.

The whole number of prisoners, exclusive of seamen, amounted to seven thousand two hundred and forty-seven, of whom six thousand and thirty-nine were rank and file; six commissioned and twenty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates had previously been captured in the redoubts, or in the sortie from the garrison. The British loss during the siege, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to three hundred and fifty-three. The combined army to which Cornwallis surrendered was estimated at sixteen thousand, of whom seven thousand were French, five thousand five hundred Continentals, and three thousand five hundred militia. The loss in killed and wounded was two hundred and seventy-four. The land forces surrendered to General Washington, and became prisoners to Congress; but the seamen, ships, and naval equipments were assigned to the French admiral.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27.

Before Yorktown: Receives and answers an address from the president and professors of William and Mary College, Williamsburg.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28.

Before Yorktown: "Received a Letter from the Count de Grasse, declining the convoy he had engaged to give the detachment for Wilmington & assigning his reasons for it."—*Washington's Journal*.

"At the Siege of York Town, the French Troops brought out by Count De Grasse [the regiments of Gatinois, Touraine, and Agénois], were absolutely necessary to compleat the Lines of circumvallation, and perfect the Siege. About 2 days before the Capture, the Count sent word to Genl. Washington that he should within 48 hours withdraw those Troops & that he must provide accordingly. This was in effect raising the Siege. Genl. Washington remonstrated ag^t it in vain. He sent the Marquis la Fayette on Board the Fleet to dissuade Count de Grasse from so ruinous a measure. He obstinately persisted, and said his orders were positive & not discretionary. Gen^l Washington finding that nothing but storming the Enemies lines would prevent the raising the Siege, and that would necessarily occasion the loss of great numbers on both sides, to avoid which he fell upon

the following expedient. He sent out Col. Hamilton with some other officers with a Flag of Truce, on some business. They were met half way by a number of british officers. They carried with them something to Eat & Drink. In conversation they mentioned to the british Officers, their Concern for them as Gent^s & Soldiers. That the American Army had determined to storm their Lines ; that the American Soldiery & Country People were so exasperated at the Conduct of the British to the Southward, that they could not answer for the Consequences, as they did not think they could be restrained by Authority & Discipline. That they knew Gen. Washington's humane Temper, and his wish to avoid the unnecessary shedding of blood. That in case of a Capitulation, the same Terms the british gave to our Troops at Charles Town, with the addition of the officers wearing side arms & being immediately sent on their parole into New York, they believed might be obtained. That they did not wish their Names to be mentioned &c. &c. Within a few Hours after their return proposals for surrendering on Terms were sent out and the Capitulation took Place.¹ Count de Grasse remained several Days (notwithstanding the positive nature of his orders) to enjoy the pleasure of the Surrender, the rejoicings &c. &c. General Washington then earnestly requested his landing a Body of American Troops near Eden Town in North Carolina, that the British in that Neighborhood might be surprised, but he obstinately refused tho he spent twice the time necessary for the purpose, doing nothing, before he left the coast."—*MS. of Elias Boudinot.*

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

Leaves Yorktown: Arrives the same day at Eltham, thirty miles from Yorktown, and is present at the death of John Parke Custis, the only son of Mrs. Washington.

John Parke Custis, while on duty at Yorktown as an aide to the commander-in-chief, was seized with an attack of camp fever, and was removed to Eltham, New Kent County, for better attention. He left four young children, the two youngest of whom, Eleanor Parke and George Washington Parke, were adopted by Washington. Eltham was the residence of Colonel Basset, who married a sister of Mrs. Washington.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12.

At Fredericksburg, Virginia: Visits his mother, and in the evening attends a ball given by the citizens to the French and American officers. On the following day

¹ "When the Messenger brought the News of this Capitulation to Congress, it was necessary to furnish him with hard money for his Expenses. There was not a sufficiency in the Treasury to do it, and the Members of Congress, of whom I was one, each paid a Dollar to accomplish it."—*MS. of Elias Boudinot.*

Washington arrived at Mount Vernon, where he remained until the 20th.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

At Mount Vernon: "If I should be deprived of the pleasure of a personal interview with you before your departure, permit me my dear Marquis to adopt this method of making you a tender of my ardent Vows for a propitious voyage, a gracious reception from your Prince, an honorable reward for your services, a happy meeting with your lady and friends, and a safe return in the spring."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

As soon as the plan of an operation against Wilmington, North Carolina, was abandoned, in consequence of the French admiral declining to afford an escort to the troops, Lafayette resolved to return to France. The season being too far advanced to admit of any further active service till the next year, he was desirous of taking this opportunity to visit his family. With the approbation of General Washington he proceeded to Philadelphia, and Congress, by resolution of November 23, granted him permission of absence for such a period as he should think proper. The marquis sailed from Boston, December 23, on board the "Alliance," and did not return to America during the war.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

At Mount Vernon: "I shall remain but a few days here, and shall proceed to Philadelphia, when I shall attempt to stimulate Congress to the best improvement of our late success, by taking the most vigorous and effectual measures to be ready for an early and decisive campaign the next year. My greatest fear is, that Congress, viewing this stroke in too important a point of light, may think our work too nearly closed, and will fall into a state of languor and relaxation."—*Washington to General Greene.*

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

At Alexandria, Virginia: Receives and answers an address from William Ramsay and others, inhabitants of the city.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

At Annapolis, Maryland: "The general's arrival [at Annapolis] was announced by the discharge of cannon, and he

was accompanied to his excellency the governor's [Thomas Sim Lee], by the honest acclamations of the whigs; a few Tories, to expiate their crimes, and shuffle off this opprobrium of their characters, feebly joined in applauding the man, whose late successes had annihilated their hopes, and whose conduct is a satire on their principles. The president of the senate [George Plater], speaker of the house of delegates [Thomas Cockey Dey], members of the general assembly and council, and many respectable citizens hastened to offer their tribute of affection, which was richly repaid by the engaging frankness and affectionate politeness of the reception. The evening was spent at the governor's elegant and hospitable board with festive joy, enlivened by good humour, wit and beauty."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 6, 1781.

"When the citizens received the pleasing intimation of his excellency's intentions to honour them with his presence, all business ceased, and every consideration gave way to their impatience to behold their benefactor, and the deliverer of his country. On his appearance in the streets, people of every rank and every age eagerly pressed forward to feed their eyes with gazing on the man, to whom, under providence, and the generous aid of our great and good ally, they owed their present security, and their hopes of future liberty and peace: the courteous affability with which he returned their salutes, lighted up ineffable joy in every countenance, and diffused the most animated gratitude through every breast.

"You would have thought the very windows spoke,
So many greedy looks of young and old
Through casements darted their desiring eyes
Upon his visage; and that all the walls,
With painted imagery, had said at once,
GOD SAVE THEE, WASHINGTON."

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

At Annapolis: "On the next day [November 22] the general was so obliging as to partake of a public dinner directed by the legislature, as a mark of their respect, and to render the participation of his company as universal as possible. In the evening the city was beautifully illuminated, and an assembly prepared for the ladies, to afford them an opportunity of beholding their friend, and thanking their protector with their smiles. His excellency, to

gratify the wishes of the fair, crowned the entertainment with his presence, and with graceful dignity and familiar ease so framed his looks, his gestures, and his words, that every heart o'erflowed with gratitude and love, and every tongue grew wanton in his praise. When he retired from the assembly, this was the universal language :

“ ‘ Unrival'd and unmatch'd shall be his fame,
And his own laurels shade his envied name.' ”

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23.

Leaves Annapolis : “ *Annapolis*, November 24.—On Friday last our illustrious and beloved commander in chief left the city, attended by innumerable prayers for his health, safety and happiness.”—*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 6, 1781.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24.

At Baltimore : “ On Friday evening last [November 23] his Excellency General Washington and his Lady arrived here [Baltimore] from Virginia, and the next morning set out for Philadelphia.”—*Maryland Journal*, November 27.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26.

At Philadelphia : “ Last Monday [afternoon] arrived in this city [Philadelphia] His Excellency General WASHINGTON, our victorious and illustrious commander in chief, with his Lady. All panegyrick is vain and language too feeble to express our ideas of his greatness. May the crown of glory he has placed on the brow of the genius of America, shine with untarnished radiance and lustre, and in the brightness of its rays be distinctly seen—WASHINGTON, THE SAVIOUR OF HIS COUNTRY !”—*Pennsylvania Journal*, November 28.

Washington remained in Philadelphia until March 22, 1782, during which time he made his head-quarters at the house of Benjamin Chew, No. 110 South Third Street, between Walnut and Spruce Streets. The “ Chew House ” had previously been occupied by Don Juan de Marailles, the reputed Spanish ambassador, who died (April 28, 1780), at the Morristown head-quarters, while on a visit to the commander-in-chief. Richard Peters, who was present at an entertainment given by Marailles in 1779, designates it as “ Mr. Chew's fine house on South Third Street,” and says, on that

occasion, "the spacious gardens were superbly decorated with variegated lamps, and the edifice itself was in a blaze of light." The "Chew House," which was immediately north of the "Powel House," referred to in the Itinerary, January 6, 1779, was taken down about 1830.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: "Congress being informed of the arrival of gen. Washington in this city: *Ordered*, That he have an audience in Congress to-morrow at one o'clock."—*Journal of Congress*.

On the evening of November 27, Charles Willson Peale exhibited at his house, southwest corner of Third and Lombard Streets, a number of transparent scenes, designed and executed by himself, for the purpose of celebrating the arrival of the commander-in-chief. "During the whole evening the people were flocking from all parts of the town to obtain a sight of the beautiful expressions of Mr. Peale's respect and gratitude to the conquering Hero." The following is a description of some of the paintings: "At the lower window, a ship with the British colours below the French, and the word CORNWALLIS on the stern, emblematical, that by the assistance of the French fleet, Cornwallis was captured. At the middle window, above, the portraits of his Excellency General Washington and Count de Rochambeau, with rays of glory and interlaced civic crowns over their heads, framed with palm and laurel branches, and the words in transparent letters, SHINE VALIANT CHIEFS; the whole encircled with stars and flowers de luce."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 4, 1781.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: Attends Congress according to order, and, being introduced by two members, receives and answers an address from the president, John Hanson. Receives and answers, the same day, an address from the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: Is waited on by Frederick A. Muhlenberg, Speaker, and several members of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania, who present him with an address, which he answers.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: Receives and answers an address from the trustees and faculty of the University of Pennsylvania.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: "On Tuesday evening of the 11th inst. his excellency the minister of France, who embraces every opportunity to manifest his respect to the worthies of America, and politeness to its inhabitants, entertained his excellency general Washington, and his lady, the lady of general Greene, and a very polite circle of the gentlemen and ladies, with an elegant Concert, in which an ORATORIO, composed & set to music by a gentleman whose taste in the polite arts is well known, was introduced, and afforded the most sensible pleasure."—*Freeman's Journal*, December 19.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: Receives and answers an address from the magistrates of the city of Philadelphia.

"December 19, 1781.—Spent the evening at Mr. Barges. My son Robert [having] been on a Hunt at Frankford says that His Excel'y Gen. Washington was there."—*MS. Journal of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia.*

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: Receives and answers an address from the vice-president and officers of the American Philosophical Society.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: "You have enhanced the value of the trophies, with which Congress have been pleased to honor me in their resolve of the 29th of October, by the polite and affectionate manner of presenting them."—*Washington to General Lincoln.*

As Secretary of War it devolved on General Lincoln to present to the commander-in-chief two stands of colors taken at Yorktown, which had been assigned to him by Congress: "*Resolved*, That two stands of colours taken from the British army under the capitulation of York, be presented to his excellency general Washington, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled."—*Journal of Congress*, October 29, 1781.

(To be continued.)

ABSTRACT OF WILLS RECORDED IN PHILADELPHIA.

CONTRIBUTED BY THE LATE WILLIAM F. CORBIT.

REES HARRY of Radnor Pa. *s* Feb. 1st. 1704/5. *p* June 30th. 1705 wife Elizabeth. Children David, Gwen and Margaret. Witnesses Richard Moore, David Evan. Book C. 1. 1.

PARSONS JOHN of Philadelphia. *s* Sep. 10th. 1699. *p* Aug. 22nd. 1705. Wife Ann. brother Thomas, had children, John, Thomas, James, and Sarah. brother in law William Tyler, had children William, John, Mary and Jean. Wifes kinsman Samuel Powell. Witnesses Abraham Hooper, Elizabeth Badcock, Samuel Carpenter. Book C. 3. 2.

READ CHARLES of Philadelphia, merchant. *s* Jan. 4th. 1704. *p* Aug. 6th. 1705. Wife Amy. Children, Charles, Rachel, Sarah; sisters in law Elizabeth Bustill and Martha Dumer. Legacies to the wife of John Tomkins, to Evan Evans, minister of the church in Philadelphia, to Joseph Wilcox and Francis Cooke. Witnesses Abraham Bickley, Thomas Atkins Nicholas Pearse. Book C. 4. 3.

GUEST ALICE of Philadelphia, widow. *s* Aug. 30th. 1705 *p* Sep. 15th. 1705. Children George, John. Elizabeth wife of Arthur Holton and Phebe wife of Anthony Morris. sister Elizabeth Hard, widow. grand son William Say Jr—other grand children Marshall and Phebe Guest, Mary Holton and Mary Guest. Son in law William Say Sr. Witnesses Nathaniel Edgecomb. John Jones, Robert Pound. Book C. 7. 4.

BOWATER JOHN of West-town Chester Co. Pa. *s* July 20th. 1705. *p* Sep. 17th. 1705. Wife Frances. Children Mary, Elizabeth, Anne, Alice, Phebe,—overseers John Bennett of Birmingham Pa. and Joseph Bates of Edgemon, Pa. Witnesses John Turner, Robert Baker, Joseph Turner Jr. Book C. 10. 5.

WEIR JOHN of Charlestown S. Carolina. mariner. *s* Oct. 28th. 1700. *p* Sep. 27th. 1705. Whole estate to wife Mary. Witnesses John Buckley, John Collins, Joseph Kay. Book C. 12. 6.

READ AMY widow. *s* Oct. 4th. 1705. *p* Oct. 12th. 1705 daughters Rachel and Sarah. son in law Charles Read. Witnesses Abraham Bickley, Mary Senior, Sarah Ratcliffe. Book C. 13. 7.

OGDEN DAVID of Middletown Chester Co. Pa. *s* March 16th. 1705, *p* Nov. 17th. 1705. Wife Martha. Children, Jonathan, Martha, Sarah, Nehimiah, Samuel, John, Aaron, Hannah, Steven. Witnesses Joseph Baker, John Goulding. Book C. 14. 8.

KIRK JOHN of Darby Pa. *s* Oct. 28th. 1705. *p* Nov. 17th. 1705. Wife Joan. Children Godfrey, William, John, Samuel, Joseph, Isaac, Thomas, Anne, Mary, Elizabeth, Sarah. brother in law John Elliott. exr. John Marshall, overseers Adam Rhoads, Robert Smith. Witnesses John Wood, Benjamin Cliffe. Book C. 16. 9.

SPENCER SAMUEL, late of Barbados. merchant, *s* Nov. 26th. 1705. *p* Dec. 20th. 1705. Children Samuel, and William, friend Mary Maddox, daughter of Thomas. Witnesses Thomas Milliard, Edward Farmer. Book C. 17. 10.

WELCH SARAH, of Philadelphia, *s* Jan. 26th. 1703/4. *p* Jan. 29th. 1705. daughter Susannah wife of John Guest. Legacies to Alex. Paxton and William Hall wardens of Christ Church, Rev. George Keith, Rev. James Thomas, John Moore, David Lloyd, Charles Read, William Trent, Joshua Carpenter, Mrs. Sarah Quarry, Margaret Tench, Rebecca Moore, the four children of Joseph Pidgeon, and the six children of Francis Rawle. Witnesses Ralph Ward, Thomas Trosse, Charles Read. Thomas Peart, Daniel Ridge. Book C. 18. 11.

SMITH THOMAS of Darby, Pa. *s* Feb. 11th. 1705/6. *p* March. 2nd. 1705/6. Wife Sarah. Children Dorothy, Grace, and Anne wife of Robert Smith, who had children, Thomas,

Richard, Sarah, Robert, Elizabeth, Mary, and William. brothers John and William, brother in law John Marshall. Witnesses John Archer, Anthony Lee, Benjamin Cliffe. Book C. 21. 13.

JANSEN REINER of Philadelphia, printer. *s* Jan. 20th. 1705/6. *p* March 6th. 1705/6. Children, Stephen living in Amsterdam, Tiberius, Jinity wife of Matthew McLean, Joseph, and Alice, wife of John Pigot. Legacies to Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Pentecost Teague, Robert Brewer. Witnesses Thomas Story, Samuel Borden, John Davis. Book C. 22. 14.

PARKEN LASSEY of Ridley Pa. batchelor. Nuncupative will, declared Oct. 11th, 1705. *p* Oct. 26th. 1705. He died Oct. 13th. 1705. Sole legatee, his nephew Jacob Archer. Witnesses Enoch Enochson, Johannes Uring, Elizabeth Peterson, Frederic Uring, Elizabeth Pritchett, Mary Broome. Book C. 24. 15.

WILLIARD GEORGE of Warminster, Bucks Co. Pa. *s* Jan. 24th. 1705/6. *p* March 14th. 1705/6. nephew George Williard nephew John Shaw, had children, Susannah, Elizabeth, James, John, Joseph, and George. Legacies to Philip, son of Ralph Dracutt and Nicholas Randall. Witnesses John Webster, William Hayhurst. Book C. 25. 16.

REECE DAVID of Newtown Chester Co. *s* Jan. 14th. 1705 *p* March 30th. 1706. Wife Eleanor. Children Thomas and Lewis, overseers David Morris of Marple Pa, and Henry Lewis of Haverford, Pa. Witnesses Evan David, John Reece. Book C. 26. 17.

ELLIS ELLIS of Haverford Pa. *s* Aug. 13th 1705. *p* Apl. 6th 1706. Wife not named. Children not named except Thomas. exrs. Rowland Ellis, John Richard Rees, Benjamin Humphreys. Witnesses Rowland Ellis, Humphrey Ellis, Benjamin Humphreys. Book C. 28. 18.

EVAN DAVID of Haverford Pa. *s* March 16th. 1698 *p* Apl. 20th. 1706. Son Harry David. daughters Sarah and Eliza-

beth. Witnesses John Bevan, Evan Bevan, Ellinor Bevan. Book C. 29. 19.

STEWART GEORGE of Philadelphia mariner. *s* Mch. 13th 1705/6. *p* Apl. 23rd. 1706. Legacies to James Wallis merchant in Maryland, Robert Finley and Samuel Perry of Philadelphia, merchants and Dr. Hugh Graham. Witnesses Christopher Blackburne, John Brown, John Cadwalader. Book C. 30. 20.

DYMOCK TOBIAS of Bucks Co. Pa. *s* Apl. 15. 1706. *p* May 20th 1706. Whole estate to his wife Sarah. Witnesses Joseph Kirkbride, Edward Mayes, Hester Wilson. Book C. 31. 21.

HUDDLESTONE HENRY of Middletown Bucks Co. Pa. *s* Apl. 16th 1706. *p* May 17th. 1706. Wife Elizabeth. Children William and Elizabeth. father in law William Cooper. Witnesses Henry Johnson Van Dike, Robert Heaton, John Cutler. Book C. 32. 22.

HALL DANIEL of Philadelphia, *s* Jan. 4th. 1705. *p* May 24th. 1706. Sister Margery, wife of Peter Stretch watchmaker. Witnesses Jacob Mayfield, Maurice Lisle. Book C. 33. 23.

SANDERS ELIZABETH of Philadelphia, widow. of John Sanders *s* April 27th. 1706. *p* May 26th. 1706. Legacies to her children not named. and to George Barker, friends Edward Shippen and Nathan Stanberry. Witnesses James Peller, Abraham Carlisle, David Lloyd. Book C. 34. 24.

PICKLES WILLIAM. *s* May 24th. 1706. *p* July 31st 1706. Whole estate to his wife and children, not named. exrs. Thomas Powell, Jasper Yeates. Witnesses Henry Nicholls, Paul Sanders, Richard Kenderdine. Book C. 35. 25.

HARDY WILLIAM, mariner, *s* Sep. 1705. *p* July 3rd. 1706. mother Mary, living at Lyme Regis Eng. exr. Henry Stephens, legacy to Abigail Spicer. Witnesses Robert Trustrum, Joseph Keble, Henry Robinson. Book C. 35. 26.

DARBY WILLIAM of Bucks Co. Pa. yeoman. *s* Apl. 28th.

1706 *p* July 29th. 1706. Wife Elizabeth. Children, William, John, Sarah, Mary. Witnesses Joseph Kirkbride, Samuel Darke, Thomas Kirkbride. Book C. 36. 27.

WOOD GEORGE of Darby Pa. yeoman. *s* July 20th. 1696. *p* Aug. 24th 1706. Children John, Mary, Elizabeth, Ellinor. Overseers John Blunstone, Thomas Wouth. Witnesses Benjamin Cliffe, Josias Fearne. Book C. 37. 28.

KITCHING THOMAS of Dublin Township Philad. Co. yeoman, *s* July 16th. 1706. *p* Aug. 24th. 1706. Whole estate to his wife Ann. Witnesses Thomas Kimber, Joseph Barton, Henry Stirke. Book C. 37. 29.

BANCKSON ANDREW of Philadelphia. *s* Aug. 30th. 1694. *p* Sep. 2nd. 1706. Wife Gertrude. Children Banct, Andrew, John, Daniel, Peter, Jacob, Katherine and Bridget. Trustees Laurence Cock, Andrew Rambo. Witnesses Lasse Cock, John Cock, Robt. Longshore. Book C. 38. 30.

STACKHOUSE THOMAS of Belmont Bucks. Co. Pa. *s* Nov. 6th. 1705, *p* Aug. 31st. 1706. Wife Margaret. brother John, sisters Jennette and Ellen. Nephew John Stackhouse. Witnesses Jeremiah and Jonathan Scaife, John Romford. Book C. 40. 31.

RUSSELL MARY of Philadelphia. *s* Sep. 3rd 1706. *p* Sep. 25th. 1706. Daughter Elizabeth, wife of Joseph Mather, had five children. daughter Ann Fuller. Witnesses Sarah Hearn, Joan Forrest, Jane Breintnall. Book C. 41. 32.

EATON GEORGE of Dublin Township, Philad. Co. *s* Sep. 14th 1706. *p* Oct. 16th. 1706. Wife Jane, brother John had a son George. Legacies to the children of John Watts, of Joseph Eaton, of Henry Stirk, and of Patrick Kelly—to Mary, Sarah and Ann Davis, Samuel Jones, and Thomas Powell. friends Samuel Jones, Evan Morgan, Joseph Wood, Joseph Eaton. Witnesses Samuel Jones, Peter Taylor. Book C. 41. 33.

PUCKLE NATHANIEL of Philadelphia, merchant. *s* July 8th. 1706 *p* Nov. 6th. 1706. Wife Ann, daughter Deborah, kinsman John King and his sister Love King. John, Samuel

and Michael Nailor, sons of Mary Jobson, his wives sister. Aunt Deborah Puckle. exrs. Samuel Preston, Francis Cooke. Witnesses Joseph Pidgeon, John Hugg, Elizabeth Harwood. Book C. 43. 34.

HARVEY MATTHIAS of Maxfield Bucks Co. Pa. s Apl 5th. 1699. p Nov. 23rd. 1706. Wife Sarah. Children Matthias, Thomas, Benjamin, Mary; brother John Harrison, Legacy to Joseph Milner. Witnesses Richard Warder, William Southbe, William Boulding, Abraham Senior. The widow before probate married John Jackson. Book C. 43. 35.

WOODWARD RICHARD of Middletown Chester Co. Pa. s Sep. 6th. 1706. p January 8th. 1706/7. Wife Jane. Children Joseph, Richard, Thomas, Edward, Jane, Mary, Sarah, and Martha wife of — Baker. Witnesses Joseph Jervis, John Worrilaw, James Cooper. Book C. 45. 36.

KING THOMAS of Concord Pa. s Oct. 25th. 1706. p Jan. 9th. 1706/7. Wife Mary. Kinsman George, son of John King. Witnesses Nathaniel Newlin, Nicholas Pyle. Book C. 47. 37.

BEVAN WILLIAM of Philadelphia, cordwainer, s Jan. 4th. 1706 p Jan. 25th. 1706. Wife Mary. Children, William, John, Benjamin, Katherine, Margaret. Legacies to John Stacy, John Carroll, John Cock. Trustees, Silas Crispin, Thomas Harding, William Coleman. Witnesses Alexander Mill, Michael Jobson, George Lowther. Book C. 47. 38.

WILLIAMS REBECCA, widow of Thomas Williams of Philadelphia. s Dec. 28th. 1706. p Feb. 20th. 1706/7. Daughter Sarah Edwards and her daughter Rebecca. daughter Rebecca Schooly and her daughter Anne. daughter Mary Williams. Witnesses Randall Speakman, William Snowdon, Samuel Weaver. Book C. 49. 39.

BOWEN NORTH, of Philadelphia, practitioner in Physick, s Dec. 16th. 1706. p Feb. 28th. 1706/7. Children, North, Elizabeth, brothers Henry and Thomas, sister Elizabeth, father Thomas Bowen, cousin Theodorus Lord, uncle Lewis Bowen. Legacies to Peter Evans, George Paynter of Phil-

adelphia and James Wogan. His estate was in Haverford Wales. Witnesses Peter Stretch, Hannah England, Sarah Blake. Book C. 49. 40.

PRICE ISAAC. *s* Sep. 4th. 1706. *p* Mch. 1st. 1706/7. Wife not named. Children, Isaac, Mary and Gwen. Witnesses Rowland Ellis, Thomas Rees, David Williams, Lumley Williams. Book C. 51. 41.

MORGAN ANNE of Dublin Township, Philad. Co. widow of David Morgan of Maryland. *s* Feb. 25th 1706/7. *p* Apl 7th 1707. father Thomas King, brother Robert Mason. Witnesses Richard Sanders, Henry Stirke. Book C. 52. 42.

STEVENS EVAN late of Llanafonfawr Brecknockshire South Wales. laborer. *s* Oct. 9th. 1706. *p* Sep. 25th. 1707. son Thomas daughter Eleanor Evans, brother James Evans. Legacies to Isaac son of David Williams of Whitemarsh Pa. and John Fox of Philadelphia. exrs. David Williams and John Cadwalader. Witnesses John Thomas, Sarah Thomas, Elizabeth Price. Book C. 53. 43.

NORTHRUP GEORGE of Dublin Philadelphia Co. yeoman. *s* May 12th. 1707. *p* May 26th. 1707. Wife Susannah, Children, George, Susannah, Alice, Elizabeth and Mary. trustees Henry Stuke and Joseph Fisher. Witnesses John Thomas, William Owen, Dorothy Edwards. Book C. 54. 44.

JORDAN JOHN of Philadelphia. *s* Sep. 18th. 1706. *p* June 21st. 1707. Wife Thomasin. Witnesses Ann Pound, John Bell, Robert Turnham. Book C. 55. 45.

HOOPER ABRAHAM, of Philadelphia. joiner. *s* Sep. 28th. 1706. *p* March 5th. 1707. Wife not named. Children by her Abraham John and Elizabeth. Children by a former wife, Jacob and Mary. trustees Gabriel and Thomas Baynes. Witnesses John Ward, Thomas Carns, John Neptune Gray. Book C. 56. 46.

BUTCHER JOHN of Moreland Pa. *s* June 25th. 1707. *p* July 10th. 1707. Wife Hannah. Children John, Samuel, Mary,

and Sarah,—overseers. Henry Stuke, Samuel Jones. Legacies to Alexander Quee and Mary Parker. Witnesses Philip Hounsell, Robert McGee, Alexander Quee. Book C. 57. 47.

EVAN THOMAS JOHN of Radnor Pa. s Mch. 31st. 1707. *p* Sep. 23rd. 1707. Wife not named. Children John, Joseph, and Elizabeth. friends Rowland Ellis, Joshua Owen, Rowland Ellis Jr. Witnesses R. Ellis, Joshua Owen. Book C. 59. 48.

NEELSON RICHARD s Aug. 30th. 1707. *p* Sep. 26th. 1707. Whole estate to William Horner and Abraham Pratt. Witnesses Thomas Pratt, Peter Taylor. Book C. 61. 49.

WARNER WILLIAM of Blockley, Philadelphia Co. s Sep. 8th. 1703. *p* Oct. 18th. 1706. Wife Anne. Children Isaac, John, William, Robert, son in law James Kite, had children James and Abraham. He held an estate in Draycot, parish of Blockley, Worcestershire Eng. Witnesses Ephraim Johnstone, Francis Cooke, Eliz. Bringhurst. Book C. 61. 50.

WILLIAMS JAMES of Cheltenham Pa, blacksmith, s Feb. 18th. 1706/7. *p* Oct. 18th. 1707. Wife Anne. Children not named,—overseers Rees Thomas, Rowland Howell, John Reece. Book C. 63. 51.

EVANS JOHN of Radnor Pa. s Aug. 17th. 1703. *p* Nov. 22nd. 1707. Wife Delilah. dau Mary wife of David Evans. dau Sarah wife of John Morgan, had a daughter Sarah James, daughter Jane, daughter Margaret, wife of Hugh Samuel, daughter Phebe, wife of Edward David, had three children: sons Rees and Thomas Jones, brother Edward Evans, had a daughter Elizabeth. Witnesses Abel Roberts, Evan Rees, David Lloyd, Philip Howell. Book C. 65. 52.

SAVAGE SAMUEL SR. of Rocksberry Pa. s Nov. 12th. 1707. *p* Nov. 26th. 1707. Wife Ann. Children Samuel, George, John, Esther, Mary. Witnesses Thomas Rutter, Abel Noble. Book C. 66. 53.

SIBTHORP CHRISTOPHER of Philadelphia, yeoman, *s* Dec. 10th. 1707. *p* Jan. 24th. 1707/8. Wife Ann. Children not named, sister Elizabeth Whitworth, had a daughter Mary. Legacies to Joshua Fincher, Barbara Wright, and Rebecca Corker. Witnesses Samuel Richardson, Nicholas Waln, William Roberts. Book C. 67. 54.

JOHN GRIFFITH of Merion Pa. *s* June 26th. 1707. *p* Jan. 31st. 1707/8. Children John and Evan. son in law Thomas Jones. Witnesses John Roberts, Robert Jones. Book C. 69. 55.

PAPEN HYVERT, *s* Jan. 30th 1707/8. *p* Feb. 19th. 1707/8. Wife Elizabeth. Children, Styntge, Mary, Gaertruyd, Margaret, Elizabeth. exrs. Claes Ruttinghuysen, Abraham Teunis, William Streepers. Witnesses Daniel Geislering, Johannes Kusters, Richard Vanderwarf. Book C. 70. 56.

KLINCKEN ARET. *s* Feb. 10th 1707/8. *p* Feb. 20th. 1707/8. Wife Niske, son Anthony, daughters Ellin Williams and Eunike Kunders, wife of Kunrad Kunders. nephew Dirck Jansen. Witnesses Dennis Kunders, Abraham Teunis, William Streepers, Peter Shoemaker. Book C. 71. 57.

KUSTER PAUL, mason. Nuncupative will, declared Jan. 28th. 1707/8. *p* Feb. 23rd. 1707/8. Wife Gertrude. Children not named. Witnesses Arnold Kusters, Dennis Kunders, Harmanus Kusters, Johannes Kusters, Cornelius Dewees. Book C. 72. 58.

MILLS JOHN of Philadelphia, bricklayer. Nuncupative will declared Feb. 9th. 1707/8 *p* Feb. 11th 1707/8. whole estate to his wife Mary. Witnesses Josiah Harper, William Oram. Book C. 73. 59.

BETHELL JOHN of Darby Pa. *s* Feb. 26th. 1707/8. *p* March 6th. 1707/8. Wife Jane. Children Samuel, Ann, John, William, Mary wife of Job Harvey, Sarah wife of Obadiah Bonsall, brother in law Richard Parker,—overseers John Hood Michael Blunstone. Witnesses William Kelley, John Hood, William Kelley Jr. Obadiah Bonsall. Book C. 74. 60.

BADCOCK THOMAS of Philadelphia, pewterer, s Jan. 21st. 1707/8. *p* March 9th. 1707/8. cousins Alexander and Henry Badcock. Legacies to Thomas Paschall of Philadelphia, to Nicholas Rosogens and wife, to Mary wife of Robert Skene. Witnesses Martyn Jervis, Francis Cooke, William Lee. Book C. 76. 61.

LEWIS WILLIAM of Newtown, Chester Co. Pa. s Jan. 16th. 1707/8 *p* March 12th. 1707/8. Wife Ann, (died before probate). Children David, Lewis, Evan, Legacy to a grandchild not named. Witnesses David Evan, Abraham Musgrove, George Leonard. Book C. 77. 62.

THOMAS LEWIS of Whitemarsh Pa. s Aug. 14th. 1707. *p* March 20th. 1707/8. Wife Ann. Children Isaac, Rebekah, Ann, Sarah,—overseers David Williams, Thomas Reece. Witnesses John Cartlidge, Edmund Cartlidge, James Thomas. Book C. 79. 63.

TURNHAM ROBERT of Philadelphia. s Jan. 6th. 1707/8. *p* March 22nd. 1707/8. Children, Frances and Anne. grandchild Frances Turnham, in Barbados. friends John Vanlear. David Giffing,—overseers Marvin Gaut Edward Archer of Barbados. Witnesses Joseph Yard, William Yard, Justinian Fox. Book C. 80. 64.

GRUBB JOHN of Chester Co. Pa. tanner. s Feb 12th. 1707/8 *p* March 26th. 1708. Wife Frances. sons Emmanuel, Henry, John, Samuel, Joseph, Nathaniel, Peter. daughters Phebe Grubb, and Charity wife of Richard Beeson. Witnesses Thomas Harding, Richard Heath, John Redman. Book C. 81. 65.

BARTRAM ISAAC of Darby Pa. s March 7th 1707/8. *p* Sep. 3rd. 1708. mother Elizabeth. brother William, who had sons John and James. exrs. John Hood. William Bartram. Witnesses John Smith, Thomas Hood, William Smith, Obadiah Bonsall. Book C. 82. 66.

HODGES THOMAS of Philadelphia, yeoman. s March 21st. 1707/8. *p* April 3rd. 1708. Wife Hannah. Children not named. father in law Nicholas Waln. Witnesses John

Morgan, Elizabeth Morgan, James Michner. Book C. 83. 67.

LANGHAM, ROBERT of Chichester Pa. yeoman s March 24th. 1707/8. p April 10th 1708. Wife Elizabeth. Daughter Mary. Witnesses John Maxfield. Caleb Pusey. James Hendrickson, Thomas Bright. Book C. 84. 68.

HUNTLEY WILLIAM of Kennet Pa. s Mch. 1st. 1707/8. p Apl. 10th. 1708. Wife Mary. Children, Francis, Mary, Deborah, Sarah. Legacy to Thomas Hope and wife Elizabeth. Witnesses John Hope, Grace Chadsey, Hugh Bawden. Book C. 85. 69.

HOPE THOMAS of Chester Co. Pa. s Mch. 24th. 1707/8. p April 10th. 1708. Wife Elizabeth. brothers John and Francis. sister Susannah. brother in law Edward Bennett, servants James King and John Houghkins. friends. Ralph Draket of Bucks Co. and George Harthan. Witnesses Richard Webb, Isaac Taylor. Book C. 86. 70.

CARPENTER ABRAHAM of Philadelphia, merchant. s March. 26th. 1708. p Apl. 14th. 1708. brother Samuel who had a son Samuel. sister Mary Hogsflesh of Lambeth. England. widow, and her children. sister Damaris, wife of David Hunt, brother John of Hersham Sussex ded. sister Deborah Jupp ded. had children, brother Joshua and his wife Elizabeth, had a son. brother. Samuel and his wife Hannah, had sons John and Samuel. cousin John Carpenter. cousin Samuel son of William and Hannah Fishbourn. cousin Susannah, dau. of John and Anne Welsh of Southwark. cousin Robert Story. kinsman, Thomas Mitchell of Philadelphia, cooper. Legacies to Abraham son of Anne Acton, to Elizabeth, daughter of Enoch and Ann Story. to Elizabeth Paine, Mary wife of George Fitzwater, Hannah Hardiman, Deborah Hardiman. Ann dau. of Ann Acton. Witnesses Nehemiah Allen, Henry Flower, Richard Heath. Book C. 87. 71.

HENDRICK ARENT. s April 2nd. 1708. p April 14th. 1708. Wife not named. Children Henry, Agnes, Anneta. over-

seers Claus Johnson, Peter Verbinnen, Henry Bouchols. Witnesses Ann Bom. Edward Farmer, Peter Verbinnen. Book C. 91. 72.

HARRISON JOHN of Philadelphia, carpenter. *s* Jan. 5th, 1703/4. *p* April 14th. 1708. Wife Mary. son Joseph. other children not named. trustees David Giffing; Charles Read. Witnesses Francis Cooke, Joseph Yard. Book C. 91. 73.

SCOTHORN ROBERT of Darby Pa. *s* March 7th, 1708. *p* April 24th. 1708. Wife Mary. sons Samuel and Nathan. overseers Samuel Sellers, Samuel Cockshaw. Witnesses Samuel Sellers, Benjamin Cliffe, John Wood. Book C. 92. 74.

TAYLOR ANTHONY of Philadelphia, wool-comber. *s* Jan. 11th. 1707/8 *p* Apl. 26th. 1708. Wife Jane. daughter Elizabeth had children. other daughters, Jane and Mary. Witnesses Joseph Yard, Justinian Fox. Book C. 93. 75.

MILES SAMUEL of Radnor Pa. *s* June 24th. 1707. *p* April 28th. 1708. Wife not named. Children Phebe, Tamar, Ruth, and two others not named. brother Richard,—overseers Stevan Bevan, Edward Reece. Witnesses Edward Reece, Richard Miles, David Thomas, William Davies, John Reece. Book C. 94. 76.

HOLSTEIN MATTHIAS of Pensyon Co. of Philadelphia, yeoman, *s* Dec. 14th. 1706. *p* May 24th. 1708. Wife Catherine. Children Samuel, Matthias, Andrew, Frederick, Peter, Henry,—overseers William Carter, Peter Morris. Witnesses Andreas Sandel, Peter Cock, Thomas Makin. Book C. 97. 77.

FRISBY WILLIAM of Philadelphia, gunsmith. *s* Apl. 20th. 1708 *p* April 28th. 1708. whole estate to his friend Thomas Tresse. Witnesses Arthur Stevens, Isaac Ashton, Thomas Tresse. Book C. 98. 78.

GREEN ELIZABETH, widow, of Philadelphia. *s* Jan. 29th. 1705/6. *p* April 28th. 1708. daughter Lydia Samways, grandchildren Timothy Green, Elizabeth Green, Lydia Green, Sarah Wood. son in law Thomas Asson. Legacies to Robert

Wood. John Harrison Thomas Tresse. and Jedidiah Andrews. exrs. Thomas Tresse, John Harrison. Witnesses Arthur Stevens, John Williams, Thomas Tresse Jr. Book C. 99. 79.

DAVIS JOHN of Philadelphia, carpenter, *s* Apl. 25th. 1708. *p* April 30th. 1708. Wife Dinah. Children Rebecca and Hannah. wives brother Samuel Borden. Witnesses John Jones, Daniel Gauntt, Ann Jones. Book C. 100. 80.

BUSHALL JOSEPH of Concord Pa. *s* Feb. 8th. 1703. *p* May 13th, 1708. Wife Sarah. daughter Jane. wife of Walter Martin had children, Walter, Mary, Steven, John, Ann, Sarah, Elizabeth. daughter Abigail wife of — Pyle, had children Mary, Edith, Nicholas, Samuel and James,—overseers Caleb Pusey, Nathaniel Newlin. Witnesses Robert Pyle, John Vernon. Book C. 101. 81.

YEARSLEY JOHN of Thornbury Pa. *s* Feb. 27th. 1708. *p* March 4th. 1708. Wife not named. son John, daughters Ann wife of Jacob Vernon, Elizabeth, wife of Moses Kay, and Martha and Hannah Yearsley. trustees. Nicholas Pyle. John Lea. Witnesses John Willis, Randall Vernon. Book C. 103. 82.

JONES JOHN of Philadelphia merchant, *s* May 2nd. 1708. *p* May 11th. 1708. Wife Margaret. son John married to Margaret — other children. Richard, Grace, Samuel, Rebecca, Sarah, Jacob and Gibbs. The testators first wife was Rebecca. Witnesses John Webb. James Cooper, Thomas Story, Richard Jones, Martha Claypoole, Ann Webb. Book C. 105. 83.

RHEON CAREON of Dublin Township. *s* May 6th. 1708. *p* May 18th. 1708. whole estate to John Caheel. exrs. Thomas Kimber, Edward McVeagh, Patrick Kelly, Benjamin Ashton, Henry Stirke. Witnesses Jane, Elizabeth and Joseph Ashton. Book C. 112. 84.

GUEST JOHN ESQ. of Philadelphia. *s* Feb. 1st. 1706. *p* May 22nd. 1708. Wife Susannah. brothers Thomas and

Samuel. Witnesses Joseph Pidgeon, John McComb, William Hall. Book C. 113. 85.

DAWSON EMANUEL. of Philadelphia, *s* Mch. 31. 1708. *p* May 26th. 1708. Wife Hannah. Children, William, Rebecca, Thomas, Charles and Susannah. exrs. Henry Badcock. Witnesses Nehemiah Allen, Edward James, Richard Heath. Book C. 115. 86.

TUCKER RICHARD of Philadelphia. *s* May 21st. 1708. *p* May 27th. 1708. Wife Jane. son Nathaniel. daughter Mary Wildren,—overseers William Forrest, Thomas Lasell. Witnesses John Brown, Richard Abreel. John Cadwalader. Book C. 111. 87.

FANCIT NATHAN of Philadelphia. *s* March 27th. 1708. *p* May, 29th. 1708. Wife Jane, son John. father in law David Breintnall. Witnesses William Mason, Benjamin Cliffe, John Croxton. Book C. 116. 88.

ASHTON JOSEPH of Dublin Township. *s* May 15th. 1708. *p* June 18th, 1708. Wife Jane. Children Joseph who had daughters Jane and Hannah; and Benjamin, who had a son John. Witnesses James Stone, John Pritchard, Henry Stirke. Book C. 117. 89.

EVANS JOHN of Radnor Pa. *s* Jan. 11th. 1707. *p* June 19th. 1708. Wife Mary. Children. Evan, Edward, Mary and Sarah Johnes. brother Edward Evans. Witnesses William ap Edward. Hugh, Williams. Book C. 119. 90.

PUGH WILLIAM of Radnor Pa. *s* June 19th, 1705. *p* June 19th. 1708. sons Hugh and William Williams. grand sons Hugh Jones and Joseph Jones, grand daughters. Catherine Susannah and Elizabeth. children of Hugh Williams. Legacies to Richard and Ann, brother and sister of John Roberts of Merioneth. to Jane dau. of Robert Ellis. Witnesses Daniel Harry, Samuel Williams, William Davies. Book C. 120. 91.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE MEMBERS OF THE FRANKFORT COMPANY, 1686.

[Among the papers relating to the settlement of Germantown, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are a number of translations in English from the originals, in the handwriting of Francis Daniel Pastorius. The first of these, which we have selected to print, is endorsed: "A Translation of the Frankfort Companies Contract of Society." The original agreement, with its seals, is in the collection of Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

In the Name and to the Glory of God!

We underwritten witness & Confess hereby, Whereas we altogether have Jointly purchased Five & twenty thousand Acres of unseparated land English measure in the American Province of Pensilvania, Each of us having effectually paid his Share, as appears by the accounts thereof, viz^t.

Jacob van de Wallen	2500	} 5000
Caspar Merian, Now Jacob van de Wallen and Daniel Behagel	833 $\frac{1}{3}$ 1666 $\frac{2}{3}$	
L ^t Johan Jacob Schutz	4000	
Johan William Uberfeld, Now Francis Daniel Pastorius	1000	} 5000
Jacob van de Wallen	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$	
George Strauss, Now Johana Eleonora von Merlau, wife of Johan W ^m Peters	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$	} 5000
Daniel Behagel	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$	
D. Gerhard von Mastricht	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$	} 5000
D. Thomas von Wilich and Johanes le Brun	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$ 1666 $\frac{2}{3}$	
Balthasar Jawert	3333 $\frac{1}{3}$	} 5000
Johanes Kemler	1666 $\frac{2}{3}$	

That we concerning this Estate for Ourselves, Our respective Wives, Children & heirs in the Name of God have Entred into and Agreed upon a Comunion or Society in manner & form following,

1. The above said lands wherever they are or hereafter shall be Assign'd Jointly and asunder, as also the Lots in the

City, which over & above the aforementioned belong unto us, to wit four or six places in the City of Philadelphia, for to build new houses upon, and a matter of 300 acres in the Cities Liberty Situate before & about Philadelphia, and the land which of late hath been bought upon the Skulkill for a Brick-kiln, together with all & every Edifices & other Improvements, which now are and hereafter shall be made in any place & quarter of all Pensilvania, as also Victuals, Commodities, Cattle, household stuff &c. which we have sent thither, or were bought or otherwise acquired there; and the present & future Real Rights & Priviledges shall now & hereafter be and remain Comon in Equal Right, according to Every Ones above specified Share, which he hath in the said Company.

2. All & every Expenses for the Cultivating, Improvement & Buildings; Item for transporting of Servants, Tenants & other Persons, as also Comodities, Victuals, tools, &c. and there in the sd Province for Tradesmen & labourers, &c. and universally all Charges of what Name soever, which hitherto have been spent in America and Europe, or hereafter at the next mentioned manner may be spent, shall be at Comon Costs after the rate of Every Ones Share.

3. Per Contra all Profits, Revenues and whatsoever there is got, built, planted. till'd & brought forth, either in products of the Ground, Slaves, Cattle, manufactures, &c. nothing at all Excepted, shall be Comon among all the Partners pro rato of the number of Acres.

4. Concerning the Affairs of this Company, the five head-stems (: every 5000 to be accounted for a head-stem, or as hereafter it may be otherwise Agreed upon, shall Consult among themselves, and by the plurality of Votes (: each thousand Acres having ten Votes,) conclude with all Convenient Speed.

5. There in the sd Province there shall be always an Attorney for the Company, and in Case of his decease, Absence & unableness a Substitute be appointed unto him with a Salary in writing Executed by both Parties. Both these shall yearly under both their hands & the Companies

Seal make an Orderly Inventory of all the Companies Effects there, specifying the Cultivated and uncultivated acres, meadows, waters, woods, houses, the bounds thereof, as also the Servants, Tenants, Cattel, fruits, Victuals, Commodities, Debts Active & passive, ready money, &c. and send the same over with their Accounts of Costs & Profits, Receipt & Disbursements, Decrease & Increase in all particulars by one & an other following Vessel with a second Original, and likewise in maner aforesd Communicate the State of things to him, unto whom at that time the Correspondency of the Company shall be Committed.

6. Here in these parts there shall be always Ordained by the plurality of Votes in Writing two Clerks of the Company either of the Companions or Strangers who shall attend the Companies Accounts & Correspondency in America, Open the letters which belong to them, and Communicate the Contents thereof by way of Extract, or if need be, a Copy to the 5 head-stems, (: by and from whom further all and every Partners are to receive, do & perform theirs :) write down with short words, yet clearly & diligently in a Diary of the Pennsilvanian Affairs out of the letters coming from thence, or the occurrences happening here; make peculiar memorandums of what is to be done & Observed, Adjust every year ultimo Decembris the Accounts, together with the Revision of Inventories and the Annotation of Increase & Decrease by Day and Date, as far as may be had by letters or otherwise, and being approved of by the five head-stems or their Attornies Record them in a Book, and keep them under two locks in good Order according to their Table or Index, together with the Companies Documents and Original Writings ascribing day & date, as also the Copies of the letters which they send away, in a certain Place as the Company pleaseth, and now for the present time at Francfort upon the Mayn, where this work did first begin, and whereunto as yet the greatest part doth belong, and in all without the special Consent of the five head-stems not undertake nor dispatch any thing of Importance. Further they shall enjoy for all their labour some moderate

Recompence from the Company. Moreover each head-stem may for himself & the Partners thereunto belonging extract out of such letters what he pleaseth; but the Originals shall be kept in the Archive.

7. Hereafter the Company shall sign their letters & Contracts with a peculiar Seal to be kept along with the aforesd Original Documents; and shall send another Seal somewhat different in bigness & Circum Scription to their Factors in Pennsylvania, there to make the like use thereof: Without such Seals no Letters or Contracts shall be sent in the Companies name thither or hither, nor be esteemed firm & good.

8. In case any of us or of Our heirs should go to Pensilvania, or send an Attorney for himself aforehand to prepare him a Settlement, and would give him, Or take along with himself, several proper things for his use, he or they may do the same at their Own Costs and Riske; Afterwards after the rate of his Share for every thousand Acres chuse for himself Sixty in One Tract of Uncleared land, So as we receive the same of the Govern^r, and therefore he shall pay Yearly a Recognition as Rent to the Company for every ten Acres One English Shilling; and if this land be not enough, but too narrow for him, there shall be further allowed unto him, proportionably to his Share, 60. acres as aforesaid in consideration of each thousand for the Moiety of the Price for w^{ch} the Company useth to Let it at that time upon Rent unto Strangers; And in case he should still desire more land, if the Company can spare it, at the Price & on such Conditions as to a Stranger. Now upon these lands which one or the other settleth for himself alone in maner aforesd, he may act at his pleasure, and use & enjoy all sort of goods imoveable & moveable which we have in Comon there before other Strangers: Nevertheless that all this be unprejudicial to the Comon best of the Company. And those Companions which dwell in Pennsylvania shall pay the usual Rent, Wages, Payment or Value of all what they use of the Comon things for themselves to the Companies Factor there, whereof they are at the following

Repartition to receive back their Share. But if the whole Company do generally find good to let go over any of their Companions for their comon Service and at their comon Costs, there shall in that Case be made a particular Agreement. But in every Case & in all parts whatsoever the Companions there & their heirs shall be Obliged no less than those in Europe to stand to this Contract and to the further Orders of the most Votes.

9. If the Clerks or else one or more by the Companies approbation as aforesd should disburse money, such Debtors shall be Obliged to repay the thus disbursed principal Sum at the utmost within the space of One year with the yearly Interest of five per Cent, and therefore their Share shall hereby in the best form of law be Engaged as a Special Pledge.

10. If any of us or Ours soon or late shall dye without wife & heirs begotten in matrimony of his body, not having expressly & particularly declared by Testament or other credible Disposition in Writing, or by word of mouth, what he would have done with his Share of these Comon Goods after his Decease, his Share shall Accrue and be herewith Assign'd to the whole Company, proportionably to Each's respective Share, and shall not be otherwise accounted than as if he had reserved to himself Only the use of such goods for the term of his life, and presently in the beginning Incorporated the true Property to the Company. And all Deceases of the Companions, and who are their heirs in this work shall by the Clerks then being in credible form either under the Attestation of all the nearest Relations of the deceased, or of other credible persons be advised with all speed, Or until the Certainty thereof the Name of the Deceased be continued in Accounts & Books. And his Contingent w^{ch} falls to him be kept in the Companies Cassa along with the Original Documents.

11. It's not lawful for any that is a Partner in this Company to alien his land or Right thereof all or in part to any without the Company, unless he have the Companies Consent, or at least made the first Offer to the same; But if one

or other of us, our Wives, Children, or whoever shall be hereafter a Partner of the Company, should be willing soon or late to Alienate his Share or Portion, and none of the Company to Acquire or buy the same, then & not otherwise the Seller shall have liberty to sell it to any other; yet with this Proviso, that always the Company, Or if they will not have it, any of the Company within three months after the Alienation is made known, shall have liberty to take to themselves that what is sold, paying down the Consideration money, and for their profit to deduct or give less than such new Purchaser bought the Part aliened for Ten per Cent of the Consideration Money, the Price whereof both Seller & Buyer shall be oblig'd to declare upon their Conscience.

12. In Case, which we do not expect, be it soon or late there should happen any Misunderstanding or Cause of Contention between us, Our heirs & Successors Concerning these Goods & what thereon doth depend, the same shall be determined among the members of the Company, Or if both Parties do not account them wholly Impartial, by Other two honest Persons unanimously Chosen by the differing Parties, And these two Chosen Persons shall have Power to take unto them the third, if they think it necessary, in form & manner hereafter described, viz^t. the chosen Arbitrators on an appointed day & place in the presence of the differing Parties or their Attornies after the Invocation of divine Assistance & ripe Consideration of the matter shall determine the business by their Award according to their best knowledge & Sentiment in case they cannot bring the Parties to a Composition; But if these three can not agree or find out the most Votes, they shall send for advice to one or two of the head-partners, and then Conceive & pronounce their Award; To the Contrary whereof afterwards in no manner or ways any thing shall be done, acted or admitted by Right or Force of no Judge or Man in the whole world, in Europe or America; And if any should presume to oppose himself hereunto, eo ipso (: or by so doing :) he shall forfeit his whole Share, and besides pay a Fine of 200 rix-

dollars to the publick Almonery (or to the poor) ipso facto without any Exception or further Declaration.

All faithfully & without Covin. In true witness this present Contract, to which all Partners after a ripe Consideration did unanimously Consent, is twelve times under all & every Ones own hand & Seal set forth, and an Exemplar thereof delivered to Each, and one laid up with the comon Documents. Given at Francfort upon Mayn the 12th November Anno 1686.

[SEAL] GERHARD VON MASTRICK.
[SEAL] FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS.
[SEAL] THOMAS VON WYLICH.
[SEAL] JOHAN LE BRUN.
[SEAL] JOHAN JACOB SCHÜTZ.
[SEAL] DANIEL BEHAGEL.
[SEAL] JACOBUS VAN DEN WALLEN.
[SEAL] JOHAN WILHELM PETERSEN.
[SEAL] JOHANNES KEMLER.
[SEAL] BALTHASAR JAWERT.

HARRITON PLANTATION AND FAMILY CEMETERY.

BY GEORGE VAUX.

At the close of the article on Harriton, in Vol. XIII. of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, reference is made to a legal contest, having for its object the setting aside of the inheritance of Charles McClenachan's heirs in Harriton Plantation.

John Thomson, a nephew of the secretary, who resided with him for a few years before his death, favored those who were engaged in this scheme. On the other hand, his uncle, Charles Thomson, and the latter's maiden sister, Mary Thomson, who also resided with him, gave no countenance to it, and were always on friendly and cordial terms with those whose interests were attacked. A number of years before his death, Charles Thomson personally placed all the title-papers of the estate in the hands of the latter, and they are now in the possession of the writer.

This legal contest covered a period of some years and involved many trying circumstances, including threats against the personal safety of the child-heir and an attempted abduction, which was prevented through the skilful management of the proprietor of the school where she was being educated.

The points involved were: whether a certain deed, known as that of November 22, 1798, by which the inheritance of Harriton was fixed in Charles McClenachan and his heirs, and another deed dated five days before, but really executed at the same time, were parts of the same transaction; and also whether the first-named deed embraced the correct intention of Charles Thomson and Hannah his wife, in executing them.

In connection with this contest the evidence of Charles Thomson was perpetuated. In it he says that the deeds



Negative by William S. Vaux, Jr.

HARRITON FAMILY CEMETERY.

1719-1891.

above referred to "were executed by the deponent and his wife at the same time & were acknowledged . . . at the time of their execution. That the deponent and his wife were in perfect possession of their understanding at the time the said deeds were executed. . . . That frequently before and upon the day & the time when the said deeds were executed, the deponent and his wife frequently [sic] talked of the disposition of the land and that the deed of 22d of November contains a faithful statement of their intentions."

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania affirmed the title of Charles McClenachan's heir in an elaborate and interesting opinion, in which they say that a clear case was made out. That Charles Thomson's wife had the power to give the estate to whom she pleased, that she had exercised that power, and that her manifest intention should not be thwarted or prevented on technical rules.

As has been heretofore intimated, Harriton Cemetery had its origin in a provision of Richard Harrison's will, proved in 1747.

The clause is now given in full :

"And whereas I have erected a certain Meeting-house, or place of worship on part of my said tract of land in Merion Township aforesaid. Now therefore it is my will and I do hereby declare, that the said Meeting-house together with a square piece of ground containing by estimation two acres at least, adjoining to the said house where several of my children lie interred, shall not be sold by my said Trustees, but that the same house and ground shall forever hereafter be excepted and reserved out of my said tract of land in Merion aforesaid and shall remain and continue to be for the use and service of a meeting-house and place of interment."

It seems to have been the impression of Richard Harrison's widow that this clause, though clearly defining a family arrangement, gave the Society of Friends an interest in the premises, as will be seen from the following extract from her will, proved in 1775 :

"I give unto my executors the sum of twenty pounds to be laid out toward en-fencing the Meeting-house and grave yard ground that was given for the use of friends in and by the last will of my late husband."

It does not appear, however, that the Society of Friends ever made any positive claim against the burial-ground and the meeting-house adjoining it. Occasional inquiries were made as to the status of the premises, but when the words of the will were referred to all parties seemed satisfied that there was no claim outside the family.

From time to time the owners of the cemetery occasionally permitted others than members of their own family to be interred there. These interments were in a narrow strip on the southwest side of the inclosure. They were mostly made prior to 1810, when Charles McClenachan, being desirous that the use of the ground should be confined exclusively to the family, donated one acre at the corner of the Gulf Road to be used as a neighborhood burial-place, as well as a site for the Baptist meeting-house.

These interments were fourteen in number, seven of which, all in a single row, belonged to one family. These last are marked with high gravestones. Two of them have a single broad head-stone, erected to the memory of Thomas Cochran and Mary his wife. There are three graves to the left of these and two to the right.

Charles Thomson died in 1824. The following year a petition, signed by certain residents of Lower Merion, was presented to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, asking for an enactment authorizing them to take possession of Harriton Cemetery. The petition was referred to the Judiciary Committee, before whom the representatives of the heirs appeared and proved title. In consequence, the Judiciary Committee reported the bill with a negative recommendation and the proposed enactment fell.

Some time after this occurrence the key of the gate of the burial-ground was stolen, and an interment was made by unauthorized persons.

This was followed by an advertised warning, from the representatives of the heirs, of which the following is an extract:

“Notice is hereby given that I desire to warn all persons against in future entering the private family burial ground belonging to the heirs

of Charles McClenachan formerly of this place; which is situated in the woodland in front of the Mansion house on Harriton Farm either to dig graves or bury any person whatever not of said family as it will be my duty to prosecute any person or persons so intruding &c."

In 1831, John Thomson applied to the late Joseph Parker Norris, to enlist his interest and good offices in a scheme for erecting a monument to Charles Thomson in Harriton Cemetery.

Information of this fact having been conveyed to the owners of Harriton, a person in their interest addressed a letter to Joseph Parker Norris, dated August 4, 1831, informing him that the owners deemed it inexpedient to allow John Thomson to enter upon the cemetery, and stating the reasons therefor in somewhat forcible terms. This letter further states :

"That if any worthy respectable citizen or members of the community should feel desirous to testify their respect to the memory of the venerable secretary of our first Congress, by placing a memorial over his grave they would receive [the owners'] full approbation and every assistance in [their] power to afford."

On the 8th of August, Joseph Parker Norris replied to this letter. The original lies before me, and I give it in full, omitting names :

"Mr Norris has received [the] note of the 4th inst on the subject of a monument intended to be placed over the remains of the late Charles Thomson in the family Burial Ground at Harriton by his nephew Mr John Thomson and informing . . . that the owner of the estate deems it inexpedient to permit Mr Thomson or any person acting in his name to erect any structure whatever in said ground.

"Mr Norris some time since received a letter from Mr Thomson, stating his intention to erect such memorial to his late uncle & requesting his opinion as to the style of structure, inscription &c but it was never in contemplation that he (Mr N.) should personally take charge of the same . . . [The owner] may rest assured he will have no agency in the Erection of any monument in said ground without the full approbation of [the owner]."

In the summer of 1833 a petition was circulated in Lower Merion, and to some extent signed, having in view another

attempt to take the control of Harriton burial-ground out of the hands of the owners. It was supposed that this petition designed another application to the Legislature, and the necessary evidence to meet such application was forwarded to Harrisburg. But a different plan was adopted, and before the owners were aware of the proposed method of procedure a court charter was obtained for what was called the "Harrison Association," under which the incorporators claimed the right to take possession of Harriton Cemetery. As a preliminary to this proceeding the following paper was addressed to Isaac W. Roberts, of Pencoyd, in Lower Merion, then one of the trustees of the Harriton estate :

"MR ISAAC ROBERTS—I have been informed you have something to do with Charles Thomson's Estate. Well, I inform you that we have trustees appointed to take charge of the old grave yard and we are going to meet on the ground the first day of May next at 2 o'clock P.M. If you see cause to attend you shall be received as a friend or neighbor

" HUGH TERRANCE

" April 22. 1834."

" and others

Accordingly, on the 1st of May, 1834, the parties referred to appeared on the ground with the object of taking possession. The representatives of the trustees of the Harriton estate were also there, and warned them off, and on the 5th of the same month a notice in writing, of which the following is a copy, was given to the parties who were engaged in the scheme :

"GENTLEMEN,—I think it proper to repeat in writing the notice I gave you verbally on the first day of May that you must not again enter upon the property [Harriton Cemetery] if you do you will be considered and treated as trespassers.

" May 5. 1834."

This notice was so far effective that no further action on the part of the Harrison Association appears to have been taken. The vigorous opposition of the owners of the cemetery to the interference of unauthorized persons had thus far been successful in preventing any serious damage to the

premises. It was more than four years afterwards that the forcible entry of August, 1838, was made without the knowledge of the owners, and under circumstances which prevented them from protecting their rights, at which time the bones of three persons were taken to Laurel Hill.

The trespass of 1838 ended the controversy relative to Harriton Cemetery. Since then, a period of more than half a century, the owners have not been subjected to further inconvenience and have remained in undisturbed possession.

THE BRUNSWICK CONTINGENT IN AMERICA,
1776-1783.

[The following retrospect of the services of a part of the Brunswick auxiliaries in the service of Great Britain in America during our war for independence is translated from the *Braunschweigisches Magazin* of May 21, 1825. It is based on the diary of Frederick Julius von Papet, a first lieutenant in the Von Rhetz regiment (subsequently appointed brigade major), which fills two large volumes, MS., and in 1825 was in the possession of his son-in-law, Captain Heusler.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

The march of the corps was made in two divisions—[the first left February 15, and the other, to which the diarist was attached, May 15, 1776]—to Stade, the point of embarkation. A number of newly-recruited youths, attracted by the bounty-money, contemplated deserting their colors on the first opportunity, but no sooner had we crossed the Hanovorian boundary than we were surrounded by a detachment of cavalry. During the daytime, whenever we halted, pickets surrounded us, and at night we were quartered in barns and stables, which were locked and guarded by sentries. On arriving at Stade the troops were at once mustered by Colonel Faucet, and took the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, without, however, affecting the oath of fealty rendered to the Duke of Brunswick, who, according to the treaty, had reserved certain supervision over the corps, filling vacant positions, the administration of justice, etc. The troops were embarked without delay, and after a passage of eighteen days cast anchor in the harbor of Portsmouth, where we found about fifty vessels, which gave us some idea of England's naval power. Here we continued for several days, and were joined by other vessels, bearing Hessian and Waldeck troops, who were also on their way to America in England's service. . . . On September 19 the vessels carrying the Brunswick troops arrived in the harbor of Quebec, after a passage of over three months,

who were at once disembarked and placed under command of General Burgoyne. Here the Brunswickers found themselves far from the Fatherland and kinsfolk, and in an unknown country, in which they—with Englishmen, Hanoverians, Hessians, and other German troops—were to battle for England's supremacy and wage a successful warfare against the native-born of the land, who were familiar with every road and lurking-place, and who were striving for their independence. The result will show what was accomplished.

Our inland march led through numerous parishes and forests; in one of the latter we found a great number of trees felled to obstruct the passage of troops. This had been done by the British last year, to protect themselves against the Provincials. On our arrival at Fort Chambly a halt was made and a camp formed and occupied, although the season was already far advanced. Here information reached us that the rebels had met with numerous defeats and losses, not the least of which was that of their distinguished partisan leader, Colonel Arnold, who had been captured and was a prisoner. Before long camp was broken and the troops were again on the march, and on October 31 went into winter-quarters, which, in this forsaken country, was none of the best.

Here we remained until May of 1777, when the concentration of the German brigades was ordered, as it had been decided to open the campaign with German troops. Consequently, early in June the Brunswick corps began its march, but with regard to our destination or the movements of the army we were kept in profound ignorance. Although we always feared an attack from the rebels, at last advices reached us that at Fort Carillon (also known as Ticonderoga) an affair had taken place which resulted in the Americans evacuating the fort, which was seized by the British, who captured seventy cannon and a large amount of stores. The British garrison was relieved by a Brunswick detachment. A rumor was current that General-in-Chief Washington had arrived at Albany, and that consequently in the

near future something important was to be expected from General Burgoyne's army against the Americans.

From Carillon the rebels retreated, pursued by German and English troops. The Brunswick troops engaged in this pursuit were the Dragoons, the Breymann Grenadiers, and Barner Chasseur battalions. At Bennington the enemy made a stand, and in August an engagement ensued from which the enemy came out victorious. The English-German army suffered a serious loss; the Dragoons were either killed or captured, and the other two battalions also suffered severely. Lieutenant-Colonel Baum met on this battle-field his death. Although victorious, Washington's army continued to retreat, for which this intelligent and circumspect general, without doubt, had his own good reasons. The condition of Burgoyne's army now became pitiful: the scarcity of provisions, extraordinary fatigue, insufficient clothing, and sickness weakened the troops and made them discontented and dejected. The action at Bennington, however, was only a tragic prelude for Britain; the curtain was soon to rise on a dreadful tragedy. It was the month of October which was destined to decide between the crown and its erstwhile possessions in America.

Rumors contradicted themselves respecting expeditions and movements of both armies without intermission: first we heard this one, then the other one, was victorious or annihilated. However, it soon became apparent that Washington was master of the situation, and that Burgoyne was not disposed to intercept the American progress, or even place himself in the way of the American general. During this campaign Burgoyne had been guilty of many errors and acts of thoughtlessness. As early as October 6 rumors were current of the bad condition and position of the English-German army, and it was the 16th of October that we learned of the complete severance of the thirteen united provinces from the Mother-Country. This was the day which crowned with victory the courage and ability of those who battled for independence, while it crushed a portion of the English-German army to the dust.

Bloody dawned the morning of the fateful day at Saratoga, and as the shades of evening gathered it found General Burgoyne, with all his troops, after a hot and bloody action, surrounded and captured by the Americans under the valiant General Gates. Consternation and fear now seized the surrounded battalions. In vain had England made these extraordinary efforts; in vain the German warriors were forced to make a dangerous voyage; in vain were the fatiguing marches and hardships! The capture of General Burgoyne and his soldiers was a blow for England which was destined to be far-spread. . . .

According to the convention between Generals Burgoyne and Gates, several thousand English and German prisoners were to march to Boston, among which was a part of the Brunswick corps and their general, Riedesel. The Brunswick contingent, at Bennington and Saratoga, lost eleven officers killed, among them Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann, who was a constant tyrant to his grenadiers. He fell, struck down by a ball from one of his own men, after the fiend had sabred four of his command. Never sleeps the pursuing Nemesis! At first Burgoyne hesitated to treat with General Gates, and proposed to each commander that he should cut his way out through the enemy. He, however, soon saw the impossibility of such a course. . . .

About the time of the arrival of the captive troops in the vicinity of Boston, General Howe conceived the bold plan of attempting a landing and releasing them. Alas, this plan was betrayed to the vigilant enemy, and the *coup de main* remained unaccomplished. Neither were all the troops embarked for England, and many were forced to march to Virginia before the winter was over, there to remain until exchanged. Lieut.-Colonel von Specht now took command of the Brunswickers, and by agricultural occupations and occasional commercial ventures secured good subsistence for his men. In military matters they were entirely inactive.

During the summer of 1779, detachments of the corps which had been captured at Saratoga, as they were ex-

changed, reached Canada, dressed in French uniforms, and were assigned to various battalions for garrison duty. . . .

Early in the year 1780, the effects of the officers killed at Bennington and Saratoga, which so far had remained under seal, were disposed of at auction and the proceeds remitted to their heirs through the paymaster-general. . . .

The year 1781 was destined to bring the culmination of the war. The corps in Canada, whose officers were spending the long winter nights at clubs, balls, and banquets, learned that an attack was to be made by the Americans simultaneously at two points. In March, it was mustered by Major Holland, the British Commissioner, and ordered into camp. The unexpected arrival of General Riedesel, who had been exchanged, was hailed with joy, and he at once assumed command and again formed the corps into the original regimental organizations. . . . Finally, the news was received that Cornwallis had met the same fate as Burgoyne,—most likely from the same cause, lack of brains. The blow was struck, and Washington as well as Gates became sparkling jewels in the crown of freedom!

On April 24, 1782, the Brunswick corps was ordered to take the field at the earliest moment, as it had been decided that the German troops should endeavor to retrieve the lost fortune of Britain. But the arrival of General Carleton, in New York, with instructions to act with General Clinton to treat for peace, ended the movement. When this became known, a general illumination was ordered throughout Canada. In September the corps again went into winter-quarters.

In February of 1783, Major Holland returned, and the mustering of the corps commenced, and General Riedesel, owing to the frequent desertions, issued severe orders . . . it seemed as if running the gauntlet was an every day occurrence. Lieutenant-Colonel Ehrenkrook died March 22, and five days later was buried with military honors. On April 29 the corps was officially informed that peace had been concluded and orders were at once issued that all camp equipage should be disposed of without regard to

price, preparatory to embarking for the Fatherland. The birthday of England's king, June 4, was celebrated by a parade, and later in the month a grand muster of the corps on the plains of the Sorell, ended its military service in America. Prior to the embarkation of the corps the order of Duke Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand to General Riedesel, dated February 8, 1783, was read to the corps: "That our final intention was then indicated [order of December 23, 1780], that not one-half of the officers and non-commissioned officers can remain in active service. . . . In case not many should decide to establish themselves there [America], or receive their discharge, to seek service elsewhere, we will not refuse to grant to some of our old and trusty officers and others, a just and sufficient pension. On the contrary, we are not disposed to the ruin of our military chest, to pay bounty to young and able persons. . . . Our Major-General Riedesel is hereby authorized, not alone to discharge as many officers as desire to remain, even should they be staff-officers, but he may also grant interim discharges; as an inducement that others may ask for their discharge, he may in certain cases grant six months' pay from the military chest.

"Non-commissioned officers and privates, as many as wish can remain behind . . . of the former who by age or disability would not be entitled to a pension, would have to submit to a return to the ranks, until they were again promoted or received their discharge. The privates of infantry companies will not exceed fifty, and the dragoons thirty-six men, who must be natives of Brunswick. All others are not to be prevented from returning to the Fatherland, if they desire to profit by the free transportation. . . . Delinquents and criminals, a roster of whom is to be made prior to the embarkation, are to be excluded . . . and such as were guilty of serious crimes, lack of discipline, or through physical disability are unfit for active service, are to be left behind. . . . All chaplains, auditors, regimental, staff, or company surgeons, who desire to seek employment elsewhere, may do so, and will be entitled to their discharges."

On July 18-19, the corps marched in two divisions for Quebec, where they arrived on the 28th and 29th, and three days later were embarked and sailed for England. Their landing at Stade was unexpected, and when the corps reached Celle, it was ordered to proceed to Wolfenbüttel instead of Brunswick, where they arrived October 12, and were received at the Augustus Gate by Duke Carl and a great concourse of people from the neighboring towns. The corps was reformed into two battalions of infantry and a skeleton battalion of dragoons. The second battalion remained at Wolfenbüttel, and the first was ordered to Brunswick, where it was received with military honors in the Egedein market-place. A curious feature of this battalion was the negro drum-corps brought from America by General Riedesel.

A SCRAP OF "TROOP" HISTORY.

[We are indebted to the courtesy of Mrs. Roberdeau Buchanan, Washington, D.C., for the following memoranda of her grandfather, Thomas Peters, made in his copy of the "By-Laws of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," printed in 1815. Thomas Peters was a son of William Peters, of Belmont, and became a member of the Troop 17th November, 1774, and an honorary member 16th June, 1789. He died at Baltimore 24th December, 1821.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

In the "By-Laws of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," p. 33, is the following printed note :

"James Budden¹ was promoted from a private to this station, December, 1776, [second lieutenant] in consequence of having distinguished himself in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, where a small detachment of the Troop vanquished and took prisoners a party of the enemy greatly superior in number."

To this note Mr. Peters has added in his copy :

"Those of the small detachment of the Troop, only six or seven in number, as far as my memory serves—1818—were James Caldwell,² Jonathan Penrose,³ and Thomas Peters; the others I do not correctly remember. They took eleven light Dragoons, dismounted, with muskets in hand, within three-quarters of a mile of their main army, in sight at Princeton—our army at Trenton, the British on the way to attack them—which men we delivered to Gen. Washington with their arms at Trenton. They attacked us next day.

[Signed]

"THO^s PETERS."

On the fly-leaves in the back of the book he gives the following details :

¹ James Budden joined the Troop 17th November, 1774; second lieutenant from 1776–1781; honorary member 1781. Died 7th January, 1788.

² James Caldwell was elected a member of the Troop in October of 1775. Died 6th September, 1783.

³ Jonathan Penrose was elected a member of the Troop in October of 1775, and was made an honorary member 10th September, 1787.

“This statement relates to the particulars of what is mentioned in my note on p. 33. The fact is thus, as far as I can correctly remember. A few days after Gen. Washington took all the Hessian prisoners at Trenton, and had them crossed over to Pennsylvania, he returned and retook possession of the place without opposition, but while there was uneasy as he could not obtain any positive information as to the position of the British army or what they were about. Seeing him in this situation, a few of the Troop, six or seven, requested permission to go and reconnoitre and find where they were. We found that they had left Brunswick and were at Princeton, on their way to Trenton. We advanced as near to them to gain information as was consistent with our weak force. Observing a foraging party within two or three hundred yards of us, returning with wagons and troops, we waited until they had passed. Some of the party entered a new stone house to plunder it. We immediately rushed on them, who, to the number of eleven came out of the house and formed in the yard with muskets in hand. We compelled them to surrender and lay down their arms. A prisoner was mounted behind a trooper whose horse would carry double, and the rest were marched towards Trenton, pursued by a party of British horse, and reached our first outpost in safety. We found they were a party of the Queen’s Light Dragoons, late from Ireland, fine looking fellows, who were commanded by a Quarter Master and Sergeant, who made their escape and caused the pursuit. It gave Gen. Washington considerable satisfaction to obtain the information he wished. Jonathan Penrose and Thomas Peters horses carried double and got in first; James Caldwell’s horse passed us, having thrown his riders—the names of the others I cannot correctly remember.

“I was one of three or four members of the Troop, who went to Gen. Washington and offered our services to him in any way we could be of use, at the time the British Navy landed their troops on Long Island, and remained with him until the whole Troop was ordered to join him at the second

attack of Trenton, where I rejoined them. On recrossing the Delaware, I leapt my horse too soon out of the boat and got very wet, and in this condition was compelled to remain until after the battle, from which I was disabled by inflammatory rheumatism. I managed to reach Yorktown where Congress was sitting, and when able was appointed Commissary General of Prisoners for that district. A few days prior to the battle of Germantown I joined the army and got into Philadelphia, where I remained. Thus ended my military career for a time. Seeing that the independence of America was almost a certainty, and that I had from doing my duty in the defence of my country, while many brewers staid at home attending to their own interests and had made fortunes, lost the opportunity, I looked around to see how I could retrieve my lost time as to pecuniary matters. I then formed the plan, which I established in Baltimore, of a Brewery on the most extensive scale of any in America, for the purpose of brewing to serve the American and French troops, for which we had contracted to do, counting that the contest would be determined to the southward and that we could supply them by water. But all things prove the uncertainty of all sublunary things—before I could get to work, happily for my country, peace and independence took place—to the failure of my plans, as the brewery was by far upon too large a scale for the use of Baltimore.

“NEAR BALTIMORE, 1818.

“THOS PETERS.”

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.
BAPTISMS, 1709-1760.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from Vol. XIV. page 433.)

