



















John Jordan G.  
Vice Pres.  
The Historical Society of Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
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IN MEMORY  
OF  
JOHN JORDAN, JR.



# ADDRESSES AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

ON THE DEATH OF

## JOHN JORDAN, JR.,

A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY,

HELD APRIL 28, 1890.

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PHILADELPHIA:

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1890.



## ADDRESSES AND PROCEEDINGS.

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A SPECIAL MEETING of the Society was held in the Hall on Monday evening, April 28, 1890, in memory of the late John Jordan, Jr., the President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair. A large and sympathetic audience was in attendance. The President, in calling the meeting to order, said,—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

We have met to-night to say that which is uppermost in our hearts.

Mr. Jordan was the guardian and father of this Society, and, as such, I was one of those nearest to him. When he and I sat in our respective places, on opposite sides of the table in the North room, our relations seemed more like those of a father and son conferring upon the management of a family than those of two officials administering a public institution.

I have always thought that I fully appreciated the fact that he was the guardian and father of the Society, but now that he is gone and I meditate upon his life and our loss, my sorrow and anxiety convince me that I appreciate him more deeply than I ever did before.

He died without pain and in the fulness of years, surrounded by the love of all who knew him. After he had



set his house in order, after he had seen that his and our society was in order, he passed away in perfect peace.

Mr. Jordan lived to a great age, and nearly half of his long life was passed in daily care, and much of it in daily work, for our society. When we came to the hall and found him neither standing in the South rooms nor sitting in the North room, it seemed as if the host was absent from the house. He was always the chief personage within it. He would, indeed, always have been the chief person here, even if he had not lived so much among us. The officials, the councillors, and the trustees have for forty years, with but few exceptions, been elected or appointed according to his choice or preference. I am at my post because he selected me. All my colleagues are at their posts because it was his selection or wish that they should be there.

The membership of our Society is remarkably representative of our community, and it is so largely on account of him. A sympathetic writer has well said that he was a representative Pennsylvanian of the best type. It was as such that he acted on behalf of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and so drew so many other representative persons within its fold. Besides, too, his private, his social, his family, and his ecclesiastical relations extended widely throughout the Commonwealth. In many places in it besides Philadelphia tears have been shed for him. He was at home throughout a large area of Pennsylvania. At Bethlehem and at Nazareth there are houses of mourning, as well as at Philadelphia. In English and in German both he is mourned. As was natural, with a man of his prudence, and inevitable with a man who was such a personification of trustworthiness, he had many friends who looked up to him for counsel and guidance. His personal influ-



ence thus, unconsciously as well as intentionally, affected the membership. His friends became naturally friends, and so members, of a Society whose membership was largely based upon public confidence in him.

Not only as to persons, but also as to material things, was he the most important member of our institution. The mere aggregate of his gifts to it, during half of his long life, places him among its most munificent donors, but that aggregate by no means represents the importance of his generosity. Much of what he gave was given in the time of its greatest need; when the Society was struggling for existence; when, as Townsend Ward tersely put it, John Jordan, Jr., was not only the treasurer but the treasury of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In this, as in every other point of view, he was the friend in need. Furthermore, it was he who was in large measure the cause of our other benefactors selecting the Society for their benefactions. Thus, without the confidence with which he inspired Mr. Gilpin and his family, the Gilpin Fund might never have existed. Without a faith in the durability of his accomplished work on the part of the community, the great subscription, which gave us a home of our own, might never have been secured.

Mr. Jordan's devotion to our institution was an enlightened one. It was based upon conviction as well as feeling. It came from heart and head both. He loved the Society dearly, very dearly, through long, long years, but it was as a means to an end. In practical life it was the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but in principle it was the *history* of Pennsylvania, which was the object of his devotion. The history of Pennsylvania is a great and a profound subject, but the history of no State equals it in difficulty, from and including the Indian times. In no State, therefore, is

it so necessary for an historical society to be well organized on solid and broad foundations and to have a strong membership for investigations of every sort. A variety of investigators with independent points of view is peculiarly needed by our difficult history. We need members of all ages, old and young. *The necessity of the Historical Society being what the history of Pennsylvania demanded that it should be, was the key of Mr. Jordan's devotion to it.* This Society was especially the place where the civil side of his devotion to public duty was manifested. Bethlehem and Nazareth were especially the places where another side of that devotion was manifested. And now the end has come. He has passed away in perfect peace. His works live after him. The noblest of them is the one which our present members will ever recall, when young members shall ask them in time to come what his portrait means: it is the noble and modest example which his life has given us in private and public duty.

The President then introduced Dr. James J. Levick, who read the following Memorial Address:

In every household there is one of the family who holds pre-eminence of position there. Men call the house by his name; its very existence seems bound up in his existence; while, to the family itself, he is their comforter in sorrow, their counsellor in doubt, their protector from danger, their helper whenever help is needed. Death comes, and the place which has known him knows him no more. For a time it seems as if the very life of the family had gone out with the life of him who has left it, and when, at last, its daily duties are again taken up by survivors, it is with a painful, ever-recurring sense of a vacant place at the hearth

and a vacant place in the heart which can never again be filled as they have been.

It is in the full sense of just such a loss, fellow-members of the Historical Society, that we meet to-night in tender, loving, filial remembrance of one who, for fifty years a member of this household, for more than thirty years has been so closely identified with its daily life, that, even now, we cannot think of these rooms without seeming to see, quietly moving about in them, the venerable form of him who was indeed pre-eminent in our household, our counsellor in doubt, our helper whenever help was needed.

John Jordan, Jr., the son of John and Elizabeth (Henry) Jordan, was born in Philadelphia, May 18, 1808. His paternal ancestors were Germans, but the name is traced by the family to an earlier ancestor, who, soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, left France for Germany, whither many of his fellow-countrymen had already gone.

Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia, in 1738, the elder Jordan removed to Hunterdon County, N. J., where he resided during the remainder of his life. Frederick Jordan, son of the emigrant, was born at Mt. Pleasant, N. J., A.D. 1744, and married Catharine, daughter of Henry Eckel, a native of Hannau, Germany. Frederick Jordan was a well-to-do farmer, owning several mills, who managed his business with shrewdness and fidelity, securing for himself and family a comfortable independence. His son, John Jordan, Sr., was born at the family seat, Mt. Pleasant, September 1, 1770. From an early age the boy showed great aptitude for business, and, after the death of his father, when but fifteen years of age, was sent to the counting-house of Godfrey Haga, a relative by marriage, and a well-



known merchant of Philadelphia, where, in subsequent years, he succeeded him in business.

John Jordan, Sr., married Elizabeth, the daughter of the Hon. William Henry, Judge of the Northampton and Monroe County districts, and who as a Presidential Elector cast his vote for General Washington at his second nomination for the Presidency.

John Jordan, Jr.'s, career in life was so much influenced by his grandfather Henry's care and interest for him that he deserves at least a brief notice in this sketch of his grandson. Judge Henry was the great-grandson of Robert Henry, a Scotchman, who came to America from Coleraine, Ireland, in the year 1722, and settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania. William Henry, the grandson of Robert, was brought up in Lancaster, apprenticed to Matthew Roeser, a gun-maker there.

Upon the breaking out of the Indian War, in 1754, he was appointed Armorer to the troops collected for Braddock's expedition. He again accompanied the troops on the second outbreak of the Indian War. Returning to Lancaster, he entered into the iron and hardware business. He was a man of much natural ability, was an early friend of the artist Benjamin West, a member of the American Philosophical Society, and the inventor of several ingenious pieces of machinery. He signed the non-importation paper of the merchants of Philadelphia, was a member of the Assembly from Lancaster, and of the Continental Congress, and President Judge of the County. He was engaged in the manufacture of rifles for the State of Pennsylvania, and a commissary under Washington.

His son William Henry, grandfather of the subject of this memoir, was also engaged in the manufacture of fire-arms, and in the year 1778 removed to the Moravian settlement,

Christian's Spring, near Nazareth, and later to Nazareth. In 1798 he contracted with the State of Pennsylvania for two thousand, and in 1809 with the United States for ten thousand, muskets. He thereupon erected the Boulton gun-works, near Nazareth, and in 1808 a forge to manufacture refined bar-iron. This settlement of his grandfather at Nazareth with the Moravians, to whose church he belonged, had, as has already been said, much influence on the life of John Jordan, Jr.

It is interesting in this connection to notice the blending of blood which the marriage of John Jordan, Sr., and Elizabeth Henry exhibits,—the French Huguenot, the sturdy German, the firm, decided Scotch-Irish. As a great statesman has said of this blood, "there is none better, none braver, none truer. There is in it an inheritance of courage, of manliness, of imperishable love of liberty, of undying adherence to principle."

John Jordan, Jr., received his earliest literary education at a school on Front Street, near Arch Street, taught by a pedagogue well known in that day, one Peter Widders. After this he began the study of the Latin and Greek languages and mathematics, under the care of Dr. James P. Espy, whose famous treatise on the "Philosophy of Storms" gained for him the title of "the Storm-King." Among his fellow-students were the late Dr. Wm. W. Gerhard and John C. Trautwine, Esq. Espy was a man of great enthusiasm and well fitted to interest and instruct a bright scholar such as he himself describes young Jordan to be. In the year 1826, John Jordan, Jr., entered the University of Pennsylvania. He was a favorite with his classmates, and was early elected a member of the Philomathean, the popular college society of that day. But his health, which had never been robust, by application to his studies became still

more affected, and an impairment of his sight compelled him reluctantly to retire from the University at the close of his Junior year. But the friendships formed during his brief college stay continued during life. Among his classmates were the late Dr. Joseph Carson, while of those who survive him are the Hon. Isaac Hazlehurst, John Ashhurst, Sr., Henry Pratt McKean, and Robert B. Davison. When but a boy of ten or twelve years he had been sent to Nazareth, Pa., to spend the summer months. Here his grandfather Henry lived, and here, though never a resident pupil at Nazareth Hall, he was permitted, with his cousin, James Henry, to attend as a day-scholar. "But what we most enjoyed," writes his now venerable relative, "were the long walks with our dear grandpa in the forest or in fishing in the Bushkill creek." Here the young Philadelphian regained much of the health he had lost in the city. Mr. Jordan always retained a warm affection for the companions and scenes of his youth, and was accustomed in later life to pass a part of each year in Nazareth or its vicinity.

So much better suited to his health had his life in the country proved, that in his early manhood Mr. Jordan was induced to accept a proposal made him by his uncle, and join him in the manufacture of bar-iron, a business for a time carried on by them near Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pa. A little later they removed to the Oxford furnace, near Belvidere, N. J. While operating this latter the experiment was made by them of applying anthracite coal to the production of pig metal, but this, along with similar experiments made elsewhere at this date, proved unsuccessful.

The changes in the tariff, which paralyzed the iron trade, induced Mr. Jordan to retire from this business, and he returned to Philadelphia, where he became a partner in the



house founded by his uncle, in 1783, continued by his father and brothers, and which is now successfully carried on by his nephews in the old house, Third and Race Streets, covering a period of continuous business for more than a hundred years.

In the year 1847, March 8, Mr. Jordan was made President of the Manufacturers' and Merchants' bank, of which he had been for some years previously a director. The period of his presidency, from 1847 to 1875, embraced the most critical times in our national history,—the financial panic of 1857, and the uncertainties of business incident to the breaking out of our Civil War, but at no time during his administration of the affairs of the bank were its dividends when due passed by unpaid.<sup>1</sup>

It was during this Presidency of Mr. Jordan that the first steps were taken for a concert of action by the officers of the banks which have led to the establishment of what is now known as *The Clearing-House Association of the Banks of Philadelphia*, an organization rendered necessary by the vast increase of the banking business, and which, by enabling the debits and credits of different banks to be exchanged and settled by checks, instead of by the transportation of coin or of circulating notes, effects a vast saving of time and labor, and gives greater security in the transaction.

<sup>1</sup> On the retirement of Mr. Jordan from the Presidency of the bank, May 28, 1875, resolutions were adopted by the Board of Directors expressing their "high appreciation of the care, fidelity, and good judgment with which, for more than thirty-two years, he has discharged his responsible duties. We trust that he may yet enjoy many years of continued health and happiness." A resolution was also adopted, "as a further mark of our esteem and confidence, that a suitable testimonial be prepared, and presented to Mr. Jordan, and that he be requested to sit for a portrait, at his convenience, to be the property of the Bank.

Such an institution had long existed in London, and later in Boston and in New York, but it was not until September, 1853, that the meeting above referred to was called. How far the proposal may have originated with Mr. Jordan, it is impossible to tell, as he was himself the last survivor of those who then met; but the fact that he was chosen secretary of the preliminary meeting, and served as such for many years after the organization was effected, shows that he took an active interest in the movement.<sup>1</sup> The original minute of the first meeting reads thus: "The undersigned, being of the opinion that periodical meetings of the Presidents of the several Banks of the City and County of Philadelphia, for the purpose of conference and interchange of views on such topics as will be considered proper subjects of discussion and action, will tend to promote stability and regularity in the business of banking, do hereby agree to meet on Wednesday, 28th current, at the Philadelphia Bank, at one o'clock, and thenceforward at such time and place as may be decided upon."

Signed by fifteen Bank Presidents.

"John Jordan, Jr., Secretary."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jordan acted as secretary until January, 1867, when his resignation was tendered and accepted. He resigned from the Clearing-House Committee in 1869, and was succeeded by our fellow-member, James V. Watson, Esq., President of the Consolidation National Bank.

<sup>2</sup> The names signed are Thomas Allibone, President of Bank of Pennsylvania; Thomas Robins, President of Bank of Philadelphia; John Richardson, President of Bank of North America; Singleton A. Mercer, President of Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank; Jacob M. Thomas, President of Commercial Bank; James B. Mitchell, President of Mechanics' Bank; Robert L. Pittfield, President of Bank of Northern Liberties; Joseph Wainwright, President of Kensington Bank; Joseph Patterson, President of Western Bank; John Jordan, Jr., President of Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Bank; Adolph E. Borie, President of Bank of



The association of Bank Presidents continued their meetings to the common advantage of the banks there represented. At the meeting held December 14, 1857, the subject of a Clearing-House was brought forward, and it was resolved, "That this subject be referred to a committee of five members of this body, with instructions to prepare a plan and code of rules to govern the institution and to report to the Board."

At the following meeting this report was produced and adopted. The Clearing-House Association permits as its members the presidents of the banks, vice-president, or cashier, or such other person as the board of directors shall appoint, while the older association was made up exclusively of the bank presidents. The two organizations continued each to hold its meetings theoretically independent of each other, but as the two were largely composed of the same men having similar interests, on April 7, 1882, they were merged into one association, under the title of the Clearing-House Association of the Bank Presidents of Philadelphia. This association very soon appointed the Clearing-House Committee, on whom most of the active work depends.

The first committee consisted of Messrs. C. H. Rogers, Edwin M. Lewis, John Jordan, Jr. (Secretary), James M. Dickson, and our esteemed fellow-citizen and fellow-member, Benjamin B. Comegys, who is now the only survivor of the five.

How large are the interests involved in the transactions of the Clearing-House may be judged from the fact that it is quite common for exchanges to be made to the amount of \$1,000,000; Charles S. Boker, President of Girard Bank; Charles H. Rogers, President of Tradesmen's Bank; James S. Smith, Jr., President of Southwark Bank; Elijah Dallett, President of Penn Township Bank.

of from twelve to fourteen millions of dollars daily, while the great security which this mode of conducting business affords, is shown in the fact that from the organization of the Philadelphia Clearing-House nearly sixty-four thousand millions of dollars have passed through it without any loss.

Another organization in the establishment of which John Jordan, Jr., took an active part, was what is now known as *The North Pennsylvania Railroad Company*. The need for direct, speedy communication between Philadelphia and the Upper Delaware and Lehigh Rivers had long been recognized. The rich products of the field, the forest, and the mine naturally belonged to the chief city of the State in which they were found. To the tourist and man of leisure the marvellous beauty of this region was well known, but much of it could be enjoyed only after long and tedious driving in a private carriage, or in the slow and antiquated stage-coach. To facilitate transportation of merchandise a line of continuous canals was constructed, useful to some degree, but very far from fully meeting the actual need. Meanwhile, the city of New York, ever alive to its own interests and prompt to secure them, sought to divert to her own uses the trade of this region. A great loss to Philadelphia seemed imminent, when a town meeting was called in Sansom Street Hall, and an address was read calling attention to these facts, and urging the necessity for prompt aid in the construction of a railroad from Philadelphia to the Lehigh, "there to connect with a road about to be commenced from Easton to Mauch Chunk, to Williamsport, Wilkesbarre, and along the Valley of the North Branch, thus placing the whole Lehigh Valley in direct communication with Philadelphia."

In this proposed road Mr. Jordan took an active interest

from its inception. He knew the region well. It was associated with many of the happiest days of his youth, and of his maturer years. Before this address was issued he was at the first meeting of the incorporated Philadelphia, Easton and Water-Gap Railroad, as the proposed road was known in its charter, in which his name appears as one of the incorporators. This meeting was held at the Eagle Hotel, Third above Race Streets, August 17, 1852.

On almost every page the early minutes show the active interest of Mr. Jordan. "On motion of Mr. Jordan, Thos. S. Fernon was appointed secretary of the board." Again, "On motion of Mr. Jordan, William B. Foster was elected chief engineer." "On motion of Mr. Jordan, the salary of the chief engineer was fixed at" such and such a rate. "On motion of Mr. Jordan, the thanks of the board are presented to James M. Porter, Esq., and John M. Read, Esq., for addresses delivered in the interests of this corporation."