- 1742 Aug. 1 Caplee Anna Catherine d. Henry and Catherine 3 weeks
4 days
- 1728 June 28 Care John s. John and Elizabeth 8 months
- 1747 Feb. 7 Carear James s. Abraham and Rachel Jan. 27 1747
- 1748 Nov. 24 Abraham s. Abraham and Rebecka Nov. 17 1748
- 1751 Jan. 9 Abraham s. Abraham and Anne Dec. 2 1750
- 1723 Feb. 27 Carlile John, adult
- 1755 May 1 Carmalt Sarah d. Jonathan and Elizabeth March 5 1755
- 1732 Oct. 22 Carmelt John s. Joseph and Jane 2 weeks
- 1735 Mch. 20 Sarah d. Joseph and Jane 8 days
- 1738 Mch. 22 Joseph s. Joseph and Jane 2 weeks
- 1738 Mch. 22 Benjamin s. Joseph and Jane 2 weeks
- 1750 Nov. 3 Benjamin s. Jonathan and Elizabeth Feb. 24 1747
- 1750 Nov. 3 Joseph s. Jonathan and Elizabeth Sept. 24 1750
- 1750 June 12 Carmick Margaret d. Stephen and Mary Jan. 10 1748
- 1756 Mch. 15 Elizabeth d. Stephen and Ann Jan. 15 1756
- 1757 Oct. 6 Ann d. Stephen and Ann Aug. 9 1757
- 1759 Sept. 26 Stephen s. Stephen and Ann Sept. 20 1759
- 1720 Feb. 26 Carpenter Joshua s. Samuel and ——— Feb. 17
- 1721 Feb. 19 Josiah s. Samuel and Mary Feb. 21 1721
- 1723 Jan. 24 Rebecca d. Thomas and Mary
- 1728 Nov. 19 Samuel s. Samuel and Mary 6 months
- 1731 Mch. 26 Mary d. Samuel and Mary 1 year
- 1734 Nov. 7 Jasper s. Samuel and Mary 1 month
- 1739 Nov. 8 Miles Hardin s. Benjamin and Mary 4 days
- 1710 May 15 Carr Mary d. Robert and Judith 1 year 7 months
- 1714 Mch. 3 Robert s. Robert and Judith
- 1720 Aug. 14 Mary d. James and Mary
- 1736 Feb. 29 James s. John and Elizabeth 1 month
- 1739 July 11 Edward s. Thomas and Elizabeth 8 days
- 1742 April 29 Thomas s. Thomas March 3 1742
- 1744 Jan. 6 Thomas s. Thomas and Elizabeth 1 mo. 22 days
- 1714 Nov. 3 Carter Sarah d. James and Mary
- 1714 Nov. 4 Susannah d. James and Mary
- 1715 April 29 James s. James and Mary 11 days

- 1717 Aug. 18 William s. James and Sarah 8 days
 1723 Jan. 1 Margaret d. Archibald and Hester
 1727 Sept. 13 William s. John and Mary 2 months
 1730 June 5 Arabella d. Edward and Elizabeth 3 weeks
 1732 Nov. 29 George King s. Edward and Elizabeth 1 month
 1734 Dec. 26 Thomas s. Thomas and Jane 20 months
 1734 Dec. 26 Mary d. Thomas and Jane 2 months 10 weeks
 1734 Feb. 18 Jane d. James and Jane 4 years 9 months
 1735 Oct. 11 Joanna King d. Edward and Elizabeth 1 month
 1743 Jan. 19 Thomas s. Thomas 8 years
 1743 June 12 John s. John and Ann 6 days
 1744 April 6 Susannah d. William and Hannah 20 months 6 days
 1744 April 6 John s. William and Hannah — 25 days
 1750 May 8 James s. William and Hannah Feb. 22 1747
 1750 May 8 Hannah d. William and Hannah April 10 1750
 1750 May 21 Rebecca d. John and Elizabeth Sept. 7 1740
 1754 Oct. 27 Mary d. William and Hannah Feb. 10 1752
 1754 Oct. 27 Elizabeth d. William and Hannah Sept. 17 1754
 1757 Sept. 30 William s. William and Hannah April 6 1757
 1730 Feb. 9 Carterick John s. Thomas and Catherine 1 year
 1732 Nov. 12 Carton James s. Andrew and Mary 2 weeks
 1739 May 9 Cartwright Kidwallader Morgan s. Thomas and Catherine
 15 mo
 1745 Mch. 1 Mary d. John and Catherine 5 days
 1752 April 5 Mary d. Sharkerly and Mary July 17 1751
 1734 Sept. 8 Carty Mary d. John and Elizabeth 18 days
 1721 May 5 Carwithen Abigail
 1721 May 5 Margary
 1721 May 5 Phœbe
 1720 June 20 Carwithon Elizabeth 23 years
 1714 Dec. 29 Case Sarah d. Thomas and Elizabeth
 1710 Aug. 24 Cash John s. Caleb and Elizabeth
 1711 Aug. 29 John s. Charles and Elizabeth 8 days
 1722 Oct. 24 Rebecca d. Caleb and Rebecca
 1724 Mch. 27 Mary d. Caleb and Rebecca
 1726 June 10 Thomas s. Caleb and Rebecca May 27
 1727 Oct. 27 Alice d. Caleb and Alice 6 weeks
 1728 Aug. 16 Rebecca d. Caleb and Rebecca 3 weeks
 1731 Sept. 26 Caleb s. Caleb and Rebecca 10 days
 1733 April 29 Josiah s. Caleb and Rebecca 3 weeks 3 days
 1734 Nov. 10 Elizabeth d. Caleb and Rebecca 1 mo. 3 days
 1741 Mch. 11 Caleb s. Caleb and Rebecca 10 weeks
 1749 Sept. 29 Mary d. Thomas and Cynthia Sept. 13 1749
 1751 Sept. 6 Rebekkah d. Thomas and Cynthia Oct. 16 1751
 1754 Jan. 29 Mary d. Thomas and Cynthia Dec. 31 1753

- 1756 April 28 Cynthia d. Thomas and Cynthia March 28 1756
 1758 May 13 Caleb Vanhiste s. Thomas and Cynthia April 28 1758
 1760 Nov. 26 Cynthia d. Thomas and Cynthia
 1728 Oct. 2 Caterns Mary d. Edward and Rebecca 2 years
 1755 Mch. 19 Caton Elizabeth d. Thomas and Susannah Feb. 30 1755
 1755 June 4 Cavenagh Sarah d. Edward and Hannah March 7 1755
 1749 Dec. 31 Center Mary d. William and Elizabeth April 17 1745
 1751 June 20 Chabeard James s. John and Anne May 21 1751
 1715 May 7 Chambers William s. John and Mary 11 months
 1717 June 4 Rebecca d. John and Mary 1 year 3 mo
 1721 Aug. 26 Samuel s. John and Mary April 4 1721
 1747 Oct. 5 John s. Alexander and Anne May 3 1747
 1729 Aug. 11 Chancellor Hugh s. William and Mary 2 weeks
 1731 Jan. 18 Mary d. William and Mary 2 weeks 3 days
 1732 Aug. 2 Samuel s. William and Mary 3 weeks
 1734 June 6 Hugh s. William and Mary 2 weeks
 1734 June 9 Sarah d. William and Mary 2 weeks
 1735 Nov. 8 Lethia d. William and Mary 1 day
 1738 Sept. 30 Mary d. William and Mary 3 weeks
 1756 Sept. 6 Chanill Thomas s. James and Rebecca March 4 1756
 1747 Oct. 5 Channel John s. James and Rebecca Oct. 3 1747
 1760 July 28 Hannah d. James and Rebecca May 17 1760
 1753 Feb. 24 Channil James, adult
 1753 Feb. 24 Rebekkah d. James and Rebekkah Dec. 5 1752
 1753 Feb. 24 Samuel s. Jeremiah and Anne Jan. 17 1752
 1732 Feb. 18 Chaplin William s. John and Mary 3 days
 1752 June 20 Chapman Margaret, adult
 1733 Nov. 5 Chappell Mary d. John and Mary 2 weeks 19 days
 1735 April 8 Elizabeth d. John and Mary 5 weeks
 1735 Dec. 14 Charington John s. Clement and Mary 7 months
 1740 July 25 Thomas s. Clement and Mary 5 months
 1759 Mch. 16 Catherine d. John and Mary Feb. 5 1759
 1750 Nov. 4 Chatterton Abraham s. Thomas and Mary Oct. 11 1750
 1749 Mch. 24 Chatton Elizabeth d. Nathaniel and Elinor Feb. 22 1749
 1737 Feb. 23 Cherington Mary d. Clement and Mary 2 weeks
 1721 Sept. 17 Chevalier Susannah d. Peter and Elizabeth Aug. 15
 1760 Mch. 20 Elizabeth d. Peter and Mary Feb. 17 1760
 1758 Nov. 13 Chew Mary d. Benjamin and Mary March 10 1748
 1758 Nov. 13 Anna Maria d. Benjamin and Mary Nov. 27 1749
 1758 Nov. 13 Elizabeth d. Benjamin and Mary Sept. 10 1751
 1758 Nov. 13 Sarah d. Benjamin and Mary Nov. 15 1753
 1758 Nov. 13 Benjamin s. Benjamin and Elizabeth Sept. 30 1758
 1751 Sept. 13 Child Nathaniel s. John and Hannah June 28 1751
 1754 May 29 Elizabeth d. John and Hannah March 15 1753
 1754 June 20 James s. James and Katherine June 2 1754

- 1732 July 28 Chillingworth William s. James and Priscilla 3 years
1732 June 15 James s. James and Priscilla 1 year
1740 Nov. 9 Chiotete Susannah d. Peter and Frances 1 mo.
1755 Oct. 1 Chito Ann d. Thomas and Mary April 17 1755
1727 May 28 Choward Sarah d. Thomas and Mary 2 weeks
1735 Dec. 15 Church Mary d. William and Elizabeth 11 days
1736 Dec. 27 William s. John and Jennet 3 years
1736 Dec. 27 Rhoda d. John and Jennet 3 mo.
1734 Jan. 5 Clanney Joanna d. Samuel and Jane 6 days
1731 April 3 Clare Rebecca d. John and Elizabeth 15 mo.
1732 Dec. 19 Benjamin s. John and Elizabeth 6 mo. 3 weeks
1737 Jan. 17 Margaret d. John and Elizabeth 2 years 2 mo.
1746 July 12 Clarey Rebecca d. John and Jane July 1 1746
1755 Aug. 17 Clarge Richard s. Edward and Rac July 31 1755
1729 Sept. 26 Clark Mary d. James and Elizabeth 10 days
1750 Sept. 30 Sarah d. William and Sarah Sept. 1 1750
1755 June 4 Rachel d. Joseph and Alice March 4 1752
1755 June 4 Martha d. Joseph and Alice Dec. 27 1753
1756 July 18 Eneas s. Abner and Mary Dec. 29 1755
1756 Nov. 17 Elizabeth d. Roger and Elizabeth Sept. 8 1756
1757 Aug. 24 Hannah d. Joseph and Alice Sept. 3 1747
1759 Mch. 18 Clarke Beersheba d. Abner and Mary Oct. 16 1758
1740 Jan. 5 Claxton James s. James and Mary 1 year
1714 Aug. 1 Clay Hannah d. Robert and Ann
1744 April 8 Mary d. John and Jane 9 days
1738 Dec. 7 Claypole Rebecca d. Josiah and Sarah 4 months
1747 Aug. 19 Mary d. George and Mary July 22 1747
1749 April 6 Deborah d. George and Mary Feb. 17 1749
1753 Aug. 20 Elizabeth d. James and Mary July 17 1751
1753 Aug. 20 Mary d. James and Mary July 27 1753
1710 Jan. 1 Claypool Joseph s. Joseph and Rebekah 3 mo.
1711 Dec. 27 Rebekah d. Joseph and Rebekah
1713 May 31 Comfort d. Jeremiah and Sarah
1714 May 19 Jehu s. Joseph and Rebecca 2 weeks
1717 Feb. 17 Josiah s. Joseph and Edith 3 weeks
1730 July 22 Rebecca d. George and Hannah 22 days
1734 Aug. 27 George s. George and Hannah 17 mo.
1734 Aug. 27 Joseph s. George and Hannah 6 weeks
1738 July 26 John s. George and Hannah 2 weeks
1715 Nov. 20 Claypoole Josiah s. Joseph and Rebecca 1 day
1721 Feb. 5 James s. Joseph and Edith Jan. 22 1721
1732 Mch. 12 Mary d. John and Hannah 6 weeks
1740 June 5 Hannah d. George and Hannah 2 weeks
1757 July 27 Sarah d. Joseph and Mary July 12 1757
1757 July 27 David s. James and Mary June 14 1757

- 1750 Nov. 25 Sarah d. Warwick and Rebekkah Oct. 15 1747
1750 Nov. 25 Rebekkah d. Warwick and Rebekkah Nov. 8 1749
1751 Aug. 16 John s. John and Sarah July 18 1751
1754 Jan. 30 Septimus s. John and Sarah Nov. 17 1753
1758 Oct. 4 William s. Warwick and Rebecca Sept. 12 1754
1758 Oct. 4 Joseph s. Warwick and Rebecca Aug. 22 1758
1744 Aug. 10 Coburn Jane d. James and Anne 5 mo.
1729 July 6 Cockburn James s. James and Mary 5 days
1729 July 6 John s. James and Mary 5 days
1743 July 24 James s. Robert and Rachel 16 days
1732 Jan. 12 Cockrin William s. Robert and Abigail 3 weeks
1757 Dec. 9 Coffert Ann d. John and Jane Dec. 7 1757
1727 April 30 Coffey James s. Cornelius and Mary 3 weeks
1732 July 30 Elizabeth d. Cornelius and Mary 1 mo.
1741 Sept. 13 Coke Mary 23 years 9 mos. 1 week 3 days
1713 Nov. 15 Coldy Mary d. Samuel and Mary 5 weeks
1721 July 9 Cole Arabella d. Thomas and Elizabeth June 8 1721
1742 Feb. 18 Phillip s. Walter and Mary 3 weeks
1744 Jan. 11 John s. Walter and Mary 8 weeks 5 days
1744 Oct. 21 James s. James and Margaret 4 years
1745 April 15 Ann d. John and Jane 13 weeks 3 days
1721 Sept. 24 Coleman Mary d. Joseph and Mary
1738 Nov. 29 Hannah d. John and Hannah 13 mo.
1754 Aug. 25 William s. William and Elizabeth July 31 1754
1738 Mch. 12 Coles Jane d. John and Jane 2 months
1743 Dec. 3 Colick Alice d. Jacob and Mary 26 days
1742 May 9 Collier Hester d. George and Ann 3 weeks
1757 June 24 Collings Ann d. James and Mary June 21 1757
1721 May 30 Collins Abraham s. Edward and Margaret — 1717
1721 May 30 Mary d. Edward and Margaret Jan. 29 1720
1721 May 30 Elizabeth d. Edward and Mary March 22
1725 Aug. 8 Richard s. Richard and Margaret 1 yr. 2 mo.
1726 Sept. 11 Sarah d. Edward and Margaret Aug. 21
1728 Nov. 8 Edward s. Edward and Margaret 2 weeks
1729 Dec. 30 John s. Edward and Margaret 2 weeks
1731 April 29 William s. Edward and Margaret 2 weeks
1732 Oct. 12 Margaret d. Edward and Margaret 3 weeks
1732 Dec. 12 Margaret d. Edward and Mary 3 weeks
1734 May 10 Hannah d. Edward and Margaret 12 days
1734 June 14 Rebecca d. James and Sarah 10 years 7 mo.
1735 July 28 John s. Edward and Margaret 9 days
1736 Sept. 5 Elizabeth d. James and Catherine 3 weeks
1737 July 12 Thomas s. Edward and Margaret 2 weeks
1738 July 23 William s. William and Catherine 6 weeks
1739 June 18 Ann d. Edward and Margaret 6 weeks

1744 Dec.	30	William s. Ralph and Jane Oct. 17 1744
1746 Sept.	25	Robert s. Abraham and Rachel Sept. 1 1746
1747 Dec.	26	James s. Ralph and Anne
1749 Aug.	20	John s. John and Jane Aug. 6 1749
1752 Jan.	1	Alice d. Ralph and Jane Dec. 1 1751
1755 Aug.	20	Esther wife Richard
1755 Aug.	20	Hannah d. Richard and Esther March 2 1755
1760 June	15	Abigail d. Richard and Esther Feb. 10 1759
1760 Aug.	7	Hannah d. James and Sarah March 31 1760
1760 Aug.	7	Elizabeth d. James and Sarah March 31 1760
1750 Jan.	21	Collis Abraham s. Abraham and Rachel June 18 1749
1736 Oct.	1	Colly Thomas s. Thomas and Mary 1 month
1746 Feb.	23	Combe Anne d. Thomas and Sarah Jan. 25 1745
1747 Nov.	5	Thomas s. Thomas and Sarah Oct. 12 1747
1727 May	31	Combs Anne d. Henry and Anne
1729 July	15	Mary d. Henry and Ann 1 week 2 days
1731 Sept.	16	Henry s. Henry and Ann 10 days
1733 Oct.	16	Henry s. Henry and Ann 8 months
1760 Jan.	30	Comron John s. John and Mary March 18 1753
1760 Jan.	30	Rebecca d. John and Mary June 1 1755
1760 Aug.	16	Thomas s. Isaac and Tomasin Nov. 30
1760 Aug.	16	Daniel s. Isaac and Tomasin Jan. 23 1758

(To be continued.)

A LETTER OF HENRY DRINKER'S.

[In the early part of September, 1777, seventeen Friends, or Quakers, were arrested and confined, by order of the Continental Congress, for manifesting, as they said, a disposition highly inimical to the American cause; for publishing and circulating a seditious publication (the said seditious publication being an epistle issued by their Meeting for Sufferings, held at Philadelphia, the 20th of the Twelfth month, 1776), and for refusing to sign a parole, promising not to depart from their dwelling-houses, and to refrain from doing certain other things therein mentioned. They were refused a hearing, and transported to Virginia, where they were kept nominally as prisoners, although allowed a considerable degree of liberty, for about eight months. A few letters of Henry Drinker's, one of the banished Friends, written at the time, have been preserved, from among which the following has been selected.]

WINCHESTER 12 Mo. 13th. 1777.

(7th day evening.)

DEAR WIFE

Another conveyance presenting for forwarding Letters into the neighborhood of Philadelphia,¹ I take up my pen, tho' under a very uncertain prospect how or when this may reach thee, if at all.

Thy last Letters of the 5th and 23rd ultos. I have several times owned the receipt of—those per Stockton & Montgomery don't come. Perhaps Some Pennsylv^a Brethren may think us worthy of a visit, & be with us either in next week or the week following, that is, before the approaching Quarterly Meeting to be held at Fairfax, or after it, & by them it is possible some of the missing Letters may come.

Our persecutors bundled us together, and imprisoned and banished us as they thought proper; it was an act of violence & oppression in which we were plunged, without any direction or choice of ours. Among the prisoners thou must remember William Drewett Smith. As he had submitted so far to their arbitrary power as to subscribe to a Test imposed on him when released out of prison, we could

¹ Philadelphia was then in possession of the British.

hardly expect he would have been banished, inasmuch as the Congress & Council had offered to discharge us all if we would affirm or swear to a new formed Test of theirs, but among the Jargon of inconsistencies which their Malice & cruelty led them into, this happened, & W. D. Smith was sent in our Company. His conduct has been inoffensive and obliging—he has attended most of our conferences, in several of which it has been proposed & understood to be agreed to by all, that no one prisoner Should separately pursue any measure towards obtaining his enlargement, without first acquainting the others therewith; but regardless of this prudent & necessary regulation, the Doct^r left us on 2nd day morning last, without giving the least hint to any, so far as I can learn, of his intending to go above 5 miles from hence, but as no Tidings have reached us since respecting him, we conclude he has proceeded to Philad^a., & may be there by this time. Without commenting on the Doctor's conduct, I will just add, that with respect to myself, I don't intend to sneak Home in a private manner, but when I think the time is come, it shall be as openly & publicly as may be. This circumstance, together with some others of a close & trying nature which may not be explained with propriety at present, has led me into a serious & close consideration of our situation from the time of our imprisonment until the present day, and a retrospection is so far from administering discouragement, or producing weakness, that I think it may with truth be said, that strength & renewed confirmation have been derived therefrom. For the Testimony of a good conscience, & for the preservation of peace in my own mind, was I induced to withstand the arbitrary, lawless requisitions made, & altho' Bond, & Banishment followed, yet not one painful moment, or a condemning thought has succeeded, but a series of calm & quiet has for the last three months accompanied my Spirit, that I am now looking back at it, as at divers other times, with thankful admiration. And my fervent prayer is that I may experience the supporting, sustaining power of the good Hand, so as to be preserved from repining under

the present dispensation, and to wait with humble, dependent resignation until He, in his infinite Wisdom may open the way for my deliverance, believing that His time, His way, and His manner will be the best, without the workings & contrivances of the Creature; an assurance that we all might thus carefully wait & watch for the right season would afford comfort & singular quiet to some Travailing Spirits. And here I quit this weighty subject. . . .

It is my earnest request that my Betsy would strive to give me up in the present day of Tribulation, that she would be quite easy about my sojourning here—all seems well, very well—don't spare my worldly substance to obtain such necessaries & conveniences as thou & our Children may See to be useful & proper for you. And let me again excite thee to consider the distresses & wants of the poor & needy in this day of affliction & tryal. They have a right to partake of what providence has blessed me with, & therefore withhold it not from them.

I salute my endeared Spouse & Sister, our precious Children, & rest thy invariably affectionate

H. D.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

NOTICE.—All persons, whether members or otherwise, having in their possession or knowing of any marriage certificates, Bible entry, deeds, or manuscript pedigrees prior to 1800, will confer a great favor upon this Society by reporting the same to John W. Jordan, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. As many persons hold such without knowing it, a careful search is solicited.

NOTICE.—The hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania will be closed from July 1 to September 15, 1891, for repairs and rearrangement of the Library.

RUPP BIBLIOGRAPHY.—In addition to Professor Seidensticker's list of the books edited or compiled by Israel Daniel Rupp, there were:

"History of Somerset, Cambria, and Indiana Counties." Lancaster, 1848, pp. 561 to 620. [Published in connection with the History of Dauphin, Cumberland, etc.]

"A Brief Biographic Memorial of Joh: Jonas Rupp, and Complete Genealogical Family Register of his Lineal Descendants, from 1756 to 1875, with an Appendix." By I. Daniel Rupp, Philadelphia, 1875, pp. 292.

"An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, written 1789 by Benjamin Rush, M.D." Notes added by Professor I. Daniel Rupp. Philadelphia, 1875, pp. 72.

"Events in Indian History, beginning with an Account of the Origin of the American Indians." Philadelphia, 1842, pp. 633. [There was a similar collection printed in 1845.]

To the foregoing ought to be added a very interesting serial history published in a Cumberland County newspaper in 1866, comprising twenty chapters, entitled "The Olden Time of Pennsboro' Township."

W. H. E.

LIST OF MATRICULATES, COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, 1752-62.—Through the courtesy of Dr. Persifor Frazer, Chairman of a Committee of the Alumni Society of the College Department of the University of Pennsylvania, to compile a Catalogue of Matriculates of the Departments of Arts and of Science, we are privileged to print a unique list of the early graduates and matriculates of the College of Philadelphia, that has just come in possession of the University trustees.

This list was prepared by and is in the handwriting of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., Provost of the College, and includes accounts of the first six commencements. The list of matriculates embraces the years from 1754 to 1762, where it breaks off, and is resumed with the year 1775, and here ends, the hiatus being due doubtless to the absence of Dr. Smith in England.

The University trustees are indebted to their colleague, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, for this priceless document, who purchased it with others of

rare value at the sale of the historical papers of the late Dr. W. Kent Gilbert, of this city.

The manuscript is faithfully followed, but where the misspelling of names occurs, the correct ones are given in brackets.

Information is asked concerning those persons whose names are designated by a (*).

Class entered May 25th 1754.
First Class in the College of Philadelphia.

1. Jacob Duché Son of Mr Jacob Duché of the City of Philada.
2. Josiah Martin } Sons of Colonel Josiah Martin of Long Island
3. *William Martin } in the Province of New York.
4. Francis Hopkinson Son of Mr Thomas Hopkinson of Philada.,
deceased.
5. John Hall Son of (*sic*) Colonel Hall of Maryland.
6. *William Masters Son of Mr. William Masters of Philada.
7. *Edward Wilmor Son of Mr. Simon Wilmor of Maryland.
8. *Joseph Mather Son of John Mathers [Mather] Esqr of Chester.

Afterwards were admitted into the class :

9. Samuel Magaw Son of Mr. Magaw of Cumberland County.
10. Hugh Williamson Son of Mr. Jo^s Williamson of Cumberland
County.
11. James Latta Son of Mr. James Latta of Chester County.
12. Solomon Southwick from Rhode Island
13. & John Morgan Son of Mr. Evan Morgan of Philada. Deceased.
14. Mr. Paul Jackson Son of M^r Samuel Jackson was admitted in the
Academy before it was constituted a College.

May y^o 25 1755 were admitted :

John Allen } Sons of the honourable William Allen Esqr of Phil-
Andrew Allen } adelphia.
James Allen }

John Morris Son of Samuel Morris Esqr of Philada.

*Joseph Read Son of Mr. Joseph Read merc^{ht} of New York.

Nathaniel Chapman Son of Nathaniel Chapman Esq^r in Virginia.

*Basil Dorsey Son of M^r Dorsey in Maryland.

May y^o 25 1756 were admitted :

Samuel Powell [Powel] Son of Mr. Samuel Powell [Powel] merch^t in
Philadelphia.

Philemon Dickinson Son of S. Dickinson Esq^r of Kent on Delaware.

John Chew Son of Samuel Chew Esq^r deceased of Kent on Delaware.

*Alexander Lawson Son of Alexander Lawson Esqr in Maryland.

William Paca Son of M^r Paca in Maryland.

Samuel Keene Son of Mr. Keene in Maryland.

*Abraham Walton Son of M^r Walton merch^t of New York deceased.

June 1757 }
Joined to this } Williams Edmiston [Edminston?] of Notingham
Class } [Nottingham] in the county of Chester Pensilv^a
William Montgomery Son of M^r — Montgomery of
Lancaster County D^o
Mr John Beard of Notingham in y^o county of
Chester D^o

1757 May y^e 23^d were admitted:

*Benjamin Banton [Baynton] Son of M^r Peter Banton [Baynton] Merch^t of Philada.

Lindsay Coats [Coates?] Son of M^r John Coats [Coates?] of Philad^a.

Thomas Mifflin Son of John Mifflin Esq^r of Philad^a.

Thomas Bond Son of Doctor Thomas Bond of Philad^a.

John Cadwalader

Lambert Cadwalader

} Sons of Thomas Cadwalader of Philad^a.

Robeson Yorke Son of Thomas Yorke Esq^r of Philad^a.

Joined to this } Whitmill [Whitmil] Hill, Son of John Hill Esq^r N.
Class Oct^r 3^d } Carolina.

And also August } Rob^t Goldsborough, Son of Rob^t Goldsborough
y^e 12 1757 } Esq^r Maryland.

Feb. y^e 12th 1758 was admitted *John Johnston [Johnson?] Son of D^r Lewis Johnston [Johnson?] of Amboy in New Jersey.

July y^e 28th 1758 *Mr. William Grayson of Virginia was admitted.

May y^e 3^d 1759 was } Patrick Alison Son of William Alison Esq^r of
joined to y^e class } this Province.

May, 1758, were admitted as Freshmen:

Richard Peters Son of William Peters Esquire of this City.

Alexander Wilcox [Wilcocks] Son of M^r John Wilcox [Wilcocks] Merch^t of this City.

Mark [Marcus] Grime [Grimes] Son of M^r Mark [Marcus] Grime [Grimes] of Essex in Great Britain.

Abraham Ogdon [Ogden] Son of the honourable David Ogdon [Ogden] Esq^r in New Jersey.

Joseph Shippen Son of M^r Joseph Shippen Merchant of Germantown.

John Neilson Son of M^{rs} Neilson of New Jersey.

William Kinnersly [Kinnersley] Son of the Rev^d M^r Ebenezer Kinnersly [Kinnersley] one of the professors in this college and academy.

John Searl M^{tt} Caul [McCall] Son of M^r Samuel M^{tt} Call [McCall] Merch^t. of this city.

Tench Tilghman Son of James Tilghman Esq^r in Maryland.

*Jaquelin Ambler Son of

*Matthew M^{tt} Henry Son of the Rev^d M^r Francis M^{tt} Henry of Bucks in this Province.

Jasper Yeates Son of M^r John Yeates Merch^t in this City.

*Hugh Hughes Son of John Hughes Esq^r of this City.

*Henry Dexter Son of M^{rs} Dexter of this City.

Henry Waddel [Waddell] Son of M^r John Waddel [Waddell] Merch^t in New York.

*James Hooper Son of Robert Lettice Hooper Esq^r of New Jersey.

*William Hindman Son of Jacob Hindman Esq^r of Maryland.

Charles Goldsborough Son of Charles Goldsborough Esq^r in Mary Land.

William Fleming Son of M^r William Fleming of this Province.

*John Huston Son of M^r James Huston of New Castle County on Delaware.

May the 17th 1757, Where Dr. William Smith, Presided.

There were admitted to Degrees as Follows:

Mr. Ebenezer Kinnersly [Kinnersley], Professor of English and Oratory to the Honorary degree of a Master of Arts.

Mr. Theophilus Grew, professor of the Mathematicks to the same.

Mr. Paul Jackson, Professor of Languages to A Masters degree.

Mr. Jacob Duché, Mr. James Latta and Mr. Hugh Williamson, students of this College and Tutors to the Degree of Bachelors of Arts.

Mr. John Morgan, Mr. Samuel Magaw and Mr. Francis Hopkinson to the same.

Mr. Solomon Southwick, Mr. Josiah Martin were admitted to a honorary Degree of a Bachelor of Arts.

The Salutatory Oration was spoken by Mr. Jackson }
 And the valedictory Oration by Mr. Duché } v. S
 There were several other Orations by the Candidates
 And the Theses disputed were as follows, viz.

* * * * *

THE "ATTRACTING POWER OF LOVE."—Supplementary to the genealogical notes, PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XIV. p. 424, Dr. Walter Franklin Atlee kindly contributes the following letter, the original of which is in his possession :

"NEWYORK 12m^o, 20th, 1763

"SAMUEL RHOADES & WIFE

"Dear Friends as our Son Thomas has for Some time past acquainted us of his Love and Good Esteem for your Daughter Mary and we conceiving a Good Opinion of her & Family was well Pleased with his Choice but hearing it was a Strait with you to part with her to Come to this Place we Could but Sympathize with you in the affair so ware Silent in the Case on that account However he informs us you have Left her to her Liberty and she has Turned the Scale for Comeing we Desire it will be made easy to you and hope we Shall allways have a Parental Care for her and Conclude you are Sensible there is that attracting Power of Love in all Parts that Can make one in the best part, if Adhered to, if this should be the happy case then it will be a matter of Great Comfort to us all.

"Tho we have thus far exprest our minds we know not what may happen between the Cup and the Lip as the Saying is but shall Contentedly Submit all to that Great Director of all Good—and subscribe with Love unfeigned to you all & to your Dear Daughter Mary in Peticular—

[Signed]

"THOMAS FRANKLIN

"MARY FRANKLIN"

PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL.—From a field-book of William Parsons, surveyor, donated by Mr. Henry D. Biddle to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, we have selected a survey to locate Eighth Street, the eastern bound of the lot occupied by the Pennsylvania Hospital :

"THE HOSPITAL, May 20th 1755.

"To fix the 8th Street from Delaware Samuel Rhoads and myself Measured from ye intersection of ye North side of High Street and ye West Side of 2^d Street thence along the North Side of High Street vizt from 2^d Street 500 feet and inches to 3^d Street, from ye west Side of 3^d Street to 4th Street, 395 feet & 4 Inches, from ye west Side of 4th St. to 5th Street 405 feet & 3 Inches From ye west Side of 5th Street to 6th Street 397 & 4 Inches—From the West Side of 6th Street to 7th Street 396 feet 6 inches & from ye west side of 7th Street to 8 Street 396 feet 3 inches.

"We next Measured from ye West Side of 2^d Street along ye North Side of Cedar Street ye severall distances above mention which with 50 feet for the breadth of every Street makes 2741 Feet & 4 Inches from ye West Side of 2^d Street to West Side of the 8th Street from Delaware. This distance was taken with the utmost care and exactness and proved by repeated trials.

"It appears by ye above measure that ye intermediate Squares between 2^d Street and 8th are not of ye same breadth as laid down on the Original Plan of the City owing probably to want of care in former Measures

or to ye Negligence of those who fixd ye Corner Buildings but this defect may be removed in time if ye Inhabitants see cause however the West side of ye 8th Street from Delaware as ye same is now fixd may safely be depended on as a place of Begining in all futer Regulations both in respect to the fixing of Buildings and laying down ye Streets."

THE COMPILER OF THE FIRST PHARMACOPŒIA PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES.—In 1778, Steiner & Cist published a small 8vo of 32 pages entitled "Pharmacopœia | Simpliciorum | et | Efficaciorum | in usum | Nosocomii Militaris | ad exercitum | Focderatarum Americæ Civitatum | pertinentis; | Hodiernæ nostræ inopiæ rerumque | angustiis, | Feroci hostium sævitæ belloque crudeli ex inopinatò | patriæ nostræ illato debitis | Maxime accommodata." It was compiled by Dr. William Brown, in 1778, while in charge of the Continental Hospital in the Moravian town of Lititz, Lancaster County, Pa. Dr. Brown was a son of the Rev. Richard Brown, and was born in Virginia in 1748. His grandfather was Gustavus Brown, a Scotch physician and surgeon of repute. After receiving his early education at home, he was sent to Edinburgh, Scotland, where he finished his academic course and attended medical lectures. On his return to Virginia he began to practise his profession near Alexandria, where he intermarried with the Alexander family. On the breaking out of the war for Independencce, he offered his services, and, although but twenty-eight years of age, was soon advanced to responsible positions,—physician-general to the hospitals. He died in 1792, and was buried in the family burying-ground of the descendants of John Alexander, a younger son of the Earl of Sterling. On his tombstone is the following inscription :

IN MEMORY OF
WILLIAM BROWN, M.D.,
Formerly Physician General to the Hospitals of the
United States, who died on the 11th of Janu-
ary, 1792, in the 44th year of his age,
This Tablet is inscribed
by
his affectionate and afflicted widow.
His zeal and fidelity as a patriot;
his patience, diligence and skill as a Physician;
his benevolence, courtesy, and integrity as a man;
secured him
the applause of his country,
the honor and endowment of his profession,
the respect of the wealthy,
and
the veneration of the poor.
Let
the grateful witness of his virtues in domestic life
add
that as a husband, father and master,
he was tender, instructive, and humane;
that he lived without guile,
and died without reproach.

LETTER OF GENERAL ADAM STEPHEN.—We are indebted to Isaac Craig, Esq., Allegheny, Pa., for the following letter of General Adam Stephen, addressed to "Major Angus McDonald, Winchester." The

major was an officer in Dunmore's War; he and Captain William Crawford erected Fort Fincastle, at Wheeling, Va., in July, 1774.

"DEAR COL.

"His Excellency General Washington has appointed you Lieu. Col. of a regiment to be raised in Virginia and commanded by Col. Thurston. I desire you will not decline it, it is more honorable than if you had been appointed by convention or Committee; as their appointments are influenced by party or private views too often: Your appointment comes entirely from your own merit. Your Highland pride may stare you in the face and bellow out: Shall I serve under a ***de* it is incompatible with my mistaken honor, merit services &c. &c. &c. I desire you will only Remember that in *br'y: ** I was nothing in a Military way: in less than a year I was a Col—Brigadier—Major General. Had not my attachment to the Interests of America been superior to all Scrupolosity—I would have now been poking at home about the mill—the times require active men and the useful will be promoted and employed—it is Merit not sin**sity that will be attended to in the time of distress. As to your having engaged in the Sheriffs Business—This years collections will be finished before the Regiments can be raised—and for the next years collection, the Doctor and you can put it on a different footing—While you **g*e about collecting you can be recruiting—I am desirous to have you and Col. Thurston told me he would rather give a hundred guineas than you should decline & I am in hopes you will find it consistent with your interest—But should you be obstinate—G—d forbid: Write a polite letter to General Washington thanking his excellency for his notice and making the best excuse you can. I am Dear Col. Yours affectionately

"ADAM STEPHEN

"CHATHAM, March 15. [1777.]

"P.S. Fighting is now become so familiar that unless it is a very great affair we do not think it worth mentioning. I shall only mention that my Division is an excellent school for a young soldier—We only fight eight or ten times aw***—in short I have got my men in such spirits—that they only ask where the enemy come out and where they are—without enquiring into their numbers and so fall on—We have killed Jack Hall—you remember him—he was an old Capt. in the 52^d Regt."

SCUDDER, ANDERSON, AND WIKOFF FAMILY RECORDS.—The following entries are taken from a 16mo Bible printed in London by "John Baskett, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, and by the assigns of Thomas Newcombe, and Henry Hills deceas'd 1715." The earliest records in the name of Anderson would seem to be an evidence that it was brought to this country by that Scotch family who settled in New Jersey at that date. The volume is at present in the possession of Miss Wikoff, of Camden, who has kindly allowed these records to be copied. The families were of Monmouth County, N.J. Several of them served in the Revolution with distinction, especially "Col. Nathaniel Scudder [physician], long a member of the N.J. Assembly; member of the old Congress 1777-9; killed in a skirmish with an invading party of the enemy at Shrewsbury, N.J., Oct. 15, 1781." For an interesting account of Colonel Scudder and the Andersons see Wickes's "History of Medicine and Medical Men in New Jersey."

Nathaniel Scudder was born on Thursday the 10th Day of May O. S. 1733 at nine o'clock in the Morning. Died 16 Oct^r 1781.

Isabella Anderson was born on Wednesday the 6th day of July O. S. 1737, at 4 oClock in the Afternoon. Died Decem^r 24, 1782.

Nathaniel & Isabella Scudder were married on Wednesday the 23^d Day of March 1757 in the Evening. They both died in the Morning of the above mentioned Days.

John Anderson Scudder was born on Thursday the 22^d day of March 1759, at 3 oClock in the Afternoon

Joseph Scudder was born on Friday the 12th Day of February 1762 at 7 oClock in the Morning

Hanna Scudder was born on Tuesday the 16th Day of August 1763, at 2 oClock in the Afternoon

Kenneth Anderson Scudder was born on Wednesday the 21st Day of August 1765, at 8 oClock in the Evening.

Lydia Scudder was born on Tuesday the 27th Day of October 1767, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 oClock in the Morning

A nameless Male Infant was born on the 13th & died on the 17th Day of July 1770, aged 4 Days.

Scriptam A.D. 1788.

William Wikoff was born the 16th day of March 1755 in the evening. Died 8th of May in the morning 1824

Hanna Scudder was born on Tuesday the 16th day of August 1763, at 2 oClock in the afternoon.

William & Hanna Wikoff were married on Wednesday the 17th day of October 1787 in the evening.

Nathaniel Scudder Wikoff was born on monday the 11th of August 1788 at 10 oClock in the evening

Sally Wikoff, was born on tuesday the 17th of November 1789 at 4 oClock in the morning

[On another page occurs a duplicate entry, in another hand, of Isabella Anderson's birth, and below as follows, apparently referring to one of the Anderson family]:

"Lydia was born august the 26th 1740 on a tosday at seven a cloke in the afternoon."

[On a fly-leaf at the end, in the same hand as the first entries]:

"Matilda Wikoff was born on Saturday the 31st day of March 1792 at two oClock in the afternoon.

"Ann Wikoff was born on Fryday the 5th of July 1793 at 5 oClock in the afternoon

"Charlotte Wikoff was born on Wednesday the 15th April 1795 at 11 oClock in the night.

"Lydia Scudder Wikoff was born the 18th of Sept^r in the year of our Lord 1798. She died 11th May 1801

"Amanda Wikoff was born the first of February 1806 at 2 oClock in the morning.

"Our Father Jacob Wikoff, died 5th March 1812."

GRANT OF ARMS TO JAMES CLEPOLE, 1583.—Mr. J. Rutgers LeRoy, Paris, France, sends us the following exact copy of the grant of arms to "James Clepole," the great-grandfather of James Claypoole, the emigrant, extracts from whose letter-book have appeared in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE.

"*Heralds College, K. I., p. 219.*

"THE GRANT OF ARMS TO CLEYPOLE.—To all and Singular, as well Nobles & Gentlemen as others to whom these presents shall come. Rob^t Cooke, Esq^r ats Ciarencieulx principal Herald and King of Arms

of the East South and West parts of this realm of England from the River of Trent Southwards sendeth Greeting.

“Whereas anciently from the begining the valiant & vertuous Acts of worthy persons have been comended to the World with sundry monuments and Remembrances of their good deserts, amongst the which the chiefest and most usual hath been the bearing of Sigus in Shields called Arms, which are evident demonstrations of Prowess and Valoir diverslye distributed according to the qualities and deserts of the persons meriting the same, to the entent y^t. such as by their vertues do show forth to the advancement of the comon weale the shine of their good life and conversation in daily practise of things worthy and comendable, being the right and perfect tokens of a Noble disposition, may therefore receive due Honor in their lives, and also derive the same successively to their posteritie after them, and being credibly informed not only by common renown but also by report of divers Gentlemen worthy of Credit that JAMES CLEPOLE of Norborow in the County of Northampton gent hath long continued in virtue and in all his affairs hath so vertuously behaved himself that he hath well deserved and is worthy to be from henceforth admitted accepted and received into the number of other ancient Gentlemen.

“For remembrance where of I the said Clarencieulx King of Arms have by power and authoritie to my office annexed & granted by Letters Patent under the great Seal of England, devysed & ordained & assigned unto and for the said JAMES CLEPOLE the Arms and Crest hereafter following.

“That is to say The fylde gold, a Cheveron Azure between three Roundles, or otherwise in blason Horts, and to his Crest upon the helme, on a Wreath gold and Azure, out of a Crowne, a Flower de luce Silver, Mantled gules doubled Silver, as more plainly appeareth depicted in this margent.

“To have and to hold the said Armes and Crest to the said JAMES CLEPOLE, Gentleman and to his posteritie, with their due differences, and they the same to use and enjoy for ever without impediment lett or Interruption of any person or persons according to the antient Laws of Arms. In witness whereof I the said Clarencieulx King of Armes have sett hereunto my hand and scale of office the 17th day of June in the year of Our Lord God 1583 and in the 25 year of the Reign of Our most gracious Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth etc^d.

“Signed ROBT COOKE *alias* CLARENCEULX, Roy Darmes.”

“Transcribed from y^e Original Grant in the hands of George Leafield of Longthorpe, Esq^r, produced at Peterborough 26 July A^o 1681 and compared therewith by me.

“GRE^v KING ROUGEDRAGON.”

CHIEF-JUSTICE ALLEN'S OPINION OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.—The Reverend Alexander Carlyle (Autobiography, p. 353), in giving an account of his visit to York in July, 1763, says, “We passed the evening with Mr. Scott, who had with him a large party of Americans—Mr. Allen, Justice-General of Pennsylvania, and his two sons and daughters, fine young people indeed, the eldest of them not yet twenty years of age: with them there was also a Mr. Livinstone, and, I think, a sister of his also. Mr. Allen was a man very open and communicative, and as he was of Scottish extraction, his grandfather having fled from Stirlingshire to escape the cruel perscutions of the Presbyterians by Lauderdale and James II., he seemed partial to us as clergymen from Scotland. He said he intended to have gone as far as Edinburgh, but found he should

not have time at present, but was to leave his sons in England to complete their education. He wished us to stay all next day, and come an hour in the forenoon to examine his lads, to judge to what a length young men could now be brought in America. There was a circumstance that I shall never forget, which passed in one of our conversations. Dr. Wight and I had seen Dr. Franklin at Edinburgh. We mentioned this philosopher to Mr. Allen with the respect we thought due, and he answered, 'Yes, all you have said of him is true, and I could add more in his praise; but though I have now got the better of him, he has cost me more trouble since he came to reside in our State than all mankind besides; and I can assure that he is a man so turbulent, and such a plotter, as to be able to embroil the three kingdoms, if he ever has an opportunity.'

ACCOUNT OF DAVID RITTENHOUSE FOR SURVEYING, 1774-1775.—From the "Account of Expenses attending our Journey to the Mohawk Branch of Delaware for determining the beginning of the 43^d degree of Latitude, and making a Survey of the River by order of the Governor," of David Rittenhouse and assistants, October, 1774, to May, 1775, it appears that the—

"Expenses for Surveying Delaware from Phila ^d to Jones' ferry" was	£ 12. 19. 4
"Expenses for determining the beginning of The forty-third degree of Latitude & surveying Delaware thence to Jones' ferry" was	144. 17. 6
	<hr/>
	£ 157. 16. 10

VERSES BY ELIZABETH DRINKER.—As early as 1776, Mrs. Drinker and her husband visited Black Point, a summer resort on the Jersey coast, not far distant from the present Long Branch, and six miles from Shrewsbury meeting. It was during a visit, some years later, that the following lines were written :

"Lines verging somewhat on the Bath(os), but intended as a tribute of gratitude to our Landlord B. Wister, for his kindness in building us a Bath-house.

"Hail! thou noblest of Landlords who'rt worthy to stand,
On a par, any *day*, with the *Knights* of the Land!
'Mongst the minions of monarchs, no man, surely hath
Half the claim to the title of *Knight of the Bath!*

"Thee I hereby do dub, who to tub us hast deigned,
And cry hail to the man who his favors has *rained*,
On a house that had else been a great deal too dry,
Though containing of *Drinkers* a dozen or nigh.

"Not a step shall we stir, not a ride shall we take,
But a feeling of thanks in our hearts shall awake,
For thou'st come like the spring, sung by Poets in Odes,
And thy showers refreshing hast shed on the *Rhoads!*

"And each sultry day when emerged from the tub,
I sit down with friends to partake of a rub(ber);
My skin shall be cool which the heat else would blister,
And the pleasures of *whist* be made greater by *Wister.*"

PRICE OF PROVISIONS IN PHILADELPHIA, 1727.—Quarter of lamb, 2s. 4d.; one peck of apples, 1s.; one side of beef (277 lbs.), 2½d. per lb.; one breast and neck of veal, 2s. ½d.; one beef tongue, 1s.; one “couple” of chickens, 11d. J. E. C.

LETTERS RELATING TO THE DEATH OF MAJOR-GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.—Contributed by Isaac Craig, Esq., Allegheny, Pa.

“PITTSBURGH, 7th December, 1796.

“SIR.

“Since the intelligence of the General & his suits landing at Presqu’ Isle reached us we have anxiously expected your arrival here. I am much concerned for the General’s indisposition—his situation must certainly be very uncomfortable, and I wish you could point out by what means I might assist him. I hope however that he may be able to bear the fatigue of a journey to this place where his old Quarters are ready to receive him. I have enclosed for your perusal two newspapers, and am with great esteem,

“Sir, Your Obed Serv^t

“ISAAC CRAIG.

“MAJOR HENRY DE BUTTS,
“Presqu’ Isle.”

Extract from a letter from Major Craig to the Hon. James McHenry, Secretary of War, dated

“PITTSBURGH, Dec. 9th, 1796.

“Maj. Gen. Wayne arrived Presqu’ Isle on the 19th ultimo and is still there confined by a severe fit of the gout.”

“PITTSBURGH, 16th December, 1796.

“SIR.

“It is reported by a person who left Presqu’ Isle on the 10th inst. that Gen. Wayne was then dangerously ill at that post. The informant says that Doctor Balfour dispairs of his recovery. The letter received by post this day addressed to the General I have sent off by Express to Presqu’ Isle—the Express carries some medicines &c. for the general.

“The Ohio is still shut up with ice—Capt. Turner is stopt by ice 40 miles below this place; there is now however an appearance of a change of weather.

“I am, Sir, Your Obed^t Serv^t

“ISAAC CRAIG.

“HON’BLE
“JAMES MCHENRY,
“Sec’y of War,
“Phila.”

“PITTSBURGH, 16th December, 1796.

“SIR.

“A report reached this place yesterday of the General being dangerously ill and apprehensive that Presqu’ Isle may not afford such medicines & other articles as may be necessary & proper in his case Dr. Carmichael has been consulted who has directed several medicines to be put up and forwarded, and as it is the opinion of the faculty generally that old Madeira wine and old Brandy are often efficacious in similar diseases a small quantity of the best that could be found in this town is also sent forward. You observe the quantity—viz: 3 gallons of each—

is small. It was thought necessary that Quigly's horse should not be overloaded as he is ordered to push on with all possible expedition. I wish, my dear Sir, you could point out by what means I could be serviceable to the General or to you. Please present my respects to Major Kirkpatrick, if he is still with you—his family are all well.

"I am, Sir, with respect
"Your ob^t serv^t

"ISAAC CRAIG.

"MAJOR HENRY DE BUTTS,
"Presqu' Isle."

"PITTSBURGH, 23d December, 1798.

"SIR.

"Your letter of the 16th instant enclosing one addressed to Red Pole, a Shawnee Chief, is received and shall be delivered to him on his arrival.

"The letter accompanying this I presume will inform you of the death of Major General Anthony Wayne at Presqu' Isle on the 15th instant at 2 o'clock A.M. Major De Butts one of the General's Aides De Camp is expected in town this evening.

"I am, Sir, Your most Ob^t. Serv^t

"ISAAC CRAIG.

"HON'BLE
"JAMES MCHENRY,
"Sec'y of War,
"Philadelphia."

[Red Pole died at Pittsburgh on January 28, 1797, and was interred in Trinity church-yard with military honors. By order of the Secretary of War, Major Craig had a tombstone placed to mark his grave, with suitable inscription. Red Pole's Indian name was *Mio-qua-coo-na-caw*.]

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.—For perpetuating the memory and fostering the principles of the German ancestors of its members, as well as the preservation of the genealogy and history of the early Pennsylvania German and Swiss settlers, the above-named society was organized at Lancaster, Pa., on April 15 last.

The following officers were elected: *President*, William Henry Egle, M.D., Harrisburg. *Vice-Presidents*, Hon. Edwin Albright, Allentown; H. A. Muhlenberg, Reading. *Secretary*, Frank A. Diffenderfer, Lancaster. *Treasurer*, Julius F. Sachse, Chester. *Executive Committee*, Rev. J. Max Hart, D.D., Lancaster; Lee L. Grumbine, Lebanon; E. H. Rauch, Mauch Chunk; Hon. J. A. Hess, Hellertown; E. W. S. Parthemore, Harrisburg; Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, Philadelphia; Rev. C. Z. Weiser, Montgomery County; C. P. Humrich, Carlisle; A. Hiestand Glatz, York. Applications for membership should be forwarded to Rev. J. Max Hart, D.D., Lancaster, Pa., who is chairman of the Executive Committee. We are in hearty sympathy with the objects of the society and wish it all success.

Queries.

BILES.—Does any one know of the existence in a family record of the maiden name of the wife of William Biles, son of William Biles, 2d, and Sarah Langhorne his wife, of Bucks County, Pennsylvania? One daughter married a Baker, one a Mott, and one a Thorn.

West Chester, Pa.

MRS. REBECCA MICKLE HEMPHILL.

LAWRENCE COX.—Information is requested concerning Lawrence Cox, a Quaker, who settled near Hunterstown, Berks County, Pa., prior to the Revolution.

1907 N Street, Washington, D.C.

MISS BESSIE COX.

DOUGHTY.—Can any one give me the names of the children of Edward Doughty, who resided in Philadelphia in 1688, and bought property on Front Street in December of same year? V.

PAUL—ROBERTS—HEATH—MORRIS—LUKENS—KIRK.—Information is desired of the ancestry and descendants of Joseph Paul, of Oxford Township, Philadelphia, 1692. He had two sons: Joseph married Elizabeth Roberts, of Philadelphia, in 1710, and James married Sarah Morris, a daughter of Morris Morris, and second Susanna, daughter of Robert Heath. Who was Morris Morris? I also desire information of Jar. Lukens, and John Kirk, who married Sarah Tyson in 1722; of Seneca Lukens, who married Sarah Quimby in 1777; and of a James Paul, who married Mary Worth in 1737. A. P. K. S.

GREENLEAF.—Joseph Greenleaf, born at Newbury, Massachusetts, September 25, 1717, married Mary —, of Newbury. Her surname is requested. V.

ADAMS.—Ebenezer Adams, of Braintree, Massachusetts, born December 30, 1704, is known as "Captain" Ebenezer Adams. Whence was the title derived? V.

CONRAD—EDWARDS.—Information is desired about Michael Conrad, publisher and paper manufacturer of Philadelphia. He was a descendant of Thunes Kunders (Dennis Conrad), and was married by the Rev. Michael Schlatter, on September 19, 1775, to Jane Edwards. In the marriage certificate both are mentioned as residing in Germantown. Michael Conrad and Jane his wife are named among the incorporators of the First Baptist Church of Roxborough. In partnership with his son John Conrad, afterwards mayor of the Northern Liberties, he conducted the publishing business under the firm-name of M. & J. Conrad, having branches in Baltimore, Washington, Petersburg, and Norfolk. He was the grandfather of Judge Robert T. Conrad, first mayor of the consolidated city.

Can any one inform me of the names of his and his wife's parents? Any information relating to either the Conrad or Edwards families will be thankfully received.

Camden, N.J.

FRANKLIN CONRAD WOOLMAN.

BIRD.—Was William Bird, the founder of Birdsboro', Pennsylvania, from or of the Delaware family of that name? Information is desired of the ancestry of John Bird, of Rockland Manor, Delaware, supposed to be the son of Thomas Bird, who was a large purchaser of real estate about 1702 near Wilmington. V. S.

TYSON—POTTS—ROBERTS.—It has been ascertained that Peter, son of Reynier Tyson, did not marry Mary Potts [see PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XII. p. 127]; his wife was Mary, daughter of Thomas and Eleanor (Potts) Roberts. The writer would be glad to know the names of Eleanor Potts's father and mother. V. S.

Replies.

FORTS IN PENNSYLVANIA.—As a contribution to a reply to "E. H. O.," PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XV. p. 125, I submit a brief statement of the historical location of the following forts, and I take the opportunity of expressing my obligations to the various outline indexes of the War Department.

Yours truly,
JOHN P. NICHOLSON.

FORT AUGUSTA.—English colonial post, located on the east bank of the Susquehanna, about fifty miles north of Harrisburg, on the present site of Sunbury, Northumberland County, Pa.

This point was originally the seat of a Moravian mission, but in 1755, after the defeat of Braddock, the Indians in the vicinity became so troublesome that the mission was abandoned. In 1755 one Andrew Montour, an interpreter to the governor, made a visit to that section, and recommended that a fort be built at the above point for the protection of the inhabitants of the valley from the invasion of the French and Indians from the other side of the mountains. Accordingly, in June, 1756, instructions were given by Governor Morris to Colonel William Clapham, who was then at Fort Halifax, thirty-two miles below the point selected, to proceed to build a fort suitable for a good defence. Colonel Clapham, with four hundred men, arrived at the point proposed in July, and, after throwing up temporary breastworks for immediate defence, began the erection of the fort. The work stood about forty yards from the river bank, the side fronting the stream being a strong palisade of logs, with their bases sunk four feet in the ground, and the tops spiked to a long piece of timber so as to hold them together. The other three sides were composed of square logs, one and a half to three feet in diameter, laid horizontally, and neatly dovetailed. It originally mounted eight pieces of cannon, but the number was increased afterwards to twelve cannon and two swivels. In 1758-59 a magazine was built and a fraise completed around the fort. The post was occupied until the close of the Revolution, when it was abandoned and gradually fell into decay.—*Penna. Arch.*, 2d series, Vol. VI. p. 527; Vol. VII. pp. 403, 415, 421, 433. *Hist. Coll. Pa.*, pp. 28, 235, 451, 527, 531, 533. *Hist. West. Pa.*, p. 76. *Gordon's Hist. Pa.*, pp. 341, 376, 391. *West Branch Val. Susquehanna*, pp. 69, 75, 83, 92, 99, 121, 122. *Lossing's Amer. Hist. Record*, Vol. II. p. 50. *Lossing's Rev.*, Vol. I. p. 531. *Map Miner's Wyoming*.

BETHLEHEM.—Colonial stockade, located at Bethlehem, Northampton County, Pa., about forty-four miles north of Philadelphia and seven miles west of the Delaware River. During the French and Indian wars (1756) the town of Gnadenhütten, on the Lehigh River, twenty-five miles northwest of Bethlehem, was burned and wasted by the Indians. Alarmed for the safety of their own town, the Moravian inhabitants of Bethlehem surrounded it with a stockade and procured arms and ammunition from New York. The duties of the garrison were performed by the brethren, while large stones were placed in the windows of the high houses (at which the women were to be posted) to be thrown down upon the heads of assailants. There is no record that the town was attacked, but these hostile preparations caused considerable surprise, as the Moravians had heretofore been supposed to have conscientious scruples against bearing arms.—*Gordon's Hist. Pa.*, p. 319.

[Gordon's statements are erroneous. The records of the town inform us that only the principal houses were stockaded and the brethren organized an unarmed watch for day and night service. The church-bell was to be rung, in case of attack, to summon aid from the neighborhood. Arms and powder were forwarded for the defence of the town, by friends in New York, but were returned at once by order of Bishop Spangenberg. His letter to the donors and address to his congregation are extant. The Moravians held conscientious scruples against bearing arms and were exempt by act of Parliament, 1749.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

BIGHAM'S FORT.—Colonial fort, located in the Tuscarora Valley, near the junction of Tuscarora Creek and the Juniata River, about six miles from Mifflintown, Juniata County, Pa. In the year 1749 or 1750, Robert Hagg, Samuel Bigham, James Grey, and John Grey emigrated from the Cumberland Valley to this point, and, after clearing land, built a stockade defence for their protection, which was afterwards known as "Bigham's Fort." Other settlers afterwards came into the valley, and in the year 1756 the Indians arose in such numbers that the inhabitants of the fort were either massacred or taken prisoners and the stockade and block-houses burned. The fort was rebuilt some few years afterwards through the exertions of Ralph Sterrit, an old Indian trader, and the valley was soon reoccupied by other settlers. In the year 1763, when the savages had again commenced hostilities, the inhabitants of the valley were collected in the fort, when intelligence having reached them through friendly Indians that the enemy were so numerous it would be impossible to make a successful resistance, they immediately abandoned the fort, retreating to Cumberland County, and on the night after its evacuation the savages took possession of the work and burned it to the ground.—*Hist. Coll. Pa.*, p. 383. *Jones's Juniata Valley*, p. 84.

APPLESBY'S FORT.—Frontier stockade fort, located on the east bank of the Allegheny River, about forty-five miles above its junction with the Monongahela, at the present site of Kittanning, Armstrong County, Pa. Mentioned by local writers, notably Albach ("Annals of the West," Pittsburgh, 1858), as having been built "by the government," in 1776, for the protection of the settlers from the Indian raids. It appears to have been a mere stockade, without armament or importance, as three years later, when Colonel Broadhead, in obedience to orders from General Washington, ascended the Allegheny in force and fortified several points in aid of Sullivan's campaign against the Indians, he established a stockade work at Kittanning, which he named "Fort Armstrong," in honor of Colonel John Armstrong, who, in 1756, had defeated the enemy in a battle at that point and burned the town.

ANDERSON'S FORT.—Colonial stockade fort, located on the north bank of the Juniata River, on the present site of Petersburgh, Huntingdon County, Pa. Built in the spring of 1777 by Captain Samuel Anderson, one of the most energetic and active men in what was known as the "Shavers' Creek Settlement," for the purpose of protecting the settlers against the Indians whom the British had bribed to maraud and destroy. It was a large block-house fort, near the mouth of the creek, of the same general character as the pioneer forts of the period, and was occupied more or less during the progress of the Revolution; and although the settlement was frequently threatened, the fort itself was never as-

sailed. Jones ("History of the Juniata Valley," Philadelphia, 1856), a prominent local historian, writing in 1856, asserts that at that date the ruins of this old work were still standing.

ADAM CARSON'S FORT.—Dr. Meginness, in his "Otzinachson" (Philadelphia, 1857, p. 188), a history of the west branch of the Susquehanna, mentions a small fortification on the south bank of the Susquehanna, in what is now Clinton County, Pa., under the name of "Adam Carson's Fort." He places the date of its building at 1777, by one Adam Carson, an early settler of that section, doubtless as a place of refuge during the Indian troubles; but its exact location is indefinite, and, on account of an unusual high water soon after its occupation, it seems to have been almost immediately abandoned. It is not mentioned by other local writers.

FORT ARMSTRONG.—Frontier stockade fort, on the east bank of the Allegheny River, about forty miles above Pittsburgh, on the present site of Kittanning, Armstrong County, Pa. In the spring of 1779, in obedience to orders from General Washington, who at the time was planning the campaign against the Six Nations, which was subsequently carried out under General Sullivan, Colonel Daniel Brodhead, then commanding at Fort Pitt, ascended the Allegheny with a force as far as Venango, fortifying several points along his route as bases for Sullivan's operations. One of the points so fortified was Kittanning, where the construction of a strong stockade work was commenced in June of that year by Lieutenant-Colonel Bayard, completed the last of July, and named Fort Armstrong, in honor of Colonel John Armstrong, who in 1756 commanded the Susquehanna forts and defeated a large body of Indians at this, one of their largest towns. As no record is found of the fort after that date, it is probable that it was early abandoned.—*Albach's Annals of the West*, p. 303. *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Vol. III. p. 656.

FORT BEVERSREDE.—Dutch colonial fort, on the east bank of the Schuylkill River, in the old Indian district of Passyunk, and within the limits of the present First Ward of Philadelphia, Pa.

This fort, erected in April and May of 1648 as an outpost of the Dutch West India Company, owed its origin to the desire on the part of that powerful corporation to restrain the encroachments of the Swedes, who were boldly pushing their boundaries northward on both sides of the South (now Delaware) River, and seeking to monopolize the trade with the native Indians. The operations on and about the South River of the Swedish West India Company to this latter end, commencing in 1638, were carried on with such characteristic energy by its thrifty pioneers that within the period of a single decade they had secured to themselves the greater part of the valuable fur trade, and, relying on the superiority of their numbers, boldly forbade the Dutch from trading around the Schuylkill or making any settlement on the west shore of the South River. Intelligence of this utter decay of Dutch interests reaching the ears of the new and energetic director, Peter Stuyvesant, resident at Manhattan, he at once confirmed the appointment of Andries Hudde, ex-councillor, as commissary of the Dutch fort on the South River, Fort Nassau. Hudde, assuming command in April, 1648, at once commenced the erection of a fort on the east bank of the Schuylkill, within the Indian district of Passyunk, on a tract of land known as the "Armen-

veruis" tract. This tract had been purchased fifteen years before (1633) "from the right owners and Indian chiefs" by a former Dutch commissary, Arendt Corssen, and a trading-post had for a time been maintained there. This fact has led a few early writers into the error of fixing Beversrede's establishment at that early date. Its erection, as stated above, appears to have been commenced in April, 1648, at which time Hudde gave it the name of Beversrede, on account of the extensive trade in beavers carried on there, the word being compounded of the English "beavers" and the Dutch "reede" or "rede," freely rendered Beaver's Run. The work seems to have consisted of a log house, surrounded by palisades, and its erection excited the violent opposition of the Swedish governor. At one time a Swedish subaltern visited the fort, and, on Hudde's failing to cease work, as he demanded, cut down all the available timber in the immediate vicinity, even the newly-planted fruit-trees. Twice were the fort's palisades destroyed. In September, 1648, the Swedish governor, John Printz, took the ingenious method of making Fort Beversrede comparatively useless by erecting a stockade thirty feet long by twenty feet in breadth directly in front of the fort, between it and the river, "the back gable of their house being only twelve feet from the gate of our fort." To vindicate Dutch honor and rights there were but six able-bodied men at that time on the river, and the failure of the Dutch company to furnish more men is explained by their unwillingness to antagonize Sweden, then a formidable power and an ally of the Dutch in European affairs. However, in 1651, the building of Fort Casimir by Stuyvesant served to check the monopolizing and aggressive spirit of the Swedes, and prepared them for the change in 1655, when, by the order of the home directors, Stuyvesant fitted out an expedition which, appearing in the South River, compelled the surrender of the Swedish forts and the consequent absorption of "New Sweden" into New Netherland. The later history of Fort Beversrede is a matter of conjecture. In 1651 it appears to have lost all military importance, though doubtless it was used by the Dutch for some time after as a trading-house.—*Scharf and Westcott's Hist. Phila.*, Vol. II. p. 1022, *et seq.* *Brodhead's Hist. N. Y.*, Vol. I. pp. 483, 486, 487, *et seq.* *O'Callaghan's Hist. New Neth.*, Vol. I. p. 156; Vol. II. p. 82. *Pa. Archives*, 2d series, Vol. V. pp. 175, 208, 236, 242, 396; Vol. VII. p. 466. *Hildreth's Hist. U. S.*, Vol. I. pp. 147, 433. *Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, new series, Vol. I. p. 441. *Record Upland and Denny's Journal*, p. 15. *Watson's Annals Phila.*

FORT ARMSTRONG.—United States block-house during the second war with Great Britain, located on the south shore of Lake Erie, at the town of Erie, Erie County, Pa. Erected in April, 1814, by Major Ralph Marlin, Twenty-second Infantry, to aid in the defence of the town against the British fleet, then on Lake Erie. Under date April 9, 1814, Major Marlin writes the War Department: "This day I have mounted on a very strong and well-built block-house one long 12-pounder and four brass 4-pounders. I had the guns scaled out and put in order for action. I called the block-house and garrison Fort Armstrong. If this should be approved by the War Department, it will in future go by that name. The block-house is built on a point of land that projects considerably into the lake from the old garrison as laid out by General Wayne, and within a few perches of the place where he was first buried. I have only built the block-house eight feet high above the upper floor. I will not be able to get it covered for some time, but it is now in a complete state of defence and controls all the harbor, and would protect a

single vessel from injury by an attack from numbers." It was garrisoned by one company of volunteers and a detachment of regulars under Captain Carmack, Twenty-second Infantry, during the summer of 1814; but Perry's victory, in September, freed Lake Erie from the enemy without having brought this work into action.

FORT BEDFORD.—British colonial fort, on the Raystown branch of the Juniata, at the settlement of Raystown, now the site of Bedford, the county-seat of Bedford County, Pa. The exact date of the building of this work cannot be determined, various authorities placing it at dates between 1751, when the first settlement was made at Raystown, to 1758, in which latter year, according to Jones ("History of the Juniata Valley," Philadelphia, 1856), "the fort was built at that point and called Fort Bedford in honor of the Duke of Bedford," then an influential member of the home government. Its purpose was to form one of a chain of posts leading from Fort Loudon, in Maryland, to Fort Pitt, at the junction of the Monongahela, along which line a wagon road was begun in 1755 and completed in 1758, and for the protection of the settlers against the Indians. Its form was that of an irregular pentagon, with five bastions, having a perimeter of more than twelve hundred feet, with three large barracks, each one hundred feet by thirty, and quarters of the commandant within the walls; hospitals, storehouses, and sutler stores without. The work was defended by ravelins to the south and west, while the northern face, looking towards the Juniata, was strengthened by a stone wall of more than ten feet in thickness. (For a plan of this work, copied from an original in the British Museum, see the *American Pioneer*, a monthly magazine published at Cincinnati, Ohio, for the month of April, 1843.) In 1763 Fort Bedford was the principal depot for military stores between Carlisle and Fort Pitt, and garrisoned by four companies, and was the most secure refuge for a distance of fifteen miles around. In 1766 the town of Bedford was laid out, taking its name from the fort, and the settlement rapidly increased in strength, so that after that date there is little record of the fort. In 1771 the walls of the fort were reported to be nearly demolished, and from about that date its abandonment is probable.—*Amer. Pioneer*, Vol. II. pp. 146, 147. *Pa. Archives*, 2d series, Vol. VI. p. 588. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII. p. 410. *Hist. West. Pa.*, pp. 158, 168. *Jones's Hist. Juniata Val.*, pp. 161, 163, 164. *Hist. Coll. Pa.*, pp. 119, 121, 124. *Schoolcraft's Hist. Ind. Tribes*, Part VI. p. 250. *Albach, Annals of the West*, p. 176. *Thompson's Hist. Wars U. S.*, pp. 198, 199. *Parkman's Conspiracy Pontiac*, Vol. II. p. 43. *Boquet's Exped. against Ohio Inds.*, p. 14.

FORT ANTES.—Revolutionary fort, located on the west bank of the Susquehanna River, at the mouth of Nippenose Creek, on the site of the present town of Nippenose, Lycoming County, Pa. Built in the summer of 1776, for the protection of the settlers from the savages of that section, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel John Henry Antes, a famous character in the history of the valley, in honor of whom the work was named. It was a picketed inclosure, defended by a regular garrison of militia, and was a very important place during the trying scenes of 1776-78, as a defence to the pioneers of that region. In 1778, there not being sufficient troops to guard the whole frontier, and Congress having taken no action to supply this section with men and supplies, Colonel Hepburn ordered the valley of the west branch to be evacuated, and this post, in connection with others, was abandoned,

and afterwards destroyed by savages.—*Hist. Coll. Pa.*, pp. 235, 451. *West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna* (Meginness, Philadelphia, 1857), pp. 187, 216.

FORT ALLEN.—Pioneer fort, located on the Lehigh River, on the present site of Weissport, Carbon County, Pa., about fifty miles north-west of Philadelphia. The work had a circumference of four hundred and fifty-five feet, was built of palisades about eighteen feet high, and named in honor of William Allen, a distinguished citizen of Philadelphia. At the beginning of the French and Indian War the Pennsylvania Assembly granted fifty-five thousand dollars for the purpose of raising troops and providing for the defence of the frontier. Benjamin Franklin, having been appointed to superintend the work, proceeded with a company of volunteers in 1756 to the Lehigh, and erected this fort at what was then called Gnadenhuetten. He was soon recalled to Philadelphia, leaving Colonel Chapman in charge. The Indians by a stratagem succeeded in drawing a body of the garrison from the fort, leading them into an ambush, and nearly all were killed or wounded. Shortly afterwards another part of the garrison was waylaid, when those who remained, becoming discouraged, evacuated the fort, which was destroyed by the savages.—*Gordon's Pennsylvania*, pp. 319, 341. *Miner's Wyoming*, pp. 40-43. *Bancroft's Hist. of the U. S.*, Vol. IV. p. 225. *Hist. Collec. of Pennsylvania*, pp. 189, 199, 200.

FORTS IN PENNSYLVANIA.—While the exact date of the erection of Fort Bedford is unknown, it was certainly previous to 16th of August, 1758, as on that date Joseph Shippen, in a letter to Richard Peters, dated at "Camp at Ray's Town 16 Aug. 1758," writes, "We have a good Stockade Fort built here with several convenient and large Store Houses. Our Camps are all secured with a good Breastwork & a small Ditch on the outside."
ISAAC CRAIG.

FORTS IN PENNSYLVANIA.—As far as Fort Armstrong is concerned, it was built by Colonel Stephen Bayard, and completed in July, 1779; although there was talk of erecting a fort some three years at least before that time. It was so named in honor of General John Armstrong, who in 1756 destroyed the Indian village of Kittanning. Bayard wished to name the fort after himself or Colonel Brodhead, who commanded at Fort Pitt; but the latter insisted on the name Armstrong with a pertinacity that resulted in quite an animated correspondence on the subject between him and Colonel Bayard. The fort stood on the east bank of the Allegheny River, a little more than two miles below the present town of Kittanning, and just below the present Manorville, within half a mile of where the writer of this was born. I remember seeing the old well filled with stumps. It is sometimes called a stockade fort, and it was only occupied permanently till the end of November of the year in which it was built. A block-house stood about half a mile below the fort, which was torn down or fell from age about the year 1835.

The fort was never called Appleby; that was the name of a town it was proposed to build at about the same place in the summer of 1774, by the traders of Pittsburgh who remained faithful to the cause of Pennsylvania in the boundary dispute between that colony and Virginia. This question will be found discussed in two articles in Dr. Egle's "Historical Register," 1884, pp. 81, 202.
REV. A. A. LAMBING.

Book Notices.

SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA. 8vo. 325 pp. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, O., 1891.

The second volume in the series constituting the "Scotch-Irish in America" has just been issued. It is divided into two parts. Part I. contains all the proceedings of the second great Scotch-Irish Congress held at Pittsburgh, Pa., last May, including a description of the visit to the Congress by President Harrison and his cabinet, with letters and telegrams from distinguished men all over the world. Part II. contains "The Making of the Ulsterman," by Rev. John S. MacIntosh, D.D., of Philadelphia; "The Scotch-Irish of New England," by Prof. Arthur L. Perry, of Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.; "General Sam Houston, the Washington of Texas," by Rev. D. C. Kelly, D.D., of Gallatin, Tenn.; "The Scotch-Irish of Western Pennsylvania," by Hon. John Dalzell, member of Congress from Pennsylvania; "The Prestons of America," by Hon. W. E. (Richelieu) Robinson, of Brooklyn, New York; "Washington and Lee, the Scotch-Irish University of the South," by Prof. H. A. White, of Lexington, Va.; "The Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania," by ex-Chief-Justice Daniel Agnew; "The Ulster of To-day," by Rev. John Hall, of New York City; and "The Scotch-Irish of Ohio," by Hon. James E. Campbell, Governor of Ohio. It contains also all that was said and done at the great religious meeting, including the sermon of Rev. Dr. John Hall, preached to the immense audience on the last evening of the Congress. A feature very interesting to genealogists is the list of members, with important biographical facts concerning them. Price, postage prepaid, \$1.00 in paper and \$1.50 in cloth.

HISTORY OF CAPE MAY COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.—Mr. Francis B. Lee, of Trenton, N.J., is compiling a history of Cape May County. He is desirous of corresponding with any person interested in the subject.

THE FRENCH IN AMERICA.—Mr. Thomas Willing Balch has in press a translation of his father's work entitled, "Les Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États Unis." It will be issued by Messrs. Porter & Coates in the autumn under the title "The French in America during the War of Independence of the United States, 1777-1783."

THE

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OF

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VOL. XV.

1891.

No. 3.

MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF BUCKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, 1774-1776.

[From the original in the library of General William Watts Hart Davis, Doylestown, Pennsylvania.]

At a meeting of a number of the inhabitants of the County of Bucks, held at Newtown, agreeable to notice given on Saturday, the 9th day of July, 1774, Gilbert Hicks, Esq., Chairman, and William Walton, clerk.

The Chairman having taken his place, in a short address to the Company, explained the nature and intention of the meeting, when they proceeded to the Business thereof, which was carried on and finished with the greatest Decency and Harmony.

In this time of public distress, when, by the operation of divers Acts of the British Parliament, the Americans are subjected to the universal controul of a Legislature in which they are not represented, the inhabitants of the County of Bucks, at a meeting held at Newtown, on the ninth day of July, appointed the following Gentlemen as a Committee to represent the said County at a meeting of the several Committees

of the respective Counties of Pennsylvania, to be held at Philadelphia the 15th day of July inst., viz.: John Kidd, Joseph Kirkbride, Joseph Hart, James Wallace, Henry Wynkoop, Samuel Foulke, and John Wilkinson, after which the sense of the inhabitants of the said County was recommended to them as general rules for their Conduct at the said meeting in the following resolves, viz. :

“*Resolved*, That the inhabitants of this County have the same opinion of the dangerous tendency of the Claims of the British Parliament to make laws, binding on the inhabitants of these Colonies in all Cases whatsoever, without their consent, as other of our fellow American subjects have.

“*Resolved*, That it is the Duty of every American, when oppressed by measures either of Ministry, Parliament, or any other Power, to use every lawful endeavour to obtain relief, and to form and promote a plan of Union between the parent country and colonies in which the Claim of the parent country may be ascertained and the Liberties of the Colonies defined and secured, and no Cause of Contention in future may arise to disturb that Harmony so necessary for the interest and happiness of both, and that this will be best done in a general Congress, to be composed of Delegates, to be appointed either by the respective colonys Assemblies, or by the Members thereof in Convention.”

At a meeting of the Committee November 27, 1774, the following Notification was ordered to be published :

“ To the Freeholders and Electors of the County of Bucks :

“As the late Continental Congress for the support of American Liberty have formed resolves, and entered into an Association in behalf of themselves and the respective Colonies they represented, and have recommended the appointment of Committees in several towns and Counties attentively to observe the Conduct of all persons touching the same; the Committee chosen for the County of Bucks in July apprehending that we have, to the best of our ability, executed the trusts then reposed in us, beg leave to recommend to

the Freeholders and Inhabitants of this County who are qualified to vote for Members of Assembly to meet at Newtown the 15th day of December next, to choose a new Committee for the above-mentioned purposes.”

December 15, 1774.

This day, pursuant to a notice for that purpose, the following gentlemen were chosen as a Committee of Observation for this County, viz.: Joseph Galloway, John Kidd, Christian Minnick, John Bessonnet, Joseph Kirkbride, Thomas Harvey, Thomas Jenks, Henry Kroesen, Joseph Hart, James Wallace, Richard Walker, John Wilkinson, Joshua Anderson, John Chapman, Jonathan Ingham, Joseph Watson, Benjamin Fell, John Kelley, David Waggoner, Abraham Stout, Thomas Foulke, John Jamison, Jacob Strahan, James Chapman, Henry Wynkoop, Jacob Beitleman, Thomas Darrach, Robert Patterson, David Twining.

Thursday, the 29th inst., is appointed for the meeting of this Committee at Newtown at 10 o'clock A.M. to enter upon their important trust.

Newtown, December 29, 1774.

“To the Committee of the County of Bucks:

“As the great fall of Snow hath prevented your attendance here this day, you are desired to meet at Newtown on Monday, the 16th day of January, to proceed upon the business for which you have been chosen.”

Newtown, January 16, 1775.

A large majority of the Committee chosen in pursuance of notice for that purpose given, this day assembled in said town and unanimously chose Joseph Hart, Esq., Chairman and John Chapman, Clerk.

The Committee then taking into consideration the measures recommended by the Continental Congress for the redress of American Grievances, entered into the following resolves:

“1. That we highly approve of the pacific measures recommended by the Continental Congress for the redress of American Grievances, and do hereby render our unfeigned thanks to the worthy gentlemen who compose that august Assembly for the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them.

“2. That we hold ourselves bound, in justice to ourselves, our posterity, our King, and our Country, strictly to observe and keep the Association of said Congress, especially as it is recommended to us by the united voice of our Representatives in Assembly, and, as a Committee, will use our utmost endeavours to have it carried into execution.

“3. That we hold it as our bounden duty, both as Christians and as Countrymen, to contribute towards the relief and support of the poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, now suffering in the general cause of all the Colonies; and we do hereby recommend the raising a sum of money for that purpose to every inhabitant or taxable in this County as soon as possible.”

The Committee then taking into consideration a late resolve of the Committee of the City of Philadelphia, setting forth an absolute Necessity that the Committees of the Counties of this province, or their Deputies, be requested to meet together in Provincial Convention on the 23d day of January inst., cannot conceive from any information we have had, the necessity of such Provincial Convention or that any good effects can be produced thereby towards carrying into execution the Association so clearly pointed out to us by the Continental Congress.

Voted that Joseph Hart, John Wilkinson, Henry Wynkoop, Joseph Watson, and John Chapman, or any three of them, be a Committee of Correspondence; and that Henry Wynkoop be Treasurer to receive such charitable donations as may be collected in pursuance of the third resolve of this Committee.

May 2, 1775.

At a meeting of a Committee of Correspondence the following advertisement was ordered to be published:

“The Committee for the County of Bucks.

“The alarming situation of public affairs rendering it necessary that something should be done towards warding off the oppressive measures now too manifestly carrying into execution against us, you are therefore requested to meet at the house of Richard Leedom on Monday the 8th inst. at nine o'clock in the morning.”

At a meeting of the Committee held at the house of Richard Leedom May 8, 1775:

“*Resolved*, unanimously; That we do heartily approve of the resolves of the late Provincial Convention, held at Philadelphia the 23d day of January last, and do earnestly recommend it to the observation of the inhabitants of this county.

“*Resolved*, unanimously; That notwithstanding the disapprobation we have hitherto shown to the prosecution of any violent measures of opposition, arising from the Hopes and Expectations, that the Humanity, Justice, and magnanimity of the British Nation would not fail of affording us relief, being now convinced, that all our most dutiful applications have hitherto been fruitless and vain, and that attempts are now making to carry the oppressive Acts of Parliament into execution by military force; We do therefore earnestly recommend to the people of this County to form themselves into Associations, in their respective Townships, to improve themselves in the military art, that they may be rendered capable of affording their Country that aid which its particular necessities may at any time require.”

Joseph Hart, John Kidd, Henry Wynkoop, Joseph Kirkbride, and James Wallace, or any three of them, are appointed as Delegates, to meet in provincial Convention, if any shall be found necessary.

The Committee requests all persons who have taken subscriptions for the relief of the poor of Boston, as soon as possible, to collect and pay the same into the hands of the Treasurer, Henry Wynkoop, that it may be speedily applied

towards the benevolent purpose for which it was intended ; and at the same time to give those who have not subscribed an opportunity to contribute also.

At a meeting June ye 12, 1775.

Present: Joseph Hart, John Kidd, Richard Walker, Robert Patterson, Henry Kroesen, James Wallace, Jacob Beitleman, Benjamin Fell, Thomas Darrach, and Henry Wynkoop.

The Treasurer informed the Committee that the sum of £51 15s. and 4d. had been paid into his hands for the relief of the poor sufferers of the town of Boston ; whereupon ordered that Richard Walker and Henry Wynkoop dispose thereof in such manner as they shall judge most likely to answer the Benevolent purpose of the Donors.

Upon motion, Joseph Hart is appointed to publish an advertisement, notifying the officers of the different associated Companys to meet at the house of John Bogart the 20th day of July, to choose their Field Officers, and such other purposes as shall then be found necessary ; the Committee to meet at the same time and place.

At a meeting at the house of John Bogart July 21, 1775.

Present a large majority.

Jacob Strahan, formerly chosen a member of this Committee for Haycock township, and Abraham Stout, for Rockhill, having declined acting, Philip Pearson was returned in the room of sd. Strahan and Samuel Smith in the room of sd. Stout, who are accepted as legal members.

The members appointed at the last meeting to dispose of the money collected for the relief of the poor of Boston, reported, that they had paid the same into the hands of Samuel Adams, one of the Delegates at the Continental Congress for the province of Massachusetts Bay, and produced a receipt from him for £51 15s. 4d.

Nicholas Patterson exhibited a complaint against Arthur Irwine, setting forth that, agreeable to a former recommendation of this Committee, the inhabitants of the township

of Tinicum, together with the sd. Arthur Irwine, had associated and proceeded to the choice of their officers, and that he, the said Nicholas Patterson, was chosen the Captain of the sd. company by a great majority; that notwithstanding the sd. Irwine had prevailed on a number of the men associated under the sd. Patterson, to choose him their Captain, and that he continues to muster them, to the disturbance of the Company of the sd. Patterson. The Committee taking the same in consideration, and having heard the defence of the said Irwine, are of opinion, that Nicholas Patterson hath been regularly chosen captain of the associated company of Tinicum, consequently the said Arthur Irwine cannot be considered as an officer in that township.

A petition was exhibited from Joseph McIlvain, William McIlvain, Abraham Britton, and John Priestly, officers of the associated Company of Bristol, setting forth, that attempts were making to raise a second company in that Township, whose Articles were essentially different from those of the other associated companies.

The Committee having taken the said Petition and Articles of association into consideration, are of opinion, that as harmony and unanimity are essentially necessary in prosecuting the present unhappy contest, and as Field Officers are now appointed for the respective Battalions, no second company ought to be raised in any Township without leave being first obtained from them for that purpose. Benjamin Hare informed that John Hoff had uttered expressions derogatory and injurious to the general American Cause; the said Hoff, voluntarily appearing before the Committee, acknowledged the charge, and made such concessions as were considered as a sufficient atonement for his former errors.

Benjamin Hair likewise informed that Thomas Meredith had uttered expressions inimicable to the Cause and Libertys of America in general and especially of the inhabitants of the town of Boston.

John Lacey represented that Thomas Smith, Upper Makefield, had uttered expressions derogatory to the continental Congress and inimicable to the Liberties of America.

The same being taken into consideration of Joseph Hart, Richard Walker, James Wallace, and Henry Wynkoop, or any three of them, are appointed a sub-committee to examine into the said complaints and report to the next meeting.

John Wilkinson, Jonathan Ingham, Thomas Foulke, and John Chapman, being of the people called Quakers and alledging scruples of Conscience relative to the business necessarily transacted by the Committee, desired to be relieved from any further attendance, whereupon Henry Wynkoop was appointed Clerk of the Committee and directed to publish the following advertisement :

“ WHEREAS, Several persons who were chosen members of this Committee in December last have hitherto neglected to attend the same, and others who have attended, have, from Scruples of Conscience made application to be discharged, the Committee therefore request all those who do not propose attending for the future to advertise their respective townships with their determination, at the same time appointing some convenient time and place for the inhabitants to meet, and choose other suitable persons in their room, who are desired to meet the Committee on Monday, the 21st of August, at the house of John Bogart in Buckingham Township.”

In Committee at John Bogart's August ye 21, 1775.

Pursuant to a public recommendation of the last meeting the following persons were returned and accepted as legal members of this Committee, viz.: Benjamin Seigle for the township of Richland in the room of Thomas Foulke; James McNair for the township of Upper Makefield in the room of John Chapman; Joseph Sackett for the township of Wrightstown in the room of John Wilkinson; Augustine Willet for the township of Middletown in the room of Thomas Jenks; John Coryel for the township of Solesbury in the room of Jonathan Ingham; William Carver for the township of Buckingham in the room of Joseph Watson. Sundry of the inhabitants of the township of Newtown offering to contest the Election held there,

it was recommended to them and agreed by both parties to hold a new election of which the Clerk is directed to notify the Electors of that township previous to the next meeting.

The Treasurer reported that he had received Donations from sundry townships for the sufferers of the town of Boston, amounting to £75 8s. 4d., and that he had paid the same into the hands of John Adams, one of the Committee of Boston, at the same time producing a receipt from him for that sum.

The sub-committee appointed to examine into the charges brought against Thomas Meredith and Thomas Smith reported that Thomas Meredith appeared before them, that the accusations against him were supported by Benjamin Hair, John Hair, and John Harry, and that the said Thomas Meredith thereupon executed the following Declaration and renunciation, viz.:

“WHEREAS, I have spoken injuriously of the distressed people of the town of Boston, and disrespectfully of the Measures prosecuting for the redress of American Grievances; I do hereby declare, that I am heartily sorry for what I have done, voluntarily renouncing my former principles, and promise for the future to render my Conduct inexceptionable to my Countrymen, by strictly adhering to the measures of the Congress. THOMAS MEREDITH.”

That Thomas Smith, upon a second notice, appeared before them; that he denied the greatest part of what was alledged against him; that thereupon John Lacy the complainant, together with the said Thomas Smith, were desired to appear before the Committee this day, and that notice had likewise been given to James McMasters and Josiah Daws to appear to testify their knowledge of what the said Thomas Smith was accused with. That, as the Committee of Safety had requested the Committees of the respective Counties of this Province to make return to them of all Officers of the Military Association that they might be Commissioned, and also lists of the Associators and Non-Associators, within their respective Districts; they had

published an advertisement requesting the Colonels of the several Battalions to furnish the Committee at this meeting with Lists of all Officers within their District, and that the Captains of the associated companys were likewise requested to return exact Lists of Associators and Non-Associators in their townships. All which is submitted to the Committee.

Voted that the Declaration of Thomas Meredith is considered as satisfactory and ordered to be published.

The Committee then resumed the consideration of the complaint made against Thomas Smith, and having heard the Testimony of John Lacy, James McMasters, and a letter from Josiah Daws, he being necessarily absent, and likewise the defence of said Thomas Smith. Voted that the charges laid against said Thomas Smith have been fully supported by Evidence, and the said Thomas Smith refusing to make any satisfaction for his misconduct, the Clerk is directed to publish the following state of his case, viz. :

“Proof having been made by incontestable evidence that Thomas Smith, of Upper Makefield, had uttered expression to the following purport, viz. : That the Measures of Congress had already enslaved America and done more Damage than all the Acts the Parliament ever intended to lay upon us, that the whole was nothing but a scheme of a parcel of hot-headed Presbyterians and that he believed the Devil was at the Bottom of the whole ; that the taking up Arms was the most scandalous thing a man could be guilty of, and more heinous than an hundred of the grossest offences against the moral law, &c., &c., &c.

“*Resolved*, That as the above virulent and indecent Invectives appear manifestly designed to cast the grossest indignity upon the Honourable the Continental Congress, to raise invidious Distinctions between different denominations and to impede the virtuous struggles of our distressed Countrymen against Ministerial Oppression, the said Thomas Smith be considered as an Enemy to the Rights of British America, and that all persons break off every kind of dealing with him until he shall make proper satisfaction to this Committee for his misconduct.”

In Committee at Newtown September 11, 1775.

Present: Joseph Hart, James McNair, Joseph Kirkbride, John Coryel, John Kidd, Samuel Yardley, Henry Wynkoop, Augustine Willett, John Bessonnet, Joseph Sackett, Christian Minnick, Robert Patterson, James Chapman, Benjamin Fell, Henry Kroesen, Jacob Beitleman, Richard Walker.

The Clerk informed the Committee that, agreeable to order, he had sent the case of Thomas Smith to the Press for publication, but that sd. Smith expressing remorse and penitence and promising to appear before the Committee this day and make satisfactory acknowledgement for his misconduct, its publication had been postponed.

Thomas Smith appearing before the Committee voluntarily executed the following acknowledgement and declaration, viz.:

“As I have been charged before the Committee for having uttered expressions derogatory to the Continental Congress, invidious to a particular Denomination of Christians, and tending to impede the opposition of our Countrymen to Ministerial Oppression, I do hereby declare myself heartily sorry for my imprudent expressions and do sincerely promise for the future to coincide with every measure prosecuted for the redress of American Grievances so far as is consistent with the religious principles of the society to which I belong.

THOMAS SMITH.”

Voted that this be considered as a sufficient satisfaction for his misconduct, and ordered that the Clerk publish it as such.

Samuel Yardley returned Committeeman for the township of Newtown and accepted as a legal member.

Three of the members of the Committee of Correspondence having resigned, James Wallace, Joseph Sackett, and Samuel Yardley are appointed in their stead.

Benjamin Fell informs the Committee that Edward Updegrave and John Rogers have at sundry times spoken dis-

respectfully of the Congress, etc., and that Bernard Kepler, Mary Bogart, and Elizabeth McCauley can give Evidence to the same. It is therefore ordered that Benjamin Fell, William Carver, John Coryel, Joseph Hart, Henry Wynkoop, and James Wallace, or any three of them, be a special Committee to inquire into the premises and make report to this Committee at their next meeting.

The Committee then adjourned to meet at the house of John Bogart ye 9th of October.

In Committee at John Bogart's October 9, 1775.

Present: Joseph Hart, Thomas Darrach, James Wallace, Benjamin Seigle, Richard Walker, Augustine Willett, Robert Patterson, Joseph Sackett, John Jamison, James McNair, Henry Wynkoop, Samuel Yardley.

The Sub-committee appointed to hear the Complaint against Edward Updegrave and John Rogers reported: That in consequence of notice given to sd. Updegrave and Rogers, sd. Updegrave had appeared before them; that upon inquiry they found he had uttered some imprudent expressions, affronting to the Associated company of Plumstead, for which he appeared penitent and promised to meet them, acknowledge his fault, and ask their pardon. That John Rogers had not appeared before them, and that notice had been given him to appear before the Committee this day.

The Committee, then taking the sd. report into consideration, are of opinion that the Concessions made by Edward Updegrave are a sufficient satisfaction for his misconduct; and that the case of John Rogers be held under advisement till the next meeting.

William Buckman appearing before the Committee requested a Certificate setting forth that Nathaniel Twining had absconded with a view to defraud his creditors, expecting thereby to facilitate his pursuit of sd. Twining into the Provinces of Maryland or Virginia.

Which is considered as an improper motion.

The Treasurer reported that the sum of £125 15s. 7d.,

collected for the sufferers by the Boston Port Act, was now in his hands.

Ordered thereupon that Treasurer dispose of the said money in such manner as shall be most likely to answer the benevolent purpose of the Donors.

The Committee then adjourned to meet at this place ye 23d of November.

In Committee at John Bogart's November ye 23d, 1775.

Present: Joseph Hart, Benjamin Fell, Richard Walker, James McNair, Robert Patterson, Thomas Darragh, James Wallace, John Coryel, Henry Kroesen, and Henry Wynkoop.

The Committee, taking the case of John Rogers into consideration, and having examined Mary Bogart, said to be the principal witness against him, are of opinion that the offence as well as the offender are too insignificant to deserve any further notice of this Committee.

It being now near the expiration of one year since the present Committee was chosen, and the Board being of opinion a new choice ought to be annually made, do recommend each member to advertise the inhabitants of his township, to meet at the most convenient place in each township for that purpose, on the sixteenth day of December.

The Treasurer informed the Committee that to comply with the order of the nineteenth of October he had paid the moneys then collected into the hands of Samuel Adams, chairman of the Committee appointed by the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, to dispose of the Contributions for the Relief of the Sufferers by the Boston Port Bill, and produced a receipt from him for the sum of £125 15s. 7d.

December ye 26th is appointed for the meeting of the new Committee at this place.

In Committee December 26, 1775.

The following persons were returned as members in Committee in their respective Townships for the ensuing year, viz. :

Upper Makefield, James McNair; *Springfield*, Josiah Brian; *Rockhill*, Samuel Smith; *Buckingham*, John Lacey; *Northampton*, Henry Wynkoop; *Wrightstown*, Joseph Sackett; *Bensalem*, John Kidd, James Benezet; *Solesbury*, John Coryel; *The Falls*, Thomas Harvey, William Biles; *Bristol*, Joseph McIlvain, John Cox; *Newtown*, Samuel Yardley; *Southampton*, Arthur Watts; *Warrington*, Richard Walker; *Warminster*, Joseph Hart; *Plumstead*, Benjamin Fell; *Haycock*, Adam Lowdenleger; *Tinicum*, Robert Patterson; *Warwick*, James Wallace.

Joseph Hart was appointed Chairman, Henry Wynkoop Clerk and Treasurer, and Joseph Hart, James Wallace, Samuel Yardley, Arthur Watts, Henry Wynkoop were chosen Committee of Correspondence for the ensuing year.

The Committee being apprehensive that certain Shopkeepers within this County have not been sufficiently attentive to the Continental Association respecting the price of goods, the Clerk is directed to publish the 9th article of sd. Association with the following preamble annexed, viz. :

“This Committee, desires as much as possible to prevent every species of imposition and extortion which designing persons, prompted by a sordid attachment to private interests and present scarcity of sundry articles of merchandize, may be tempted to commit, have directed the republication of the 9th article of the Continental Association; and all Shopkeepers and other Retailers of Goods are requested to be particularly attentive thereto, as a wilful violation thereof will necessarily incur the penalties recommended in this and the 11th Article of said Association.”

Each member of this Committee is likewise particularly enjoined to use his influence within their respective neighborhoods for suppressing as much as possible that growing evil.

Joseph McIlvain and John Cox having informed the Committee that they had been instructed that William Walton had drank damnation to the Congress and uttered expressions derogatory to that Honorable Body and disrespectful to the present public measures.

Ordered that John Kidd, James Benezet, Thomas Harvey, Joseph McIlvain, and John Cox be a sub-committee to inquire into this matter and make report to the next meeting.

The Committee, taking into consideration the late resolves of the Assembly of this Province respecting the Military Association and the Laws passed for its regulation by that Body, do earnestly recommend to every Member of this Board to use his influence within his township and neighbourhood to induce the people to sign and submit to the same.

*In Committee by particular request from the Committee of Safety,
January 22, 1776.*

Present: Joseph Hart, John Coryel, Robert Patterson, Robert Shewel, *New Brittain*, Richard Walker, Arthur Watts, John Cox, James McNair, John Lacey, Thomas Jones, *Hiltown*, Joshua Anderson, *Lower Makefield*, Henry Wynkoop, James Wallace, Samuel Smith, Joseph McIlvain, Thomas Darrah, *Bedminster*, Samuel Yardley, Josiah Brian, Joseph Sackett, Benjamin Seigle, William Biles, Benjamin Fell, Thomas Harvey, Andrew Trumbower, *Lower Milford*, James Benezet.

Messrs. James Biddle and Joseph Wharton, members of the Committee of Safety for this Province, delivered the following letters from that Board, viz. :

In Committee of Safety.

“PHILADELPHIA, January ye 10, 1776.

“GENTLEMEN,—The Committee of Safety have published a process for the making of Saltpetre, which they hope will induce the inhabitants of the Colony generally to set about the work, but as no Description, however exact, so fully answers the purpose of instruction as the actual exhibition of the Process, the Committee have resolved to employ a number of persons to go through the Country to instruct the people in this necessary branch of Manufacture. It is therefore requested of you to send two persons to this city to obtain a competent Knowledge of the method practiced

at the Saltpetre Work here, that they may be qualified to exhibit the process to such inhabitants of your County as are desirous of being useful to their Country at this important and dangerous Crisis of our Affairs.

“It is referred to you to make such agreement for the public with the persons you employ on this Service as you may think just and reasonable. Their expenses to and from the City and while they remain here for instruction will be also allowed by the Committee of Safety.

“*By order of the Committee,*

“JOHN NIXON,

“*Chairman.*

“To the Committee of Bucks County.”

In Committee of Safety.

“PHILADELPHIA, January ye 10, 1776.

“GENTLEMEN,—The better to encourage people at a Distance from this City to enter into the manufacture of Saltpetre with Spirit, we request you would appoint a proper person in your County to receive all that shall be made there, and give notice to this Board and also public notice of such appointment. As soon as we have notice, we shall furnish such person with Power to pay in that Article one-fourth the value of the Saltpetre according to our former proposals, and the rest of the price we shall pay to the order of the Officer appointed, who is to send the Saltpetre he shall receive from time to time, as opportunity shall offer, to Mr. Robert Towers our Commissary in this city.

“*By order of the Committee,*

“JOHN NIXON,

“*Chairman.*

“To the Committee of

“The County of Bucks.”

The above letters having been read and considered, Messrs. James Wallace, Andrew Kichlein, and Joseph Fenton, Junr, were appointed to go to Philadelphia to be instructed in the method of making Saltpetre. And James Wallace is appointed the Officer to receive the Saltpetre

which shall be manufactured in this County agreeable to the request made in the sd. letters by the Committee of Safety.

Representation being made to this Board that the inhabitants of a certain District within this County, on the border of Northampton County, who have lately been established into a Township by the name of Durham, were desirous to receive the Direction of this Committee relative to the mode of obtaining a Representative in this Board, it was ordered that public notice be given to the inhabitants of sd. Township to meet and choose a person for that purpose.

The Sub-committee appointed to examine the charge laid against Mr. William Walton reported as follows, viz. :

“ On the 30th December, 1775, four of the Committee met to enquire into the truth of the charge laid against Mr. Walton, who appeared and also the witnesses, but on objection of Mr. Walton to the proceeding of the Committee until the whole of them had assembled and the fifth gentleman appointed to this business not being able to attend, on account of sickness; the members then present thought it proper to adjourn the matter to a further day, viz., to the 6th of January.

“ The Committee then met, Mr. Walton appeared, and objected to answer until he saw his accusers face to face. The Committee waited from 11 o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon, the witnesses nor any of them appearing, though directed and having promised to attend, your Committee thought proper to make this report of their proceeding.

“ JOHN KIDD, JOSEPH McILVAIN,
“ JOHN COX, JAMES BENEZET,
“ THOMAS HARVEY.

“ *Resolved*, That this matter be held under advisement until the next meeting, and the aforesd. Committee are requested to have a strict regard to the conduct of sd. Walton during that time.”

The Committee then adjourned to February 27, 1776.

In Committee at John Bogart's February 27, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, John Coryel, Richard Walker, Samuel Smith, Robert Patterson, James McNair, James Wallace, Benjamin Siegel, Adam Lowdesleger, Benjamin Fell.

Resolved, That the following petition be presented to the Assembly relative to the Military Association :

“ That as a general uneasiness prevails among the Associators in this County on account of the late Military Resolutions of this Honorable House, and many persons have signed them under a full persuasion that amendments would be made therein; And as there are many able-bodied men between the age of fifty and sixty years, possessed of large estates, who are entirely exempt from Military Duty and Expense, your petitioners therefore humbly prays that the Association may be extended to the age of sixty.

“ And as the Tax upon Non-Associators is considered merely as an equivalent for personal services, and the Associators have not Compensation for their Arms and Accoutrements, not to mention the danger they will be exposed to when called into actual service, Your petitioners pray that an additional Tax be laid upon the Estates of Non-Associators proportionate to the expenses of the Associators necessarily incurred for the general Defence of Property.

“ And as by marching whole Battalions or Companies of Militia large tracts of Country will be left destitute of Men, except those who either hold all Resistance unlawful, or such as are disaffected to the present Measures, Your petitioners therefore beg leave to submit to the consideration of the House, whether it would not be better to direct the Colonels to draught from their Battalions such number as shall from time to time be requisite, thereby affording an opportunity for those whose circumstances will not always admit their going to get Volunteers in their stead, and at the same time leaving sufficient force in every part of the Country to quell any local Insurrections.

“All which your Petitioners humbly pray may be taken into the consideration of the House and such Amendments made as you in your Wisdom shall seem meet.”

Complaint being made that John Burrows, Jr., had uttered expressions inimicable to the Cause of America. Ordered that John Coryel, James McNair, Joseph Sackett, Samuel Yardley, and Joshua Anderson, or any three of them, be a Special Committee to examine the Evidences and make report thereof to the next meeting.

The Committee then adjourned to March 27th.

In Committee at John Bogart's March 27, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, James Benezet, Richard Walker, Samuel Smith, Arthur Watts, John Sample, James Wallace, Samuel Yardley, James McNair, William Biles, Robert Patterson, John Kidd, Adam Lowdesleger, Jacob Beitleman, Andrew Trumbower, John Cox, Thomas Darrah, Thomas Long, Joseph Sackett.

The Committee appointed to enquire into the charge laid against John Burrows, Jr., do report that upon proper examination it appeared that the words charged against him had been spoken heedlessly, the party saying he could not recollect to have said anything with an intention to offend, but if he had spoken disrespectfully he was very sorry for it, and promised to demean himself better for the future.

“*Resolved*, Therefore, that this excuse be allowed.”

A letter from the Committee of Safety, dated March 19, 1776, requesting that the Associators in this County be properly equipped so as to be in condition to march at an hour's warning, and that a strict attention be paid to their Arms and Accoutrements, and there is the greatest reason to apprehend that Gen. Howe intends an attack upon this Province.

Also another letter from that Committee, dated March 23, 1776, requesting this Board to appoint proper persons to purchase such Muskets in this County as are in the hands of Non-Associators or can be spared, for the use of the Battalions raised in this Province for the Continental Ser-

vice, and the Battalion of Musketeers raised for our provincial defence.

Said letters having been read and considered, "*Resolved*, That every Member of this Committee do as soon as possible purchase all the Arms within his respective Township which he shall judge fit for service and are not made use of by Associators or their owners shall be willing to part with upon reasonable terms, and that the same be delivered to Henry Wynkoop, James Wallace, or Samuel Smith, who are hereby appointed to receive them and send them to Philadelphia agreeable to the request of the Committee of Safety. And that information be given to the Colonels of the different Battalions of Associators in this County of the present critical situation of our affairs, and that they be requested to use their utmost abilities and diligence to put the several Battalions in the best order that the nature of the thing will admit of, to be ready to march immediately if it should be thought necessary; and it is expected and required that every member of this Board do everything in his power to assist the officers in carrying the above resolve into execution."

Upon motion, "*Resolved*, That for the future fifteen members met, and no less, shall be considered a Board capable to transact business."

The Committee then adjourned to April 24, 1776.

In Committee at John Bogart's April 24, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, Thomas Long, Richard Walker, James McNair, Robert Shewell, James Wallace, John Cox, Joseph Sackett, Arthur Watts, Robert Patterson, John Sampler, William Biles, Jacob Beitleman, Samuel Yardley, Joshua Brian, Joshua Anderson, Samuel Smith, Henry Wynkoop, Adam Lowdesleger.

Upon motion "*Resolved*, That the sum of 1s. 6d. shall be paid by each Member who shall not attend within the space of one hour after the time appointed for the meeting of this Committee, and that Mr. Walker be the Collector of the sd. fines."

Richard Walker, Esq., being in the Chair, Mr. Hart, as Colonel of the 2d Battalion of Associators in this County made return of the Field Officers of that Battalion as chosen by the Officers thereof, viz. : Joseph Hart, Colonel ; Robert Shewell, Lieutenant-Colonel ; James McMasters, first Major, Gilbert Rodman, second Major ; Joseph Shaw, Standard Bearer, and William Thompson, Adjutant, which was accordingly certified to the Speaker of the Assembly, agreeable to a late resolve of that body.

The Committee appointed to examine into the charge against Thomas Blacklidge reported that they apprehended the witnesses had not understood Mr. Blacklidge, and that he declared that he wished well to the Libertys of America, and would support its freedom as far as was consistent with the religious principles of the Society to which he belongs :

“*Resolved*, Therefore, that Mr. Blacklidge is fully acquitted from the said charge.”

The Committee then adjourned to May ye 22.

In Committee at John Bogart's May 22, 1776.

Present : Joseph Hart, Samuel Yardley, James Benezet, James Wallace, John Cox, Arthur Watts, John Kidd, Joseph Sackett, Jacob Beitleman, Richard Walker, Joseph McIlvain, John Sampler, Benjamin Siegle, James McNair, Robert Patterson, Gilbert Hicks, Samuel Smith, Thomas Harvey, Benjamin Fell, William Biles, John Coryel, Thomas Long, Henry Wynkoop, Adam Lowdesleger, Josiah Brian.

Gilbert Hicks returned as Committeeman for the Township of Middletown.

The Committee receiving a letter from the Committee of Safety reminding this Board that the Assembly of this Province, by five Resolves of the 6th of April last, did provide for disarming disaffected persons, and procuring the Arms of Non-associators in this Province, to be applied to the arming the Continental Troops raised in this Colony,

the Troops raised in its own special Defence, and the residue for the Associators; as the necessity for Fire-locks at this alarming conjuncture is very pressing, they request this Board to refer to the sd. Resolves without delay, and make report to them with all possible speed. After mature consideration of the above letter:

“*Resolved*, That the inhabitants of those Townships in this County who have not already elected persons to take up the Arms of Non-associators, agreeably to late Resolves of the Assembly of this Province, be requested to meet on Saturday the 8th of June and choose three persons for that purpose, And that the Members of this Committee advertise this Resolve at some of the most public places in their respective Townships, with the place and hour of meeting. And it is recommended to those persons who shall be so chosen, to join in districts in the following order, viz.:

“Bristol Falls and Middletown; Bensalem, South Hampton, and Northampton; Warminster, Warwick, and Warrington; Newtown, Lower Makefield, and Upper Makefield; Wrightstown, Buckingham, and Solesbury; Plumstead, Bedminster, Tinicum; New Brittain, Rockhill, and Hiltown; Milford, Haycock, and Richland; Springfield, Nockamixon, and Durham.”

Messrs. David Jones and Joseph Watkins having produced a letter from the Committee of Inspection of Philadelphia requesting this Board to nominate a certain number of their members to meet Deputies from the other Counties of this Province in Philadelphia on Tuesday the 18th day of next month, in order to agree upon and direct the mode of electing Members for a Provincial Convention, to be held at such time and place as the sd. Conference of Committees may appoint, for the express purpose of forming and establishing a new form of Government.

The said letter, together with some other papers to the same purport, having been read and considered:

“*Resolved*, That, as this is a matter of very great consequence and ought to be considered with the utmost deliberation, the same be held under advisement until Monday the

10th of June, when this Committee will meet and give an answer to the said letter.”

In the mean time every Member of this Board will collect as much as possible the sense of his Township on this important subject.

The Committee then adjourned to Monday 10th June.

In Committee at Newtown June 10, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, Joshua Anderson, John Kidd, Benjamin Seigle, Richard Walker, Jacob Beitleman, James Benezet, Samuel Smith, Robert Patterson, Benjamin Fell, Joseph Sackett, John Sampler, William Biles, John Coryel, James McNair, Samuel Yardley, Arthur Watts, James Wallace, Andrew Trumbower, Gilbert Hicks, Adam Lowdesleger, Thomas Long, Josiah Brian, Thomas Jones, John Cox, Thomas Harvey, Henry Wynkoop.

The Committee taking into consideration the request of the Committee of Inspection of Philadelphia relative to the appointment of Deputies to meet the other Counties of this Province in Provincial Conference at Philadelphia on Tuesday the 18th day of June for the purposes above recited. The members having reported the sense of the inhabitants of their respective Townships and the whole matter having been debated and considered, the question was put whether this Board will appoint Deputies agreeable to the request of the Committee of Philadelphia, or whether the Assembly be considered as competent to regulate the Interval Police of this Colony agreeable to the Resolve of the Continental Congress of the 15th of May last, which was carried in favor of Deputies being appointed by a great majority.

The Committee then appointed Joseph Hart, John Kidd, James Wallace, Benjamin Siegle, and Henry Wynkoop, or any three of them, to attend the said Conference.

The Committee being informed that sundry Townships had neglected to choose persons for receiving the arms of Non-associators, agreeable to a late resolve of the Assembly of this Province, as requested by this Committee at their

last meeting, the following persons were appointed for that purpose by this Board, viz. :

John Crawford, James Barelay, and William Long for *Warrington*; Daniel Larew, Richard Rue, and Thomas Miller for *Middletown*; William Thompson, John Johnson, and Simon Sackett for *Wrightstown*; John Klyne, Peter Sampson, and John Freeze for *Milford*; Theophilus Foulke, Philip Smith, and Peter Wykle for *Richland*; Peter Henry, Jacob Hartzel, and George Phillips for *Rockhill*.

It being represented that the Borough of Bristol had been omitted in laying off the different Townships into Districts, and that the inhabitants thereof had elected persons for executing the Resolve of Assembly relating to the Arms of Non-associators within the Borough.

It was resolved that the sd. Borough be joined in District with the Falls, Middletown, and Bensalem Townships.

James Scout being charged before this Committee with the following expressions, viz. : The said Scout asked John Dorland before several people whether he was an Independent in his Principles, Dorland replying he was, Scout then said, You are going to open a door to Eternal Tyrrany and give a loose to every Usurper, Dorland asking who he meant by Usurpers, he said, The cursed Congress and Committee of Safety; The said charge having been fully proven against the said Scout, he begged pardon for those imprudent expressions, declaring he was firmly attached to the Cause of America, and promised for the future to be more guarded and to avoid such indecent language, and neither to say or do anything contrary to the Interests of America.

The Committee thereupon dismissed him, being satisfied with those concessions.

The Committee then adjourned to Monday July ye 1st.

In Committee at John Bogart's Monday July ye 1, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, John Coryel, Thomas Darragh, Joseph Sackett, Samuel Smith, Robert Patterson, Benjamin Siegel, Robert Shewell, Adam Lowdesleger, John Sampler, Josiah Brian, Richard Walker, Arthur Watts, John Cox,

James Wallace, Joshua Anderson, Thomas Long, Benjamin Fell, James McNair, Jacob Beitleman, James Benezet, Henry Wynkoop, Thomas Jones.

The Committee, being informed that sundry persons had refused to surrender the Arms in their possession to the collectors of Arms, appointed agreeable to a late Resolve of the Assembly of this Province,

“*Resolved*, That, where such refusal shall happen in any township, the militia be called upon for enforcing sd. Resolve, and that the Collectors of the Arms apply to the colonel or in his absence the next in command of the battalion to which the associators of that township belong, who shall thereupon give orders to such officer and such number of men as he shall apprehend proper and sufficient to enforce the said resolve of assembly.”

A complaint, partly verbal and partly by petition, being exhibited to the Board against Andrew Kichlein, colonel of the 3d Battalion of Associators in this County, that he had used undue influence in procuring himself elected, and that he rendered himself incapable of commanding by excessive drinking; from Joseph Savitz and John Loudwick, Valentine Up, George Hurlleur, Henry Hover, Benjamin Seigle, and Michael Smith, Captains of companies. The Committee agreed to take the same into consideration at their next meeting, and ordered that the parties be notified and requested to attend. The Board being informed that George Waln, who had been elected by the inhabitants of Solesbury one of the persons to receive the arms of Non-associators in that Township, declined acting therein. The committee appointed Henry Lott, Jr., as Collector of Arms in the room of said Waln.

The Committee likewise appointed Joseph Shaw, John Kelley, and Jarret Irvine to collect the arms in Hiltown.

On motion “*Resolved*, That Joseph Hart, Thomas Long, Samuel Smith, Benjamin Fell, and Robert Patterson be and they are hereby appointed to meet a Deputation from the Committee of Northampton County to settle the quota of Field officers to be appointed for the Battalion to be

raised by those two counties agreeable to a resolve of the late Provincial Conference.”

The Committee appointed Solomon Gruber and Philip Sheets in the room of Theophilus Foulke and Peter Wikle as Collectors of arms in the township of Richland. The Collectors of arms in Rockhill reported they had received thirty-nine guns.

The Committee adjourned to 10th July, 1776.

In Committee 10th July, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, Andrew Trumbower, Richard Walker, Adam Lowdesleger, James Benezet, John Coryel, Joseph Sackett, John Sampler, Arthur Watts, Benjamin Fell, James Wallace, Josiah Brian, Robert Patterson, Samuel Smith, Henry Wynkoop, Thomas Long.

“*Resolved*, That this Committee will use their utmost endeavors that the Resolve of the late Provincial Conference for embodying four hundred of the Associators of this County be immediately put into execution, and that the following gentlemen be appointed officers, being the proportion allotted to this County, viz.: Joseph Hart, colonel; Captains, John Folowell, William Roberts, William Hart, Valentine Up, and John Jamison; 1st Lieutenants, John Kroesen, Henry Darrach, Hugh Long, Philip Trumbower, and Tennis Middlemart; 2d Lieutenants, Abram DuBois, James Shaw, Jacob Drake, Samuel Deane, and John Irvine; Ensigns, Mr. McKissack, William Hines, Joseph Hart, Stoffel Keller, and John McCammon; Adjutant, John Johnson; Surgeon, Joseph Benton, Jr.; Quartermaster, Alexander Benstead.

“*Resolved*, That where any person or persons within any Township of this County shall refuse to deliver his or their fire-arms to the Collectors of arms, either chosen or appointed, agreeable to a late Resolve of the Assembly of this Province, the said Collectors or any one of them apply to the Colonel, or in his absence the next in command of the Battalion to which the Associators of that Township belong, who shall thereupon give orders to such Officer and

such number of men as he shall apprehend proper and sufficient to enforce the said Resolve of Assembly.

“*Resolved*, That where it shall appear to the Collectors of Arms that any person or persons have been in possession of good Fire-arms and do not deliver them, or satisfy the Collectors where they are, the said Collectors, or any of them, cite such person or persons to appear before this Committee at their next meeting and satisfy this Board how the said arms have been disposed of.”

Agreeable to two Resolves of the Committee of Safety of this Province this Committee have appointed Gerret Dungan to cause the fire-arms collected from Non-associators in this County to be immediately rendered fit for use, and Matthew Bennett is appointed for the first Battalion and Jared Irvine for the 2d, 3d, and 4th Battalions of Associators in this County to size the guns and mark the size on the breech-pin or lower end of the barrel.

An account was produced to this Board of the arms collected in Bedminster, being thirteen fit for service.

A letter was produced to the Board from the Committee of Safety, containing a resolve of that Board, to furnish each Battalion of Associators in this County with two quarter casks of powder, and requesting this Board to send to the Commissary Robert Towers for the same and distribute it to the different colonels.

“*Resolved*, That the Chairman grant orders to the different Colonels for receiving said powder from the Provincial Commissary.”

The Collectors of arms in Haycock Township reported they had received two guns.

Major James McMasters, Captain John McKonkey, and Mr. John Keith are appointed to collect the fire-arms in Upper Makefield, in the room of Barnet Vanhorn, John Burleigh, and James Torbet, who decline serving.

Captain John Jamison and Philip Grisler informed the Board that Stoffel Suckafuss had assaulted the said Grisler, destroyed the gun of sd. Jamison, and uttered many expressions discovering a violent enmity to the Libertys of

America. The Committee appointed Mr. Patterson, Mr. Fell, Mr. Long, Mr. Trumbower, and Mr. Brian, or any three of them, a sub-committee to enquire into the said charge, and report to the next meeting.

Information being made to the Committee that Jeremiah Vastine, a Non-Associator, had bought up a number of guns without any proper authority :

“*Resolved*, Therefore, that the Chairman immediately issue a precept to apprehend the said Vastine to bring him before the following gentlemen, viz. : Joseph Hart, James Wallace, Arthur Watts, Richard Walker, and Henry Wynkoop, or any three of them, who are appointed a Sub-committee to enquire into the said matter, and report to the next meeting of this Board.”

John Bogart produced an account for Continental services, amount £9 5s. 1d., which is ordered to be recommended to the Committee of Continental accounts as just.

Philip Stever and Mathias Hartman are appointed Collectors of arms in Haycock Township in the room of Philip Hering and John Mill.

Valentine Up, Rudolph Croman, and John Esterly are appointed Collectors of arms in Springfield township, in the room of Ellis Roxbury, Christopher Wagner, and John Esterly.

The Committee adjourned to the 29th July.

In Committee, 29th July, 1776, at John Bogart's.

Present : Joseph Hart, Robert Shewell, Richard Walker, Arthur Watts, Benjamin Seigle, James McNair, Joseph Sackett, John Sampler, Benjamin Fell, Robert Patterson, Thomas Jones, Josiah Brian, James Wallace, William Biles, John Coryel, Henry Wynkoop.

Two letters being produced to the Board from General Roberdeau, and likewise a Resolve of Congress of 19th inst., urging the immediate march of the Militia.

“*Resolved*, That notwithstanding a former resolve of this Board for sending to camp the proportion of this county for the Flying Camp, this Committee will use their utmost

endeavors to forward the immediate march of the whole Militia and afford them all the assistance in their power.

“*Resolved*, That the Cartouch Boxes, Bayonet Belts, Knap and Haversacks, procured by the Commissioners and Assessors of this County, be equally distributed between the four Battalions of Associators in this County, and be delivered to their Colonels, or the next in command, who shall endeavor to distribute them among the companies in proportion to the number of men entering into actual service.”

Peter Blaker and Jonathan Cooper appeared upon Citation from Captain John McKonkey, one of the Collectors of Arms in Upper Makefield, to satisfy this Board how their arms had been disposed of. Blaker said his gun had been taken away, as he supposed, by one John South who was enlisted into the service of this Province, and Cooper promised to deliver his guns the next morning, upon which they were discharged.

Joseph Shaw having made complaint that Ebenezer Owen had refused to deliver his gun and uttered expressions discovering a violent enmity to the Libertys of America, Thomas Darrach, Benjamin Fell, Richard Walker, and Robert Shewell, or any three of them, are appointed to bring the said Owen before them to enquire into this matter, to cite such witnesses as shall be necessary, and to make report to the next meeting.

Representation being made that a certain Negro, called Samson, belonging to Jeremiah Dungan, Jr., had become obnoxious to the Associators in his neighborhood and that they were afraid he would injure their families during their absence, said Dungan offering to become surety for the good behaviour of said negro until the return of the Associators, the same is ordered to be taken.

The Committee appointed to examine into the charge against Stoffel Suckafuss, reported that they had cited the said Stoffel before them, and also the witnesses in support of said charge; that it appeared the said Stoffel, in conjunction with Jacob Bougar, had assaulted Philip Grisler, and broke and destroyed a gun belonging to Captain John Jami-

son, and that said Stoffel and Jacob refused to make any compensation to the said Jamison for the loss of his gun or the expenses arisen upon their prosecution ; that said Stoffel behaved himself in a very insulting, outrageous, and haughty manner, saying there was no law now and that he would do what he pleased, and that from the general conduct and language of the said Stoffel and Jacob they apprehended them to be dangerous to the safety of the State of Pennsylvania.

Therefore "*Resolved*, That the said Stoffel Suckafuss and Jacob Bougar be forthwith conveyed to the Committee of Safety of this Province, at Philadelphia, to be there confined until they shall compensate said Captain Jamison for the loss of his gun and pay the expense accrued upon this Prosecution, unless they shall give such security for those payments and their future good behaviour as shall be judged sufficient by one or more of the Neighbouring Committeemen. Cost as follows, viz. :

To Captain Jamison for his gun 50/	£2 10
To Philip Grisler, a witness attending 4 days at 2/	8
To Grisley Steel, attending 2 days at 2/	4
To Captain Jamison, expense for guard to bring Suckafuss to Newtown	1 4
To his trouble 6 days at 5/30 and 3 men 2 days at 2/6	2 5
	<hr/>
	£6 11

"*Resolved*, That the officer appointed to get the Arms collected from Non-associators fitted for immediate use deliver those arms, when so fitted, to the Colonel or commanding-officer of the Battalion where the Guns have been collected, to be by him distributed among those Associators who are going into actual service and have no guns of their own.

"*Resolved*, That the arms collected from the inhabitants of Rockhill, who have now associated under Captain Ludwick Benner, be returned to them again, they paying the expense of fitting them for actual Service."

As it is doubtful whether a sufficient number of camp-kettles can be immediately procured for the use of the militia, therefore

“*Resolved*, That the Captains of the Associators procure a Pot Kettle or Frying Pan suitable to accommodate every six men at the expense of the public, and that he furnish a neighbouring Committeeman with an account thereof, to enable this Board to draw for money to discharge the same.”

Agreeable to a resolve of the Committee of Safety of the 15th inst. recommending to the Committees of Inspection in the several Counties of this Province to nominate and appoint a proper number of judicious persons to distribute to distressed families whose husbands are now in actual service, the allowance they may think reasonable, and that the said Committees be empowered to draw as they shall see occasion on this Board for the necessary sums of money to be by them lodged in the hands of the persons so nominated, to be applied as above directed.

The following gentlemen were appointed for the purposes mentioned in said resolve, viz. :

Bristol Borough and Township, Benjamin Brittain and Robert Patterson; *Bensalem*, John Kidd; *Buckingham*, John Sampler; *Falls*, William Biles; *Lower Makefield*, Abram Mack; *Middletown*, Gabriel Vanhorn; *Newtown*, Samuel Yardley; *Southampton*, Henry Kroesen; *Warminster*, Isaiah Hough; *Warrington*, Richard Walker; *Warwick*, James Wallace; *Wrightstown*, Joseph Sackett; *Plumstead*, Thomas Dyer; *Bedminster*, Robert Darrach and Robert Maneeley; *New Brittain*, Alexander Finlay; *Hiltown*, John Kelley; *Tinicum*, Robert Patterson; *Nockamixon*, Daniel Jamison; *Springfield*, James Chapman; *Rockhill*, Samuel Smith; *Richland*, Thomas Foulke; *Durham*, Thomas Long; *Northampton*, Gilliam Cornel; *Upper Makefield*, James McNair; *Solesbury*, John Coryel; *Haycock*, Adam Lowdesleger; *Milford*, Andrew Trumbower.

The gentlemen appointed to enquire into the conduct of Jeremiah Vastine relative to his purchasing Guns report that, upon proper examination, it appeared that said Vastine buying guns had been done merely for the purpose of profit to himself, and not with any design to injure his Country,

as he had sold them to gunsmiths in Philadelphia to be fitted for service. Ordered therefore that said Vastine be acquitted from any further prosecution on this information.

As many members of this Board are going with the Militia into the Continental Service, therefore,

“*Resolved*, That, for the future, nine members met constitute a Board.”

The Committee then adjourned to 12th of August, 1776, at nine o'clock.

In Committee, 12th August, 1776.

Present: John Kidd, John Sampler, Richard Walker, Arthur Watts, William Biles, Thomas Jones, Joseph Sackett, James Wallace, Thomas Long, Robert Patterson, John Coryel, Robert Shewell, James McNair, Robert Patterson, Esq., Samuel Yardley, Henry Wynkoop, Adam Lowdesleger.

Robert Patterson returned as a member of this Board for the Township of Bristol in the room of Mr. John Cox, resigned.

The Board being informed that John Brown had delivered his Arms, ordered that his publication be stopped.

Eleanor Graham complaining that she apprehends herself in danger of some personal injury from Benjamin John, Richard Walker and Robert Shewel are appointed to bind the said Benjamin John to his good Behaviour towards the said Eleanor Graham until the return of the Militia.

The Rev. Robert Keith is appointed Chaplain for the Battalion of the Flying Camp under the command of Colonel Hart.

Ebenezer Owen appearing personally before the Board and confessing that he had expressed himself imprudently to the Collectors of Arms, and declaring himself sorry for his indiscreet conduct, and being willing to give Security for his good behaviour until the return of the Militia, ordered that Mr. Walker and Mr. Shewel take his Security, and he be discharged from any further prosecution.

In Committee, July 29, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, Robert Shewel, Richard Walker, Arthur Watts, Benjamin Siegle, James McNair, Joseph Sackett, John Sampler, Benjamin Fell, Robert Patterson, Thomas Jones, Henry Wynkoop, James Wallace, Josiah Brian, John Coryel, William Biles.

Two letters being produced to the Board, and likewise a Resolve of Congress of 19th inst., urging the necessity of the immediate march of the Militia.

“*Resolved*, That, notwithstanding a former resolve of this Board for sending to Camp the proportion of this County for the Flying Camp, this Committee will use their utmost endeavours to forward the immediate march of the whole Militia and afford them all the assistance in their power.”

Upon motion “*Resolved*, That the Cartouch Boxes, Bayonet Belts, Knap and Haversacks in this County, procured by the Commissioners and Assessors, be equally distributed between the four Battalions of Associators in this County, and be delivered to their Colonels or the next in command, who shall endeavor to distribute them among the companies in proportion to the number of men entering into actual Service.”

Peter Blaker cited to satisfy the board on the complaint of John McKonkey, one of the Collectors of Arms in Upper Makefield, how his arms had been disposed of. Blaker says his guns had been stolen; Jonathan Cooper promised to deliver his gun; James Thornton says he hath no gun.

Joseph Shaw having made complaint that Ebenezer Owen had refused to deliver his Gun and uttered expressions discovering a violent enmity to the Libertys of America, Thomas Darrach, Benjamin Fell, Richard Walker, and Robert Shewel, or any three of them, are appointed to bring the said Owen before them and enquire into this matter, to cite such Witnesses as are necessary to support said charge, and report to the next meeting.

A complaint having been made to this Board that a Negro of Jeremiah Dungan, Jr., had said he would burn the

houses and kill the Women and children of the Associators when they marched out, said Dungan offers to enter into Bond of £100 for the good behaviour of said Negro Samson, which is considered as satisfactory until the return of the Militia.

Thomas Dyer, one of the Collectors of Arms for Plumstead, cites John Brown for having refused to satisfy the collectors how his Arms had been disposed of; the said Brown says he had two guns that he had sold, the one lately after demanded by the Collector, to one Abram Tucker who is now gone to York County, and that he had disposed of the other about five months ago; at the same time declaring he thought this Board had no authority to ask him such questions, and therefore he did not choose to inform them who the person was:

“*Resolved*, That the said John Brown, in refusing to answer such questions as were asked him by this Board and disputing its Authority in a matter so necessary for the Defence of the American States, hath acted the part of an enemy to the Libertys of America, and that he be published as such.”

The Committee appointed to examine into the charge against Stoffel Suckafuss reports: That they had cited the said Stoffel before them and also the witnesses in support of said charge: it appeared that the said Stoffel, in conjunction with a certain Jacob Bougar, had assaulted Philip Grisler and broke and destroyed a Gun belonging to Captain John Jamison, and that they, the said Stoffel Suckafuss and Jacob Bougar, refused to make any compensation to the said Jamison for the loss of his Gun and the expenses arisen upon their prosecution; that he behaved himself in a very insulting, outrageous, and haughty manner, saying there was no Law now and that he would do what he pleased, and that from the general conduct and language of the said Stoffel and Jacob they apprehend them to be dangerous to the safety of the State of Pennsylvania:

Therefore “*Resolved*,” [Here the minutes break off.]

ITINERARY OF GENERAL WASHINGTON FROM JUNE
15, 1775, TO DECEMBER 23, 1783.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from page 190.)

1782.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1782.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: Is entertained at a dinner, given in his honor, at the City Tavern, by "The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick."

"This brilliant entertainment was graced by the presence of the bravest and most distinguished generals of the allied army of America and France, Generals Washington, Lincoln, Howe, Moultrie, Knox, Hand, McIntosh, and Baron Steuben—Colonels Washington, Smith, Tilghman, and Count Dillon, a French officer of Irish descent, afterward much distinguished in the wars of the French revolution, and Count de la Touche. The French and Spanish ministers with their Secretaries, &c., were also present. Several of the First troop (members of the Society), Colonels Charles and Walter Stewart—Colonels Blaine and Johnston, with Robert Morris, Samuel Meredith, and Henry Hill, honorary members."—*A Brief Account of "The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick,"* p. 49.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: "On Wednesday evening the 2d instant, Alexander Quesnay, esq. exhibited a most elegant entertainment at the playhouse, where were present his excellency general Washington, the Minister of France, the president of the State, a number of the officers of the army and a brilliant assemblage of ladies and gentlemen of the city, who were invited."—*Freeman's Journal*, January 9, 1782.

The entertainment was held at the Southwark Theatre, corner of South and Apollo (now Charles) Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets. "After a prologue suitable to the occasion, EUGENIE an elegant French comedy was first presented (written by the celebrated M. Beaumarchais) and in the opinion of several good judges was extremely well acted by the young

gentlemen, students in that polite language. After the comedy was acted the LYING VALET a farce, to this succeeded several curious dances, followed by a brilliant illumination, consisting of thirteen pyramidal pillars, representing the thirteen States—on the middle column was seen a Cupid, supporting a laurel crown over the motto—WASHINGTON—the *pride of his country and terror of Britain*. On the summit was the word—Virginia—on the right—Connecticut, with the names GREENE and LA FAYETTE—on the left—the word Pennsylvania, with the names, WAYNE and STUBEN; and so on according to the birth place and state proper to each general. The spectacle ended with an artificial illumination of the thirteen columns." Alexander Quesnay de Glouvay, who had the direction of this "most elegant entertainment," was a French teacher; he resided in Second Street between Chestnut and Walnut Streets.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 4.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: "I have remained at this place ever since you left it, and am happy in having discovered the best disposition imaginable in Congress to prepare vigorously for another campaign. They have resolved to keep up the same number of corps that constituted the army of last year, and have urged the States warmly to complete them."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

"P.S.—*January 5th.* By advices just received from South Carolina, the enemy have evacuated all their posts in the State, and have concentrated their whole force in Charleston. Wilmington is also evacuated, and North Carolina is freed from its enemies. The disaffected part of the State are suing for mercy, and executing, it is said, some of their own leaders for having mis-guided them."

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: "To bring this war to a speedy and happy conclusion must be the fervent wish of every lover of his country; and sure I am, that no means are so likely to effect these as vigorous preparations for another campaign. Whether, then, we consult our true interest, substantial economy, or sound policy, we shall find, that relaxation and languor are of all things to be avoided."—*Washington to Meshech Weare, President of New Hampshire.*

"The capture of Cornwallis," said Count de Vergennes in a letter to M. de la Luzerne, "should excite the ardor of the Americans, and prove to them that the English are not invincible. Great preparations should be made for

the next campaign, that advantage may be taken of this loss on the part of the British. We earnestly desire, that our allies may profit by it. The more they multiply their exertions, the more certain will be their success in procuring the tranquility of their country. But, if they return to their accustomed inactivity, they will give England time to repair her losses, as she seems determined to do, and to prolong the war, which it is for the interest of the United States to terminate as soon as possible ”

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: “The broken and perplexed state of the enemy’s affairs, and the successes of the last campaign on our part, ought to be a powerful incitement to vigorous preparations for the next. Unless we strenuously exert ourselves to profit by these successes, we shall not only lose all the solid advantages that might be derived from them, but we shall become contemptible in our own eyes, in the eyes of our enemy, in the opinion of posterity, and even in the estimation of the whole world, which will consider us as a nation unworthy of prosperity, because we know not how to make a right use of it.”—
Washington to Meshech Weare.

This, and the letter of January 22, were written as circular letters to the governors of the States. The first, relating to finance, contained arguments for raising money adequate to the public exigencies, particularly the payment and clothing of the troops; the second transmitted accurate returns of the number of men actually in service from each State, and urged the completion of the quotas according to the requisition of Congress. In both of them the commander-in-chief recommended prompt preparations for another campaign. A third letter was written May 4, in which, after expressing his disappointment at not receiving the number of men he had expected, and referring to the fact that not one penny in money for the service of the year had been paid by any State, he wrote, “While acting in my military capacity, I am sensible of the impropriety of stepping into the line of civil polity. My anxiety for the general good, and an earnest desire to bring this long protracted war to a happy issue, when I hope to retire to that peaceful state of domestic pleasures, from which the call of my country has brought me to take an active part, and to which I most ardently wish a speedy return, I trust will furnish my excuse with your Excellency and the legislature, while I request your pardon for this trespass.”

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: Issues a proclamation, offering “free pardon to all deserters, as well those who

may have joined the enemy as others, who shall deliver themselves up to any Continental Officer on or before the first day of June next."

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: "I am apprehensive that your Excellency will think me unmindful of a most agreeable piece of duty, which I have been directed to perform by Congress. It is the presentation of two of the field-pieces taken at York, with an inscription engraved on them expressive of the occasion. I find a difficulty in getting the engraving properly executed. When finished, I shall with peculiar pleasure put the cannon into your possession."—*Washington to Count de Rochambeau.*

"*Resolved*, That two pieces of the field ordnance, taken from the British army, under the capitulation of York, be presented by the commander in chief of the American army, to count de Rochambeau; and that there be engraved thereon a short memorandum, that Congress were induced to present them from considerations of the illustrious part which he bore in effectuating the surrender."—*Journal of Congress*, October 29, 1781.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: "The King's speech at the opening of the British Parliament is firm, and manifests a determination to continue the war, although there is no appearance of his having made any alliances. This I hope will prove to the States the necessity of complying with the requisitions upon them for men and supplies. Every argument that I could invent to induce them to it has been made use of by me in two sets of circular letters."—*Washington to General Greene.*

MONDAY, MARCH 18.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: "By late advices from Europe, and from the declarations of the British ministers themselves, it appears, that they have done with all thoughts of an excursive war, and that they mean to send but small, if any further reinforcements to America. It may be also tolerably plainly seen, that they do not mean to hold all

their present posts, and that New York will be occupied in preference to any other. Hence, and from other indications, I am induced to believe that an evacuation of the Southern States will take place.”—*Washington to General Greene.*

THURSDAY, MARCH 21.

At Head-quarters, Philadelphia: “On Thursday, the 21st inst., a Commencement was held in the hall of the university of this city [Fourth Street below Arch], before a very crowded and polite audience, consisting of the honourable members of the Supreme executive council of the state, the members of the assembly, his excellency general Washington, and his family, with the family of his excellency the French minister, the baron Stuben, and a large concourse of the most respectable citizens.”—*Freeman’s Journal*, March 27.

FRIDAY, MARCH 22.

Leaves Philadelphia: “Last Friday morning [March 22] his excellency general Washington left this city, attended by the hon. gen. vice president of the state [James Potter], gen. Reed, the late president, a number of gentlemen officers of the army, and also captain Morris’s troop of city light horse.”—*Freeman’s Journal*, March 27.

SATURDAY, MARCH 23.

At Burlington, New Jersey: Inspects the Second Regiment of the Continental Corps of Artillery (Colonel John Lamb), stationed at Burlington and its vicinity.

On his way northward, Washington stopped at Morristown, New Jersey, several days, presumably to consult, if necessary, with General Knox and Gouverneur Morris, who had been appointed (March 11) to proceed to Elizabethtown, to meet other commissioners on the part of the British, to treat on the exchange of prisoners. The commissioners, however, did not meet until the 31st, the time having been deferred at the request of Sir Henry Clinton. The principal objects of the mission—a cartel for the general exchange of prisoners, a liquidation of all accounts on both sides for the maintenance of prisoners, and provision for their future support—were not accomplished.

THURSDAY, MARCH 28.

At Morristown, New Jersey: "The spirit of enterprise, so conspicuous in your plan for surprising in their quarters and bringing off the Prince William Henry and Admiral Digby, merits applause; and you have my authority to make the attempt, in any manner, and at such a time, as your own judgment shall direct."—*Washington to Colonel Matthias Ogden.*

Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV., who was serving as a midshipman in the fleet of Admiral Digby, was at this time in New York with the admiral. How far the attempt to capture them progressed is not known; but it is supposed that the enemy became aware of the plan and took the necessary precautions to prevent it.

Washington left Morristown on the morning of March 28, and reached Newburgh, New York, on the 31st, stopping at Pompton and Ringwood on the way. He was accompanied by Mrs. Washington and an escort of an officer, sergeant, and twelve dragoons.

SUNDAY, MARCH 31.

At Newburgh, New York: "March 31st.—His Excellency Gen. Washington arrived at Newburgh; he had been absent from the main army since the 19th of the preceding August, having spent the winter at Philadelphia, after the capture of Earl Cornwallis."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

"April 2d.—Our General [Heath] went up to Newburgh [from West Point], to pay his respects to the Commander in Chief, where he dined, and returned at evening: Gen. Washington established his quarters at Newburgh."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

THURSDAY, APRIL 4.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book.*—"The Commander in Chief, having returned, and resumed the command of the main army, he presents his thanks to Major General Heath, and the troops which have been employed under his order, for having preserved the important posts committed to his charge, and covered the country so successfully against the depredations of the enemy, during the absence of the General."

“Washington’s head-quarters at Newburgh, on the Hudson, eight miles above West Point, were at the ‘Hasbrouck House,’ still standing, on the brow of a hill, in the southern part of the city. The house, a substantial stone building, one story high with a high sloping roof, was erected in 1750 by Jonathan Hasbrouck, and enlarged in 1770. The property remained in the possession of the Hasbrouck family until 1849, when the title became vested in the State of New York. In 1850 it was placed by act of assembly in the hands of the board of trustees of the village, to be preserved as nearly as possible as it was at the time of its occupation by Washington. The building was at once restored by a committee appointed by the board of trustees, and the place formally dedicated on the 4th of July of that year. In 1865, by the city charter, the care of the property passed to the city authorities, where it remained until 1874, when the legislature appointed, by act of May 11, a board of trustees to hold and maintain it.”—*Ruttenber’s History of Orange County.*

SATURDAY, APRIL 6.

At West Point: “The Commander in Chief visited West-Point, and reviewed the first Massachusetts brigade. On his arrival at the Point, he was saluted by the discharge of 13 cannon.”—*Heath’s Memoirs.*

TUESDAY, APRIL 9.

At West Point: “The Commander in Chief reviewed the 3d Massachusetts brigade and 10th regiment, and dined with our General.”—*Heath’s Memoirs.*

SATURDAY, APRIL 27.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh; “Finding the commissioners appointed to liquidate the accounts of money due for the maintenance of prisoners, and make permanent provision for their future support, have separated without accomplishing any thing, I think it highly expedient, that measures should be adopted, at this moment, for taking the German prisoners of war into our service. As this measure has been considerably agitated, I shall not amplify upon the justice and propriety of it, which to me seems very obvious.”—*Washington to the Secretary at War.*

In November, 1776, when it was proposed to enlist deserters and prisoners into the American army, Washington expressed his disapproval of the measure, as being neither consistent with the rules of war nor politic;

and again, in March, 1778, in writing to the President of Congress, he objected to the preamble of a resolution of February 26, prohibiting the enlisting of deserters and prisoners, which implied that such enlistments had been made, saying that if any had been made, he at least was not aware of it. His change of opinion on this subject must have been brought about by the difficulty of securing recruits and the continued expense of maintaining the British prisoners. The suggestion does not seem to have been acted on by Congress.

SUNDAY, APRIL 28.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "Permit me sir, to express the high sense I have of the honor you have done me in communicating the favorable opinion entertained of my conduct by the Court and nation of France, and to acknowledge my obligation to those officers, who have inspired these Sentiments."—*Washington to M. de la Luzerne.*

"I cannot deny myself the pleasure of informing you of the sentiments with which the reports of the French officers, on their return to Versailles, inspired the court and nation towards your Excellency. Their testimony can add nothing to the universal opinion respecting the great services, which you have rendered to your country; but, to the esteem and admiration of the French, will henceforth be added a sentiment of affection and attachment, which is a just return for the attentions our officers have received from you, and for the progress they have made in their profession by serving under your orders."—*Luzerne to Washington, April 18.*

WEDNESDAY, MAY 8.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "Upon the most mature deliberation I can bestow, I am obliged to declare it as my candid opinion, that the measures of the enemy in all their views, so far as they respect America, are merely delusory, (they having no serious intention to admit our independence upon its true principles), and are calculated to produce a change of ministers to quiet the minds of their own people, and reconcile them to a continuance of the war; while they are meant to amuse this country with a false idea of peace, to draw us off from our connexion with France, and to lull us into a state of security and inactivity, which having taken place, the ministry will be left to prosecute the war in other parts of the world with greater vigor and effect."—*Washington to Meshech Weare.*

FRIDAY, MAY 10.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "Just as I was closing these despatches, I received a letter from Sir Guy Carleton, covering sundry printed papers, a copy of which, with the papers, I have now the honor to enclose to your Excellency."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"New York, 7 May, 1782.—Having been appointed by his Majesty to the command of the forces on the Atlantic Ocean, and joined with Admiral Digby in the commission of peace, I find it proper in this manner to apprise your Excellency of my arrival at New York. The occasion, Sir, seems to render this communication proper, but the circumstances of the present time render it also indispensable; as I find it just to transmit herewith to your Excellency certain papers, from the perusal of which your Excellency will perceive what dispositions prevail in the government and people of England towards those of America, and what further effects are likely to follow. If the like pacific dispositions should prevail in this country, both my inclination and duty will lead me to meet it with the most zealous concurrence. In all events, Sir, it is with me to declare, that, if war must prevail I shall endeavour to render its miseries as light to the people of this continent, as the circumstances of such a condition will possibly permit."—*Sir Guy Carleton to Washington.*

The papers enclosed in the letter were printed copies of the proceedings in the House of Commons on the 4th of March, respecting an address to the king in favor of peace, and also a copy of the bill reported in consequence thereof, enabling his Majesty to conclude a peace or truce with the revolted colonies in North America. As this bill, however, had not passed into a law when Sir Guy left England, it presented no basis for a negotiation, and was only cited by him to show the pacific disposition of the British nation, with which he professed the most zealous concurrence.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 22.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment, I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, Sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations, than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army, as you have expressed, and I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. . . . I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address, which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs, that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the

knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable.”— *Washington to Colonel Lewis Nicola.*

In reply to a letter in which, after calling attention to the discontents of the officers and soldiers respecting the arrearages of pay, and the probability of no adequate provisions being made by Congress, Colonel Nicola wrote that many were led to look for the cause in the form of government, and to distrust the stability of republican institutions. From the innumerable embarrassments in which the country had been involved during the war, on account of its defective political organization, he inferred that America could never become prosperous under such a form of government, and that the English government was nearer perfection than any other: “Therefore I little doubt, that, when the benefits of a mixed government are pointed out, and duly considered, such will be readily adopted. In this case it will, I believe, be uncontroverted, that the same abilities, which have led us through difficulties, apparently insurmountable by human power, to victory and glory, those qualities, that have merited and obtained the universal esteem and veneration of an army, would be most likely to conduct and direct us in the smoother paths of peace. Some people have so connected the ideas of tyranny and monarchy, as to find it very difficult to separate them. It may therefore be requisite to give the head of such a constitution, as I propose, some title apparently more moderate; but, if all other things were once adjusted, I believe strong arguments might be produced for admitting the title of KING, which I conceive would be attended with some material advantages.” Lewis Nicola at the time of writing this letter was colonel of the corps of invalids, having been appointed by Congress, June 20, 1777. Previous to this he had acted as barrack-master at Philadelphia from April 20, 1776, to December 2, 1776, when he was appointed by the Council of Safety of the State, town-major of Philadelphia. This office he held in connection with that of colonel of the invalid regiment until February 5, 1782, when he was dismissed from the service of the State with the thanks of the Supreme Executive Council, there being no further duty for such an officer as town-major. Colonel Nicola died at Alexandria, Virginia, in 1809.

TUESDAY, MAY 28.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book.*—“The Commander-in-Chief is happy in the opportunity of announcing to the army the birth of a Dauphin of France; and, desirous of giving a general occasion for testifying the satisfaction which, he is convinced, will pervade the breast of every American officer and soldier on the communication of an event so highly interesting to a monarch and nation who

have given such distinguishing proofs of their attachment, is pleased to order a *feu de joie* on Thursday next."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 29.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander-in-Chief desires his compliments may be presented to the officers' ladies with and in the neighborhood of the army, together with a request that they will favor him with their company at dinner on Thursday next, at West Point. The General will be happy to see any other ladies of his own or friends' acquaintances on the occasion, without the formality of a particular invitation."

THURSDAY, MAY 30.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"The celebration of the birth of the Dauphin of France, which was to have taken place this day, is to be postponed until tomorrow, the 31st inst."

FRIDAY, MAY 31.

At West Point: "The birth of the Dauphin was celebrated [at West Point] by the American army. An elegant dinner was provided, by order of the Commander-in-Chief; of which the officers of the army, and a great number of ladies and gentlemen, invited from the adjacent country, partook. Thirteen toasts were drank, announced by the discharge of cannon. At evening there was a grand feu-de-joy, opened by the discharge of 13 cannon, three times repeated. The feu-de-joy, being fired in the dusk, had a pleasing appearance to the eye, as well as the ear; and was so ordered for that purpose."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"At half past eleven o'clock, the celebration was concluded by the exhibition of fireworks very ingeniously constructed of various figures. His Excellency General Washington was unusually cheerful. He attended the ball in the evening and with a dignified and graceful air, having Mrs. Knox for his partner, carried down a dance of twenty couple in the arbor on the green grass."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

SATURDAY, JUNE 15.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "The subjugation of America, so far at least as to hold it in a dependent state, is of too much importance for Great Britain to yield the palm to us whilst her resources exist, or our inactivity, want of system, and dependence upon other powers prevail. I can truly say, that the first wish of my soul is to return speedily into the bosom of that country, which gave me birth, and, in the sweet enjoyment of domestic happiness and the company of a few friends, to end my days in quiet, when I shall be called from this stage."—*Washington to Archibald Cary.*

MONDAY, JUNE 24.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "I am at this moment on the point of setting out for Albany, on a visit to my posts in the vicinity of that place. My stay will not exceed eight or ten days, and will be shortened if any despatches should be received from you in the mean time."—*Washington to Count de Rochambeau.*

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 26.

At Albany, New York: "*Albany*, July 1. Last Wednesday evening his Excellency the illustrious General WASHINGTON and his Excellency the GOVERNOR of this State [George Clinton], with their suites, arrived in this city."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17.

THURSDAY, JUNE 27.

At Albany: Receives and answers an address from the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of Albany, who also present him with the freedom of the city in a gold box. "When the Corporation went to present their Address, they proceeded in procession, from the city hall. At 6 o'clock, P.M. the bells of all the churches began to ring, and continued their joyful peals until sun-set, when thirteen cannon were discharged from the fort and the city illuminated. *Who is more worthy our love and esteem, than the GUARDIAN and SAVIOUR of his country!*"—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17.

FRIDAY, JUNE 28.

At Albany: Receives and answers an address from the minister, elders, and deacons of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Albany.

SATURDAY, JUNE 29.

At Saratoga, New York: "*Albany*, July 2. On Saturday he [Washington] set out to visit the troops, with the Governor, General Schuyler and many other gentlemen of distinction. Brigadier General Gansevort with forty volunteers escorted him to Saratoga, where, after surveying the theatre of the glorious campaign of 1777, he reviewed the first regiment of New Hampshire, and examined the Block-houses at that place. From thence he went, the next day to Schenectady."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17.

SUNDAY, JUNE 30.

At Schenectady, New York: "Five miles from Schenectady he [Washington] was received by sixty of the principal inhabitants on horseback who attended him into the town amidst the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and every other public demonstration of *felicity*. About one hundred warriors of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras compleatly armed and painted for war, met him without the gates. The magistrates, military officers and respectable citizens, who had caused a public dinner to be provided, seemed anxious to give the most incontestable proofs of their gratitude and sensibility for the honor of the visit. The general viewed the town and fortifications, and returned to Albany the same evening."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17.

MONDAY, JULY 1.

Leaves Albany: "*Albany*, July 2. Yesterday morning he [Washington] went on board his barge on his way to the army, amidst the benedictions of the multitude, leaving the citizens of this country strongly impressed with the ideas of a *great character*, in which are combined every public and private virtue."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17.

“ June, 1782. To my Expenditures in a Tour to Albany, Saratoga, and Schenectady on a visit to our North^a Posts, £32.8.0.”—*Washington's Accounts*.

TUESDAY, JULY 2.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “ July 2d. The Commander-in-Chief returned from Albany.”—*Heath's Memoirs*.

“ On the 4th, the anniversary of the declaration of our Independence was celebrated in camp. The whole army was formed on the banks of the Hudson on each side of the river. The signal of thirteen cannon being given at West Point, the troops displayed and formed in a line, when a general feu de joie took place throughout the whole army.”—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 10.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “ Sir Guy Carleton is using every art to soothe and lull our people into a state of security. Admiral Digby is capturing all our vessels, and suffocating as fast as possible in prison-ships all our seamen, who will not enlist into the service of his Britannic Majesty; and Haldimand [Governor-General of Quebec] with his savage allies, is scalping and burning on the frontiers. Such is the line of conduct pursued by the different commanders, and such their politics.”—*Washington to Colonel John Laurens*.

THURSDAY, JULY 11.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “ I have this moment received a letter from Count de Rochambeau (by one of his aids, in 5 days from Williamsburg) informing me that he is on his way to Philadelphia; that he will be there the 13th or 14th, and wishes for an interview with me: for this purpose I shall set out in the morning, very early.”—*Washington to General Heath*.

SUNDAY, JULY 14.

At Philadelphia: “ On Sunday last [July 14] his Excellency Gen. Washington with his suite arrived in this city [Philadelphia] from the northward, and on Saturday gen. count Rochambeau from Virginia.”—*Freeman's Journal*, July 17.

MONDAY, JULY 15.

At Philadelphia: "Last Monday His Excellency the minister of France celebrated the birth of Monsigneur the Dauphin. In the evening there was a concert of musick in a room erected for that purpose. The concert finished at nine o'clock, when the fireworks began, and at the same time began a very brilliant ball; this was followed by a supper. The presence of His Excellency General Washington and Count Rochambeau rendered the entertainment as compleat as could possibly be wished."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, July 18.

"July 15, 1782. Great doings this evening at y^e French Ambassadors (who lives at John Dickinson's House up Chestnut St.)—on account of y^e Birth of y^e Dauphin of France—feasting, fireworks, &c. for which they have been preparing for some weeks."—*Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*.

At the conference held this day between the two commanders, it was agreed that so long as the French troops had been put under marching orders for the north, they should remain a few days at Baltimore, which place it was expected they would reach before the end of the month, till further instructions or intelligence should be received; and that, unless special reasons might appear to the contrary, the army should continue its march northwardly and join the American forces on the Hudson.

MONDAY, JULY 22.

At Philadelphia: "Your favor of the 17th conveying to me your Pastoral on the subject of Lord Cornwallis's capture has given me great satisfaction. . . . I have only to lament that the Hero of your Pastoral is not more deserving of your Pen; but the circumstance shall be placed among the happiest events of my life."—*Washington to Mrs. Stockton*.

Mrs. Richard Stockton (Anice Boudinot) was a woman of highly cultivated mind and refined literary taste. Besides the "Pastoral on the subject of Lord Cornwallis's capture," she also, on the announcement of peace, addressed an ode to Washington on that subject. His reply in acknowledgment, dated Rocky Hill, September 2, 1783, is thought to be the most sprightly effusion of his pen.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 24.

Leaves Philadelphia: "On Wednesday last his excellency general Washington left this city [Philadelphia], in order to

join the main army on the banks of the Hudson.”—*Freeman's Journal*, July 31.

From an entry in his expense account, it would seem that Washington made his stopping-place for the night of the 24th at Pottsgrove (now Pottstown), thirty-six miles northwest of Philadelphia.—“*July, 1782. Exp^s to Pottsgrove . . . £1.13.4.—Bethlehem . . . £3.17.6.*”

THURSDAY, JULY 25.

At Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: “July 25. 1782. Quite unexpectedly and very quietly his Excellency Gen. Washington arrived here [Bethlehem] accompanied by two aids de camp [Colonel Trumbull and Major Walker], but without an escort. Bro. Ettwein and other Brethren went at once to pay their respects to him [at the “Sun Inn”]. After partaking of a meal he inspected the choir houses and other objects of interest in the place, and then attended the evening service, at which Bro. Ettwein delivered a discourse, in English, on the text: ‘In all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God,’ &c. (II. Cor. 6:4) and the choir rendered some fine music both at the beginning and at the close. The General manifested much friendliness, and the pleasure and satisfaction which the visit afforded him were clearly to be inferred from his utterances.”—*Moravian Archives*, MS.

During the Revolution the Moravian settlement of Bethlehem witnessed many of the horrors and discomforts of war, a sore trial for the peace-loving brethren. The tramp of armed men through its quiet borders began in July, 1775; in December, 1776, most of the houses of the community were taken for hospitals, prisoners were quartered in others, and many days of “unrest at Bethlehem” are noted in the diaries preserved in the Archives. But with the horrors came also some of the pomp and circumstance of war. Being in the main route of travel to and from the Eastern States, Bethlehem saw many distinguished soldiers and statesmen. Here, at times, were Greene, Knox, Gates, Stirling, Sullivan, Schuyler, Steuben, De Kalb, Pulaski, De Chastellux, and Washington; Samuel and John Adams, Hancock, Laurens, Livingston, Boudinot, Reed, Rittenhouse, and Gérard. And here, in the autumnal days of 1777, Lafayette, under the careful nursing of the fair Moravian sister (Liesel Beekel), rapidly recovered from the wound received at Brandywine.

FRIDAY, JULY 26.

Leaves Bethlehem: “July 26. At a very early hour he [Washington] proceeded on his journey by way of Easton.

Bro. Ettwein, who had just been contemplating a visit to Hope, accompanied him to the first named place [Easton], and then rode on ahead, in order to make some preparation for his entertainment at Hope, where he dined and also looked about the place with pleasure."—*Moravian Archives*, MS.

The village of Hope, Sussex (now Warren) County, New Jersey, twenty miles northeast of Easton, Pennsylvania, where Washington and his aides dined on July 26, was founded by the Moravians in 1769. The undertaking, however, not proving a financial success, the brethren returned to their settlements at Bethlehem and Nazareth about 1808.

The travellers, in all probability, quartered for the night at Sussex Court-House (now Newton), eighteen miles beyond Hope.

SATURDAY, JULY 27.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "July 27th. Gen. Washington returned to Newburgh from Philadelphia."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 6.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "You will, I imagine, have heard, before this reaches you, of the arrival of Mr. Vaudreuil with a fleet of thirteen ships of the line on this coast. I can give no particulars, as I have no official account of his arrival."—*Washington to General Greene*.

After the defeat of the French squadron in the West India waters (April 12) by Admiral Rodney, in which De Grasse lost seven vessels, and was himself made a prisoner, the command had devolved upon the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who received orders to go to Boston. The fleet, consisting of thirteen ships of the line (of which four were eighty guns and the others seventy-four), three frigates, and a cutter, arrived on the 10th of August, and remained until December 24, when the French troops having embarked, the marquis set sail for Porto Cabello.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 10.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "The prospect of an approaching peace brightens; Gen. Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby informed Gen. Washington, that Mr. Grenville had gone over to France on the negociation for peace, and that the independence of America was acknowledged

previous to, or as an opening of the negociation. The refugees at New York were greatly alarmed at the prospect of peace.”—*Heath's Memoirs*.

“ We are acquainted, Sir, by authority, that the negotiations for a general peace have already commenced at Paris, and that Mr. Grenville is invested with full powers to treat with all parties at war, and is now at Paris in the execution of his commission. And we are likewise, Sir, further made acquainted, that his Majesty, in order to remove all obstacles to that peace, which he so ardently wishes to restore, has commanded his ministers to direct Mr. Grenville, that the independency of the thirteen Provinces should be proposed by him in the first instance, instead of making it a condition of a general treaty; however, not without the highest confidence, that the Loyalists shall be restored to their possessions, or a full compensation made to them for whatever confiscations may have taken place.”—*Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby to Washington, August 2, 1782.*

SUNDAY, AUGUST 11.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “ Having been informed that Major-General Gates is in Philadelphia, and being now about to make my ultimate arrangements for the campaign, I take the liberty to request, that you will be pleased to inform me by the earliest conveyance whether he wishes to be employed in this army or not.”—*Washington to the Secretary at War.*

Since the unfortunate battle of Camden, General Gates had been in retirement at his seat in Berkeley County, Virginia. The court of inquiry, ordered by Congress to examine into that matter, had never been convened. The subject was at length brought forward anew, and on August 14, 1782, it was resolved, “ That the resolution of the 5th day of October, 1780, directing a court of enquiry on the conduct of major-general Gates, be repealed; and that he take command in the main army as the commander-in-chief shall direct.” General Gates rejoined the army at Verplanck's Point on the 5th of October, and took command of the right wing as senior officer.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 18.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—“ The General has the pleasure to inform the army of the total recovery of the State of Georgia from the hands of the enemy. On the 11th of July the British evacuated Savannah, leaving the town and works uninjured. Of the citizens who have returned to their allegiance, nearly two hundred en-

listed into the continental Battalion of Georgia, and it was expected the corps would soon be completed without any expense. Brigadier-general Wayne, who commanded in that State, appears to have merited great applause by his conduct there."

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"Precisely at 5 o'clock to-morrow morning the General is to beat, on which the tents and baggage of the second Connecticut and third Massachusetts brigades are to be put in the boats. At 9 o'clock the Assembly will beat, when these brigades are immediately to march and embark by the right, proceeding in one column to Verplanck's Point in the following order: 1st Conn., 2d Conn., 1st Mass. and 2d Mass. Brigades. . . . If the boats are insufficient to transport the troops, with their baggage, without crowding or overloading, the surplusage will march by land under proper officers. . . . The artillery annexed to brigades will proceed by land and join their respective corps at Verplanck's Point."

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31.

At Verplanck's Point: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander-in-Chief cannot help expressing his thanks to the officers commanding divisions, brigades and corps, and to the Adjutant and Quartermaster-generals for their punctual attention to the order of yesterday, by which the first considerable movement that has been attempted by water was made with the utmost regularity and good order."

"August 31st.—The army marched from their different quarters this morning and encamped at Verplanck's point in the evening. Part of the troops came down the river in boats, which being in motion and in regular order on the water, made a most beautiful appearance."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "The whole army, the garrison at West Point excepted, which is left under the command of Major-General Knox, moved down to this ground yesterday."—*Washington to the Secretary at War*.

This concentration of the army from its different points was made in consequence of an agreement with Count de Rochambeau to form a junction of the French and American forces on the Hudson, and also to be nearer the enemy in case any hostile attempts should be made from New York; although, from the inactivity and pacific declarations of Sir Guy Carleton, such attempts were not anticipated. The first division of the French army, which had left Williamsburg, Virginia, on the 23d of June, and Baltimore on the 27th of August, arrived at King's Ferry on the 16th of September. The remainder followed, the last arriving on the 18th, when the whole crossed the river, and formed a junction with the American army on the 19th. Rochambeau and his suite, preceding the troops to confer with Washington, crossed the river on the 14th. The French encamped on the left of the Americans, near Crampond, about ten miles from Verplanck's Point.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "I have the honor to reply to your Excellency's letter of the 23d of August, and to inform you, that Major-Generals Heath and Knox are nominated by me to meet Lieutenant-General Campbell and Mr. Elliott, as commissioners for the purpose of settling a general cartel for an exchange of prisoners. I propose, Sir, that the meeting be held at Tappan, as an intermediate and convenient place, and that it commence on the 18th day of this month, at which time my commissioners will attend, and will be accompanied by the commissary of prisoners."
— *Washington to Sir Guy Carleton.*

"September 26th.—The Commissioners interchanged copies of their respective powers; these were to be considered until the next day, when answers were to be given in writing, whether the powers were satisfactory on both sides. On examining the powers given to the British Commissioners, it appeared that their doings would not be conclusive until confirmed, and were very short of those held by the American Commissioners, whose agreement and signature were to be final. *September 27th.*—The American Commissioners stated to the British Commissioners, that the powers with which they were vested were inadequate to effect the expectations of the government of the United States, and that therefore the negotiation must be broken off. Of the great difference of the powers the British Commissioners were fully convinced. The American Commissioners thought it to be their duty, when they gave their note of objections to the British delegated powers, to hand with it a very pointed protest, in behalf of the United States, against that conduct, on the part of the British, which had so long delayed the settlement of the accounts for the

support of the prisoners of war, which were in the power of the United States."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "That the King will push the war, as long as the nation will find men or money, admits not of a doubt in my mind. The whole tenor of his conduct, as well as his last proroguing speech, on the 11th of July, plainly indicates, it, and shows in a clear point of view the impolicy of relaxation on our part. If we are wise, let us prepare for the worst. There is nothing, which will so soon produce a speedy and honorable peace, as a state of preparation for war; and we must either do this, or lay our account to patch up an inglorious peace, after all the toil, blood, and treasure we have spent."—*Washington to James McHenry.*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "The whole army was paraded under arms this morning in order to honor his Excellency Count Rochambeau on his arrival from the southward. The troops were all formed in two lines extending from the ferry, where the count crossed, to head quarters. A troop of horse met and received him at King's ferry, and conducted him through the line to General Washington's quarters, where sitting on his horse by the side of his Excellency, the whole army marched before him and paid the usual salute and honors. Our troops were now in complete uniform and exhibited every mark of soldierly discipline. Count Rochambeau was most highly gratified to perceive the very great improvement which our army had made in appearance since he last reviewed them, and expressed his astonishment at their rapid progress in military skill and discipline. He said to General Washington 'you must have formed an alliance with the king of Prussia. These troops are Prussians.' Several of the principal officers of the French army who have seen troops of different European nations, have bestowed the highest encomiums and applause on our army, and declared that they had seen

none superior to the Americans.”—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

“ We joined Washington's army at Kingsferry on the Hudson. The general, as a mark of respect to France, and of gratitude for the services she has rendered America, made us march between a double line of his troops, equipped, armed and clothed for the first time in the Revolution, partly from material and arms brought from France, and partly from the British storehouses taken from Cornwallis, which the French generously gave up to the American army. General Washington made his drums beat the French march during the whole time of this review, and the two armies met again with evident marks of reciprocal satisfaction.”—*Mémoires de Rochambeau*, I. 309.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: “ I have the pleasure to acknowledge your favor, informing me of your proposal to present me with fifty copies of your last publication for the amusement of the army. For this intention you have my sincere thanks, not only on my own account, but for the pleasure, which I doubt not the gentlemen of the army will receive from the perusal of your pamphlets. Your observations on the *period of seven years*, as it applies to British minds, are ingenious, and I wish it may not fail of its effects in the present instance.”—*Washington to Thomas Paine*.