Mr. Jordan was appointed on the committee to draft the first by-laws; he was early made a member of the Committee on the Road. On February 7, 1853, he was placed on the Committee of Finance, a position in which he faithfully served up to the time of his death, a period of nearly forty years. Time would fail me to give further historical details on the subject of the road or of his connection with it, nor is it necessary; enough has already been adduced to show the commanding influence, if such a term may be applied to one who was rarely known "to command," which his probity and his integrity of character gave Mr. Jordan in whatever business associations he was placed. Some years later, October 3, 1853, on motion of John Jordan, Jr., the road took the name of the North Pennsylvania Railroad, by which it is now so widely known. Its history has been a varied one, sometimes with a financial outlook



of a most discouraging character; but in all the chances and changes of its existence, Mr. Jordan was ever its earnest, zealous friend, attending, unless prevented by illness, all its meetings, ready with his counsel when it was needed, and prompt to aid it from his own means when it was financially embarrassed, never doubting its ultimate prosperity, a conviction which, happily, he lived to see fully confirmed.

I have thus far spoken of John Jordan, Jr., in his active business life. I come now to speak of the details of another period of his life which appeal very strongly to the love and gratitude of the members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Jordan was elected a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, September 23, 1840, and, with the exception of the Presidency, which he positively declined to accept, as Vice-President, member of the Executive Council, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Trustee of the Publication Fund, of the Library Fund, of the Gilpin Fund, the Endowment Fund, he has filled almost every official position in the Society.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Jordan's active interest in the Historical Society dates from a very short time after his election in 1840, and in less than two years he was chosen a member of its Council.

Almost immediately after this his name appears on the list of those presenting books to the Society. The care and judgment shown in the selection of these gifts and the regularity with which they were made prove that his heart was

<sup>1</sup> From the close of this paragraph to that including the letter from Mr. Jordan I am indebted to Frederick D. Stone, Esq., whose personal friendship and close association with Mr. Jordan so well qualify him to write of the latter's devotion to the Historical Society, and of much that is interesting in his private life.—J. J. L.

entirely in the work, and that his efforts to improve the condition of the Society were directed by an intelligent knowledge of what it needed, born of an active participation in its management. This generosity extended to every department of the Society, but so modest was he that he has allowed but a partial record of it to appear on our minutes. Indeed, so little did he allow the left hand to know what the right hand did, that it seems almost like a violation of confidence now to state the little that can be gathered from those who knew in a general way what he was doing from their associations with him. For quite a number of years his expenditures for the Society amount to at least a thousand dollars annually; and some time during the war, between 1861-1865, it was learned accidentally from him that he had spent for the Society, from one time to another, over thirty thousand dollars.

He never lost an opportunity to benefit the Society, when in his opinion an important object could be accomplished either by gifts or timely aid. Nothing better illustrates this than the establishment of our Publication Fund. The idea of forming such a fund was conceived and carried out by the late Townsend Ward, who in doing it received substantial assistance from Mr. Jordan, which he never hesitated to acknowledge. When asked how it was possible that the Fund could publish and pay for a volume which cost more than double the income received from all sources, without spending any of the capital, Mr. Ward replied that there was no difficulty about it, as Mr. Jordan paid all the bills, and would wait until it was convenient for the Trustees to repay him out of the interest to be received. The fund thus formed and so carefully nursed by Mr. Jordan amounts now to more than thirty thousand dollars.

Besides the numerous donations of books made by Mr.

Jordan, he subscribed liberally to the First and Second Building Funds, to the Library and Endowment Funds, to the Penn Papers, and to pretty much everything the Society ever undertook to purchase.

By his suggestion, and largely at his expense, copies were made of the records of the monthly meetings of Friends in different parts of Pennsylvania, thus preserving the details of the inner life of many of the early settlers of Pennsylvania unattainable in any other way. The interest he took in the purchase of the building we now occupy is remembered by all then active in the management of the Society. Never for a moment after the matter was undertaken did he allow a doubt to enter his mind of its accomplishment. He used his influence to the full extent to obtain subscriptions, and nearly every subscription received by mail he acknowledged by letter and in suitable terms. Well remembered, too, is the satisfaction he manifested when the committee, after having raised by personal solicitation about one-half the sum required, issued an appeal to all the members, telling them what had been done and calling upon them for aid, and received enough in a few days to complete the purchase and to secure an additional lot, upon a part of which the hall we now are in stands.

At last the Society he so dearly loved, and to which he had devoted so much time and money, was to have a home of its own, where it would be safe for all future time. While he was too modest to acknowledge it, or even to permit such a thought to enter his mind, his friends knew that this had been accomplished largely through the confidence in the Society which he had inspired in the community. This was shown not only in the promptness with which some of the largest subscriptions were made, but in the fact that three hundred and twenty-three subscriptions



were received in sums varying from one dollar to one hundred dollars. It showed, as Mr. Wallace then said, that "when the name of John Jordan, Jr., was affixed to a paper it inspired confidence wherever it went."

Mr Jordan never had robust health. Indeed, he has said that he never knew what it was to be healthy until he had reached middle life, a period which, as a young man, he never expected to attain. He was very near-sighted, which later in life gave an appearance of increased infirmity, and for years he rarely walked out at night alone. On account of his delicate health he was obliged to take gentle and regular exercise, and for many years rode on horseback almost daily. One of his favorite rides, and which left the most pleasing recollections, was over the old river road along the banks of the Schuylkill.

For years, whenever he visited Bethlehem or Nazareth, he did so in a private conveyance, and continued this practice until the decadence of the inns along the route and advancing years deprived him of the keen enjoyment derived from such trips. Sometimes his excursions were of a wider range and partook of the character of historical pilgrimages. In 1855, one hundred years after Braddock's defeat, Mr. and Mrs. Jordan, Paul Weber, Edward Armstrong, and Townsend Ward took the cars for Pittsburg, and passed several days in visiting Braddock's Field and other points of interest in the vicinity. On another occasion, with a congenial party of friends, he visited the sites of the Moravian Missionary Settlements in New York and Connecticut, and was present at the dedication of monuments erected at these places by the Moravian Historical Society, of which he was an active member. In 1870, with a number of members of the same society, he visited the site of Freidenshütten, near Wyalusing, Penna., where a

memorial stone, which he had prepared, was placed with appropriate ceremonies.

Mr. Jordan's acquaintance with the material relating to the history of Pennsylvania was as great or greater than that of any of our other members. He superintended the classification of the Society's manuscripts, which are now bound, and personally did all but the purely mechanical work on many of the volumes. In this way he obtained a knowledge of much that related to the unprinted history of the State.

Besides this, he was a great reader, and until a very few years midnight found him with his books. He was conversant with nearly every printed authority of an historical or biographical nature relating to Pennsylvania, and only a few years ago read systematically the twenty-eight volumes containing the Archives and Colonial Records of the State. He was also familiar with the manuscript and printed collections of the Moravian Church, and his excellent memory enabled him to turn at once to any important fact that he met with in his studies. His memory, indeed, was so good that unfortunately he never felt the importance of making notes or of reducing the result of his investigations to writing, and it is doubtful if a single page remains to testify to the acumen of his learning. Besides his taste for historical, Mr. Jordan was very fond of general literature, and, in fiction, Scott, Cooper, Dickens, and Thackeray were his favorite authors. Although he never acquired the habit of speaking either French or German, he read both languages with ease, and some portion of each day was devoted to them.

Mr. Jordan had a keen sense of humor, and was quick to discern the comic side of human nature. Nothing was more agreeable to him than to meet his friends at social gather-



ings where, in company with a few of those who knew him best, all restraint could be laid aside, and reminiscences and anecdotes furnished the topic of conversation. This lighter vein of character was not confined to his personal relations with others, but influenced his taste in reading. A truly humorous book afforded him great amusement, and in the Anniversary edition of the *Pickwick Papers*, illustrated with views of places made memorable by the associations which the genius of Dickens has woven around them, he found an especial satisfaction. While no one engaged in collecting material for an historical work ever failed to enlist his sympathies, or to receive from him such assistance as he could afford, there have no doubt been some whose enthusiasm was at times dampened by Mr. Jordan's love of accuracy, as he invariably advised beginners that accuracy in collecting and stating facts was absolutely necessary, and that without this such papers were better left unprinted.

This love of accuracy made him very impatient at times at the way in which history is treated in many of the newspapers. There was perhaps but one other thing which more disturbed the equanimity of our friend than this, which was that, after having generously and at some trouble assisted in genealogical investigations, to find that the only motive of the inquirer was that he might recover an immense fortune in the possession of some banking institution of Europe, the directors of which were extremely anxious to pay it over to the proper persons.

Nothing can better conclude a record of Mr. Jordan's many services to the Society than the letter he sent to the Council communicating to his fellow-members his last and crowning act of generosity.

It is as follows :

PHILADELPHIA, February 23, 1889.

*To the Hon. James T. Mitchell, Chairman, and to the members  
of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:*

GENTLEMEN,—About 1841 I was one of those who subscribed for the purchase of the first book-case received by the Society. From that time I have watched with interest the growth of the Library, and, notwithstanding the spacious quarters now occupied by the Society, feel convinced that in a very short time it will need additional space for the proper storage of books that are being constantly added to its collections. I long ago resolved that whatever I could do to promote the interests of the Society I would endeavor to do during my lifetime, and I now wish to provide for the contingency I have spoken of.

After consulting with your librarian regarding the erection of such a building as will be needed, I directed him to have plans prepared which will be submitted to you. They provide for the erection of a fire-proof building on the 13th Street front of the lot in the rear of the Hall. It is to be so constructed that the entire building can eventually be used for the storage of books, but for the present the second floor can be used for the display of objects of interest belonging to the Society, as I believe such objects in safe quarters will attract other collections.

The plans are subject to your approval, and any alterations you may suggest that do not involve additional cost will be considered.

When everything is decided upon I propose to deposit with the Treasurer of the Society and the Trustees of the Library Fund the sum of fifteen thousand dollars (\$15,000), the estimated cost of the building to be used for its erection.

If in the future the present property occupied by the Society should be sold and the money received for it should be more than is required for the purchase or erection of a new building, I would like the sum I now propose to give to

be deducted from it and given to the Trustees of the Library Fund, to be invested by them and the interest only used for the objects of the Trust, but I do not make this any condition of the gift.

Respectfully,

JOHN JORDAN, JR.

This generous offer was promptly and gratefully accepted by the President and Council, and preparations were at once made for the construction of the fire-proof annex with which you are now familiar. The dimensions of this structure between the walls are forty-two by twenty-three feet. It conforms with the architecture of the main building and is thoroughly fire-proof. It is two stories high. The upper, twenty-one and one-half feet high, is devoted to the exhibition of manuscripts and rare works and pictures. The first floor is divided by an open iron floor, making two stories, each seven and one-half feet high. On these two floors between thirty and forty thousand volumes can be stored in shelves. When more room for books may be required, the upper story can be divided into three floors similar to the lower floor. The total capacity of the stack will be between seventy-five and one hundred thousand volumes. No change is proposed to be made on the upper floor before another fire-proof building is prepared for the choice and rare collections of MSS. and books. It may, perhaps, be properly stated here, that when Mr. Jordan joined the Society its library numbered fifty volumes; to-day it numbers thirty-five thousand.

At a stated meeting held May 6, 1889, the President announced to the society this gift of Mr. Jordan. Appropriate remarks were made, but an intimation had been received by those taking active part in the proceedings that it would be most grateful to Mr. Jordan if but little



reference of a personal character were made to the donor. With his characteristic modesty, Mr. Jordan was not present at the meeting.

The building itself is a fitting type of the character of him who gave it: plain and unpretending, yet solid and enduring. The superb and unique collection of Colonial Laws, the gift of Mrs. Charlemagne Tower, followed, as it has been, by another most valuable collection of a different character and from a different source, to which I may now only thus allude, already show the correctness of the conviction expressed by Mr. Jordan, that the security thus afforded would attract to the Society more objects of interest and value. Thus the influence of Mr. Jordan continues to be exerted for the good of our Society, though he himself is no longer with us. Had Mr. Jordan given nothing else to the Society than this building, it were fitting that his name be held in perpetual remembrance. But this is by no means the greatest service he has rendered it. Rather is this to be found in the unwearied devotion to its interests for half a century, in his liberality, "constant, though concealed," in his judicious counsels, in his fearless courage, which inspired confidence in the community and hope for the Society among its members, a confidence crowned with success. There is not a shelf in these cases which has not on it one or more books placed there directly or indirectly by him; there is scarcely a manuscript which he has not examined; on every side is seen the work of his hand; never were the words more appropriate,—

"Si monumentum requiris, circumspice."

Imperfect as any sketch of our honored Vice-President must be, it would be yet more incomplete were no mention made of his religious faith and life.

By inheritance and family connection Mr. Jordan was a Moravian, a church for which he retained a warm affection all his life long. This was shown by his intimate friendship with its most earnest members, by his generous contributions to its various needs, and by his deep interest in its history.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Among these last may be briefly named,—through his exertions largely, the Moravian Historical Society was founded in 1857 and its Publication Fund established, which has issued two volumes of over five hundred pages each, and the third volume now preparing of the History of the Moravians in Pennsylvania. He took a deep interest in the history of Moravians in Pennsylvania, and can be credited directly or indirectly with the publication of the following works :

1. "Life of John Heckewelder." By Rev. Edward Rendthaler, 1847.
2. "A History of Nazareth Hall, 1755-1855." By Rev. Levin T. Reichel, 1855. A second and enlarged edition by Rev. W. C. Reichel, 1869.
3. "Sketches of Moravian Life and Character." By James Henry, 1859.
4. "Memorial of the Dedication of Monuments erected by the Moravian Historical Society to mark the Sites of Ancient Missionary Stations in New York and Connecticut," 1860.
5. "Memorials of the Moravian Church." By Rev. W. C. Reichel, 1870, and a number of monographs.

To mark the sites of Indian (Moravian) mission stations he had memorial stones erected at the following places :

Shecomeco and Wechquadrach, in New York and Connecticut, 1860, the sites of the *first labors* of the Moravians among the Indians. At Wyalusing (Bradford County, Pa.), in 1871 (an Indian Mission between 1765-1772), and he largely aided in the erection of the monument over the grave of David Zeisberger, in Ohio, who for upward of forty years was a missionary among the Indians.

In 1870 he purchased the "Whitefield House" and lot, at Nazareth, Pa. By deed of trust he conveyed it to "the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" of the Moravian Church, for the use of missionaries who were resting from service, reserving the second floor for the use of the Moravian Historical Society. This house was being erected by George



It fell to Mr. Jordan's lot in early manhood to be brought into close association with members of the Religious Society of Friends, whose purity of life, quiet, gentle manners, and integrity of character won his love for their faith, as it did his heart for one of their number, who for more than half a century since has been his devoted wife. In the year 1833 he was received into membership, was married at the Friends' Meeting-House, Stroudsburg, Monroe County, 4mo. 3, 1834, to Jane, daughter of James and Susan Bell, of Experiment Mills, in the same county; and for the remainder of his life was a member of the Religious Society of Friends.

The line which separated these two religious bodies was not a broad nor impassable one. They were both characterized by plainness in their mode of worship, and by a common faith in a risen Lord. James Logan, writing March 30, 1742, says, "Last fall there came over a German Count of the title of Zensendorf, of a good estate as well as family and education, I suppose between forty and fifty years. He wears his own hair and is in all respects very plain, as making the propagation of the Gospel his whole purpose and business. He and his people are so much for universal charity that without binding themselves to any form they join themselves with all professions that profess to be inwardly guided by the Spirit of Christ, for [they say] if the heart be right, they dispense with all the rest as the exteriors in worship of a more indifferent nature."

Whitefield, for an Orphan House, but was purchased by the Moravians when Whitefield became financially involved.

In 1889 he erected a large annex, costing ten thousand dollars, to the Widows' House at Bethlehem. This house he some years before purchased, endowed, and deeded to the Church, for a home for the widows of clergymen of the Church forever.

This being "guided by the Spirit of Christ," though not exclusively the doctrine of "*The Friends*," was, in the beginning of their history, the one which was prominently put forward by them. William Penn calls it their characteristic doctrine. However flippantly other men might speak of being "moved by the spirit," to them this faith in the Divine presence in the heart was a solemn, actual reality.

"I saw," said Fox, "that Christ died for all men, and had enlightened all men and women with his divine and saving light." But this doctrine, and the results which follow its acceptance, found little favor in the voluptuous court of Charles, as its simplicity had little place in the cold formalities of the Commonwealth. But it was this which Fox and his coadjutors preached, and, as in the days of the early church, everywhere the common people heard them gladly.

Yet neither Fox nor Barclay ever claimed that the doctrine was a new one or peculiar to themselves. They understood the human heart too well not to know that this yearning for a Divine companionship had been the cry of that heart in all ages and among almost all peoples. The savage finds it in the Great Spirit. The Hebrew psalmist recognizes it in the words, "Whither shall I flee from thy presence?" It was *το δαιμόνιον*—*the Divine One* of the wise Athenian. It was confirmed in the promise of the Holy Comforter; the apostles preached it; the early fathers of the church held and taught it,—"I sought Thee without me," says Augustin, "and lo! Thou wast within me!" It was this Divine presence which moulded the character of John Tauler and made him fearless amid pestilence and death. It led the Count Zinzendorf to renounce the luxuries of the German Court for the rude wigwam and the ruder life of the Indian. And now, in our time, so steady is the growth of this

belief of the Divine presence in the heart of all men, that a learned and good man, in a recent widely-read essay, proposes to call it "The New Theology," as opposed to "The No Theology" of the present day.<sup>1</sup>

In the full acceptance of this doctrine, John Jordan, Jr., was thoroughly a Friend. For the mere externals of religion, whether these be found in the peculiar garb of the Quaker, or in the ritual of the Churchman, he personally cared but little. With that largeness of heart which was characteristic of him, he was ever ready to believe that in obedience to apprehended duty the one might have greater peace of mind in wearing the Friendly dress, while he did not, for a moment, doubt that in the solemn rite of his Church the other might find a most comfortable sacrament. But, for himself, resting in simple faith in the Indwelling Christ, he sought, by His aid, to make his daily life conformable to the Divine pattern, and himself worthy of the Divine companionship. And so as the outcome of this were found in him those graces of character, gentleness, meekness, goodness, which are declared to be the fruit of the Spirit.