“ I have the honor of presenting you with fifty copies of my Letter to the Abbé Raynal [dated Philadelphia, August 21, 1782],¹ for the use of the army, and to repeat to you my acknowledgments for your friendship. I fully believe we have seen our worst days over. The spirit of the war, on the part of the enemy, is certainly on the decline, full as much as we think for. I draw this opinion not only from the present promising appearances of things, and the difficulties we know the British Cabinet is in; but I add to it the peculiar effect which certain periods of time, have more or less, upon all men. The British have accustomed themselves to think of *seven years* in a manner different to other portions of time. They acquire this partly by habit, by reason, by religion, and by superstition. They serve seven years apprenticeship—they elect their parliament for seven years—they punish by seven years transportation, or the duplicate or triplicate of that term—they let their leases in the same manner, and they read that

¹ Written to correct the errors in the Abbé's account of the American Revolution, published in 1781.

Jacob served seven years for one wife, and after that seven years for another ; and this particular period of time, by a variety of concurrences, has obtained an influence in their mind. They have now had seven years of war, and are no further on the Continent than when they began. The superstitious and populous part will therefore conclude that *it is not to be*, and the rational part of them will think they have tried an unsuccessful and expensive project long enough, and by these two joining issue in the same eventual opinion, the obstinate part among them will be beaten out ; unless, consistent with their former sagacity, they should get over the matter by an act of parliament, 'to bind TIME in all cases whatsoever,' or declare him a rebel."—*Thomas Paine to Washington*, September 7, 1782.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "Gen. Washington reviewed the French army; the troops made a fine appearance."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"I found the American army camped in a place called Verplanck's Point. It consisted of about six thousand men, who for the first time since the beginning of the war were decently uniformed, well-armed, properly equipped, and camped in tents of a regular model. I passed through all the camp with pleasure, astonishment and admiration. All the soldiers seemed to me well looking, robust and well-chosen. The sentinels were well equipped, very attentive, sufficiently well disciplined in the use of their arms, and so strong was the contrast with the incorrect notions I had formed concerning these troops, that I was obliged frequently to say to myself, that I beheld in this army the same which formerly had no other uniform than a cap, on which was written Liberty. I noticed on a little hill which looked over the camp an assemblage of tents, which I recognized easily as the quarters of General Washington."—*Narrative of the Prince de Broglie, Magazine of American History*, I. 307.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "The American army manœuvred before the Commander in Chief, Gen. Rochambeau, and many other officers. The troops made a handsome appearance, and manœuvred well."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"This day [September 21] the Americans were under arms. It was a military festival in honour of their allies. Their camp was covered with garlands and pyramids, as so many trophies gratefully raised by the hands of liberty. The army was drawn up at the head of their camp. Twenty-four battalions of the states of New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York formed a line of two miles extent. The most

exact uniformity, the neat dress of the men, the glittering of their arms, their martial look, and a kind of military luxury gave a most magnificent appearance to this assemblage of citizens armed in defence of their country. . . . A discharge of cannon was the signal for manœuvring. That exactness, order and silence which distinguish veteran armies was here displayed : they changed their front, formed and displayed columns, with admirable regularity. The day was terminated with an entertainment of more than ninety covers, served with true military magnificence in the pretorium of the consul (for I rather express myself thus than by saying in the tent of the general). In fact, everything in this army, bears a particular character : and things uncommon ought not to be described by common expressions. A band of American music, which played during the dinner, added to the gaiety of the company."—*Letter from a French officer to a friend, Pennsylvania Packet, October 24.*

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point : "The situation of politics, I mean European, is upon so precarious a footing, that I really know not what account to give of them. Negotiations were still going on at Paris in the middle of July ; but the prospects of a peace were checked by the death of the Marquis of Rockingham. Dr. Franklin's laconic description of the temper of the British nation seems most apt. 'They are,' says he, 'unable to carry on the war, and too proud to make peace.'"—*Washington to General Greene.*

"One of my most earnest wishes was to see Washington, the hero of America. He was then encamped at a short distance from us, and the Count de Rochambeau was kind enough to introduce me to him. Too often reality disappoints the expectations our imagination had raised, and admiration diminishes by a too near view of the object upon which it had been bestowed ; but, on seeing General Washington, I found a perfect similarity between the impression produced upon me by his aspect, and the idea I had formed of him. His exterior disclosed, as it were, the history of his life : simplicity, grandeur, dignity, calmness, goodness, firmness, the attributes of his character, were also stamped upon his features, and in all his person. His stature was noble and elevated ; the expression of his features mild and benevolent ; his smile graceful and pleasing ; his manners simple, without familiarity. . . . Washington, when I saw him, was forty-nine years of age. He endeavored modestly to avoid the marks of admiration and respect which were so anxiously offered to him, and yet no man ever knew better how to receive and to acknowledge them. He listened, with an obliging attention, to all those who addressed him, and the expression of his countenance had

conveyed his answer before he spoke."—*Memoirs and Recollections of Count de Ségur*, p. 281.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "Gen. Washington, covered by the dragoons and light infantry, reconnoitred the grounds on the east side of the river, below the White Plains; and on the 29th, about noon, returned to camp."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"Sep. 1782.—To the Expences of a Reconnoitre as low as Phillipsburg & thence across from Dobbs's ferry to y^e Sound with a large Party of Horse . . . £32.8.0."—*Washington's Accounts*.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "The evils, of which they [the army] complain, and which they suppose almost remediless, are the total want of money or the means of existing from one day to another, the heavy debts they have already incurred, the loss of credit, the distress of their families at home, and prospect of poverty and misery before them. . . . You may rely upon it, the patience and long-suffering of this army are almost exhausted, and that there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant. While in the field, I think it may be kept from breaking out into acts of outrage; but when we retire into winter-quarters, unless the storm is previously dissipated, I cannot be at ease respecting the consequences. It is high time for a peace."—*Washington to the Secretary at War*.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "October 5th.—Maj. Gen. Gates arrived at camp."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"I saw him [General Gates] at the house of General Washington, with whom he had had a misunderstanding. I was present at their first interview after the disagreement. This interview excited the curiosity of both armies. It passed with a most perfect propriety on the part of both gentlemen. Mr. Washington treated Mr. Gates with a politeness which had a frank and easy air, while the other responded with that shade of respect which was proper towards his general, but at the same time with a self-possession, a nobility of manner and an air of moderation which convinced

me that Mr. Gates was worthy of the successes he had gained at Saratoga, and that his defeats had only rendered him more worthy of respect, because of the courage with which he bore them. Such also was the opinion as far as I could gather, that other gentlemen, both capable and disinterested, entertained concerning Mr. Gates."—*Narrative of the Prince de Broglie.*

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "To the Expences of a Visit to the Post at Dobbs's ferry, etc. . . £7. 10. 0."—*Washington's Accounts.*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "The military operations of the campaign are drawing to a close without any very important events on this side of the water, unless the evacuation of Charleston, which is generally expected, but not yet known to me, should take place, and form a paragraph in the page of this year's history."—*Washington to Benjamin Franklin.*

Charleston was not evacuated by the British until December 14.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "In the present quiet state of the frontiers, and with assurances from Sir Guy Carleton, that the incursions of the savages are stopped by authority, I have it in contemplation to withdraw the Continental troops from the northward."—*Washington to Governor Clinton.*

"October 19th.—Eight battalions have been selected from the army to perform some grand manœuvres and a review. The evolutions and firings were performed this day with that regularity and precision which does them honor, and which received the full approbation of the numerous spectators, and of the American and French officers who were present."—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 20.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "The Secretary at War [General Lincoln] arrived at Camp."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 24.

At Head-quarters, Verplanck's Point: "The whole American army manœuvred before the Hon. the Secretary

at War. The Commander in Chief, in the orders of the day, expressed his own, as well as the Secretary at War's fullest approbation."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

On October 22 the French army set out for Boston in order to embark for the West Indies, and on the morning of the 26th the American army left Verplanck's Point, crossing the Hudson in boats to West Point the following day. On the 28th the troops reached New Windsor (two miles below Newburgh), to the west of which they were to build their huts and go into winter-quarters, the last cantonment of the main Continental army. Washington re-established his quarters at Newburgh, in the "Hasbrouck House," which he retained until August 18, 1783.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "The Commander in Chief, on this day (30th of Oct.), ordered the regiments of the Massachusetts line to be reduced to 8 regiments, of 500 rank and file each, or as near as could be to that number; and the Connecticut line to 3 regiments of similar strength, with 3 Field Officers, 9 Captains, 19 Subalterns, 1 Surgeon, and 1 Mate each; and the regiments were formed accordingly."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

On the 7th of August Congress passed resolutions directing the Secretary at War, on or before the first day of January, 1783, to cause the non-commissioned officers and privates, belonging to the lines of the several States, to be arranged in such manner as to form complete regiments of not less than five hundred rank and file. The regiments so formed to be completely officered; the officers to agree and determine who should stay in service; or if this could not be effected by agreement, the junior officers of each grade were to retire.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 10.

At West Point: "I attended the funeral of my late worthy friend, Ensign Trant. This young gentleman at the age of eighteen came over from Ireland about two years since, and on his arrival in Boston, was appointed an ensign in our regiment. . . . His remains were decently interred in the garrison at West Point, and were followed to the grave by His Excellency General Washington, and a very respectable procession."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "It affords me singular pleasure, to have it in my power to transmit to you the enclosed copy of an act of Congress, of the 7th instant, by which you are released from the disagreeable circumstances in which you have so long been. Supposing that you would wish to go into New York as soon as possible, I also enclose a passport for that purpose."— *Washington to Captain Charles Asgill.*

Captain Charles Asgill, son of Sir Charles Asgill, had been selected by lot at Laneaster (May 27), from the British prisoners of his own rank, to be executed in retaliation for the death of Captain Joshua Huddy, taken prisoner by a party of refugees while commanding a small body of troops in Monmouth County, New Jersey, and hanged April 12. His execution was postponed while an investigation as to the exact cause of Captain Huddy's death was being made in the British army, and the affair was in suspense for several months. In the mean time Lady Asgill had written a pathetic letter to Count de Vergennes, the French minister, soliciting him to intercede with General Washington. This letter, with one from Vergennes to Washington, dated July 29, were submitted to Congress. They were taken into consideration, and it was resolved "that the Commander-in-chief be and is hereby directed to set Captain Asgill at liberty."

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "Captain Asgill has been released, and is at perfect liberty to return to the arms of an affectionate parent, whose pathetic address to your Excellency could not fail of interesting every feeling heart, in her behalf. I have no right to assume any particular merit from the lenient manner in which this disagreeable affair has terminated. But I beg you to believe, Sir, that I most sincerely rejoice, not only because your humane intentions are gratified, but because the event accords with the wishes of his most Christian Majesty, and his royal and amiable consort, who, by their benevolence and munificence, have endeared themselves to every true American."— *Washington to Count de Vergennes.*

According to the following entry in his expense account, Washington passed the latter part of November in making a journey to the western frontier of New York, but we are unable to state either when he left or

when he returned to head-quarters: "Nov. 1782.—To the Expences of a tour to Poughkeepsy—thence to Esopus & along the Western Frontier of the State of New York, £43.10.4."

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: M. de Chastellux spends the day, having arrived the evening previous, and leaves on the 7th, bidding a final farewell to Washington.

"We passed the North-river as night came on, and arrived at six o'clock at *Newburgh*, where I found Mr. and Mrs. Washington, Colonel *Tilgham* [Tilghman], Colonel *Humphreys*, and Major *Walker*. The head quarters of Newburgh consist of a single house, neither vast nor commodious, which is built in the Dutch fashion. The largest room in it (which was the proprietor's parlour for his family, and which General Washington has converted into his dining room) is in truth tolerably spacious, but it has seven doors and only one window. The chimney, or rather the chimney back, is against the wall; so that there is in fact but one vent for the smoke, and the fire is in the room itself. I found the company assembled in a small room which served by way of parlour. At nine supper was served, and when the hour of bed-time came, I found that the chamber, to which the General conducted me, was the very parlour I speak of, wherein he had made them place a camp-bed. . . . The day I remained at head quarters was passed either at table or in conversation. General *Hand*, Adjutant General, Colonel *Reed* of New Hampshire, and Major *Graham* dined with us. On the 7th I took leave of General Washington, nor is it difficult to imagine the pain this separation gave me; but I have too much pleasure in recollecting the real tenderness with which it affected him, not to take a pride in mentioning it."—*De Chastellux*, II. 301.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "The Count de Rochambeau, who arrived here this morning, did me the honor to deliver to me your letter of the 29th of November. . . . I have only now to assure you of my sincere wishes for your safe and speedy arrival at the place of your destination, and for your success and personal glory in whatever you may undertake."—*Washington to Baron de Vioménil*.

"On our return to Virginia, we paid another visit to General Washington, at New Windsor [Newburgh]. It was here that we took our most tender farewell, and that I, as well as the officers who were with me, received from the American army the assurance of their most sincere friendship for ever."—*Mémoires de Rochambeau*.

The Count de Rochambeau remained at head-quarters until the 14th,

when he set out for Annapolis, from whence, in company with the Marquis de Chastellux and General de Choisy, he sailed January 11, 1783. His visit to Washington was made on his return from Providence, where he took leave of the French army. The command then devolved on the Baron de Vioménil, who arrived with the troops at Boston during the first week of December, but the embarkation did not take place until the 24th.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27.

At Poughkeepsie, New York: Present at the celebration of the festival of St. John the Evangelist, by King Solomon's Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons.

A medal was struck in 1882, in commemoration of this visit to the Poughkeepsie Lodge, which was founded April 18, 1777.—*See Baker's "Medallie Portraits of Washington,"* p. 130.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "It is with infinite satisfaction, that I embrace the earliest opportunity of sending to Philadelphia the cannon, which Congress were pleased to present to your Excellency, in testimony of their sense of the illustrious part you bore in the capture of the British army under Lord Cornwallis at York in Virginia. The carriages will follow by another conveyance. But, as they were not quite ready, I could not resist the pleasure, on that account, of forwarding these pieces to you previous to your departure, in hopes the inscription and devices, as well as the execution, may be agreeable to your wishes."—*Washington to Count de Rochambeau.*

"Annapolis, January 11, 1783.—Though I was gone from Philadelphia, before the cannon arrived there, give me leave to observe, that your usual attention and politeness have been shown to the last moment, of which this is a fresh proof. I write to the Chevalier de la Luzerne to keep them till peace, when they may be carried over without danger of being taken. We are just getting under sail. In this moment I renew to your Excellency my sincere acknowledgments for your friendship, and am with the most inviolable personal attachment and respect your most obedient servant."—*Rochambeau to Washington.*

(To be continued.)

Augustine Herman Bohemian, Doe here with Declare, That this present
 The first Author of Bohemianism shall be excluded out of my Depulse, such is to be in my
 20
 Thompson, shall be my Executors, equally impowred for the intent and purpose of the
 Court the 9th day of August this present year, with my said down I phrime
 more by his ^{own} words premisses he done & authorized printed, and afterwards
 of 1539. may more at large be seen, with a promise that due respect
 for this be observed, that I have my self done, to witte Augustus alias Voroman
 company, under such Rent & Services, as is received by Companyes in date of the 11th of it
 & no longer; and upon those terms & Considerations, I doe not for further gain, bequest
 my self betweene, in & than afterwate to the King or his heirs againe my self
 ppendant person but in association; but by extinct. Of the aforesaid lands, then it
 is to be said, and things there naturall liberties, and after those, to desist further
 from the very anfall to god, and by extinct of those, then to descent & be
 my law Custom, or pceding to the contrary not withstanding. with charge to all
 who by themselves, by their heirs, or assigns, or by their heirs, or assigns, or by their
 heirs, and to his lineall posterities lawfully descending from his body, as a person
 as it is confirmed to me, by the Right Honourable Charles, the second absol
 all a part of the same, as is to be seen in the said charter, and in my name
 right made to be againe, But by extinct of either of them, to descent and be
 g from one line to the other, as is expressed and specified here before with Bohemia
 French and Francena, and to their lawfull heirs & posterities from their bodies lawfully
 & proprietary Charles aforesaid in one patent, named, the three Bohemian Sisters
 as, as further appears by his said Lordships ground, intrat. in recordo lib. C.B.n.
 with Anna Margarita & her posterity, aforesaid, I have delivered in possession, the
 name & shire, betweene Margets & Dunth, as is all the land up to Etkriver Road
 a tract of land, Eastward, 1277 from the aforesaid Judith Creek alonge
 which is contained between the said naturall bounds and Etkriver Road
 from the said of George's hundred, al up up backriv. Runn to Etkriver
 of the said Bohemian & natural being the Naturall
 of the said North & East. to be well quierent to be p
 the out of my said three daughters, that goe to be, shall be entailed to the
 me as aforesaid. But, and if it should be the will of God, that all my aforesaid
 I do hereby dispose and commit the aforesaid three distinct Estates, into the
 property of a free Donatist Schoole & Colledge, with diverse protestant
 upon the said Estates and the revenues thereof, under such Trustees & Officers
 as shall be appointed by the precepted name of the Augustine Bohemians to
 the Upper & Lower House, of the same. That this will of Entailment
 of my self, I do hereby make, giving thereunto further power, that I do hereby
 give my soul to Jesus Christ my Redeemer, my body to the Earth for a happy
 & all in alth. Contrary to this, Written with my own hand, signed with my own
 the said Augustine Herman, at my house upon Bohemian Mount, in the

County of SAUVIGNY, AMERICA.

I shall be my last will & Testament, namely, That my Monument Stone with my name
 Plantation in Maryland, AND That my Son Ephraim with my second John Casparus and me
 Ducl. respectid, and first, Having been called by a deed in Writing bearing date the 24th day of
 to me by Charles, the first absolute Lo^d & Proprietor of Maryland, of the Virginia the
 the said absolute Lo^d & Proprietor, by a patent of augmentation on, pursuant to records, that
 that no land by him nor any of his heirs shall be within the bounds of the said patent, absolute Lo^d
 Peter Bayard, John Moll, and Arnot La Grange, as Executors & freeholders of Bohemia Towne will
 in all counts & vice, only to lease tenements from time to time for three, six, or twenty one
 my Son Ephraim, as to his heirs male from his body lawfully begotten, during the life of my
 I HAVE to hold the same, and during their Naturall lives, with all appurtenances, perquisites
 and a portion, originally lawfully begotten from the body of my second daughter
 perquisites of my third daughter, FRANCISCA originally from her body lawfully begotten & a other
 Bohemia Towne as aforesaid, that by their entries they shall add to their Christian Na
 AND further more, I doe hereby in like manner, I've bequeath and devise, unto my second daughter
 my second daughter called little Bohemia, as set in the graphick for a description the 1st of May
 by patent int^o in record the 2^d of Sept. 1634. To HAVE & TO HOLD the said
 to holden successively, by his Male Heirs, & towards my second daughter, to have & to hold
 and posterities of my three daughters, Anna Margareta, Lucia & Francisca about named,
 I doe hereby further and more give bequeath & devise unto my said three daughters, Anna Margareta
 of land, lying on the Northside of Bohemia Bay River, confirmed to me by the right Honourable
 the Mission, by speciall returne, containing the quantity of seven thousand & one hundred
 1634 & to hold the same, as their proper owne & peculiar inheritance, by the following partition,
 tract of land, within the west bound of the said three Dutchman Dutchers patent, viz. from along the
 of Bohemia AND to my second daughter I didd I have delivered real possession, of the next
 to the hart road with gold from thence out to Georges upon Delaware, and to equally all the
 the daughter FRANCISCA, I doe hereby with appoynt for her inheritance, the upper most neck of land on the
 along the said East & West Northway, and all it meets with the said hart road
 the said hart road South, by Georges creek on the west, by the hart road, viz. from
 and by all ways, the tract of land is to remaine during the lives of my said three daughters, and
 for ever entailed, to the longest liver of them all, to gether with do. ma Mar now, de also little do. ma
 to come shall cease and be taken out of the world, and no other near relation appear, That I doe here
 general assembly of the province of Maryland in the upper & lower houses, being for the use & satisfaction
 of poor & distressed people, & as well as to see by the said general assembly, that the said three daughters
 on to the said three daughters, & to the said three daughters, for the maintenance of their work, & to
 the said three daughters, to the right Honourable the Lord of proprietors, & most Honourable Council
 of the said province, & finally, I am willing that the said three daughters, & my children
 shall be equally enjoyed, & that they shall be to the said three daughters, & my children
 confirm and hold, what is herein before written, to the said three daughters, & my children, &
 to the said three daughters, & my children, & to the said three daughters, & my children, &
 the 27th day of September.

Christine Herman Doorman
 Etatis. 62.

COPY OF THE WILL OF AUGUSTINE HERRMAN,
OF BOHEMIA MANOR.

BY GILBERT COPE, WEST CHESTER, PENNSYLVANIA.

[In the year 1863 I examined a lot of papers in the hands of the late Dr. George Smith, of Upper Darby, which had come into the possession of his father, Benjamin H. Smith, of Haverford, who practised conveyancing in the last century. Among these papers I found the will of Augustine Herrman, of which I made a lengthy abstract, though at that time I had no further knowledge of this prominent individual. Since that time various sketches of this personage have appeared (see *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, IX. 57, XX. 47, XXII. 1, 57; PENNA. MAGAZINE, VII. 88; "Johnston's Ceeil County, Md.," etc.), but the recent claim that he was born about 1605 may require modification. Through the kindness of Benjamin H. Smith, of Philadelphia, the son of Dr. George Smith, the original will has been placed at the service of the editor, and a prototype reproduction, as well as a careful letter-press copy, is herewith presented. It is on parchment, measuring fourteen and an eighth inches in horizontal width and thirteen and a quarter in length. The names of the witnesses have been cut off. The will is recorded, or partly recorded, in Liber G. folio 228, in the office of the Register of Wills of Anne Arundel County, Annapolis, Maryland, to which office the records of the Commissary-General's office were transferred. It was proven November 11, 1686, and the witnesses appear to have been Edward Jones, Samuel Wheeler, Robert Kemble, Richard Edmonds, and George Oldfield, but the record is said to be very incomplete. In connection with this subject the following Act of Assembly is interesting:

"An Act confirming and making Valid the last Will and Testament of Augustine Herman, late of Cæcill County, Gent: as it now Stands Recorded in the Commissary Generalls Office of this Province:

"Whereas The Last Will and Testament of Augustine Herman late of Cæcill County, Gent, deceased, duly proved and entered upon Record in the Commissary Generalls Office in this province in year our Lord God one Thousand Six Hundred Ninety and one, upon search for the same was found to be imbezelled, feloniously purloyned, taken Carried and Conveyed away out of the Said Office So that no Such Record remained thereof. And whereas upon y^e petition of Mathias Vanderhayden of Cæcill County, Gent, a Copy of the Said Will proved to be in effect a true Copy thereof was by the last Generall Assembly of this province

ordered to be entered upon Record in the Said Office and the petitioner Mr. Mathias Vanderhayden offered to petition the next assembly For Confirmation thereof.

“Be it Enacted by the King and Queens most Excellent Ma^{ties} by and with the advice and Consent of this present Generall Assembly and the authority of the Same That the Said Will So proved and entered upon record as aforesaid Shall and is hereby deemed and taken to be as sufficient and valid and in as full force power effect and Virtue as if the Same Really & bona fide were the prime Originall record of the aforesaid Will and Shall Extend and enure to all and every the effects and purposes therein and thereby declared, any Law, Statute or usage to the contrary in no wise notwithstanding.”—*Laws of Maryland, Liber LL, No. 2, p. 56.*]

IN THE NAME AND GOOD WILL OF GOD, THE HOLY TRI-UNITY,
Amen.

I Agustine Herrman Bohemian, Doe herewith Declare, That this present Writting, is, & shall bee my laest will & Testament, Namently: That my Monument Stone with iugraphen Letters of Mee The first Author of Bohemia

A° 60

Mannour _^ shall bee Erected ouer my Sepulcher, wich is to bee in my Vinyard uppon the Mann^{or} Plantation in Maryland, AND, That my Sonn Ephraim with my Second Sonn Casparus and my Sonn in Law Jn° Thompson, Shall bee my Executors, equally jmpowred for the jntent and Purpos of the Entailments hereunder Named to bee Duely Inspected, And first, Having Covenanted by a Deed in Writting bearing date the 25th day of March & Confirmed the 9th day of August this present Year, With my said Sonn
for

Ephraim _^ my Bohemia Mannour, (as the Same is granted to mee by Cæcilus, the first Absolut Lord & Proprietary of Maryland, for Geographing the Publicq Mapp by his Majesties peculiar licence & Authority printed, and afterwards Confirmed by his Succeeding Sonn Charles, the Second

as

absolut lord & Proprietary _^ by y^r Pattent of Augmentation, jntrat^r in recordo, lib^r C B. N° 3. fol. 38. may more at

large Appeare.) with a Proviso, that due respect shall bee hath to the entailments, and that no land by him nor any of his heires shall bee within the bounds of the said pattent, absolutly Sold & for Ever alienated, then what I have my Self Done, to Pieter Sluyter alias Vorsman, Jasper Danc-karts alias Schilder, Pieter Bayard, John Moll, and Arnold La Grange, as Suitors & freeholders of Bohemia Mann^{or} with their Company, Vnder Such rent & Services, as is reserued by Convayance in Date Of the 11th of August this present Year, entred in Cæcil County record, Onely, to
expired

lease Tenements from time to time, for three lives, or twenty One Years, & no longer; and uppon those terms & Considerations, I doe hereby further give, bequeath & devise, unto my said Sonn Ephraim, and to his Heires Male from his body lawfully begotten, durande vitæ, (femals happening between, to return afterward to the Right male heir againe,) my abouesaid Bohemia Mannour, TO HAVE & TO HOLD the Same, enduering their Naturall lives, with all appurtenances, perquisits and Appendant pertinents whatsoever: but, by extinct, Of the aforesaid lincs, Then it shall descent to lines & posterities, Orriginally lawfully begotten from the Body of my Second Sonn Casparus aboue named, endueringe their Naturall lives, and after those, to descent further, and bee jnharited, by the legall posterities of my daughter, Anna Margaritta, after these by the posterities of my Second daughter, Judith, from her body lawfully begotten, and by extinct of those, then to descent & bee entailed, to the legall lineall posterities of my third daughter Francina, orriginally from her body lawfully begotten, & not otherwise, any law, Custom, or presidents, to the Contrary notwithstandinge, with charge to all & euery Inharitor & possessours of Bohemia Mannour as abouesaid, that by their Entric, they shall add to their Christen name, and Subscribe themselves, by their Ancestours Name AUGUSTINE, or forfite their jnharitance to the next heir in Taile. AND FURTHERMORE, I doe hereby in like Manner, give, bequeath and devise, unto my aforementioned

Sonn Casparus and to his lineall posterities, legally descent-
 not to bee Sold but leased as aboues^d
 ing from his Body, as a apeculiar jnhritance, my Bohemia
 river Middelneck, called little Bohemia, anext to the gra-
 tuity for geographing the Publicq Mapp aboues^d as it is Con-
 firmed to mee, By the Right Honourable CHARLES, the
 Second absolut Lord & Proprietarie of this Province, by
 Pattent, jntrat^r in recordo lib^r C B. N^o 3. fol. 40. TO HAVE
 & TO HOLD the Same, with all appurtenances, appen-
 dancies & perquisits Whatsoever, enduering his Naturall
 life, and afterward, To bee Holden, Successively, by his
 Male Heires, females happening between, to return after-
 wards to the right Male heire againe, But by Extinct of
 either of them, to descent and be Entailed, to the Lawfull
 heires and Posterities of my three daughters, Anna Marga-
 ritta, Judith & Francina aboue named, passing from one
 line to the other, as is expressed and Specified here before
 with Bohemia Mannour. ITEM, I doe hereby further and
 Moreouer give bequeath & devise Unto my Said three
 daughters, Anna Margarita, Judith and Francina, and to
 their legall heires & Posterities from their Bodies Lawfully
 begotten, Three Tracts of land, lying on the North Side of
 Bohemia Back river, Confirmed to mee by the Right Hon-
 ourable Lord & Proprietary Charles afores^d, in one Pattent,
 named the three Bohemian Sisters, formerly Called Mis-
 fortun, by Speciall resurvay, Containinge the quantity of
 foure thousand & One hundred acres, as further appeared
 by his Said Lordships graund, intrat^r in recordo lib^r C B.
 N^o fol.

TO HAVE & TO HOLD THE SAME, as their Proper
 Owne & Peculiar jnharitances, by the following Partition
 to

Namently, Anna Margaritta & hur Posterity aforesaid,
 I haue delivered in possession, the first Neck or tract of
 land, within the west bounds of the said three Bohemian
 Sisters pattent, viz. from alonge the maine Backriver, be-
 tweene Margets & Judiths Creeks, all the land up to Elck-
 river Road, wich coms from Sassafrax & Bohemia, AND,

to my second daughter Judith, I have deliuered reall possession of the next adjacent tract of land, Eastward, viz, from the afores^d Judiths Creck alonge backriver To a little gutt hard by the kart road wich goes from thence ouer to S^t Georges uppon Delowar, and so equally all the Land wich is Contained between the said Naturall bounds and Elkriver Road aforesaid, and, To my third daughter FRANCINA, I doe herewith appoint for hur jnharitance, the uppermost Neck of land, on the East (viz.) from the Said S^t Georges kartroad alonge up backriver runn, to Elkriver road afores^d, and thus alonge the said Elkriver road Northerly Vntill it meets with the said kartroad againe, the whole three tracts of the said three Bohemian Sisters pattent, beeing thus Naturally bounded by Bohemia Backriver alias Backcreck on the South, by Margets Creck on the West, by Elkriver road, w^{ch} coms now from Sassafrax and Bohemia on the North & East. the anuall quittrent to bee paid proportionably to the quantity of acres, every tract of land as aforesaid Containinge. My Will being further, that by ex-
that

inct of Issue of the One of my said three Daughters, that jnharitance Shall bee entailed to the other two, and laest bee
all

for Ever entailed, to the longest liver of them all, to gether with Bohemia Mannour, And also litle Bohemia as aboue-said. BUT, and if it should be the will of God, That all my aforesaid posteriall lines in time to com, Shall Cease, and bee taken Out of the world, and no other near relations appeare,
at Interim

THEN, I doe here with crave leave to Depose and Comitt
& protection
the abouesaid three distinct Estates, into the Custody of the
Most Honourable Generall Assembly of this Province of
from time to time

Maryland, in the Upper & Lower house Sitting, for the Use & propagation & propriety of a ffire Donative Scoole & Colledge, with Divine protestant Ministry, hospitalls & reliefe of poore & distressed People & travellars, to bee by

the said Generall honourab^l Assembly, Erected and Established, upon the said Estates and the revenues thereof, vnder Such Trustees & Overseers, as their discretion from time to time shall thinck fitt to Ordaine & appoint, for to mannatch that Pious worck, jnto an actuall living performance by the perpetuall name of the Augustiny Bohemians, to Gods praise & Glory for Evermore; Humbly praying To the Right Honourab^l The Lord & Proprietary and Most Honour^{bl} Councill & delegates assembled in The Upper & Lower house, of this Province, That this will of Entaile-with its premisses & habendum

ment[^] may bee passed into an Act of Confirmation to Perpetuity. Finally, having beforehand distributed to my Childeren, most part of my Other Temporall Estate, giving shall

them what further[^] bee remaining vndisposed after my de- cease (my Just debts first beeing fully payd,) to bee equally Enjoyed, and thus leaving this Transitory world, Comitt my Soul to Jesus Christ my Redeemer, my Body to the Earth for a happy Restauration, proclaime, Confirm and Ratify, what is declared herebefore aboue written to bee my very laest will & Testament annulling all other Contrary to this, Written with my owne hand, Signed with my owne Name, and Sealed with my own Seale, Dated the 27th day of September Annoq Dom. One thousand Six hundred & Aighty & four, at my house upon Bohemia Mannour, in the Ninth year of the Dominion of CHARLES, the Second absolut Lord & Proprietary of the province of Maryland, The jnter- linings jnserted by my Self.

AUGUSTINE HERRMAN BOHEMIAN

(SEAL)

Ætatis. 63.

CHARLES THOMSON'S NEW TESTAMENT: A DESCRIPTION OF THREE MSS. IN THE LIBRARY OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

The librarian of the Historical Society has told me that, some time back in the seventies, an Irishman came up from a South Street junk-shop, saying that he had some manuscripts which he thought were written "by one of the men who put his name to the Paper." Some twenty or twenty-five dollars were given for a pile of old matter, among which were the three MSS. before us. On the authority of Mr. Frederick D. Stone, they are in the handwriting of Charles Thomson.

Before describing them, let us briefly glance at the dates of the author's life. Charles Thomson was an Ulsterman, born in 1729. He landed at Newcastle, Delaware, in 1741 (says Lanman), or, according to Appleton, in 1740, which we may well prefer it to be, for that year is a famous date in the history of New Testament scholarship: it was in 1740 that Muratori published his ancient Fragment at Milan. Charles Thomson was Secretary of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1789, when he retired, albeit to Washington's regret. At that time he had already begun his great translation, which was published in Philadelphia, by Jane Aitken, in 1808. The translator died in 1824, in his house still standing in its grove beside the old Gulf Road, beyond Bryn Mawr College. That quiet eighteenth-century residence must ever be a sacred spot to the lover of the English Bible.

No. I. The first of our MSS. is a leather folio Common-place-Book, chiefly devoted to notes for the author's transla-

tion. There are learned discussions as to the best rendering of certain Greek words and theological terms. It will be remembered by students of the Sacred Writings that Thomson's translation is notable not only for its sound erudition and scholarly care, but also for its singular freedom from traditional renderings. Wherever it was possible to translate a theological term with greater breadth and freshness, it was done, but only where an honest latitude was allowed by the original. Thus, the word "repentance," or, as the Douay version has it, "penance," is rendered by Thomson "reformation." John the Baptist cries, "Reform! for the reign of the heavens is at hand." (Matt. iii. 1.) And he exhorts the Pharisees to "produce . . . fruits worthy of this reformation."

Now, on the very first page of the *Commonplace-Book* we have a valuable remark upon a most important passage. The author says, under the heading of *Aiōn*, "A true knowledge of what I am inclined to think is the scriptural meaning of this, would have removed all difficulty from a text of Scripture which has given much trouble to many weak Christians—I mean Matt. xii. 31-33." He accordingly translates the well-known text in verse 32: "Neither under the present dispensation, (namely, the Mosaical,) nor under the coming (namely, the Christian)." Here, as in other cases, he anticipates the Revised Version, which has "age" instead of "world" as an alternative reading. On page 8 of this MS., Thomson defines an *Æon* as "an age, or the time of God's dealing with men in a particular way, *whether of a longer or shorter duration.*" (Italics mine.) He then enters into a further discussion of the word as connected with the Jewish dispensation and the periods of Jubilee.

The notes contain references to other English translations of various portions of Scripture, showing that Thomson made a point of gleaning from the experience of others, as all good scholars do.

The story of his being led to translate the Septuagint by picking up different volumes of it at auction sales is per-

haps called in question by the following fragment, on a detached leaf, also, says Mr. Stone, in Thomson's handwriting. Unfortunately, the sentence breaks off unfinished on an otherwise blank page; but it is pretty plain that the writer is saying that he was led to translate the Septuagint (1) because he found it quoted so often in the New Testament, and (2) because it was untranslated in our tongue. The fragment is this:

“As the quotations which the writers of the New Testament make from the Old, either to shew that the predictions of the prophets are fulfilled in J[esus] C[hrist] or to confirm and enforce the doctrines they delivered, or convey their own thoughts on different subjects, are chiefly taken from the Sept[uagint]; and as, upon inquiry, I could not find that there was any translation of this into English . . .”

It now becomes clear that Charles Thomson's inspiring motive to translate the Septuagint was the New Testament. I do not deny that he bought the Septuagint at sales, for he himself told Watson so; but the conclusion that the possession of the volumes was the cause of his translating them is a popular fiction, and is contradicted by Thomson's unfinished sentence. That the New Testament was his inspiring motive is moreover stated by Watson himself in these words (“Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,” Philadelphia, 1853, page 90): “Dr. Adam Clarke declares that no man can adequately understand the New Testament Scriptures who has not diligently read the Septuagint. It was a similar conception which made Mr. Thomson decline the proffered offices of President Washington, that he might give his days and nights to this his favourite study.” Moreover, we have three good reasons for concluding that the above unfinished sentence was neither more nor less than the beginning of a preface to the great translation: (1) because Watson (in the article already cited) tells us that he advised Thomson to write a preface (in which, by the way, he wanted him to embody the story of the auction sales); (2) because our extract is found in the very book which Thom-

son used for gathering matter for his work; and (3) because the fragment exhibits the motive for translation alleged by Watson and quoted above.

It will not be out of place here to quote the whole of Watson's testimony to these things (Collections, page 89):

“ Charles Thomson told me [that] while at [Thunder Hill] school, such was his ardor for knowledge, that having accidentally got hold of some loose leaves of the Spectator, by which he learnt its name and style, he so longed to possess the whole work, that he walked all night to Philadelphia on foot to buy it, and thence walked back in time to be no loser of his lessons in his class.

“ After he was initiated into Greek, and was yet a young man, he told me he actually walked to Amboy and back again, to visit a British officer there, a perfect stranger to him, who was said to have been a fine Greek scholar. He told me that, although he was then defective in that language, he was esteemed among the best scholars then in the city of Philadelphia, and for that reason was solicited by Dr. Franklin to become an assistant in the first Philadelphia Academy.

“ His first passion for Greek literature was induced, as he told me, by a seeming accident. Passing an auction store, he heard the crier proclaiming the sale of an ‘ unknown outlandish book ;’ he bid a trifle for it and got it. It proved to be a part of the Greek *Septuagint*. When he had mastered it enough to understand it, his anxiety was extreme to see the whole; but he could find no copy, until, strange to tell, in the interval of two years, passing the same store and looking in, he actually saw the remainder selling off, when he joyfully bought it at a few pence. I used to tell him the ‘ *Translation*,’ which he made from that copy (the first, I believe, in the English language), should have been furnished with the story as a proper subject for its *preface*. For this great work, on which he occupied himself so many years, is strangely enough without any introduction or advertisement to the reader. It wanted something of the kind, and a hint

to the common English reader that it was a book of great authority in biblical elucidation. His modesty kept him from giving any preface; and being offered for sale without any published commendations from others, it did not receive its meed of praise, nor its proper pecuniary reimbursement. Dr. Adam Clarke declares," etc. (as quoted above).

Before leaving the Commonplace-Book, we will mention that it contains a draft of a letter written to Abraham Shoemaker, Jr., and dated "Harriton, April 1st, 1812." Except for the handwriting and the general matter of the MS., this letter seems to be the only indication of the author's personality, as many leaves are torn out at the beginning, and the book has no title.

No. III. [*sic.*] The second MS. (which we number chronologically as III., but which it is more convenient to describe now) is a folio in paper boards with a leather back, and contains the whole New Testament in Charles Thomson's own handwriting, followed merely by a page of corrections and a few stray notes. This MS. seems to agree pretty closely with the printed edition, though it has a few notes not in this, together with some small differences in wording. It is full of corrections in the shape of erasures and pen-scorings, with newer translations inserted. As it does not agree word for word with the published edition, it is hardly likely to have been the copy used by the printer. The painstaking scholar evidently rewrote his translation several times; and this brings us to

No. II., our third MS., but chronologically second. This is perhaps the most interesting of the three, containing but few corrections and being a fine specimen of eighteenth-century calligraphy. It is a small quarto, bound in leather, and entitled on the back, in gilt, "Private Journal." But it is neither more nor less than another complete copy of the New Testament, with never a line of anything else except the inscription, "Not a correct copy," which stands with the title on one of the fly-leaves; and the mark of authorship is given as "by C. T.," whereas No. III. has the name in full. Now this MS., No. II., represents an earlier

translation than the printed one. Wherever there is a correction in No. III., the underlying reading agrees with No. II., at least as far as I have examined. No. II. is therefore nearer to the common translations, containing fewer of Thomson's peculiar renderings. Thus, in No. III. and the printed edition, the word usually translated "kingdom" is rendered "reign;" but in No. II. it is "kingdom." Here are two examples:

1. (Matt. vi 10.)

No. II. (Thomson's early MS.)	No. III. (Thomson as printed.)	Revised Version of 1881.
"Thy kingdom come."	"Thy reign come."	"Thy kingdom come."

2. (Rev. xii. 10.)

"Now is come the salvation and the power and the kingdom of our God, and the authority of his Christ."	"Now is come ¹ salvation and the power and ¹ reign of our God and the authority of Christ himself."	"Now is come the salvation, and the power, and the kingdom of our God, and the authority of his Christ." (<i>Margin:</i>) "Or, <i>Now is the salvation, and the power, and the kingdom, become our God's, and the authority is become his Christ's.</i> "
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It will be seen at once that No. II. is here in *verbatim* agreement with the Revised Version. In No. III., the word "kingdom" has been partially erased and "reign" written straight over it in thicker ink, while "his Christ" has been corrected, by a scoring and a caret, to "Christ himself." The presence of the definite article in No. III. where it is absent in the printed edition, is an example of that divergence in little words already pointed out.

We will give as a final specimen of these MSS. the well-known passage in 1 Tim. iii. 16:

¹ In the MS. a "the" stands in each of these places.

No. II. (Thomson's early MS.)

¹ "The pillar and firm support of the truth is (and confessedly great is the mystery of this religion): *God hath been manifested in flesh, justified by spirit, hath appeared to messengers, been proclaimed among nations, believed on in the world, taken up in glory.*"

No. III. (Thomson as printed.)

¹ "The pillar and firm support of the truth is (and unquestionably great is the mystery of this religion), *God hath been manifested in flesh, justified by spirit, hath appeared to messengers, been proclaimed among nations, believed on in the world, taken up in glory.*"

Revised Version of 1881.

"And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness; ² He who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory." ² (*Margin:*) "The word *God*, in place of *He who*, rests on no sufficient ancient evidence. Some ancient authorities read *which*."

Thomson's untheological tendency is exemplified here by the words "proclaimed," instead of *preached*, and "messengers," instead of *angels*. Let it not be supposed, however, that by untheological we mean irreligious. By his life he was known to be a devout man, but, as he said himself (according to John F. Watson), he belonged to no sect, though he had a leaning toward the Society of Friends. Indeed, the simple, untraditional translation of Charles Thomson, who was known even to the Indians as the man of truth, might well be regarded as the Quaker Testament. Anthony Purver, who, in 1764, endeavored to make a Quaker Bible, was no scholar, and signally failed, whereas Thomson's work was praised by the best English scholars from the first, and still continues to be so. Orme praises it in his "Bibliotheca Biblica" (Edinburgh, 1824), and Hartwell

¹ In the common translations, this opening phrase is included in the sentence which has preceded. The only difference here in the MSS. is in the word variously rendered "unquestionably" and "confessedly;" and, as usual, the reading of No. II. underlies that of No. III., which is corrected in conformity with the printed edition.

Horne, in his "Manual of Biblical Bibliography" (London, 1839), which was really volume v. of the eighth edition of his great Introduction.

As we have noticed that Thomson made use of the experience of others, it will not be out of place to mention the chief English translations of the New Testament which appeared between 1611 and 1808. There were many attempts made, such as Purver's, but the following deserve notice as more or less efficient,—viz. (according to Orme), those of Worsley ("dissenter"), 1770; Wakefield (Unitarian), 1792 (first edition); Archbishop Newcome, 1796; and Scarlett (Universalist), 1798. This last translates *αἰώνιος* as *æonian* (like Archdeacon Farrar) in Matthew xxv. 46, and elsewhere. Thomson was certainly influenced by his predecessors, probably by Gilbert Wakefield more than others.

In the Ridgway Library is preserved a copy of Thomson's Bible, presented by his nephew John Thomson in 1825. We find here, twice inscribed, in different hands, the date of the translator's death, August 16, 1824. But the peculiar interest of this copy is that it contains numerous corrections in Charles Thomson's own hand. Often a slip is inserted, with a passage rewritten upon it; sometimes whole leaves, while at the end of each volume are still more corrections. Isaiah ii. 2-9 is one of the passages rewritten. Moreover, throughout the Old Testament, the name *Jehovah* is substituted for "the Lord," wherever the Hebrew warrants it. In a note opposite Genesis i., the translator says, "The copy of the Septuagint from which I have made the following translation is I. Field's duodecimo, printed at Cambridge in MDCLXV."

Thomson's complete MSS., both of Septuagint and New Testament, together with some of his books, are in the possession of Allegheny College.

Thomas Chase, one of the American revisers of the New Testament, writing to me, says, "Thomson's excellent translation was several times referred to in the Revision Committee, and always with great respect." Mr. Chase cannot remember, however, anything precise about such

references, but admits that Thomson's translation would be regarded as confirmatory, and that even "any novel suggestion it made would be thought worth looking into."

Among other living scholars who appreciate Charles Thomson's work may be mentioned Rendel Harris, of the University of Cambridge, who would sometimes quote the translation in his class-room when professor at Haverford College.

It seems to me that a version of such sterling worth ought not to be left languishing on the shelves of old book-stores, to be bought as a bibliographical curiosity, as it now has too long been, but should be taken up by a good publisher and re-edited with care. Neither Roman nor Genevan, neither High Church nor Low, of no sect and of no prejudice, whether of unbelief or of over-belief, this American patriot of the Continental Congress, who lived to be ninety-four, and spent a glorious old age, in his home near Bryn Mawr, translating the records of our faith, ought to stand among us once more in the form of a newer and more accessible edition of his great work, "The Old and New Covenants."

WILLIAM HUDSON, MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA, 1725-1726.

BY THOMAS ALLEN GLENN.

There appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* of 11th January, 1742 (O.S.), the following obituary notice of a former mayor of Philadelphia:

“On the 16th of December last, departed this Life William Hudson, who was an early Settler in this Province (viz., about the year 1684), and In the 80th year of his Age, after a tedious Indisposition and weakness of Body, which he past with a humble Resignation, and patiently waiting the Pleasure of his Creator; and hath left behind him that desirable epithet A good Name. He was intrusted with a Commission of the Peace for the Space of near forty Years, the Administration whereof he acquitted himself as one worthy of so honourable a Post. He was charitable to the Poor, and contributed largely to the Relief of the Indigent and Needy, and espoused the cause of the oppressed Widow and the Fatherless, Sympathizing with the Afflicted, not forgetting those that were confined in Prison. He was a Tender Husband, a kind Father, a good Neighbour, and a Sincere Friend; and hath no doubt chang'd this transitory Life for a blessed Immortality, and translated into the Kingdom of Peace and Blessedness.”

William Hudson was born in 1661, in Yorkshire, England, being the eldest son, and, after the English custom, heir of William Hudson, by Mary, his first wife. The elder Hudson, who resided principally in York City, where he had established extensive tanneries, was a person of good education, possessing much mercantile ability and great determination, yet upright and gentle in his dealings, a man of honor, and loved by his family and friends. The Hudsons came of a good old stock, in which the blood of sturdy

yeoman mingled with that of county squire and London merchant. Mayor Hudson, in 1739, sealed his will with a ring bearing the device of a cross-crosslet, and for a crest the three feathers of the Prince of Wales. On an ancient silver tankard, brought by him from Yorkshire, the arms of the once famous family of Shipley, of the County of York, are quartered with another old shield. William Hudson, the elder, early joined the Society of Friends, and did not shrink from bearing his share of the persecutions inflicted upon that sect. On the 8th of 11th Month, 1673, he was committed to York Castle by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, after prosecution by the Ecclesiastical Court, for refusing to pay a small assessment towards repairing the "Steeple House" of his parish. He was nominally a prisoner for nine years, but was, it appears, on account of his high standing and influence, allowed occasional liberty upon paroles. During the latter part of his life he travelled over England as a minister among Friends, and not infrequently became involved in serious difficulties with the authorities on that account, on which occasions he defended himself before the courts, always with ability and usually with success. He was three times married.

His first wife, Mary, whose maiden name has not been definitely ascertained,¹ died 11th of 9th Month, 1681, and was buried 13th of same, in the Friends' ground at York. He married, secondly, 10th of 5th Month, 1684, at Selby, Susannah Morley, who died 14th of 5th Month, 1700, and, thirdly, at York, 8th of 5th Month, 1703, Jane Waite, who died 27th of 12th Month, 1704/5. Hudson had issue, by his first wife only, five children: William, the subject of this sketch; John, who died at York in 1687; Mary, who died there in 1674; Samuel, who died there in 1699, unmarried; Timothy, who came to Pennsylvania, but returned to Yorkshire, where he married and left children.

¹ There is still in existence in Burlington County, New Jersey, considerable plate, said to have been brought from Yorkshire, and marked "William Hudson and Mary Head." From this circumstance we may presume that her maiden name was Head.

William Hudson, Jr., was just twenty-one when the fame of Penn's Plantations began to be spoken about in England, and he was quick to see the advantages that the new province possessed for young and enterprising men. He had inherited property from his mother, and his father was not unwilling to advance additional capital in a venture that was likely to pay a rich profit; so that in the year 1683, young Hudson, in company with James Marshall, of York, and others, set sail for Pennsylvania, bringing with them from "York Citty, in England," a certificate of removal, which, upon their arrival at Philadelphia, was duly recorded, but was, unfortunately, undated. It sets forth that "James Marshall and Rachell his wife are now determined, through God's assistance, to Transport themselves wth their family into y^e Province of Pensilvania in America, as also Will^m Hudson, y^e younger of y^e said Citty of w^{ch} they have aquainted many ffrriends — —; and further, touching the aforesaid W^m Hudson, he being in an unmarried state, we know nothing but that he is clear from all p'sons w^tsoever in relation to marriage. And if it shall please God y^t he shall find Inclination in himself to alter his state wth respect to marry in Amerrica, his ffather hath freely given him up to the exercise of Truth in his own Spirit wth the advice & satisfaction of the Church of God there, In relation thereunto. Your Brethren & Sisters in y^e Truth, of the p'ticular Monthly Meeting in York."

This document was signed by William Hudson (Sr.), Edward Geere, John Blaykling, Elizabeth Hammond, John Taylor, Elizabeth Middleton, Thomas Hammond, John Ford, and others.

We do not know the name of the good ship which bore these adventurers to Pennsylvania, nor the precise date of arrival, but it must have been prior to January, 1683 (O.S.). Hudson's first care after his arrival was to secure desirable lands. A tract of one hundred and eighty acres was surveyed to him, 10th Month 29th, 1683, in Newton Township, Chester (now Delaware) County, the plantation lying near the Radnor line. Darby Creek flows through it. Other properties,

consisting both of town and country lots, were speedily acquired by him, the conveyances being so frequent as to render even a partial list impossible here. Whilst purchasing lands he was also active in establishing tanneries, principally in Philadelphia, the preference being given to the low and swampy ground along Dock Creek. He was eminently successful from the start, and for nearly half a century was one of the largest manufacturers, shipping-merchants, and ship-owners in Pennsylvania.

That there was among the colonists considerable jealousy respecting this wealthy and pushing young Yorkshireman is evident, for soon after his arrival he was accused of having spoken disrespectfully of a certain proclamation of the Governor regarding the maintenance of the peace, and was reported to the Council, but after an investigation it was declared that no direct evidence against him could be found, and that "he did deny the words."

On the 28th of 12th Month, 1688, William Hudson took advantage of his father's permission, very necessary it seems among Friends in those days, and married Mary, daughter of Samuel Richardson, Provincial Councillor, and a justice, one of the most prominent of the settlers.

This marriage, which was quite a social event among the colonists, and at which the Governor and Council were present, of course secured for Hudson the very considerable influence of his father-in-law, Richardson, and became instrumental in launching him upon a political career ultimately terminating in the office of chief magistrate of his adopted city.

He first became a member of the Common Council, and is mentioned as such in the charter of 1701. In 1706 he was returned from Philadelphia for the Provincial Assembly, as a member of which body he served with distinction, his name frequently appearing on some committee charged with an important mission. On the 4th of October, 1715, he became an alderman and associate justice of the City Court. He was chosen mayor of Philadelphia in 1725, and subsequently became a justice of the Orphans' Court. Un-

fortunately, the scant and unsatisfactory records of this period of colonial history furnish us with but little of interest concerning the management of city affairs by him, whilst enjoying the mayoralty, other than that his administration was honorable and efficient, distinguished by that straightforward and downright policy which marked his successful life. With Hudson's retirement from public service, the Quaker influence in colonial politics, which from Penn's time had confined the holding of important offices to members of a few favored families, who may perhaps be styled the aristocracy of the Province, ceased. Although not the last Quaker mayor, Hudson was one of the last of his school.

Among the first in Philadelphia to commence the arduous task of prison reform, William Hudson was indefatigable in his efforts in this direction, being in the habit of making almost daily visits to the prison, endeavoring to lessen the sufferings of the wretched inmates, and create in them an ambition towards a future useful life. He delighted in hospital work and in visiting the sick poor. In his private charities, which were countless, he was strictly impartial, and all races and persons of every religious belief were beneficiaries. Hudson was too busy a man to be studious, yet he was fond of reading, and was careful that his children should possess the advantages of as excellent an education as the facilities of Philadelphia afforded. In his dress he was rather inclined to be as fashionable as a consistent Quaker could well be. He was usually clad in a black velvet suit with large silver buttons, and silver shoe-buckles, and carried a long gilt-headed cane, with a leather loop and tassel. He appeared in public, except when he went to meeting on First Days, in a fine coach, which was valued after his death—although then ancient—at £14, being a rare luxury at that time. Notwithstanding this tendency towards worldly pleasures, he was an exemplary Friend, and none stood higher in the esteem of the Society. He was a stout and successful defender of the right of Quakers to remain uncovered in the courts of justice, and while on

the bench kept his own fashionable beaver firmly upon his head. He was accounted an able preacher, and his labors as a minister were marked with success.

It was, probably, directly after his first marriage that he erected the mansion in which he passed the remainder of his days. This stood on a large lot of ground forming the southeast corner of Third and Chestnut Streets. It was built of red and black-glazed brick, and was three stories high, having a sloping roof. A brick "portico" extended from the front entrance, perhaps corresponding to the modern *porte couchée*. The house was surrounded by a paved courtyard, shut in from the street by a high wall, there being a coach-way on Third Street, and another entrance-gate on Chestnut Street. The place was shaded by several old trees, and a charming view of the Delaware could be obtained from the garden sloping away on the southeast towards Dock Creek. The stables and servants' quarters were built in the rear of the courtyard. This typical colonial dwelling contained on the first floor the hall-room, "dining-room, Great Kitchen, and Outer Kitchen." On the second floor the "great chamber" and two other large rooms, besides smaller ones. The third floor is described simply as "the Garrett," and probably consisted of but one apartment.

The furniture was in keeping with the best style of the times; black walnut was the principal wood used, with an occasional oak or mahogany piece. There were two tall clocks, one in the hall-room and the other in the dining-room. One of these old timepieces, said to have been purchased by Hudson's father at a sale in London, where the auctioneer told him that it had once been the property of Oliver Cromwell, is now in the Philadelphia Library. At one period of his career Hudson was a considerable slaveholder, but at the time of his death he possessed but two; one of these, Daphnie by name, afterwards became the property of his widow. He was, however, a kind master, and although kept in bondage at a time when such an action was not only not looked upon with horror, but prac-

tised by the most humane, his slaves were treated with such uniform mildness and justness that their slavery was but in name. Mary, the first wife of Hudson, died on the 17th of the 12th Month, 1708 (O.S.), and he married secondly, 12th Month 27th, 1709 (O.S.), Hannah, widow of Robert Barber, of Chester, and sister of David Ogden, deceased, of Middletown, Chester (now Delaware) County, father of the John Ogden who afterwards married Hudson's granddaughter, Hannah Owen. His second wife survived him, and died in 1759, at the great age of ninety-nine years. Her will was proved on the 12th of September of that year.

A termination to William Hudson's good works and useful life came, after a long illness, on the 12th of December, 1742 (O.S.), and a few days after he was buried in the Friends' ground at the corner of Fourth and Arch Streets, where, undisturbed by the noise and bustle of the great city that has sprung up around the spot, he rests in an unmarked and an unknown grave. His will, a very voluminous document, much decayed by time, remains in the vaults of the Register's office. The body of the will is dated 1739, but there are numerous codicils bearing various dates. The last codicil, made just prior to his death, bears a different seal from the body of the will,—viz., a lion rampant,—which device probably belonged to some one present, Hudson himself being almost too weak to write his name.

There is much of interest in this old paper concerning the title to various Philadelphia properties. He gives particular directions about a lot of ground which he owned, comprising the square bounded by Mulberry and High Streets (now Arch and Market) and Fifth and Sixth Streets, and which he desires to be called "Hudson's Square." He directs that it be intersected by two streets, perhaps the present Commerce and North Streets, and divides the lots among his grandchildren. His lands and tenements in the townships of Fogerby and Reedness, in Yorkshire, England, he leaves, eventually, to his daughter Rachel, wife of Samuel Emlen.

William Hudson had fourteen children, all by his first wife: Samuel, Mary (married Joseph Cooper), Elizabeth,

Sarah, William, John (died an infant), Susannah (married, first, Robert Owen, secondly, John Burr), Eleanor, John, Hannah (married Jacob Medcalf), Rebecca, Timothy (died an infant), Rachel (married Samuel Emlen), and Timothy (who died young). There are at present no descendants bearing the name of Hudson, the last having died about the beginning of the present century, but the descendants in the female line are numerous. They comprise, among others, the families of Lewis, Savery, Wharton, Ogden, Glenn, Howell, Burr, Jones, Stockton, and Niles.

THE FIRST MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

Although the charter of Philadelphia of 1691, discovered by Mr. Allinson and Mr. Penrose, is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and although Colonel J. Granville Leach has written an interesting biography of Humphrey Morrey as the first mayor of the city, there has been a reluctance to disturb the long-accepted historical statement that the city government began with Edward Shippen as first mayor in 1701. It has been thought that an account so well verified and so often reiterated could not be inaccurate, and the suggestion has been made that, while beyond question the charter was granted, it probably never went into effect. The following contemporary testimony is therefore of the utmost historical importance, since it sets the question at rest, and proves conclusively that the city government was in existence in 1692, and that Morrey not only was mayor by force of the charter, but acted as such in fact.

Daniel Leeds, in his "News of a Trumpet sounding in the Wilderness," printed by William Bradford in 1697, says, p. 84,—

"Witness their imprisoning John McCombe when his wife was but two days delivered of a child, and in danger of Death by a Flux, and another of his Family Sick also, that dyed a short time after, and yet he could not prevail so much as to go home to take leave of his wife, or set his House in order, tho' earnestly desired by him, promising to appear at any time they should require him; No, that favour could not be granted, but to Prison he must go, ALTHO' HUMPHREY MORREY, THE MAYOR AND CHIEF MAGISTRATE OF THE PLACE, offered to be bayl for him. At which Sam. Jennings raged, and bitterly reflected upon him, FOR THAT HE

KNEW HIS PLACE NO BETTER. And what was all this for? Surely some heinous Crime one would think; why 'twas nor more nor less than for letting a person have two of the printed Appeals to the Yearly Meeting (put forth by G. K., &c.) for 2*d.* piece, as they cost him."

The appeal of George Keith was printed by Bradford in 1692, and published, causing much commotion.

The fact that the existence of this city government was so utterly forgotten and remained so long unknown can only be accounted for upon the theory that it was of very brief duration. It doubtless terminated when, a few months later, Penn was deprived of his province and Benjamin Fletcher was appointed governor.

A BURLINGTON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY, ASSESSMENT LIST, 1684.

BY JOHN J. THOMPSON.

Att a meeting of those Proprietors & free holders in y^e first Tente y^e 24th of y^e 4th moneth 1684 by virtue of a warrant to them directed, for y^e Chuseing therein Assessor^s and Receivers for y^e Assessm^t or rates enacted by y^e Gen^l Assembly; And also for y^e giveing in each psons quantity of Laud in y^e sd. Tente, both of undivided Shares, & Certain Tracts.

ASSESSERS CHOSEN

ffrom y ^e falls to Crosswicks Creek.	ffrom Crosswicks Creek, vizt : Chesterfield & Mansfield & places adjacent
William Emley	John Hooton,
Josh. Wright	francis Davenport.
ffrom Mansfield Cr to Assinpenck Cr and pts adjacent	
	Daniel Leeds
	Pemfall Torren.
	Robert Stayce,
	Tho. Revell,
	Recorders.

The Names of y^e Propriet^{rs} & ffreeholders & y^e number of Acres they possesse :

undivided.	certain.			
270		Robert Stacy	. . .	270 Acres
	150	Tho : Revell	. . .	150 Acres
		Seth Smith		
		The 3 brothers Wheelwrights		
	200	Tho : Bowman	. . .	200 Acres
		Tho : Budd	. . .	200 Acres
		Richard Guy		

A Burlington County, New Jersey, Assessment List, 1684. 347

undivided.	certain.		
	100	Nathaniel West . . .	100 Acres
325		Tho: Singleton . . .	325 Acres
	50	Tho. Terry . . .	50 Acres
200		Francis Boswick . . .	200 Acres
	200	Daniel Leeds . . .	200 Acres
	50	Robert Young . . .	50 Acres
	200	Mordecay Bowden	
445		John Gosling & p'tners	
100		John Cripps . . .	100 Acres
	150	Joseph Blowers . . .	150 Acres
500		Tho: Wright . . .	500 Acres
	50	Edmund Stuart . . .	50 Acres
91		John Long . . .	91 Acres
100		Sam ^l Oldale . . .	100 Acres
150	300	Elias Farr . . .	450 Acres
	200	Roger Parke . . .	200 Acres
350		Thomas Fouke . . .	350 Acres
	100	John daye . . .	100 Acres
200		Eleazer fenton . . .	200 Acres
300	100	John Shinn . . .	400 Acres
500		Tho: Budd . . .	500 Acres
	100	Tho: Curtice . . .	100 Acres
650		John Butcher . . .	650 Acres
1000		Samuel Barker . . .	1000 Acres
300		John Curtice . . .	300 Acres
	100	John Browne . . .	100 Acres
400		Michael Newbold . . .	400 Acres
500		Percifall Towle . . .	500 Acres
		John Antrem . . .	150 Acres
400	100	John Woolston . . .	500 Acres
300	100	Godfrey Hancock . . .	400 Acres
	550	Henry Stacy . . .	550 Acres
500		William Biddle . . .	500 Acres
	500	John Underhill . . .	500 Acres
	500	Sam ^l Andrews . . .	500 Acres
200		Sam ^l Borden . . .	200 Acres
100		Willm Beard . . .	100 Acres

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undivided.	certain.		
200		John Snoden . . .	200 Acres
380		John Hooton . . .	380 Acres
	100	Henry Stacy . . .	100 Acres
	200	John Horner . . .	200 Acres
	120	Willm. Barnes . . .	120 Acres
350		Daniell Bacon . . .	350 Acres
200		George Goforth . . .	200 Acres
	50	Marmaduk Hawsman . . .	50 Acres
160		Francis Davenport . . .	160 Acres
285		Samuell Wright . . .	285 Acres
500		Thomas Wright . . .	500 Acres
350		Joseph Stones . . .	350 Acres
400		Thomas Lambert . . .	400 Acres
	50	Thomas Tindall . . .	50 Acres
220		George Hutcheson . . .	220 Acres
140		Jn ^o Pattison . . .	140 Acres
160		Will ^m Lapwell . . .	160 Acres
300	100	Robt and John Murfie . . .	400 Acres
100		Robert Pearson . . .	100 Acres
40		Tho : Sharman . . .	40 Acres
200		Robt and Tho : Scholey . . .	200 Acres
100		John Rogers . . .	100 Acres
60	100	James Pharoe . . .	160 Acres
200		George Hutcheson . . .	200 Acres
100	100	John fullwood . . .	200 Acres
	200	Andrew Smith . . .	200 Acres
	100	Peter ffretwell . . .	100 Acres
	100	Hugh Stainland . . .	100 Acres
700		Mahlon Stacy . . .	700 Acres
300		John Lambert . . .	300 Acres
400		Joshua Wright . . .	400 Acres
400		Tho : Lambert . . .	400 Acres
400		William Emley . . .	400 Acres
75	100	Thomas Bastin . . .	175 Acres
130		Antno : Woodhouse . . .	130 Acres
200		William Black . . .	200 Acres
246		Tho : ffarnsworth . . .	246 Acres

A Burlington County, New Jersey, Assessment List, 1684. 349

undivided. certain.

50	Peter Harrison . . .	50 Acres
	Bryan Morehouse } later Surveyed }	
200	Jn ^o . Theakes } later Surveyed }	200 Acres
200	Mathew Watson . . .	200 Acres
300	Thomas Wood . . .	300 Acres
100	John Wood . . .	100 Acres
260	Rob ^t Wilson . . .	260 Acres
100	William Hickson } on Jenkins land }	100 Acres

CLAIMS OF AMERICAN LOYALISTS.

[The following "Statement of the Claims examined by the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the losses and services of the American Loyalists up to the present time, pursuant to an order of the House of Commons of June 10th, 1789," was prepared by John Forster, their Secretary, and is dated June 12, 1789.]

I. OF CLAIMS MADE BY AND LOSSES LIQUIDATED OF AMERICAN LOYALISTS.

The number of claims for losses of Property, examined by the Commissioners in England, was 939, amounting to £5,893,710.15, of which £1,977,397.3, was allowed; and claims examined in Nova Scotia and Canada was 1272, amounting to £975,310.13; allowed £336,753.2.6.

Claims under the Act of 1788 were the following: Claim of John Penn, Jr., and John Penn, Senr. Esqs., was for £944,817.8.6; allowed £500,000. Claim of Robert, Lord Fairfax, and the Trustees under the will of Catherine, Lady Fairfax, £98,000; allowed £60,000. Claim of the Creditors of the Ceded Lands in Georgia, £45,885.17.5,—full amount allowed. Claims of the other persons specially named in the Act, £77,246; allowed £29,977.

Claims disallowed and withdrawn: For want of proof of loyalty, £22,293.14.2. For want of satisfactory proof of loss, £732,298.0.3. Fraudulent, £106,131.15.0. Withdrawn, £157,615.9.2. Claims presented but not prosecuted, £1,030,521.19.3.

The Total amount of Claims for loss of Property was £10,078,831.11.9, and the amount allowed was £2,950,013.2.11.

II. OF THE SUMS WHICH HAVE BEEN ALREADY GRANTED AND OF WHAT REMAINS FOR CONSIDERATION OF PARLIAMENT.

Amount of sums already granted by Parliament for loss of Property: Compensation by Acts of 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, £1,917,238.3.0. Deductions made (pursuant to

the Directions of the Act of 1788) from the losses allowed the American Loyalists, £174,990.6.0. Deductions made for ditto on account of Allowances for Temporary Support, which continued to be paid to several of the claimants from 5th July, 1788 (from which day their compensations bore interest), until 5 January, 1789, £4,787.19.6. Total amount, £2,097,016.8.6.

For loss of Income: Pensions paid to 211 persons on account of losses of income, pursuant to the Address of the House of Commons of 9th June, 1788, per annum, £27,582. N.B.—This is exclusive of annual allowances for temporary support granted to 557 persons, being chiefly widows, orphans, and merchants, per annum, £26,526.

Amount of what remains for consideration of Parliament, for loss of property.

Claims which have not participated in the Grant of 1788, in Classes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, £138,972.11.0. Claims of the Earl of Coventry and Lord Viscount Weymouth, Trustees under the will of John, Earl of Granville, deceased, £60,000. Claims of John Penn, Jr., and John Penn, Sen^r, £500,000. Claim of Robert, Lord Fairfax and the Trustees under the will of Catherine, Lady Fairfax, £60,000. Claims of subjects or settled inhabitants of the United States, many of which are cases of great merit or peculiar hardship, £34,868.6.0. Claims of persons who appear to have relief provided for them by the treaty of peace, but state the utter impossibility of procuring it, £13,270.0.0. Claims of creditors on the ceded lands in Georgia, £45,885.17.5. Total, £852,996.14.5.

JAMES R. REID, MEMBER OF THE CONTINENTAL
CONGRESS, 1787-1788.

BY WILLIAM H. EGLE, M.D.

James R. Reid, son of James Reid, a native of the north of Ireland, was born in Chanceford Township, York County, Province of Pennsylvania, in the year 1747. He received a classical education in the school of Dr. Alison, and was intended for the law. Like many of his school-mates, when the French and Indian war broke out he entered the military service, and was with Forbes's expedition against Fort Duquesne as an ensign. It is doubtful if he returned to the study of the law, as he possessed an ample fortune. At the outset of the Revolutionary struggle he became an active partisan, was commissioned, January 6, 1776, first lieutenant of Captain Thomas Church's company, Colonel Anthony Wayne's (Fourth Pennsylvania) battalion; promoted captain November 3, 1776; promoted major of Hazen's ("Congress's Own") regiment September 1, 1777, and the history of that contingent is that of this gallant officer. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati. On the 13th of November, 1787, the Assembly of Pennsylvania elected him a member of the Continental Congress. He took his seat on the 19th of December following, serving until the expiration of that body under the Federal Constitution. Major Reid died at Carlisle, to which place he removed, on the 4th of April, 1790. By his will, proved April 30, that year, he left a large estate to his wife Frances, brothers John, Thomas Samuel, William, and Benjamin, and to his sisters, Mrs. Stephens and Mrs. McKarson. To his nephew, James Stephens, he left one thousand acres of land in Kentucky; to William Irvine, son of General William Irvine, the land in Virginia assigned by General Henry Lee; to Callendar Duncan, son of Thomas

Duncan, the land granted by the State of Pennsylvania. To Thomas Shippen, son of Dr. William Shippen, he bequeathed his "eagle, in hopes that the Society of Council [Cincinnati] will admit as member a man who abroad has done so much to honor his country." His library went to Thomas Duncan. Although Major Reid wrote his name with a middle letter,—“R,”—this was assumed by him to be distinguished from other James Reeds, Reads, and Reids, of whom there were a large number. His mother, however, was a Ramsey. He left no children.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.
BAPTISMS, 1709-1760.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 234.)

- 1728 Dec. 11 Connell William s. James and Elizabeth 3 weeks
 1715 Mch. 21 Conner Charles s. Cornelius and Abigail 1 year 7 months
 1715 Mch. 21 Daniel s. Cornelius and Abigail 4 months
 1720 Oct. 30 Daniel s. Daniel and Mary Sept. 7
 1726 Feb. 2 Michael s. Michael and Elizabeth June 29 1724
 1730 Feb. 22 Nicolas s. John and Mary 5 weeks 5 days
 1746 Aug. 30 Mary d. John and Mary March 1 1745
 1749 July 16 Isaac s. James and Anne April 10 1748
 1752 July 19 Mary d. Michael and Mary June 30 1752
 1732 June 1 Conningham Elizabeth Philadelphia d. Daniel and Elizabeth 1 day
 1735 July 10 Connoly William s. William and Deborah 2 weeks
 1729 Nov. 9 Conrey Margaret d. Daniel and Gainor 1 month 4 days
 1747 July 18 Conyers Joseph s. Joseph and Mary March 2 1747
 1749 Jan. 24 William s. Joseph and Mary Dec. 29 1748
 1754 July 15 Conyngham Katherine d. Redmond and Martha May 20 1754
 1717 Feb. 2 Cook Joseph s. Bently and Rebecca 2 weeks
 1721 Jan. 4 James s. Bently and Rebecca Sept. 30 1720
 1722 Aug. 6 Francis s. Richard and Mary —
 1726 Dec. 26 Rowland s. Bently and Rebecca 8 months
 1726 Feb. 20 Francis s. Richard and Mary 7 days
 1730 Nov. 13 Ann d. Richard and Mary 1 day
 1736 Mch. 23 Alice d. William and Margaret 17 days
 1739 April 28 Henry s. John and Martha 1 year 2 months
 1744 Oct. 14 Alice d. William and Margaret 9 years
 1744 Dec. 31 John Anthony s. Martha Cook widow 15 days
 1747 Aug. 27 Mary d. Nathan and Mary July 29 1747
 1748 Jan. 14 Mary d. Zebulon and Parthenia Dec. 17 1745
 1733 Jan. 28 Mary Magdalen d. Mark and Mary Catherine 11 days
 1735 July 13 Mark s. Mark and Mary 3 weeks
 1731 Aug. 6 Coole Samuel s. Mark and Mary 15 days
 1740 Sept. 7 Benjamin s. Marcus and Mary 3 weeks
 1749 July 7 Cooley John s. George and Priscilla June 12 1749
 1751 Nov. 21 Coomb Sarah d. Thomas and Sarah Oct. 24 1751

- 1744 Aug. 9 Coombe Henry s. Thomas and Sarah 24 days
1755 July 9 Mary d. Thomas and Sarah June 16 1755
1759 Jan. 30 Hannah d. Thomas and Sarah Jan. 22 1759
1722 Feb. 8 Coombs Thomas s. Henry and Ann —
1714 Oct. 29 Cooper Elizabeth wife John Cooper 20 years
1722 July 9 Jane d. Joseph and Lydia Jan. 14 1720
1736 Dec. 26 Charles s. Robert and Mary 2 years 9 months
1747 July 3 Jonathan adult
1732 April 26 Coppety Mary d. Patrick and Mary 2 months
1752 Dec. 30 Coran Mary d. Isaac and Ruth Oct. 29 1752
1736 Dec. 27 Cordon Clement s. Edward and Mary 2½ years
1736 Dec. 27 David s. Edward and Mary 4 months
1732 Jan. 26 Coren Isaac s. Isaac and Mary 5 months
1754 Oct. 6 Elizabeth d. Isaac and Ruth Sept. 19 1754
1754 Oct. 6 Joseph s. Jeremiah and Jane Sept. 10 1754
1717 June 4 Cormorant Daniel s. Daniel and Rebecca 2 years 4 months
1717 June 4 Abraham s. Daniel and Rebecca 1 year
1757 Dec. 18 Cornish William s. Robert and Catherine Nov. 18 1757
1760 Jan. 6 Elizabeth d. Robert and Catherine Oct. 19 1759
1759 Oct. 14 Corse Isaac s. Isaac and Elizabeth July 30 1759
1728 May 12 Cosins Anne d. George and Elizabeth 1 month
1741 Aug. 19 Cotes Daniel 27 years 11 months 3 weeks 4 days
1741 Nov. 14 Eliza d. John and Sarah 6 months 2 weeks 2 days
1758 July 4 Couch Margaret d. Daniel and Phoebe May 12 1757
1756 Sept. 27 Couche Samuel s. Daniel and Phoebe Nov. 2 1751
1756 Sept. 27 William s. Daniel and Phoebe Jan. 9 1755
1756 Sept. 27 Rebecca d. Daniel and Phoebe June 10 1753
1717 Feb. 3 Couth Samuel s. William and Margaret 4 months
1744 May 20 Cowles Christopher s. John and Jane 17 months
1725 Nov. 5 Cox John s. Christopher and Rebecca
1728 Mch. 23 Samuel s. Christopher and Rebecca 3 months
1729 Feb. 14 Sarah d. William and Anne 5 weeks
1734 Aug. 6 Susannah d. William and Anne 1 year
1737 Sept. 11 William s. William and Anne 12 days
1739 April 17 John s. James and Bridget 2 years 2 months
1746 Mch. 30 Elizabeth d. John and Jane Jan. 31 1745
1753 Nov. 29 John s. William and Mary Sept. 29 1752
1756 April 22 Coxe Tench s. William and Mary May 22 1755
1757 April 20 Elizabeth d. William and Mary Dec. 9 1756
1758 June 8 Ann d. William and Mary Jan. 9 1758
1759 April 6 Rebecca d. William and Rebecca Feb. 3 1759
1760 Feb. 25 Rebecca d. William and Mary Feb. 3 1760
1739 Jan. 13 Coyle Martha d. Michael and Elizabeth 19 years
1748 Aug. 24 Crane Robert s. Robert and Mary Feb. 25 1748
1755 Aug. 18 Richard s. Richard and Mary Aug. 11 1752

- 1755 Aug. 18 Joseph s. Richard and Mary Aug. 22 1754
 1749 Dec. 3 Cranfield Anne d. Michael and Sarah Nov. 7 1749
 1732 Oct. 20 Crapp Mary d. John and Mary 12 days
 1727 Feb. 16 Craths John s. John and Mary 3 years
 1742 April 15 Craven Apolene d. Thomas and Sarah 5 weeks
 1733 Oct. 12 Crawford Rebecca d. Peter and Elizabeth 2 weeks
 1736 Jan. 25 Anne d. Peter and Elizabeth 2 months
 1737 Nov. 13 Thomas s. Peter and Elizabeth 5 days
 1754 Feb. 1 Crawley Anne d. John and Anne Jan. 23 1754
 1759 Dec. 15 Creadock Thales s. Thales and Martha Chalkly Nov. 2
 1759
 1744 April 4 Crean Eloner d. Richard and Mary 6 weeks 4 days
 1738 Aug. 3 Cribb John s. Arthur and Mary 14 months
 1739 April 7 James s. Arthur and Mary 5 weeks
 1759 Jan. 27 Crompton Jane d. Adam and Frances Jan. 20 1759
 1729 June 27 Crisp Mary d. John 6 days
 1744 June 3 Critterton Christian s. Thomas and Mary 21 days
 1738 Jan. 16 Crocker Benjamin s. John and Frances 2 weeks
 1730 Dec. 26 Croker Ann d. John and Frances 10 months
 1732 April 16 Deborah d. John and Frances 6 months
 1747 April 3 Crookshanks Lethrop d. Mary widow George Sept. 16 1745
 1751 May 26 Crosby Mary d. John and Elizabeth May 23 1751
 1734 June 13 Crosgrave Anne d. John and Elizabeth 8 days
 1739 Sept. 9 Cross George s. Adam and Mary 2 weeks
 1730 Sept. 6 Crosswhite Thomas s. William and Ann 6 mo.
 1731 Nov. 11 Sarah d. William and Ann 10 days
 1710 Jan. 1 Croswit Jane d. John and Sarah 1 year 11 months
 1710 Jan. 1 Thomas s. John and Sarah 1 year 11 months
 1711 Aug. 27 Ann d. John and Sarah 8 days
 1727 Aug. 16 John s. William and Ann 8 days
 1743 Dec. 3 Croucher Catherine d. Alexander and Ann 3 months
 1749 Mch. 12 Ann d. John and Ann Jan. 4 1749
 1760 Jan. 11 Croyston Henrietta d. Edmund and Ann Nov. 4 1759
 1722 May 18 Cummings John s. John and Elizabeth —
 1751 April 23 Cunningham David Haifield s. Redmond and Martha
 March 21 1750
 1756 Oct. 20 Isabella Strenton d. Redmond and Martha Aug. 1 1756
 1759 Mch. 15 Martha Ann d. Redmond and Martha March 2 1759
 1747 May 3 Cupper Mary d. John and Elizabeth March 12 1747
 1742 July 25 Currant s. Isaac and Sarah 14 years
 1740 Jan. 22 Curry Elizabeth d. Revd. William and Mary 5 weeks
 1747 Aug. 20 Custis Catherine d. George and Sarah Aug. 1 1747
 1750 Nov. 29 John s. George and Sarah Nov. 30 1750 (*sic*)
 1746 July 16 Cuthbert John s. Thomas and Anne June 18 1746
 1748 Mch. 16 Allen s. Thomas and Anne Dec. 17 1747

- 1750 Jan. 1 Elizabeth d. Thomas and Elizabeth Nov. 23 1749
1751 April 17 Anthony s. Thomas and Anne March 4 1750
1752 Nov. 22 Anne d. John and Ann Sept. 22 1752
1754 April 20 Catherine d. Thomas and Anne Feb. 5 1754
1757 Mch. 1 Peter s. Thomas and Ann Jan. 10 1757
- 1741 July 19 Dable John Andreus s. Henry and Margaret 8 days
1748 Aug. 16 Daiken Sarah d. Gilbert and Sarah Oct. 17 1747
1739 April 26 Daile James s. Edward and Catherine 1 year
1740 Dec. 27 Daily Edward s. Edward and Caterine 5 weeks
1759 Mch. 4 Dakeyn Ann d. Gilbert and Sarah March 8 1758
1743 June 4 Dalby Joseph s. Daniel and Sarah 21 months 8 days
1748 May 30 Sarah d. Daniel and Sarah Feb. 24 1745
1748 May 30 Samuel s. Daniel and Sarah April 23 1747
1726 Feb. 8 Dannis Rebecca d. John and Rachel —
1745 April 22 Danwick Sarah d. William and Martha April 5
1740 July 2 Dark John s. John and Mary 4 months 3 weeks
1757 June 12 Darte William s. John and Mary May 3 1757
1740 June 8 Darvell Anne d. William and Anne 3 months
1748 Jan. 8 Peter Lassel s. William and Anne Dec. 12 1747
1742 Aug. 6 Darvill William s. William and Ann 4 weeks 4 days
1760 April 24 Daves Dassey s. William and Rebecca Feb. 20 1760
1758 Sept. 18 Daukins John s. Henry and Priscilla Aug. 13 1758
1760 Sept. 1 Sarah d. Henry and Priscilla Aug. 30 1760
1760 Sept. 1 Ann d. Henry and Priscilla Aug. 30 1760
1739 Mch. 26 Daurson John s. John and Anne 3 months
1758 Dec. 24 Ann d. William and Mary July 15, 1756
1758 Dec. 24 Rebecca d. William and Mary Sept. 11 1758
1736 Oct. 4 David John s. Peter and Jane 9 days
1740 Jan. 17 Anne d. Peter and Jane 1 month
1736 Feb. 5 Davies Philip s. Thomas and Elizabeth 1 month
1736 Feb. 21 John s. John and Margaret 3 weeks
1736 Feb. 21 Mary d. John and Mary 2 years
1736 Aug. 7 John s. Reese and Ann 1 year
1736 Oct. 24 John s. William and Mary 5 weeks
1739 Oct. 22 Mary d. William and Mary 5 months 20 days
1712 Feb. 18 Davis Samuel 21 years
1715 Mch. 13 Eliza d. John and Jane 7 days
1715 Nov. 28 James s. Samuel and Sarah 6 weeks
1716 Nov. 6 James s. Samuel and Sarah 6 weeks
1717 June 4 William s. William and Sarah 8 months
1717 Oct. 19 William s. Samuel and Sarah 12 days
1722 Dec. 9 William s. William and Mary
1726 June 10 Mary d. John and Mary —
1727 Jan. 22 Thomas s. Thomas and Catherine 3 months

- 1727 July 7 Joseph s. John and Ann 6 weeks
 1728 Sept. 7 George s. William and Mary 3 weeks
 1728 Sept. 9 Hugh s. David and Catherine 1 year 4 months
 1730 Jan. 25 Samuel s. William and Mary 3 months 18 days
 1730 Mch. 23 Rebecca d. David and Catherine 2 years
 1730 Sept. 30 John s. Thomas and Elizabeth 3 months 2 weeks
 1730 Nov. 8 Mary d. William and Mary 1 month 2 days
 1730 Nov. 22 Joseph s. John and Mary 2 weeks
 1731 Oct. 10 Edmund s. William and Mary 3 weeks
 1732 June 18 Hannah d. John and Elizabeth 2 months
 1732 Aug. 18 Thomasine d. John and Mary 25 years
 1733 Aug. 12 Rebecca d. William and Elizabeth 1 week
 1735 Mch. 9 Thomas s. William and Mary 13 months
 1735 July 3 Elizabeth d. William and Elizabeth 2 weeks
 1738 April 7 Isaac s. William and Mary 1 month
 1739 Jan. 7 James s. James and Margaret 1 month
 1739 April 18 Hugh s. David and Catherine 7 years
 1739 April 26 Theodosia d. Richard and Sarah 4 weeks
 1741 Aug. 19 William s. James and Margaret 9 weeks 3 days
 1745 May 7 Anne d. James and Margaret Feb. 22 1744
 1747 Jan. 2 Elizabeth adult
 1748 July 23 David s. William and Mary Aug. 28 1748 (*sic*)
 1749 June 13 Amy d. John and Joanna Aug. 26 1745
 1749 Sept. 3 Sarah d. James and Margaret Dec. 7 1748
 1753 May 18 Mary d. Thomas and Barbary March 9 1753
 1753 Sept. 9 David s. John and Elizabeth July 20 1753
 1756 Feb. 3 John s. Thomas and Barbary May 21 1755
 1757 July 26 Ann d. Thomas and Barbara June 1 17—
 1758 Mch. 8 Thomas s. John and Susannah Feb. 6 1758
 1758 Sept. 17 Thomas s. Thomas and Barbary July 8 1758
 1760 Mch. 2 John s. John and Sarah Feb. 2 1760
 1730 Sept. 27 Davison Robert s. Robert and Marjory 1 month
 1746 Feb. 1 Davy Joseph s. Hugh and Elizabeth Jan. 12 1745
 1747 April 9 Balard s. Hugh and Elizabeth March 17 1747
 1749 Jan. 12 Samuel Carsen s. Hugh and Elizabeth Dec. 20 1748
 1751 Jan. 10 Elizabeth Woodrope d. Hugh and Elizabeth Dec. 10
 1750
 1753 July 25 Anne d. Hugh and Elizabeth June 25 1753
 1722 July 15 Day Mary d. Humphrey and Jane 3 months
 1725 Nov. 10 Joseph s. Humphrey and Jane
 1727 Aug. 2 Humphrey s. Humphrey and Jane 6 weeks
 1729 Nov. 16 Thomas s. Humphrey and Jane 10 weeks
 1731 Sept. 18 Humphrey s. Humphrey and Jane 1 month
 1738 Feb. 16 Charles s. Humphrey and Jane 5 weeks
 1747 June 7 Hannah d. John and Jane June 6 1747

- 1750 Mch. 25 John s. John and Jane April 27 1748
 1752 Jan. 19 Elizabeth d. Adam and Mary Dec. 23, 1751
 1746 May 16 Daykin Sarah d. Gilbert and Sarah Dec. 2 1745
 1742 Dec. 20 Deacon Gilbert adult
 1742 Dec. 20 George s. Gilbert and Sarah 4 months 2 weeks 3 days
 1745 June 30 Rebecca d. Gilbert and Sarah April 28 1744
 1756 Sept. 16 Mary d. Gilbert and Sarah Oct. 19 1755
 1733 July 16 Deal John s. James and Elinor 1 day
 1734 Aug. 14 Thomas s. Solomon 5 months
 1736 Mch. 7 Rachel d. Michael and Mary 5 weeks
 1739 Mch. 11 John s. Michael and Mary 1 week 3 days
 1742 July 11 Dezell Eliza d. Samuel and Mary — 5 days
 1727 Mch. 20 Delap Robert s. Achabald and Mary 8 days
 1749 Feb. 12 Dele Charles Lodwick s. Samuel and Mary Feb. 4 1749
 1750 April 10 Deliver Lucia d. John and Elizabeth Jan. 17 1749
 1728 Feb. 28 Dennis Elizabeth d. John and Rachel 5 months
 1730 Jan. 1 Elizabeth d. John and Rachel 3 months
 1731 Oct. 3 John s. John and Rachel 14 weeks
 1736 Nov. 28 Elizabeth d. John and Sarah 1 year
 1756 Oct. 20 Barry Cusons s. Richard and Hannah Nov. 22 1756 (*sic*)
 1756 Oct. 20 Richard s. Richard and Hannah April 11 1756
 1756 Oct. 20 Hannah d. Richard and Hannah April 11 1756
 1735 Aug. 26 Dent Sarah d. William and Sarah 1 year 8 months
 1731 Dec. 21 Denton John s. Thomas and Mary 7 years
 1749 May 29 Thomas s. John and Mary April 30 1749
 1754 July 30 Rebecca d. Thomas and Ann Nov. 12 1750
 1754 July 30 John s. Thomas and Ann Oct. 5 1752
 1755 Jan. 15 Mary d. John and Maria Dec. 6 1754
 1715 May 13 Derickson John s. John and Sarah 7 weeks
 1709 Nov. 22 Derikson Benjamin s. Swan and Sarah 3 months
 1735 Aug. 1 Dering Chalamondly s. William and Sarah 2 years
 1735 Aug. 1 Hannah d. William and Sarah 4 days
 1717 Sept. 8 Derrick Sarah d. Swen and Sarah 9 days
 1743 Aug. 22 Thomas s. David and Sarah
 1738 Nov. 12 Dervil John s. William and Ann 3 weeks
 1733 Sept. 2 Devall John s. John and Mary 2 weeks 3 days
 1735 Dec. 25 Sarah d. John and Mary 1 year
 1750 Aug. 10 Devereux Elizabeth d. Edward and Elizabeth July 20
 1750
 1730 June 3 Devoll Mary d. John and Mary 2 weeks
 1746 Nov. 24 Dewberry George s. George and Comfort 3 weeks
 1746 Nov. 24 Sarah d. George and Comfort Dec. 25 1744
 1733 June 13 Dewit Rebecca d. Matthew and Grace 7 days
 1733 Aug. 22 Mary d. Robert and Anne 3 months
 1720 July 15 Dexter Enos s. Henry and Letitia June 29

1721	Sept.	1	Letitia d. Henry and Letitia —
1729	April	3	Mary d. John and Hannah 2 weeks
1730	May	8	Letice d. John and Hannah 2 weeks 2 days
1733	Mch.	17	Mary d. John and Hannah 12 days
1741	Nov.	4	Richard s. Henry and Eloner 5 months
1744	Dec.	10	Henry s. Henry and Eloner 1 month
1748	Jan.	28	George s. Henry and Elinor Dec. 30 1747
1758	June	18	Richard Backhouse s. James and Isabel June 13 1758
1760	Jan.	26	Henry s. James and Isabel Jan. 26 1750
1740	July	18	Dicas Thomas s. Randall and Mary 3 months 3 weeks
1747	Jan.	2	Dickenson William s. Charles and Elizabeth Dec. 21 1746
1729	April	27	Dickinson Thomas s. James and Frances 2 weeks
1744	Sept.	16	Alice d. Charles and Elizabeth 9 days
1749	Dec.	17	Nathaniel s. Charles and Elizabeth Dec. 1 1749
1757	Nov.	13	Mary d. William and Catherine Sept. 11 1757
1758	Sept.	4	Hannah d. William and Elizabeth July 10 1757
1758	Sept.	4	Elizabeth d. William and Elizabeth Aug. 2 1758
1748	June	7	Dickson Robert s. James and Elizabeth Dec. 20 1743
1748	June	7	Mary d. James and Elizabeth June 4 1747
1750	Nov.	25	James s. James and Elizabeth Jan. 2 1750
1756	Oct.	31	Sarah d. James and Elizabeth March 6 1756
1757	Sept.	25	Diff Richard s. Henry and Ann July 10, 1757
1727	July	2	Dillon Ruth d. John and Mary 12 weeks 3 days
1729	July	21	John s. John and Mary 10 months
1732	June	17	Thomas s. John and Mary 2 years
1749	Feb.	5	Dilworth Sarah d. James and Mary Oct. 3 1748
1743	May	22	Dillworth Hannah d. John and Mary 4 months
1746	April	20	Mary d. James and Mary Jan. 26 1745

(To be continued.)

LEWIS WEISS, OF PHILADELPHIA, CONVEYANCER,
LAWYER, AND JUDGE.

An examination of the registers of the Moravian congregation in Philadelphia between 1743 and 1800 will abundantly repay the genealogist and antiquarian, for he will find in them the names and descendants of those who were not only active workers in the church, but distinguished in the civil and political history of the Province and State. We may mention John Stephen Benezet, the merchant; Charles Brockden, for upwards of half a century the Penns' Recorder of Deeds and Master of the Rolls; Edward Evans, the associate of Henry Antes and Count Zinzendorf in their efforts to organize what was undoubtedly the first Evangelical Alliance in America, in whose house on Race Street its seventh session was held, and who subsequently became one of the founders of Methodism in Pennsylvania; Thomas Godfrey, the friend of James Logan and inventor of the quadrant; Gustavus Hesselius, the first organ-builder in the Province, if not in the Colonies; Henry Miller, the business rival of Saur and contemporary of Franklin, and an extensive book-printer and enterprising newspaper publisher; Joseph Dean, a merchant and signer of the Non-importation Resolutions of 1765, and when the Colonies rebelled against the mother-country, became a member of the Council of Safety and of the Board of War of Pennsylvania; Peter Helm, whose services with Girard, at the Bush Hill Hospital during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, should never be forgotten; and Lewis Weiss, conveyancer, lawyer, and judge, who passed upwards of forty years an honored life in the city of his adoption. Wilhelm Ludwig Weiss (his baptismal name) was born December 28, 1717, in Berlin, Prussia. With the exception of his being a student of theology in the seminary at Lindheim, near Frankfort-on-the-Main,

in 1744, and on graduating was ordained a minister, we know but little of his early life. Neither do we know the cause of his withdrawing from the ministry to study law, and emigrating to America, where he arrived in December of 1755, and made Philadelphia his home. Here, with other citizens, we find him, in 1756, devising means for the relief and protection of the frontier settlements from the inroads of the Indian allies of the French.

In 1760, Mr. Weiss became associated with Henry Miller in the publication of the *Staatsbote*, a German newspaper which had a large circulation throughout the Colonies and wielded a considerable influence among his countrymen. His connection with this paper, however, did not long continue. When the Indians, in 1763, were again devastating the frontiers, he once more became an active participant in the measures for their defence, and frequently visited Bethlehem, where his advice and sympathy gave confidence, and where on a certain occasion, in his anxiety to hasten to Philadelphia, to present a memorial to the Governor, "he forgot to pay his Tavern reckoning." Writing to Colonel Timothy Horsfield, under date of August 1, 1763, he refers to his application for arms for the use of the frontier settlers, describes an interview with Joseph Galloway, who hesitated to issue them, and then adds, "One honest Quaker, to whom I related this, told me I should not lose this opportunity to get the arms, and that he would be security for all that should be lost, broke, or stolen." The arms were issued! In another letter, dated August 15, he writes, "I herewith send you a copy of Martial Law, that will do honour to our Law Books. Who could think that Friend Penn and all his associates would ever be proxy for the framing of a Law as this?"

The wrongs which many of the German emigrants who came to Pennsylvania suffered during their transportation, the impositions practised when they landed in a strange country, among a people whose language they could not understand nor could they make themselves understood, led to so much distress that the Assembly was petitioned

for their relief. The passage of an act, in 1749, produced some amelioration, but there were still so many complaints that finally, in 1764, the "German Society" was organized by citizens of German birth to supply poor, sick, and distressed Germans with relief. Lewis Weiss took an active part in its organization, and drew up the Constitution and Regulations which governed the Society. From 1764 to 1777, and again in 1785, he served as its Counsellor, in 1781 as its President, and in 1785 as its Vice-President, and until his death was one of its prominent members.

A few months subsequent to his becoming a citizen of Philadelphia, Mr. Weiss was admitted to practice before the courts of the county. His practice grew steadily, and his cases were mainly real-estate issues. As a land-title lawyer his reputation was rated high among his professional brethren. The only literary work of his known to us is "The Charters and Acts of Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, &c.," which he collected and edited with Charles Brockden, under a resolution of the Assembly, and which were printed, in 1762, by Peter Miller & Co. These two volumes, bound in one, are known to the legal profession as "Big" Peter Miller. His ability as a drafter of legal documents was so well known that he was frequently employed by the Assembly to prepare the more important bills which were to come before them. In August and September of 1778 he prepared the following:

"An Act to repeal these several Acts of General Assembly relative to the place of holding the Supreme Court of the Counties of Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks.

"To declare void the acknowledgment of Deeds and the Probaté and Registry of Wills, taken by certain persons during a certain time.

"A Supplement to the several Acts of Assembly relative to the importation of Negroes.

"To explain and strengthen that clause of a former Act by which the disabilities of Persons not having taken the Test are continued during the life of the delinquent.

“A Supplement to the Chester Creek and Drawbridge Act.

“To Regulate trade and navigation of the State.

“To Regulate the mode of assessing and levying Taxes in the State.”

On the 20th of May, 1786, the Supreme Executive Council commissioned him a Justice of the Peace for South Mulberry Ward, and six days later a Justice of the Courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions of the City and County of Philadelphia. He was also commissioned a Justice of the Orphans' Court, November 13, 1786. These positions he filled with ability until 1791, when the courts were reorganized under the new Constitution, whereupon he resumed his profession. From 1780 to 1795, Mr. Weiss resided on Arch Street, “the third door below the house which is right opposite to the gates of the English Church Burying-Ground” (No. 159), where he announces in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, “he continues to draw all manner of writings for transferring and assuring the property and possession of real and personal estates, settlements, covenants, and agreements upon titles of land and rights in claims or controversy, to lay before Council, Judges, auditors, or arbitrators; Letters of attorney or agency, to transact business in foreign countries; also Petitions, memorials, or addresses to Congress, and its several Departments or Committees, to the Representatives in Assembly, the President of Council, and Courts of Judicature. He also translates into English any foreign contracts, or other writings of a public nature, from French, German, Hollandish, and Latin languages.” In the year 1796 he removed to No. 152 North Third Street, and at the date of his death was residing at No. 158 North Fifth Street.

Lewis Weiss was twice married; the first time, in 1752, to Christina —, by whom he had two children, who died young. In 1761 he was married to Joana Mary Pflüger, a native of Hanover, Germany, and had issue eleven children, eight of whom died before reaching the age of maturity, by which his male line became extinct. Three

daughters married: Sarah, in 1788, to John Peter, of Philadelphia; Rebecca, to George Klein, printer, of Carlisle; and Louisa, in 1793, to John Wyeth, printer, of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, who have left descendants. Mr. Weiss died on Saturday, October 22, 1796. Well educated, an accomplished jurist and judge of undoubted probity, he united the learning of the law with his scholarly accomplishments, but he lived not for fame, but for duty.

LES FRANÇAIS EN AMÉRIQUE PENDANT LA GUERRE
DE L'INDÉPENDANCE DES ÉTATS-UNIS.

We have received from Mr. Thomas Willing Balch the advance sheets of a translation of his father's work which appeared under the above title in 1872, and we are happy to inform our readers that it is to be followed by a supplementary volume, which Mr. Thomas Balch had fortunately completed before his death.

Those who have read the book before us in French will remember that the opening chapters are devoted to a brief and well-digested sketch of the rise and progress of the Revolution. Into this part the translator has incorporated portions of a paper contributed by Mr. Balch to the *Presbyterian Quarterly Review*, July, 1876, entitled "Calvinism and American Independence." More than half the volume is devoted to the movements of the allied armies, and its value can be appreciated when it is said that it is chiefly drawn from the narratives of French officers, few of which have been printed. Among these are the "Journal of the Count Ménonville," the "Memoirs of Dupetit-Thouars," the "Journal of Cromot-Dubourg," an "Anonymous Journal of a Soldier," a "Memoir" addressed by Choiseul to Louis XV., and the "Memoirs of the Count de M——," a very rare book, printed in Paris in 1828. Besides other authorities, better known, Mr. Balch had the use of manuscripts preserved in the Archives de la Guerre and the Archives de la Marine. Those portions of his work which relate to the march of the armies from New York to Virginia and to the siege of Yorktown are excellent.

Besides giving us detailed accounts of the movements of the troops, the book furnishes us with the impressions made upon the minds of the writers of the journals and some incidents that are very interesting. As the French troops passed through Philadelphia on their way to Yorktown they were reviewed by the President and a committee of Con-

gress. As the troops were defiling before them, with their respective commanders at their head, the President asked Rochambeau whether he should salute or not; the general answered that when the troops passed before the king, his Majesty kindly condescended to salute them. As they were paying the same honors to Congress as to the king, a writer says, the "thirteen members took off their thirteen hats at every salutation by a flag or an officer." Cromot-Dubourg was delighted with the attentions he met with in Philadelphia. He was entertained, with others, at the houses of the French Minister, Luzerne, and the President of Congress. At the latter, he says, "was a turtle that I considered perfect, and which might weigh from sixty to eighty pounds." He described Anthony Benezet as the most zealous Quaker in Philadelphia. "I talked with him for some time; he seemed to me permeated with the excellence of his morality; he is little, old, and ugly, but he is truly a worthy man, and his face bears the stamp of a tranquil soul and a calm conscience." The city, he says, "is large and pretty well built; the streets are very wide and are laid out by rule and line; on both sides there are foot-walks for pedestrians; there are a large number of shops richly stocked and the city is very lively, for there are at least forty thousand inhabitants. In Market Street there are two immense halls built of brick, one of which is devoted to butchers' stalls. I found no other fault with them except that they are in the middle of a superb street which they entirely disfigure. The port may, perhaps, be about two miles long. It is merely a quay with nothing handsome about it but its length. There are several handsome Protestant churches and a college of some size, which is called a University." In the museum of Du Simitière he was surprised to see, in the midst of a crowd of interesting things, an old pair of stout boots, and could not refrain from asking Du Simitière whether they were objects of curiosity. Du Simitière replied that "they had always attracted the attention of Americans, because they had never seen any but these, and that, perceiving their astonishment, he had allowed them to pass for the boots of Charles XII."

“But it is probable,” Dubourg added, “that after the passage of the French army the stout boots ceased to be an extraordinary object for the Americans.”

When the allied armies marched from Philadelphia, Rochambeau took a boat and went down the Delaware to see the defences of the river. As he approached Chester he saw Washington upon the bank waving his hat with demonstrations of great joy. He said that he had just heard from Baltimore that De Grasse had arrived in Chesapeake Bay, with twenty-eight ships of the line and three thousand men, whom he had already landed and who had gone to join La Fayette, who had confined Cornwallis in Yorktown. “I was as much astonished as moved,” wrote a French officer, “at the truly genuine and pure joy of General Washington. Of a cold temperament and a grave and noble bearing which in him is nothing but true dignity, and which is so becoming in the head of a nation, his features, his physiognomy, his bearing, all were changed in an instant; he divested himself of his character as the arbiter of North America and was satisfied for a moment with that of a citizen, happy in the happiness of his country. A child, all of whose wishes had been gratified, could not have experienced a more lively sensation, and I believe I am doing honor to this rare man by endeavoring to describe all the vivacity of them.”

Another officer wrote, “I cannot too often repeat how astonished I have been at the American army; it is inconceivable that troops nearly naked, badly paid, and composed of old men, negroes, and children should march so well, both on the road and under fire. I have shared this astonishment with M. de Rochambeau himself, who spoke of it to us continually on our way back [to camp]. I have no need to speak of General Washington’s composure; it is well known: but this great man is a thousand times more noble and glorious when at the head of his army than at any other time.”

From the pages of this book we also learn of the jealousy the officers who came over under Rochambeau felt towards La Fayette, whose commission of major-general in the American army made him outrank many who were his

seniors at home. They agreed among themselves that under no circumstances would they serve under him; and when the Duke de Lauzun, who preferred activity to idleness, offered to waive the point of honor and accompany La Fayette to Virginia, he was severely censured by his brother officers, and Rochambeau, to prevent trouble, refused him permission. La Fayette wisely made every effort to avoid exciting the susceptibilities of his countrymen upon this point. He must, however, have keenly enjoyed the opportunity that was afforded him to retaliate for this and other slights that had been put upon him. Two redoubts before Yorktown were to be stormed,—one by the French, the other by the Americans. The Baron de Vioménil directed the operations of the former, La Fayette those of the latter. Fortunately for La Fayette, the Americans met with less resistance than the French, which enabled him, after having accomplished his work, to send his compliments to De Vioménil and ask if he needed any assistance from the Americans. Colonel Barber, who carried the message, was slightly wounded while doing so, but he would not suffer his wound to be dressed until he had delivered it.

The work will be published by Messrs. Porter & Coates.

The supplementary volume will be particularly devoted to,—

1st. To historical notices of the French regiments which crossed to America and served there.

2d. To biographical notices of the French volunteers who took service under Congress, and of the principal officers who were present at the sieges of Savannah and Yorktown, or who fought on land or sea for the independence of the United States.

3d. To many episodes and interesting details, among which will be found a sketch of American society at that period, as it appeared to the French officers, who speak in their manuscripts and letters of the private life of a great number of notable American families.

Its appearance will be looked for with interest by all students of our revolutionary history.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

NOTICE.—All persons, whether members or otherwise, having in their possession or knowing of any marriage certificates, Bible entry, deeds, or manuscript pedigrees prior to 1800, will confer a great favor upon this Society by reporting the same to John W. Jordan, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. As many persons hold such without knowing it, a careful search is solicited.

WILL OF JOHN WASHINGTON, THE EMIGRANT.—Dr. Joseph M. Toner, of Washington, D.C., contributes to *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July, 1891, an article on "Wills of the American Ancestors of General George Washington," in which he gives a copy of the will of John Washington, the emigrant. It gives us pleasure to announce, that this valuable document has been acquired for and added to the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
ED. PENNA. MAG.

A REGISTER OF "EAR-MARKS," CAPE MAY COUNTY, NEW JERSEY, 1690-1730.—When the Long Island exodus of whalers into Cape May began,—probably as early as 1680,—the settlers established at Tom's Bank, on the Delaware Bay shore of the county, a whaling village. This place is variously known in the early records as Cape May Town, Fallmouth, Portsmouth, and later Coxe Hall, from the fact that Governor Coxe built a hall or public building there. Here were kept the records, of which the first book is still extant in the office of the County Clerk. The volume is known as "Liber A of Deeds and Miscellaneous Records," and contains nearly all that is positively known of the genesis of the county.

Besides whaling, the pioneers entered into various occupations necessitated by their position, and not only established large plantations, but used the beaches from Cape Island to Ocean City for grazing grounds. To the strands the names of the settlers still remain, as Ludlam's Beach, Leaming's Beach, as well as family nomenclature being attached to inlets, as Corson's and Townsend's. In this Liber A at Cape May Court-House, among a mass of other interesting data, are a series of brief records showing the brands or "ear-marks" adopted by the graziers so that each one could recognize his cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, and lambs, as they roved the beaches. In general there is little of interest in the marks themselves, but as a record of the earliest movement of population into Cape May the record is invaluable. I quote two of these to show the methods adopted:

"Joseph Ludlon (Ludlam) his Eare Marke an El under the Left Eare. Recorded this 13 Day of March 169 $\frac{9}{7}$. Now the Mark of his Son Anthony Ludlam." Joseph Ludlam was one of the founders of the

Ludlam family of plantation owners of central Cape May. The name is sometimes erroneously spelled "Ludley."

"John Townsend's Eare Marke a Smalle forke on ye Right Eare and a half penny under ye Lefte. Recorded ye 20 of February 169 $\frac{4}{5}$. Now the mark of Richard Townsend, Jun^r." The Townsends were members of the Society of Friends and have ever since adhered to that denomination.

The following names probably embrace nearly all the graziers in Cape May County from about 1690 to 1730.

Record for the year 169 $\frac{1}{2}$.—Henry Stites, Esarah Stites.

Record of the year 1693.—James Cressie, George Taylor, Joseph Houdoin, John Taylor, Shamger Hand, Constant Hughes, Jr., Joseph Houldin, Jr., Caleb Curwithy, Samuel Johnson, Joseph Whilden, Isaac Whilden, Oliver Johnson, William Segreave, John Parsons, William Shaw, Jonathan Foreman, William Johnson, Jonathan Richardson, Benjamin Richardson.

Record for year 1694.—Robert Cressey, Timothy Brandreth, Samuel Crowell, Barnabas Crowell, Benjamin Hand, Isaac Hand, Lubbart Gisborson, Samuel Richardson, Cæsar Hoskins, John Cresse, Jr., John Stillwell, William Simkins, Thomas Goodwin, Peter Coston, Jonathan Carman, Samuel Eldridge, Thomas Gandy, Jonathan Osborn, Bezabeel Osborn, Joseph Badcock, Daniel Johnson, Nathaniel Hand, Ezekiel Hand, William Smith, Joshua Carman, Thomas Langley, Jacob Dayton, Capt. Downes.

Record for year 169 $\frac{4}{5}$.—Nathaniel Shute, Cornelius Skelinger, John Townsend, Richard Townsend, Jr., William Jacox, Randall Hint.

Record for year 1696.—George Booth, Edward Lumus, Joseph Ludlam, Abraham Hand, John Hand, Thomas Leaming, John Jervis, Thomas Hand, Daniel (son of George) Hand, George Hand, Jeremiah Hand, Edward Foster, Jacob Crowell, Samuel Croell, Jr., Humphrey Hughes, Jr., Thomas Mathews, Lewis Mulford, Elijah Hughes, Jacob Spicer, Joseph Hand, Eliu Swains.

Record for year 1696/7.—Randall Hint, Col. Spicer, Joseph Ludlow.

Record for year 1703.—Richard Townsend,

Record for year 1704.—John Crofford, George Crofford.

Record for year 1706.—Ezekiel Eldridge, Robert Pereman, John Buck, Aaron Leaming, Richard Stites, Abigail Stites, Samuel Johnson, "formerly George Booth, who left the county," Ebenezer Johnson, Abraham Bauer, Richard Swains, Daniel Swains, Jonathan Swaine, Thomas Hand, Jr., Cornelius Hand, Jeremiah Hughes, Jeremiah Leaming, John Taylor, Nathaniel Short, Joshua Shaw.

Record for year 1707.—John Crandall, Shamger Hand, Jr., Henry Young, Benjamin Stites, Jonathan Stites, Ebenezer Swaine, Silas Swaine, William Matthews, Constant Hughes.

Record for year 1708.—Josiah Crowell, Samuel Crowell, Robert Townsend, Zeloepad Hand, and son Nathaniel.

Record for year 1709.—Benjamin Hand, John Garlick, John Cresse, and his son Robert, Aaron Leonard, Aaron Leaming, Jr.

Record for year 1710.—Moses Cressy, Richard Fortescue, Henry Stevens, Isaac Shutton, John Goafe.

Record for year 1711.—Charles Robinson, Joshua Garlick, Ebenezer

Nuton, Joseph Whilden, Senr., James Whelden, Peter Hand, Christopher Church.

Record for year 1712.—Benjamin Holden, Henry Stephens, Jonathan Foreman, David Cresse, Lewis Cresse.

Record for year 1713.—Jeremiah Church, Samuel Eldridge.

Record for year 1714.—Nathaniel Hand, James Brigs.

Record for year 1715.—Thomas Bancroft, Benjamin Crofford, Issachar Crofford, Ezekiel Mulford, Samuel Swaine, John Willis.

Record for year 1716.—William Robinson, William Mulford, Nathaniel Norton, Daniel Norton.

Record for year 1717.—John Hand, William Nickkolls.

Record for year 1718.—Thomas Langley, Richard Shaw, John Taylor, Jr.

Record for year 1720.—Nathaniel Foster, Nathaniel Rosco, Joshua Crofford, Andrew Godfrey.

Record for year 1721.—Zebulon Swaine, Charles Barns, Thomas Leaming, John Cresse, Jr., "formerly Cæsar Hoskins, who deserted the county," John Stillwell, Samuel Richardson, John Hand.

Record for year 1722.—Benjamin Johnson, Samuel Bancroft, William Smith and son Richard Smith, David Hildreth, Josiah Hildreth, Thomas Leamyng, and his son Christopher, Cornelius Schilliux, Jr., Nathaniel Rosco, James Hawthorne.

Record for year 1723.—John Smith, Zebulon Swaine, James Swaine, William Mathews.

Record for year 1724.—John Tomson.

Record for year 1725.—William Doubleday, Ephraim Edwards, John Crandell.

Record for the year 1726.—Anthony Ludlam, Providence Ludlam, William Nickals, Samuel Foster, Peter Paige, William Eldridge.

Record for year 1727.—Cornelius Hand.

Record for year 1730.—John Gailock, Thomas Stonebank.

Record for year 1731.—Isaac Ludlam, Hezekiah Schull, Samuel Mathews, James Jacocks, "formerly Jon. Swain, he leaving the county," James Edwards, Daniel Norton, Moses Cresse, Ebenezer Norton, Caleb Norton.

Record for year 1732.—Joshua Shaw, John Shaw.

Record for year 1734.—Nathan Osborn, Deborah Golden.

FRANCIS BAZLEY LEE.

PETITION TO PREVENT SLAVERS BEING FITTED OUT AT THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA.—To the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met,

The Representation and Petitions of the
SUBSCRIBERS,

Citizens of Pennsylvania.

YOUR Petitioners have observed, with great satisfaction, the salutary effects of the Law of this State, passed on the first day of March, 1780, for the "gradual abolition of slavery."—They have also seen, with equal satisfaction, the progress which the humane and just principles of that Law have made in other States.

THEY, however, find themselves called upon, by the interesting nature of those principles, to suggest to the General Assembly, that vessels have been publicly equipt in this Port for the Slave Trade, and that several other practices have taken place which they conceive to be inconsistent with the spirit of the Law abovementioned; and that these, and other

circumstances relating to the afflicted Africans, do, in the opinion of your Petitioners, require the further interposition of the Legislature.

Your Petitioners therefore earnestly request that you will again take this subject into your serious consideration, and that you will make such additions to the said Law as shall effectually put a stop to the Slave Trade being carried on directly or indirectly in this Commonwealth, and to answer other purposes of benevolence and justice to an oppressed part of the human species.

James Bingham,	John Fleming,	John Head Baker,
Thomas Francis,	Pet ^r S. Glentworth,	James Stokes,
Isaac Parrish,	Benj. Hornor,	Isaac Frank,
John Marshall,	Tho ^s Paschall,	David Christie,
Robert Patton,	William Wells,	Jacob Baker,
Joseph Sermon,	John Lockart,	Jacob C. Wikoff,
Edmond Nugent,	Josiah Lusby,	Joseph Lynn,
John Head, Jr.,	William Craig,	Jacob Parke,
Zacheus Collins,	Mahlon Hutchinson,	John Sparhawk,
Joseph Budd,	Azariah Horton,	P. C. Sommerkamp,
Benjamin Say,	Henry Drinker, Jr.,	Will. Adcock,
James Hunter,	William Gaskill,	William Coundit,
Rich ^d Blackham,	Sol ⁿ M ^c Nair,	Henry Manly,
Amos Wickersham,	W ^m Jenkins,	Joseph Bisplam,
Jacob Wagner,	W. Honeyman,	David Evans, Jr.,
Thomas Miller,	Everard Batton,	Thomas Lawrence,
A. Dubois,	Isaac Bolton,	Charles Stow,
Rob ^t Barnhill,	Jos. D. Drinker,	James Lewis,
Samuel Sansom,	Stephen Shewell,	Robert Leslie,
James Stuart,	W ^m West,	Thomas Priest,
William Sansom,	Samuel Correy,	Joseph C. Fisher,
Thomas Waters,	Joseph Jackett, Jr.,	Joseph Johnson,
Richard Hart,	Isaac Buckbee,	David Knox,
Charles Swift,	John Le Feleco,	W ^m Atkinson,
John Barker,	Tho ^s Hockley,	Devenport Marot,
Christian Hahn,	Jacob Burklow,	W ^m Hall,
James Hartley,	Jas. Henderson,	Parry Hall,
Tho ^s Say,	Isaac Ivins Folwell,	W ^m Prichard,
W ^m W. Smith,	Frederick Smith,	David Cumming,
George Glentworth,	Sam. Fisher,	Robt. Aitken, Sen ^r ,
Robert Aitken, Jr.,	William Spotswood,	Ralph Gee,
Eleazer Oswald,	James Mazurie,	John Wigglesworth,
W ^m Woodhouse,	Eden Shotwell,	Sam ^l Wigglesworth,
W ^m Pearson,	William Mash,	Matt. M ^c Connell,
Moses Ghirelin,	Philip Nicklin,	Joseph Swift,
John Taylor,	John Thompson,	Rich ^d Collier,
John Jones,	Tho ^s Mackie,	James Gallagher,
Jn ^o Carrell,	Samuel Scotten,	Joseph Gee,
Nathl. Waters,	Richard Mather,	Gavin Hamilton,
Jonathan Worrill,	Henry Voigt,	James Bartram,
Jas. B. Bonsall,	John Bartram,	William Bartram.

INVENTORY OF THE HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS OF JOHN PENN, JR., 1788.

INVENTORY

Of the Plate, Household Furniture and other Goods, of the Hon. JOHN PENN, jun. Esquire, which are to be exposed to Sale, on *Monday* [May]

the 26th instant, at his House the corner of Market and Sixth streets, at 9 o'clock in the Morning, viz.

Silver.—Twelve table spoons of the latest fashion and but little used; 12 tea ditto; 1 tea pot; 1 soup ladle; 2 salt spoons; 7 large silver handled table knives and 11 ditto forks; 11 desert ditto knives and 11 ditto forks; a small lot of broken silver handled knives and forks; 1 pair of very elegant fashionable silver shoe buckles, inlaid with gold; 2 pair of large fashionable silver ditto.

Plated Ware.—1 large server; 4 pair of elegant English plated candlesticks; 2 pair of ditto French washed; 1 pair of ditto with branches; 4 salts plated; 1 pair of sugar tongs ditto; 11 knives and 11 forks ditto.

Mahogany Furniture.—In excellent order and modern fashion, 3 elegant large settees, having hair bottoms, with satin stripe, a double row of gilt nails and fluted legs; 2 ditto arm chairs to suit ditto; 24 ditto chairs ditto; 4 plain mahogany chairs for a hall; 1 writing table standing on brass castors, with 3 drawers on each side; 1 large semicircular side board table, in which are three drawers, the middle drawer divided into eleven partitions, leaded for liquors; 1 large dining table and 2 semicircular tables to fix at each end, which 2 being put together form a round table of themselves; 1 elegant card table, 2 breakfast tables and a small dressing table; 1 wardrobe or cloaths press and a washing stand; 3 silk blinds and 2 catgut ditto, in mahogany frames; 1 field bedstead on castors with sacking bottom and furniture stripe cotton curtains; 1 tray and 1 tea caddy.

Glass Ware.—1 large oval looking glass in a gilt frame; 1 small ditto ditto; 2 small dressing glasses; a set of castors, containing 5 pieces with silver tops, in black stand; 2 elegant cut and ground quart and a ditto pint decanters; 2 plain quart decanters and 2 pair of japanned bottle stands; 6 plain gobblers, 12 plain double flint tumblers and 11 smaller ditto; 1 beer glass, 26 cut and ground wine glasses and 4 plain ditto.

China.—1 four quart and 1 three quart blue and white china punch bowls; 1 quart and 1 pint china mug; a set of elegant Dresden tea china, containing 2 tea pots and trays, 6 breakfast cups and 7 saucers, 5 coffee cups, 10 tea cups and 16 saucers, 3 small tea and 3 ditto coffee cups, 2 tea cannisters, 1 sugar dish and stand, 2 cream jugs, 2 slop bowls, 1 spoon tray; a set of dining china, containing 2 large tureens and dishes, 2 small ditto, 2 large deep salad dishes, 1 deep fish dish and strainer, 13 dishes sorted, 1 pudding dish cracked, 11 soup plates, 4 dozen and 3 flat ditto, 4 butter boats and stands, handles broke off.

Queens Ware.—2 large dishes, 5 small ditto, 10 plates, 2 butter boats, 2 sugar dishes, 6 cups and saucers of English china.

Bed and Room Furniture.—1 set of hair colour furniture cotton bed curtains, pattern William Penn's treaty with the Indians; 3 window curtains to match ditto, with cord, tassels and screws; 4 cotton and worsted striped parlour curtains, with cord, &c.; 2 red furniture check window curtains, almost new; 3 green ditto; 3 ditto old; an elegant Wilton carpet, 20 by 12, with some spare pieces; 1 large Scotch carpet but little used; 1 stained field bedstead with sacking bottom; 1 ditto ditto and curtains of green furniture check; 1 ditto ditto and curtains of minionet gauze; 5 common poplar bedsteads and 2 ditto that shut into the form of drawers.

Beds and Bedding.—1 excellent large bed, bolster and pillows perfectly new; 3 small beds, with bolsters and pillows, to suit the field bedsteads; 4 small beds, bolsters and pillows, and 4 spare bolsters and 5 pillows; 1 large hair mattress, 2 large wool ditto and 9 small wool ditto; 3 pair 9:

4 rose blankets perfectly new and 15 rose blankets worn; 5 good green rugs and 3 elegant cotton counterpains.

Linen.—3 breakfast table cloths and 4 damask dining table cloths; 4 pair fine sheets and 3 1-2 ditto very old; 3 pair brown Russia sheeting sheets very good; a variety of wearing apparel some new, the rest worn; 1 large ink stand and 1 small ditto; 1 dozen green ivory handled table knives and forks, almost new; 1 dozen table knives and 9 forks tipped with silver, but much used; 1 pair elegant dining room brass andirons, with polished steel shovel, tongs and hearth brush; 1 inferior pair of brass ditto ditto (for parlour) and a steel fender; 2 pair common andirons, shovel and tongs; 1 elegant polished steel grate, shovel, tongs, poker, fender and hearth brush; 1 chiming clock to set over a mantle piece; 1 elegant Japan tea tray and 4 waiters; 1 ditto bread basket and 2 small scrvers; 1 ditto bronze tea urn, with plated legs, handles and ornaments; 1 plain brown tea urn; a tin shower bath; 1 elegant entry glass lanthorn, cord, &c.; a very compleat and useful kitchen grate or ranger, having every convenience for dressing all kinds of meat; sundry pots and a variety of kitchen furniture of every kind, too tedious to enumerate; 1 dozen windsor chairs, 2 old clocks, 3 dozen excellent claret and some spermaceti candles.

From the account of sales rendered, the amount

realized was	£565 0 4
Deduct: State duty, two per cent.	£11 6 0
Commissions, two and a half per cent.	14 2 6
	25 8 6
	£539 11 10

FROM "Précis Historique | sur l'Expedition | Contre le Canada | tentée | Par les troupes Provinciales | Des XIII Etats-Unis | de L'Amérique Septentrionale, | vers la fin de 1775, | pour servir d'explication | au Second des XIV Tableaux représentant les événemens | les plus mémorables qui ont | contribués à établir l'indépendance | des Américains peints | par le Colonel Trumbull, Américain | & | qui vont être gravés en taille-donc | par | les plus habiles Artistes de l'Europe, &c. Londres. MDCCLXXXVI." We copy the following description of some of the uniforms worn by the American troops, 1775-1776:

- "bleu & ventre de biche, l'Etat Major;
- "bleu & rouge, l'artillerie;
- "bleu & rouge, Nouvelle-York;
- "bleu & blanc, Pensylvanie;
- "bleu avec des fourrures, Canada;
- "brun, habits amples, Chasseurs (riflemen) de la Virginie."

GENERAL BURGoyNE'S SPY.—I have a copy of Marquis De Chastelux's "Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782," printed in Dublin in 1787. On page 89, Vol. I., the translator (George Grieve, as Dr. B. J. Lossing informed me), an English gentleman, notes, "A poor fellow who was sent with a letter from Burgoyne to Clinton enclosed in a silver bullet, miscarried in his message, and lost his life by the sameness of the names of the American and British commanders. Falling in with a party of Americans clothed in British uniform, he eagerly enquired for *General Clinton*, to whom he was instantly conducted, but on discovering that it was not *the Clinton* he was in search of, in the face of a number of spectators, he swallowed the bullet, emetics

were instantly administered which made him disgorge and the unfortunate fellow was hanged on the next tree."

The sentence, "falling in with a party of Americans clothed in British uniform," is underscored with a lead-pencil, and below is written in pencil in a female hand, "True, and caused the ruin of one dear to ——." My copy was imported for me in June, 1861, by J. Pennington & Son, and has an owner's or bookseller's label pasted inside: "P. Kennedy, Anglesea street; three doors from College Green."

Curious to know the name of the spy, I referred to Dr. Lossing's Field-Book, Vol. I., page 684, where he gives a detailed account of the apprehension of the spy, with a copy of the letter, etc., and adds, "his name was Daniel Taylor, a sergeant in the British service." Winthrop Sargent (who had at his elbow the late Townsend Ward, an untiring searcher for historical incidents), in his "Life of Major André," page 430, also gives the name of the spy as Daniel Taylor.

JOHN BLAIR LINN.

ITINERARY OF GENERAL WASHINGTON, 1782.—"On the 16th of November, 1782, Kingston [Ulster County, New York, formerly Esopus] was honored by a visit from General Washington. After passing the night of the 15th with his companion-in-arms, Colonel Cornelius Wynkoop, at his homestead at Stone Ridge [Marbletown], which is still standing unaltered, and was for many years the residence of John Lounsbury, he proceeded on his way to Kingston. At Hurley he was greeted by an enthusiastic crowd, and an address of welcome was delivered to him by President Ten Eyck, which he answered.

"The general with his staff then proceeded to Kingston. On his arrival there he was met by the trustees of Kingston and a large body of citizens, preceded by Henry J. Sleght, the speaker or presiding officer of the trustees, who in behalf of the trustees presented him with an address, which he answered. The Minister, Elders, and Deacons of the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church in Kingston also presented him with an address, which he answered.

"The arrival of the general and his suite was greeted with great rejoicings on the part of the citizens. He put up at the public house of Evert Bogardus, but accompanied by his staff he dined with Judge Dirck Wynkoop in Green Street. In the evening there was a gathering of ladies in the Bogardus ball-room, which was honored for a short time by the attendance of the general, when the ladies were severally introduced to him. The next morning at an early hour he left the village and continued his journey."—*Schoonmaker's History of Kingston*, 1888, p. 335, etc. W. S. BAKER.

WASHINGTON'S WRITING-DESK.—The Account-Book kept by Washington during his second term as President of the United States contains the entry of the sale of his writing-desk. This desk is on exhibition in the "Jordan Annex" of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

March 25, 1797. "Cash D^r to the late President's acc^t prop^r. rec'd of Mrs. Powel for a Writing-Desk, \$245."

RELICS OF THE UNION CANAL OF PENNSYLVANIA.—In the disintegration of the old works of the Union Canal, the locks are about to be removed. One of these, east of Stouchsburg, is of peculiar interest, being what was known as the "Lafayette Lock," built in 1824, and so named in compliment to General Lafayette on his memorable visit to America in that year. In one of its walls were set originally three

tablets of sandstone, with inscriptions. These were subsequently reset at the time of the enlargement of the canal, and two more added of marble, making five in all. They all remain, as yet, perfect and intact. The inscriptions on the three original stones are as follows :

<p>Lock Contractors, W^m Byrne, W^m Groves, Paul Provost and Michael Byrne. Superintendents Alexander Provost, W^m Lehman.</p>	<p>Union Canal Lock N^o 21. Erected A.D. 1824 Samuel Mifflin Esq. President. Canvas White Engineer. Managers. George Vaux, John C. Stocker, William W. Fisher, William Boyd, Jacob Gratz, Francis G. Smith, William Reed, Turner Camac, William Lehman, Charles Graff, Samuel Breck. Acting Engineer Simeon Guilford.</p>
<p>All the Sandstone required for the locks within range of his Estate present to the Company by W^m Coleman Esq.</p>	

The inscriptions on the two marble stones are as follows :

<p>Rebuilt and enlarged A.D. 1856. R. Rundle Smith President, James Worrall, Ch. Engineer Hother Hage, Pr. Ass^t Engineer H. Hudson Ass^t Engineer Rockafellow, Kupp, & Co. Contractors Adam Hipple & Co. Rebuilders.</p>
<p>Patrick Owen Mason of Philadelphia</p>

After nearly forty years of charge of the works, before their decay, of my father and myself as successive resident engineers, my interest in these relics has become such, that I should greatly regret to see them destroyed.

B. B. LEHMAN.

Lebanon, Pa.

SCULL FAMILY RECORD.—In a copy of “Some Brief Remarks upon Sundry Important Subjects, etc. By John Griffith, Philadelphia, 1781.”

“James Scull son of James and Susanna Scull was Born 11th Day of March 1786

“Susanna Scull Daughter of James and Susanna Scull was Born the 25 Day of January 1789

“Hannah Scull Daughter of James and Susanna Scull was Born the 20th Day of June in the year 1792

“Joab Scull son of James and Susanna Scull was Born the 2 Day of March in the year 1796.”

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.—We make the following corrections of two names of officers of this society : *Executive Committee*, for Rev. J. Max Hart, D.D., read Rev. J. Max Hark, D.D.; *Secretary*, for Frank A. Diffenderfer read Frank R. Diffenderffer.

GUNNING BEDFORD.—Mr. Gilbert Cope, of West Chester, Penna., sends us the following : “Recently, in looking over records at Trenton, I chanced to notice that letters of administration on the estate of Gunning Bedford, of Penn’s Neck, Salem County, were granted to Mary

Bedford, February 2, 1724. I have not investigated the family history, but presume that the decedent was of the same stock as the Gunning Bedford who married Mary Stevens (Abington Church record) September 1, 1767, and the Gunning Bedford whose monument may be seen in Wilmington, Del. The following items from the administration accounts may be of some interest :

The Estate of Gunning Bedford	
Deceased, Dr.	
To trouble in crossing the river } and preaching his Funeral } Sermon, }	£3. : :

N : Castle 4 June
1725.

ϕ me Geo : Ross.

Testis.

(Endorsed)

NEW CASTLE 5th June 1725.

Received the contents of the within account from Mistris Bedford, administratrix of her Deceased husbands Estate ϕ me

Signed in the presence of

GEO : ROSS.

JA : SHIRLEY.

LETTER OF SAMUEL MORRIS TO HIS NEPHEW SAMUEL POWELL, 1763.
" 4th July 1763.

"MY DEAR NEPHEW,—Alass! wth what a reluctant mind do I now set down to communicate to thee the Distresses of our poor Country, again involved in y^e Calamitys of a horrid Indian War; no doubt before this reaches thy hand y^e English papers will be full of it as mischiefs will daily increase; it is yet but of ab^t 4 or 5 weeks standing, but our Accounts are too certain. Collonel Clapham & all his family w^r y^e first sacrifice, the Traders in y^e Woods to westw^d of Fort Pitt are generally kill'd, to y^e number of 100 & upw^{ds}, and all their packs and goods taken: they have Invested Detroit & will cut off its Supplys, their lately fell a great number of boats or Battoes into their hands wth all y^e goods, among the rest 1500 w^t of powder, the people all killed to a man, amongst 'em a young Gentleman from England on his Travels, S^r Robert Davers. They were on y^e Lake Erie & put ashore for lodging at night, had been observed by y^e Indians in y^e Day & were watch'd till they encamp'd, no doubt in a careless manner, having no Information at all of any troubles wth y^e Indians, a number of Traders and Inhabitants are likewise destroyed. About y^e German flats tow^d Oswego & S^r W. Johnson its said obliged to retire to Albany: We have frequent accounts that y^e Woods about Fort Pitt are full of them & some skirmishes have pass'd between y^e people of y^e Fort and them, but mostly to our Disadvantage, no doubt they will use all their Industry & patience to way lay and cut off our Convoys; about 500 Highlanders are sent forward to reinforce the Garrisons but their safe Arrival there may be much doubted unless a good body of Woodsmen can be procur'd to attend them: In the mean time the Back Inhabitants from y^e Coves, from Juniata, & even from Connigocheague a little beyond Shippens-Town are flying & leaving all their fine Crops behind them, & vast numbers coming down Juniata & Susquehanna in Cannoes, where they settle in hutts on y^e side of y^e River about Harris's, indeed y^e Consternation is general, y^e horrid villains its said declare they will kill all they take, that y^e Governor shan't again ask his own flesh & blood of them, & so is their practice hitherto, & it is said have massacred all y^e Old prisoners that were among them taken in y^e former war. Our Assembly meets to-day on Special Summons. People are apt

still to impute this to French Influence, but I think we need look no farther than to our own conduct for y^e Cause, proper measures have not been used since y^e French have been drove off to lay their Jealousics & fears of our taking from them y^e whole country, but instead of that Gen. A——t its said has been selling large quantities of land in what they call their Country, some other stupid officers have been publishing advertisements for settling 4 or 5000 people to y^e Westw^d of Fort Pitt, and George Croghan had actually settled ab^t 40 family's on y^e Ohio; this & no notice being taken of them since y^e peace or in y^e Peacc making, what wonder that these people should endeavour to secure to themselves that part of y^e Country which is left them, to which Indeed they seem to have a natural right; had y^e power of Treating been as formerly in y^e hands of y^e severall Governments I doubt not but this mischief might have been remedied, but it now seems to be in y^e hands of men, who for reasons best known to themselves affect to despise an Indian Enemy, to whom I'm afraid they will find to all our cost they are no ways equal: So that the intended settlm^t of Several Governments mentioned in thim will probably be no very easy Task to be perform'd.

“But enough of this Disastrous Subject. I wish their may never be occasion to mention it again. I now take notice of thy favours of the 10th & 23 of April. Am very glad thou arc likely to settle y^e Rent with the Proprietor. I received Rousseau's Treatise, he's a fine writer, I wish he was as much a Christian. Staggs lot is in a good situation, but his Ideas of its value are to high, till tryal is made by Sale. Our opinions of value are a kind of guess work; Cha^s Jones Housc Next door above y^e Crooked billet, a little above Staggs in y^e same row, 30 f^t front, one half built to the water street y^e other $\frac{1}{4}$ open yard, was sold lately at Publick Vendue for £1325—poor Jones was Unfortunate as an Underwriter so that his whole estate won't be Sufficient for his debts. Sam. Oldman is in y^e same Condition & his Estate now on Sale which its thought will fall greatly Short. Hoy'd & Poussett lately call'd their Cred^{rs} together. We had here a pretty early Information of John Penns appointment as will perceive by some of mine to thee. I gave an Account to thee in mine by Budden of the successful complot of the Down Town men to reduce y^e fine Rising before y^e Governors door to their level, & this they have done with a witness, I told of two feet & half but it is 3 ft. I have got I. Palmer to Underpin y^e wall w^{ch} he has done Successfully w'out hurting y^e upper part, w^{ch} we fear'd wou'd have fallen, I have engaged bricks for paving a new & shall get y^e Steps &c. in Order again y^e New Governor's Arrives, or for some other Tenant. I gave thee an acc^t in a former letter of y^e managem^t of certain people on this Occasion therefore omit it now. As times are perhaps an army of ten thousand men are absolutely necessary, but am sorry they are to be fix'd by so heavy an impost upon us, whatever our Mother Country may think unless they exercise y^e part of a tender parent towards us, y^e Collonies will at last be but Dwarfish Children and not of that advantage to her which She has y^e greatest reason to expect under a kind Education. We have had an acc^t here of a Bishop or Bishops in y^e Publick papers. I'm quite Ignorant of their Importance, wether useful or otherwise, burdensome or profitable, how they may affect y^e community in general, or Dissentors in particular, wether their fees & profitts are to derive from y^e Collonies or from England, or what are their powers; however Festina lente I believe will be a good motto on his Lordships coach, ergo I think it won't suite a certain Gent —— who I believe wou'd be apt to drive to hard. Am very glad to hear that Gent. succeeds so well in his endeavours for y^e College, but hope y^e benefactions are not restrained to an alteration

of the masters on a Thorough Episcopalian Establishm^t as has been reported here. I Observe thy Direction respecting Coz. A. & think I take thy Intention rightly, & shall be careful to Observe it as nearly as possible. Marriage wth most young fellows is a leap in y^e Dark Owing generally to too partial a fondness for some lood object, a heated imagination and Blighted Judgment, to too much Attention or too little regard of y^e goods fortune, without y^e proper reflection of y^e union & concert of minds so necessary in y^e Indissoluble tie for life, too much beauty in y^e object, or too much fortune (as its call'd) naturally lead to this, to be violently in love wth one or t'other perverts y^e Judgem^t. Quid igitur Agendum est—must we marry w'out Love? No, but let consideration & Judgem^t preceed it, & a successful event will be best secured. I have no doubt of thy prudence in this respect, & beg thee only to look on my hints as memorials not as presumptuous Dictates; as the greatest prudence & care can't ensure happiness so it is necessary Providence should have its share in this grand event w^{ch} fixes our happiness or Misery for life, of this I make no doubt thou art so sensible that thy application is & will be finally there as well in this as all other dangerous and difficult Scenes of Human life, which protection I hope thee will all thy life experience. Our Family, ffrriends & Relations are generally well, Whatever Land or Sea this letter shall find thee in, be assur'd it conveys y^e most cordial most affectionate Sentiments & I think more warm affections as y^e distance is greater from thy truly Loving Uncle

“SAML MORRIS.

“P.S.—Wally is return'd from y^e Havanna he wrote thee from thence.”

Queries.

LAND FAMILY: DESCENDANTS AND CONNECTIONS.—Has any one any information concerning Francis Land and his wife, Christian (surname wanted)? He died in New Castle County, Delaware, in 1736, leaving a large property. He had sons, Samuel, John, and Thomas; daughters, Ann, married Thomas Jacobs; Dorcas, married Peter Alricks; Sarah, married Benjamin Swett; and Mary, married James Armitage, whose daughters, Ann, married Zachariah van Leuverigh; Dorcas, married Robert Montgomery; Sarah, married Governor Thomas McKean. Was Francis a son of Samuel and Dorcas Land? Samuel Land was deputy treasurer of New Castle County in 1684, and died in 1687; his widow married George Hogg, a justice of the peace, in 1696. Was Samuel Land a son of Edward Land, whose name appears in the list of taxables of New Castle County in 1685? Any record of any of the above names will be gratefully received.

V. S.

EMPSON FAMILY.—Information is desired about Cornelius Empson, who died in New Castle County, Delaware, in 1710. Was he a brother to Elizabeth Empson, who married Joshua Wright, in England, in 1669, and was daughter of William Empson, of Gowle Field House? She died in Burlington County, New Jersey, in 1705. Also about Benoni Empson, who was a taxable of New Castle County, Delaware, in 1693? Did Sarah, daughter of Cornelius Empson, born in 1687, marry Thomas Bird, who died at “Head of Elk River,” in Maryland, in 1741, and is supposed to have been father to Empson, John, Thomas, and William Bird, the latter the founder of Birdsboro'?

V. S.

ERNST OR EARNEST DESCENDANTS.—My great-grandfather, Ernst (since Anglicized Earnest), came to this country from Zurich, Switzer-

land, early in the last century, with his sister, when they were both small children. Their parents died on the voyage and were buried at sea. The boy was brought up by a Mr. Stephens, of Virginia, whose daughter he afterwards married. Descendants now reside in East Tennessee.

The little girl, I understand, grew to womanhood, married, and settled in Germantown; but the name of the person with whom she married is unknown to our family. It has occurred to me, however, that possibly she may have descendants in Germantown whose family records show that their maternal ancestor was a Miss Ernst (or Earnest). I should be delighted to know the fate of the little girl.

Washington, D.C.

FELIX A. REEVE.

JONES—ASTON—MADEIRA.—Information is desired concerning William Jones, of Philadelphia, Secretary of the Navy under President Madison, and president of the United States Bank; and of his ancestors and relatives. Also of the Aston family and of Peter Aston. Also of the family of John Madeira, who lived in Chambersburg, Penna., and died about 1840.

Pittsburgh, Penna.

GRACE A. GONNLY.

MOULDER—DUNCAN.—Brevet Brigadier-General Thomas Wilson, U.S.A., Chicago, Ill., desires information of the descendants of Martha Duncan Moulder, only sister of General William Duncan, of Philadelphia, and also of John Nicholson Moulder.

THE FREY FAMILY, OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PENNA.—There was in 1740, and later, one William Frey settled in the "Swamp," not far distant from the present borough of Pottstown, Penna. Information is desired of his descendants.

E. T. FREY.

BONN.—Information is desired of the descendants of Peter and Geritje Bonn, a Mennonite family, who emigrated from Holland to Pennsylvania in 1696, and settled on the Skippack, within the present limits of Montgomery County.

J. F. S.

Replies.

KIRK—LUKENS.—Mrs. Harriet E. Kirk, Ivyland, Bucks County, Penna., sends us the following data as a partial reply to the queries of A. P. K. S. [PENNA. MAGAZINE, p. 249.]:

At Horsham Preparative Meeting, held 26th of Eighth Month, 1762, John Lukens requested a certificate to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. He had been a prominent man in the neighborhood and was one of those instrumental in establishing the Hatboro' library in 1755. After his removal to the city he became surveyor-general of the province of Pennsylvania. The land on the northwest side of the road leading from the Welsh road to Horsham Meeting-house, adjoining the Palmer tract, was settled early by the Lukens family.

William Lukens, son of William and Elizabeth Lukens, and grandson of Rynear Tyson, the emigrant, lived where Harris Webster now lives, and had a large family. His sons were David, Jonathan, Thomas, Daniel, Joseph, and Benjamin, who lived on the homestead, the property remaining in the family for three generations.

John Kirk came from Derbyshire, England, and was married in Darby Meeting, Second Month, 1686, to Joan, daughter of Peter Elliott. He bought five hundred acres of land in what is now Upper Darby, on which they settled in 1687. They had eleven children. By his will, dated 28th of Eighth Month, 1705, he left five hundred acres in Moreland

Township, which he had bought of John Wood, to his six sons,—viz., Godfrey, John, Samuel, Joseph, Isaac, and Thomas.

Thomas settled on the property, and was married in 1731 to Mary Shaw in Neshaminy (now Middletown) Meeting. They had one son and four daughters.

The second son, John Kirk, in 1712 purchased, of John and Sarah Ironmonger, two hundred acres of land, upon which was a stone dwelling, for £260. This tract is in the northwest corner of Abington Township, and he subsequently bought five hundred and fifty acres in Upper Dublin Township. He was married to Sarah, daughter of Ryncar Tyson (one of the German Friends), in Abington Meeting, 13th of Seventh Month, 1722. Their children were John, who died in childhood, Ryncar, Margaret, Elizabeth, Mary, Isaac and Jacob (twins), and Sarah.

To each of his sons he gave two hundred acres of land, and willed the remainder, where Dreshertown now stands, to be divided among his daughters. He was a stone mason, and in 1721 did the mason work of the Park House for Sir William Keith, then governor of Pennsylvania. His son Jacob occupied the homestead, in which he lived to the age of ninety-three, and died in the house in which he was born. The large stone house built by John Kirk, in 1735, was remodelled by his grandson, John Kirk, in 1832, and is still in possession of the family.

BILES [PENNA. MAG., Vol. XV. p. 248].—The following extracts of the will of William Biles, the first, of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, is not intended for an answer to Mrs. Hemphill's question, but an examination of the wills and decds of these collaterals mentioned may give the clue as to the maiden name of the second William Biles's wife.

"Will of William Biles, Esquire, of Falls Township County of Bucks Province of Pennsylvania recorded at Doylestown. Book I page 267. dated Dec. 3 1737. Beloved wife Sarah, Son William, Sons Charles, Langhorne, daughter Sarah, daughter Elizabeth, my daughter Ann wife of Isaac Pennington, my daughter Hannah wife of Thomas Janney, my grandchildren William, Jeremiah and John Beatte (Beatty), grandchildren Edward, Mary and Sarah Pennington, grandchildren Thomas and Margaret Biles, My son William's wife, To Mary daughter of Isaac Pennington. Witnesses Wm. (?) Fry, Garret Vandine, John Dungan, Codicil, Son Thomas grandson Thomas, Proved Sept. 27, 1739."

W. J. POTTS.

MATRICULATES COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, 1752-62 [PENNA. MAG., Vol. XV. p. 240].—"Dr. Matthew McHenry was a son of Rev. Francis McHenry and Mary Ann Wilson, b. 1743, d. December 13, 1783. Surgeon of the ship 'Montgomery' of the Penna. Navy, appointed April 13, 1776, discharged March 29, 1777 (Pa. Archives 2d Ser. vol. i. page 318), m. Margaret Gregg (daughter of Robert Gregg,) d. March 17, 1796, aged 43, and had issue (surname McHenry):

"1. *Ann*, died Oct. 18, 1818, aged 41.

"2. *Elizabeth*, d. June 8, 1831, " 57.

"3. *Matthew, Jr.*, died at Mt. Holly, New Jersey."

Bellefonte, Pa.

JOHN BLAIR LINN.

VALLEY FORGE [PENNA. MAG., Vol. VIII. p. 441].—Recently, in looking over some clippings from Norristown newspapers of the date of the Valley Forge Centennial, 1878, I found this grave ["J. W., 1778."] described as that of one "Waterman," an officer and a "New Englander."

J. V. P. TURNER.

Book Notices.

THE SPANISH CONSPIRACY. A Review of Early Spanish Movements in the Southwest, containing Proofs of the Intrigues of James Wilkinson and John Brown; of the Complicity therewith of Judges Sebastian, Wallace, and Innes; the Early Struggles of Kentucky for Autonomy; the Intrigues of Sebastian in 1795-7, and the Legislative Investigation of his Corruption. By Thomas Marshall Green. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati. Price, \$2.00.

A better title for this book would have been "A War of the Grandfathers; or, A Review of the 'Political Beginnings of Kentucky,' by the late Colonel John Mason Brown." It is true that from its pages the reader may gather a tolerably clear idea of what is known in Western history as the Spanish Conspiracy, yet the chief object of the book is to take exception to the methods which Colonel Brown resorted to in attempting to vindicate his grandfather, John Brown, from the charges made against him by Colonel Thomas Marshall, the grandfather of Mr. Thomas Marshall Green, connecting him with that conspiracy. Mr. Green charges that Colonel Brown has been guilty of gross misrepresentations, and of the suppression of evidence calculated to have a very different effect on the mind of the reader than a plain, unvarnished narrative of events would have done. The Spanish Conspiracy is a subject which until lately has received but little attention from our historians, and therefore we may be pardoned if we say a few words concerning it.

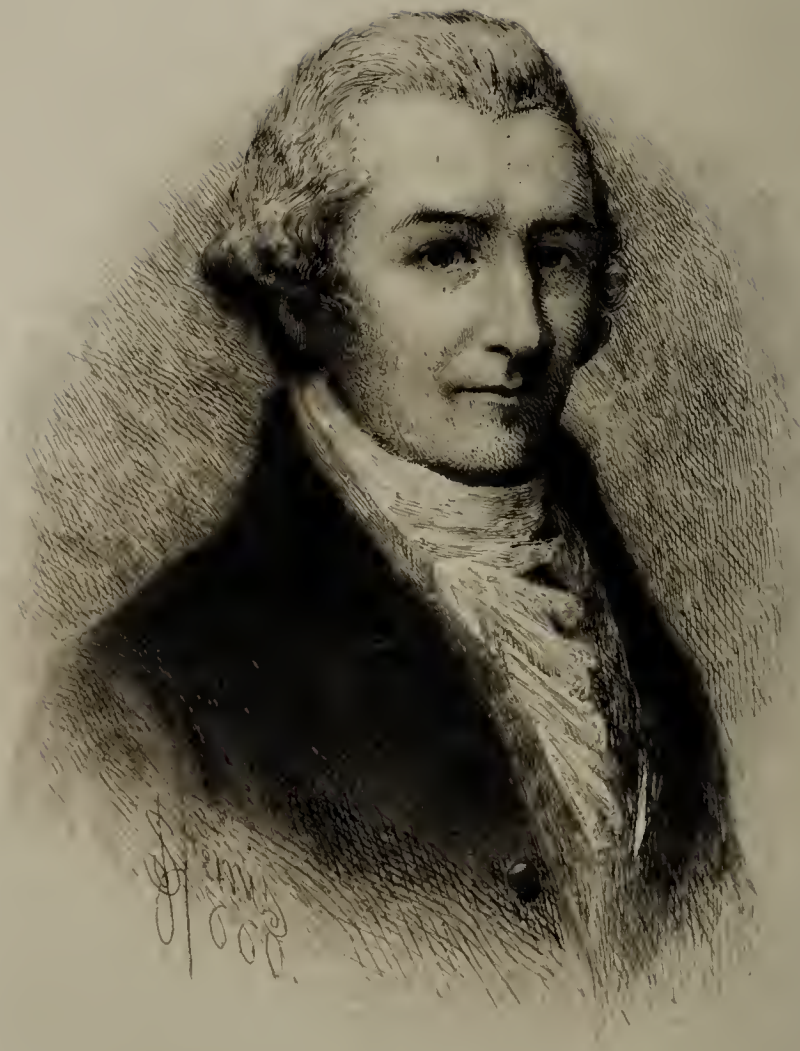
It belongs to that period of our history immediately following the Revolution and preceding the establishment of the Federal Union. The peace of 1783 found Spain in possession of Louisiana, and she refused to enter into any treaty with the United States which would give our citizens a free use of the Mississippi River, the mouth of which she controlled. Before the treaty of peace was signed Spain had tried to obtain, through France, a right to the country on the east of the Mississippi, west of the Alleghenies, and south of the Cumberland. She now hoped, by closing the river to the inhabitants of that sparsely-settled section, to show them that their true interest pointed to a union with her rather than to one with the United States. To accomplish this she did not hesitate to descend to subornation, and to take into her pay such influential citizens of the territory as she could seduce. The proposition to enter into a treaty with Spain which would close the Mississippi to citizens of the United States, for twenty years, except under certain restrictions, created great dissatisfaction in the West. This feeling was fomented by Spanish emissaries and others, who insisted that the rights of the West were being bartered away for the interest of Eastern States. As we now know, the chief person whose assistance Spain purchased at this time was General James Wilkinson, a soldier of the Revolution, who subsequently became commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, but who at that time was in civil life and engaged in commercial speculations. That there were others who succumbed to the temptations held out to them there can be no doubt, and the names of John Brown and Judges Sebastian, Wallace, and Innes have never been freed from stories circulated at the time. In 1806 it was charged that in 1787, Wilkinson, Brown, and Innes were implicated in "an intrigue with Spain to erect Kentucky into an independent State, to then separate the State so erected from the Federal Union, and to form an alliance with Spain for the ostensible purpose of obtaining the freedom of the navigation of the Mississippi."

Sebastian, it was publicly stated, had for years been a stipendiary of Spain. A legislative commission was appointed to investigate the charge against him, and such evidence was produced that he hastened to resign his commission as a judge of the Court of Appeals. Brown, who was then United States senator from Kentucky, was obliged to retire to private life. The Legislature of Kentucky asked Congress to inquire into the conduct of Innes, who then held the commission of United States district judge. Fortunately for Innes, the evidence of his guilt we now have was not accessible, and Congress did not consider that submitted by the Legislature sufficient to act upon. Wilkinson was tried by court-martial, but it could not then be shown that he was a pensioner of Spain. It was known that that government had granted him special privileges in navigating the Mississippi, but as that took place while he was in civil life, he was acquitted.

The chief opponents to those engaged in this intrigue were Colonel Thomas Marshall and his kinsman, Humphrey Marshall. To relieve his ancestor of the charges made against him, Colonel John Mason Brown wrote the "Political Beginnings of Kentucky," which was published, after his death, by the Filson Club. He has been answered by Mr. Thomas Marshall Green in "The Spanish Conspiracy," who, as we have said, claims that Colonel Brown has been guilty of misrepresentations and suppression. We have not space to review the controversy or to point out its main features. We think, however, that most of those who examine it impartially will agree that Mr. Green has proved his case, and that the verdict of a century must stand. Nevertheless, we regret the form he has chosen to express his views. He is a strong, vigorous writer, who does not hesitate to call a spade a spade, and who knows so much on the subject that he could have made a much more valuable book than the one before us had he allowed the Spanish Conspiracy to have been the "burthen of his song" and confined the misrepresentations of Colonel John Mason Brown, and his grandfather, to the region of foot-notes. The style of the book is too controversial to carry conviction. Such expressions as the following which we gather from the chapter headings are not calculated to inspire the reader with confidence, although supported by what appears to be unquestionable evidence:

"The deceit practised by Brown and Innes in 1806, imitated by Colonel J. M. Brown in 1890." "Colonel J. M. Brown discovers the trick of his grandfather and imitates it—His efforts to cast a slur upon Colonel Marshall." "The misrepresentations and suppression of John Mason Brown." "The trick played by John Brown to conceal the motive of that overture—It is imitated by his grandson." "The Browns all fight shy of it [Brown's letter to Muter]—Colonel Brown publishes it in a mutilated form—Imitates the prestidigitating of his grandfather." "Colonel Brown's suppressions, perversions, and inaccuracies." "Colonel Brown convicted of a want of candor by his own standard."

They tend rather to arouse the question,—Is not there something to be said on the other side? The general reader will, we think, push the book aside as a piece of controversial literature that may be of interest to the specialist, but which possesses none for him. As such it certainly has its value, but a calm, dignified history of the attempt that was once made to alienate a large portion of the territory of the United States—exposing the weakness of individuals and the weakness of the Confederacy—would have commanded a wider circle of readers and would have been more acceptable.



COLONEL WILLIAM BRADFORD.

THE PATRIOT PRINTER OF 76.

DIED SEPTEMBER 25TH 1791

AGED 72 YEARS.

From a Miniature in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XV.

1891.

No. 4.

HOW THE LANDING OF TEA WAS OPPOSED IN
PHILADELPHIA BY COLONEL WILLIAM BRAD-
FORD AND OTHERS IN 1773.

CONTRIBUTED BY FREDERICK D. STONE.

Every school-boy is taught the particulars of the destruction of tea in Boston Harbor on December the 16th, 1773, but there are few people, we believe, who have had the fact impressed on their minds that the opposition to the Tea Act began in Philadelphia. Historians have not failed to recognize this, but the violent measures to which the citizens of Boston were driven to prevent the landing of the tea have caused the beginning of the opposition to be overlooked, as well as the firm resistance that the importation of the obnoxious article met with in other parts of the country.

When the late John William Wallace was writing the life of his ancestor, Colonel William Bradford, he told me that though he could not find sufficient evidence to warrant the statement, he felt convinced that the opposition to the Tea Act in Philadelphia centred around Bradford's Coffee

House, and that Colonel Bradford was as active in resisting that measure as he had been in opposing the Stamp Act.

Unfortunately, Mr. Wallace never met with the following article, which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Mercury* of October 1, 1791, headed—

“ ANECDOTE OF THE LATE WILLIAM BRADFORD.

“After the Tax on Tea imported into America was reduced to 3d. per pound by the British Parliament, there appeared to be a general disposition in the Colonies to pay it. In this critical situation of the Liberties of America, Mr. Bradford stopped two or three citizens of Philadelphia, who were walking by the door of his house in Front-street, and stated to them the danger to which our country was exposed, by receiving, and paying the tax on, the tea. Many difficulties stared the gentlemen, to whom he spoke, in the face, in setting on foot an opposition to the landing of the dutied tea which was expected from London; and it was particularly mentioned that the citizens of Philadelphia were tired out with town and committee meetings, and that it would be impossible to collect a sufficient number of them together, to make an opposition to the tea, respectable and formidable. ‘Leave that business to me (said Mr. Bradford),—I’ll collect a town meeting for you—Prepare some resolves;—and,—they shall be executed.’ The next evening he collected a few of such citizens as he knew were heartily opposed to the usurpations of the British Parliament, who drew up some spirited resolutions to reject the dutied tea, and to send back the tea ship. These resolutions were adopted the Saturday¹ following, by a large and respectable town meeting, at which the late Dr. Thomas Cadwalader (a decided Whig) presided. The same resolutions were immediately afterwards adopted, nearly word for word, by a town meeting in Boston,² where a disposition to receive the tea had become general, from an idea that an opposition to it would not be seconded or supported by any of the other colonies. The events which followed the

¹ October 16, 1773.

² November 5, 1773.

adoption of these resolutions in the town of Boston are well known. However great the merit and sufferings of that town were in the beginning of the war, it is a singular fact, and well worthy of record in the history of the events which produced the American revolution, that the FIRST act in that great business originated in PHILADELPHIA, and that the FIRST scene in it originated with Mr. William Bradford.”

A more detailed account of the opposition was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of January 3, 1774; and although it has appeared in print more than once since then, its importance warrants its preservation in a more permanent place than any which has yet been accorded to it.

“The unanimity, spirit and zeal, which have heretofore animated all the colonies, from Boston to South Carolina, have been so eminently displayed in the opposition to the pernicious project of the East India Company, in sending Tea to America, while it remains subject to a duty, and the Americans at the same time confined by the strongest prohibitory laws to import it only from Great Britain, that a particular account of the transactions of this city cannot but be acceptable to all our readers, and every other friend of American liberty.

“Upon the first advice of this measure, a general dissatisfaction was expressed, that, at a time when we were struggling with this oppressive act, and an agreement subsisting not to import Tea while subject to the duty, our fellow-subjects in England should form a measure so directly tending to enforce the act and again embroil us with our parent state. When it was also considered that the proposed mode of disposing of the Tea tended to a monopoly, ever odious in a free country, a universal disapprobation shewed itself throughout the city. A public meeting of the inhabitants was held at the State-House on the 18th October,¹ at which great numbers attended, and the sense of the city was expressed in the following resolves:

¹ This meeting was held on the 16th, and is reported in the papers of the 18th.

“ 1. That the disposal of their own property is the inherent right of freemen ; that there can be no property in that which another can, of right, take from us without our consent ; that the claim of Parliament to tax America is, in other words, a claim of right to levy contributions on us at pleasure.

“ 2. That the duty imposed by Parliament upon Tea landed in America is a tax on the Americans, or levying contributions on them without their consent.

“ 3. That the express purpose for which the tax is levied on the Americans, namely for the support of government, administration of justice, and defence of his Majesty’s dominions in America, has a direct tendency to render Assemblies useless, and to introduce arbitrary government and slavery.

“ 4. That a virtuous and steady opposition to this ministerial plan of governing America is absolutely necessary to preserve even the shadow of liberty, and is a duty which every freeman in America owes to his country, to himself, and to his posterity.

“ 5. That the resolution lately entered into by the East India Company to send out their Tea to America, subject to the payment of duties on its being landed here, is an open attempt to enforce this ministerial plan, and a violent attack upon the liberties of America.

“ 6. That it is the duty of every American to oppose this attempt.

“ 7. That whoever shall, directly or indirectly, countenance this attempt, or in any wise aid or abet in unloading, receiving or vending the Tea sent, or to be sent out by the East India Company, while it remains subject to the payment of duty here, is an enemy to his country.

“ 8. That a Committee be immediately chosen to wait on these gentlemen, who, it is reported, are appointed by the East India Company to receive and sell said Tea, and request them, from a regard to their own character, and the peace and good order of the city and province, immediately to resign their appointment.