There comes to every one whose life is not prematurely cut off a time in that life to which most men look forward with anxiety, some with dread. It is well described in the memorable words addressed to the active, impulsive disciple, Simon Peter,—“When thou wast young thou girdedst thyself and walkedst whither thou wouldst; but *when thou shalt be old* thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee and carry thee whither thou wouldst not.” This loss of individual liberty and strength, this dependence on others which sooner or later must come to every one of

<sup>1</sup> “No Theology and New Theology,” by Rev. Lyman Abbott.—*The Forum*, April, 1890.



us, is a condition which few men can contemplate with complacency. Happy is that man who finds in a son's strong arm or in a daughter's tender care the help which he then so much needs!

Mr. Jordan reached this time of life and recognized it. Eighty years had been passed, and he was now well on his ninth decade. In a letter written August 26, 1889, he writes from Nazareth, "I eat and sleep well, and that is all I can say: reading does not go so well. I am obliged to discontinue writing, and often have my table covered with letters. I cannot walk out, and must depend on my horses, my knees are so stiff."

Coming home in the autumn, he says, "We came home safely on Saturday without ill effects, although I feel weak and cannot expect to be able to attend to anything this week, but will come to the hall very shortly for a time when the weather is favorable. All unfavorable symptoms have passed away, leaving only weakness."

"I am living on borrowed time," were words which now often fell from his lips, but they were not uttered complainingly.

Age, indeed, brought with it an increase of infirmities, but it brought with it also many blessings. Among these were the increased love of friends, the gratitude of individuals, the respect of the community. But choicest among these blessings was the spared life of her who for more than half a century had been the joy of his heart, as she was always the light of his home. With this, too, was the tender care of those who, though not his children, were so nearly allied to him by blood, and so closely bound to him by affection, that they left no place in his heart unfilled, as they left no want uncared for.

Words written at this time by one of his own faith and

of his own years appealed to his heart with especial force and appropriateness.

“What matter that it is not May,  
That birds have flown, and trees are bare,  
That darker grows the shortened day,  
And colder blows the wintry air?

“Whatever perished with my ships,  
I only know the best remains ;  
A song of praise is on my lips,  
For losses which are now my gains.

“And life, no longer chance or fate,  
Safe in the gracious Fatherhood,  
I fold o’erwearied hands—and wait,  
In calm reliance on the good.”

But I must not longer encroach on this hour, and yet I well know how far short of what I should say have been my utterances.

I have indeed been amazed—I do not use too strong a term—at the wealth of material which has flowed to my hands for the performance of the duty assigned me, but which I can only imperfectly make use of to-night.

I mention the name of John Jordan, Jr., to a friend, and he says, “Yes, he was a contributor to our School Fund;” to another, and he replies, “He gave to our Freedmen;” a third says, “He was a subscriber to our Bible Society;” while another writes, “He was a life-member of our Forestry Association; we shall much miss him.” Private letters come, whose confidence I would not unduly betray, in which one writes, “When I was a helpless orphan, Mr. Jordan nobly came forward and took the place of a father to me;” another, “For years I was largely indebted to him



for help in financial matters which few would have given ;” says another, “ I am far from having attained to his standard, but such as I am, I am all the better for his influence, which was always for good.” One of our most prosperous citizens, after using words too sacred to be quoted, even here, adds, “ If I have been in any way successful in my calling, I owe it largely to his friendship and help.”

For some years past Mr. Jordan had suffered from occasional attacks of faintness, increased in frequency by any great exertion, and largely due to a feebly-acting heart. On the first day of January, 1890, he was seized with paralysis affecting the entire right side.<sup>1</sup> From this he regained consciousness, was able to articulate, though but indistinctly, and his mind, though at times somewhat obscured, was less so than generally happens in this condition.

Mr. Jordan’s death was in harmony with his life. Spared the agony of pain, the delirium of fever, and the last fierce struggle of life, which make the bed of death terrible, with him there was the quiet, gradual failure, day by day, of strength, until, on the morning of March 23, calmly as to a night’s repose, he passed into that sleep which, on earth, knows no waking.

Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker on behalf of the Committee appointed by the Council to prepare a suitable minute, read the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in the death of John Jordan, Jr., whose membership began September 23, 1840, and ended with his life, March 23, 1890, has met with no ordinary loss. During this long period of

<sup>1</sup> It is an interesting fact, that the last act performed by Mr. Jordan’s right hand, before it was paralyzed, was to write a bank-check, as a gift to the Women’s Guild of the Century Club of Philadelphia.

nearly fifty years he witnessed its early weakness, its many and severe struggles with adverse circumstances, and the final culmination of its present success. Throughout all of its diverse fortunes he gave to it earnest support and generous aid. A due recognition of his labors in its behalf requires the statement that its influential position among the foremost literary institutions of the country is largely to be attributed to his exertions. He contributed his means, as is shown not only by the books upon its shelves and the portraits upon its walls, but also by the buildings in which they are housed; he devoted to it his time, and it received the benefit of his intelligent thought. In the bestowal of all these good gifts he claimed no personal credit, he accepted no especial recognition, and his only reward was the silent satisfaction with which he contemplated the results achieved. That cause is fortunate, indeed, which has such zealous, efficient, and unselfish support. It is eminently fitting, therefore, that the members of this Society should make a permanent note of their admiration for his character and of their grateful remembrance of his services.

The Right Rev. J. Mortimer Levering, a Bishop of the Moravian Church, moved the adoption of the resolution in the following words:

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I assume a sacred and tender duty in accepting the courteous invitation given me to add a few words to others spoken here to-night.

I come in the name of the Church which I represent, bringing its affectionate tribute to the memory of him who is in our thoughts this hour.

I ask that it be added, as a modest sprig, to the evergreen garland made up to inwreath his name by so many who called him their friend.

What he would not permit us to say while he lived, because he shrank from the praise of man, we may freely

say now, after he has passed away, when we look at the works which he has left among us.

The Moravian Church possesses cherished monuments of his wisely-applied beneficence, which elicit not only the gratitude, but also the admiration of all of us who appreciate the delicate thoughtfulness and the unpretentious goodness on his part to which they bear witness.

He sought out among us places and ways of doing good which were peculiarly his own. By these characteristic tokens of his interest in the institutions and enterprises of the Church, endeared to him by many strong ties, all who knew him are constantly reminded of his strongly-marked individuality.

This appeared in a rare blending of the finest antiquarian instincts with the most practical philanthropy. In some of the most conspicuous mementos of his beneficence which remain to the use of the Moravian Church he gratified the tastes of the historian and antiquarian and accomplished the purposes of the philanthropist in one and the same deed.

The visitor to Nazareth and Bethlehem who cherishes regard for historic remains of the olden time will naturally be interested in such structures as the venerable "Whitefield House" at Nazareth and the "Widows' House" at Bethlehem. When he is told that both have been secured as the perpetual possession of the Church, and placed beyond the reach of danger either from vandalism or neglect, he will appreciate the spirit of the man who thus cared for the preservation of these ancient buildings, so rich in hallowed memories.

When the visitor is further informed that the Whitefield House, erected a century and a half ago by the first Moravian missionaries who penetrated the forests of Pennsylvania, has, by the provisions of him who rescued it from the



dishonor of being used as a common tenement, been converted into a home for retired missionaries, he will admire the well-directed benevolence which turned the historic pile to practical accounts in a way so charmingly in keeping with its early associations.

In like manner, every one who learns that the old building in Bethlehem, referred to before, with its stately annex, built by our venerable friend and finished so shortly before his decease, now serves, in accordance with his purpose, as a home for the widows of Moravian ministers, and is to be sacredly reserved to this noble use, must praise the thoughtful charity which brought this about, even if the preservation of historic remains does not interest him.

Some will doubtless recognize with appreciation both of the motives which combined in the heart of the benefactor, and will be reminded of this blending of motives, when they see it so strikingly indicated by the fact that in the antique building at Nazareth, purchased and fitted up by him as a Missionary Home, the Moravian Historical Society, which he helped to found and nurture, has, in accordance with his special provision, a depository for its valuable collection, as well as its permanent place of meeting.

There are other tokens of his warm regard for the past and the present work of the Moravian Church which deserve grateful acknowledgment, and which might be spoken of at length.

Largely through his generous aid, more than one spot made historic by the labors, sacrifices, and sufferings of Moravian missionaries among the Indians is marked by a memorial which tells many a passer-by who knows nothing of those men and their deeds that the place whereon he stands is holy ground.

His reverence for the resting-places of those heroes of

the Cross, and of their converts from darkness and sin, has rescued more than one abandoned and almost forgotten Moravian burial-ground, lying in out-of-the-way places, from desecration, and provided for the future preservation of these consecrated places.

Many noble volumes in the library of the Theological Seminary of the Church are witnesses of his interest in the education of its ministry, which in days past included so many of his companions and personal friends.

But I will not detain you with any further enumeration of things which he has done, or of things which were in his heart yet to do, and of which he often spoke, but which remain unaccomplished because the time was too near for him to rest from his labors. Only this I feel constrained yet to add.

The individuals are many for whom I might speak, who have been the recipients of his unassuming, quiet benevolence, bestowed in ways most fine and tender, and who in secret bless his memory.

I believe that when he went up higher, He who saw and knew all of these things accorded to him that highest recognition which can be given the best deeds of men.

“Inasmuch as thou hast done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, thou hast done it unto me.”

Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., seconded the motion and said,—

It seems to me peculiarly fitting and proper that the Historical Society should commemorate the life and services of Mr. Jordan. That life, so beautiful in its simplicity and so earnest in its work, so given up to the help of others, so full of kindness and sympathy for those who, in this materialistic age, aspire to be historical scholars, and so filled with a sense of the importance and dignity of historical



studies; it seems to me that if we are true to our vocation we should not fail in an especial manner to honor and reverence such a life.

And this is the place to do honor to his memory. For here is the child of his love, the true child of his adoption. Nothing is more touching or characteristic than the words of affection he uttered as his life was fast waning,—“How are they getting on at the Hall?”

I need not give a summary of Mr. Jordan's work; that has already been done; but I cannot help saying that it ought to be a subject of profound thankfulness to us, as I doubt not it was to him, that he was permitted to see the child that he had fostered with such infinite care and trouble developed into the mature and completed man.

I am unwilling to disparage the work of any one, living or dead, who has had a share in this great work, yet I hazard nothing in saying that they who have done most will be the first to recognize Mr. Jordan as a leader and an exemplar.

Think of what this Historical Society was fifty years ago. Despite all the efforts of its members, at that time it seemed to struggle for existence. Its membership was small, its quarters were obscure, its finances were insufficient, its library was small, it had no prestige in that, or had no hold either on the popular affection or the respect and consideration of similar societies. When Mr. Jordan joined this Society, he did not do it to gratify a passing whim or caprice. It was because that love of historical study which characterized his whole life was strong within him. During a large portion of that active life he was one of the busiest men in this busy town, and yet he found time to spend a portion of every day in historical study. He found by use the deficiencies of our library, and the magnificent collection

we now have had its origin very much in a sense of his own needs. His money never ceased to flow freely to supply those needs, and I take the opportunity, as a student of Pennsylvania history particularly, to express on behalf of all such students my sense of our obligations to Mr. Jordan.

His greatest pleasure seems to have been in witnessing the improvement and increasing usefulness of this Society. He was the strenuous advocate of those measures, aiding them freely by his purse and influence, which culminated in the acquisition of this noble Hall for its use.

We come here to study history, and, if history be "philosophy teaching by examples," such an example as the history of Mr. Jordan's life should not pass unheeded. Here is a man, quiet, unpretending, undemonstrative, and yet he has built up a monument more enduring than brass; a man whose daily business was to make money for other people, yet who gave up his leisure time to the most ennobling pursuits; a man whose growing means were not wasted upon self-indulgent gratification, who has taught us that the truest use of wealth is to aid others in the pursuit of truth; a man whose shrinking modesty shunned public notice and newspaper notoriety, who, when his good deeds could be covered up no longer, turned away and "blushed to find it fame." If this good man's life be a true example to us, let our gratitude and reverence place him where he really belongs,—foremost among our friends and benefactors.

The resolution was thereupon unanimously adopted.

Dr. Stillé offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

*Resolved,* That the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, earnestly desirous of preserving the memory of the services rendered to it by the late John Jordan, Jr., request the

Council to secure for preservation in this Hall a portrait in oil of Mr. Jordan.

Mr. Richardson L. Wright offered a resolution that the proceedings of this meeting be printed, which was adopted.

The President expressed in feeling terms the thanks of the Society to Dr. Levick for the able manner in which he had this evening performed the duty assigned to him.

The meeting then adjourned.

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THE LEADERS OF THE OLD BAR OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY HORACE BINNEY.

INTRODUCTION.<sup>1</sup>

IN the title of these sketches, "The Old Bar of Philadelphia," refers to the first Bar after the Declaration of Independence.

Of the primitive Bar of the Province, we know nothing; and next to nothing of the men who appeared at it from time to time, up to the termination of the Colonial government. The statement of Chief-Justice Tilghman, in the Bush Hill case,<sup>2</sup> reveals to us all we know, and all that probably we can ever know, in regard to the subject; for, as the grandson of Tench Francis, who was Attorney-General in 1745, and connected by marriage and association with the most eminent families of the Bar, he knew as much of the former Bar as any of his contemporaries, and they have all long since departed without adding anything to what he left. "From what I have been able to learn," said the Chief Justice, "of the early history of Pennsylvania, it was a long time before she possessed any lawyers of eminence. There were never wanting men of strong minds, very well able to conduct the business of the Courts, without much regard to form. Such in particular, was Andrew Hamil-

<sup>1</sup> In 1859 the first edition of Mr. Binney's book was published, followed, in 1866, by a second edition of only one hundred copies. This interesting work has now become so scarce that we feel warranted in republishing it, adding thereto portraits of the gentlemen of whose personal and professional life he writes.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

<sup>2</sup> *Lyle v. Richards*, 9 Serg. & Rawle.



ton, the immediate predecessor of Mr. Francis, and the father of the testator; but Mr. Francis appears to have been the first of our lawyers who mastered the technical difficulties of the profession. His precedents of pleadings have been handed down to the present day; and his commonplace book, which is in my possession, is an evidence of his great industry and accuracy." "Mr. Francis succeeded Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Chew succeeded to Mr. Francis, in the office of Attorney-General, and in professional eminence."

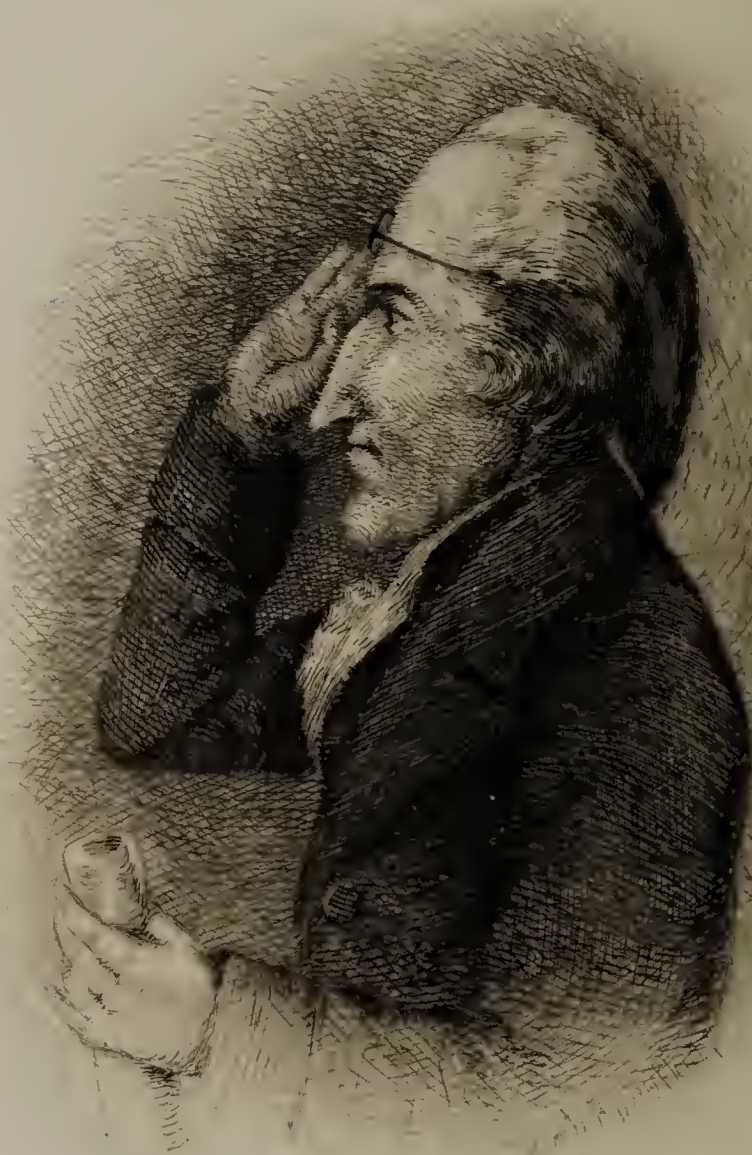
Mr. Chew remained at the Bar until 1774, and was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from that time until the former order of things passed away; and although there are a few other names, at the same epoch, to be added to these three, yet the narrowness of the tradition, taken altogether, the constitution of the Provincial Supreme Court, in which the Chief Justice was commonly the only lawyer, the total absence of every note of judicial decision until 1754, and the all but total until after 1776, had caused that Bar to disappear from nearly all memories at the beginning of the present century; and therefore, in the middle of the fourth generation since the Revolution, I have taken the liberty of referring to the earliest Bar under the new order of things, as being the Old Bar of Philadelphia. From that time to the present, the Bar of this City has been an identity, superintended by competent and frequently very able judges, whose proceedings have been vouched by authoritative reports, and having, at all times, among its leaders, men of legal erudition and ability. It is not, however, to ignore the primitive Bar, so much as to give its due precedence to the first bar of the Commonwealth as a scientific Bar, and as the true ancestry of the present Bar, that I have used the language in the title-page.

The description of the subjects of sketch as *the* leaders of the Bar, may appear to be too definite; but although definite, it is not meant to be exclusive. It must not imply that there were no others who held the position of leaders. The three in particular were the seniors, by a few years, of all the Bar, and were generally the most prominent in the professional as well as in the public eye. My own freer association with them has induced me to select them from the body, and to pay to them a debt which, though it may have too little dignity to be called a debt to the law, is a debt or duty to their learning and ability in the law. In the new order of things introduced by the American Revolution, these gentlemen largely contributed to establish the reputation of the Bar of this City. Their professional example and learning were of great and extensive use in their day, and ought to be handed down by something better than such fugitive pages as these.

A lawyer who has passed his youth and early manhood in the society of such men, is the happier for it through life, and especially in old age. On all occasions of vexation or weariness with things near at hand, he can escape at pleasure into the past of these men, which was full of their influence, full also of judicial independence and dignity,







WILLIAM LEWIS

Died 1819.

*From a contemporaneous drawing by Robert Smith*





and full of professional honor, with unlimited public respect; from which scene the few clouds that are to be found in the clearest skies have been absorbed or dispelled by time, and to which the clouds of his own day, if there are any, cannot follow him.

H. B.

PHILADELPHIA, March, 1859.

WILLIAM LEWIS.

It may be thought that I select a very narrow and local theme, when I attempt to sketch some of the personal and professional characteristics of a lawyer of the Philadelphia Bar, who was little more than a lawyer, though he was a great lawyer, and who culminated in his profession more than sixty years since. But I adopt the theme, in some degree, because it is narrow and local, and is therefore more within my compass; and because it is beyond the memory of most of the living, and therefore, in the advantages of personal recollection, is pretty much an octogenarian perquisite of my own. What I write upon the subject, cannot be of any general interest. It is too remote, and too limited. It wants the essential, and, at this day, all-engrossing attractions of the new and the various or diversified; and it will want, what alone can supply the place of these attractions, a treatment that is a substitute for the subject. But it is a debt that I would pay; the joint debt, perhaps, of several, which has fallen, according to law, upon the longest liver; and I would pay it for them and for myself. A general interest in the transaction is therefore comparatively indifferent to me. I expect, consequently, that no one out of the Pennsylvania Bar, and very few who are not of the Philadelphia Bar, will look at it; and, except to this Bar, I offer neither invitation nor inducement to put aside for it, even for an hour, the more stimulant interests of the day.

Has not the modern race of lawyers everywhere undergone some change from the old times, by rising or falling into the Athenian category,—the very large class of those who spend their time in telling or hearing some new thing? There are, at least, professional tendencies that way, which make them less and less curious of anything that savors



of a former age. Most of the old limitations have been abridged, and the exceptions to them cut away, to save the labor of looking back. Old authorities no longer divide with old wine, the reverence of either seniors or juniors. Most of the old law books, that used to be thought almost as good a foundation for their part of the truth, as the prophets and apostles are for the whole truth, are taken away, I rather think, from the bottom of the building, and thrown into the garret. That Littleton *upon* whom Coke sits, or seems to sit to the end of things, as Carlyle says, has fewer than of old, I suspect, to sit with him for long hours to alleviate the incumbrance. For the most part, as I am told, the incumbent and the succumbent lie together in the dust, which uppermost not many care to know. All the *Entries*, Brooke, and Coke, and Levinz, and Rastall, and the others, have made their *exits* some time ago, and will not appear again before the epilogue. Almost any law book that is more than twenty-one years of age, like a single lady who has attained that climacter, is said to be too old for much devotion. Indexes, Digests, and Treatises, which supply thoughts without cultivating the power of thinking, and are renewed with notes and commentaries *de die in diem*, to spare the fatigue of research, are supposed to be the best current society for student as well as for practitioner. Such are the rumors which float upon the air. "Old things are passed away, all things are new,"—a great truth in its own sense when it was first spoken, and always—is now thought to be true in all senses, and renewable from year to year, forever; and lawyers give as ready a welcome to new things, and turn as cold a shoulder to the old, as the rest of the world. Such is the apprehension.

I ought therefore to be, and am, very shy about writing anything upon an antiquated subject, with even an apparent direction to this body of men generally; and therefore I repeat that I do not expect the perusal of what I write, either in regard to the very strong and accomplished lawyer whose name is at the head of my page, or of the two whose names are to follow, by any but a few of the lawyers of the

Philadelphia Bar, either themselves senescent, and in the practice of turning their eyes occasionally backward as well as forward, or some young lawyer, who bears in his veins some of the blood of the old Bar; and if the latter description shall do me that honor, I may give him a useful reminder of the oblivion that has fallen upon some of the ablest of the profession, and which will come upon him some day, though he shall live to be among the most able. He may be led, perhaps, to seek an antidote for the apprehension; and I can assure him that he will have no difficulty in finding it, if he "seek diligently."

At the age of the American world in which Mr. Lewis lived, or rather in which he came to adult age and character in his profession, there was no crowd of cities in our country to prevent a marked local reputation at the Bar of a particular city, from passing freely through the length and breadth of the inhabited land; or from being enlarged by the mist of distance, as is universally the case in such a condition of society. It happened in that day, and probably from this circumstance, that from Maryland to Massachusetts, there was, in several of the States, some one name at the Bar which, in the view of persons removed a few hundred miles, loomed very large, and overshadowed all other lawyers in the same State. Theophilus Parsons at Boston, Luther Martin at Baltimore, and William Lewis at Philadelphia, were respectively such overshadowing names. In one or two of the instances, the shadow disappeared altogether in coming up to the object; for, at that point, names of less general mark were found to be free from all eclipse. In all, perhaps, the shadow was, by the same approach, reduced to a penumbra. Mr. Parsons, of Boston, was regarded, in Philadelphia, as the first and comparatively the only great lawyer in Massachusetts. In Boston, Mr. Dexter, who was also a great lawyer, was considered his equal in intellectual powers, as indeed he was equal to any one; but in maturity and fulness of legal learning, Parsons was held to be the first. The same, perhaps, may be said in regard to Mr. Martin and one or more of his brethren at

the Maryland Bar. Nearly the same of Mr. Lewis. But although Mr. Lewis was the senior of the Philadelphia Bar, and was in reality a very able as well as eminent lawyer, his reputation was, from accidental circumstances, more transcendent abroad than at home. It was very great at home; but there was at least one at his side who, in some respects, stood out in a clearer light before the members of his own Bar, and one or two others who were near to them, by what Iago calls "the old gradation, where each second stood heir to the first."

There was at the same period, as great learning and eminence at the Bar of New York, as at any of the Bars of the country; but the greatest name at that Bar did not belong exclusively, nor even principally, to the Bar; and the fame which had followed the greater relations of his military and political life, drew distant attention away from the professional talents which at that time adorned the Bar of New York. Such a man as Richard Harison would have been deemed a great lawyer anywhere. Mr. Van Vechten, of Albany, of the old Dutch stock, stood like a sea-wall of the old country, against the irruption of any bad law into the causes he sustained. But both these gentlemen were better known at home than abroad. For large and original speculation, Hamilton was a greater lawyer than either of them; but in legal erudition, perhaps, not the equal of either. Hamilton's considerable and very available learning in the law, was overshadowed by his learning in public or political law, by his versatile talents, by his marvellous powers of formation and order in war and government, and by the great relations, military and civil, in which he stood to the country. I am not aware, therefore, of anything, accidental or otherwise, which caused any one name at the Bar of New York, in the last century, to loom so large, in the distance, in its professional dimensions, as to prejudice the pretensions of other names at the same Bar.

This distant reputation was by no means a decisive test of superiority at the Bar. It proceeded as often from great public interest in the questions with which the advocate had



grappled successfully, as it did from his own general ability and learning.

There is some proof of this in the reputation of Andrew Hamilton, of whom a word from Chief-Justice Tilghman has been said in the Preface. He was not a scientific or thoroughly-trained lawyer; but he gained almost unlimited fame by his defence of John Peter Zenger, in the Supreme Court of New York, upon an information of libel, in the year 1734. It was the spirit of Independence, even at that early day in the Colonies, that lifted him up to general admiration, and to professional distinction. And yet his argument, which we have, it is said, from his own pen, treats of no such topic. He merely claimed to liberate the jury from the authority of some disagreeable law, and of an obnoxious Court holding its appointment from the Crown. No lawyer can read that argument without perceiving, that, while it was a spirited and vigorous, though rather overbearing, harangue, which carried the jury away from the instruction of the Court, and from the established law of both the Colony and the Mother Country, he argued elaborately what was not law anywhere, with the same confidence as he did the better points of his case. It is, however, worth remembering, and to his honor, that he was half a century before Mr. Erskine, and the Declaratory Act of Mr. Fox, in asserting the right of the jury to give a general verdict in libel as much as in murder; and, in spite of the Court, the jury believed him, and acquitted his client.

I was familiar with the praise of Mr. Parsons, in Massachusetts, while I was receiving my education at Cambridge, and am still thankful for the opportunity I enjoyed of witnessing, in the Supreme Court of that State, in a session at Cambridge, for the County of Middlesex, in 1795 or 1796, an exhibition of intellectual gladiature of the brightest kind, between Parsons, as counsel for one Claffin, indicted of blasphemy under a statute of Massachusetts, and James Sullivan, the Attorney-General of the State. The wide reputation of Mr. Parsons was in no respect accidental.

The Court was held by Dana, Chief Justice, Paine, Sum-



ner, and Dawes, Justices. The blasphemy I will not repeat, but it gave Mr. Parsons an occasion or opportunity of showing up some of the supposed phases of Calvinistic theology, or, more accurately, some of the opinions or statements of writers supposed to be of that school, which gave countenance, he thought, to what was charged against Claflin as blasphemy, and were, if anything, rather worse. I supposed, at the time, that there was no other help for Claflin; and I dare say that, bad as any blasphemy may be, there may be found in some extreme views of very different schools of theology, something quite as bad. But the marvel was, to see the promptness and acuteness with which Parsons repeated, explained, applied, and enforced his citations in the best form for his client. My imagination fired at the spectacle of this *omnis homo*, as well furnished in theology as in law, and of as much repute for Greek as for English, Socratic in his subtlety, and not otherwise in his careless dress, his purple Bandanna handkerchief curled loosely over his neckcloth, and his reddish-brown scratch, something awry,—he all the while pouring from under it the doctrines he had culled, and weaving them up with the subtlest ingenuity, to make a covering broad enough for Claflin. It was a glory of the Bar. But the stiff old Statute was too much for him. I think I recollect a part of Claflin's sentence, so strange to the ear of a Pennsylvania lawyer—that he should sit an hour *upon* the gallows, with the rope round his neck! Barring the rope, I should have been willing to sit there for two, not for blasphemy, nor alongside of Claflin, but to hear a repetition of Parsons. When I returned to Philadelphia, I was not surprised at the reputation which there surrounded the name of Theophilus Parsons.

WILLIAM LEWIS was a native of Chester County, in the State of Pennsylvania, where his birth took place about the year 1745. Both of these facts, however, rest upon early report, rather than upon authentic record. His condition in early life was that of the sons of country people generally, at that time. He used to say, as I have heard, that he

had driven wagon in early manhood; and I know that he was very proud of his skill in driving a pair of spirited horses to his phaeton at an advanced period of his life. His early education was no doubt imperfect; but by the force of strong native powers he acquired, pretty much by self-teaching, a good English education; and while he was studying law in the office of Nicholas Waln, an eminent Quaker and highly respectable lawyer, he mastered enough of Latin and French to read the old Entries and Reports, and he read them faithfully. His literary tincture was light. I rather suspect that it did not amount to what may be called the middle tincture, now pretty common among us; but all his life, after I knew him, he was something of a purist in language, and very exact in pronunciation, according to the best standards; and, with some satisfaction, would correct an error in either respect by an educated man, which his ear detected at the Bar. He must have read law intensely at some period of his life, for no man of his day knew the doctrines of the common law better.

He came to the Bar in Philadelphia before the adoption of the Constitution in 1776, as his friend, Edward Tilghman also did. The books in the office of the Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, of that early day, and in that of the Common Pleas of Philadelphia County, from which Mr. Williams has made his printed Catalogue, cannot be relied on as evidence of *first* admissions to the Bar. The Catalogue records the admission of Edward Tilghman as of March, 1783; whereas his cousin, Chief-Justice Tilghman, says, in *Lyle v. Richards*, that he was in practice at the Bar in 1774, which was immediately after his return from the Temple. Mr. Lewis, by the same Catalogue, was admitted in September Term, 1777, the first Supreme Court which was held by Chief-Justice McKean, after his appointment and that of his associates, in July and August, 1777, under the new Constitution, and was put to flight, in the same month, by the entry of the British into the City. There must have been a previous admission, in these instances, by a Colonial Court. Mr. Lewis's name appears as counsel in

one of Mr. Dallas's notes, in September, 1778, a case of high treason, and not a very probable position for a gentleman in the first year of his practice; and Mr. Tilghman's appears in a case decided at Nisi Prius in August, 1773, which may be a mistake of a year in the date, or the case may have been concluded in Bank in the following year. During the whole of the Revolution, and for years afterwards, Mr. Lewis was engaged in nearly all the important causes, and especially in cases of high treason, for which he had a special vocation and capacity, and of which there was a plentiful crop in our City of Brotherly Love, up to the advent of peace. "For the divisions of Reuben, there were great searchings of heart," in those days; and the occupation of the City by the enemy, from the close of September, 1777, to the middle of June, 1778, did not heal nor allay them. Perhaps this City was the only judicial school in the country for the law of treason; and it was in this school that Mr. Lewis got his full growth in crown law, and held his high position in it, pretty much without competition, to the close of the century. In treason causes, he was uniformly on the side of the defendant, and was generally successful; and this was the accident that diffused his reputation so far and so widely. He never showed more vigor, self-possession, and dignity, in subsequent periods of his life, than in this description of cause. His deep learning and facility in the law of treason and of other high crimes, was remarkable. He had studied the law of treason, especially, with passion; and had mastered all its details, the law of its process, evidence, and trial, as well as the offence itself. He knew every vicious excess that had been perpetrated or attempted in furthering the doctrine of constructive treason, for which he felt the utmost abhorrence. He had at the tip of his tongue, all the gibes and scorns that prosecuting attorneys had spit into the faces of the accused, in the oppressive spirit of former times; and would repeat them with disdain at the first symptom of renewal in his presence. I cannot forget the vehemence, amounting to rage, with which, in rebuke of some harsh general reprobation



tion of a prisoner upon trial, he arraigned, as an example to be forever abjured, the Attorney-General Coke, for his brutal language to Sir Walter Raleigh, on the trial of the *bye* and the *main*. “Thou viper! I *thou* thee, thou traitor.”—“Thou art thyself a spider of hell.”—“Go to, I will lay thee on thy back for the confidentest traitor that ever came to the Bar.”