“ In consequence of this appointment the Committee

waited upon the gentlemen in this city, who had been appointed Consignees of the expected cargo. They represented to them the detestation and abhorrence, in which this measure was held by their fellow-citizens, the danger and difficulties which must attend the execution of so odious a trust, and expressed the united desire of the city, that they would renounce the commission, and engage not to intermeddle with the ship or cargo in any shape whatever. Some of the Commissioners resigned, in a manner that gave general satisfaction, others, in such equivocal terms as required further explanation. . However in a few days the resignation was complete.¹ In this situation things remained for a few days.

¹The consignees who resigned promptly at the request of the committee were Thomas and Isaac Wharton, and the letter-book of this firm, extracts from which have been transcribed for the Historical Society, contains many interesting items regarding the opposition to the Tea Act. One of the most important of these letters has been already given to our readers, and will be found on page 78 of Vol. XIV. of this magazine.

The firm that hesitated was that of James & Drinker, and to them the following card was addressed :

A CARD.

THE PUBLIC present their Compliments to Messieurs JAMES and DRINKER. *We* are informed that you have this day received your commission to enslave your native Country; and as your frivolous Plea of having received no Advice, relative to the scandalous Part you were to act, in the TEA-SCHEME, can no longer serve your purpose, nor divert our Attention, WE expect and desire YOU will immediately inform the PUBLIC, by a Line or two to be left at the COFFEE HOUSE, Whether you will, or will not, renounce all Pretensions to execute that Commission? THAT WE MAY GOVERN OURSELVES ACCORDINGLY.

Philadelphia, December 2, 1773.

Colonel Etting, in his "History of Independence Hall" (page 70), says that Abel James, the head of the firm of James & Drinker, was waited

In the mean time, the general spirit and indignation rose to such a height that it was thought proper to call another general meeting of the principal citizens, to consider and resolve upon such further steps as might give weight, and insure success to the unanimous opposition now formed. Accordingly a meeting was held for the above purpose, at which a great number of respectable inhabitants attended; and it appeared to be the unanimous opinion that the entry of the ship at the Custom-House, or the landing of any part of her cargo, would be attended with great danger and difficulty, and would directly tend to destroy that peace and good order which ought to be preserved. An addition of twelve other gentlemen was then made to the former Committee, and the general meeting adjourned till the arrival of the Tea ship. Information being given of that, the price of Tea was suddenly advanced, though this was owing to a general scarcity of that article, yet all the possessors of Tea, in order to give strength to the opposition, readily agreed to reduce the price, and sell what remained in their hands at a reasonable rate. Nothing now remained, but to keep up a proper correspondence and connection with the other colonies, and to take all prudent and proper precautions on the arrival of the Tea ship.

“It is not easy to describe the anxiety and suspense of the City in this interval.¹ Sundry reports of her arrival were received, which proved premature. But on Saturday evening the 25th ulto. an express came up from Chester, to inform the town, that the Tea-ship, commanded by Capt. Ayres, with her detested cargo, was arrived there, having followed another ship up the river so far.

“The Committee met early the next morning, and being upon by a crowd of citizens, and, in response to a demand for his resignation then and there made, he gave the guarantee of his word and property that the tea should not be landed, but that the ship should go back to England; then pointing to his young daughter, Rebecca, who stood near him perched on the head of one of her father’s hogsheads, he pledged her (*a vivum vadium*) to the fulfilment of his promise.

¹ It was during this season of anxiety that the two hand-bills of which we give reduced fac-similes were issued.

TO THE
Delaware Pilots.

WE took the Pleasure, some Days since, of kindly admonishing you *to do your Duty*; if perchance you should meet with the (*Tea*;) SHIP POLLY, CAPTAIN AYRES; a THREE DECKER which is hourly expected.

We have now to add, that Matters ripen fast here; and that *much is expected from those Lad; who meet with the Tea Ship*.---There is some Talk of A HANDSOME REWARD FOR THE PILOT WHO GIVES THE FIRST GOOD ACCOUNT OF HER.---How that may be, we cannot for *certain* determine; But ALL agree, that TAR and FEATHERS will be his Portion, who pilots her into this Harbour. And we will answer for ourselves, that, whoever is committed to us, as an Offender against the Rights of *America*, will experience the utmost Exertion of our Abilities; as

THE COMMITTEE FOR TARRING AND FEATHERING.

P. S. We expect you will furnish yourselves with Copies of the foregoing and following Letter, which are printed for this Purpose, that the Pilot who meets with Captain *Ayres* may favor him with a Sight

Committee of Tarring and Feathering.

T O
Capt. A Y R E S,

Of the SHIP P O L L Y, on a Voyage from *London* to *Philadelphia*,

S I R,

WE are informed that you have, imprudently, taken Charge of a Quantity of Tea; which has been sent out by the *India Company*, under the *Auspices of the Ministry*, as a Trial of *American* Virtue and Resolution.

Now, as your Cargo, on your Arrival here, will most assuredly bring you into hot water; and as you are perhaps a Stranger to *these Parts*, we have concluded to advise you of the present Situation of Affairs in *Philadelphia*---that, taking Time by the Forelock, you may stop short in your dangerous Errand---secure your Ship against the Rafts of combustible Matter which may be set on Fire, and turned loose against her; and more than all this, that you may preserve your own Person, from the Pitch and Feathers that are prepared for you.

In the first Place, we must tell you, that the *Pennsylvanians* are, to a Man, passionately fond of Freedom; the Birthright of *Americans*; and at all Events are determined to enjoy it

That they sincerely believe, no Power on the Face of the Earth has a Right to tax them without their Consent.

That in their Opinion, the Tea in your Custody is designed by the Ministry to enforce such a Tax, which they will undoubtedly oppose; and in so doing, give you every possible Obstruction.

We are nominated to a very disagreeable, but necessary Service -- To our Care are committed all Offenders against the Rights of *America*; and hapless is he, whose evil Destiny has doomed him to suffer at our Hands.

You are sent out on a diabolical Service; and if you are so foolish and obstinate as to compleat your Voyage; by bringing your Ship to Anchor in this Port; you may run such a Gauntlet, as will induce you, in your last Moments, most heartily to curse those who have made you the Dupe of their Avarice and Ambition.

What think you Captain, of a Halter around your Neck---ten Gallons of liquid Tar decanted on your Pate---with the Feathers of a dozen wild Geese laid Over that to enliven your Appearance?

Only think seriously of this---and fly to the Place from whence you came--- fly without Hesitation--- without the Formality of a Protest---and above all, Captain *Ayres* let us advise you to fly without the wild Geese Feathers.

Your Friends to serve

Philadelphia, Nov. 27, 1773

THE COMMITTEE as before subscribed

TO THE
DELAWARE
PILOTS.

THE Regard we have for your Characters, and our Desire to promote your future Peace and Safety, are the Ocaſion of this Third Addreſs to you.

IN our ſecond Letter we acquainted you, that the Tea Ship was a Three Decker ; We are now informed by good Authority, ſhe is not a Three Decker, but an *old black Ship, without a Head, or any Ornaments.*

THE *Captain* is a *ſhort fat Fellow*, and a little *obſtinate* withal.----So much the worſe for him.----For, ſo ſure as he *rides ruſty*, We ſhall heave him Keel out, and ſee that his Bottom be well fired, ſcrubb'd and paid.----His Upper-Works too, will have an Overhawling.----and as it is ſaid, he has a good deal of *Quick Work* about him, We will take particular Care that ſuch Part of him undergoes a thorough Rummaging.

WE have a ſtill *worſe Account* of his *Owner* ;--- for it is ſaid, the Ship POLLY was bought by him on Purpoſe, to make a Penny of us ; and that *he* and *Captain Ayres* were well adviſed, of the Riſque they would run, in thus daring to inſult and abuſe us.

Captain Ayres was here in the Time of the Stamp-Act, and ought to have known our People better, than to have expected we would be ſo mean as to ſuffer his *rotten TEA* to be funnel'd down our Throats, with the *Parliament's Duty* mixed with it

WE know him well, and have calculat'd to a Gill and a Feather, how much it will require to fit him for an *American Exhibition*. And we hope, not one of your Body will behave ſo ill, as to oblige us to clap him in the Cart along Side of the *Captain*.

WE muſt repeat, that the SHIP POLLY is an *old black Ship*, of about Two Hundred and Fifty Tons burthen, *without a Head, and without Ornaments*,----and, that CAPTAIN AYRES is a *thick chunky Fellow*.-----As ſuch, TAKE CARE TO AVOID THEM.

YOUR OLD FRIENDS,

THE COMMITTEE FOR TARRING AND FEATHERING.

Philadelphia, December 7. 1773.

apprized of the arrival of Mr. Gilbert Barclay, the other Consignee who came passenger in the ship, they immediately went in a body to request his renunciation of the commission. Mr. Barclay politely attended the Committee, at the first request; and being made acquainted with the sentiments of the city, and to the danger to which the public liberties of America was exposed by this measure, he, after expressing the particular hardship of his situation, also resigned the commission, in a manner which affected every one present.

“The Committee then appointed three of their members to go to Chester, and two others to Gloucester Point, in order to have the earliest opportunity of meeting Capt. Ayres, and representing to him the sense of the public, respecting his voyage and cargo. The gentlemen, who had set out for Chester, receiving intelligence that the vessel had weighed anchor about 12 o'clock and proceeded to town, returned. About 2 o'clock she appeared in sight of Gloucester-point, where a number of inhabitants from the town had assembled with the gentlemen from the Committee. As she passed along, she was hailed, and the Captain requested not to proceed farther, but to come on shore. This the captain complied with, and was landed thro' a lane made by the people, to the gentlemen appointed to confer with him. They represented to him the general sentiments, together with the danger and difficulties that would attend his refusal to comply with the wishes of the inhabitants; and finally desired him to proceed with them to town, where he would be more fully informed of the temper and resolution of the people. He was accordingly accompanied to town, by a number of persons, where he was soon convinced of the truth and propriety of the representations, which had been made to him—and agreed that upon the desire of the inhabitants being publickly expressed, he would conduct himself accordingly. Some small rudeness being offered to the Captain afterwards in the street, by some boys, several gentlemen interposed, and suppressed it before he received the least injury. Upon an

hour's notice, on Monday morning, a public meeting was called, and the State-House not being sufficient to hold the numbers assembled, they adjourned into the square.

Monday Morning, December 27, 1773.

THE TEA-SHIP being arrived, every Inhabitant, who wishes to preserve the Liberty of America, is desired to meet at the STATE-HOUSE, This Morning, precisely at TEN o'Clock, to advise what is best to be done on this alarming Crisis.

“ This meeting is allowed by all to be the most respectable, both in numbers and rank of those who attended it, that has been known in this city. After a short introduction, the following resolutions were not only agreed to, but the public approbation testified in the warmest manner.

“ 1. RESOLVED, That the TEA, on board the ship Polly, Capt. Ayres, shall not be landed.

“ 2. That Capt. Ayres shall neither enter nor report his vessel at the Custom-House.

“ 3. That Capt. Ayres shall carry back the Tea immediately.

“ 4. That Capt. Ayres shall immediately send a pilot on board his vessel, with orders to take charge of her, and proceed to Reedy-Island next high water.

“ 5. That the Captain shall be allowed to stay in town till tomorrow, to provide necessaries for his voyage.

“ 6. That he shall then be obliged to leave the town and proceed to his vessel, and make the best of his way out of our river and bay.

“ 7. That a Committee of four gentlemen be appointed to see these resolves carried into execution.

“ The Assembly were then informed of the spirit and resolution of New-York, Charles-Town, South Carolina, and the conduct of the people of Boston, whereupon it was unanimously resolved,

“ That this assembly highly approve of the conduct and spirit of the people of New-York, Charles-Town, and Boston, and return their hearty thanks to the people of Boston for their resolution in destroying the Tea rather than suffering it to be landed.

“The whole business was conducted with a decorum and order worthy the importance of the cause. Capt. Ayres being present at this meeting, solemnly and publicly engaged, that he would literally comply with the sense of the city, as expressed in the above resolutions.

“A proper supply of necessaries and fresh provisions being then procured, in about two hours, the Tea-ship weighed anchor from Gloucester Point, where she lay within sight of the town, and has proceeded with her whole cargo, on her return to the East-India Company.

“The public think the conduct of those gentlemen, whose goods are returned aboard the Tea-ship, ought not to pass unnoticed, as they have upon this occasion generously sacrificed their private interest to the public good.

“Thus this important affair in which there has been so glorious an exertion of public virtue and spirit, has been brought to a happy issue; by which the force of the law so obstinately persisted in to the prejudice of the national commerce, for the sake of the principle on which it is founded (a right of taxing the Americans without their consent), has been effectually broken,—and the foundations of American liberty more deeply laid than ever.”

In another part of the same paper the following is given :

“The ground which was covered by the people on Monday last, in the State House square being measured, it was calculated by two different persons, unknown to each other, that there were near 8000 people collected there, and many hundreds who were on the way were disappointed reaching the place of meeting before the business was over, owing to the short notice that was given. On Tuesday last, at three-quarters of an hour after two o'clock, Capt. *Ayres*, of the TEA-SHIP *Polly*, with Mr. Barclay, late one of the Consignees, left Arch Street Wharf, on board a pilot boat (having been 46 hours in town), to follow the ship to Reedy Island, and from thence transport the East India Company's adventure to its OLD ROTTING PLACE, in Leaden Hall Street, *London*. They were attended to the wharf by a concourse of people who wished them a good voyage.”

ITINERARY OF GENERAL WASHINGTON FROM JUNE
15, 1775, TO DECEMBER 23, 1783.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Concluded from page 320.)

1783.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1783.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "The Power given to Mr. Oswald, to treat with any Commissioner or Commissioners properly authorized from the United States of America, is more than I expected wd. happen before the meeting of Parliament. But, as the Gentlemen on the part of America could not treat with Him unless such powers were given, it became an act of necessity to cede them to effect their other purposes. Thus I account for the indirect acknowledgment of our Independence by the King, who, I dare say, felt some severe pangs at the time he put his hand to the Letters Patent. It is not, however, less efficacious or pleasing on that account; and breaking the Ice is a great point gained." — *Washington to Robert R. Livingston.*

In the spring of 1782, Richard Oswald was sent by the British ministry to Paris, to confer with Dr. Franklin on the subject of peace. His mission was initiatory in character. In July following, Parliament having passed a bill to enable the king to acknowledge the independence of the United States, Oswald was vested with full power to negotiate a treaty of peace, and in September the United States appointed four commissioners for the same purpose. They were John Adams, John Jay, Benjamin Franklin, and Henry Laurens, all of whom were in Europe at the time. A preliminary treaty of peace was signed by the commissioners and Mr. Oswald at Paris, November 30, 1782. In April, 1783, the preliminary treaty having been ratified by the United States and Great Britain, the latter vested David Hartley with full powers to negotiate a definitive treaty with the American commissioners. It was concluded and signed at Paris, September 3, 1783,

by Hartley, on the part of Great Britain, and Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, on the part of the United States.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 23.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"The evacuation of Charlestown [December 14, 1782], and the total liberation of the southern states from the power of the enemy, are important events, of which the commander-in-chief has now received official information. It is with heartfelt satisfaction he takes an early opportunity of making it known, and of congratulating the Army on the favourable prospect before us. The enemy, after more than a seven years war, and all their boasted conquests, being now reduced to narrower limits and a weaker force than they were possessed of seven years ago."

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"Thursday, the 6th of February, being the anniversary of the alliance with France, a *feu de joie* will be fired on that day in celebration of this auspicious event, by the troops of this cantonment; previous to which they will be reviewed by the Commander-in-Chief on their parades. The regiments to be under arms precisely at one o'clock. . . . After the *feu de joie*, the General will be happy to see, not only all the officers of the cantonment, but all the gentlemen of the army and other gentlemen and ladies who can attend with convenience at the new Public Building, where a cold collation will be provided."

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "It is with a pleasure, which friendship only is susceptible of, that I congratulate you on the glorious end you have put to hostilities in the Southern States. The honor and advantages of it, I hope and trust you will long live to enjoy. . . . If historiographers should be hardy enough to fill the page of History with the advantages, that have been gained with unequal numbers, (on the part of America) in the course of this contest, and

attempt to relate the distressing circumstances under which they have been obtained, it is more than probable, that Posterity will bestow on their labors the epithet and marks of fiction; for it will not be believed, that such a force as Great Britain has employed for eight years in this country could be baffled in their plan of subjugating it, by numbers infinitely less, composed of men oftentimes half starved, always in Rags, without pay, and experiencing at times every species of distress, which human nature is capable of undergoing. I intended to have wrote you a long letter on sundry matters; but Major Burnet popped in unexpectedly at a time, when I was preparing for the celebration of the day, and was just going to a review of the troops, previous to the *feu de joie*.”—*Washington to General Greene.*

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—“The New Building being so far finished as to admit the troops to attend public worship therein, after to-morrow it is directed that divine service should be performed there every Sunday by the several chaplains of the New Windsor cantonment, in rotation.”

The “New Building,” rendered famous as having been the place where Washington, in considering the “Newburgh Addresses,” read his celebrated appeal to the officers of the army, was a one-story frame structure put up by the labor and materials furnished by the different regiments. It stood on an eminence at New Windsor, and was “handsomely finished, with a spacious hall, sufficient to contain a brigade of troops on Lord’s days, for public worship, with an orchestra at one end. On the top was a cupola and flag-staff.”¹ It was also called the “Temple” and the “Public Building,” and although erected for religious services, was used as a meeting place for general purposes.

TUESDAY, MARCH 4.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “The predicament, in which I stand as a citizen and soldier, is as critical and delicate as can well be conceived. It has been the subject of many contemplative hours. The sufferings of a com-

¹ Heath’s *Memoirs*, p. 358.

plaining army on one hand, and the inability of Congress and tardiness of the States on the other, are the forebodings of evil, and may be productive of events, which are more to be deprecated than prevented. . . . The just claims of the army ought, and it is to be hoped will have their weight with every sensible legislature in the United States, if Congress point to their demands and show, if the case is so, the reasonableness of them, and the impracticability of complying with them without their aid."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton.*

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "It is with inexpressible concern I make the following report to your Excellency. Two days ago, anonymous papers were circulated in the army, requesting a general meeting of the officers on the next day. A copy of one of these papers is enclosed. About the same time, another anonymous paper, purporting to be an address to the officers of the army, was handed about in a clandestine manner. It is also enclosed. . . . Since writing the foregoing, another anonymous paper is put in circulation, a copy of which is enclosed."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

After the army went into winter-quarters at New Windsor, they became extremely dissatisfied with the prospects of having any settlement of the long arrearages of pay and unadjusted claims. In December, therefore, a memorial to Congress was drawn up, and a committee appointed to carry it to Philadelphia. The committee, composed of General McDougall, Colonel Ogden, and Colonel Brooks, did not meet with the success they anticipated, and the discontent increased. On the 10th of March anonymous notices were circulated in the army, calling for a meeting of the general and field officers at the "New Building," on Tuesday, the 11th, at eleven o'clock. At the same time a well-written address was also circulated through the camp, which, in effect, advised the army to take matters into their own hands, and to make demonstrations that should arouse the fears of the people and of the Congress, and therefore obtain justice for themselves. Washington's attention being called to the matter, he referred to it in general orders of the 11th; expressed his disapprobation of the whole proceedings as disorderly; and requested the general and field officers, with one officer from each company and a proper representation from the staff of the army, to meet at the "New Building," at twelve o'clock, on Saturday,

March 15. On the appearance of this, a second anonymous address was issued, more subdued in tone, but expressing similar sentiments to the first.

SATURDAY, MARCH 15.

At New Windsor: A meeting of the officers of the army at the "New Building," conformably to the notification given in the general orders of the 11th, General Gates as senior officer presiding. The meeting was opened by the Commander-in-chief, who read an address, reminding those present of the cause for which they had taken up arms, and appealing to them not to adopt measures which might cast a shade over that glory which had been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which was celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism. "By thus determining and thus acting, you will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, 'Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection, to which human nature is capable of attaining.'"

After reading his address, Washington retired from the meeting and left the officers to discuss the subject unrestrained by his presence. The deliberation of the officers was short and their decision prompt and unanimous. They passed resolutions thanking the Commander-in-chief for the course he had pursued and expressive of their unabated attachment, and also declaring their unshaken reliance on the good faith of Congress and their country, and a determination to bear with patience their grievances till in due time they should be redressed. The anonymous addresses were from the pen of Major John Armstrong, an aide-de-camp to General Gates, then only twenty-five years of age, and who afterwards held important civil offices. They were written at the request of several officers, who believed that the tardy proceedings of Congress, and the reluctance of that body to recognize the claims of the public creditors, called for a decided expression of the sentiments of the army.

SUNDAY, MARCH 16.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "I have the honor to inform your Excellency, for the satisfaction of Congress,

that the meeting of the officers, which was mentioned in my last, was held yesterday; and that it has terminated in a manner, which I had reason to expect, from a knowledge of that good sense and steady patriotism of the gentlemen of the army, which on frequent occasions I have discovered.”
— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

TUESDAY, MARCH 18.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book.*—“The Commander-in-Chief is highly satisfied with the report of the proceedings of the officers assembled on the 15th instant, in obedience to the orders of the 11th. He begs his inability to communicate an adequate idea of the pleasing feelings which have been excited in his breast by the affectionate sentiments expressed toward him on that occasion, may be considered as an apology for his silence.”

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “I have the honor to acknowledge your Excellency’s favor of the 12th instant, and to thank you most sincerely for the intelligence you were pleased to communicate. The articles of treaty between America and Great Britain are as full and as satisfactory as we had reason to expect; but, from the connexion in which they stand with a general pacification, they are very inconclusive and contingent.”— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

The intelligence was the news of the *preliminary articles of peace* between Great Britain and the United States having been signed by the commissioners at Paris on the 30th of November. The news was brought by the packet “Washington,” commanded by Captain Barney, who sailed from L’Orient on the 17th of January, and arrived at Philadelphia on the morning of the 12th of March.

SATURDAY, MARCH 22.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book.*—“In justice to the zeal and ability of the chaplains, as well as to his own feelings, the Commander-in-Chief thinks it a duty to declare that the regularity and decorum with which

divine service is performed every Sunday will reflect great credit on the army in general, tend to improve the morals, and at the same time increase the happiness of the soldiery, and must afford the most pure, rational entertainment for every serious and well-disposed mind."

SUNDAY, MARCH 30.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "Your Excellency will permit me, with the most lively sensations of gratitude and pleasure, to return you my warmest thanks for the communication, which you have been pleased to make to me and to the army, of the glorious news of a general peace; an event, which cannot fail to diffuse a general joy throughout the United States, but to none of their citizens more than to the officers and soldiers, who now compose the army."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The first intelligence of the signing of a *general treaty of peace* at Paris, on the 20th of January, was brought to America by the "Triumph," a French armed vessel, sent by Lafayette from Count d'Estaing's squadron at Cadiz. It arrived at Philadelphia in the afternoon of the 23d of March. The following letter was received by the President of Congress from the Marquis de Lafayette: "*Cadiz, 5 February, 1783.*—Having been at some pains to engage a vessel to go to Philadelphia, I now find myself happily relieved by the kindness of Count d'Estaing. He is just now pleased to tell me, that he will despatch a French ship, and, by way of compliment on the occasion, he has made choice of the *Triumph*. So that I am not without hope of giving Congress the first tidings of a general peace; and I am happy in the smallest opportunity of doing any thing that may prove agreeable to America."

MONDAY, MARCH 31.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "I rejoice most exceedingly that there is an end to our warfare, and that such a field is opening to our view, as will, with wisdom to direct the cultivation of it, make us a great, a respectable, and happy people; but it must be improved by other means than State politics, and unreasonable jealousies and prejudices, or (it requires not the second sight to see that) we shall be instruments in the hands of our enemies, and those European powers, who may be jealous of our greatness in union,

to dissolve the confederation. But, to obtain this, although the way seems extremely plain, is not so easy.”—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton.*

“It remains only for the States to be wise, and to establish their independence on the basis of an inviolable, efficacious union, and a firm confederation, which may prevent their being made the sport of European policy. May heaven give them wisdom to adopt the measures still necessary for this important purpose.”—*Washington to General Greene, March 31.*

SATURDAY, APRIL 5.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “We stand now an Independent People, and have yet to learn political Tactics. We are placed among the nations of the Earth, and have a character to establish; but how we shall acquit ourselves, time must discover. The probability is (at least I fear it) that local or State politics will interfere too much with the more liberal and extensive plan of government, which wisdom and foresight, freed from the mist of prejudice, would dictate; and that we shall be guilty of many blunders in treading this boundless theatre, before we shall have arrived at any perfection in this art; in a word, that the experience, which is purchased at the price of difficulties and distress, will alone convince us, that the honor, power, and true Interest of this Country must be measured by a Continental scale, and that every departure therefrom weakens the Union, and may ultimately break the band which holds us together.”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “I feel great satisfaction from your Excellency’s despatches by Captain Stapleton, conveying to me the joyful annunciation of your having received official accounts of the conclusion of a general peace, and a cessation of hostilities. Without official authority from Congress, but perfectly relying on your communication, I can at this time only issue my orders to the American out-posts, to suspend all acts of hostilities until

further orders. This shall be instantly done; and I shall be happy in the momentary expectation of having it in my power to publish to the American army a general cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and America.”—*Washington to Sir Guy Carleton.*

“A packet from England arrived in this port last night, by which I have despatches from Mr. Townshend, one of his Majesty’s principal Secretaries of State, communicating official intelligence, that preliminary articles of peace with France and Spain were signed at Paris on the 20th of January last, and that the ratifications have been since exchanged at the same place. The King, Sir, has been pleased in consequence of these events, to order proclamations to be published, declaring a cessation of arms, as well by sea as land; and his Majesty’s pleasure signified, that I should cause the same to be published in all places under my command, in order that his Majesty’s subjects may pay immediate and due obedience thereto; and such proclamation I shall accordingly cause to be made on Tuesday next, the 8th instant.”—*Carleton to Washington, New York, April 6.*

FRIDAY, APRIL 18.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book.*—“The Commander-in-Chief orders the cessation of hostilities, between the United States and the King of Great Britain, to be publicly proclaimed to-morrow at twelve at the New Building; and that the Proclamation, which will be communicated herewith, be read to-morrow evening at the head of every regiment and corps of the army; after which the Chaplains with the several brigades will render thanks to Almighty God for all His mercies, particularly for His overruling the wrath of man to His glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations.”

“April 19th.—At noon, the Proclamation of the Congress, for a cessation of hostilities, was published at the door of the New Building, followed by three huzzas; after which, a prayer was made by the Rev. Mr. Ganno, and an anthem *Independence*, from Billings [“No King but God”] was performed by vocal and instrumental music. The same day, Gen. Washington went for Ringwood, to meet the Secretary at War, on some business of importance.”—*Heath’s Memoirs.*

SUNDAY, APRIL 20.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “At evening, the Com-

mander in Chief returned [from Ringwood, New Jersey] to head-quarters."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"April 1783.—To the Expences of a Trip to meet the Secretary at War at Ringwood for the purpose of making arrangements for liberating the Prisoners, &c. . £8.10.8."—*Washington's Accounts*.

SATURDAY, MAY 3.

At Dobbs' Ferry: "May 3d—In the forenoon the Commander in Chief, and Gov. Clinton, with their suites, &c. went down the river to Dobb's Ferry, to meet Gen. Sir Guy Carleton. Four companies of light-infantry marched [on the 2d] for that place, to do the duty of guards. Sir Guy was to come up the river in a frigate."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"I cannot decline the personal interview proposed by your Excellency, and purpose being in a frigate as near Tappan as may be, where I understand you mean to lodge. If I hear nothing from you to occasion an alteration, I intend being up, on the 5th of May, accompanied by a smaller vessel or two, for the accommodation of Lieutenant-Governor Elliot, Chief Justice William Smith, and part of my family."—*Carleton to Washington*, New York, April 24.

TUESDAY, MAY 6.

At Dobbs' Ferry: In conference with Sir Guy Carleton, in relation to the evacuation of the posts in the United States, in possession of the British troops, and other arrangements.

During the conferences between the two commanders, which are said to have been held at the Van Brugh Livingston house, on the height which overlooks the Hudson at Dobbs' Ferry, on the eastern shore of the river, Washington made his quarters at Orangetown or Tappan, on the west side, about two miles from the ferry.

THURSDAY, MAY 8.

At Dobbs' Ferry: "On Thursday, the 8th May, the American party dined on board the sloop [frigate?], where they were received with military honors and entertained with stately courtesy by Sir Guy. When Washington and Clinton went on board the British sloop of war they were saluted with the firing of a number of cannon. When they left the

sloop she fired seventeen guns—in honor of Washington's exalted military rank. This was the first complimentary salute fired by Great Britain in honor of an officer of the United States, and virtually the first salute to the nation." — *John Austin Stevens, Magazine of American History*, V. 108.

FRIDAY, MAY 9.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "May 9th.—At evening the Commander in Chief returned to head-quarters, having had an interview with Gen. Sir Guy Carleton."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"To Expenditures upon an Interview with Sir Guy Carleton at Orange Town exclusive of what was paid by the Contract^{rs}.—Viz : At Birdsalls. . £5.2.6.—Maj^r Blauvets for the use of his H^s Furniture &c. 10 Guin^s a 37/4. . £18.13.4.—Gave the Dragoons to carry them to their Quarters. . £5.12.0.—Gave the Serv^{ts}. to travel up by Land to H^d. Quarters. . £3.4.0 = Y^k. Cur^y. . . £32.11.10."—*Washington's Accounts*.

SATURDAY, MAY 10.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "I had not the honor of receiving your favor of the 1st instant until the 7th. Being at that time at Orangetown on a conference with Sir Guy Carleton, it had a circuitous route to make before it reached me. . . . I have now the honor to mention to you, as I did some time ago to the Minister of France, that, viewing the peace so near a final conclusion, I could not hold myself justified in a desire to detain the troops under your command from the expectations of their sovereign, or to prevent their own wishes of a return to their native country and friends." — *Washington to the Duke de Lauzun*.

The French troops under the Duke de Lauzun, being part of Count de Roehambeau's army that remained after the departure of the main body at Boston, sailed from the Capes of Delaware on the 12th of May. They had been cantoned recently at Wilmington, in the State of Delaware. Some of these remaining troops had also been stationed at Baltimore under General Lavalette, being the detachment left by Count de Roehambeau at Yorktown to effect the removal of the French artillery and stores from that place.

THURSDAY, MAY 15.

At Poughkeepsie, New York: "The Commander in Chief went for Poughkeepsie. A letter from Gen. Sir Guy Carleton, to Gov. Clinton, had rendered an interview between the Governor and the Commander in Chief necessary."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

"May 16th.—At evening, the Commander in Chief returned to headquarters."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

MONDAY, JUNE 2.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book*.—"The Honorable the Congress have been pleased to pass the following resolve: 'RESOLVED, That the Commander-in-Chief be instructed to grant furloughs to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers in the service of the United States enlisted to serve during the war, who shall be discharged as soon as the definitive treaty of peace is concluded, together with a proportional number of commissioned officers of the different grades, and that the Secretary of War and Commander-in-Chief take the proper measures for conducting those troops to their respective homes, in such a manner as may be most convenient to themselves, and the States through which they may pass, and that the men thus furloughed be allowed to take their arms with them.' In consequence of the preceding resolution, colonels and commanders of corps will immediately make return of the number of men who will be entitled to furloughs, to the commanding officers of the several State Lines, who will make report thereof to Head-quarters. At the same time returns are to be made of the non-commissioned officers and privates who will not be included in the above description. . . . A sufficient number of officers of the several grades to command the troops who will remain in the field must continue with them. They are requested to make this a matter of agreement among themselves."

FRIDAY, JUNE 6.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: Receives and answers an address from the "Generals and officers commanding regi-

ments and corps, in the cantonment on Hudson's River," relative to the furloughing of officers and soldiers without any settlement of their accounts.

"The two subjects of complaint with the army appear to be, the delay of the three months payment, which had been expected, and the want of a settlement of accounts. I have thought myself authorized to assure them, that Congress had attended and would attend particularly to their grievances, and have made some little variations respecting furloughs from what was at first proposed."—*Washington to the President of Congress, June 7.*

SUNDAY, JUNE 8.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh : Issues a circular letter addressed to the governors of the several States, pointing out the course which he deemed it the duty and the interest of the country to adopt.

"The circular letter, which he wrote to the governors of the States, as his last official communication, and which was designed to be laid before the several legislatures, is remarkable for its ability, the deep interest it manifests for the officers and soldiers, who had fought the battles of their country, the soundness of its principles, and the wisdom of its counsels. Four great points he aims to enforce as essential in guiding the deliberations of every public body, and as claiming the serious attention of every citizen, namely, an indissoluble union of the States ; a sacred regard to public justice ; the adoption of a proper military peace establishment ; and a pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the States, which should induce them to forget local prejudices, and incline them to mutual concessions for the advantage of the community. These he calls the pillars by which alone independence and national character can be supported. On each of these topics he remarks at considerable length, with a felicity of style and cogency of reasoning in all respects worthy of the subject."—*Sparks, I. 395.*

In quite a number of publications the date of this letter is given as of June 18. The transcript, however, in the Department of State, Washington, D.C., is dated June 8. The letter was submitted to Congress on June 11, and referred to a committee, consisting of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and Theodoric Bland, who on the 19th reported favorably, and it was resolved that copies should be transmitted to the several States.

TUESDAY, JUNE 10.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh : *Orderly Book.* — "The strength of the army in this cantonment being considerably diminished by the number of men lately furloughed, the

order of the 16th of April, directing a General, Field-Officers, and Quarter-Master to be of the day, and also a regiment to parade every day for duty, is dispensed with. For the present, there will be one Field-Officer, and an Adjutant of the day; and the guards only will form on the grand parade at 9 o'clock in the morning."

The gradual falling away of the main Continental army from the cantonment at New Windsor is recorded in Heath's Memoirs: "June 5th. The Maryland battalion marched from the cantonment.—June 6th. In the forenoon, the Jersey line marched from the cantonment to their own State, where they were to be disbanded.—June 8th. The men for the war, belonging to the Maryland, New-Jersey, New-York, and New-Hampshire lines, having marched from the cantonment, a division of the Massachusetts men marched on this day.—June 9th. A division of the Suffolk and Worcester furloughed men, marched for their own State, and so on, a division each day, until the whole had marched.—June 13th. The men who had enlisted for 3 years, and for shorter periods not expired, were formed, those belonging to Massachusetts into 4 regiments. . . . On the morning of the 16th, these regiments incorporated, and were formed into two brigades.—June 20th. The troops at the cantonment were put under orders, to be ready to march for West Point on the succeeding Monday.—June 23d. The Massachusetts regiments marched to West Point."

THURSDAY, JUNE 19.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "A number of officers of the army, viz. several general officers, and officers commanding regiments and corps, met at the New Building, and elected his Excellency Gen. Washington, President General; Gen. M'Dougal, Treasurer; and Gen. Knox, Secretary, *pro tempore*, to the Society of the Cincinnati."—*Heath's Memoirs.*

"While contemplating a final separation of the officers of the army," says Doctor Thacher, "the tenderest feelings of the heart had their afflicting operations. It was at the suggestion of General Knox, and with the acquiescence of the Commander in Chief, that an expedient was devised by which a hope was entertained that their long cherished friendship and social intercourse might be perpetuated, and that at future periods they might annually communicate, and revive a recollection of the bonds by which they were connected." In pursuance of these suggestions a meeting was held on the 10th day of May, at which a committee was appointed to revise the proposals for such an institution. The report of the committee was accepted

at a meeting held May 13, at the quarters of Baron Steuben, in the Verplanck house, near Fishkill landing, and the "Society of the Cincinnati," with a provision for the formation of State Societies, was organized. Washington officiated as president until his death.

FRIDAY, JUNE 20.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: *Orderly Book*. — "The troops of this cantonment [New Windsor] will march on Monday morning, 5 o'clock, by the left. The senior Brigadier on the Massachusetts Line will conduct the column over Butter Hill to West Point. . . . These corps, with the troops at West Point, will compose the garrisons of that post and its dependencies. Major-general Knox will be pleased to expedite in the best manner he is able the building of an arsenal and magazines, agreeably to the instructions he hath received from the Secretary at War. As soon as the troops are collected at West Point, an accurate inspection is to take place, in consequence of which all non-commissioned officers and privates who are incapable of service, except in the corps of invalids, are to be discharged, and the names of all the men whose time of service will expire within a month are also to be reported to Head-quarters."

TUESDAY, JUNE 24.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: "The men engaged to serve three years were formed into regiments and corps in the following manner; namely, the troops of Massachusetts compose four regiments; Connecticut, one regiment; New Hampshire, five companies; Rhode Island, two companies; Massachusetts artillery, three companies; and New York artillery, two companies. The army being thus reduced to merely a competent garrison for West Point, that being the only object of importance in this quarter, and it being necessary to employ a considerable part of the men in building an arsenal and magazines at that post, agreeably to the directions given by the secretary at war, the troops accordingly broke up the cantonment [at New Windsor] yesterday, and removed to that garrison, where Major-General Knox

still retains the command.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

TUESDAY, JULY 8.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “It now rests with the Confederated Powers, by the line of conduct they mean to adopt, to make this Country great, happy and respectable; or to sink it into littleness—worse perhaps—into Anarchy and confusion; for certain I am, that unless adequate Powers are given to Congress for the *general* purposes of the Federal Union, that we shall soon moulder into dust and become contemptible in the eyes of Europe, if we are not made the sport of their Politicks.”—*Washington to Dr. William Gordon.*

THURSDAY, JULY 10.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “I cannot sufficiently express my sensibility for your kind congratulations on the favorable termination of the War, and for the flattering manner in which you are pleased to speak of my instrumentality in effecting a revolution, which I can truly aver, was not in the beginning premeditated; but the result of dire necessity brought about by the persecuting spirit of the British Government. This no man can speak to with more certainty, or assert upon better grounds than myself—as I was a member of Congress in the Councils of America till the affair at Bunker Hill, and was an attentive observer and witness to those interesting and painful struggles for accommodation, and redress of grievances in a Constitutional way, which all the world saw and must have approved, except the ignorant, deluded and designing.”—*Washington to George William Fairfax.*

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “I have resolved to wear away a little time [while expecting the definitive treaty], in performing a tour to the northward, as far as Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and perhaps as far up the Mohawk River as Fort Schuyler. I shall leave this place on Friday next,

and shall probably be gone about two weeks.”— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

Washington left head-quarters on July 18, in company with Governor Clinton; passed Albany, Old Saratoga, Fort Edward, Lake George, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and returned by way of Ballston and Schenectady; thence up the Mohawk to Fort Schuyler (formerly Fort Stanwix), and over to Wood Creek; thence down across to Otsego Lake, and over the portage to the Mohawk, arriving at Albany on August 4, and at Newburgh on the following day.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “After a tour of at least seven hundred and fifty miles, performed in nineteen days, I returned to this place yesterday afternoon, where I found your favor of the 31st ultimo, intimating a resolution of Congress for calling me to Princeton, partly, as it would seem, on my own account, and partly for the purpose of giving aid to Congress.”— *Washington to James McHenry.*

In consequence of some riotous demonstrations on the part of a small body of Pennsylvania troops, against the State government, Congress, deeming themselves unsafe at Philadelphia, had adjourned on June 21, and reassembled at Princeton, New Jersey, on the 30th. The resolution of Congress, requesting the attendance of the Commander-in-chief, was passed July 28.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh: “I have received a call from Congress to repair to Princeton. . . . As this will remove me to a distance, and may for a considerable time separate us, and prevent frequent personal Interviews; I should be much obliged to you for intimating to me—before I go—what will be necessary for me to do respecting our purchase of the Saratoga Springs.”— *Washington to Governor Clinton.*

On their return from Crown Point and Ticonderoga, in the month of July, Washington and Governor Clinton stopped at the High Rock Spring, where the village of Saratoga Springs now stands. Being strongly impressed with the value of the water and the importance of the surrounding land, they determined to purchase it, the necessary arrangements being left

to Governor Clinton. It was found, however, that some members of the Livingston family had already secured the land. The High Rock and Flat Rock Springs were the only ones known at the time.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh : Answers an address (dated July 10) from the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in general court assembled, congratulating him on the return of peace.

After referring to the happy return of peace, with expressions of gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, the wise conduct of the Commander-in-chief in discharging his important trust, and the hardships he endured, the address concludes in the following words: "While patriots shall not cease to applaud the sacred attachment which you have constantly manifested to the rights of citizens—too often violated by men in arms! your military virtues and achievements will be deeply recorded in the breasts of your countrymen and their posterity, and make the brightest pages in the history of mankind."

SUNDAY, AUGUST 17.

At Head-quarters, Newburgh : *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander-in-Chief, having been requested by Congress to give his attendance at Princeton, proposes to set out for that place to-morrow; but he expects to have the pleasure of seeing the army again before he retires to private life. During his absence Major-general Knox will retain command of the troops, and all reports are to be made to him accordingly."

This is the last order issued by the Commander-in-chief from the Newburgh head-quarters. On the following morning he set out for Rocky Hill, New Jersey, four miles north of Princeton, stopping at West Point on his way. An interesting incident of this visit to West Point exists in a memorandum of the weights of several of the officers, taken on August 19, in which Washington's is stated to be two hundred and nine pounds. He arrived at Rocky Hill on the 24th.

MONDAY, AUGUST 25.

At Rocky Hill, New Jersey : On this day, Congress, in session at Princeton, "being informed of the arrival of the commander in chief in the neighborhood of Princeton : *Ordered*, That he have an audience in Congress to-morrow at 12 o'clock."

Washington's head-quarters at Rocky Hill (the last head-quarters of the Revolution) were at the house of Judge Berrien, which had been engaged by Congress and suitably furnished for the purpose. The house (a two-story frame building with piazzas) is still standing upon an eminence a short distance from the Millstone River.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 26.

At Princeton, New Jersey: Attends Congress according to order, and being introduced by two members, an address is made to him by the President (Elias Boudinot), which he answers.

"CONGRESS feel particular pleasure in seeing your excellency, and in congratulating you on the success of a war, in which you have acted so conspicuous a part. It has been the singular happiness of the United States, that during a war so long, so dangerous, and so important, Providence has been graciously pleased to preserve the life of a general, who has merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence and affection of his fellow citizens. In other nations many have performed services, for which they have deserved and received the thanks of the public. But to you, Sir, peculiar praise is due. Your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country. They deserve the grateful acknowledgments of a free and independent nation. These acknowledgments, Congress have the satisfaction of expressing to your excellency."—*Journal of Congress.*

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

At Head-quarters, Rocky Hill: "Congress have come to no determination *yet*, respecting a Peace Establishment, nor am I able to say when they will. I have lately had a conference with a committee on this subject, and have reiterated my former opinions, but it appears to me, that there is not a sufficient representation to discuss *Great National* points; nor do I believe there will be, while that Honble. Body continue their Sessions at this place."—*Washington to Governor Clinton.*

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24.

At Princeton: Attends the annual commencement of the College of New Jersey, the exercises being held in the First Presbyterian Church.

After the commencement exercises the Board of Trustees of the College adopted the following minute: "The Board being desirous to give some testimony of their high respect for the character of his Excellency General

Washington, who has so auspiciously conducted the armies of America. *Resolved*, That the Rev. Drs. Witherspoon, Rodgers, and Johnes be a committee to wait upon his Excellency to request him to sit for his picture, to be taken by Mr. Charles Wilson Peale of Philadelphia. And that this portrait when finished be placed in the Hall of the College, in the room of the picture of the late King of Great Britain [George the Second], which was torn away by a ball from the American artillery in the battle of Princeton." On the following day "Dr. Witherspoon [President of the College] reported to the Board that his Excellency General Washington had delivered to him fifty guineas, which he begged the Trustees to accept as a testimony of his respect for the College." The *picture*, a full-length, representing Washington at the battle of Princeton, is still owned by the College.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12.

At Princeton: "Having the appearance, and indeed the enjoyment of peace, without a final declaration of it, I, who am only waiting for the ceremonials, or till the British forces shall have taken leave of New York, am placed in an awkward and disagreeable situation, it being my anxious desire to quit the walks of public life, and under the shadow of my own vine and my own fig tree to seek those enjoyments and that relaxation, which a mind, that has been constantly upon the stretch for more than eight years, stands so much in need of. I have fixed this epoch to the arrival of the definitive treaty, or to the evacuation of my country by our newly acquired friends."—*Washington to the Marquis de Chastellux*.

"WHEREAS, by the blessings of divine Providence on our cause and our arms, the glorious period is arrived when our national independence and sovereignty are established, and we enjoy the prospect of a permanent and honorable peace: We therefore, the United States in Congress assembled, thus impressed with a lively sense of the distinguished merit and good conduct of the said armies, do give them the thanks of their country for their long, eminent and faithful services. And it is our will and pleasure that such part of the federal armies as stands engaged to serve during the war, and as, by our acts of the twenty-sixth day of May, the eleventh day of June, the ninth day of August, and twenty-sixth day of September last, were furloughed, shall, from and after the third day of November next, be absolutely discharged, by virtue of this our proclamation, from the said service."—*Journal of Congress*, October 18, 1783.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23.

At Head-quarters, Rocky Hill: "From many circumstances I think it now pretty evident, that the British will

leave New York in all next month. Sir Guy Carleton has informed me verbally, through Mr. Parker, that he expects to evacuate the city by the 20th, and that, when the transports, which were gone to Nova Scotia, returned, he should be able to fix the day of his departure. In consequence of this intelligence, and fearful lest I should not have timely notice, I have this day written to General Knox, desiring him to confer with your Excellency, and make every necessary arrangement for taking possession of the city the moment the British quit it."—*Washington to Governor Clinton.*

It was some time during his occupancy of the "Berrien House," at Rocky Hill, that Washington sat to William Dunlap, then in his eighteenth year, for his portrait. In mentioning this fact (*Arts of Design*, I. 253), Mr. Dunlap adds, "My visits were now frequent to head-quarters. The only military in the neighborhood were the general's suite and a captain's guard, whose tents were on the green before the Berrian house, and the captain's marqué nearly in front. The soldiers were New England yemen's sons, none older than twenty; their commander was Captain Howe, in after times long a resident of New York. . . . I was quite at home in every respect at head-quarters; to breakfast and dine day after day with the general and Mrs. Washington, and members of congress, and noticed as the young painter, was delicious." Dunlap's early effort, a crayon drawing, possesses no particular significance in the history of Washington portraiture.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31.

At Princeton: "On the 31st of October, the honorable Peter John Van Berckel, minister plenipotentiary from their high mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands, was admitted by congress to an audience. The chevalier de La Luzerne, general Washington, the superintendent of finance, many other gentlemen of eminence, together with a number of ladies of the first character, assembled in the chapel of Princeton college to participate of the joys the audience should afford; and for which their spirits were put into proper tone, by the arrival, a little before Mr. Van Berckel entered, of an authentic account that the definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States was concluded."—*Gordon; History of the American Revolution*, IV. 379.

On Saturday, October 25, Congress, in session, resolved, "That the honorable P. J. Berckel, be received as minister plenipotentiary from their high mightinesses the states general of the United Netherlands; and that agreeably to his request, he be admitted to a public audience in Congress. That the Congress room in Princeton, on Thursday next [the 30th] at noon, be appointed as the time and place for such audience. That the superintendent of finance and secretary at war, or either of them, perform on this occasion, the duties assigned to the secretary for foreign affairs, in the ceremonial respecting foreign ministers; and that they inform the supreme executives of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, his excellency the commander in chief, the honorable the minister plenipotentiary of France, and such civil and military gentlemen as are in or near Princeton, of the public audience to be given to the honorable the minister plenipotentiary of their high mightinesses the states general of the United Netherlands." The audience, however, did not take place until the following day, Friday, October 31, as stated by Dr. Gordon.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2.

At Head-quarters, Rocky Hill: Issues his Farewell Address to the Armies of the United States.

In this admirable address, after referring to the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, the complete attainment of the object for which they had contended, at a period earlier than could have been expected, and the enlarged prospects of happiness opened by the confirmation of national independence and sovereignty, the Commander-in-chief recommends all the troops to carry into civil society the most conciliating dispositions, proving themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens than they had been persevering and victorious as soldiers, and to maintain the strongest attachment to the Union. Then, presenting his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner to the officers and men for the assistance he had received from every class, he adds, "And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honor to command, he can only again offer in their behalf his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favors, both here and hereafter, attend those, who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes and this benediction, the Commander-in-chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed for ever."

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4.

At Head-quarters, Rocky Hill: Issues an order in com-

pliance with a resolution of Congress of October 29, that “from and after the 15th of November instant all the troops in the service of the United States, who are now in Pennsylvania, or the southward thereof, except the garrison of Fort Pitt, shall be considered as discharged from the service of the United States: and all officers commanding corps or detachments of any such troops, are hereby directed to grant them proper discharges accordingly.”

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

At Head-quarters, Rocky Hill: “In consequence of the information given by your Excellency to Congress some time past, that you had received orders for the evacuation of New York, and of the verbal message you were pleased to send by Mr. Parker to me respecting the period of embarkation, I am now induced to request, that you will be so obliging as to inform me of the particular time, or even the certain day, if possible, when this event will happen.”—*Washington to Sir Guy Carleton.*

The following description of the horse and saddle used by Washington when at Rocky Hill is transcribed from a MS. note dated “Prince-Town Sep^r. 28th 1783,” found among the papers of Nathaniel Lawrence, Attorney-General of New York, 1792-95: “Genl Washingtons horse and saddle. Old crooked saddle with a short deep blue saddle cloth flowered, with buff cloth at the edge, buckskin seat, the cloth not below the skirts of the saddle at the sides; double skirts, crupper, sursingle, and breast strap; small rone horse, not five; double bitted steal bridle, and plated stirrups. The General usually rode from Rockingham to Prince Town, which is five miles, in forty minutes. The General weighs commonly about 210 pounds.”

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7.

At Head-quarters, Rocky Hill: Receives and answers an address from the officers of the militia of the county of Somerset, New Jersey.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9.

At Head-quarters, Rocky Hill: “You will take charge of the Waggon which contain my baggage, and with the escort proceed with them to Virginia, and deliver the baggage at my house ten miles below Alexandria. As you

know they contain all my Papers, which are of immense value to me, I am sure it is unnecessary to request your particular attention to them. . . . The bundle which contains my accounts you will be carefull of, and deliver them at the financier's Office with the Letters addressed to him, that is Mr. Morris."—*Washington to Captain Bazaleel Howe.*

"Philadelphia, November 11, 1783.—In the evening came Genl. Washington's 6 Baggage Teams. November 12.—His Excel. Baggage Teams set out for that Excellent Commander's Residence in Virginia."—*MS. Journal of Jacob Hiltzheimer.*

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

At West Point: "I had the honor yesterday to receive, by Major Beckwith, your Excellency's favor of the 12th. To-day I will see the governor of this State, and concert with him the necessary arrangements for taking possession of the city of New York, and the other posts mentioned in your letter, at the times therein specified."—*Washington to Sir Guy Carleton.*

As a step preparatory to taking possession of the city of New York, General Washington went from Rocky Hill to West Point, where the part of the Continental army that still remained in service was stationed, under the command of General Knox. "On his way to West Point, being overtaken by a snow storm, Washington was detained at Orangetown or Tappan nearly three days. During this delay he was the guest of Mrs. De Wint, at the house occupied by him as head-quarters in 1780."—*Magazine of American History, V. 109.*

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

At West Point: Receives from the officers of that part of the army remaining on the banks of the Hudson an answer to his Farewell Address to the Armies of the United States.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

At West Point: *Garrison Orders.*—"The Definitive Treaty being concluded and the city of New York to be evacuated on the 22d inst., His Excellency the Commander in Chief proposes to celebrate the Peace at that place, on Monday the first day of December next, by a display of Fire-Works

and Illuminations, which were intended to have been exhibited at this post, or such of them as have not been injured by time, and can be removed.”

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18.

At West Point: “I have at length the pleasure to inform your Excellency and Congress, that Sir Guy Carleton has fixed upon the time at which he proposes to evacuate the city of New York. The particulars are more fully explained in his letter of the 12th instant, a copy of which, together with my answer, is enclosed.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

“I propose to relinquish the posts at Kingsbridge, and as far as McGowans Pass inclusive on this Island, on the 21st instant; to resign the possession of Herrick’s and Hampstead with all to the eastward on Long Island, on the same day; and, if possible to give up this city with Brooklyn, on the day following; and Paulus Hook, Dennis’s, and Staten Island, as soon after as may be practicable.”—*Carleton to Washington, New York, November 12.*

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

At “Day’s Tavern,” Harlem: “On Friday, the 21st of November, arrived at Haerlem, at Day’s tavern,¹ nine miles from the city of New York, his Excellency General WASHINGTON, and his Excellency GEORGE CLINTON Esq. Governor of that State. They were attended by a number of Gentlemen of the army, Members of the Senate and Assembly, and other officers of distinction. The Continental troops are stationed at or near M’Gowan’s pass,² our pickets are advanced to the Dove Tavern, five miles from the city.”—*Pennsylvania Journal, November 29.*

“I went from Peekskill Tuesday the 18 of Novemr. In Company with his Excellency Gover’r Clinton, Coll. Benson and Coll Campbell, Lodge that night with Genl Cortlandt at Croton River, proceeded and lodged Wednes-

¹ Near the corner of the present One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street and Eighth Avenue.

² The encampment, of about eight hundred men, was on the present line of One Hundred and Tenth Street, between Fifth and Eighth Avenues, the northern boundary of Central Park.

day night [19th] at Edw. Covenhov'n [Tarrytown] where we mett his Excellency Genl Washington & his aids, the next Night [20th] Lodged with Mrs. Fred'k V Cortlandt at the Yonkers after having dined with Genl Lewis Morris. Fryday morning [21st] wee rode In Company with the Commander In Chief as far as the widow Day's at harlem, where we held a Council. Saturday [22d] I rode down to Mr. Stuyvesants stay'd there until Tuesday [25th]. Then rode Triumphant into the Citty with the Commander."—*Note-Book of Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt, Magazine of American History*, V. 134.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

At "Day's Tavern," Harlem: "With regard to the information, that a deliberate combination has been formed to plunder the city of New York, I have to observe, that the intelligence appears to me not to be well-founded; at least, no intimations of the kind had ever before come to my knowledge; and I can assure your Excellency, that such arrangements have been made, as will, in my opinion, not only utterly discountenance, but effectually prevent, any outrage or disorder."—*Washington to Sir Guy Carleton*.

"New York, Nov. 24, 1783. The Committee appointed to conduct the Order of receiving their Excellencies Governor CLINTON and General WASHINGTON, BEG Leave to inform their Fellow-Citizens, that the Troops, under the command of Major-General KNOX, will take Possession of the City at the Hour agreed on, Tuesday next; as soon as this may be performed, he will request the Citizens who may be assembled on Horseback, at the Bowling-Green, the lower End of the Broad-Way, to accompany him to meet their Excellencies Governor CLINTON and General WASHINGTON, at the Bull's Head,¹ in the Bowery—the Citizens on Foot to assemble at or near the Tea-water-Pump² at Fresh-water. ORDER OF PROCESSION. A Party of Horse will precede their Excellencies and be on their flanks—after the General and Governor, will follow the Lieutenant-Governor and Members of the Council for the temporary Government of the Southern Parts of the State—The Gentlemen on Horse-back, eight in Front—those on Foot, in the Rear of the Horse, in like Manner. Their Excellencies, after passing down Queen-Street, and the Line of Troops up the Broad-way, will a-light at CAPE'S Tavern. The Committee hope to see their Fellow-

¹ The old Bowery Theatre, on the west side of the Bowery, just below Canal Street, opened in 1826, was erected on the site of the Bull's Head Tavern. The original building, destroyed by fire in 1828, was rebuilt and again destroyed in 1838, rebuilt and destroyed for the third time in 1845, and again rebuilt. It is now a German theatre, called "The Thalia."

² Near the present junction of Chatham and Roosevelt Streets.

Citizens, conduct themselves with Decency and Decorum on this joyful Occasion.”—*Contemporary hand-bill.*

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25.

At New York: “*New York*, Nov. 26.—Yesterday in the morning the American troops marched from Haerlem, to the Bowery lane.—They remained there [near the present junction of Third Avenue and the Bowery] until about one o’clock, when the British troops left the post in the Bowery, and the American troops marched in and took possession of the city.—After the troops had taken possession of the city, the GENERAL and GOVERNOR made their public entry in the following manner:—Their excellencies the general and governor with their suites on horseback. The lieutenant governor, and the members of the council for the temporary government of the southern district four a-breast.—Major-general Knox, and the officers of the army, eight a-breast.—Citizens on horseback, eight a-breast.—The speaker of the assembly, and citizens, on foot, eight a-breast.

“ Their excellencies the governor and commander in chief were escorted by a body of West Chester light horse, under the command of Captain Delavan. The procession proceeded down Queen [now Pearl] Street, and through the Broad-way, to *Cape’s* Tavern. The governor gave a public dinner at Fraunce’s tavern; at which the commander in chief, and other general officers were present.”—*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 2.

Fraunce’s tavern, at which Washington took up his quarters, was situated at what is now the southeast corner of Broad and Pearl Streets. Part of the original building, which was erected by Etienne De Lancey in 1724, is still standing.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 26.

At New York: Receives and answers an address from the “Citizens of New York, who have returned from Exile, in behalf of themselves and their suffering Brethren.”

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28.

At New York: “On Friday [November 28] at *Cape’s* Tavern the Citizens, who have lately returned from exile,

gave an elegant Entertainment to his Excellency the Governor, and the Council for governing the city; his Excellency General Washington, and the officers of the Army; about three hundred Gentlemen graced the feast."—*The Remembrancer*, XVII. 190.

Cape's tavern was on the west side of Broadway, and north corner of the present Thames Street. The house, at the time of its erection one of the largest and finest structures in the city, was taken down in 1792, and the City Hotel built on its site. The Boreel building now occupies the ground.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 1.

At New York: "On Monday [December 1] a very elegant Entertainment was given at Cape's Tavern, by his Excellency the Governor, to his Excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Ambassador from his most Christian Majesty to the United States. His Excellency General Washington, the principal Officers of this State and of the army, and upwards of an hundred Gentlemen were present, who passed the day and evening with great conviviality."—*The Remembrancer*, XVII. 190.

On the same day Washington received and answered an address from the freeholders and inhabitants of King's County, on Nassau or Long Island, State of New York.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2.

At New York: Receives and answers an address from the "members of the volunteer associations, and other inhabitants of the Kingdom of Ireland lately arrived in the City."

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3.

At New York: "On the 25th of November the British troops left this city, and a detachment of our army marched into it. The civil power was immediately put in possession, and I have the happiness to assure you, that the most perfect regularity and good order have prevailed ever since."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"New York, December 3.—The splendid display of Fire-works last evening, was so highly satisfactory, that I must request you to present to

Captain Price, under whose direction they were prepared ; and to the Officers who assisted him, my thanks for the great skill and attention shewn in the conduct of that business.”—*Washington to General Knox.*

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4.

At New York: “Last Thursday noon [December 4] the principal officers of the army in town assembled at Fraunce’s tavern to take a final leave of their illustrious, gracious and much loved commander, *General Washington*. The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated than in this interesting and distressful scene. His excellency having filled a glass of wine, thus addressed his brave fellow-soldiers :

“ ‘*With an heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you : I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.*’

“ These words produced extreme sensibility on both sides ; they were answered by warm expressions, and fervent wishes, from the gentlemen of the army, whose truly pathetic feelings it is not in our power to convey to the reader. Soon after this scene was closed, his excellency the Governor, the honorable the Council and citizens of the first distinction waited on the general and in terms the most affectionate, took their leave.

“ The corps of light infantry was drawn up in a line, the commander in chief, about two o’clock passed through them on his way to Whitehall, where he embarked in his barge for Powles Hook [Jersey City]. He is attended by general le baron de Steuben ; proposes to make a short stay at Philadelphia ; will thence proceed to Annapolis, where he will resign his Commission as General of the American armies, into the hands of the Continental Congress,¹ from whom it was derived, immediately after which his excellency will set out for his seat, named Mount Vernon, in Virginia, emulating the example of his model, the virtuous Roman gen-

¹ Congress adjourned at Princeton, November 4, to meet at Annapolis, Maryland, on the 26th. A quorum, however, was not present until Saturday, the 13th of December, when nine States were represented.

eral, who, victorious, left the tented field, covered with honors, and withdrew from public life, *otium cum dignitate.*”
—*Rivington's New York Gazette*, December 6.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6.

At Trenton, New Jersey: “Trenton, December 9, 1783. Last Saturday [December 6] arrived in this town his Excellency General Washington, on his way to his seat in Virginia. Immediately after his arrival he was waited upon by his Excellency the Governor [William Livingston], and a Committee of the Council and Assembly, by whom he was presented with an Address.”—*Independent Gazetteer*, December 20.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 8.

At Philadelphia: “Yesterday [December 8] at noon his excellency GENERAL WASHINGTON arrived here [Philadelphia] from New York. His Excellency was met at Frankfort, by his excellency the President of this State [John Dickinson], the honorable the financier [Robert Morris], generals St. Clair and Hand, the Philadelphia, troop of horse, and a number of the citizens, who had the pleasure of accompanying the General into the city. His arrival was announced by a discharge of cannon, the bells were rang, and the people testified their satisfaction, at once more seeing their illustrious chief, by repeated acclamations.”—*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 9.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9.

At Philadelphia: Receives and answers an address from the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania, and one from the merchants of the city of Philadelphia.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At Philadelphia: Receives and answers an address from the President and the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

“Philadelphia, Dec'r 10th.—After seeing the backs of the British Forces turned upon us, and the Executive of the State of New York put into

peaceable possession of their Capital, I set out for this place—On Monday next I expect to leave the City, and by slow travelling arrive at Baltimore on Wednesday, where I will spend one day and then proceed to Annapolis and get translated into a private citizen.”—*Washington to James McHenry.*

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11.

At Philadelphia: A day of public thanksgiving recommended by Congress, October 18.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12.

At Philadelphia: “On Friday the 12th inst. the merchants of this city [Philadelphia], who on all occasions have manifested the sincerest attachment to our beloved Commander in Chief, had an elegant entertainment prepared for him at the City Tavern, as a fresh proof of their respect and attention. On this truly festive and happy occasion, toasts and sentiments were given. . . . The evening was closed with a ball, at which were present a very numerous and brilliant company of ladies and gentlemen.”—*Independent Gazetteer*, December 30.

On the same day Washington received and answered an address from the officers of the militia of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia.

The City Tavern, where the entertainment and ball were given, was erected in 1773, by a voluntary subscription of the principal gentlemen of Philadelphia, for the convenience of the public. It stood on the west side of Second Street, above Walnut, No. 86, corner of the present Gold Street, formerly Bank Alley, and was subsequently known as “The Merchants’ Coffee-House.” When first opened in the early part of 1774, with Daniel Smith as the landlord, it was considered the largest and most elegant house of its kind in America. The site, in connection with adjoining ground extending to Walnut Street, is now occupied by “The Anthracite Building,” erected about thirty-five years ago.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At Philadelphia: Receives and answers addresses from the magistrates of the city and county of Philadelphia; from the American Philosophical Society; from the Trustees and Faculty of the University of the State of Pennsylvania; and from the clergy, gentlemen of the law, and physicians of the city of Philadelphia.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 15.

Leaves Philadelphia: "The Illustrious General Washington after Commanding the Army of the united States above Eight years, has just given the Americans Possession of New York again, after the British had it in their hands more than Seven years, has this day Set out from Philad^a. towards his Seat in Virginia Escorted a little way out of Town by Their Excellency's de la Luzerne, Ambassador from France on his right, John Dickinson President of this State on his left, and the City Troop of Horse in the rear. The Honourable Rob^t. Morris & his Lady in a Carriage a little way ahead. Now I think from the Present appearance it is not Likely that I shall Have the Honour of Seeing that Great and Good Man again do therefore most Sincerely Congratulate him on the Noble Resolution he has fixed, That is not to accept of any Public office hereafter but to spend the Remainder of his days in a Private life, is undoubtedly the best and Surest way to Preserve the Honours he so justly acquired during the Late War."—*MS. Journal of Jacob Hiltzheimer, of Philadelphia.*

"Wilmington [Delaware], December 16.—Last evening his excellency general Washington arrived in this borough, on his way to his seat in Virginia; previous to his arrival he was met by the governor and council, the attorney-general, and other civil officers of the State, officers of the army and other gentlemen, who escorted him into town; on his arrival he was saluted by thirteen discharges of cannon; an elegant supper was provided, whilst the inhabitants demonstrated their joy by making large bonfires &c."—*Pennsylvania Packet, December 23.*

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 16.

At Wilmington: Is waited on by the burgesses and other officers of the corporation, accompanied by a number of respectable inhabitants, and presented with an address, which he answers.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18.

At Baltimore, Maryland: Is entertained at a public dinner given to him, and receives and answers an address from the citizens.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19.

At Annapolis, Maryland: "The congress of the United States being then in session, at the city of Annapolis, general Washington arrived there with suite, on Friday, the 19th December, 1783, for the purpose of resigning his commission into their hands. He was met a few miles from the city, by generals Gates and Smallwood, accompanied by several of the principal inhabitants of the place, who escorted him to Mr. Mann's hotel, where apartments were prepared for his reception. His arrival was announced by the discharge of cannon. After receiving visits from many of the citizens, he waited on the president of congress."—*Annals of Annapolis.*

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20.

At Annapolis: Dines with the President of Congress, in company with the members of that body and the principal military and civil officers of the State.

"In Congress, Annapolis, December 20.—A letter, of this day, from the commander in chief was read, informing Congress of his arrival in this city, with the intention of asking leave to resign the commission he has the honor of holding in their service, and desiring to know their pleasure in what manner it will be most proper to offer his resignation; whether in writing or at an audience; Whereupon, *Resolved*, That his excellency the commander in chief be admitted to a public audience on Tuesday next, at twelve o'clock. *Resolved*, That a public entertainment be given to the commander in chief on Monday next."—*Journal of Congress.*

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 21.

At Annapolis: "On Sunday morning, he returned the visits of the citizens and others who had waited on him."—*Annals of Annapolis.*

MONDAY, DECEMBER 22.

At Annapolis: "On Monday, congress gave general Washington a public dinner, at the ball-room, where upwards of two hundred persons of distinction are said to have been present; and where every thing was provided by Mr. Mann, in the most elegant and profuse style. After

dinner many toasts were drunk, accompanied by the discharge of cannon. At night the state-house was illuminated, where a ball was given by the general assembly, at which a very numerous and brilliant company of ladies was present. On this occasion general Washington opened the ball with Mrs. James Maccubbin, of this city, one of the most beautiful women of her day. An address was made to general Washington, on this occasion, by the corporate authorities of the city.”—*Annals of Annapolis.*

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 23.

At Annapolis: “Congress assembled. Present Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina; and from the state of New-Hampshire, Mr. Foster, and from the state of South-Carolina, Mr. Read.

“According to order, his excellency the commander in chief was admitted to a public audience, and being seated, the president [Thomas Mifflin], after a pause, informed him, that the United States in Congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communications; Whereupon, he arose and addressed as follows:

“ ‘MR. PRESIDENT: The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

“ ‘Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States, of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence—a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task; which however was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of heaven.

“ ‘The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the inter-

position of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

“ ‘ While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

“ ‘ I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendance of them to his holy keeping.

“ ‘ Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to the august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.’ ”—*Journal of Congress.*

Upon concluding the address, the Commander-in-chief delivered his commission to the President of Congress, who, in receiving it, made an appropriate reply. The ceremony ended—a remarkable scene had been witnessed; a memorable action performed—and GEORGE WASHINGTON, a private citizen, withdrew from the room. On the following morning he set out for Mount Vernon, his eight years and a half of service completed,—a service which, for unwearied devotion, unselfish patriotism, and unwonted forbearance, stands unequalled in the annals of this world’s history!

LETTERS OF COLONEL GEORGE CROGHAN.

[The following letters of Colonel George Croghan, addressed to Thomas Wharton, a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, who was one of a company of gentlemen largely interested in lands in Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, are of interest, as they graphically describe the situation of affairs in the vicinity of Fort Pitt between the years 1768 and 1774. Colonel Croghan was a native of Ireland. Coming to Pennsylvania, he settled near where Harrisburg now stands, and, as early as 1746, was an Indian trader. Having acquired the confidence of the Indians and a knowledge of their language, he was made an agent for the colony, and by a certain vigor of character, joined to a wary and sagacious policy, gained much influence over the tribes from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi River. He served as a captain of guides and scouts in the Braddock expedition. In 1763, he was sent by Sir William Johnson to England to confer with the ministry in relation to the Indian boundary-line. The vessel on which he sailed was wrecked off the French coast. Two years later, while on a mission to pacify the Illinois Indians, he was attacked, wounded, and taken prisoner to Vincennes. He was, however, soon released, and succeeded in accomplishing the object of his mission. In May of 1766, he made a settlement four miles distant from Fort Pitt, and continued thereafter to render valuable service in pacifying the Indians and conciliating them to the British interests up to our war for independence. Colonel Croghan died in Philadelphia in the summer of 1782.]

FORT PITT April 17, 1768.

DEAR SIR.

I wrote you on ye 10th, since which Time a great number of Indians of different Nations is come here, & from the accounts I have from those that is come I think there will be not less than a thousand Indians at the Conference besides Women and Children.

The accounts I expected from Detroit is not yet come tho. an Express was sent for them, But the Weather has been so bad this Spring the Indians has not chose to Travel.

I have sent of ye accounts of this post to Sir William Johnson across the Country, to expedite the payment. . . . I hope I shall be able to give you some satisfactory accounts

of the Indian's Sentiments tho. some appear very sulky at present. . . .

Dear Sir your most

Humble Servant

GEO. CROGHAN.

P.S. Mr. Allen and Mr. Shippen is arrived with a Commission to purchase ye Condolence presents, But that I had taken care of before, agreeably to Sir William Johnson's orders. I am glad these Gentlemen are come up to Represent ye Province, as I hope they will do me the Justice on their return to say I have done every thing in my power to serve the Province.

G. C.

FORT PITT May ye 7th 1768.

DEAR SIR.

The Conference here with the different Nations in this part of the Country is now Ended. The Indians has been Condol'd with for the Cruel Murders committed on their people by the Inhabitants of y^r Government, and I think they are Reconciled on that Head, and if the Boundry Line be settled with them this Summer and the Frontier Inhabitants observe a Friendly intercourse between them and such Indians as may go into the Settlements I am of opinion a Long and Lasting friendship may be kept up between them and his Majesty's subjects. I have done every thing in my power to place the Good people of y^r Government in ye fairest Light with the different Nations & would hope Mr. Allen & Mr. Shippen, the Governor's Commissioners will do me the Justice to acknowledge it.

For the particulars of the Treaty I must refer you to the Copy I have inclos'd Mr. Galloway.

Your most obedient and

Most Humble Servant,

GEO. CROGHAN.

June the 21st 1769.

DEAR SIR.

I have been out in the Woods these 20 days past setting the Surveyors to work on running the Boundry Line be-

tween this Government and the Indian Hunting Ground.
. . . I wrote you some time ago about the purchase you
desired me to make for you & your Brother and am sorry it
has not been in my power to make it on the Terms you ex-
pected, But the Time is over I assure you in this part of the
Country for making cheap purchases for there is no body
now that will sell except myself on any reasonable terms
and its Necessity only that obliges me to offer mine as I do
for could I get Money on Interest at Ten p cent I should
make thirty p cent by keeping my Lands but three years.
. . . The Surveyors are going on fast with dividing the
Atigo Tract & I believe will soon be done. . . .

I am Sir with Great Esteem y^r most
Obedient & Hum^{ble} Servant,
GEO. CROGHAN.

July 18th 1769.

DEAR SIR.

Eight Days ago I was favour'd with yours of the 10th
June. I should have answer'd it before now but was then
lying in a violent Fit of the Gout, for ye first time w^h has
confin'd me to bed for 18 days & now am only able to sit on
ye bedside. . . .

Sir William Johnson is up in the Six Nations Country
. . . by what I am inform'd from the Detroit there is no
foundation for the Report of a Broil with ye Nations there
the Differences in the Spring being between them & the
french & not the English.

I am Dear Sir with great Respect
y^r most obedient & most Hum^{ble}
Servant,
GEO. CROGHAN.

Nov. 11th 1772.

D^R SIR.

. . . The enclosed packett from y^r brother I must request
you will forward by the most speedy & safe conveyance as it
is necessary he should have it before he leaves England—its

relating to something necessary to be known before ye bounds of pensylvania be settled as I here both partys intend to settle it amicably. Scull's Map is a very fradulent one & has been published with a view to D'eeive the publick here, w^h they have done effectually & rob'd ye people of vast sums of Money & phaps they had in view likewise to get a Line settled with ye proprietors of ye New Colonie by that Map. I have had ye Rivers Monongahela run from Fort pitt up to Descous Line where it crosses that River & find that they have placed fort pitt 13 miles on a direct Line more North than its True situation in order to show it opposite to a Western bend in the River Dellaware about Easton. I have likewise had ye Youghiogheny River & find ye body of that River to be in ye New Colonie I believe to the forks of Turkey foot. I have likewise had part of ye Ohio river run all wh prove that Sculls Mapp was Intended as a Masterly piece of Deception intentionally done. I can assure you with Great Truth that Fort pitt lays above twenty miles to the Westward of ye Western bounds of pensylvania giving Mr. Penn 54 miles to a Degree of Longitude from every part of Delaware & his five Degrees and the Lands that will fall to ye New Colonie & that has been sold by pensylvania is well settled and all very fine soil & that an office may open for ye Sale of ye New Colonie at £10. Sterling pr. hundred & half penny Quitrent. It is true some Lotts may be left on ye proprietors hands, but in Ten years Time those parts will sell for more than ye best will bring now. This I write you for y^r own satisfaction & y^r friends that they may make what use you please of it. . . .

I am Sir with Great Respect

Your most Hum^{ble} Servant,

GEO. CROGHAN.

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 23^d 1772.

D^R SIR.

Your favour by Kayathsuts I received about a fortnight ago & that by Doctor Jones yesterday he did not come here

or I should have show'd him any Courtesy in my power. . . . The letters you forwarded me by ye Soldier Express came safe to hand & was very satisfactory since that I received from Sir W. J. a copy of the Report of the Cabinet Council & his Majestys confirmation of the New Colony on the 14th of August last it being sent by Lord Dartmouth to Sir William & me that the different Nations & Tribes might be made acquainted that it was his Majestys pleasure to form ye New Colony or Settlement on Ohio. A copy of the Confirmation part of the proceeding on that day I enclose for y^r & friends perusal.

With respect to the Demolishing this post I believe that measure has been through Lord Hillsburgh & the last Stroke of his Resentment. Sir W. J. was never consulted on it, however I can assure you that it has a very different effect on the different Nations. On that occasion I sent Mr. M^cKee amongst them to put the best face we could on the measure & they appear very happy & spoke their sentiments very plainly. The 18th Regm^t has been obnoxious always to them & no wonder from their Conduct. Mr. M^cKee sets off again in a few days to notify the New Colony to them & you may be assured they will receive the News with Great pleasure & satisfaction. It appears clearly that their Sulkiness hitherto has proceeded from a Jealousy at the Neglect shown to them by ye Colonys and a Suspicion they intended that ye Troops we kept here were to be made use of against them one Day or other. Now they are gone these surmises are all vanished & they say they can live in the same peacable manner with their brethren ye English as they did formerly before ye English & french came to fight in their Country w^h had turn'd all their young peoples heads and made both rogues & fools of them. So I believe that the Measure w^h I believe was design'd to hurt the New Colonies will serve only to promote its settlement with peace & Frugality, and you may be assured they will make a very proper answer to his Majesty by Mr. M^cKee.

Mr. Hooper return'd yesterday from the Great Kanhawa & Green River & some days ago a gentleman from Virginia

was here who knows all ye Lower parts of the New Colony & by what accounts they give me the Limits will be near 40 million of a^{rs} & you may be assured the Lands will sell at Ten pounds Ster^l p hundred & half penny Ster^l quit rent as fast as they can be surveyed.

With much Respect yr most
obedient Humble Servant,
GEO. CROGHAN.

PITTSBURGH May 11th 1773.

DEAR SIR.

By the Letters you forwarded by Mr. Murray we must expect yr Brothers arrival in the course of next month. I wish he was come as most of the people in this Country is now in great Confusion on account of the Governour & Council of Virginia granting patents to Col. Washington for 200,000 acr^s of Land on Ohio & the Great Kanahwa. It is likewise reported & I believe with Truth that ye Governour of Virginia has granted a County on the Ohio & grant patents for the land. Capt. Bullet is now here with instructions to secure Lands on ye Ohio & to make returns to Virginia. . . . It has been very unfortunate for me that ye proprietors of the New Colony has never published their success in obtaining it had they done that it would have made people hereabouts very easy, what their reasons were I cant conceive.

Yr most Hum^{ble} Servant,
GEO. CROGHAN.

Oct^{br} 15th 1773.

DEAR SIR.

I wrote you a long letter ye beginning of last month informing you the situation of ye Indians & how uneasy they began to be on account of the Governor of the New Colony not coming to Treat with them and requesting you & the other Gentlemen concerned in ye Colony to send up some goods for presents to appease them & some money to purchase provisions w^h is not to be got without ready Cash to

maintain them & some of the Gentlemen to come up & speak to them.

By this Time I Expected yr answer but have not received it & if you should not undertake that Matter I am plung'd into ye Greatest Difficulties. 14 Days ago a number of the Chiefs of ye Hurons Ottaways & Chipaways from ye other side the Lakes with some Chiefs of ye Delawares came here in ye whole a hundred to attend ye Intended meeting with the New Governour, and are Eating up every thing I had provided for the use of my family this Winter. The whole of the Delawares, Shawnose and Six Nations in this Country are much alarm'd at Capt. Bullott & Capt. Thompson going down ye River with numbers of people to Settle a Country wh they were Informed by the Kings Messages was not to be settled—this with ye intire Neglect shown to them by ye Commander in Chief & Superintendant for some years past & their withdrawing ye former favours w^h was usual to Give them has led all those Nations to believe that we are favoring some Designs against them. This Neglect took place as soon as Lord Hillsborough opposed ye New Colony. I clearly saw it was intended to throw this Country into Confusion so as to produce a broil with ye Indians & Inhabitants by w^h his Lordship would have gain'd his point. On that occasion I Resigned my appointment that I might oppose the Measure & have hitherto Luckily succeeded with a considerable Expense.

None of these Nations has made any Hunts this Summer nor will they Hunt this fall or Winter but continue in their villages. They now begin to suspect that I have Deceived them & if they are now Disappointed of a Treaty & presents the consequences may be easy guessed at.

Tho. it appears to me that the King & Council has given no delay to the New Colony, yet as all ye other Departments of Government has given every Delay in their power to the Completion of it, its not unlikely those Gentlemen may be delay'd till next Spring, therefore if you have not answered my former Letter or that you & the Gentlemen concern'd in the New Colony will not assist as I have requested

in furnishing goods for presents & money to purchase provisions & paying ye Expenses acruing now here I beg you may the Day after you receive this Dispatch an Express to me with your final answer, that I may Dismiss the Indians here & let the other Nations know they are to expect no Treaty this fall, & at the same time inform the publick what I apprehend may be the consequences & put them on their guard—for I have as I mentioned in my former Letter made use of all my Influence & address & Exerted every Nerve to support it & can do no more. I have created myself numberless Enemys on this account in pensylvania & have no Interest in the Colony save ye former purchase I made of ye Natives & must Now think of my own Safety. . . .

I am Sir with much Respect

yr most Humble Servant,

GEO. CROGHAN.

PITTSBURGH Dec^{br} 9 1773.

DEAR SIR.