In a letter of the 15th of December, 1778, from President Reed to the father of Jared Ingersoll, afterwards of the Philadelphia Bar, which is published in “The Life and Correspondence of President Reed,” by his grandson, there seems to be a pretty broad slur upon the members of this Bar at that epoch: on one part of it as not possessing considerable abilities, and upon the rest as being destitute of political virtue. This, at least, is one of the several versions of a clause in the letter. “Our lawyers here,” says President Reed, “of any considerable abilities, are all, as I may say, in one interest, and that not the popular one.” President Reed was at that time in the popular interest himself, though he had been as much opposed as any one to the Constitution of 1776,—its plural executive and single legislature, and its universal oath of office to do nothing directly or indirectly to prejudice the Constitution and Government, that is to say, not to alter, or to counsel or attempt the altering of, a single feature of it,—until he took office under it himself. On the happening of that event, he led or followed a popular interest of a certain kind, in the administration of Government. Those times had not yet got into joint; and perhaps the best spirit in which to read the words of the contemporary actors on every side, is to make the largest abatement from that which is written with the most bitterness and personality. The “popular interest” was undoubtedly, in one sense, the interest of the Confederation, of independence, and of success in the pending conflict. To be false to this, was always a great, and sometimes a just reproach. But there was also a “popular interest,” to some extent, in a prospective policy, that would leave no man at liberty to counsel moderation or temper,



either in social intercourse or in legal regulations, any more than the Constitution of 1776 did to any one of its officers, judicial, civil, or military, in regard to change, or the recommendation of change, in its own stipulations. In the eyes of this "popular interest," every Quaker was a Tory or traitor; and all social affinities with that body of men, a body of great respectability, wealth, and order, were regarded as implicating the party in a lesser or greater treason, like the *bye* and the *main* of Sir Walter Raleigh and his friends. We must read such times with the personal glossary of the writer or speaker at our side, or we shall often fail to understand them. If President Reed meant to describe James Wilson, John Ross, Alexander Wilcocks, William Lewis, Edward Tilghman, and William Bradford, who were all at the Bar in December, 1778, and were undeniably men of "considerable abilities," as being untrue to the Confederation, to independence, or to the success of the country in her struggle, then he wrote from a very partial and prejudiced view. None of these men certainly were of the proscriptive party, nor were they farther from that than from unfaithfulness to the country. Having some knowledge of President Reed's relations in social life, I cannot believe that such was his meaning. I incline to think that he meant no more by it, than that the able part of the Bar was, at that time, on questions of local policy, the losing party at the polls, in which the President was successful. He probably meant no more than to woo his friend's son to his own side in politics, as the best for an opening at the Bar; and as the clause admits of this interpretation, I prefer adopting it. Mr. Lewis was an adherent of the Declaration of Independence, but he was not bitterly proscriptive; and was entitled to much higher praise than that of not refusing his professional aid to those who were hounded by some of the "popular interest," on account of the treason of quiet wishes and preferences for something better than a proscriptive government. He was a republican, and the open and uniform friend of Washington, and of Washington's friends and principles, as were thousands of the best

men in Philadelphia, at the side of Mr. Lewis, who, nevertheless, were not, in a certain sense, in the "popular interest."

The prominence of the City of Philadelphia as the seat of the Congress of the Confederation, and her superiority in population and commerce, up to the removal of the seat of the Federal Government to the City of Washington, in 1801, may account in some degree, for the diffusion of Mr. Lewis's celebrity, which partook of the distinction awarded to the City. But it was not in criminal law alone, that he was deemed by other cities, to be the most able man at the Bar. He was a person of great intellectual ardor, and of a strong grasp of mind; and both in law and politics, and other matters too, he took firm hold of whatever interested him. His great devotion was, of course, to professional studies. He explored every field of law, common, constitutional, international, commercial, and maritime; and with singular predilection, that very intricate *close* or quarter of the common law in which the doctrine of pleading is, or formerly was, fenced up from easy access, even against many of the profession. If the fences have been lowered, and in some parts prostrated, in modern times, it may be doubted whether it has not been more for the benefit of estrays, than for the culture of the proper flock, and the good of those who profit by their thorough breeding. The abuse of the doctrine has, at times, been excessive, and is properly restrained or remedied; but the abolition of it, supposing it to be possible, would make a Babel of the court-room. It was Mr. Lewis's notion that nothing but good pleading could prevent a confusion of tongues, upon every important trial; and every sound lawyer is probably of his opinion.

He was much interested in the abolition of slavery within the State of Pennsylvania. Since his death, some questions have been raised in regard to the part, whether active or consultative, that he took in promoting the Act of 1st March, 1780, "for the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania;" and I do not mean to raise any question of my own. But I am perfectly clear that, in his lifetime, and

at the beginning of this century, when others who may now be thought to have been actors in the matter, were living, Mr. Lewis was currently spoken of, at the Bar, as the draughtsman of that Act. Whether the Preamble, as well as the enacting clauses, were said to have come from his pen, I cannot report, because the distinction has first been made since Mr. Lewis's death. Though, in 1779, he was not a lawyer of long standing, he was abundantly mature for the work, and that was the day of young men in the courts and throughout the country. The old men, in general, as they always do, and beneficially too, clung to associations of early life, and did not enter freely upon the responsibilities of the new public life that had sprung up around them.

During the two administrations of Washington, and continuously during life, Mr. Lewis was a thorough Federalist, amusingly anti-gallican, and entirely anti-Jeffersonian; and upon law questions of difficulty that arose in the Executive Department, though he was not an official adviser, he was familiarly consulted by General Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, with whom he continued on terms of confidence and mutual respect during General Hamilton's life. The memorable argument of Hamilton, in 1791, upon the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States, or rather of the Bill to incorporate the Subscribers to the Bank, was read to Mr. Lewis before it was sent to the President, as I have heard from Mr. Lewis himself, as well as from one of General Hamilton's sons; but I have never heard a surmise that it was in any respect altered in consequence of this. Its great principles were discussed between the two, sitting in Mr. Lewis's office, or walking in his garden, until all the reasons of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the answers to the objections of the Secretary of State, and of the Attorney-General, were scrupulously examined and weighed. No lawyer could have been better in such a consultation than Mr. Lewis, who was fertile in the suggestion of doubts, and quick in the solution of them, and had an admirable *coup d'œil*



to discern the strong and weak points of assault and defence.

That argument of General Hamilton, it should be remembered, first enunciated the great rules of interpretation, by which the powers delegated by the people of the United States to Congress, were to be construed; and they were afterwards tested by the Supreme Tribunal of Federal law, and stood the test then and for sixty years from the adoption of the Constitution. I hope to be excused for thinking that no judicial argument, before or since, has shaken, or ever will shake, those rules of interpretation; and that none other can maintain the constitutional relations of the States and the United States, the one to the other, and give superiority to each in its proper sphere. How much the battle-axe of party may make the lighter scale in some measures the heavier in all, remains for future history. None but a parricidal arm would cast it in; nor can it remain there very long without deranging the orbit of each system, and generating a new centre of gravitation, when both systems may be "folded up as a vesture." If *State Rights* mean anything to the contrary of that argument, they mean that the United States shall not be administered by a fair construction of the Constitution, but by the *platforms* of party.

It was a compliment of the first order from the great statesman and constitutional lawyer who elicited the argument, to submit it to the lawyer of Pennsylvania, whom he called into consultation; and Mr. Lewis was justly proud of it, and constantly glorified the man who prostrated, for the time, the political metaphysics of Mr. Jefferson, the first man, on his part, also, who broached the doctrine of strict construction against the United States, and of the most liberal, consequently, for the reserved rights of the people and the States. Mr. Jefferson was a true son of Virginia, in his ambition for State supremacy, until he was elected to the Presidency. After that, he surrendered, with modest diffidence, his doctrine of strict construction, to obtain an empire from France. If his friends were satisfied that Louisiana could be brought into the Union without an



amendment to the Constitution, he “certainly *would acquiesce with satisfaction* ;” “but the less that was said about any constitutional difficulty, the better :” “and it would be desirable for Congress to do what was necessary *in silence*.” These are his own words. Happy adaptability! Greatest of managers!

Mr. Lewis was always ready to render the like patriotic service to the administration of the Father of his Country; and it was no doubt from this motive, that he accepted the commission of District Judge of the United States for the Pennsylvania District, in the summer of 1791, and held it until the spring of 1792, when Judge Peters was appointed. He must have foregone, for the time, his large professional emoluments, to meet a public exigency on the death of Judge Francis Hopkinson. Mr. Jefferson, in his letter to Mr. Hammond, on the subject of interest on the British debts during the period of the Revolution, cites the opinion of Mr. Lewis in support of his own views; and to meet this question judicially, was perhaps one of his motives for accepting temporarily the appointment.

In February, 1794, he was counsel for the petitioners against the election of Albert Gallatin to the Senate of the United States, by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and was heard before the Senate: the first occasion on which the Senate opened its doors to professional counsel, or to the public.

The objection to Mr. Gallatin was an alleged defect of citizenship. He was a native of Geneva, in Switzerland. He arrived at Boston, in the United States, in May, 1780; and in October following, he went to reside at Machias, in the District of Maine, where he remained a year, and performed some volunteer military service. He afterwards owned land, and resided in Virginia, and took an oath of allegiance to that State in October, 1785; and supposing this, and not his residence and military service at Machias, to have been the commencement of his citizenship, then he had not been a citizen nine years, which the Constitution requires, when elected. The question has ceased to be of

any interest; but it was a great point at that day, when a rising party wanted Mr. Gallatin's financial knowledge and quick eye to point their batteries against the policy of Washington. Mr. Lewis gave himself to the frustration of this object with infinite satisfaction, and succeeded in the Senate by a very slim majority. But substantially it was no success, as Mr. Gallatin was elected to the next House of Representatives.

But it was in the special field of his profession, that Mr. Lewis best exhibited the depth and the purity of his legal learning and principles, and the fine ideal of a great lawyer and advocate by which he was animated. His devotion to the maintenance of the just authority of the Court and jury, and of the rights of the Bar, and of the parties and people, which the study of the common law is so apt to inspire, was not less, than to the repression of any unjust assumption by either of them. In criminal causes especially, whatever powers or prerogatives had been given by Magna Charta, the Constitution, or the law, either to the courts or the people, for the vindication of public justice and order, or for the defence of personal liberty and reputation, had a sleepless guardian in him; and he kindled at nothing sooner than an invasion of any of these great securities on any side, to the prejudice of either Court or jury, or of the independence of the Bar, or of the full exercise of defence against criminal accusation. In professional life constantly, and in public life when he was called to it, his learning and powers of research, his energy, and his oratory, not seldom rising to the highest order of forensic eloquence, were freely devoted to this his almost ruling passion.

He achieved a great victory at the Bar, and also in the Legislature of Pennsylvania in the year 1788, when a spirit of factious jealousy, under the lead of a very ardent and determined man, aspired to deprive the Supreme Court of the State, of one of its most ancient and necessary powers. As counsel, Mr. Lewis had asserted and maintained the right of the Court to punish Colonel Oswald by fine and imprisonment, without trial by jury, for a contempt of

Court, in the columns of a newspaper; and in the Legislature he defeated a very active effort, by some of the strongest members of the country, to impeach Chief-Justice McKean and certain of the Judges for having exercised the power. He did this, though McKean was no friend of his, nor he of McKean. The distinction without a difference, except on the wrong side, as to contempts committed *out of the presence* of the Court, did not then, nor for many years afterwards, prevail; but prevailed finally by positive enactment, rather more perhaps because it was an abridgment of judicial power, the *terriculum* of the democracy, than for any weightier reason; for the most penetrating and corrupting of contempts, such as requires immediate redress, to take an obstruction out of the very path in which a Court of justice is moving at the time, is a contempt *out of Court*, upon the face of a widely diffused newspaper. The laggard redress by indictment is a mere name and a shadow, as ineffectual as a reprieve after execution executed. As far as I know, it has never been resorted to. The impartial trial of a cause which can be made to excite the public interest and passion, is at this time of day hardly possible in Pennsylvania. The Judges must now see in the public press, everything which prejudice and venality may choose to exhibit to their disturbance; and they cannot prevent the jurors from also seeing it. The fillet with which fiction covers the eyes of Justice to make her blind to the inequality of the parties, is taken from her eyes, and her arms are pinioned with it. The old doctrine of contempt of Court, is an immense safeguard to trial by jury.

There was a subsequent occasion, on which Mr. Lewis with much decision asserted the dignity of his profession, and the rights of the defendant and the jury, in opposition to the Court. In this case it was the eloquence of action and not of words.

He had been counsel for John Fries, an insurgent of Northampton County, in Pennsylvania, upon a former trial before Mr. Justice Iredell, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Peters the District Judge, upon an in-



dictment for treason, where the law had been fully discussed, and Fries had been convicted. A new trial was awarded by the Court on the ground of declarations by a juror, ascertained by the defendant and his counsel after the verdict had been rendered. Before a jury was empanelled for the new trial, Mr. Justice Chase, of Maryland, who was in the seat before occupied by Judge Iredell, informed the Bar, that the Court had made up their opinion upon the law of treason involved in the case; and to prevent being misunderstood, they had reduced it to writing, and had directed copies to be made for the District Attorney, the counsel of Fries the prisoner, and the jury; which were then handed for distribution to the Clerk of the Court, who placed them on the table at the Bar. Mr. Lewis with some deliberation and solemnity rose from his seat, slowly approached the papers, and lifting one of them to his eyes, gave a short glance at it, and threw it down upon the table. He then withdrew, and retired from the place he had occupied, without uttering a word. Mr. Edward Tilghman approached him, said a few words to him about the innovation, and after the transaction of some other business, the Court adjourned for the day. On the next morning, when the cause was called, Mr. Lewis informed the Court, that upon full and solemn consideration, he declined proceeding as counsel for the prisoner, as the Court had prejudged the law; and Mr. Dallas, his colleague, declared himself to the same effect, though with a hesitation, he said, which he would not have felt, if the Court had not appointed him as assistant counsel for the prisoner. There was profound silence, and deep sensation at the Bar, and the Court had no doubt been previously led to expect it; for Judge Chase informed the counsel, that they were not bound by the opinion, but might contest it on both sides, and Judge Peters expressed a *wish* that the counsel would proceed, and take the course they should think proper. The papers, he said, were withdrawn. The Judge had probably deferred to Judge Chase, and let the papers go as the opinion of the Court, without any very cordial sanction. Mr. Lewis, with few, but distinct



and solemn words, replied : “ The Court has prejudged the law of the case—the opinion of the Court has been declared—after such a declaration, the counsel can have no hope of changing it,—the impression of it must remain with the jury,—the counsel, therefore, will not act in behalf of the prisoner.” The effect was electric; for Mr. Lewis had the full sympathy of the Bar.

Judge Chase, however, did not forget his personal dignity, nor the dignity of the Bench, upon hearing this definite reply. He immediately rejoined to the effect, that then, with God’s help, the Court would be the counsel of the prisoner, and would see that he had a fair trial. And no doubt he had a fair trial, and was convicted a second time, and sentenced to death. But the pardon that ensued was not improbably induced, in part, by what had happened. The life of the prisoner was saved, and the conduct of Judge Chase was made an article of the impeachment subsequently preferred against him by the House of Representatives; and sixteen out of thirty-four senators recorded against him, upon that charge, the vote of guilty. The larger number voted for his acquittal, upon the ground, probably, of the absence of all corrupt or oppressive intention. It was acknowledged that the previously declared opinion of the Court had been sound in point of law.

I was present at this scene, in April, 1800, and have given it as my memory retains it. The act of the Court was not regarded by the Bar as one of intended oppression of either the prisoner or his counsel, but as a great mistake, resulting, in part, from the character of the principal judge, a very learned and able man, but confident and rather imperious, and in part from his greater familiarity with the Maryland practice, where the judge used to respond, and perhaps still does, more exclusively for the law, and the jury for the facts, or rather more dividedly or separately, than was, in point of form, the usage in Pennsylvania. In a criminal cause like this, however, the course of the Court would probably have been regarded as a mistake anywhere. It served as a signal lesson to stimulate the sense of profes-

sional independence, in asserting all the rights of counsel, of the accused, and of the jury, in criminal causes; and fitly closed Mr. Lewis's career in this description of case.

The range of judicial questions which occurred between the peace of 1783, with Great Britain, and the end of the last Federal Administration of the Government, in the year 1801, the most brilliant part of Mr. Lewis's professional life, and when his intellectual powers were certainly in their zenith, was remarkably large and important. Before the country had attained the lawful age of man or woman, the fullest demands for juridical wisdom and experience were upon it. Questions of prize and of the jurisdiction of the admiralty,—questions concerning the rights of ambassadors and the privileges of consuls,—concerning the obligations of neutrality, the right of expatriation, the right of naturalization by the States, the construction of the treaty of peace with Great Britain, the case of the Virginia debts, and of confiscations and attainders complete or incomplete before the peace, the constitutional powers of the Federal Courts, the powers of Congress, the constitutionality of the carriage tax, the nature and characteristics of direct taxes imposed under the Federal Constitution,—questions of conflict between the authority of the States and of the United States, and between the States severally under the Confederation, and cases of high crimes, both at sea and on land, against the United States, were rising up from day to day for solution; and in most of them Mr. Lewis took a part, and held a position, that was worthy of the questions, and worthy of his own powers also.

His general manner in arguing an important cause, cannot be well appreciated by the reader, without some recollection of his rather peculiar person and countenance; and yet the effect of the whole man in action, was so remote or different from the appearance of his person at rest, that no one could infer the one from the other. At rest, strictly speaking, he never was, while in Court; but when he was not trying or arguing a cause, he was quizzing or joking, or mooting or smoking, generally in a state of unrest.

When fully engaged in argument, he saw nothing and thought of nothing but his cause; and, in that, would sometimes rise to the fervor and energy of a sibyl.

He was about six feet in height as he stood, and would have been more if he had been bent back to a perpendicular from the curve,—not a stoop of the shoulders,—in which he habitually inclined forward. At the same time he was very spare of flesh, and destitute of almost all dimensions but length.

His countenance was intellectual, but its general effect was hurt by his spectacles, and by the altitude and length of his nose, of which, nevertheless, he was immensely proud. The nose so entirely absorbed the expression of his eyes and the rest of his features, that most of the young gentlemen at the Bar, in his time, could draw a striking likeness of Mr. Lewis, by a simple outline of his nose. When the spectacles were entirely removed from his eyes, to see or read near at hand, you perceived that their expression was kindly and gentle; but when he looked through his glasses at the Court or jury, they assumed the expression that belonged to the sentiment or passion that moved him, and sometimes it was a rather truculent one.

He abominated the Gallican invention, as he called it, of pantaloons, and stuck to knee breeches all his life; and, under the same prejudice, he adhered to hair powder and a cue, because the French revolutionists had first rejected them from their armies. When he presented himself, in what he deemed the only forensic dress, a full suit of black and powdered head, even a stranger would expect to hear something worth hearing from that animated and imposing figure; and by the first sentences of his speech, usually addressed, with a self-confident sweep of the head, and in a deep barytone voice, to the Court, and, if necessary, to the jury, the attention of every one would be arrested.

His first attitude was always as erect as he could make it, with one hand insinuated between his waiscoat and his shirt, and the other lying loose upon his loin; and in this position, without any action but that movement of the head,



he would utter two or three of his first sentences, generally well-prepared to introduce some notice of the position and solicitude of his client, or some special characteristic of the case, and almost universally, some general principle or truth that he held to underlie his client's cause, and to bespeak the favor of the Court and jury. Then, with a quick movement, and sometimes with a little jerk of the body, he would bring both his hands to his sides, and begin the action. And it was pretty vehement action from that time to the conclusion; his head dropping or rising, his body bending or straightening up, and his arms singly or together relieving his head, and doing their part of a rather animated duty, but without a vestige of grace or preparation in any of his movements, all of them, however, sympathizing with the temper or expression of the moment. His voice never failed him. It was deep, sonorous, and clear to the last; and his pronunciation, without the least monotony or affectation, always conformed to the best standards in the language.

He had one, and I think only one, peculiarity, which never deserted him in solemn speaking, though it was not observable in conversation. It was not, strictly speaking, an accent, nor a pronunciation, but rather had the air of an impediment,—a lingering upon a few unemphatic words, as if he could not get them out. It was no impediment, however; but he dwelt upon them with the purpose of making them more emphatic. *Clear* and *plain* were two of these words. He was sometimes faulty in his taste, even in a grave harangue; and one of the recollections of this which remains the most distinctly with me, reminds me of this peculiarity, and at the same time of his sleepless anti-gallicanism.

He was arguing a very grave cause in the Supreme Court of the United States on a morning which had brought the news of some fresh atrocity in the French Revolution; and, after laying down a position of law, and proving or defending it with great strength and skill, having no relation however to France, or to the Revolution, or to anything associ-



ated with either, he exclaimed, "And this, may it please your Honors, is as cul-lear and as pul-lain as that the Devil is in Paris, and *that* nobody can doubt." Plain was always *pul-lain*, and clear *cul-lear*, in Mr. Lewis's solemn arguments. There were two or three other words of one syllable, with an *l* as the turning letter, that he clung to in the same manner in his harangues.

It may be perceived, from this account of him, that Mr. Lewis never dozed in his speeches, nor let any one else doze, who was within hearing. Yet he was never vociferous. His voice was not sweet, but it was a fine working voice for a court-room. He was animated, sonorous, and continuous or sustained to the end, without break or pause, except to lift his spectacles, and cast his eye upon his sheet of notes; and he brought all his arguments to a close within a reasonable compass of time.

It would be regarded by every one who knew him, as a defect in this description of Mr. Lewis, if two or three of his *maculæ*, perhaps *nebulæ*, were painted out, or left without notice, since he was as well known by them as by his better parts, and he took as little pains to cover them up. The spots or clouds were in the outward man, and the deepest of them not so deep perhaps as he inclined to have it thought. They did not touch his professional integrity, nor his fidelity to the law.

He smoked cigars incessantly. He smoked at the fireplace in Court. He smoked in the Court Library. He smoked in his office. He smoked in the street. He smoked in bed; and he would have smoked in church, like Knockdunder, in the Heart of Mid Lothian, if he had ever gone there. The servitude was unremitting, as to a most imperious master. It did not look like an accommodation to health or to taste, but like submission to a conquest by external power.

The smoking in bed was, in one instance, literally verified, by myself and my venerable master, upon a winter journey to the Supreme Court at Washington, in the year 1809, when, in the days of coaching, we passed our first night at

Head of Elk; and I called Mr. Ingersoll's attention to it, after we had got into our respective beds in the same large room, and the last candle had been extinguished. The cigar was then seen firing up from Mr. Lewis's pillow, and disappearing in darkness, like a revolving light on the coast. He was once ordered into the custody of the Marshal, by Judge Chase, who affected to believe that the audacity was in some interloper at the chimney corner of the court-room; but Judge Peters explained, *sotto voce*, and it passed. The cigar did not reappear in that presence. In the Supreme Court of the State it was winked at before the time of Chief-Justice Tilghman; but soon after he came to the Bench, it was relegated to the Library. It had been tolerated the longer because no one imitated the example, and it had the asserted apology of weak health.

Mr. Lewis sometimes exhibited a stain of an antecedent day, in indelicate allusions at the side Bar, and in the presence of younger men, as well as of his contemporaries, with all of whom he did not seem to be unwilling to have it pass, that he led a careless, convivial, and half-libertine life, much beyond the reality. This, however, was while he was a widower, having no young children about him, and before his second marriage to a most pleasing lady who survived him. The influence of the sex, as much perhaps as better moral perceptions and taste, has, in later times, expelled such *opprobria* from the presence of gentlemen everywhere.

But the spots most annoying to the Bar, were discernible in his practice there, in the later years of his life, without, however, committing his professional honor, or bringing any serious inconvenience upon his clients. They were, it is true, not constantly seen, but still not unfrequently. He was singularly chary of his reputation for skill and efficiency in the trial of causes; and if he was not well prepared at the necessary moment, as sometimes happened when he grew older, he would baffle the Bench and the Bar in their efforts to bring him into action. In such an emergency he would show a great fertility of device in eluding the trial or argument for the time, and when every other failed, he

would be inimitably indisposed in health. His great resort, if compelled to go on, and he had the conclusion of the argument, was to study his cause while it was in progress before the Court, as he could do, intensely, and bring out new points, after his adversaries had closed upon all that had been advanced in the opening. The Court was compelled to meet this practice by a general rule prohibiting new points by the concluding counsel. The rule was general, but the aim of it was exclusively directed at Mr. Lewis. He was never uncandid, except from some such necessity,—which a better use of that part of his time, which belonged to his clients, would have obviated. There seemed to be no native taint in him; his heart was kind and true, his principles in general were manly, and his friendship sincere and constant. He looked upon this practice, unfortunately, I think, as a license of professional strategy in the service of his clients. A little less confidence in his intellectual powers, and a little more prudence in the economy of time, would have saved him from a distrust on such occasions by the older men of the Bar, which might sometimes be seen when they were opposed to him in the trial of a cause.

These were spots in the sun, you may say; but from the time I first knew him, they were observable and observed; so much so, that to have omitted all notice of them, would have impaired the truth of the description, personal and professional, that I have endeavored to give of him.

The last cause he tried was *Willing v. Tilghman*, in the spring of 1819; where, on behalf of the late Chief Justice, the defendant, I opposed him. I well remember that the Chief Justice, who had been his contemporary at the Bar, and who was urgent for the trial, expected that I should have to meet Mr. Lewis's now very usual effort for procrastination, and stood near me to affirm my opposition, until the jury was sworn, when he retired from the court-room. In the course of Mr. Lewis's reply, he became faint, and sat down. But soon recovered himself and went on. On this occasion his indisposition was certainly unfeigned. He never



appeared in Court afterwards, and died in the month of August following.

There can be no doubt whatever that Mr. Lewis was a very learned lawyer, fully awake to the elevation and dignity of his profession, and prompt to maintain them whenever vindication was necessary, though occasionally unbending a little too much at the side Bar. He was a clear and logical reasoner, and of very vigorous mind, rising at times, in his oral arguments, to the highest eloquence of reason, though no man cultivated less the graces of oratory. He was moreover subtle, ingenious, full of resources, and perhaps as shining an advocate in a bad or doubtful cause, as he was able in a good one. In some points he was not without resemblance to *Saunders*, his favorite authority, in both the strength and weakness of his parts—something less strong perhaps, and decidedly less weak. He contributed much to elevate the standard of law and of professional effort at the Bar; and if he had possessed a little more *retenué*, might have done as much for the standard of manners, wherein he fell something short; less however in reality, than by contrast with the high professional carriage of his eminent contemporaries.

(To be continued.)



## LETTERS OF HANNAH THOMSON, 1785-1788.

[We are indebted to the courtesy of Thomas Stewardson, Esq., for the following interesting letters of the wife of Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, addressed to Mr. John Mifflin, of Philadelphia, while she was a resident of New York.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

Jan y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 85

There is no apology necessary to so Polite a man as my Correspondent J. M. He well knows that a lady who wishes to keep up a little consequence in the beau monde, must be very attentive in her manner and method of receiving and paying visits. Also as a man of business he knows that workmen must be attended to. And when the husband is from home the Wife must be more attentive. He also must be sensible of the difficulty of getting your mind & body composed under the above circumstances, and that it is necessary when you wish to write an agreeable & Intelligent letter, tht you should enjoy great tranquillity, yr spirits chearful & your head clear. Mrs T. has been waiting for such a composure to write to 2 or 3 of her young & gay correspondents. This morning the weather has been too warm to expect Visitors, The noise of the hammer seemed more distant, The painters had got to the outside of the house, and she concluded to step into Mr Thomson's parlor (where Pen Ink & paper stand always ready) and write a few lines to J M—scarce had she wrote the first page when a noise like the tumbling down of part of the house thundered in her ears. She jumped up & found the carpenters had attacked a piazza that is over the parlour window, stripped down an old ceiling, which occasioned dust & rubbish to fly into her best parlor. And after what has before been said upon writing he may be sure that every pleasing sentiment vanished.

The parlor again got to rights, and I begin another sheet

of paper. I was much obliged for J. Mifflin's favour. It conveyed entertainment & Intelligence. I felt for the Doctor he must have been greatly chagrined, Especially if Miss P. and Miss R. were present, but perhaps the Consequence that D<sup>r</sup> Moyer had given him might make it necessary to have a little mortification, to bring his mind into proper order, to make him the agreeable friend and companion.

I find N. York more agreeable than I expected. The Ladies are gay & agreeable there are a number of belles here. I was yesterday to pay a visit to a Mr Lewis' family about a mile out of town the house is upon a hill. My eyes never beheld a more pleasing prospect. They have a full view of the town of long Island, the Jerseys the East river and Variety of Beautiful Landskips on every side of them. . . .

I am thy obliged correspondent

H. THOMSON.

May 12. 1785.

I recd with pleasure J Mifflin's obliging letter accompanied with the Snake—I shall understand it perfectly, the directions are so plain, but have not had time to exercise my wits since I received it. As soon as we get into our own house and the chairs & tables put into their places, your Ingenuity, will then be set forth, to the belles & beaus of King Street.

Our landlord is a cleansing the house tht we are going into with paper & paint from top to bottom, which prevents us from unpacking, 'til that is done. It also excuses me from accepting of Invitations out as my cloaths are not unpacked. In a few weeks I shall be able to give you some acct of the angels of this Paradise. My compliment's to your Father and the family and tell Jonathan that as I have not studied agriculture I shall expect to hear from him, In his grass growing letters to farmer Thomson. And tell him that I met with several frights at the ferries. They are dangerous and disagreeable in blustering weather.

I am with compliments your friend

H. THOMSON.

New York Sep 15th—85

I was very sorry to hear of J Mifflin's Indisposition and think the tour he is going to take will be of service. Your letter to Isaac is safely deposited In the Secretary of foreign affairs Packet . . .

Mr Read was married on tuesday evening. It is the custom here for the Ladies to receive their tea visits the next day after they are married. The Bridegroom receives visits in the morning, and the Bride in the afternoon. So they soon get thro the ceremony of Visits. With compliments

H. THOMSON.

New York Dec 8<sup>th</sup> 1785

My correspondent J. M. must not think that his letters are not agreeable because not answered by every post. The mornings are now so very short that I can scarcely get thro the bustle of the family before Mr. T. appears. When Mr. Hancock arrives, he is expected next week, and accepts of the honor conferred on him. When they get a full Congress I expect my mornings will grow longer. Considering the great scarcity of men I think there are a great many matches going forward among you. The proportion here it is said of belles to beaus are 10 to 1.—There are also several matches going forwards here. Mr. Gerry is soon to be married to an accomplished young lady. Mr le roy, the Dutch Consul, to a Miss Cornelle, but tell Jonathan Miss D—— k—— Is still disengaged. The Queen Street lady has not yet called upon me. It is supposed that she defers her visit 'til next May. Remember us to your father & family to Jonathan yourself & all friends.

H. THOMSON

J. Mifflin has so much the advantage of me in the Epistolary way that my letters I think must appear very dull. Every little anecdote to me of the Philadelphians is pleasing, but my acct of the Yorkers can give but little pleasure to J. M. Several matches are going forward here their names you must be unacquainted with, Except Mr. Gerry who is



shortly to be married to a Miss Thompson. I mentioned it in my last I think. If any Philadelphian has a Prior Claim they must make hast or Jerry will be lost, lost to their view. This City is grown very gay Plays 3 times a week an Assembly and Concert every other Thursday. There is a Mr. Temple & his lady arrived here from England he comes in Character of a Consul but receives the Salary of a Minister. They are yet at Lodgings. They have taken a new large house in Queen Street, which I suppose Jonathan must have noticed in his walks that way. When they get to house keeping we shall see what we shall see. Rout, 3 times a week &c. Mr. & Mrs. Hancock are expected here the end of the next Week. In what Stile they will live I dont know, or if Harrison will be continued I cannot tell . . .

I want very much to know what happened at the Wednesday Club  
I am &c

H. THOMSON

Dec. 18<sup>th</sup> 1785

J Mifflin has greatly the advantage of me in the Epistolary way—Whatever is going forward in Philadelphia is entertaining and agreeable to me to hear of—But to J. M. it must be very insipid to be informed of the Bagatelles of New York—for instance what amusement will it give him to hear that Miss Rosavelt is married to the Attorney General, Miss Wickam the beauty about sixteen to Mr. Hindman from Maryland is talked of, Susan Levinston Mrs. Jays sister & Col. Byard is talked of, without much foundation, Nanny Vanhorn & Parson Wilson do. Miss Alsop that was, now Mrs. King is laid up with the fever. The pretty Miss Hallet is like to lose one of her eyes by a violent cold that she caught. The two sisters of a Mr. Curson tht was killed in a Duel about six or eight weeks ago, they are Inconsolable. Mr. Edgar that married the Elder Miss White has built a wall between him & his neighbour Mercer so high that Mrs. Mercer is much disturbed, and disturbs all the Circles that she goes in about it. I am invited to visit her to look at it.



As Mrs. Edgar & I visit, I shall endeavour to keep on both sides of the Wall.

Mr. Rendon will be married in the course of this summer to Miss Marshal, a House is taken for them near the Bowling Green. I was to visit Miss Marshal yesterday, Pitt's statue is near the corner of their house without a head. We have also to be seen in this town a Wonderful creature with two heads. Mrs. Morris the favourite actress here & Mrs. Kenna come again. Mrs. Morris thought herself entitled to the first visit, Mrs. Kenna being a stranger expected the Compliment. They meet only on the Stage or in the play house. The Governour & his family, The Mayor & his family, Have all been so unfashionable as to keep from the Theatre this winter.

Mr. & Miss Van Berchel seldom go. Parson Rogers married Mr. Osgood & the Widow Franklin on Wednesday evening. I have never seen her, I am told she is a genteel pretty woman, dresses very plain wears no Cushion. Mr. Osgood is a very grave plain man, I make no doubt it will make her very happy. He was a Widower has no children, & about the same age of his lady.

I suppose some folks will censure her for departure from their Rules, but so good a Husband will make their frowns of little consequence to her. . . .

With compliments

H. THOMSON

May 26—86.

I request J. M. to use all his Rhetorick with Aunt Norris to agree to my proposal to meet on Saturday next at Brunswick we can pass Sunday together there. And you know that all the great Ferries are between N. Y. & Brunswick. That she will have only Deleware to cross and a pleasant country to ride through. If we meet there I will tell you all about the *Nine Muses*.

I took Isaac with me yesterday to pay a visit to Miss John Levinston who lately lost her father. There was Susan & Eliza there & the Charming Widow also Silvia & her

Sister I delivered yr Compliments. Mr. Alden wanted to know if you did not name particulars I told him the word *all* comprehended particulars.

We regret with Isaac that you did not stay a week longer with us, be sure to be at Brunswick on Saturday next.

Accept of compliments.

H. T.

August 28 1786.

I received J. M. letter by thursdays post, have the pleasure to inform him that Nanny Vanhorn & self visited Mrs. Lee last Monday. I told her that you had called upon her neice & went away with a heavy heart at not seeing her, that you had something to say to her of a private nature, I believed it to be about Miss Hogendogen, that you had Wished to enquire of her If she had any ways hinted that you had thoughts of visiting there. She assured me she never had said a word to Miss Hogendogen about you. I thought Miss Hogen not at present engaged, La forest was very gallant, but frenchmen often are without any meaning.

Remember me to Jonathan & tell him I have at last seen & heard of the Murray family. Aunt Norris's Neighbour Todd is related to them, and can inform every particular concerning them. Neighbor Todd has been to N. York, and called to see me, her cousin John Murrays wife came with her to shew the Way. She told me that her cousin Beulah & self had long talked of visiting me. The old Gentlemans death had prevented them. Neighbour Todd thinks her cousin Beulah a very fine girl. She lives now in the Country at their Fathers Country Seat, the town house is to be let. I was last evening at Martha's she was in her usual good Spirits. She told me Diana had been sick almost ever since you went. Mr. Alden desired Mr. Thomson to tell me that the evening before last he sat in the Bower. Cousin Isaac can inform you In what Street that is. He drank tea with me the next door to Silvia Where the young lady that you saw in black lives she is first cousin to Susan Levinston and I think is a favourite of Mr. Aldens. I

mention that attachment, as I think Silvia yet remains for Collinette. I took a ride yesterday afternoon and drank tea with Mrs. Townsend who lives at a beautiful Seat on the East river about five miles from the City. If I was to undertake to give you a description of that seat you would think I romanced. There Nature far exceeds my descriptive talent. Were we permanently fixed here I would wish Mr T. to possess it as the present owners are going to the West Indies this fall. But instead of fixing anywhere, I consider myself a Sojourner or a traveller that holds himself ready to start when the Stageman calls.