My last Letter to you was after some Chiefs of ye Indian Nations from over the Lakes arriv'd here & requesting your assistance with ye other Gentlemen concern'd in ye New Colony, to wh. I have had no answer. From the Conduct of Capt^s. Bulloet, Thompson and a number of other Land Jobbers last Summer I had reason to suspect that the publick peace of this Country was in Great Danger. . . .

There met here about 400 Indians of Seven different Nations in consequence of the messages sent me by several noblemen & others of the proprietors, and nothing prepar'd for them, so that I had my Choice of Difficulties to encounter if I refused to meet them or supply them with provisions it threatened a disgust w^h might produce Mischief. At length I chose the other method & tho. I was in some doubts of gaining credit for presents yet I was lucky in obtaining credit from Mr. Simons & Mr. Campbell for what I wanted & for provisions I was reduced to the necessity of pawning what Little plate I had & some other valuable things to raise Money to purchase of them to supply ye Indians so you can

Judge what Strates I have been put to on those Gentlemens account, & since Last Spring that I received those Letters & Instructions I have never had a line from them tho. at that Time they assured me in ye Strongest Terms that every thing was Settled & that the Grant would pass ye Seals in a few days & that ye presents was packt & ready to be shipt (w^h is very clear Now was not the Case). Notwithstanding this I have hopes those Gentlemen has more Honour than to let me suffer. Tis currently reported here that there will be no New Colony & that its all Lay'd aside since General Gage went home, & as ye Delays w^h it has met with is so frequent this Report is Generally Believed, even by these who wish it to take place.

The Indians who met here are all gone home much better satisfied than I Expected so that I flater myself yt Tranquility of this Country is onst more Established & the way open'd for ye New Governor (if Ever he Comes).

The Emigration into this Country is surprising I am told by some Gentlemen, that there cant be less than 60000 Souls settled between this place & the mouth of that River, so that the policy of ye People in England delaying ye Grant of ye New Colony in order to prevent Emigration answers not their purpose, as it Does not prevent ye Settling of this Country.

Yr most Humble Serv^t

GEO. CROGHAN.

August 10th 1774.

DEAR SIR.

. . . I was in great hopes that your Governor and Assembly would have fallen on some Measures to Treat with ye Six Nations up this River & ye Delawares who live on the frontiers of pensylvania or opposite to the province but I find they have done nothing of that kind. Mr. St. Clair who is the only person in Westmorland County that does anything or is capable for ye publick Tranquility has been likewise in hopes something would be done. I fear things has not been well known with you or that there is too great

a Spirit in the frontier people for killing Indians & if y^r Assembly give into that Spirit instead of Securing the friendship of the Six Nations & Delawares by negotiation no doubt they will soon have a General Rupture. The Six Nations and Delawares have given the strongest proofs of their Desire for peace & has taken great pains indeed to prevent ye War w^h is now carrying on between the Virginians & Shawnose & those two above mentioned Nations has long Expected to have heard from their friends in pensylvania & begin to Construe ye Neglect as a settled design in the Colonys against them. I have done everything in my power to preserve the peace of this part of ye Country at an Expense I am no longer able to support. The Delaware & Six Nations Chiefs begin to suspect that unless some people of understanding from Philadelphia comes immediately to Treat with their Nations that a general Rupture will happen as all their Women begin to be very uneasy. Those Chiefs have likewise taken Notice to me that they have not heard one Word from their Friends the Quakers all this Time w^h gives them great concern. Indeed was your Brother arrived & his presents near this everything might be settled, but as that is not the Case & Sir W. J. Dead, nothing but Commissioners from Philadelphia or some of the friends coming up to Talk with them and making some expense can in my opinion prevent a general rupture & that must be very speedy. I wish you could send me about 30000 White Wampum and 20000 black that I may try the utmost of my power & Influence with ye Nations for the publick Tranquility before I leave this for here I cant stay long as I cant support ye Expense nor have I money to purchase any thing with to support them and all the expense falls on me—no other person in this Country seeming inclin'd to do any thing—Such Sir is the Situation of this Country.

Till I receive y^r answer w^h shall determine my Stay in these Parts I am with much Esteem

Yrs.

GEO. CROGHAN.

(Private.)

Y^e 12th.

DEAR SIR.

I have not yet dar'd to inform the Country of their Dangerous situation as if I had they would all fly away over the mountains Except a hint I drop'd to Mr. St. Clair who is ye only prudent man on this occasion in these parts. Lord D[unmore] is not yet come up here & if he does come I have but little hopes if we may Judge from ye conduct of his Affairs who all laugh when they hear that Vandalia is likely to take place, and they look on his Lordships Grants as good as the King's Titles & I am told his Lordship has said so very lately. However as I wrote you in my other letter that I will stay here & do what I can till Campbell's return I will so & by that I expect ye answer will be full. If nothing can be done quickly by ye gentlemen of ye New Colony nor from Philadelphia every thing must run into ye greatest confusion.

I am Sir with sincerity yrs.

G. C.

INSCRIPTIONS ON GRAVESTONES IN ST. PETER'S
EPISCOPAL CHURCH-YARD, GREAT VALLEY, EAST
WHITELAND, CHESTER COUNTY, PA.

BY HOWARD WILLIAMS LLOYD.

[The Church Records are in the possession of William Sullivan,
Warren Tavern P.O., Chester County, Pa.]

Margaret Harris, b. Jan. 10, 1759; d. Dec. 24, 1844.

Cromwell Pearce, Jr., d. March 5, 1831, aged 25 years and
2 months.

Anthony Wayne Pearce, son of Joseph and Jane Pearce,
d. Jan. 16, 1815, in his 4th year.

Joseph Pearce, b. June 9, 1780; d. April 11, 1828.

Jane Pearce, b. March 9, 1782; d. Nov. 24, 1851. The
remains of Jane Pearce were removed from West
Chester and reinterred here Dec. 16, 1854.

John Pearce, d. June 7, 1808, aged 41 years and 1 month.
In memory of Hannah, consort of John Pearce, who
departed this life March 8, A.D. 1831, in the 56th year
of her age.

Thomas Lewis, d. April 3, 1789, in his 85th year.

Isabella, the wife of Cromwell Pearce, the younger, d.
March 30, 1807, aged 30 years 9 months and 21 days.

Bath^{bd} Cronow, d. March 20, 1765, aged 47 years.

David Howel, d. April 3, 1778, aged 42 years.

Rees Howel, d. July 11, 1819, in his 54th year.

John Howell, son of David and Mary Howell, d. July 29,
1826, aged 62 years 5 months 12 days.

Hannah Howell, aged 16 months.

Elizabeth, the dau. of David Howell and Mary, his wife, d.
Jan. 4, 1769, aged 16 months.

Robert Ralston, Esq., d. Feb. 19, 1814, aged 91 years 4
months and 5 days.

Elizabeth Ralston, wife of Robert Ralston, Esq., d. Dec.,
1797, aged 75 years 2 months 9 days.

Farewell my husband dear
My children and my friends
In hopes to rest in Jesus Christ
When all my pains will end.

Sacred to the memory of Thomas Wilson who departed this life April
17, 1826 in the 87th year of his age.

Here lie also the remains of Elloner Wilson, wife of
Thomas Wilson, who departed this life, Sept. 18, 1823,
in the 80th year of her age.

Then why lament departed friends
Or shake at death's alarms,
Death's but the servant Jesus sends
To call us to his arms.

Mary Wilson, wife of Thomas Wilson, Jr., d. Nov. 11,
1801, in her 26th year.

"My Race is Run my Life is done
And I lye in the Ground
Intomb'd in clay until the Day
I hear the Trumpet sound."

MARBLE SHAFT, SIDE NO. 1.

Cromwell Pearce
b Aug 13 1772
d April 12 1852
a devoted member of the
Protestant Epis Church
a faithful officer
military and civil and
an exemplary citizen
of the Republic

SIDE NO. 3.

This memorial is erected by his
son L. G. Pearce.

SIDE NO. 2.

He filled the civil office of High
Sheriff and Associate Judge
of Chester Co. with approved
fidelity and acceptable unpar-
tiality.

SIDE NO. 4.

Colonel of the 16th Reg't U. S. In-
fantry in the war of 1812 The
Battle fields of Little York,
Fort George, Williamsburg and
Lyons Creek attest his bravery.

- Cromwell Pearce, d. August 4, 1794, in his 62d year; also
Margaret Pearce, relict of Cromwell Pearce, d. Dec.
28, 1818, in her 78th year.
- Catherine Barrington, wife of Henry Barrington, d. Dec.
17, 1802, aged 30 years.
- Margaret King, consort of Joseph King, d. Nov. 13, 1822,
in her 45th year.
- W. K. (by side of Margaret King).
- George King, d. Dec. 5, 1792, in his 61st year.
- Lo here doth lie the body of Morris Griffith, d. Jan. 27,
1766, in his 79th year.
- John Francis, d. Feb. 9, 1809, aged 90 years.
- John Williams, d. Sept., 1778, and Rebecca, his wife, d.
March, 1763, and John, their son, d. August 22, 1803.
- David Williams, d. Sept., 1801, in his 63d year.
- Thomas Roberts, d. July 15, 1795, aged 58 years 3 months
and 15 days.
- James David, d. July 24, 1746, aged 73 years.
- Ann Davis, d. Jan. 19, 1748, aged 26 years (by the side of
James David).
- Rachel, wife of Richard Robinson, d. Dec. 4, 1815, aged 72
years.
- Richard Robinson, d. Feb. 16, 1811, in his 69th year.
- John W. Thomas, son of Benj. and Abigail Thomas, d.
April 16, 1881, aged 78 years.
- Abigail, wife of Benj. Thomas, d. May 23, 1864, aged 83
years 2 months and 12 days.
- Benj. Thomas, d. August 9, 1825, aged 52 years 2 months
and 20 days.
- Benj. Thomas, d. Sept. 2, 1793, in his 64th year; also Eliza-
beth, his wife, d. Nov. 14, 1816, in her 86th year.
- Margaret, dau. of W. and Mary Thomas, d. March 6, 1747-
8, aged 13 years; also Mary Thomas, relict of Wm.
Thomas, d. 1771, aged about 78 years, she being the
first donor of this church, her donation being given
April 30, 1757.
- Wm. Thomas, d. Sept. 20, 1750, aged 57 years.
- Ezekiel Bowan, d. Nov. 16, 1805, in his 72d year.

Benj. Bowen.

Ruth Bowen.

John Clift, d. Dec. 7, 1860, in his 67th year.

John Adams, d. Sept. 5, 1769, aged about 13 years.

“Remember youth as you pass by
As you are now, so once was I.
As I am now, so must you be
Prepare for death and follow me.”

Mary Adams, d. August 14, 1770, aged 40 years.

Ann, dau. of John and Mary Adams, d. Nov. 22, 1792,
aged 4 years and 4 months.

John Adams, d. Dec. 23, 1809, aged 76 years.

David Adams, d. Sept. 19, 1858, aged 78 years and 8
months.

Mary Martin, dau. of Roger Martin, d. Jan. 27, 1758, aged
13 years and 6 months.

Roger Martin, d. July 1, 1770, aged 63 years 9 months and
4 days.

Jane Martin Little, wife of Roger Little, d. Oct. 18, 1790,
aged 73 years and 5 months.

Roger Little, d. Oct. 1, 1819, in his 70th year.

Mary Little, d. May 11, 1841, in her 79th year.

Geo. Little, d. Oct. 25, 1819, in his 21st year.

John Little, d. May 30, 1821, in his 24th year.

M. L. (by side of above).

Ann C. Little, d. Dec. 14, 1847, aged 4 months and 15
days.

Mary J., dau. of Wm. and Ann Little, b. July 1, 1843; d.
July 27, 1868.

Anna Christman, wife of Wm. Little, b. May 21, 1810; d.
August 28, 1876.

Wm. Little, b. Sept. 27, 1801; d. March 25, 1879.

Hannah Tucker, b. June 1, 1797; d. May 11, 1862.

John Tucker, b. August 11, 1796; d. Jan. 23, 1883.

Henry Griffith, d. Oct. 16, 1849, aged 39 years and 5 days.

Mariah B. Griffith, d. Dec. 2, 1856, aged 72 years 1 month
and 18 days.

- John Griffith, d. Jan. 10, 1858, aged 79 years 9 months and 2 days.
- Harriet R. Griffith, d. March 19, 1858, aged 34 years and 20 days; also John Henry, son of Wm. H. and Harriet R. Griffith, d. March 25, 1858, aged 4 years 6 months and 8 days.
- Holland, son of Alex. and Jane Rees, d. Sept. 2, 1832, in his 23d year.
- Geo., son of Alex. and Jane Rees, d. July 17, 1834, in his 32d year.
- Jane, wife of Alex. Rees, d. March 13, 1843, aged 58 years.
- Elizabeth Harris, b. March 12, 1767; d. Jan. 31, 1859.
- Mary John, b. Sept. 26, 1772; d. March 13, 1859.
- Sarah E., dau. of Thomas and Mary A. Griffiths, b. Feb. 1, 1862; d. March 20, 1865.
- John H., son of Thomas and Mary Griffiths, b. March 18, 1847; d. May 9, 1864.
- Deborah McCoy, d. Oct. 11, 1825, aged 37 years and 13 days.
- Here lies the body of Catherine Rees, who departed this life the 12th day of Feb., A.D. 1742-3, aged 50 years.
- In memory of Michael Rees, who departed this life, April 29, 1756, aged 55 years.
- John Thomas, d. August 10, 1778, in his 48th year.
- John Quinn, d. July 3, 1793.
- Rachel Davis, d. Oct. 3, 1741.
- Gwen Davis, d. May 3, 1737, aged 61 years and 8 months.
- Mary Hall, wife of John Hall, d. April 9, 1813, aged 53 years.
- Rev. John Gemmil, V.D.M., d. Dec. 14, 1814, aged 54 years.
- Wm. Owen, d. March 19, 1789, aged 93 years.
- Ann, wife of Wm. Owen, d. July 8, 1751, aged 50 years.
- Mary Powell, d. Oct. 3, 1823, aged 50 years 8 months and 13 days,
- Harriet Ann Pearson, dau. of Wm. and Ann Pearson.
- Susana Lewelin, d. Feb. 27, 1862, aged 74 years 2 months and 17 days.

- Wm. Lewellyn, Jr., d. Nov. 28, 1844, in his 61st year.
Wm. Lewellyn, d. Nov. 25, 1825, in his 77th year.
Susanna, wife of Wm. Lewellyn, d. May 28, 1834, in her 87th year.
Harriet Morris, dau. of Benj. Morris, d. March 13, 1864, in her 75th year.
Ann Morris, dau. of Benj. Morris, d. Sept. 4, 1845, in her 54th year.
Benjamin Morris, of Schuylkill, Chester County, d. August 21, 1841, in his 81st year.
Frances Morris, wife of Benj. Morris, of Schuylkill Township, Chester County, d. June 20, 1834, aged 75 years.
Samuel C. Morris, of Schuylkill Township, Chester County, d. Feb. 21, 1820, aged 77 years.
Ann Milligan, wife of Sam. Milligan, of Ellerslie, in Susquehanna County, d. July 23, 1831, aged 42 years.
Sam'l Milligan, formerly of Ellerslie, in Susquehanna County, Pa., d. April 24, 1854, aged 65 years.
John S. Morris, d. April 16, 1860, in his 75th year.
Hannah Morris, dau. of Cadwalader Morris, d. Sept. 3, 1860, in her 77th year.
Mary T. Lewis, wife of Jonathan T. Lewis, and dau. of Benj. and Abigail Thomas, d. August 25, 1853, in her 40th year.
Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Howard, d. May 23, 1853, aged 45 years 7 months and 5 days.
Hannah Thomas, dau. of Benj. and Abigail Thomas, d. Oct. 23, 1840, aged 36 years and 8 months.
Thomas, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Howard, d. March 17, 1846, aged 1 year 8 months and 14 days.
James Howard, d. April 1, 1846, in his 29th year.
Henryette L., dau. of Wm. and Phebe Howard, d. April 14, 1848, aged 1 year 1 month and 7 days.
Wm. H., son of Wm. and Phebe Howard, d. July 17, 1849, aged 1 year.
John Hickman, son of Wm. and Phebe Howard, d. Sept. 11, 1859, aged 11 months and 12 days.

- Willie L., son of Wm. and Phebe Howard, d. May 5, 1864, aged 2 years 5 months and 5 days.
- John Ralston, Esq., d. Sept. 1, 1825, aged 81 years 10 months and 27 days; also Catharine Ralston, wife of the above, d. March 25, 1816, aged 65 years and 13 days.
- Wm. Rowland, d. Oct. 19, 1814, aged 62 years.
- Sarah, consort of Wm. Rowland, d. Nov. 19, 1823, aged 67 years.
- Jonathan Rowland, d. April 9, 1829, aged 33 years 5 months and 21 days.
- Sarah, dau. of Charles and Margaret Rowland, b. June 15, 1825; d. Feb. 22, 1830.
- Charles Rowland, b. August 12, 1792; d. Feb. 19, 1857.
- Margaret Rowland, b. Nov. 16, 1802; d. Jan. 14, 1859.
- Robert Quay, d. Jan. 7, 1795, aged 10 years.
- Mary Williams, d. March 11, 1842, in her 76th year.
- Hannah Walker.
- John W. Quay, d. July 5, 1839, son of Edward and Elizabeth.
- Rush Quay, d. July 29, 1836, aged 3 months and 10 days.
- Sarah Quay, wife of J. Quay, d. Dec. 21, 1844, aged 71 years 11 months and 21 days.
- Wm. Richison, d. March 5, 1857, aged 75 years 1 month and 17 days.
- Elizabeth, dau. of Benj. and Elizabeth Thomas, and relict of Wm. Richison, d. Sunday, Feb. 25, 1855, aged 83 years 9 months and 24 days.
- Benj. Thomas Richison, son of Wm. and Elizabeth Richison, d. Oct. 16, 1832, aged 22 years 2 months and 3 days.
- Rebecca, dau. of Wm. and Mary Richison, d. August 29, 1856, aged 59 years 2 months and 6 days.
- John, son of Wm. and Mary Richison, d. Sept. 27, 1852, aged 64 years and 5 days.
- Thomasine, dau. of Wm. and Mary Richison, wife and relict of James Bones, afterwards wife of Wm. Carson, d. June 23, 1871, aged 80 years 7 months and 21 days.

Wm. Carson, d. April 11, 1877, in his 76th year.

Wilmer F. Johns, only son of Evan F. and Anna R. Johns,
d. March 25, 1867, aged 19 years 6 months and 13
days.

Evan F. Johns, d. Feb. 6, 1868, aged 57 years 5 months and
26 days.

Charlotte D., wife of George W. Hines, and dau. of E. F.
and A. R. Johns, d. May 25, 1868, aged 26 years and 2
months.

Hannah, dau. of Thomas Roberts and Mary Fox, widow of
Wm. Himes, and also widow of Edward Pearce, b.
Feb. 27, 1763; d. Nov. 20, 1850.

Edward Pearce, d. July 31, 1850, in his 66th year.

Marshall D., son of Owen and Margaret Yarnall, d. Dec. 10,
1835, aged 24 years and 3 months.

Wm. McLaughlin, d. 1769.

Frances B., wife of Isaac Weaver, and dau. of Cromwell
and Margaret Pearce, d. August 15, 1852, aged 46
years.

Isaac Weaver, d. July 31, 1863, aged 79 years 5 months and
8 days.

John G. Bull, b. April 26, 1772; d. March 13, 1846.

Sarah Bull, b. August 22, 1780; d. Feb. 26, 1837.

Sarah G. Bull, d. March 27, 1827, in her 76th year.

Sallie, dau. of Lewis G. and Sarah R. Bull, b. Dec. 23,
1838; d. March 1, 1868.

John G. Bull, b. Feb. 29, 1820; d. Jan. 10, 1878.

Mary Lloyd, d. March 3, 1849, in her 85th year.

Amos Lloyd, d. Feb. 22, 1843, in his 73d year.

Josiah Lloyd, d. Feb. 29, 1840, in his 67th year.

Sarah Lloyd, d. March 12, 1832, in her 66th year.

Elizabeth Lloyd, d. May 28, 1829, in her 52d year.

William Lloyd, d. Dec. 1, 1820, in his 88th year; also
Rachel Lloyd, wife of William Lloyd, d. Dec. 4, 1820,
in her 85th year.

John Lloyd, d. Oct. 21, 1827, in his 68th year.

Rebecca Lloyd, d. May 10, 1852, in her 90th year.

Hannah Lloyd, d. Oct. 9, 1856, in her 82d year.

448 *Inscriptions in St. Peter's Church-yard, Chester Valley.*

Sarah, wife of Thomas Wilson, d. June 8, 1829, in her 44th
year.

Thomas Wilson, d. April 18, 1862, in his 90th year.

Hannah Wilson, b. July 19, 1804; d. Oct. 20, 1888.

Juliann Pearce, d. Sept. 16, 1823, in her 16th year.

Cromwell Pearce, son of John and Hannah Pearce, d. Oct.
11, 1823, aged 27 years.

A LIST OF THE INHABITANTS OF GERMANTOWN
AND CHESTNUT HILL IN 1809.

BY THOMAS H. SHOEMAKER.

I am indebted to Mr. Jabez Gates, of Germantown, for permission to copy the original tax-book, now in his possession, of Samuel Fleckenstein, Collector of Taxes for Germantown for 1809. It is valuable, as it gives us a complete list of the inhabitants of the town at that date, forming a directory of unquestioned reliability. The first directory containing Germantown names was published after the consolidation, by McIlroy, in 1856, hence persons seeking information of its early inhabitants have been cut off from this ordinary source of information, so useful in cities. The list begins at the foot of Negley's Hill, where Stenton Avenue enters, then called Bristol Township Line, goes up Germantown Avenue, taking in the side streets as they are met, until the end of Germantown proper is reached, above Gorgas Lane, then crosses to the west side of the avenue, continuing down in the same manner until a point opposite the place of beginning was arrived at, when those persons to the west, on Manheim Street, Queen Lane, and Township Line, are assessed. It then recommences at the end of Germantown proper, where the crossing was made, goes up the east side to Chestnut Hill, and comes down the west to about opposite Gorgas Lane. The property covered was from the foot of Negley's Hill to Chestnut Hill inclusive, and from Bristol Township Line to Roxborough Township Line.

In the arrangement of the list, the first column contains the individual's name; the second the assessed valuation of his real estate, if he owned any, while the word "Est." followed the owner's name if he did not occupy but rented the property; the third is a personal tax, something like our poll-tax, which varied with the estimated wealth of the individual; the fourth is the total tax paid.

The assessed valuation of real estate in the Twenty-second Ward for 1891 is \$32,743,896, yielding an income of \$502,118, while for 1809 it was \$516,278, with a return of \$2581.39. To be sure, the Twenty-second Ward covers a little more territory than the tax list of 1809, but for comparative purposes in a rough way, that is hardly worth taking into account.

It is interesting to note how closely Germantown Avenue was at that day built up from Stenton Avenue to Gorgas Lane, the lots being small, while land was so plenty in the rear. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, in 1799, aptly describes Germantown as "a long village near two and a half miles in extent. The houses to the number of about three hundred are all built on the side of the highway, and are erected close to each other." The price of land he gives at from one hundred and sixty dollars per acre to eight hundred dollars per acre, the latter being an unusual price. At this period the streets at right angles to Germantown Avenue were few in number, having been laid out with the view of reaching an objective point, rather than for residences, though incidentally a few houses were built on them. They were Fisher's Lane, which went to the Fisher estate; Danenhower's Mill Road, now Duy's Lane, leading to Danenhower's mill, located on the Wingohocking Creek; Shoemaker Lane, which led to the old Shoemaker house, built in 1682; Mill Street, opened to Townsend's mill, built in 1683, later known as Roberts's mill; Methodist Lane, from the little church of that denomination on it (the original edifice was torn down in the spring of 1891); the street is now called Haines Street, though it is also marked

on old maps as Pickless or Bristol Lane. Then came Abington or Keyser's Lane, now Washington Lane, leading to Abington; and last, on the east side, Church Street, from St. Michael's Lutheran Church, which stands on the east corner, and was erected in 1746. Coming down on the west side, the first road we meet is Washington Lane, then came Poor-House Lane or Rittenhouse's Mill Road, leading to Rittenhouse's paper-mill; School-House Lane, so called from the academy built in 1760; and Indian Queen Lane, followed by Manheim Street, called Bockius or Picket's Lane. These cross-streets, with the avenue in the centre, and the two township lines, which formed the boundaries, were all the streets in the place. The principal industries followed were farming, shoe manufacturing for the wholesale trade, hat-making, and tanning. Stockings were made in large quantities, but rather as an occupation in the houses by the women than as a centralized industry, this not starting until 1825, when Thomas R. Fisher inaugurated the industry, which in later days grew to large proportions. In the foot-notes I have tried to add to the usefulness of the list by identifying the location of the properties and the occupation of the individual, and I am particularly indebted for aid to Messrs. W. W. Wister, Charles J. Wister, John C. Channon, and others, besides much that I have learned from borrowed deeds. Printed on pages and pasted in the book are the tax-rates and Fleckenstein's appointment as collector; they are as follows:

“PHILADELPHIA, ss.

“A TAX of..... Fifty.....cents in every hundred dollars on the real estate, and a personal tax from Three Dollars to fifteen cents on the freeholders and inhabitants within the Township of Germantown for paying coroners fees, building and repairing bridges and causeways; repairs of county jail and debtors apartments; support of prisoners; laying and collecting taxes, and incidental expenses at elections and courts. And also a fine of four dollars, laid on all persons from the age of twenty-one to forty-five who have declined to be enrolled, and are ex-

empt from training with the militia, agreeably to an act of the General Assembly, entitled, 'An act for the regulation of the militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,' passed the 9th day of April, 1807.

"Given under our hands, this twentieth day of March, 1809.

"DAN'L TRUMP.

"JACOB HEYBERGER.

"PETER CHRISTIAN.

"Attest: GEO. HONEY, *Clk.*"

"PHILADELPHIA, ss.

"Samuel Fleckenstein Collector of the Township of Germantown.

"You are hereby empowered to collect and receive the several sums in your duplicate, respectively, mentioned; and on the second day of September to pay all such monies as you shall have then received, to Robert McMullen county Treasurer, (which day, at ten o'clock, at the Old Court House is appointed to make allowances for mistakes and indigent persons.) And you are further required, to collect and pay in the whole and every of the sums, so assessed and rectified in your duplicate, on or before the First day of November next; which day is appointed finally to settle. But if any person shall neglect or refuse payment, for the space of thirty days after demand made, you are then hereby empowered to call to your assistance any constable or other fit person, if occasion be, and levy on the goods chattels or effects, and make sale thereof according to law; rendering the overplus, if any be, to the owner (reasonable charges first deducted). And if he, she or they refuse to receive it then to pay the same to the said Treasurer, in order that he she or they may credit for the same hereafter; but if no distress can be found, you are hereby authorised to take the body of such delinquent, and convey him to the goal of the proper county, there to remain until the taxes with cost, be paid, or secured to be paid, or he be otherwise discharged by due course of law. Hereof fail not under the penalty of

being proceeded against as the law directs. Given under our hand this tenth day of July 1809.

“ DAN. TRUMP.

“ JACOB HEYBERGER.

“ PETER CHRISTIAN.

“ *Commissioners.*

“ Attest: GEO. HONEY, *Clk.*”

Germantown.

George Logan's Est. ¹	.	.	600	paid	3.
John Lorain's Est ²	.	.	1140	“	5.70
Martin Mehl ³	.	.	1125	75 “	6.37
William Y Birch's Est ⁴	.	.	488	“	2.44
Robert Barnhill's Est	.	.	520	“	2.60
Christr Ottinger ⁵	.	.	845	60 “	4.82
Charles Widdis	.	.		50 “	50
William Dedier ⁶	.	.		33 “	33
& for Peter Dedier's Est ⁶	.	.	455	“	2.27
Phillip Barrons Est	.	.	423	“	2.11
Jacob Peiper ⁷	.	.	155	30 “	1.07

¹ Dr. George Logan, the owner and occupant of Stenton, paid tax to the Germantown authorities on that portion of his estate, as assessed above, which extended from Stenton Avenue to Loudon Avenue, on the east side of Germantown Avenue, now the east side of Neglee's Hill.

² John Lorain, Sr.'s house stood on the top of Neglee's Hill, and was torn down by William Adamson when he built his dwelling, No. 4421 Germantown Avenue. There was a John senior and junior, no doubt the same that we find in the early directories as merchants, No. 59 North Front Street, Philadelphia,—Lorain & Wilmer.

³ Martin Mehl lived at what is now No. 4441 Germantown Avenue. The name is still remembered in the town by Mehl Street.

⁴ William Y. Birch's estate. A merchant whose house joined Mehl's on the north.

⁵ Christopher Ottinger built in 1776 the stone house still standing and occupied by his descendants at No. 4431 Germantown Avenue.

⁶ William Dedier, carpenter, lived in the house of Peter Dedier's estate, now torn down. It stood the second house north of the Lower Burying-Ground, Germantown Avenue.

⁷ Jacob Peiper, teamster, lived in a house belonging to C. J. Wister, corner of Fisher's Lane and Wakefield Street.

& for Robert Wharton's Est ¹	645	paid	3.22
Jacob Rapp	670	50 "	3.85
William Kyme Junr ²		50 "	50
Matthias R Miller ³		50 "	50
William Kyme	525	50 "	3.12
George Royal ⁴	515	50 "	3.07
Thomas Wilson g		40 all	40
Adam Warner ⁵	10	33 paid	38
& for Thos Roberts's Est	450	"	2.25
Jacob Miller ⁶		40 "	40
& for Charles Hay's Est	690	"	3.45
Matthias Miller ⁷		50 "	50
T. B. Freeman's Est	875	"	4.37
John Lamb	575	40 "	3.27
George Sharpless ⁸	375	50 "	2.37
George Miller Jr		50 "	50
Solomon Ensign		50 all	50
George Phillippie		50 paid	50
Abraham Hornbauch		50 all	50
Caleb Brickham		30 paid	30
John Hornbaugh ⁹		20 "	20

¹ Robert Wharton's estate. This was property he inherited from his ancestor, John Wister, on Fisher's Lane. It was afterwards purchased by Charles J. Wister, who facetiously named the farm-house which stood on it "Castle Rosenheim."

² William Kyme, Jr., was a turner by trade, and had his shop on Fisher's Lane.

³ Matthias Miller lived on Mehl Street, near Shoemaker Lane.

⁴ George Royal, butcher. His house still stands, No. 4511 Germantown Avenue.

⁵ Adam Warner lived on Duy's Lane.

⁶ Jacob Miller, who lived at No. 4473 Germantown Avenue, was a lad of sixteen when the battle of Germantown took place. His recorded reminiscences are extremely interesting.

⁷ Matthias R. Miller, son of Jacob.

⁸ George Sharpless, a coach-maker, who resided on Germantown Avenue.

⁹ John Hornbaugh lived on Germantown Avenue, just above Duy's Lane.

Jacob Duy ¹	. . . . .	835	50 paid	4.67
Frederick Warner	. . . . .	225	30 "	1.42
George Dannenhower ²	. . . . .	470	30 "	2.65
Charles Dannenhower ²	. . . . .		50 "	50
John Rose's Est	. . . . .	620	"	3.10
Michael Kane	. . . . .		25 "	25
Godfrey Dorfuiell's Est	. . . . .	880	"	4.40
Francis Baker	. . . . .		25 "	25
Godfrey Dorfuill's Est ³	. . . . .	2180	"	10.90
Adam Keppel ⁴	. . . . .	610	50 "	3.55
Thomas N. Lukens	. . . . .		50 "	50
Hannah & Mary Burgess' Est	. . . . .	500	"	2.50
Silvan Godon	. . . . .	20	78 "	88
John Buckius ⁵	. . . . .		50 "	50
Jacob Buckius Est	. . . . .	745	"	3.72
Godfrey Dorfuielle's Est	. . . . .	1715	"	8.57
George Wintergast ⁶	. . . . .	280	25 "	1.65
William Wintergast ⁶	. . . . .		50	50
Samuel Biddis	. . . . .	505	50 "	3.02
John Deal ⁷	. . . . .		25 "	25

¹ Jacob Duy owned the tavern still standing on the east corner of Germantown Avenue and Duy's Lane, now Wister Street.

² George and Charles Danenhower had a mill on the Wingohocking Creek, above Duy's Lane, which in later years was known as Armstrong's, though much enlarged. Danenhower's dam at this spot is remembered by the older generation. They lived on Duy's Lane where Mill's dye-works are.

³ Godfrey Dorfuiell's estate. This was no doubt Martin Godfred Dorfeuille, who in 1797 purchased what is now known as the Hacker House, No. 170 Wister Street.

⁴ Adam Keppel, a German baker, who lived at No. 4541 Germantown Avenue, now Kaupp's bakery.

⁵ John Buckius owned the tavern later at the corner of Manheim Street and Germantown Avenue. Manheim Street was in those days known as Buckius's Lane.

⁶ George and William Wintergast, carpenters and wood-sawyers. They lived on the property afterwards owned by Philip R. Freas, and where for so many years he published the Germantown *Telegraph*. The grounds extended from Jefferson to Ashmead Streets, on Germantown Avenue.

⁷ John Deal, butcher, lived where St. Stephen's Church now stands; afterwards he removed to Fisher's Hollow.

456 *Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.*

Jacob Deal gone ¹	. . .	50	all	50
Peter Deal ¹	. . . 1170	40	paid	6.25
Jacob Wolf	. . .	20	all	20
Henry Frailey ²	. . . 1450	50	paid	7.75
Thos Bringhurst ³	. . . 10	50	"	55
Peter Deal Jr gone	. . .	50	all	50
Elizabeth Bringhursts Est ⁴	. 3005		paid	15.02
Isaac Bringhurst ⁵	. . .	50	"	50
Jacob Ashmead	. . .	20	"	20
David Ploid dead	. . .	20	all	20
George Wolf ⁶	. . . 30	33	paid	48
Elizabeth Wolf's Est ⁶	. . 1400		"	7.00
Henry Palmer gone	. . .	50	all	50
John Frailey gone	. . .	25	"	25
William Snyder	. . .	20	paid	20
Charles Wister ⁷	. . . 2210	75	"	11.80
Charles Gilbert ⁸	. . .	50	"	50
Leonard Gilbert dead	. . .	50		50

¹ Jacob and Peter Deal, butchers, lived where St. Stephen's Church now stands; afterwards they removed to Fisher's Hollow.

² Henry Frailey. His house was at No. 4623 Germantown Avenue.

³ Thomas Bringhurst, manufacturer of drums, squares, saws, and coaches. His house still stands, No. 4627 Germantown Avenue.

⁴ Elizabeth Bringhurst, widow of John, who was a chaise- and coach-maker, and lived in what was known as "Bringhurst's Big House," now Gates's store, east corner of Germantown Avenue and Bringhurst Street.

⁵ Isaac Bringhurst, son of John and Elizabeth Bringhurst, and manufacturer of drums, 1812.

⁶ George Wolf, butcher, and son of Elizabeth Wolf. They lived on the site occupied by No. 4653 Germantown Avenue.

⁷ Charles J. Wister was a man of unusual attainments and public spirit. In his early life he was a merchant in Philadelphia, but after 1812 made his home in Germantown. His house, still occupied by the family, and No. 4661 Germantown Avenue, was built in 1741 by John Wister, from whom the many bearing the name in the town are descended. He purchased a large tract of land in the place in 1731, much of which is still owned by his descendants.

⁸ Charles Gilbert, blacksmith, and son of Anthony, with whom he lived.

Anthony Gilbert ¹	.	.	.	780	33		4.23
William Fry ²	.	.	.		50	paid	50
Rachel Fry's Est ³	.	.	.	300		"	1.50
Richard Bailey ⁴	.	.	.	1185	1	"	6.92
& for lot of ground	.	.	.	37		"	18
William Folwells Est ⁵	.	.	.	825		"	4.12
Benj Shoemaker's Est ⁶	.	.	.	2290		"	11.45
William Nutz ⁷	.	.	.	320	50	"	2.10
John Nutz ⁷	.	.	.		1	"	1.
Leonard Nutz ⁷	.	.	.	2230	75	"	11.00
Charles Gallegher	.	.	.		33	all	33
Thomas Waterman ⁸	.	.	.	388	50	paid	2.44
Samuel Buckius	.	.	.		50	all	50
William Nice	.	.	.		50	"	50
Joseph Waterman dead ⁹	.	.	.		25	"	50

¹ Anthony Gilbert, blacksmith. He lived at No. 4665 Germantown Avenue, still standing. He is remembered as having killed one Rittenhouse, at Bayer's race-course, with a tent-pole.

² William Fry, coach-maker, probably a son of Rachel Fry.

³ Rachel Fry's house stood where No. 4667 Germantown Avenue now is. The name was originally spelt Frey, they being among the early German settlers.

⁴ Richard Bailey, a wealthy Englishman who settled here early in this century, and later started a brewery near Danenhower's dam.

⁵ William Folwell's estate. This is probably the house standing, though altered, at No. 4677 Germantown Avenue, and about this period the home of the Misses Donaldson.

⁶ Benjamin Shoemaker, grandson of Benjamin Shoemaker, mayor of Philadelphia and member of the Provincial Council. In early life a distiller in Philadelphia; later, he retired to the family homestead, located on Germantown Avenue and Shoemaker Lane, where Cottage Row now is. His family came to Germantown in 1686, the house being built about 1710. A few of the family still remain, though not direct descendants of his.

⁷ John and William Nutz, tanners, and engaged with their father Leonard in that business. Leonard Nutz, tanner; his yard was where house Nos. 4723, 4725 Germantown Avenue now stands, and was no doubt originally sunk by Isaac Shoemaker about 1700, who carried on the business there for many years.

⁸ Thomas Waterman's house stood where East Coulter Street now is.

⁹ Joseph Waterman's house stood where East Coulter Street now is.

458 *Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.*

Jacob Baish ¹	. . . . .	363	paid	1.81
Woolery Fryhoffer ²	. . . . .	281	40 "	1.80
Daniel Kings Est	. . . . .	1013	"	5.06
Clement Bringhurst ³	. . . . .		33 "	33
William Runkle ⁴	. . . . .	40	75 "	95
Thomas Armatts Est ⁵	. . . . .	289	"	1.44
& for Friends Meeting G R	. . . . .	131	"	65
Joseph Alexander g	. . . . .		25 all	25
Thomas Armatts Est ⁵	. . . . .	513	paid	2.56
John Hall	. . . . .	213	25 "	1.31
Matthew Meschert ⁶	. . . . .	1050	"	6.25
John Stuckert ⁷	. . . . .	1545	1 "	8.72
Jas Stokes Est ⁸	. . . . .	160	"	80
Bank U States Est ⁹	. . . . .	1550	"	7.75
Henry Gravenstine ¹⁰	. . . . .		25 "	25

¹ Jacob Baish lived about where Jones's store now is, Germantown Avenue and Coulter Street.

² Woolery Fryhoffer, a shoemaker, whose house stood where J. S. Jones's dry-goods store now is, corner Germantown Avenue and Coulter Street.

³ Clement Bringhurst, a coach-maker, who afterwards was located at the corner of Germantown Avenue and Laurel Street.

⁴ William Runkle was the pastor of Market Square Church from 1802 until 1806. He lived in the three-story stone house still standing, Nos. 4747, 4749 Germantown Avenue.

⁵ Thomas Armatt's estate. This was a lot where St. Luke's Church now is, and which he gave to the church, while the property, valued at five hundred and thirteen dollars, still stands, being owned by his descendants, and numbered 4755 Germantown Avenue.

⁶ Matthew W. Meshert's house was on the site of the Masonic Hall.

⁷ John Stuckert, store-keeper, whose store was No. 4765 Germantown Avenue.

⁸ James Stokes's estate. This was a house owned by him, at the east corner of Mill Street and Germantown Avenue.

⁹ Bank of the United States estate. This house still stands, No. 4781 Market Square, being at present occupied by the Women's Christian Association. During the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 the bank was moved here and had massive vaults constructed in the cellar to hold its treasure.

¹⁰ Henry Gravenstine lived on Church Lane. He was the first sexton of St. Luke's Church, and noted for his stoutness. His grandson died a few years ago, holding the same position which had previously been his father's and grandfather's.

Jacob Stroup ¹	25	paid	25
James Stokes ² 2250	1	"	12.25
George Stroup	25	"	25
Vicoxs Est 325		"	1.62
Jacob Rossetts's Est ³ 800		"	4.00
David Meredith ⁴ 480		"	2.40
William Meredith ⁴	33	"	33
John Frank	25		25
James McIlwaine ⁵ 135	25	"	92
Thomas Armatts Est ⁶ 405		"	2.02
Peter Reht 25	25	"	37
George Haines gone	25	all	25
Stephen Boisburn ⁷	25	paid	25
Engle Bensells Est ⁸ 475		"	2.37

¹ Jacob Stroup lived on Mill Street, next to Gravenstine's. He was sexton of the Market Square Church, and from his red face became known as "Injun Jake." The old bell was supposed to toll "Injun Jake drove a stake."

² James Stokes, an Englishman, who came to America in 1776, made a fortune at the "Old London Coffee-House," and retired to Germantown, purchasing this house, which stood at the north corner of Germantown Avenue and School Street, where the insurance company now is. A number of his descendants remain in the town.

³ Jacob Rossett's estate. This was probably Jacque Marie Roset, a prominent French merchant of Philadelphia, who, as a relative of the family, wrote Ward, took up his permanent residence in Germantown, in the Toland house, in 1821. This house, as assessed above, was about No. 4813 Germantown Avenue, and had most likely been previously used by him as a summer residence.

⁴ David and William Meredith, bakers. Their bakery was about where No. 4815 Germantown Avenue now stands.

⁵ James McIlwain lived just below Armat Street, on Germantown Avenue. He was a well-digger, and was blown up while at work inside a well.

⁶ Thomas Armatt's estate. This property was known as Armatt's meadow, and was the tract of land lying between Laurel and Armatt Streets, fronting on Germantown Avenue.

⁷ Stephen Boisburn, a French refugee, who had a store for the sale of drugs, candy, and dry-goods, on Germantown Avenue, near Laurel Street.

⁸ Engel Bensell's estate. This was a meadow on the east side of Germantown Avenue, above Laurel Street.

John Frombergers Est ¹	. . . 1050	paid	5.25
Jacob Crout ²	. . . 940	33	5.03
Jacob Crout Jr ³	. . .	50 “	50
Henry Felty Jr ⁴	. . .	25 “	25
Alexander Armor ⁵	. . . 930	33 “	4.98
Jacob Fry ⁶	. . . 2795	1 “	14.97
Henry Werfell poor	. . .	25 all	25
Jacob Keel	. . .	25 paid	25
Daniel Bowman ⁷	. . . 420	40 “	2.50
Archibald McGlochlin	. . .	50 all	50
William Bowman ⁸	. . . 440	40 paid	2.60
Danl & Willm Bowmans Est	. 1135	“	5.67
Joseph Lehman ⁹	. . .	25	25
Godfrey Eppley ¹⁰	. . .	25 “	25
Henry Stroup ¹¹	. . .	25	25
Frederick Eppley gone	. . .	50 all	50

¹ John Fromberger's estate. This property lay between what was called Crout's Lane, now Laurel Street, and Jacob Fry's.

² Jacob Crout, cooper, whose property was back from Main Street, the entrance to it being through Crout's Lane, now Laurel Street. He made casks for the Duponts, hauling them to Wilmington in wagons. The inhabitants of the town were one day startled to see the teamster, on his return, quietly sitting on a keg filled with powder, smoking his pipe.

³ Jacob Crout, Jr., cooper, a nephew of Jacob above.

⁴ Henry Felty, Jr., carriage-maker.

⁵ Alexander Armor, a carpenter, who lived about where No. 4847 Germantown Avenue is. He afterwards lived opposite where No. 4848 stands.

⁶ Jacob Fry. His property was about from the middle of Chelton Avenue, south a hundred feet on Germantown Avenue, east side. He was a farmer and store-keeper, doing a large and principally wholesale business with the farmers, who in that day brought their produce to Germantown to trade for groceries, etc.

⁷ Daniel Bowman, farmer, who lived three doors above Chelton Avenue, on Germantown Avenue.

⁸ William Bowman, farmer, who lived with his brother Daniel. He was choked to death while eating meat at supper.

⁹ Joseph Lehman, a hatter, near Bowman's.

¹⁰ Godfrey Eppley, butcher, who afterwards joined the marine corps, and went with Commodore Porter after pirates to the West Indies.

¹¹ Henry Stroup, a laborer.

Frederick Shriver poor		25	all	25
Richard McCartney ¹	910	50	paid	5.05
Samuel Bettons Est ²	1870		"	9.35
William Kulp ³	1210	40	"	6.45
Valentine Wunder ⁴	1900	40	"	9.90
Sebastian Wunder ⁴		40	"	40
Jno. & Willm. Kulp's Est	120		"	60
Jacob Stout		30	"	30
Joseph Hergesheimer ⁵		25	"	25
& for T. Pike Compy. Est	150		"	75
George Beck ⁶		50	"	50
Henry Beck's Est ⁶	1200		"	6.
Henry Beck ⁶		50	"	50
Baltus Beck ⁶	30	50	"	65
Conrad Nell ⁷	335	25	"	1.92
John Crout poor ⁸		25	all	25
John Brunner ⁹		50	paid	50
Jacob Brunner ⁹		25	"	25

¹ Richard McCartney had a soap-boiling and tallow-candle factory on the rear of a portion of the lot which now forms the site of the old railroad depot, Germantown Avenue and Price Street.

² Dr. Samuel Betton owned a house at this time where Parker's store now is, north corner of Germantown Avenue and Price Street. It was afterwards purchased by the Wunders, and was for many years a tavern.

³ William Kulp, teacher at the Concord school.

⁴ Valentine Wunder, father of Sebastian. They were butchers, and lived at this time in a small stone house a little above Price Street, on Germantown Avenue. Later, they purchased Dr. Betton's, just below, and altered it into a tavern. Joseph Parker afterwards tore the house down and erected his stores on the site.

⁵ Joseph Hergesheimer was known as "Squire," and lived where No. 4936 Germantown Avenue now is. He was a member of the Legislature.

⁶ Henry Beck's estate. This property was opposite Rittenhouse Street, on Germantown Avenue; George, Henry, and Baltus are believed to be his sons.

⁷ Conrad Nell, above Beck's. He was a tavern-keeper and teamster.

⁸ John Crout, cooper, who also furnished the Duponts with powder kegs.

⁹ John and Jacob Brunner were probably sons of Henry. At a fire at Lehman's lumber-yard, John placed his hand on a post just as Captain Ashmead drove his axe in it, the result being that his hand was cut off, from the effects of which he died. He was a blacksmith by trade.

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Henry Brunner ¹	.	.	490	40 paid	2.85
Jacob Regar Junr ²	.	.	720	33 "	2.93
John Stroup gone	.	.		25 all	25
Michael Young	.	.		25 paid	25
Jacob Showaker	.	.	355	33 "	2.10
Frederick Shinkle ³	.	.	120	25 "	85
Conrad Showaker ⁴	.	.	30	25 "	40
Joseph Shriver ⁵	.	.	255	25 "	1.52
Caleb Hughes's Est	.	.	495	"	2.47
Godfrey Hope ⁶	.	.	185	20 "	1.12
John McCalvey	.	.	125	25 "	87
George Steel ⁷	.	.	113	25 all	81
William Wunder ⁸	.	.	255	33 paid	1.60
John Brooker ⁹	.	.	200	25 "	1.25
John Omensetter	.	.		25 "	25
David Kelter's Est ¹⁰	.	.	175	"	87
Jacob Heft gone ¹¹	.	.	40	40 all	60
Mary Heft's Est	.	.	330	paid	1.65

¹ Henry Brunner lived at No. 5027 Germantown Avenue.

² Jacob Regar lived at the corner of Haines Street and Germantown Avenue. In early life a tanner, but afterwards a constable.

³ Frederick Shinkle, a farmer, and next to Showaker.

⁴ Conrad Showaker lived on the lower side of Haines Street, west of the Methodist Church. A farmer.

⁵ Joseph Shriver, hatter, who lived on Haines Street, nearly opposite the present Methodist Church.

⁶ Godfrey Hope lived on Haines Street, lower side, north of Hancock Street.

⁷ George Steel lived on the upper side of Haines Street.

⁸ William Wunder lived next to Steel.

⁹ John Brooker, well-digger, who lived on Haines Street, a little west of Shriver.

¹⁰ David Kelter's estate. He was a small farmer whose place was on Mill Street, near Ross.

¹¹ Jacob Heft, a butcher, who lived at No. 5037 Germantown Avenue. He saw the British, after the battle of Germantown, carry armfuls of muskets to the cart-way of the Engle house, opposite, where they struck them over a large cubical quartz stone which stood there to protect the gate-post. By this means they easily and effectually destroyed them. The stone still stands in the same spot, performing its old and more peaceful duty.

John Trullinger	610	33 paid	3.38
Joshua Butcher's Est ¹	163	"	81
George Wunder ²	1445	40 "	7.62
William Butcher ³		25	25
Jacob Shotz gone		50 all	50
Peter Klein	930	33 paid	4.98
William Miller's Est	700	"	3.50
George Klein		50 "	50
Danl. Pastorius ⁴	3605	50 "	18.50
George Heft ⁵	60	40 "	70
Charles Macknet ⁶	1240	50 "	6.70
William Taylor gone		50 all	50
George Fry		25 paid	25
John Leibert's Est ⁷	990	"	4.95
John Shubert ⁸		20 "	20
John Engle ⁹		25 "	25
Samuel Blair ¹⁰	1390	50 "	7.45

¹ Joshua Butcher's estate. His house, which was frame, stood on what is now E. H. Butler's lawn, Germantown Avenue, above Haines Street.

² George Wunder, butcher, and son of Valentine. His house was on E. H. Butler's lawn, Germantown Avenue, above Haines Street.

³ William Butcher, shoemaker, who lived just above Wunder's. He was the father of Theodore Butcher, for a number of years treasurer of the Germantown Saving Fund.

⁴ Daniel Pastorius, a descendant of F. D. Pastorius. His house stood in the centre of High Street. When his grandson, John, opened that street, he moved it north, where it still stands, being No. 5059 Germantown Avenue, and owned and occupied by Dr. Dunton.

⁵ George Heft purchased "Ye Roe Buck Inn," No. 4612 Germantown Avenue, in 1819, from William Shippen, and made it celebrated as the Buttonwood Hotel. It is possible, in 1809, he was employed by Charles Macknet.

⁶ Charles Macknet kept the celebrated Green Tree Tavern, still standing at No. 5067 Germantown Avenue. It was a famous resort for sleighing parties from the city in winter.

⁷ John Leibert's estate. This is the old house still standing, No. 5069 Germantown Avenue.

⁸ John Shubert was probably the tenant in No. 5069 Germantown Avenue.

⁹ John Engle, tailor, who lived at No. 5073 Germantown Avenue.

¹⁰ Samuel Blair, Jr., son of the following. His father built a house for

Samuel Blair Senr ¹	. . . 2865	50 paid	14.82
John Nell Junr ²	. . . .	50 "	50
William Leibert ³	. . . .	50 "	50
John Leibert ⁴	. . . 2315	75 "	12.32
Jacob Kulp ⁵	. . . 725	50 "	4.12
John Geissell ⁶	. . . 2007	40 "	10.43
Sebastian Hefelfinger dead ⁷	. . . .	20 all	20

him adjoining his own, which still stands, and belongs to the Button estate, north corner of Germantown Avenue and Walnut Lane.

¹ Rev. Dr. Samuel Blair, a son-in-law of Dr. William Shippen. Dr. Blair aided in founding the First Presbyterian Church of this place, the services being held for a time in his house, which still stands at the east corner of Germantown Avenue and Walnut Lane, and is now a boarding-house. The Normal Industrial School was also started here, from which later grew Lafayette College.

² John Nell, Jr., was commonly called "Lucifer," because he was always in mischief. Colonel Zane, a well-known person in the town, but of an opposite political faith from Nell, was so annoyed by his teasing that in an altercation he struck him on the head with his buck-horn-headed cane; one of the knobs fractured his skull, from the effects of which he died. Zane was acquitted of intentional manslaughter.

³ William Leibert, a son of John, and a bachelor, who is remembered for the eccentric habit he had of carrying two watches, one in each pocket.

⁴ John Leibert, tanner in early life, and a man of means, who lived at No. 5109 Germantown Avenue. The two large linden-trees, which still stand in front of the house, he paid John Shubert one dollar for getting for him down on the Schuylkill.

⁵ Jacob Kulp owned a two-and-a-half-story house, which he purchased, with two and a half acres of land, from the estate of Jacob Engle, in 1806. The property adjoined the Mennonite Church, Germantown Avenue, and passed into the hands of Samuel Keyser, shoe manufacturer, in 1828, whose heirs sold it and the adjoining property, in 1870, to W. Pastorius.

⁶ John Geissel, proper name John Keisel, owned the property north of the Mennonite Church, Germantown Avenue, containing sixteen acres. Philip Physick purchased it in 1839, and sold, in 1841, the Germantown Avenue front and house to Samuel Keyser, whose heirs sold it to Washington Pastorius, who built Nos. 5121 and 5123 Germantown Avenue, and opened Pastorius Street. This tract of sixteen acres sold for eighteen hundred and fifty pounds in 1797.

⁷ Sebastian Hefelfinger, a German, who lived in one of the several small houses in the rear of No. 5123 Germantown Avenue, in after-years known as Keyser's Court.

John Smith gone ¹	.	.	.	20	all	20
Yost Smith ¹	.	.	.	25	paid	25
Yost Smith Junr gone ¹	.	.	.	40	all	40
Philip Knopp ²	.	.	.	25		25
Francis Engle ³	.	.	413	50	paid	2.56
Susannah Engle's Est ⁴	.	.	490			2.45
Jacob Moyer ⁵	.	.	.	50	"	50
Henry Moyer's Est ⁵	.	.	960		"	4.80
Jacob Keyser ⁶	.	.	1097	50	"	5.98
William Keyser ⁷	.	.	.	50	"	50
Hannah Keyser's Est ⁸	.	.	880		"	4.40
Enoch Keyser ⁹	.	.	.	50	"	50

¹ Yost Smith, with his sons, Yost, Jr., and John, had a frame shop on what is now the north corner of Germantown Avenue and Pastorius Street.

² Philip Knopp, a German tailor; who lived in Keyser's Court as above.

³ Francis Engle, son of Jacob Engle, owned the old house, still standing, No. 5137 Germantown Avenue. It was purchased, in 1752, by Benjamin Engle, from his father, Paul Engle, cordwainer.

⁴ Susanna Engle's estate. The house still stands, No. 5139 Germantown Avenue. She was a daughter of Paul Engle, and aunt of Francis.

⁵ Henry Moyer's estate. This house stood where No. 5145 Germantown Avenue now is. Henry's son Jacob was a book-binder, and lived in it.

⁶ Jacob Keyser occupied the house, still standing, now No. 5149 Germantown Avenue, which had been erected by his ancestor, and that of the others bearing the name in the town, Dirck Keyser, shortly after his arrival here in 1688. Jacob was a well-to-do and respected citizen who farmed his land, which extended as far back as the Chestnut Hill Railroad, as well as manufacturer of shoes.

⁷ William Keyser, son of Jacob, and, like him, a shoe manufacturer, who in after-years moved to Swedesboro', where he died.

⁸ Hannah Keyser's estate. The house still stands, No. 5153 Germantown Avenue.

⁹ Enoch Keyser, son of Hannah, with whom he lived. A wheelwright by trade, and a man of enormous strength, who is remembered as having lifted the millstone at the Johnson tannery, which weighed over a thousand pounds. At the Falls of Schuylkill he got into an altercation with a man for striking a boy. A general fight followed. Governor Mifflin interfered to preserve order, when "Nulk" Keyser "booted" him, and picked him up and threw him over a hitching-post. The affair ended, however, in a jollification, in which the governor took part.

Wm. Hergesheimer's Est ¹	. 530	paid	2.60
Charles Dannenhower	. .	25 "	25
Samuel Keyser ²	. . .	33 "	33
Samuel Weaver ³	. . . 1220	40 "	6.50
Martin Weaver ³	. . . 480	40 "	2.80
Jacob Bowman ⁴	. . . 560	40 "	3.20
Conrad Redheffer ⁵	. . . 140	50 "	1.20
Susannah Nice's Est ⁶	. . 1125	"	5.62
John Snyder ⁷	. . . 767	25	4.08
Jacob Snyder ⁷	. . . 70	25 "	60
Christ. Wilt poor	. . .	25 all	25
Jacob Knorr ⁸	. . . 225	50 paid	1.62
Jacob Knorr's Est ⁸	. . . 940	"	4.70
John Lange ⁹	. . . 60	1 "	1.30
Sanson Richards gone	. . .	20	20

¹ William Hergesheimer's estate. The property still stands, though altered, No. 5159 to 5163 Germantown Avenue.

² Samuel Keyser, born 1783, died 1868. He was the eldest son of Jacob, and, like his father, a shoemaker. He for many years lived where Nos. 5121 and 5123 Germantown Avenue now stand. He held many positions of trust, and was much respected by the community.

³ Samuel Weaver, son of Martin Weaver, butchers, whose houses are now numbered 5165 and 5167 Germantown Avenue.

⁴ Jacob Bowman, cedar-cooper, whose house still stands, No. 5171 Germantown Avenue.

⁵ Conrad Redheffer married a daughter of Hannah Keyser, and afterwards kept a tavern called "The Wigwam," at her house No. 5153 Germantown Avenue.

⁶ Susanna Nice's estate. This was the old Washington Tavern which still stands at the east corner of Washington Lane and Germantown Avenue. It had been kept for many years by Winfred Nice, her husband.

⁷ John and Jacob Snyder, farmers, whose property was on Washington Lane, in the rear of the Washington Tavern.

⁸ Jacob Knorr, cabinet-maker and undertaker, whose shop was on the north corner of Washington Lane and Germantown Avenue, where the business is still carried on by Kirk & Nice, having been established by Knorr in 1776. The property marked as estate was the house still standing, No. 5207 Germantown Avenue, and built by him in 1760. It is still occupied by his descendant, Miss E. Dorsey.

⁹ John Lange, a doctor, who married a Knorr, and lived at No. 5207 Germantown Avenue, still standing.

Thomas Forrest ¹	. . . 3495	1 paid	18.47
John Keyser ²	. . . 555	40 "	3.17
Abraham Keyser ³	. . .	50 "	50
Rudolph Grote	. . .	25 "	25
Samuel Betton Jr gone ⁴	. . .	50 all	50
George Swenks Est	. . . 87	paid	43
Jacob Moyers Est	. . . 710	"	5.95
George A. Blank	. . . 970	25 "	5.10
Jacob Buddy poor ⁵	. . .	25 all	25
Benj Chews Est ⁶	. . . 5255	paid	26.27
H. W. A. Stoneburnor & } Geo. S. Bensells Est ⁷ . }	4897	"	24.48

¹ Thomas Forrest, a celebrated colonel in the American army during the Revolution. In 1788, he bought the handsome country-seat, of latter years known as "Pomona," on Germantown Avenue, above Washington Lane. It was built in 1760, by Samuel Shoemaker, mayor of Philadelphia. In 1890, the house was torn down and the property cut up into building lots.

² John Keyser, shoe manufacturer, and father of Jacob, who lived on what is now the east corner of Germantown Avenue and Duval Street. His house still stands, forming the upper portion of No. 5233. During the battle of Germantown the family placed an apple under the cellar door, and from the elevated position of the house were able to watch the fight going on around them.

³ Abraham Keyser, son of John, and, like his father, a shoemaker, was a bachelor, who in the latter part of his life became an earnest Friend, and lived at Nos. 4747 and 4749 Germantown Avenue, opposite the Friends' Meeting, where on Quarterly Meeting days he dispensed his hospitality to the many gathered.

⁴ Samuel Betton, Jr., born 1786, died 1850. He studied medicine, and had an extensive practice in the town. His wife was the only child of Colonel Thomas Forrest.

⁵ Jacob Buddy was a laboring man who lived in a small house on Germantown Avenue, below Johnson Street.

⁶ Benjamin Chew, Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania. He built the well-known Chew homestead, "Cliveden," in 1761, on what is now the north corner of Germantown Avenue and Johnson Street. In the battle of Germantown the place was taken possession of by the British, and there was much hard fighting around it. It is still owned and occupied by the family.

⁷ H. W. A. Stoneburnor and George S. Bensell's estate. This was part of a tract of nineteen acres in the inhabited part of Germantown, and six side lands purchased by Paul Engle, Sr., in 1709, and thirty-one

Jacob Clemens ¹	. . . . . 30	75 paid	90
Walter Dunn	. . . . .	25 "	25
Michael Billmeyer ²	. . . . . 2580	100 "	13.90
Henry Sharpnack ³	. . . . . 1760	33 "	9.13
Daniel Sharpnack gone ⁴	. . . . .	50 all	50
Robert Kirk	. . . . .	33 paid	33
John Heister gone ⁵	. . . . .	25 all	25
William Heister poor ⁵	. . . . .	20 "	20
Peter Axe ⁶	. . . . .	25 paid	25
Andrew Hart dead	. . . . .	25 all	
Jacob Baker	. . . . .	25 paid	25
Thomas Keyser ⁷	. . . . . 985	33 "	5.25
James Pettit	. . . . . 40	25 "	45
& for Jno Johnsons Est	. . . . . 1015	"	5.07
Peter Rittenhouse	. . . . .	50 "	50
Abraham K Paul ⁸	. . . . .	50 "	50
Jacob Horter ⁹	. . . . . 1415	40 "	7.47

acres purchased in 1738. The inhabited land was above Herman Street and east of Germantown Avenue, while the side lands were northeast of Johnson Street and Germantown Avenue. Engle's daughters,—Mary married Leonard Stoneburner, and Sarah, Charles Bensell. This tax was for the side land, the representatives being Engle's grandsons.

¹ Jacob Clemens started the mill on Carpenter Street, which afterwards became so well known as the Glen Echo Carpet Mills, to make kerseys for the soldiers during the war of 1812. He married a Stoneburner, probably the daughter of H. W. A. Stoneburner, and lived in the house still standing, No. 5245 Germantown Avenue.

² Michael Billmeyer, printer, born 1752. He, in connection with his brother-in-law, Peter Leibert, did quite an extensive business as printers and publishers. His house still stands on the north corner of Germantown Avenue and Upsal Street, and is occupied by his descendants.

³ Henry Sharpnack owned the land where Sharpnack Street now is. His house still stands on the east corner of said street and Germantown Avenue.

⁴ Daniel Sharpnack, son of Henry, and, like him, a farmer.

⁵ John and William Heister. This should be Heisler. They were cedar-coopers, and lived at No. 5405 Germantown Avenue.

⁶ Peter Axe, a hatter, who lived just above the Heislars.

⁷ Thomas Keyser is said to have lived where No. 5413 now is.

⁸ Abraham K. Paul, a butcher, who lived next above Jacob Horter.

⁹ Jacob Horter, butcher, whose house still stands, No. 5439 Germantown Avenue.

Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809. 469

Abraham Paul ¹	. . . 1625	40 paid	8.52
John Rook	. . . .	50 "	50
Jonan. Williamson	. . . .	50 "	50
Peter Hartman	. . . .	50 "	50
Jacob Gorgas ²	. . . 557	25 "	3.03
Adam Nice	. . . .	20 "	20
William Strunk gone	. . . .	20 all	20
John Beck Jr ³	. . . .	40 paid	40
John Beck (Dyer) ³	. . . 1537	33 "	8.01
John Beck (Turner) gone	. . . .	25 all	25
Daniel Beck ⁴	. . . 575	50	3.37
Jacob Reese's Est	. . . 340	paid	1.70
William Axe	. . . 355	25 "	2.02
John Leisinger ⁵	. . . 690	33 "	3.75
George Kesser's Est	. . 2250	"	11.25
John Kinnards Est	. . . 720	"	3.60
Klinken Johnson ⁶	. . . 1290	50 "	6.95
Joseph Eaton	. . . 88	25 "	69
Isaac Zimmerman poor	. . . .	20 all	20
Ezekiel Eaton gone	. . . .	50 "	50
George Shugart	. . . .	33 paid	33
& for George Gorgas's Est	. 488	"	2.44
Conrad Idle ⁷	. . . 715	33 "	3.90
Philip Weaver ⁸	. . . 1085	50 "	5.92

¹ Abraham Paul owned the property now known as the Griffith place, Chew, opposite Sharpnack Street. He purchased it in 1764 for twelve hundred pounds, and is described in the deed as Abraham Paul, of Lancaster County, yeoman.

² Jacob Gorgas is said to have lived in the stone house still standing on the north corner of Germantown Avenue and Gorgas Street.

³ John Beck, with his son, John, Jr., who lived on Germantown Avenue, just above Church Street.

⁴ Daniel Beck lived at what is now No. 5483 Germantown Avenue.

⁵ John Leisinger lived where No. 5489 now is.

⁶ Klinken Johnson, farmer, who lived in the old stone house still standing, Nos. 5565 and 5567 Germantown Avenue.

⁷ Conrad Idle built and probably occupied the house, still standing, No. 5511 Germantown Avenue, now Mr. R. P. McCullagh's.

⁸ Philip Weaver owned the old stone house still standing on the west corner of Germantown Avenue and Westview Street, No. 5502 Germantown Avenue.

470 *Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.*

Jacob Hesser ¹	.	.	.	50	paid	50
Jacob Derr ²	.	.	.	40	50	" 71
& for John Fry's Est	.	.	630		"	3.15
George Hesser ³	.	.	1142	50	"	6.21
Francis Lewis gone	.	.		50	all	50
Elizabeth Starr's Est ⁴	.	.	830		paid	4.15
Elias Recker	.	.		25	"	25
& for Abm. Unrue's Est	.	.	920		"	4.60
Henry Anshensel	.	.		20	"	20
Henry Anshensel Jr	.	.		20	"	20
John Recker poor	.	.		20	all	20
Jacob Recker gone	.	.		40	"	40
Thomas Holloway	.	.		50	paid	50
Nichoals Guyer	.	.	10	33	"	38
& for Christ. Fisher's Est	.	.	230		"	1.15
Jacob Guyer	.	.	70		"	35
John Johnson's Est	.	.	860		"	4.30
John Guyer	.	.		50	"	50
Jacob Guyer	.	.	10	35	"	30
& for Jas Buckius' Est	.	.	695		"	3.47
John Merkle poor	.	.		20	all	20
Jacob Good ⁵	.	.	660	40	paid	3.70
William Leibert ⁶	.	.		50	"	50
Joseph Felty	.	.		20	"	20

¹ Jacob Hesser, probably a son of the Widow Hesser who married Jacob Derr.

² Jacob Derr lived on the old property on the east corner of Mount Pleasant and Germantown Avenues.

³ George Hesser built and occupied No. 5519 Germantown Avenue, now belonging to the Bayard estate, shortly after the battle of Germantown. His cellar was dug just before the fight, and was utilized as a grave for some of the killed, and then filled up; so he dug a new one a little farther southeast.

⁴ Elizabeth Starr's estate. She owned and occupied a part of the old stone and plastered houses Nos. 5464, 5466, 5468 Germantown Avenue.

⁵ Jacob Good, a shoemaker, whose name remains to us in Good Street.

⁶ William Leibert, a son of Peter, became a bookbinder, and built the house still owned by his grandson, W. M. Leibert, No. 5566 Germantown Avenue.

Peter Leibert ¹	. . . 3595	paid	17.95
John Cauffman gone	. . . .	50 all	50
Christopher Mason ²	. . . 1407	75 paid	7.70
George Hergesheimer ³	. . . 590	33 "	3.28
John Johnson ⁴	. . . 5593	1 "	28.96
Jacob Rittenhouse ⁵	. . . .	25 "	25
& for John Johnsons Est.	. 488	"	2.44
& for Friends Meeting G R	. 47	"	23
Jacob Conrad . . . .	. . . .	20 "	20
John Beck . . . .	. 10	20 "	25
& for ——— Est. . . .	. 1020	"	5.10
John Nell ⁶ . . . .	. 70	25 "	60
Ann Geissells Est . . . .	. 433	"	2.21
& for Friends Meeting G R	. 37	"	18
Peter Parring . . . .	. . . .	25 "	25
& for Jonau Worrells Est	. 395	"	1.97
Bernard Matthias poor . . . .	. . . .	20 all	20
Barbara Engles Est ⁷ . . . .	. 445	paid	2.22

¹ Peter Leibert, printer, born 1727, died 1812. He formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, Michael Billmeyer, and they did quite an extensive business as printers and publishers. He lived at No. 5370 Germantown Avenue, at present owned and occupied by J. B. Crowson.

² Christopher Mason owned the old house still standing at the south corner of Germantown Avenue and Weaver Street. He kept a store and amassed a fortune.

³ George Hergesheimer lived at the west corner of Upsal Street and Germantown Avenue, in the little old house still standing. He was a blacksmith, and for many years supervisor of the roads.

⁴ John Johnson, son of Joseph and Elizabeth, built the handsome old homestead, now known as "Upsal," in 1798. It still stands at Germantown Avenue and Upsal Street, and is occupied by his descendants.

⁵ Jacob Rittenhouse, superintendent of the turnpike, who lived in an old house below Johnson's, and afterwards for many years lower down, No. 5260 Germantown Avenue.

⁶ John Nell, a drummer of the war of 1812. He had a little place where West Johnson Street and Germantown Avenue now are, the truck from which his wife sold in market. Her temper occasionally got the better of her; when she began scolding, he would get his old drum out and so effectually outdo her that she was glad to ask for quarter.

⁷ Barbara Engle's estate. This was an old pebble-dashed house, on the corner of Johnson Street and Germantown Avenue, torn down about two years ago.

472 *Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.*

John Heilig ¹	1035	50 paid	5.67
William Sinclair		25 “	25
Charles Francis ²	470	20 “	2.55
Charles Adams ³	40	40 “	60
& for Magdalena Adams' Est ³ .	780	“	3.90
John Francis gone ⁴		50 all	50
William Keyser ⁵	1370	50 “	50
George Peters ⁶	1360	50 paid	7.30
Isaac Moore poor		25 “	25
George Moyer gone		50 all	50
Claudius Bernanosse		50 paid	50
& for Phillip Heyls Est	725	“	3.62
Jacob Unroht ⁷	1670	50 “	8.85
Jacob Unroht Jr ⁸		50 “	50
George Sommorlot		50 “	50
Thomas Moyer ⁹		50 “	50
Jacob Moyer		50 “	50

¹ John Heilig, clock-maker, owned and occupied the old house, still standing, No. 5262 Germantown Avenue.

² Charles Francis owned the house, now somewhat altered, No. 5256 Germantown Avenue.

³ Charles Adams, a storekeeper in his mother's—Magdalena Adams—house, No. 5260 Germantown Avenue. She is remembered as a particularly bright old lady, and was the grandmother of the late George W. Carpenter.

⁴ John Francis, a teamster, whose house stood at No. 5254 Germantown Avenue.

⁵ William Keyser, tanner, had his yard in the rear of his dwelling, the latter still standing, No. 5252 Germantown Avenue. He was a brother of Rev. Peter Keyser.

⁶ George Peters kept a hotel at what is now known as the “Ship House,” No. 5234 Germantown Avenue, from the plaster ship on the lower gable. Of late years it has been owned and occupied by the Bockius family.

⁷ Jacob Unroht, manufacturer of horse-collars, had his shop in the old stone building, now falling to pieces, whose number would be about 5220 Germantown Avenue.

⁸ Jacob Unroht, Jr., son of above.

⁹ Thomas Moyer married an Unroht, and was engaged in the same business.

Peter Keyser ¹	1600	30 paid	8.30
Samuel Johnson ²	80	75 "	1.15
& for John Johnsons Est ³	2595	"	12.97
Robert Thomas		25 "	25
Michael Lippard ⁴	975	33 "	5.20
George Axe ⁵	110	25 "	80
Elizabeth Axe's Est ⁵	215	"	1.07
Frederick Axe ⁵	625	33 "	3.45
Henry Smith	305	33 "	1.85
John Smith		50 "	50
Ezekiel Busby ⁶		50 "	50
William Busby ⁶		50 "	50

¹ Peter Keyser was born in Germantown, 1766 ; died 1849. In early life a tanner, later he engaged in the lumber business in Philadelphia. In 1828, he settled permanently in his home, No. 5214 Germantown Avenue, now owned by Elwood Johnson. He was, besides, a well-known preacher, endowed with a remarkable memory, and much beloved by the people among whom he lived. Some hard fighting was done in the rear of this property during the battle of Germantown, the testimony thereof being still borne by an old cedar fence filled with bullet-holes, which has remained undisturbed all these years.

² Samuel Johnson, son of John and Rachel, born 1777, died 1847. By trade a tanner, and lived at the corner of Germantown Avenue and Washington Lane.

³ John Johnson was a descendant of Dirk Jansen, as are the others bearing the name in the town. John erected the old Johnson homestead, still standing at the west corner of Germantown Avenue and Washington Lane, in 1768. Back of it he had his tan-yard.

⁴ Michael Lippard, a wheelwright, whose house stood where No. 5178 Germantown Avenue now is. His old barn is on the place and still used.

⁵ George, Frederick, and Elizabeth Axe inherited the properties where now stand Nos. 5174, 5176, and 5178 Germantown Avenue, probably from John Frederick Axe, who was prominently connected with the upper burying-ground, and most likely their grandfather. George was a wheelwright, and had a shop on the Johnson place, corner of Germantown Avenue and Upsal Street, but about 1836 moved to Illinois. Frederick was a cripple, and used crutches, having a small store at the corner of Germantown Avenue and Mill Street, where he sold small wares. He became such a firm believer in the doctrines of the Millerites that he gave his stock away before the day appointed for the ascension, but was very glad to replace it when disappointed in his expected trip.

⁶ Ezekiel and William Busby (should be Buzby), brothers. Ezekiel

Joseph Baish ¹	. . . 1030	paid	5.15
Henry Felty gone	. . .	25 all	25
Leonard Felty listed	. . .	25 “	25
John Robeson insane	. . .	25 “	25
George Stroup	. . .	25 paid	25
Anthony Johnson ²	. . . 8035	50 “	40.67
Justus Johnson ³	. . .	50 “	50
Caspor Moyer poor ⁴	. . .	20 all	20
— Whatmore	. . . 60	75 paid	1.05
George Smith ⁵	. . . 415	33 “	2.40
Jacob Smith ⁵	. . .	25 “	25
Peter Dedier ⁶	. . . 915	33 “	4.90
Peter Dedier gone ⁶	. . .	20 all	20
Conrad Phillips Est ⁷	. . . 160	paid	80
Andrew Heath ⁸	. . .	75 “	75
& for Anthy Johnsons Est ⁸	. 775	“	3.87

kept a grocery store in the old house, still standing, No. 5069 Germantown Avenue. They afterwards removed to Springhouse, where their descendants now are.

¹ Joseph Baish, a German cedar-cooper, who had his house and shop at what is now Nos. 5162 and 5164 Germantown Avenue. His wife was one of the characters of the town, being well known to all as “Granny” Baish. She sold apples to the school-boys, and where one was specked she would plug it with a sound piece. During the yellow fever epidemic, when the people looked with apprehension on her wares, she assured them they were “Angels’ Food,” and perhaps she was correct.

² Anthony Johnson, son of John Johnson, lived at No. 5146 Germantown Avenue, still standing. In the rear of the house was a large tract of land, which now forms Tulpehocken Street.

³ Justus Johnson, son of Anthony, as above.

⁴ Caspar Moyer lived in a small house on the west side of Germantown Avenue, a little above Herman Street, where one Mary Moyer had a shop. Her sign was sufficiently unique to rescue it from the oblivion of time.

“I, Mary Moyer, keep cakes and beer;

I make my sign a little wider, to let you know I sell good cider.”

⁵ George Smith and his son Jacob lived where No. 5128 now is. They bought flour at the mills and took it to town to market.

⁶ Peter Dedier and Peter, Jr., followed farming, and lived in the house No. 5124 Germantown Avenue.

⁷ Conrad Phillips’s estate. This is the property now No. 5116 Germantown Avenue.

⁸ Andrew Heath occupied the house owned by Anthony Johnson,

Benj Davis ¹	33	paid	33
Michael Keyser ² 1560		"	7.80
Matthias Knorr ³ 1870	33	"	9.68
John Knorr ⁴	50	"	50
Jesse Roberts ⁵ 10	50	"	55
& for Reuben Haines Est ⁶ . 1752		"	8.76
Ralph Peters 90	75	"	1.20
& for Hannah Hannaess Est . 3030		"	15.15
Conrad Witsell gone	50	all	50
John Mertz gone	25	"	25
Leonard Mertz Jr	50	paid	50
Leonard Mertz Sen 70	25	"	62
& for Joseph Prichards Est . 1925		"	9.62
John Hefts Est ⁷ 150		"	75

and still standing, No. 5112 Germantown Avenue. Heath, who dressed as a Friend, and probably was one, was said to have conducted the British into Germantown at the time of their occupancy.

¹ Benjamin Davis lived below Heath's, and was at one time postmaster of the town.

² Michael Keyser, tanner, lived on the site of Nos. 5102 and 5104 Germantown Avenue. He was born 1745, and died 1825. He was noted for his charity. All strangers coming to the town received a hearty welcome at his house, and were given supper, lodging, and breakfast. It is remembered during the Revolution that when Christopher Sower was in prison he gave him his coat and hat.

³ Matthias Knorr lived at the west corner of Germantown Avenue and Walnut Lane. His family bought the property in 1728, and retained it until 1849.

⁴ John Knorr, son of Matthias, as above.

⁵ Jesse Roberts, brewer at the Haines brewery. This well-remembered establishment stood in from the main street, about where West Walnut Lane has since been opened. Roberts is principally remembered now, by the old people who went to him for yeast as children, as being an exceedingly cross man. He afterwards removed to Luzerne County.

⁶ Reuben Haines, born 1785, died 1831. He was noted for his public spirit and scientific attainments, being also originator of the hose companies in Philadelphia. He was the owner and occupant of "Wyck," the Haines estate, situated at the south corner of Germantown Avenue and Walnut Lane, which has been occupied by the family since 1697.

⁷ John Heft's estate. Heft was a butcher, whose house stood on Germantown Avenue, above Harvey Street.

476 *Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.*

John Buddy		25	paid	25
Jacob Reaver ¹	40	33	"	53
Samuel Deveas gone		25	all	25
Jacob Keyser's Est ²	410		paid	2.09
Mary Keyser's Est	338		"	1.69
John McClure	25	50	"	62
& for John Street's Est	95		"	47
& for Charles Engle's G R	140		"	70
Jesse Norton gone		50	all	50
Solomon Groscup		50	"	50
Frederick Knorr poor	10	20	"	25
& for Charles Engle's G R	140		paid	70
& for Mary Collin's Est	140		"	70
Lydia Roop's Est ³	1355		"	6.77
Jacob Roop ³		25	"	25
William Roop ³		50	"	50
Joseph Roop ³		50	"	50
Chas. Himmelright		25	"	25
Charles Engle's Est ⁴	2365		"	11.62
Richard Engle ⁵		50	"	50
James Hamilton		20	all	20
Joseph Jacobs ⁶	388	33	paid	2.27
& for Charles Engles Est G R.	182		"	91

¹ Jacob Reaver, magistrate, located about the corner of Germantown Avenue and Harvey Street.

² Jacob Keyser's estate, located on Harvey Street, just in from Germantown Avenue.

³ Lydia Roop's estate. The homestead was located on what was known as Roop's Lane, now Harvey Street, a short distance in from Germantown Avenue. Jacob, William, and Joseph are believed to have been her sons.

⁴ Charles Engle occupied the Engle homestead, built by his father in 1758, No. 5034 Germantown Avenue. In the rear was the tannery which for more than a century did duty, but is now abandoned. The house still stands, and is occupied by his descendants.