In our return from that delightful place on the road we met D. Vanhorn with his fair Angelica going to take an evening ride. I believe they were going to the place we left. I forgot to tell you that Mrs. Townsend has a pretty granddaughter whose Mother Mrs. Pug  e was not at home.

Judge Syms has some thoughts of visiting the Widow Tybout. She is a rich Widow has 10.   1000 at her own disposal & no children lives on the Bowrey lane near Col Lee's, pray advise Peter to come with Jonathan & give a look at her, tell them not to be shilly-shallying till the prizes are gone. I dont know whether you recollect the seat. A Stone Wall encloses her farm (there will be no trouble about mending of fences) Her house is pleasantly situated the front has a view of the North river and from the back you can see the east river. The house is one story high with attick Chambers. There is a Piazza all round the dwelling the Widow is chearful & comely Inclines to be Plump. Flesh may be kept down by eating Vinigar Sauce. My mind is now pretty well disburthened and if you cant profit thereby the fault is not mine. Adieu—compliment to all friends.

H. THOMSON

Sep 17—86

I have recd friend Johns letter after a very long silence. Am glad to hear of his Corpulancy. Fleshy Folks are apt to grow Indolent which I hope my Correspondent will guard against, and instead of the flesh Brush which Physicians



advise in that case, take up the Pen and exert the Imagination and rather than miss a Post, miss a Dinner.

Many things as you observe in the course of a few months or weeks come to pass. Several Weddings have been here lately; The Gentlemen Citizens of the town a Mr. Rosewalt to a Miss Walton, a Mr. Tom Smith of Wall Street, to a near Neighbour of ours a Miss Taylor. I mention these two Gentlemen being citizens of the town gave us an opportunity of being Introduced to a Custom that you know nothing of. The Gentlemans Parents keep open house just in the same manner as the Brides Parents. The Gentlemen go from the Bridesgroom house to drink Punch with and to give joy to his Father. The Brides Visitors go In the same manner from the Brides to his Mothers to pay their compliments to her. There is so much driving about at such a time, that in our narrow streets, there is some danger. I am now at this Present writing a prisoner. Piles of Snow on each side of all our street only a narrow passage beaten in most all the streets. They visit Jaunt & go to Church in Sleighs. As I said before I am a Prisoner. I am afraid of meeting those flying machines in some of those narrow places. To keep out of danger I stay at home. A few days ago two Gentlemen were driving thro one of those narrow places with high banks of Snow on each side, they saw a Sleigh coming full tilt, the Horses had taken a fright and disputed the way with all they met. The Gentlemen thought it the wisest way to save themselves to jump out of their Sleigh & leave their Horses to contend with each other, which they did one dropped down dead, and the other 3 almost dead. And so ended their frolick.

I wish cousin Isaac and you would come & eat yr Christmas dinner here. I will give you as good mince pies & as fat a turkey as you can procure either from Molly Newport or Market Street. You wd be delighted with the Visiting parties a wishing a happy New Year to each other and eating of *Cukies*, a little cake made for the occasion.

I want that paragraph in your last letter explained about the depredations you intend to make among my acquaintances.



I hope you do not design to take any by surprize. Perhaps you have engaged Doctor Morgan's Balloon for yr Enterprize. But I can assure you we carry so much sail here that I doubt yr *Balloon Boat* wd soon overturn and then when too late you may wish you had consulted yr friends on the Island. Mrs. Osgood has lately Visited me and thinks Beulah is reserving herself for her Officer who is gone to the east Indies. When he returns he will find the Old Gentleman out of his Way, and nobody's leave to ask but her own.

Pray as thoughts jump one cant tell how, What is become of Jonathan. Does he remember that the Islanders were once his friends and friendship requires some communication to keep the flame alive—give him our compliments as the boys do the stick with fire at the end, and tell him that we say Jack a live & live like to *be* he shan't die in our hands & we send it to *thee*. I am much pleased to hear that Isaac Intends to build up the seat of his ancestors, when I write to Aunt Norris I shall say more upon the Occasion.

Remember me to all friends that remember me. C. T. Joins in compliments to you. I am &°

yr friend

H. THOMSON

Dec 12—86

Yesterday Evening I received yr letter by K. W. he had scarce warmd himself when a rap at the door announced visitors We cd not prevail on him to stay to tea. If he had he might have given some acct. of Miss Van Berkel, & Do. Sam Glaim to Isaac. After the Compliments of the Season was over (and bless my heart how cold it is) she politely enquired when I had heard from Mr. Norris. I informed her that on the sofa between us, was an acct. of his health and also of his Brother Joseph's Who was travelling & among other accomplishments was learning the dutch language & if he shd forget the American tongue when he returned I must call upon her to interpret for us . . .

Cornelia sails for Charlestown next Monday. If you (*sic*)

anything against the voyage come here before that fatal day. If once she goes—You may sing My Daphne is lost, lost, lost ah lost to my view. As you were not acquainted with the Miss Taylors I believe my last did not mention anything about tht Wedding I assure King Street was alive. The Bride was dressed more Elegant than any I have yet seen. But pray what cd be the reason that you would not accompany Cousin Debby to visit Miss Wharton. The Gentlemen here upon tht occasion visit as much as the ladies, and the Wedding house at such times resembles a bee hive, Company perpetually flying in & out.

I have just rec<sup>d</sup> an Invitation to drink tea with Mrs Governor Clinton I wish you and Cousin Isaac were here to Escort me. I suppose Aunt Norris for your entertainment, on Christmas day, told you of the Slaying match that Mr. Houston in Second Street gave his Daughters. Dear Papa dear Papa do give us a Slaying—he at last consented told them to get ready and dress themselves warm Which they accordingly did and came running We are ready papa he ordered the Servants to have some burnt Wine against they came back. He desired them to step up stairs with him before they went as soon as they got into an Attick Chamber he threw up all the windows, and seated them in two old Arm Chairs and begun to Whip & Chirrup with all the Spirit of a slaying party. And after he had kept them long enough to be sufficiently Cold he took them down & cald for the Mulled Wine, and were all very glad to sit close to the fire and leave Slaying to those that were too Warm.

Compliments of the Season to Cousin Isaac & yourself, and send you each a Cookey as you wont come here to eat them. I expect Kerney Wharton every moment which has made me write in great hast.

I am &c.

H. THOMSON

Dec. 28—86.

J. M's letter dated March 13th came safe to hand. I suppose ere this Jon<sup>n</sup> has informed you of what is going forward in new York. As a *certain Gentleman's* Visits were

often made to ladies that Mrs. T. has no acquaintance with, she can give but little acct of what passed among them. As to Miss Corsar I once had a glance of her at Mrs. Osgood's but question if I should know her again. I believe Jonathan saw her several times.

Mr. Otto was married last tuesday. Mrs. Otto recd visits thursday friday & Saturday in the usual manner. One Coach got overturned in the Crowd Nobody in it. I must inform you that Crabs are Just coming in Season as they are thought to be a cure for a fever I wish you were in the way of eating some. Tell Jonathan he should have been here last Saturday to have seen the belles a la mode de N.Y, from the brides they came here in flocks. The shew of artificial flowers that adorned the room, must have affected his Optick nerves.

My Correspondents must excuse my writing in pacquets. If I can collect material for one at a time, It is as much as I can accomplish.

Adieu

H. THOMSON

March 19—87

New York March y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1788

After relating the adventures of my Winter Campaigne I think there will be no Occasion to apologize for this letter being dated in March.

In the beginning of december I caught a violent cold which confined me better than six weeks. As soon as I got better C. T. was confined for some time, has not got quite clear of his cough . . .

I am amazed to find by your letter that you are so late in adopting feaderal fashions. Covered buttons were worn by the patriots here last fall. C. T. has a suit almost worn out with cloth Buttons. As to the Capes I had them the last Winter at my tea parties, the hats are not much worn here. The Centinel you sent was published here a fort-night ago, since which we have had some Resolutions taken by your Wheel barrow Society and some Criticism, on Jacky's poetry. Yr transactions glided quick oer frozen rivers and beaten tracks of Snow.



Respecting funerals this Winter has been very sickly scarce a day passes that the bell does not toll for some departed friend. We have lost Mrs. Otto. The Count and Marchiness arrived about a fortnight after her Interrment. The total change that their Arrival made in Mr. Otto's family diverted him from a gloom that her death had occasioned, and which is not allowable in fashionable Circles. They were I believe a very happy Couple.

The Count has been announced as Minister Plenipotentiary from his most Christian Majesty to Congress. The Marchioness is in a very bad state of health. She is thought to be Consumtive. When I visited her she was confined in her bed. I left a card and expect to see her when she gets better & the weather warmer; her manners are affable, her dress plain for her station. In a tete a tete with a french Gentleman she said that if she had been born in America she thinks her disposition would have inclined to the Quaker principles to avoid the Ceremonies attending gay life. When I have the pleasure to see her I shall form my own Opinion of her according to the rules of *Lavater*.

Marriages—Mr. Vanhorn & Miss Miller a private Wedding they see no Company. Nanny has taken a house opposite Lady Marys in *Canvastown*. You once had business in that part of the City. It is in more repute now than It was then, so says Nanny. My favorite preacher Mr. Wilson Is gone to settle at Charles town he had not his health here, being inclined to a consumption. The offer from there was advantageous & pleasing to him. I was in hopes that Nanny & he would have made a match, but he has chosen to spend his days with Cornelia.

The young Marquis a Youth of 17 is violently smitten with lady Wheat. Miss Shaw her sister is to be married in May to Mr. Wilks a nephew of the famous Mr. Wilks of London he bears the Character of being a very Clever young man—Pray which of the Shippens sons Is a going into the neighborhood of Harriton. Where about is the farm that he goes to? C. T. joins in compliments

In haste,  
H. T.



I received a letter dated August 1st From J Mifflin—The alliance he mentions that is forming in Chesnut Street brings the following lines into my head :

“ That mighty power that form'd the Mind  
 One mould for every two designed,  
 And blessed the new born pair.  
 This be a match for this he said  
 And down he sent the souls he made  
 To seek them bodies here—

W. M. & A. E.

The other alliance hinted at also makes me recollect these lines :

How can the soft enchantment hold  
 Two jarring Souls of angry Mold  
 The rugged and the keen.  
 Sampsons young foxes might as well  
 In bonds of chearful wedlock dwell  
 With firebrands tied between.

City tavern & Isaac Wharton's widow.

Congress have not yet determined where the new Congress are to meet—The eastern States are for N. Y. & the southern States for Philadelphia. Neither side can get the 7th State at present, nor doth either side incline to give way.

Our President keeps an open house, Lady Christinia has very large tea parties, there were seventy Gentlemen & Ladies counted at one of her Levee's and on one of the hottest days we have had. My best respects also C. T's attend Aunt Norris I cant help her opinion about the procession, but I know she is a Philadelphian and did not see ours.

How unfortunate you were—for the very Saturday after your visit Cornelia made one of my Party. She was but four days a coming. The storm tht blew you away brought her here. “ Ah cruel chance & crossing Fate.” Please to make my Compliments to Cousins Isaac & Joseph.—I am &°

H. THOMSON

August 17—88

EFFECTS OF THE “NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENT” IN PHILADELPHIA, 1769–1770.

[The following extracts, selected from letters of Henry Drinker to his partner Abel James, who was in England on business for the firm, relate to the effects of the “Non-Importation Agreement” in Philadelphia, 1769–1770. The firm of James and Drinker, in addition to being importers of dry goods, did an extensive commission business, which aided them materially in obtaining full freights for their ships, of which they had several in the English trade. Few mercantile houses in the city made greater sacrifices than they by the “Non-Importation Agreement.”—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

12 mo. 9, 1769.—“Our accounts by the October mail intimate that the Parliament will hardly meet till January, that American grievances will not be the first object, and that the duty will remain on Tea, which if so, will prevent a supply of goods in the Spring if our merchants keep firm to their Agreement, which I now doubt more than ever. Interest, all powerful Interest will bear down Patriotism. This I think will be verified in the Colonies ere long, should the Parliament be obstinate. Romans we are not as they were formerly, when they despised Riches and Grandeur, abode in extreme poverty and sacrificed every pleasant enjoyment for the love and service of their Country.”

2 mo. 12, 1770.—“The accounts from England after the Parliament has proceeded to business will be expected here with great earnestness by many; their disposition as to the Colonies is indeed of great importance at this critical juncture. Should they determine to pass by us unnoticed, or what amounts to the same thing, grant us no relief in the burthens we complain of, then shall we see how far our publick spirit and patriotism will hold out. I rather apprehend it is but skin deep with a great many and principally with the fierce and violent, as they appeared to be at first setting out. Already do we see those making breaches in the Agreement

who were the first in promoting it. I expect ere long to write thee of some important changes in our measures here, not that I by any means wish or shall promote them, but so I believe it will be. I mentioned to thee sometime past that I had withdrawn myself from the Committee, which step upon due deliberation I am not dissatisfied with.”

4 mo. 29, 1770.—“I have heretofore mentioned to thee the restlessness and dissatisfaction of many of the Importers under the present Agreement; the pretexts for such uneasiness have been, that the burthen was unequally borne. While the importers of Wines, Molasses etc. were pursuing their trade to considerable advantage and paying large sums into the Treasury for revenues raised out of those articles, the Importers of British Goods were standing still and sacrificing all for the public good. That our Agreement subjected us in many instances to hardships, which the other Colonies had in their Agreement wisely guarded against. At Boston Baize for their Fisherman was an excepted article. Maryland imports all coarse Woollens at or under 8/ stg. p. yard, and are running away with our trade for Indian goods and all others which that price will comprehend. Albany continues importing for their Indian Trade; our Indians must be properly and seasonably supplied with Cloathing and other necessaries, which in our present circumstances, the Traders must apply for to Maryland or Albany. That in the Agreement formed on the 10 March 1769, a great number of persons signed, who were not Importers, yet these by the tenor of the Agreement, are to determine as to our Trade and property, and have a vote in the altering, releasing or annulling the same. It is further urged that so far as we have tried the experiment, it has proved grievous to many, and that a number of Shopkeepers and Importers who have but small capitals, must sink under it if continued another season. If these facts as are here stated (which I must own, don’t appear to me wide of the mark) there appears to be some reason for the uneasiness which has latterly prevailed. But thou wilt be astonished when I tell thee that the men who feel the present



stagnation the most severely, whose support, with that of their families is deeply concerned therein—these are not the Complainants, but among the foremost the wealthy appear—J. F . . . , J. W . . . , W. W . . . . , J. S . . . . , P. B . . . . , G. E . . . . etc. About the middle of last week they made it a point to get all the Committee together, tho. J. Reynell, Trench Francis, J. Warder, myself and some others had not attended for some months. We met and were applied to by a number of the Importers to call a General Meeting of the subscribers to the Non-importation Agreement, that their present sentiments might be known as to the expediency of continuing said Agreement as it now stands, or to consider if some alterations ought not to be made. In conformity with this application a printed notice was left at each subscriber’s house desiring their attendance at the Coffee House at 3 o’clock on 3d. day afternoon the first of next mo. without expressing the business, but that it was at the desire of a number of the Subscribers to that Agreement. In the meantime a number of the Dry Goods Importers concluded to meet together at Davenports last evening and consider of measures previous to a general meeting, deeming themselves to be the persons materially interested. I had concluded to avoid both of the Meetings proposed, as I found myself under a Streight; on the one hand I felt for and pitied the situation of Shopkeepers and others who were much distressed by being thus put out of the common course of their Trade—on the other hand I could not think of deserting a measure we had deliberately gone into for the securing and supporting our Liberties and valuable Rights, drawing on ourselves at once the contempt and indignation of the other Colonies, not to say the exultation and derision of the Mother Country—and this at a time when we were hourly expecting such accounts from England as would either save our Credit or lastingly determine what we ought to depend on from Parliament. In these sentiments J. Reynell called upon me and urged the necessity of attending, that we might if possible delay the general meeting; this I cheerfully agreed to, and had the satisfac-



tion to observe a pretty general and cheerful acquiescence in about 100 Importers met, that the General Meeting proposed to be on the 1st. of next month, should be postponed to the 15th.—they had an eye to our ship Chalkley’s\* conveying their orders and determinations, and therefore regulated the General Meeting to be within a day or two of the time she may probably sail.”

5 mo. 16, 1770.—“By thy manner of treating my situation on the present state of affairs, and the uneasiness of people under the Non-importation Agreement, it seems to me that the long acquaintance we have had with each other has enabled thee to form a pretty certain Judgement of my natural disposition, which indeed is, to be drawn out into publick life as little as may be, for in all my cool reflecting moments, it appears to me inconsistent with my love of peace and real happiness. On 2d. day last Joshua Howell was elected Treasurer to the Corporation for the relief of the Poor etc., and William Fisher a manager in lieu of Joseph Fox, so that I am clear of one burthen, and in October next shall cease to be a Street Commissioner. And tho. several of my friends and acquaintances have pressingly urged me to be nominated to another and more important seat, yet I have and shall in future steadily refuse any countenance thereto, or to any other publick office. To thee I can be free without fear of being suspected of vanity or ostentation, for indeed every step I have taken in the road to popularity etc., has been accompanied with too much pain to be long continued.”