⁵ Richard Engle, tanner, an uncle of the late Charles B. Engle. He resided in the old Engle homestead, No. 5034 Germantown Avenue, and afterwards removed to Bustleton.

⁶ Joseph Jacobs, a store-keeper, lived in one of a row of frame buildings on Germantown Avenue, below Lafayette Street.

George Miller ¹	.	.	.	25		25
& for Charles Engle's G R	.	210		paid		1.05
John Detweiler ²	.	.	115	33	"	90
Charles Engle's G R	.	.	140		"	70
John Peisly ³	.	.	.	25	"	25
& for Joseph Jacob's Est						
& for Charles Engle's G R	.	182			"	91
James McMurter ⁴	.	.	15	25	"	32
& for Charles Engle's G R	.	140			"	70
John Robeson	.	.	295	50	"	1.97
& for Charles Engle's G R	.	140			"	70
William Stevenson ⁵	.	.	766	33	"	4.16
& for Charles Engle's G R	.	294			"	1.47
Abraham Kulp ⁶	.	.	.	25	"	25
George Wunder Jr ⁷	.	.	30	25	"	40
Bernard Adams gone ⁸	.	.	.	50	all	50
Jacob Sorber gone ⁹	.	.	.	50	"	50
John Kulp gone ¹⁰	.	.	.	33	"	33
& for Peter Smith's Est ¹⁰	.	700			paid	3.50

¹ George Miller, a clock-maker, who resided next below Jacobs. He was the grandfather of Hiram Miller, the well-known builder.

² John Detweiler, a store-keeper, who was next below Miller's.

³ John Peisly, a shoemaker, who resided in a frame house below Miller's, owned by Jacobs.

⁴ James McMurter, hatter, who lived below Peisly.

⁵ William Stevenson, shoe manufacturer, who lived on the west corner of Rittenhouse Street and Germantown Avenue.

⁶ A. Kulp combined the trades of shoemaker and stone-mason.

⁷ George Wunder, Jr., butcher. He married a daughter of Stevenson, and afterwards had his place of business in the Stevenson house.

⁸ Bernard Adams, a shoe manufacturer. He was the son of Magdalena, who lived at No. 5260 Germantown Avenue.

⁹ Jacob Sorber, shoemaker, who afterwards moved to Flourtown. It is probable that at this time Kulp, Adams, and Sorber were apprentices learning their trade with Stevenson, and living with him, after the good old fashion.

¹⁰ John Kulp probably lived in the house of Peter Smith, which stood on the south corner of Rittenhouse Street. Smith was a blacksmith, and his son John, who followed the same trade, made quite a fortune, and built the house now standing there, belonging to Daniel Keyser's estate. Kulp was a farmer.

478 *Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.*

Conrad Carpenter ¹	.	.	1255	50 paid	6.77
Widow Ogleby's Est ²	.	.	1075	"	5.37
William Ogleby	.	.	.	50 "	50
Joseph Green ³	.	.	40	40 "	60
Jacob Green ³	.	.	.	40 "	40
Anthony Hergesheimer ⁴	.	.	1280	50 "	6.90
John Burwich gone	.	.	.	20 all	20
John Wistar's Est ⁵	.	.	2050	paid	10.25
Michael Kenton	.	.	.	40 all	40
Melchior Ming ⁶	.	.	1220	33 paid	6.43
John Cook ⁷	.	.	695	33 "	3.10
Joseph Channon ⁸	.	.	.	33 "	33

¹ Conrad Carpenter lived at what would be now No. 4942 Germantown Avenue, and was an active, public-spirited citizen. He was the father of the late George W. Carpenter. His business was that of a hardware dealer, as well as a carpenter by trade.

² Widow Ogleby's estate was the house now numbered 4940 Germantown Avenue.

³ Joseph and Jacob Green, hatters, who afterwards carried on business at No. 4809 Germantown Avenue, and later removed to Nos. 4562 and 4564 Germantown Avenue, where their descendants are still engaged in the same business.

⁴ Anthony Hergesheimer is believed to have at this period owned the Fountain Inn Tavern, Germantown Avenue, opposite Price Street. He afterwards removed to the city.

⁵ John Wister's estate. John Wister, born in Philadelphia, 1776; died in Germantown, 1862. A merchant in the former place who permanently located in Germantown about 1812. His estate was on Germantown Avenue, above Cheltenham Avenue, which he named "Vernon." It has this year been located on the city plans as a park. Mr. Wister was a man of great kindness of heart and liberality.

⁶ Melchior Ming. The Mings came to Germantown in 1728. Their house, which has been altered into a tin-shop, still stands at No. 4912 Germantown Avenue. After the battle of Germantown it was used as a hospital.

⁷ John Cook. His house was torn down by the Saving Fund when they erected the building at No. 4908 Germantown Avenue. Cook had a store for a time just above Price Street, on the east side of Germantown Avenue, but afterwards moved away and all trace of him was lost.

⁸ Joseph Channon, a relative of John Cook, and lived in the same house. He was a shoemaker, and in addition carried on the manufacture of lamp-black, which he made from tar and rosin. His brand

Godfrey Showaker ¹	. . . 70	33	68
Henry Kurtz ²	. . . 2100	50 paid	11.
John Fry ³	. . . .	40 “	40
George Righter ⁴	. . . 570	40 “	3.25
Jared Ingersoll's Est	. . . 855	“	4.27
John Moyer ⁵	. . . 1537	33 “	8.01
William Baker deceased	. . . .	33 all	33
Benjamin Lehman ⁶	. . . 2300	75 paid	12.25
Casper Werfell poor ⁷	. . . .	20 all	20
Jacob Werfell ⁸	. . . .	50 paid	50
William Lehman ⁹	. . . .	50 “	50
William Fryhoffer ¹⁰	. . . .	33	33

stood very high, from the fact that it was all caught on linen sheets, while the ordinary kind was scraped from the walls of the building. The business was continued until about 1860.

¹ Godfrey Showaker, a farmer, who occupied a portion of one of the Kurtz houses, Germantown Avenue, below Cheltenham Avenue.

² Henry Kurtz, a German, who is remembered as wearing small-clothes and a cocked hat, and being attended on his walks by six dogs. His property stood on the south corner of Germantown and Cheltenham Avenues.

³ John Fry had a tin-shop in a portion of the Kurtz property, on the south corner of Germantown and Cheltenham Avenues. He was executor for Kurtz and purchased the property, being succeeded by his son, William K. Fry, in business, who is still well remembered by many.

⁴ George Riter owned the property where now stands No. 4848 Germantown Avenue. He ran a stage line.

⁵ John Moyer, a farmer, owned and lived in a house that stood on a tract of ground where Stokes's Block now is, from Nos. 4830 to 4848 Germantown Avenue.

⁶ Benjamin Lehman lived in the house still standing, No. 4818 Germantown Avenue. He was an active man in public affairs, and much esteemed. He had a lumber-yard in the rear of his house, which business is still carried on by the Messrs. Langstroths, a little above the old site.

⁷ Casper Werfell, shingle-shaver in Lehman's lumber-yard.

⁸ Jacob Werfell, son of Casper, shoemaker by trade.

⁹ William Lehman, son of Benjamin, who was superintendent of the Union Canal, and resided in Lebanon.

¹⁰ William Fryhoffer, son of Woolery. He was for a time tax collector and postmaster.

480 *Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.*

Alex. McCarraher ¹ . . .	10	50 paid	55
& for John Taylors Est ¹ . . .	2300	"	11.50
John Taylor's Est . . .	990	"	4.95
Engle Bensell's ² . . .	850	"	4.25
Sarah Billing's Est ³ . . .	975	"	4.87

¹ John Taylor's estate. This was, no doubt, the old King of Prussia which still stands at Nos. 4812, 4814, and 4816 Germantown Avenue. From the association I should judge Alexander McCarraher was the proprietor, but have been unable to verify it.

² Engle Bensell was probably a son of Charles and Sarah Engle Bensell, and resided in the house still standing, though altered, No. 4806 Germantown Avenue.

³ Sarah Billing's estate. She was a relative of the Bensells, and lived in the fine old house recently torn down to make way for the addition to the Bank of Germantown, No. 4804 Germantown Avenue.

(To be continued.)

ARCHIVUM AMERICANUM IN THE CONSISTORY
COURT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSAL.

BY CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

In the summer of 1888, while on a visit to Stockholm, I had the good fortune through the kind aid of my friends, the late Colonel Elfwing, then United States Consul at Stockholm, and Dr. Wieselgren, Chief Librarian of the Royal Library, to discover the existence of a mass of documents of great historical interest, relating to the early Swedish emigration to the shores of the Delaware. These documents embrace the correspondence between the Swedish Church authorities at home and the missionaries who were sent here by the Archbishop during the eighteenth century, the instructions which were given them as to their conduct, and elaborate reports by the missionaries of the condition of the various parishes at different times. They form together a collection known as "*Archivum Americanum*," and are preserved among the records of the Consistory Court of the Archbishop of Upsal. The original documents I did not see, but, recognizing at once their historical value, I left instructions that those which seemed best suited for my purpose should be copied and translated, and sent to me. This has been done, and copies of such as I have received, of more or less interest, have been deposited in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

These form, of course, but a small portion of the original collection of "the papers relative to the American Mission in the records of the Consistory." The whole collection is said to be contained "in two enormous folio volumes," and in a "bundle not bound." My friends sent me copies of those papers in which they supposed I would feel the greatest interest, and with them a statement of the contents of many which were not copied nor sent.

The following is a partial list of the papers which I have received and which it was thought would be most valuable for historical purposes. Those among them which have been deposited in the Historical Society are marked thus *.

1. 1749. Copy of the contract for the purchase of the benefice in Wicacoa.

2. 1760. Testimony and petition of the three united parishes of Wicacoa, Kingsessing, and Upper Merion, concerning Dr. Wrangel.

3. 1786. Record of the members of the Swedish parishes of Racoon and Pensneck, New Jersey, N. Collin. Racoon parish is said to number 161 families and Pensneck 58.

4. 1777. N. Collin's account of his arrival and his treatment during the Revolutionary War. Regarded as a spy, and threatened with death.

5. Specification of the losses of the members of the Racoon parish during the war,—1780.

6. 1765 or 1766. Dr. Wrangel's account of the state of the parish of Wicacoa.

7. 1720–30. Letters from the Swedish missionaries describing their trials.

8.* Letters from Rev. Mr. Nœsman (1745), Falck (1746), Sarnin (1747–48).

9.* List of the members of the parishes at Racoon and Pensneck in 1754, with information concerning their knowledge of the Swedish language. The following names of these members are given: Keen, Lock, Helm, Fly, Dennis, Cock, Gerois, Hoffman, Van Neeman, Hommaus, Stahlman, Rambo, Dahlbo, Kock, Quarrin, Reynolds, Hand, Stillé, Van Kühlen, William, Cobb, Arched, Ivins, Moulica, Streng, Frind, Longäcker, Halton, Jones, Engel, Sockan, Forsman, Lundberg, Corrighan, Wickenberg, König, Tossu, Lenmájer, Bonde, Van der Veer, Hollsten, Skies, Philipott, Mekom, Bremberg, Wickary, Minck, Hendrickson, Mattson, Petterson, Seneckson, Johnson. All these are said to be able to understand the Swedish language one hundred years after the conquest. Three hundred and fifty-three persons in these parishes are said to read the Swedish language "well."

10.* Similar lists of the parishes at Wicacoa and at Christina. In a district of this latter parish, called Jacob Stillé's ward, there were in 1754 thirteen persons named Stillé, eight Hendricksons, ten Springers, nine Didricksons, all farmers.

In Springer's ward, same parish, thirty-four persons were named Springer, fourteen Anderson, five Cleary (*sic*), one Ogle, one Tommelson. In 1754 there were twenty-one persons of the name of Stillé, and fifty-three of the name of Springer.

11.* Correspondence between the missionaries and the Archbishop of Upsal, 1748-1758.

12. 1749. Instructions to Acrelius in regard to the establishment of Swedish schools, and to Borell to preach alternately in Swedish and English in 1765 in the new church at Kingsessing.

13.* 1764. Dr. Wrangel recalled, but unwilling to resign. The Consistory at Upsal instructs Pastors Borell and Wicksell to ask for assistance from the governor to prevent Wrangel's longer continuance in office.

14. Nicholas Collin *Theologiæ Studiosus* appointed by the Consistory Curate to the Swedish Church, May 19, 1769.

15.* 1775. Collin becomes Dean, Lunt and Kulen Ministers, and Hultgren Curate of the Swedish parishes. In 1749 the annual salary of the Dean was £50, and that of Curate £25, paid by the Swedish authorities in addition to the stipend paid in each case by the Congregations. Each missionary sent here was paid besides one thousand Swedish silver dollars for travelling expenses.

16. 1755. Copies of the Commission of Parlen (Dean), Unander, Lidenius, and Nordenlind.

17.* 1770, October 19. Congratulations of the Wicacoa Congregation on the accession of Gustavus III. King of Sweden, John Stillé, and William Jones, Church Wardens.

18.* 1770. Dispute about the succession to Dr. Wrangel, as Pastor at Wicacoa, Kingsessing, and Upper Merion. Application to the Governor for assistance in installing Goränson in his place. Governor declines to interfere.

19.* 1777. Representations to the Consistory of the suffering and inconvenience caused by the war.

20.* 1749. Instructions of Archbishop and Consistory to Acrelius.

21.* 1753. Report of Acrelius to the Archbishop.

22.* Petition to the King from the Consistory asking that Wrangel should be recalled.

23.* Long letter from Consistory recalling Wrangel.

24.* January, 1764. Consistory to Borell, pastor at Wicacoa, as to preaching alternately in English and Swedish, and as to the need of Swedish schools.

25.* Same to same as to the proper assignment of the Missionaries to the different parishes.

26.* October, 1777. Minutes of the meeting of the Swedish Missionaries at Wicacoa. Discussion as to how far their relations with the Swedish Crown would be affected by their acceptance of a charter from the Provincial Government. Account of the "so-called Methodists."

27.* Address of Consistory to the parishes of Wicacoa, etc., in which that parish is told that none but native-born Swedes are to be employed as missionaries.

28.* Troubles during the Revolutionary War with the English garrison. Claim to bury dead soldiers in the *Gloria Dei* church-yard resisted, and also the proposed use of the Church as a Hospital.

29.* April 4, 1791. End of the Swedish mission. Dean Girelius proposes to return home, and Collin to follow him.

30.* Letter from the Corporation of Wicacoa Church giving a full account of the parish from 1765, and of the work of Dr. Wrangel there.

31.* Address, October, 1774, by Girelius to the members of the Church at Wicacoa, complaining of a want of church-union feeling among the Swedes.

32.* Letter from the pastor at Wicacoa to Joseph Galloway, Superintendent of Police during the occupation of the City by the British army. Complaining of the desecration of the Church and grave-yard by the soldiers.

33.* Account of the parish at Wicacoa, very full, but no date, apparently during the war.

34.* 1745, March 14. Account of the relations of the Swedish Lutherans with the Moravians.

35.* January, 1758. Letter. Wicacoa Vestry to the Consistory, asking that a clergyman should be specially commissioned for that parish, and that he should be permitted occasionally to preach in English.

36.* Letter (January, 1760) from Vestry of Racoon Church in regard to the condition of that parish.

37.* Document drawn up by Acrelius, in 1750, as to the state of the mission after the death of Sandin and Trauberg, with a statement of the money paid by the Swedish Government for one year for the support of the Mission. Interesting and important.

38.* Letter from the Missionaries Wrangel, Unander, Lidenius, Nordenlind, Borell, June, 1759, to the Consistory, reporting the state of the Mission.

39.* Letter from Dr. Wrangel to the Consistory, November, 1759, in which he says that a missionary who wishes to satisfy his conscience must sometimes preach in English. He requests his colleagues to discontinue the use of the liturgy of the English Church. It is proposed to translate the Swedish ritual into English for use in their Churches.

40.* Certificate of Christina Church that Unander, who has been called home, has done his duty as their Pastor faithfully, July, 1760.

41.* 1754. Full list of the members of Racoon parish living in different *Rotas* or Districts.

- A. Those in Rapapo Ward.
- B. Those in Racoon Creek Ward.
- C. Those in Oldman's Creek Ward.
- D. Those in Pilesgrovo Ward.
- E. Those living in the Woods.

F. Those in Pensneck Upper Ward.

G. Those in Pensneck Lower Ward.

42.* 1754. List of the members of Wicacoa parish.

A. Those living in Philadelphia.

B. Those living in Wicacoa.

C. Those living in Moyamensing.

D. Those living in Passyunk.

E. Those living in Schoolkeel.

F. Those living in Kingsessing and Boon's Island.

G. Those living in Kalconhook.

H. Those living in Ammasland.

I. Those living in Pennypack.

K. Those living in Matzong.

L. Those living in Manothanin.

List of Vestrymen at Wicacoa, May 28, 1753.

43.* 1754. List of the members of Christina parish, Wilmington.

A. Those living in Wilmington.

B. Those living in Hans Peterson's Ward.

C. Those living in G. Walraven's Ward.

D. Those living in Newport's Ward.

E. Those living in Jacob Stillé's Ward.

F. Those living in Carl Springer's Ward.

G. Those living in Stalcop's Ward.

H. Those living in New Castle Ward.

I. Those living in Bransvin's Ward.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.
BAPTISMS, 1709-1760.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 360.)

- 1712 June 9 Dixey Catherine d. William and Elinor —
 1758 Nov. 20 Dixon Damaris d. John and Elizabeth Sept. 24 1757
 1759 Sept. 16 Sarah d. Robert and Sarah Sept. 10 1759
 1756 April 22 Dixson Mary d. Robert and Sarah March 26 1756
 1735 Aug. 14 Dobbins Joseph s. Joseph and Mary
 1729 Mch. 9 Docheday James s. John and Mary 5 weeks
 1724 Jan. 30 Dod Mary d. Thomas
 1750 Nov. 3 Rebekkah wife of Thomas
 1721 Aug. 17 Dodd William s. Thomas and Alice —
 1727 Feb. 15 John s. Thomas and Alice 1 day
 1729 Feb. 26 Elizabeth d. Thomas and Alice 2 weeks
 1733 April 7 John s. Thomas and Alice 3 months
 1750 Jan. 28 Dodge Rachel d. Thomas and Mary Dec. 30 1749
 1752 Jan. 19 Mary d. Thomas and Mary Nov. 20 1751
 1722 July 29 Dodson Michael —
 1727 Dec. 26 Dog Andrew s. Philip and Martha 9 weeks
 1756 Sept. 26 Doge Elizabeth d. Thomas and Mary Aug. 31 1756
 1743 Sept. 25 Dold Philip s. John Philip and Catherine 22 days
 1738 July 16 Dolass Mary d. James and Mary 1 year
 1736 Nov. 28 Dollas Jane d. James and Mary 16 months
 1740 June 22 Anne d. James and Mary 7 months
 1744 Feb. 19 Dolby Mary d. Daniel and Sarah 5 mo. 10 days
 1741 Dec. 6 Dolts Peter s. Philip and Catherine 6 weeks 2 days
 1752 June 25 Donaldson Joseph s. Joseph and Sarah May 28 1752
 1754 Sept. 11 Elizabeth d. Joseph and Sarah Oct. 18 1753
 1755 Mch. 1 William s. Joseph and Sarah Jan. 30 1755
 1756 July 3 Sarah d. Joseph and Sarah June 15 1756
 1757 Dec. 12 William s. Joseph and Sarah Oct. 9 1757
 1757 Jan. 16 Donnaghon Humphry s. Catherine Dec. 10 1756
 1745 Aug. 25 Donnavan Jane d. Peter and Elizabeth July 2 1745
 1729 Sept. 3 Donnelson Joseph s. William and Elizabeth 1 mo.
 1733 May 30 Dont Thomas s. Philip and Mary 6 months
 1747 Mch. 1 Dormande Hannah d. Mark and Catherine Dec. 2 1746
 1754 Sept. 18 Dorwill John s. Joseph and Anne Aug. 11 1752

- 1754 Sept. 18 Mary d. Joseph and Anne July 2 1754
1712 Aug. 13 Douglas Elizabeth d. Archibald and Elizabeth 9 mos.
1736 Sept. 16 Thomas s. Archibald and Ann 1 day
1736 Sept. 16 John s. Archibald and Ann 1 day
1749 Dec. 29 Dougharty Edward s. James and Elizabeth Nov. 2 1749
1756 June 4 Dougherty Jane d. James and Elizabeth April 8 1756
1760 Nov. 8 Ann d. Henry and Ann Sept. 21 1760
1752 Aug. 12 Doughty Catherine d. James and Elizabeth July 2 1752
1732 Dec. 23 Dover Thomas s. Thomas Clark and Jane 2 mo.
1737 Dec. 26 Dowdall Mary d. Michael and Christian 5 weeks
1746 July 13 Dowdel Ann d. Michael and Christian May 10 1746.
1740 Jan. 6 Dowdle Anne d. Michael and Christian 9 weeks
1744 June 20 Michael s. Michal and Christian 5 months
1748 Oct. 30 Dowds Anne d. George Vincent and Anne Sept. 10 1748
1751 Nov. 19 Dowel William s. William and Mary June 16 1750
1751 Nov. 19 Mary d. William and Mary July 27 1751
1744 April 23 Dowell John s. William and Mary 7 weeks
1737 Sept. 4 Dowers John s. Edward and Elizabeth 10 weeks
1739 July 18 Edward s. Edward and Elizabeth 9 days
1742 Feb. 28 John s. John and Catherine 9 mo. 3 days
1743 Nov. 23 Elizabeth d. Edward and Elizabeth 1 mo.
1748 Feb. 25 Catherine d. Edward and Elizabeth July 11 1746
1748 Feb. 25 Amelia d. Edward and Elizabeth Jan. 30 1747
1749 June 17 William s. Edward and Elizabeth May 17 1749
1745 July 12 Downey Elizabeth d. Simon and Elizabeth March 4 1744
1754 Jan. 27 John Oliver s. Simon and Elizabeth Jan. 16 1754
1746 Sept. 2 Dowthait Henrietta d. Samuel and Mary Aug. 24 1746
1750 June 29 Anne d. Samuel and Mary May 22 1750
1744 June 3 Dowthwaite Mary d. Samuel and Mary 1 month 16 days
1760 Feb. 3 Doz Rebecca d. Andrew and Rebecca
1731 April 4 Philip s. Philip and Martha 1 month
1747 Aug. 5 Drogheda James s. James and Elizabeth June 24 1747
1732 Sept. 3 Drury John s. William and Anne 4 months
1744 Feb. 12 Elizabeth d. Edward and Sarah 6 weeks 4 days
1746 April 2 Anne d. Edward and Sarah March 4 1745
1758 Oct. 25 Drybrugh Robert s. James and Ann Oct. 24 1758
1738 Feb. 12 Duché Jacob s. Jacob and Mary 1 month
1734 Nov. 14 Duchee Sarah d. Jacob and Mary 1 month
1736 July 21 Spence s. Jacob and Mary 3 weeks
1757 April 24 Due Ann d. Adam and Mary March 11 1757
1754 Nov. 14 Duey Mary d. Adam and Mary Oct. 29 1754
1760 Jan. 6 Margaret d. Adam and Mary Aug. 10 1759
1752 July 19 Duffield Mary d. Edward and Catherine May 11 1752
1756 Feb. 3 Sarah d. Edward and Catherine Jan. 1 1756
1731 April 18 Dugan John s. Matthew and Elizabeth 14 months

- 1746 June 2 Dun John s. William and Mary April 12 1746
 1755 May 27 Dunbar Thomas s. Thomas and Rebecca March 28 1755
 1720 Feb. 14 Duuford Sarah d. John and Elizabeth —
 1760 Feb. 12 Dunkin Mary d. James and Mary Dec. 24 1759
 1756 Feb. 26 Dunlap Francis s. William and Deborah Feb. 8 1755
 1758 April 1 Benjamin Frauklin s. William and Deborah Feb. 27
 1758
 1759 Aug. 31 Mary d. Matthew and Ann April 8 1759
 1760 May 21 Fanney d. William and Deborah May 15 1760
 1756 April 28 Dunwich Joseph s. William and Rachel May 6 1755
 1741 June 8 Dunwick John s. William and Martha 5 weeks
 1743 July 24 William s. William and Martha 6 weeks 2 days
 1756 Dec. 8 Mary d. William and Rachel Nov. 7 1756
 1759 May 30 Elizabeth d. William and Rebecca May 20 1759
 1747 July 21 Dunwitch Thomas s. William and Martha Jan. 13 1747
 1747 Sept. 11 Dupuy John s. Daniel and Elizabeth June 10 1747
 1749 July 21 Jane d. Daniel and Elinor June 20 1749
 1751 Feb. 18 Elinor d. Daniel and Elinor Jan. 10 1750
 1753 June 5 Daniel s. Daniel and Elinor May 3 1753
 1755 Mch. 14 Margaret d. Daniel and Elinor Feb. 13 1755
 1731 Dec. 9 Durel Hannah d. Moses and Ann 2 weeks
 1747 Sept. 14 Durham Sarah d. Stephen and Anne Feb. 10 1747
 1759 June 3 Jane d. Bartholomew and Mary Sept. 19 1758
 1729 April 7 Duvall William s. John and Mary 3 weeks
 1737 July 3 Eades Elizabeth d. Laurence and Anne 3 weeks
 1745 May 3 Edith d. Robert and Anne March 3 1744
 1744 Feb. 15 Margaret d. Richard and Sarah 5 mo. 13 days
 1746 May 22 James s. Richard and Sarah March 5 1745
 1716 Dec. 31 Early James s. Richard —
 1758 April 19 Eastwick Thomas s. Thomas and Margaret Sept. 11 1757
 1743 Sept. 11 Eaton Richard s. Richard and Mary 1 week
 1758 Nov. 12 Eayres James s. James and Elizabeth June 11 1758
 1745 Nov. 5 Ecat John s. John and Sarah Feb. 28 1744
 1736 April 4 Ecatt John Adam s. Henry and Hannah 1 day
 1736 April 4 Jacob Frederick s. Henry and Hannah 1 day
 1759 Feb. 27 Eckles Susannah d. George and Susannah Aug. 18 1758
 1734 June 29 Edgar Mary d. Alexander and Elizabeth 13 months
 1735 Oct. 7 Charles s. Charles and Rebecca 4 days
 1754 April 30 Edmonds Mary d. Joseph and Elizabeth March 11 1754
 1731 Nov. 26 Edwards Thomas s. John and Mary 3 years 3 months
 1732 Feb. 10 Lettice d. Thomas and Anne 3 weeks
 1736 Oct. 28 Peter s. Thomas and Ann 3 days
 1736 Oct. 28 Mary d. Thomas and Ann 3 years 8 mo.
 1736 Dec. 2 Hannah d. John and Jane 18 months
 1733 July 2 Elizabeth d. Thomas and Elizabeth 9 mo.

- 1738 July 22 John s. Thomas and Ann 9 months
1740 April 23 Lettice d. Thomas and Anne 5 weeks
1741 Feb. 16 Mary d. Thomas and Ann 6 weeks
1743 April 11 Margret d. Thomas and Ann 3 mo. 7 days
1744 Nov. 18 John s. Coney and Edith 11 months 3 days
1748 Nov. 14 William s. Coney and Edy March 30 1746
1748 Nov. 14 Robert s. Coney and Edy Feb. 22 1748
1750 Jan. 24 Mary d. Coney and Edy Jan. 12 1749
1745 July 28 Eganson Thomas s. Daniel and Elinor May 27 1745
1759 Dec. 15 Ehrenzellar Anna d. Jacob and Anna Nov. 23 1759
1733 Sept. 6 Elford Mary d. John and Mary 2 months
1737 June 19 Sarah d. John and Sarah 2 months
1727 June 2 Elliot Jonathan s. Robert and Joannah 5 weeks
1723 Feb. 17 Ellis Thomas s. Robert —
1729 July 9 Abraham s. Robert and Catherine 6 weeks
1731 Feb. 6 Catherine d. Robert and Catherine 6 weeks
1732 Oct. 25 Martha d. Robert and Catherine 8 months
1733 June 25 Hannah d. Robert and Catherine 3 weeks
1740 May 22 Jane d. Richard and Jane 2 weeks
1743 April 24 Elizabeth d. Richard and Jane 3 weeks 1 day
1745 May 7 William s. John and Jane March 31 1745
1745 Sept. 30 Jane d. Richard and Jane Sept. 1 1745
1746 Aug. 11 Sarah d. Richard and Sarah July 19 1746
1747 May 9 Richard s. Richard and Jane May 1 1747
1747 Nov. 19 Mary d. John and Jane Oct. 7 1747
1749 June 11 Ellison James s. Robert and Mary April 9 1749
1754 Mch. 13 Elton Mary d. Anthony and Mary Aug. 23 1753
1755 July 27 Susannah d. Anthony and Mary April 6 1755
1757 June 1 Elizabeth d. Anthony and Mary Feb. 14 1757
1745 Nov. 24 Elwes Henry s. Henry and Deborah July 17 1745
1712 Aug. 14 Elwood Thomas s. Thomas and Elizabeth 11 yrs. 8 mo.
1712 Aug. 14 Mary d. Thomas and Elizabeth 10 years
1732 June 5 Emes Ann d. Samuel and Elizabeth 2 weeks
1760 Mch. 2 Emmit William s. Michael and Sarah Jan. 21 1760
1759 June 1 Empson Mary adult
1711 May 22 Engle Mary d. Paul and Mary —
1711 May 22 Benjamin s. Paul and Mary 17 years 8 mo.
1711 May 22 Sarah d. Paul and Mary 7 years 11 mo.
1711 May 22 Frederick s. Paul and Mary 13 years
1734 Nov. 24 Ennis Samuel s. Samuel and Sarah 2 months
1736 Nov. 3 James s. James and Sarah 1 month 3 days
1739 April 13 Rebecca d. James and Sarah 5 months
1738 Jan. 8 Epner Eve d. George and Susannah 8 days
1757 Oct. 6 Erenzeller Jacob s. Jacob and Ann Sept. 1 1757
1717 Nov. 15 Erritt Anne d. James and Ann 24 days

- 1740 Oct. 19 Erwin Mary d. George and Mary 1 month
 1745 July 1 Sarah d. John and Mary Sept. 8 1744
 1745 Dec. 26 Malachi s. John and Mary Oct. 9 1745
 1745 Dec. 26 John s. John and Mary Oct. 10 1745
 1746 Oct. 22 George s. John and Hannah Sept. 16 1746
 1734 July 26 Essex George s. George and Mary 4 weeks
 1741 Oct. 13 John s. James and Elizabeth 5 months 8 days
 1743 Oct. 25 Etan Martha adult
 1748 Sept. 24 Sarah adult
 1710 Jan. 1 Evans Margaret d. David and Catom 6 years
 1715 April 17 John s. Evan and Barbara 8 months
 1716 June 13 Rebecca d. Peter and Mary 13 days
 1717 Nov. 10 John s. Peter and Mary 3 weeks
 1721 Aug. 23 Margaret d. Peter and Mary Aug. 2 1720
 1721 Aug. 23 Mary d. Peter and Mary Aug. 15 1721
 1728 Mch. 24 Peter s. Peter and Mary 3 weeks
 1731 Feb. 17 Theodosia d. Mary 11 months
 1733 Jan. 14 Rebecca d. Robert and Sarah 2 weeks
 1733 Nov. 29 Isaac s. John and Elizabeth 3 weeks
 1735 Dec. 18 Rebecca d. John and Elizabeth 3 weeks
 1738 May 19 Susannah d. John and Elizabeth 2 weeks
 1740 Feb. 25 Elizabeth d. Stephen and Sarah 11 years
 1740 July 8 Elizabeth d. John and Elizabeth 8 months
 1740 Dec. 24 Mary d. Samuel and Elizabeth 7 weeks
 1742 June 28 Mary d. John and Eliza. 8 weeks
 1744 Nov. 23 Evan s. John and Elizabeth 3 weeks
 1744 Nov. 23 Amelia d. Lewis and Martha Oct. 28 1744
 1747 Aug. 12 Hannah wife of Lewis
 1751 Jan. 1 Anne d. David and Sarah March 4 1749
 1759 Oct. 6 Lewis s. David and Sarah Nov. 10 1751
 1759 Oct. 6 Rebecca d. David and Sarah Dec. 18 1752
 1759 Oct. 6 Elizabeth d. David and Sarah May 9 1756
 1759 Oct. 6 Lettice d. David and Sarah May 8 1759
 1745 Dec. 30 Eve Oswald s. Oswald and Anne Sept. 21 1745
 1747 Mch. 26 John s. Oswald and Anne Feb. 28 1747
 1755 May 16 Oswald s. Oswald and Anne July 25 1755
 1755 Oct. 2 Sarah d. Oswell and Ann Feb. 15 1749
 1755 Oct. 2 Martha d. Oswell and Ann Dec. 31 1751
 1711 Aug. 12 Evans Rebekah d. William and Rebekah 8 days
 1735 Jan. 12 Everington Thomas s. John and Elizabeth 6 weeks
 1736 Dec. 28 Edward s. John and Elizabeth 4 months
 1738 Dec. 3 John s. John and Elizabeth 6 weeks
 1714 Oct. 8 Eves Elizabeth d. Samuel and Jane 2 months
 1734 July 23 Evis Anne d. George and Sarah 2 yrs. 3 wks.
 1754 Feb. 21 Ewing Katherine d. John and Sarah March 25 1751

- 1754 Feb. 21 Joseph s. John and Sarah July 15 1753
 1724 Jan. 30 Eyer Thomas s. John and Mary
 1757 Sept. 30 Eyres Elizabeth d. Richard and Elizabeth Aug. 30 1757
 1760 Oct. 6 Christopher s. Richard and Elizabeth Sept. 13 1760
 1717 May 4 Fagan Sims s. Thomas and Elizabeth 3 weeks 4 days
 1737 June 15 Falconbridge Anne d. Richard and Mary 4 weeks
 1747 Oct. 21 Falkner William s. Lester and Mary Oct. 9 1747
 1750 Dec. 9 Mary d. Lester and Mary Nov. 28 1750
 1751 Dec. 3 Mary wife of William
 1751 Dec. 3 Mary d. William and Mary March 16 1736
 1751 Dec. 3 Francis s. William and Mary March 16 1743
 1751 Dec. 3 James s. William and Mary March 16 1745
 1754 Jan. 7 Joseph s. William and Susannah Dec. 26 1753
 1758 Oct. 27 Mary d. William and Frances May 13 1758
 1745 Dec. 27 Fare Elizabeth d. Isaac and Margary Feb. 23 1743
 1747 Mch. 8 John s. Isaac and Abigail Dec. 27 1746
 1749 July 16 Isaac s. Isaac and Margret April 1 1749
 1751 Aug. 14 Hannah d. Isaac and Mary Jan. 7 1751
 1753 May 20 Isaac s. Isaac and Jane March 20 1751
 1757 Nov. 29 Margaret d. Isaac and Margaret Nov. 9 1757
 1736 July 11 Farmer Elizabeth d. Edward and Hannah 5 weeks
 1738 Dec. 19 Elizabeth d. Francis and Jane 3 weeks
 1739 April 22 James s. Edward and Hannah 5 mo. 3 wks.
 1740 Feb. 17 William s. Richard and Mary 3 months
 1745 June 25 Anna Margarita d. Richard and Mary Oct. 12 1742
 1745 June 25 Susannah d. Richard and Mary April 6 1745
 1747 Sept. 4 Farrel Elizabeth d. Patrick and Eley Aug. 2 1747
 1735 Nov. 5 Farrell Mary Anne d. Kennedy and Isabella 1 mo.
 1746 Jan. 3 Farril Charles s. John and Honnour Dec. 11 1745
 1748 Nov. 17 Katherine d. William and Margret March 19 1748
 1749 April 11 Margret d. John and Mary March 1 1749
 1751 July 7 James s. Michael and Mary May 14 1747
 1720 July 13 Farrington George s. George and Elizabeth —
 1757 Sept. 20 Faulkner Benjamin s. William and Susannah Sept. 4
 1757
- 1757 Sept. 25 Lester s. Lester and Mary July 7 1757
 1737 Nov. 21 Fell Michael s. Michael and Mary 1 week
 1754 Feb. 24 Felton Sarah d. Thomas and Martha Aug. 25 1753
 1754 Feb. 3 Fennings Edward s. Edward and Phebe Dec. 22 1753
 1734 July 28 Farras Elizabeth d. Thomas and Hannah 2 years
 1741 July 19 Fidler Rosanna Barbara d. Jacob and Anne Hester 4 dys.
 1748 Feb. 22 Field Elinor d. John and Judith Dec. 22 1747
 1709 Oct. 23 Filpot Richard s. William and Mary 2 mo.
 1721 July 26 John s. William and Mary July 1 1721
 1729 Mch. 30 Finch John s. Daniel and Sarah 3 weeks

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

EARLY MARRIAGES AND HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO CAPE MAY COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.—We are indebted to Francis Bazley Lee, Esq., of Trenton, New Jersey, for the following list of early marriages and copies of historical documents relating to Cape May County, New Jersey, extracted from "Liber A of Deeds and Miscellaneous Records:"

Justice John Townsend, June 6, 1715, married *Cornelius Scillinger, Jr.*, and *Mary Stiles*. Witness: Cornelius Schillinger, Henry Stiles, Henry Stiles, Jr., Edmund Shaw, John Taylor, Daniel Wiggins, John Willkiss, Richard Forteskue, Isaac Brooks, Jr., Benjamin Hand, Jr.

Isaac Stratton, Jr., married *Mary Foster*, October 15, 1734.

Rev. Nathaniel Jenkins married *George Taylor* to *Lydia Shaw*, May 8, 1720. Issue:

William, b. June 7, 1722.

"Eldest daughter," b. Feb. 22, 172 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Daughter, b. Jan. 24, 172 $\frac{6}{7}$.

William Shaw married *Lydia Parsons*, April 8, 1695, by Jeremiah Crowell, in presence of Henry Stiles, Hannah Stiles, Abram Smith, and others. Issue:

William, b. Aug. 24, 1697: d. Dec. 13, 1714.

Richard, b. Oct. 29, 1699.

Lydia, b. Sept. 14, 1703.

John, b. Feb. 4, 1705.

Joshua, b. March 26, 1707.

Nathan, b. Dec. 23, 1710.

James Briggs and *Margery Taylor*, married by Justice Thomas Hand, March 22, 1713. Issue:

Mary, b. Aug. 19, 1715.

Elizabeth, b. July 3, 1717.

Keziah, b. Aug. 30, 1719.

Martha, b. Aug. 10, 1721.

Sarah, b. May 31, 1724.

Joseph Crowell married to *Anne Eglesfield* by Justice John Townsend, March 2, 1709. Issue:

Mary, b. March 14, 1711.

Edward, b. June 7, 1713.

Joseph, b. Sept. 6, 1716.

Justice John Townsend, 170 $\frac{2}{7}$, married *Benjamin Hand* and *Ann Chew* of Cape May. Issue:

Isaac, b. Aug. 14, 1709.

Pociance, b. Aug. 9, 1711.

Jacob, b. April 21, 1714.

Josiah Crowell married *Mary Whelding*, daughter of Joseph Whelding, Dec. 17, 1708.

Richard Bass (?) married *Elizabeth Duncan* (?) May 11, 1709, before Capt. Mathews and others.

Justices John Townsend, Humphrey Hughes, John Paige, and Joseph Whillden married *Thomas Bancrofts* and *Elizabeth Matthews*, April 6, 1715, in the presence of Richard Downes, John Taylor, John Buck, John Hughes, Mary Matthews, John Cresse, Zelophead Hand, William Seagreave.

John Taylor and *Lydia Schillux* were married Oct. 14, 1722, by Rev. Nathaniel Jenkins. Issue:

Mary, d. Aug. 5, 1723.

Lydia, his wife, died Nov., 1725, and John marries "again to Deborah Gavinson," by Rev. N. Jenkins, May 8, 1726.

John Taylor, son of George Taylor, married *Elizabeth Bolshe*, of Boston, April 5, 1697, "after the Maner of y^e Church of England." Witnesses: Geo. Taylor, justice; Elizabeth Taylor, Jno. Worlidge, Tim. Brandreth, clerk. Issue:

Margery, b. Aug. 16, 1698.

George, b. Dec. 11, 1699.

John, b. June 14, 1704.

Mary, b. April 25, 1707; d. Oct. 11, 1711.

Samuel, b. March 27, 1710; d. Oct. 11, 1711.

Jeremiah, b. Aug. 14, 1713; d. Dec. 22, 1713.

Children of *John Osbornes*:

Abiah, b. Sept. 9, 1692.

Ruth, b. Feb. 20, 1698.

Bezabeel, b. Jan. 21, 1704.

Nathan, b. Feb. 2, 1706.

Ananias, b. Feb. 5, 1708.

Children of *Joseph Huits*:

Thomas, b. Aug. 31, 1707.

Mary, b. Dec. 18, 1708.

Hester, b. Feb. 4, 1711.

Anne, b. Oct. 10, 1712.

Joseph, b. Jan. 26, 1715.

Robert Champion and *Mary Mayps* married, at Cape May, June 17, 1715, by "John Townsend, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace."

John Willits and *Martha Corson* married, by Justice John Townsend, Oct. 5, 1716.

William, son of *William Seagreaves*, born October 14, 1716.

"ANDREW HAMILTON, ESQ., Governor of the province of East and West Jersey to all whome these p'sents May come send Greeting Know y^e that by virtue of the powers com'eted to Me I have Nominated Comishoned and appointed and Doe by these p'sents Comishonte and apponte George Taylor of Cape May gent. My lawful Deputy and Attorney to take into his possession all wracks or Drift whales or other Royall fish that shall be Driven on Shore any where upon the Coste of Cape May Egg harbour or within Dillawer River as far as Burlingtown

or any wracks floating neare the Coastse and to Despose of the same according to his Descreshon and to accounte to me for the Same as allso to Make inquirey into any wrackes heare to fore Driven on shoe or whales or whalebone or other Royal fish and make Demand of the same, and take the Same into his Custody for My use paying Resonall salvage for the same and in Case of Refusall, to present for the same acquittance and Deschages to give and Generally to Doo all and every other lawfull thing consarning the p'mises ass I might doo Myselfe before the Making here of.

"Witnesses:
Tho. Revelle,
John Taylor."

"AND. HAMILTON,
"Oct. 3, 1696.

ACTS OF ASSEMBLY made at Burlingtoun in November, published at the town meeting at the house of Benjamin Godfrey in Cape May; also commissions for Justice and Sheriff, Jan. 10, 1692.

Joseph Whildon chosen assessor and constable for Cape May, July 13, 1693.

"ATT A COURT holden att the Towne of Portsmouth in Cape May this 20th of March 169 $\frac{3}{4}$

"John Worlidge,	Jeremiah Basse,	} Justices.
John Jervis,	Joseph Hoaldin,	
Samuel Crowell.		

"George Taylor, Clarke.

"Timothy Brandreth, Sheriff.

"Grand Jury.

"Shawgar Hand,	William Johnson,
Thomas Hand,	Oliver Johnson,
William Golden,	Christopher Leaman,
Samuel Mathews,	Arthur Cressey,
Jacob Dayton,	Ezekiel Eldridge,
Joseph Townsend,	John Carman."

INDENTURE, May 23, 1690, between Jeremiah Basse "now of burlingtoun in y^e province of West New Jersey, merchant," for the West Jersey Society and John Reeves. For £20—200 acres on the sound side. Yearly rental of two fat hens on Christmas Day. *Recorded July 2, 1695.*
Memorandum: "That whereas the rent of two fat hens or capons is mensioned in the with mensioned deed itt is a greede that the Rent for the futur shall be only on Eare of Indian Corne if Demanded." *Recorded Dec. 20, 1699.*

THE "WOODLANDS" DESCRIBED IN 1815.—"The Cary Letters, edited, at the Request of the Family, by C. G. C.," Cambridge, 1891, contain items of Philadelphia gossip, and describe a visit to the Woodlands. Miss Margaret G. Cary, of Chelsea, near Boston, is the writer. During her visit to Philadelphia, in April and May of 1815, she boarded at Thunn's, a fashionable boarding-house on Fifth Street, between Spruce and Pine Streets. On the evening of her arrival she received cards for the "Peace Ball, and urged to go, dressed and accompanied Mrs. Hopkinson." She describes it briefly as "all very splendid." The evening of May 5th she spent at Bishop White's, on invitation of his daughter, Mrs. McPherson, "who lives with him."

Miss Cary speaks of her connection with this city (p. 40), and that her brother Lucius, born September 4, 1782, was in business there with Samuel, an elder brother: "The time that Lucius was in Philadelphia was very pleasant to him, and advantageous in many respects. Hannah Gray, a cousin, daughter of my mother's brother Ellis Gray, had married Judge Wilson, a widower with grown up children and living in great style. It was a happy connection while it lasted, but he died, and Mrs. Wilson returned to her mother's, and after some years married Dr. Bartlett."

In another part of the work I find the marriage with Judge Wilson took place in 1793. Mrs. Cary, writing to her son Samuel, says: "It has occasioned some conversation on account of the gentleman's age, he being fifty-one and the lady nineteen. He is judge of our Supreme Court,—rich, sensible, and quite a gentleman in his manners and conduct. He has also six children. These I mentioned as an obstacle, though the lady saw none. She is an amiable, worthy girl, and very genteel in her person."

"PHILADELPHIA, May 6th, [1815].

"I often wish for you, my sweet Ann, and often for my dear Harriet. Last Saturday I particularly wished for the latter when I visited the Woodlands, a beautiful country-seat on the Schuylkill, three miles from the city. It belongs to the Hamilton family. The present generation consists of two Miss Hamiltons, two brothers, and Mr. Lisle, a widower, with two daughters. These all live here during the summer. At present, the family have not moved out. Mrs. Hill had often been invited by the ladies. As she wished to show me the place, it was indifferent whether they were there or not. It is a compliment, you know, to go and admire. The McCalls were so polite as to send their carriage. We entered a handsome gate; on each side was a porter's lodge; passed over a fine gravel road between clumps of forest trees, and arrived at an elegant building. Mrs. Hill asked if any of the family were there, 'No, nobody.' Mrs. Hill wished to see the place, and would alight for a little while. We went in, and a lady came forward with great ease to receive us,—*Miss Hamilton*. She is about fifty. Something about her made me think of my dear mother. She was about her size, had much the same features, but where was the expression? I could not find it, though I fancied that if her affections had been called forth in the same manner, it might have existed. But Molly Hamilton—I will say it though I should have the whole sisterhood at my ears—is a complete *old maid*. She is, however, a very energetic character. After the death of a married sister, she took upon herself the entire care of her nieces, who are now, I am told, fine girls.¹ She is the principal directress of the Woodlands, keeps several men constantly at work, and is making great improvements. Her uncle, the last owner, had improved the place very much; had been in Europe, and made collections of beautiful paintings, which are arranged and taken care of by this lady. Everything within doors is elegant. The piazza at the back looks upon the Schuylkill, which makes many windings, and passes away at a distance; over it is a bridge of one arch, on which there is a good deal of travelling. We went into the gardens, which were in fine order, and through the hothouse, which contains the greatest collection of plants in the United States. When we had at Cambridge one flowering cereus, they had about the same time *twenty*. Last winter Miss H. supplied the sick

¹ One of these nieces, Ellen Lisle, married Hartman Kuhn, of Philadelphia, and her son Hartman was the husband of William F. Cary's daughter, Grace Morris.

with five or six hundred lemons from her own trees. She was very civil, and pressed me to come again. She goes out every morning and stays till three o'clock, walks about without any regard to the weather, and presents as plain an appearance as one of us going into the garden to pick peas. It rained all the time we were there, but she used no umbrella, and seemed to defy the weather. Do you think we brought home any of the beautiful flowers which were growing in great abundance? Not a leaf!"

"May 24.

" . . . Mrs. Otis is well. Mrs. Thorndike gone out to buy a bonnet, which Mr. O. observed 'was the first thing Bostonians had to do when they arrived at this city.' I bowed mine at her, and felt pleased to think I had left off my little black one."

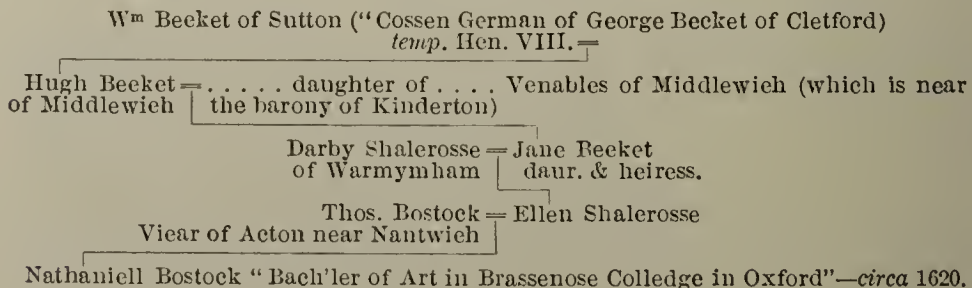
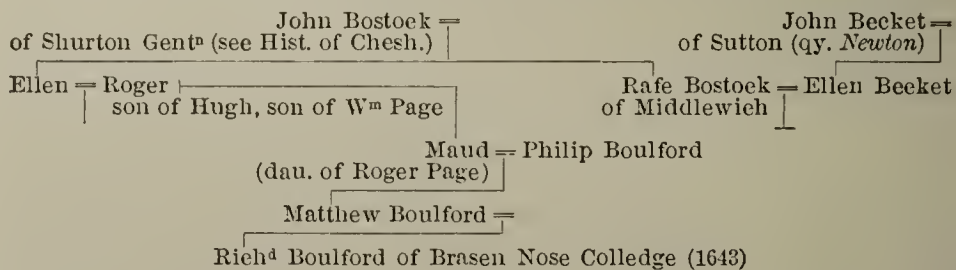
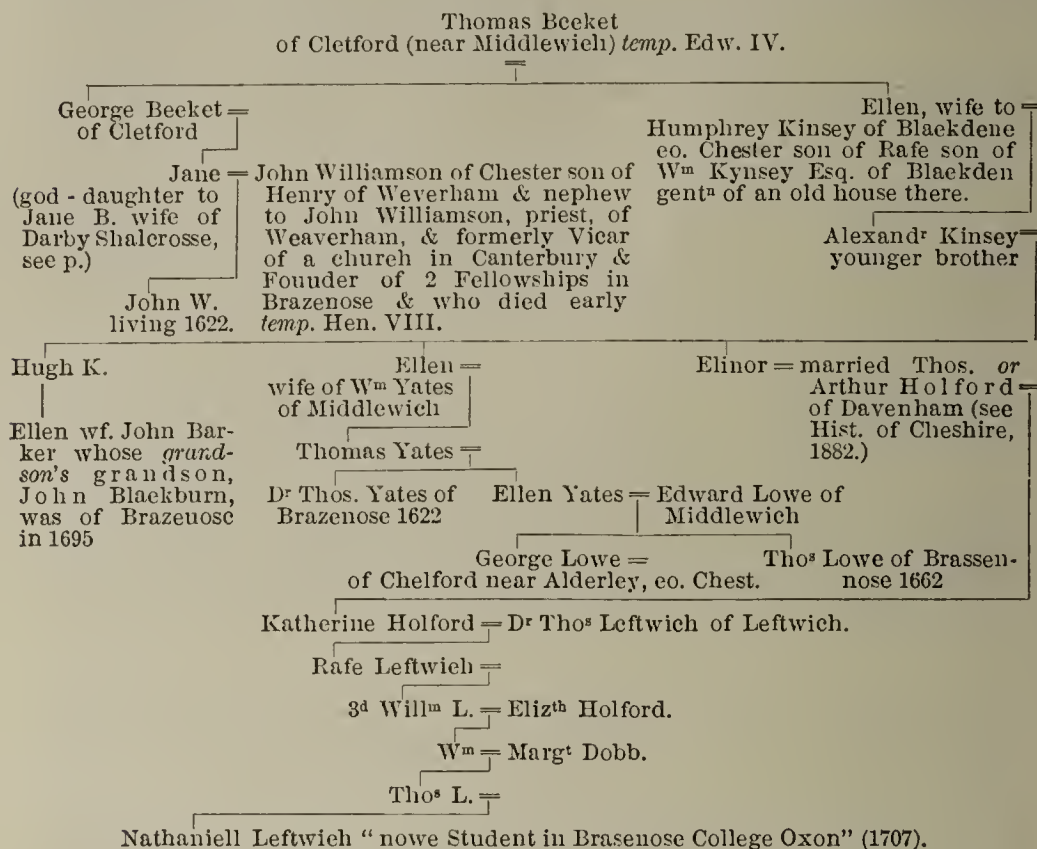
DEATH OF RICHARD WORSAM OF BARBADOES.—"On Saturday, the Tenth Instant, departed this life, much lamented by his Family, and greatly esteemed by his Acquaintance, the Honourable Richard Worsam, Esq., one of His Majesty's Council for the Island of Barbadoes, aged 65 years. He bore a long and painful Illness with that Fortitude and Resignation, which denote the good Man and Sincere Christian. His Remains were interred in Christ-Church, in this City, attended by a great number of the Principal Inhabitants."—[*Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 16, 1766.]

MARY BECKET (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XI., pp. 124, 245-247).—A friend in North Wales sends me the following notes relating to the Becketts and Lowes that he came across by mere accident, and suggests that I "may be able to piece some of these together with the extracts sent me two or three years ago." The extracts to which he refers I have not with me at present, but will send them, when found, to the Magazine. Meanwhile, if you could find room for those herewith enclosed, you would be conferring a favor upon the persons now at work upon the genealogy of the American family of Bowne, descendants of Mary Becket, wife of Samuel Bowne. My correspondent adds, "these earlier fragments, enclosed, show a very interesting history of an old yeoman family,—so far as they go. And I am quite of opinion that their descent, in the county of Chester, goes to a very remote period, particularly for a family, for the most part, of small estate. I suspect their earliest ancestor was the Becket of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, I mentioned to you in one of my letters; and, if so, their position, at that time, was a considerable one."

From one of the four Randle Holmes's manuscripts (circ. 1700) pedigrees of Founders' Kin, relating to certain Fellowships and Scholarships established *temp.* Hen. VII. & Hen. VIII., on the creation of the Cheshire and Lancashire College of Brazenose (Brasenose) at Oxford. The Founders left certain sums for the purpose,—preference being given to their next of kin in all ages and those who were of affinity by marriage. Most of the pedigrees work through every conceivable kind of descent, and all of them by female and male lines. (Harl. MSS. 2148, 7568.)

The following names occur (in order as copied) on the back of fol. 59 (7568), and no descent is shown. Their dates, however, occur in the following pedigrees, and they evidently refer to Middlewich (birthplace of our Mary Becket) and neighborhood:

Thomas Becket—Hugh B.—Raff B.—Will^m B.—John B.—George B.



SALISBURY, ENGLAND.

THOMAS STEWARDSON.

CHARLES THOMSON.—In the interesting paper upon Charles Thomson's New Testament that appeared in the October number of this magazine, Mr. Thomson is spoken of (p. 335) as "of no sect and of no prejudice," though (p. 333) with "a leaning toward the Society of Friends." That he was widely liberal in matters theological there is evidence enough, but did he ever formally sever his connection with the Presbyterian Church, and did not such mild "prejudice" as he may have retained continue to lean towards the communion of his early associations? He told the pastor of the Baptist meeting-house at Harrington, who was in the habit of dining with him after the Sunday services, "that the distance to Middletown (Presbyterian) church, in Delaware County, was the reason he did not go there."

He had been a pew-holder in the Market Street Church, and was a ruling elder of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, of which congregation he was elected a trustee to serve for one year from the first Monday in May, 1774.

T. S.

NEGRO PLOT TO POISON THEIR MASTERS IN NEW JERSEY.—The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 7, 1737-38, contains the following: "We hear from Trenton that two Negroes were last week imprison'd on the following occasion. 'Tis said they were about to persuade another Negro to poison his Master, and to convince him of the efficacy of the drug and the security of giving it, let him know that Mr. Trent and two of his sons, Mr. Lambert and two of his wives were removed by their slaves in this manner. They were overheard. But as the persons above mentioned died of apparently common distempers, it is not fully credited that any such method was used to destroy them. The drugs found on one of the Negroes were Arsenick and an unknown Root."

CHARLES THOMSON'S NEW TESTAMENT.—The article by Albert J. Edmunds, on Thomson's translation of the New Testament, has afforded me much pleasure, and I am glad that Mr. Edmunds has written so fully on the subject.

Some years since, when Samuel Hazard's library was sold by M. Thomas & Son, I saw among the books a folio manuscript which upon examination proved to be Thomson's translation of the New Testament. It appeared to be the whole work, and it was my good fortune to secure it for my own library. I saw in it numerous corrections, and upon comparing these with Jane Aitken's printed copy, I found that they agreed in every particular with the printed copy. This fact leads me to believe that my manuscript is the one used at the printing-office. In Volume III. of Watson's Annals, Mr. Willis P. Hazard says that his grandfather Ebenezer Hazard and Mr. Thomson published the New Testament as partners, and as the translation progressed chapters were sent to Mr. Hazard for revision and suggestions. The publication did not prove profitable, and Mr. Hazard bought the edition, and it was stored in his garret for years.

This statement may explain how the manuscript copy of the New Testament, now in my library, came into the possession of Mr. Samuel Hazard.

Roxborough, December 4, 1891.

HORATIO GATES JONES.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.—A meeting of this Society was held at Harrisburg, Penna., October 14, 1891, at which papers were read by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, on "Early Literature of the Pennsylvania Germans;" by Rev. A. R. Horne, D.D., on "Proverbs

and Sayings of the Pennsylvania Germans ;" and a poem, "Marriage of the Muse," by Lee L. Grumbine, Esq. At the banquet, in the evening, the guest of the Society, Governor Robert E. Pattison, responded to the toast, "The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania;" Judge Albright, of Allentown, to the "Judiciary and the Germans;" Professor R. K. Buehrle, of Lancaster, to "The School System and the Germans;" Hiram Young, of York, to "Agriculture and the Germans;" and Mayor Beidelman, of Easton, to the "Pennsylvania Germans wheresoever dispersed."

ORIGINAL CHARTERS OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Prof. John Bach McMaster has kindly called to our attention the following letter from Dr. James Mease to Governor Snyder, published in *The True American and Commercial Advertiser* of March 19, 1812, containing a proposition for depositing among the archives of the Commonwealth the original charters from Charles II. and the Duke of York to William Penn. The letter was laid before the Senate by the Governor.

"PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 20, 1812.

"SIR,—Mr. John R. Coates, of this city, brought with him, two years since, from London, the original charter of Charles the 2d and the Duke of York, to William Penn, which, upon my suggestion, he was willing to deposit among the archives of the State, upon their removal to the fire-proof Offices at Harrisburg: Provided a request is made by you for the papers, or by the legislature: and that public notice be taken of the documents being in their possession. Mr. Coates also suggested the propriety of provision being made for liberty to use them in evidence, as, in a recent trial, the accuracy of the printed copies of them was doubted by counsel opposed to the claim of the Penn family, and required the production of the original documents in Court. Mr. Coates says, he will not trust the papers in the hands of any one, except himself, until the papers of the Secretary of the Commonwealth are removed to Harrisburg.

I am, very respectfully,

"JAMES MEASE.

"His Excellency Simon Snyder, }
Governor of Pennsylvania." }

MARKOE.—From a rare work, "Monumental Inscriptions in the Church and Churchyard of St. Olave's Jewry, London, Privately Printed for Frederick Arthur Crisp. 1887," p. 2: "North Aisle. Underneath are Deposited / The Remains of / William Markoe / of the Island St. Croix / Esq^r / who Departed this Life / Oct^r 9th 1797 / In the 35th Year / of his Age."

GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL (PENNA. MAG., Vol. VI., pp. 494, 495).—At this reference a most interesting series of notes were printed, stating that many liberties had been taken with the original manuscript of George Fox's Journal, and most of the editions were entirely different from the way he wrote the work. These notes were written by Joseph Smith, of London, a very high authority on bibliography of Friends' books.

In a brief note in the *Evening Telegraph* of Philadelphia, December 3, 1890, the statement is made that the manuscript of George Fox's Travels in America and the West Indies, 1671-1673 [*sic*], is among the "additional MSS." in the Bodleian Library, the catalogue of which was being prepared at that date, December, 1890.

Perhaps some friend of the Historical Society would oblige the readers of the MAGAZINE with a more detailed account of this manuscript.

Autographs of George Fox are, I believe, extremely rare. I would call attention to the fact that in the Harleian MSS., "Quaker MSS., and Quaker Letters" in the British Museum, are at least two papers which appear to be entirely in his handwriting; the second paper is signed "G. F." I believe I am correct in stating they are not found in the index under "Fox." These were examined by the writer in 1882, and may be useful for comparison with the Bodleian MS. W. J. P.

FIELD OFFICERS OF PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENTS, 1776.—The following is a list of the field officers of the twelve Pennsylvania regiments in the Continental service, November 9, 1776, taken from the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*:

	<i>Colonel.</i>	<i>Lt.-Colonel.</i>	<i>Major.</i>
First.	Hand.	Chambers.	Ross.
Second.	De Haas.	Morris.	Jones.
Third.	Wood.	Craig.	Butler.
Fourth.	L. Cadwalader.	Broadhead.	West.
Fifth.	Wayne.	Johnston.	Frazier.
Sixth.	Magaw.	—	Beatty.
Seventh.	Irvine.	Hartley.	Greer.
Eighth.	McCoy.	Wilson.	R. Butler.
Ninth.	Jas. Irvine.	Nagle.	Patton.
Tenth.	Penrose.	Dunlap.	Becker.
Eleventh.	Humpton.	Gurney.	Mentges.
Twelfth.	Cooke.	Gray.	Crawford.
			C. J. STILLÉ.

BOOKS FROM "BARTRAM'S GARDEN."—William Middleton Bartram, Esq., has presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania what is left of the library of John Bartram, the botanist, and his descendants, who occupied the "Garden." A number of relics and family Bibles, containing interesting genealogical data, are included in the gift.

COUTANT GENEALOGY.—A genealogy of the Coutant and related families is in preparation by Professor Arthur Beardsley, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa., who desires the names and addresses of those who can furnish additional information concerning any members of the family.

Queries.

The following is a copy of a curious bit of manuscript in the Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Whether it is any way intended as a description of the personal appearance and characteristics of the wives of the members of Congress then in session in York, or of the ladies of their families, or whether under their names satirical allusions are made to the members themselves, it is impossible to say. It is needless to say such works were never printed. Who was the author of it?

Books just published & to be sold by Mathew Minwell at York Town Feby 1778.

The Beauties of Nature magnificently displayd. 2 Vol^s fol^o. By Miss Hodge.

A Treatise on Criticism. 1 Vol. Quarto. By Miss Stockton.

- The accomplish'd Lady, or the art of pleasing without affectation. 1 Vol. fol^o. Miss Morris.

Ovid's Art of Love, with a short Treatise on the passions. Miss Berrien.

The happy Choice. A poem in praise of Matrimony. Mrs. Rush.

The Decision of Paris, or the power of Beauty. a poem. Miss P. Stockton.

The pleasures of imagination realised, with an ode on the Seasons. large 2° Miss L. Morris.

Virtue rewarded, or the fortunate Country Girl, with an Ode on good humor. Miss S. Morris.

Gayety & innocence or the pleasure of pleasing. A Poem. Miss Fish.

An Ode to Solitude, with a poem on filial affection. Miss Sarjeant.

The Lady's Soliloquy or some serious thoughts on matrimony. Miss Morris.

Serious thoughts on Celibacy, or the life of a Nun. Miss Hodge.

Peace & Plenty, a poem with some pleasing reflexions on a *trifle* called laugh & be *fat*. Miss P. Hodge

The Arts & Sciences in 6 Vol^s fol^o gilt. Mrs. Stockton.

The female politician unbound—by the compleat housewife, with some thoughts on the education of Children. Mrs. Livingston.

The Lady's Magazine or a Treatise on *Visiting, Courtship & Marriage*. Miss S. Livingston.

The Lady's Library, containing tho'ts, on beauty, Dress, musick & polite Conversation. Miss Witherspoon.

The tears of Sensibility, a poem on the stage coach or the flight of fancy. Miss S. Morris.

Penitential Cries, with serious thoughts on life, Death & immortality. Miss R. Livingston.

The Effusion of friendship—a poem neatly stitched in sheets. Miss L. Morris.

The whole Duty of Woman. Mrs. Witherspoon.

The Religious Courtship. Miss S. Livingston.

PLAYS.

The fair Penitent. Miss Hodge.

The mourning Bride. Miss Morris.

Love a la mode. Miss L. Morris.

The way to win him. Miss P. Stockton.

The Drummer or haunted house. Miss Berrien.

Lethe or the Maid in the Shades. Miss Serg^t.

Hole in the Well. Miss P. Hodge.

A trip to the Jubilee. Miss S. Morris.

The Contented Sheperdess. Miss Fish.

The way to keep him. Miss B. Stockton.

QUERY.—Can any one give me positive information as to the religious connections, affiliations, or preferences of James Smith, signer of the Declaration of Independence, who died at York in 1806? Sanderson, in her "Lives of the Signers," speaks of him as "a communicant of the church," language at that time unlikely to be applied to the case of any other than one in the communion of the Episcopal Church, and yet the Hon. James Smith is buried in the Presbyterian church-yard at York.

And can any one inform me as to the religious preferences of Charles Humphreys (member of the Congress of July-August, 1776, who died in 1786) during his last years? W. S. P.

AN OLD CANNON.—Twenty-five or more years ago an old cannon was dug up in excavating for a cellar, in the vicinity of old Fort Duquesne, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is eight feet long, four and three-quarters inches bore; about, say, a fifteen-pounder. It is of the wrapped

gun order,—that is, there is a tube of solid iron around which are wrapped hoops of wrought iron; some of these are shrunk bands of iron to give additional strength. Everybody calls it “the old French Cannon.” Any information will be thankfully received.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

J. Q. EVERSON.

HALTON FAMILY BIBLES.—Are there any Bibles in existence which belonged to the old Swedish family of that name in New Jersey, and if so, do they contain any records of births, marriages, etc.? H. P. N.

Replies.

BILES.—The extracts given on page 382, Volume XV., PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, said to be from the will of William Biles, the first, are, doubtless, from the will of William Biles, the second. The writer has a copy of the will of William Biles, the first. It is believed to have been unrecorded. It is dated January 5, 1709, and contains the following bequests:

- To my son John Biles, 300 acres of land.
 - To my daughter Elizabeth Hewes, wife of Matthew Hewes, the sum of twenty shillings.
 - To my three grandchildren, John, Mary, and Grace Beakes, the sum of fifty pounds, to be equally divided between them.
 - To my daughter, Johannah Beakes, the wife of Samuel Beakes, the sum of twenty shillings
 - To my daughter, Rebeckah Janney, the wife of Joseph Janney, the sum of one hundred and forty pounds
 - To their two daughters, Martha and Ann Janney, the sum of ten pounds, to be equally divided between them.
 - To my daughter, Ann, the wife of Thomas Yardley, the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds.
 - To my daughter-in-law, Martha Biles, the sum of five pounds.
 - To my three grandchildren, Johannah, Phebe, and Sarah Biles, the daughters of my children George and Martha Biles, the sum of fifteen pounds to be equally divided between them.
 - To my three granddaughters, Ann, Grace, and Sarah Biles, the daughters of my son and daughter, William and Sarah Biles, the sum of fifteen pounds, to be equally divided between them.
 - To my sister-in-law, Mary Biles, the widow of my brother, Thomas Biles, of Dorchester, in the county of Dorset, in old England, eight pounds.
 - To my grandson, William Robbins, the son of my daughter, Mary Robbins, the plantation where I last lived, lying betwixt the land of Anthony Burton, and the land of my son John Biles. It being part of the same land I purchased from Henry Barkar; by estimation, about 200 acres.
 - To my grandchildren, Johannah and Rebeckah Beakes, the daughters of my son and daughter, Samuel and Johannah Beakes, the sum of twenty four pounds.
 - To my son William Biles, all the rest, residue of my lands in West Jersey, etc.
- Signed, published, and declared this fifth day of the Eleventh month called January, 1709, in the presence of us.

JER. LANGHORN,
JAS. KIRKBRIDE,
ROBERT SCOTCHER.

H. D. B.

BIRD (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XV., p. 249).—General Stryker's "Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War" shows a family of Bird in Monmouth, Hunterdon, or Sussex Counties, in the following: "William Bird, private, First Battalion, Second Establishment; Corporal ditto, August 1, 1778; Sergeant ditto, January 1, 1780; Sergeant, Captain John Holmes's company, First Regiment." "Henry Bird, Captain Bruere's company, Monmouth. Isaac Bird, Sussex; also Light-Horse. James Bird, Monmouth. John Bird, Captain Harker's company, Second Regiment, Sussex; also Light-Horse. Peter Bird, Hunterdon. William Bird, Monmouth. Isaac Bird, 'Lee's Legion,' Continental Army." We also have "Joseph *Burd*, Captain Lyon's company, Fourth Battalion, Second Establishment; also militia. Richard *Burd*, Captain Lyon's company, Fourth Battalion, Second Establishment; also militia."

The above offer the suggestion that some clue to the elucidation of these various pedigrees may be found on an examination of the wills and deeds at Trenton. Perhaps Mr. Salter's work on Monmouth County families may save further trouble.

W. J. P.

MATRICULATES OF THE COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, 1752-62 (PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XV., p. 240).—*William Hindman* was born in Dorchester County, Maryland, 1 April, 1743, and died in Baltimore, 19 January, 1822. Refer to publications of the Maryland Historical Society.

Edward Wilmor (or *Wilmer*) was born in Kent County, Maryland, 23 September, 1737. He was married and left issue.

Baltimore, Md.

HENRY F. THOMPSON.

AN OLD CANNON.—We think this cannon is of comparatively modern manufacture, say between 1800 and 1815. It is not one of the cannon mounted on Fort Duquesne, for they were 3- and 4-pounders, and when the post was evacuated, the French took their artillery with them.—[ED. PENNA. MAG.]

Book Notices.

BEGINNINGS OF LITERARY CULTURE IN THE OHIO VALLEY. HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. By W. H. Venable, LL.D. Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. 519.

This volume, as the author says, "is not a regularly-developed essay or treatise, but a repository of accumulated notes." In its sphere it possesses the same interest that Disraeli's works do to general literature, and resembles them in their desultory character. The author says, "More than twenty years ago, in preparing for publication a series of articles on the libraries of Cincinnati, I had occasion to glance through a good many books of Western origin, and to examine files of the earliest newspapers and magazines issued in the Central States. This incidental rummage through the alcoves of a dozen dusty libraries led to further investigation, and awakened curiosity to study the intellectual agencies which created the first literary institutions in the Ohio Valley. The result of these investigations supplied the material for several lectures and essays, portions of which are incorporated in the present volume."

In the opening chapters of his work Dr. Venable gives an account of the early travellers and annalists of the West; of its pioneer press and its products; of early periodical literature; of libraries and backwood colleges and schools; of the voice of the preachers and the clash of creed. Later on we have sketches of Dr. Daniel Drake, Timothy Flint,

Judge James Hall, George D. Prentice, E. D. Mansfield, William Davis Gallagher, Amelia B. Welby, and Alice Cary. These sketches are full of interest, and particularly interest of an historical character. We do not think they are entirely free from errors, but such errors are of a minor character, and there is no doubt that Dr. Venable has produced a book that will stimulate an interest in the subject of which it treats. To the future historian of our social life it will suggest many subjects to employ his pen. Bibliographers should consult it to learn of the productions of the Western printing-press, and librarians cannot too soon note from its pages the works needed on their shelves to illustrate the history of the West. To any one acquainted with Western history it cannot but prove interesting, and the time spent in perusing its pages will seem like a communion with old friends.

EXPERIMENTAL PEDIGREE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF LAWRENCE WASHINGTON (1635-1677), OF VIRGINIA. By Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M.A. 1891. 6 pp.

This neat pamphlet, which elucidates the connection between the Paytons and Conways and the Washington family of Strafford and King George Counties, is reprinted from the author's volume of "Virginia Genealogies," now in press.

THE OLD YORK ROAD AND ITS EARLY ASSOCIATIONS OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, 1670-1870. By Mrs. Anne de Benneville Mears. Harper & Brother, Philadelphia, 1890.

There are probably few highways of Philadelphia County better known than the Old York Road, and Mrs. Mears has collected considerable matter of historical interest from family papers and old deeds relating to it. The work is liberally illustrated, printed on good paper, and will be sought after by all who are interested in our local history.

REV. JOHN PHILIP BOEHM. By Henry S. Dotterer. Philadelphia, 1890. 8vo, 27 pages.

The biographical sketch of this pioneer clergyman of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania was prepared for the sesqui-centennial anniversary of "Boehm's Reformed Church, in Whitpain Township, Montgomery County," held September 11, 1890. Boehm came to America from Germany in 1720, and for almost thirty years labored within his parish—Pennsylvania—and, with Schlatter, Antes, Zinzendorf, and Muhlenberg, was an active worker in the religious movement among the Germans of the Province, between 1720 and 1750. Numerous foot-notes to the text add value to the work.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION AND BY-LAWS AND REGISTER OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY. Philadelphia, 1891. 8vo. 101 pp.

This, the latest publication of this patriotic society, contains, in addition to the register of officers, comprehensive records of the services of the ancestors of its four hundred members. The volume is a fine specimen of book-making. In October last the society dedicated two granite shafts,—one erected to indicate the location of the head-quarters of General Anthony Wayne, near Valley Forge; the other the redoubt on the hill near White Marsh.

A SYNOPSIS OF THE RECORDS OF THE STATE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI OF PENNSYLVANIA. Including a list of its original members and their successors, brought down to July 4, 1891. Published by order of the Society for the use of its members. 8vo. 102 pp.

This important and useful work of reference contains the institution and proceedings of the General Society in 1783; the design and a description of the Society; the organization of the Pennsylvania Society, with the principles governing it in the admission of members; a copy of the "parchment roll," to which have been added the names of the successors of the original members, with the date of their admission, a list of officers, and other valuable data. Its compilation is an important step towards the making of a comprehensive history of the Society, the want of which has been long felt. The book is printed on fine paper, with good type, neatly bound, and is a credit to this venerable society.

MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA, 1891.

A stated meeting of the Society was held January 12, 1891, President Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

A paper was read by the Rev. John P. Lundy, D.D., entitled "Alaska, its People and their Traditions," who also exhibited many curious articles which he had collected in that country.

On motion, a vote of thanks was tendered.

A special meeting was held February 5, Vice-President Charles J. Stillé presiding.

The Chairman introduced the Rev. William H. Furness, D.D., *pastor emeritus* of the First Unitarian Church, who addressed a large audience upon the subject of "Philadelphia Reminiscences of Sixty Years Ago."

On motion of Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, a vote of thanks was tendered to the venerable gentleman.

A stated meeting of the Society was held March 9, Vice-President Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker in the chair.

General W. W. H. Davis, of Doylestown, Penna., read a paper on "The Freas Rebellion in Bucks and Northampton Counties in 1799," upon the close of which a vote of thanks was tendered.

Nominations for officers of the Society to be voted for at the next stated meeting being in order, Dr. James J. Levick nominated the following :

President.

Brinton Coxe.

Vice-Presidents (to serve for three years).

Samuel W. Pennypacker,

Charles J. Stillé.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

Aubrey H. Smith,

Craig Biddle,

Ferdinand J. Dreer.

Corresponding Secretary.

Gregory B. Keen.

Recording Secretary.

William Brooke Rawle.

Treasurer.

J. Edward Carpenter.

Members of Council (to serve four years).

Samuel W. Pennypacker, John B. Gest,
Charles J. Stillé.

Trustees of the Ferdinand J. Dreer Collection of Autographs.

Hampton L. Carson, William Brooke Rawle,
Frederiek D. Stone, Gregory B. Keen,
Edwin Greble Dreer.

No other nominations being made, the Chairman appointed tellers to conduct the election on May 4.

A special meeting was held April 13, Vice-President Charles J. Stillé presiding.

The Chairman introduced John J. Pinkerton, Esq., of West Chester, Penna., who delivered an oration on "Alexander Hamilton."

On motion, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Pinkerton.

The annual meeting of the Society was held May 4, President Brinton Coxe in the chair.

The annual report of the Council for the year 1890 was read by its Secretary, Gregory B. Keen.

The President introduced Professor Albert H. Smyth, who read a paper on "Early Philadelphia Magazines."

On motion of Joseph G. Rosengarten, Esq., the thanks of the Society were tendered to Professor Smyth.

Henry Budd, Esq., nominated Charles J. Stillé as Trustee of the Publication and Binding Funds, to succeed Aubrey H. Smith, deceased, who was unanimously elected.

The tellers appointed to conduct the annual election reported that the gentlemen nominated at the last stated meeting had been unanimously elected.

A stated meeting was held November 9, Vice-President Charles J. Stillé presiding.

J. Levering Jones, Esq., was introduced, who read a paper by Hampton L. Carson, Esq., on the "Case of the Sloop 'Active.'"

Frederiek D. Stone, Librarian, announced that the Hopkinson collection of paintings had been permanently deposited with the Society.

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STATED MEETINGS.

January 11, 1892. May 2, 1892.
March 14, 1892. November 14, 1892.
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EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

Statement of Finances, December 31, 1890.

DR.

The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following :

To Real Estate	\$131,520 48
“ Investments	77,913 67
“ Cash	8,146 47

CR.

The Treasurer and Trustees claim credit for :

By General Fund, Capital Invested	\$5,500 00	
“ “ Loan Account to Real Estate	5,500 00	
“ “ Interest Account	440 77	
Binding Fund, Capital Invested	5,300 00	
“ “ Interest Account	276 29	
Library Fund, Capital Invested	16,000 00	
“ “ “ Uninvested	7 50	
“ “ Interest Account	124 04	
Publication Fund, Capital Invested	32,111 78	
“ “ “ Uninvested	1,217 97	
“ “ Interest Account	2,638 97	
Endowment Fund, Capital Invested	19,001 89	
“ “ “ Uninvested	3,064 50	
Balance Donation for Harleian Publications	58 00	
Investments of Real Estate	126,020 48	
Balance in hands of Treasurer, Real Estate Account	180 93	
Church Records Fund	100 00	
Sundries	37 50	
	<u>\$217,580 62</u>	<u>\$217,580 62</u>

General Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1890	\$532 93
Annual Dues, 1890	5,815 00
Interest and Dividends	497 72
“ Trustees Endowment Fund	1,025 00
Donations	666 74
Pennsylvania and the Federal Con- stitution	150 00
	<u>\$8,687 39</u>
Disbursements: General Expenses, Taxes, and Sundries for 1890	8,246 62
Balance in hands of Treasurer	\$440 77

Binding Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1890	\$315 14
Interest and Dividends	319 23
	<u>\$634 37</u>
Disbursements for Binding, 1890	358 08
Balance in hands of Trustees	\$276 29

Library Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1890	\$86 60
Interest on Investments	634 04
	<u>\$720 64</u>
Disbursements: Books purchased in 1890	596 60
Balance in hands of Trustees	\$124 04

Publication Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1890	\$2,457 45
Interest, Dividends, and Rents	1,923 90
Subscriptions to Magazine, etc.	645 13
	<u>\$5,026 48</u>
Disbursements for 1890	2,387 51
Balance in hands of Trustees	\$2,638 97

Endowment Fund.

Receipts: Interest and Dividends	\$1,025 00
Disbursements: Paid to Treasurer of General Fund	1,025 00

*Church Records Fund.*¹

Cash on hand, December 31, 1890	\$100
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¹ This Fund now consists of two subscriptions. It is proposed that the interest on the investments shall be used for the purpose of copying church records. Subscriptions are solicited.

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