5 mo. 26, 1770.—“Since my last respecting the state of our Non-importation Agreement, the face of things has altered much, notwithstanding the little dirty Colony of Rhode Island has shamefully broken faith with the others, and has imported a ship load of goods as usual, put their Committee to defiance, and are proceeding in the Sales without regard to their suffering neighbors; yet this flagrant violation and breach of their plighted honour has not

\* A second ship of the name, built for the firm, was launched 22 June, 1774.

staggered the merchants of New York or this place, but rather left them more determined than ever to persevere untill the Revenue on Tea is removed. Doct<sup>r</sup> Franklin’s letter to Charles Thomson and particularly to J. Galloway has had wonderful effects and plainly shows the great respect and regard a large part of the people here pay to the advice and opinions of that truly great Man. A few days past in consequence of printed notices, were convened together a very great number of our respectable Tradesmen, Artificers and Mechanics, when it was unanimously resolved to strengthen the hands of all Merchants who were for supporting and continuing the Agreement as it now stands; and not to purchase of, but by all lawful and prudent means to discourage and discountenance any that may depart from said Agreement, so that little doubt remains, but on the 5th of next mo. when a General Meeting of the Subscribers to the Agreement is to be held, it will be carried without much difficulty, to continue the present plan without adding a single article. Pray remember me kindly to the worthy Doct<sup>r</sup> Franklin.”—

## NOTES ON THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.

[The *London Chronicle* of September 17-19, 1778, under the heading "Authentic Intelligence from America," publishes a letter from Boston, dated July 23, describing the battle of Monmouth, from which we make some extracts. We also append a biographical sketch of Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, who was killed in the action, taken from the issue of September 19-22.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

"The 18th of June, when the rear of the British army attacked the rebel army on the heights of Freehold, the spirited charge of the light-horse will ever do them honor: attacking the front of their first line, covered by a battery of six pieces of cannon, playing alternately round and grape shot. The first battalion of British guards, while covering the charge of the light cavalry, received the fire from the ambuscade on their right from the wood at twenty yards distance; being then ordered through the wood in the line of fire, with bayonets, the light-horse proceeded with their wonted ardor till the rear battalions came up to their support. The incessant and alert fire of the British artillery, cannot be too much commended the day of the action at Freehold. The battalion guns of the guards, with the two 12-pounders, covered the troops after the charge throughout the wood, morass and field in front of the second wood, where they were ordered to halt, spent with heat, thirst, and fatigue. The fire was so well kept up, that they expended from eighty to ninety rounds in a short period, while the remains of the advanced corps of the enemy were falling back on their second line. Several of the first battalion of guards, and the two companies of British grenadiers of the first battalion that made the charge with bayonets through the wood at Freehold, had narrow escapes from the enemy's riflemen that lurked in the underwood; throughout the wood scarce a bush that had not a fellow under it, whose fire directed the British bayonet to prevent the further



molestation of the royal army. Sir John Wrottesley commanding the first company of the first battalion of guards was grazed on the neck with a buck shot, and the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, command the second company had his bayonet shot off from his fusee; and afterwards by a rifleman in the wood, was shot through his coat under his left breast, without hurt to his side or arm. 'Tis supposed that several hundreds that lay in the wood, beside three hundred under the command of Colonel Parker, of Virginia (that formed the ambuscade) scarce twenty escaped alive. Colonel Parker was wounded in three places, and died in the wood: Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsey, wounded in two places and taken prisoner. Five officers, by appearance foreigners, were bayoneted in the wood. Seventeen prisoners only were taken, eight of whom were run through with bayonets, and mostly died ere the rear moved off the ground to proceed on their march, which after the cannon moved off, was covered by the thirty-third regiment of infantry: the steady behaviour of which corps on this occasion, will always add to their former reputation. The commander-in-chief exposed himself much, giving in front of the attack most of the orders in person, continually riding in the line of fire from right to left, during the whole time the affair lasted.

“ We have accounts from Freehold, that the four wounded officers of the royal army left with the soldiery, the flag and surgeons, are as well as can be expected and are treated in a manner that does much honor to the American gentleman, whose protection and care they are under.”

*“ Character of the late Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton. ”*

“ The Hon. Hen. Monckton, late lieutenant-colonel to the forty-fifth regiment, of the noble family of the Viscounts Galway, of the kingdom of Ireland, and brother to the present Lieutenant-General Monckton, was a man by nature formed for military greatness; his memory retentive, his judgment deep, his comprehension amazingly



quick and clear, his constitutional courage not only uniform and daring perhaps to an extreme, but he possessed that higher species of it, strength, steadiness, and activity of mind, which no difficulties could obstruct, nor danger deter; free from pride, with the greatest independence of spirit, generous to a degree, a constant friend to the deserving soldier, whose concerns he always attended to in preference to his own: inferior officers experienced his friendly generosity; he was by temper rather reserved, yet kind and gentle in his manners, and to crown all, sincerity and candor, with a true sense of honor and justice, seemed the inherent principles of his nature, and the uniform tenor of his conduct. He betook himself early in life to the profession of arms, obtaining an ensigncy in the first regiment of guards, in the year 1760 and afterwards a lieutenantancy in the same corps. In the year 1769, he purchased the majority of the forty-fifth regiment of foot from Mr. Gates, since so famous for the part he has taken against his country; and in the year 1771, he purchased the lieutenant-colonelcy, remaining with the regiment (then in Ireland) until the breaking out of this unnatural rebellion, in 1775, when he embarked with it for North America. Upon the army's leaving Halifax, the late commander-in-chief, conscious of his courage and abilities, appointed him to the command of the second battalion of grenadiers. In the action on Long Island, the 27th of Aug. 1776, he received a dangerous wound, being shot through the body as he was leading on his battalion to charge a much superior number of the rebels. On this occasion he gave a remarkable proof of that intrepidity that always distinguished him; upon his falling an officer of his battalion came to his assistance, which he nobly refused in these terms: "Sir, leave me, I am of no consequence at present, go on with the grenadiers." At Brandywine he received a slight wound in his knee; he continued in the command of his battalion of grenadiers till the 28th of June, 1778, when upon the rear guard of the army's being engaged with the greatest part of the rebel force, in the march through Jersey he gloriously fell in the

front of that battalion, nobly exerting himself in the cause of his country, and is now universally regretted by every officer and soldier that knew him, or ever had the honor of serving under his command.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1888 Mr. Samuel Freyer, of Hightstown, New Jersey, at his own expense, placed on Monckton's grave a marble stone on which is inscribed :

Hic Jacet  
Lt. Col. Henry Monckton  
who on the plain  
of Monmouth June 28, 1778  
Sealed with his life his  
duty to his King & Country.  
Courage is on all hands  
considered as an essential  
of high character.

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This monument was erected  
by Samuel Freyer whose  
father a subject of  
Great Britain sleeps  
in an unknown grave.

GENEALOGICAL GLEANINGS, CONTRIBUTORY TO A  
HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF PENN.

BY J. HENRY LEA, Fairhaven, Mass.

[The following fragments, comprising items gleaned at odd moments during a very busy year passed in special investigations among the English Records, are submitted with some diffidence, as they are, at best, but *disjecta membra* and can do little more than point out the path which the (let us hope not distant) future historian of the family should tread in his researches. A stray handful only, gathered from a field full of promise to that patient investigator whose time and means may permit an exhaustive examination of the ground.

The name of Penn is a very ancient one in England, dating in fact not only behind the Norman, but even the Saxon Conquest, as the word, a distinctly native British appellation, which signifies a Top, Hill, Crest, or Summit, occurs in this sense in many different and widely-separated parts of the Kingdom, and no doubt, as the use of surnames became general, gave local rise to several altogether distinct families whose only connection is in the coincidence of their common cognomen. It is not very uncommon to find it used with its translation as an *alias* (*i.e.*, Hill *alias* Penn), for an example of which see the Register of South Littleton, Worc. (page 58), as also the Will of William Penn, of Charlestown, Mass., 1688, cited by Savage.<sup>1</sup> The name is most frequent, as we might expect would be the case, in Cornwall,<sup>2</sup> Devon, and Wales, where the indigenous population made their last stand against the invaders.

Of these families one of the most ancient was that of Penn Manor,<sup>3</sup> co. Bucks, which claims to antedate the Conquest and from which, it has been claimed, our Founder's family was derived—a claim which, like so many other traditional ones, will not bear the light of investigation, and which the proofs, hereafter given, utterly refute, as will be shown later. In the Northern part of Bucks, at Stony Stratford, was another family of Penn which may have been, and probably were,

<sup>1</sup> Savage's Genealogical Dict., vol. III., fo. 389.

<sup>2</sup> "By Tre, Ros, Pol, Lan, Caer & Pen,  
You may know the most of the Cornish men."

*Heraldic Journal*, vol. IV., fol. 11.

<sup>3</sup> "Penn, as its name signifies, stands on very high ground" (see Lyson's *Magna Britanica*, vol. I., pt. 3, fo. 618). See for Pedigree of Penn of Penn, *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, vol. I., fo. 265, and Lipscomb's *Bucks*, vol. III., fo. 287.



cadets of the former, but no proof has yet been discovered to connect them.

At Codicote, in Hertfordshire,<sup>1</sup> a family were long seated which probably descended from John Penn, Citizen and Mercer of London, whose will was proved in 1450; certain it is that his son Ralph was of that co. and died there childless in 1483, but whether the John Penn of Codicote who died in 1557 was descended from one of Ralph's brothers, John or Thomas, is as yet a matter of conjecture only; a search of the Wills in the Commissary Court of London, Essex, and Herts would probably set this point at rest.

In Worcestershire there have been Penns from a very early period (the name occurs there in the reign of Edward III) in the district about Bromsgrove, where we find them in considerable numbers. A most interesting MS. has been preserved written by one John Penn (tmpls. Commonwealth), a member of this family, which throws much light on the history of the Penns of Worcestershire.<sup>2</sup> The arms which he there claims are the same as those borne by the Founder differenced by "in cheife a lyon passant gules" and in his time "wass standing thus in the beginning of our late warrs in the said church (*i.e.*, Churchill, near Starbridge) window and there remaineth if it be not ruined by the late usurpers." One of the daughters of this family, in 1713, married the poet Thomas Shenstone. Another colony, perhaps quite distinct from the former, flourished at Pershore, Littleton, Chipping-Campden, &c., on the borders of Worcester, Warwick, and Gloucester; Francis Penn of Bobbington, Staffordshire, 1613, may have been of this latter family.

Salop also furnishes its quota and a pedigree is given of a Penn family of Stockton, in that county, which extends 15 generations previous to the seventeenth century; the Arms being again identical with those of our Founder.

Northampton, Kent, and Sussex also furnish names which are not yet identified with any of the other pedigrees, while the Hampshire family and their London branches are very probably an offshoot of the Wiltshire stock, as may be also the Penns of Fifehead, Somerset.

The Wiltshire family will of course be of the greatest interest to us, as it is certainly that of our illustrious Founder, and it gives the writer much satisfaction to be able to cast a ray of light on what has hitherto been a somewhat obscure page of genealogical history.

It has been generally assumed that the William Penn of Minety, with whom the existing pedigrees commence, was a cadet of the Penns of

<sup>1</sup> A very full pedigree of this family, with copious extracts from the Parish Registers, is given in Clutterbuck's Herts, vol. II., fo. 306, which has been reprinted in Coleman's pamphlet on the Penn Family.

<sup>2</sup> Herald & Genealogist, vol. VII., fo. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. N<sup>o</sup> 1241, fo. 128 op. cit.; Herald & Genealogist, vol. VII., fo. 144.



Penn, co. Bucks, and this belief seems to have been based on a tradition (as untrustworthy as such traditions usually are) which is embodied in a letter of John Penn, Sen., Esq., to Dr. Smith, of Penna.<sup>1</sup> (query, if Dr. George Smith, the Historian of Delaware County?), in which it is stated that the father of William Penn of Minety was a younger son, named William, of David and Sibel (Hampden) Penn of Penn, who was a monk in the Abbey of Glastonbury in Somerset, and after the dissolution, being granted lands in the Forest of Braydon, Wilts, by Henry VIII, he married and became the progenitor of the Wiltshire Penns.

This statement, in view of the especial fury which the iconoclastic monarch displayed towards Glastonbury and its inmates, more than almost any other of the religious houses which he spoiled, would be naturally received with suspicion, as it would not seem plausible, to say the least, that he should have hanged the Abbot and distributed his mangled body among the surrounding towns, while at the same time rewarding with rich gifts one of his late retainers. Moreover, the Abbey was not attacked until 1539, while in 1538, as the documents hereafter cited will show, the Penn family was already fully established in the County.

Awbrey says, "The Penns have been here a long time, but, I think, only Yeomen. In Braden Forest, in parish of Brinckworth,<sup>2</sup> is Penn's Lodge, yet so called. At Rodburne there were Penns which — Power of Stanton Quinton married."<sup>3</sup>

To this we have to add that David Penn of Penn, in his will (1570), while reciting his children, makes no mention of any son William, nor does his eldest son John (1596) name such a brother or descendants of such brother. It is then among the sturdy yeomanry of Wilts that we have to look for the ancestry of that most illustrious scion of the race, the Founder of Pennsylvania.

But in the absence of further proof, which only a patient and thorough investigation of the Wiltshire Records and Registers will yield, it is idle to speculate further on the conjectural kinship of the various Penns of

<sup>1</sup> Commonplace Book of John Penn, Jun., Esq. in Penn MSS. in Lib. Hist. Soc. Penna., Phila., op. cit. Notes & Queries, 5th Series, vol. I., fo. 265. He is followed in this error by Mr. Stratford (Worthies of Wilts, fo. 145) who says "Awbrey was mistaken in making William Penn a Wiltshire man," and repeats substantially the above tradition.

<sup>2</sup> The Register of Brinkworth only exists from the year 1653. The Vicar, Rev. William de Quetteville, very kindly made a thorough search of the records from that date, but failed to find a single entry of the name of Penn, while the writer was equally unsuccessful with the Bishop's Transcripts at Sarum, of which twelve fragmentary years exist previous to 1653, the earliest being 1572.

<sup>3</sup> Awbrey's Wiltshire Collections, Jackson's Edition, fo. 270.

Wills during the sixty years that elapse between their first appearance in these notes and the death of William Penn of Minety, with whom the authentic pedigree begins, and, waiting such proof, the writer suspends all further comment, although the temptation is strong to build up a conjectural pedigree out of the scanty material already at hand.

In conclusion the writer wishes to express his feeling of deep obligation to the many and kind friends in England who have done so much to aid him in his researches and among whom the word "*America*" has ever proved an "*Open Sesame!*" to the vast Antiquarian treasures of the realm. To Mr. J. C. C. Smith, the Superintendent of the Literary Enquiry Department at Somerset House, in particular, he would express his thanks for an unfailing courtesy and patience, as also to Mr. G. H. Rodman, in charge of the District Probate Courts at same place; likewise to his friends Mr. William Brigg of Epping Forest and Mr. Eedes of London, to whose kindness in furnishing abstracts of a number of wills overlooked by him in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury he owes the practical completion to the eighteenth century of the records of that most important of all the English Courts.

To the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which has generously defrayed a considerable portion of the expense of these collections, his thanks are also due.

Such as they are, then, these notes are submitted, and if they have the effect of arousing the dormant interest in the Family of our Founder that should animate every true Pennsylvanian and lead some other and more competent worker into the field, the writer will feel himself well repaid for his labors.]

PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY. PENN WILLS  
from 1383 to 1700.<sup>1</sup>

1450—John Penne, Citizen & Mercer of London; to be buried in St. Albans, Wode strete, London; wife Alice, sons Ralph, John & Thomas Penne; daus Alice, Mary & Margaret. Wit. wife's father Thomas ffereby; Exrs. John Lok & Wilton Grand Proved 7 Sept., 1450.<sup>2</sup>—Rous 11. 12

1483—Raufe Penne of Co. of Hertf., Gentilman; to be

<sup>1</sup> The Wills of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury date from 1383, but before 1400 are somewhat fragmentary; the Admons. date only from 1559, none being preserved before that date.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the John Penn who was Sheriff of London 1410, vide Bakers' Chronicle, fo. 168. Undoubtedly the ancestor of the Penns of Codicote, Herts. A John Penn was also M. P. for Weymouth in 1413, 1420, and 1422, but probably not identical. Her. Jnl. IV., fo. 11.

buried in church of Adenhm betwene Edmude Broke & the Chauncell vnder the Arch; all feoffees that be enfeoffid in all my goodes and landes maners rents and s'uices wt the apprtennes that be in the Counties of Hertf., Midd. and Surr', that they in goodely hast aftyr my deceese do make astate and relese to myn exrs. her'aftyr named a sufficient Sur' and lauffull astate of and in all the seid maners londes rents and s'uices wt their apprtence to thentente to pforme my Will &c.; all profits of all my lands to go to the ordennce of a chapell on Coppidthorn hill till it be fynyshed for the ease of the neyghbours that fer to ps church; a yerely obite in Aldenhm church; exrs. to ordeyne & make sure for eu'more as moche londe to the yerely value of xx s. for to kepe & repayre the Church wey betwene Illestre & Rylond gate; Richard Howell shall haue the grete Whits for euyrmor to hym & hys heyres; to sell my lond in london and Lamethith; to euerich of my cosyns fferbeis x li.; to John Peke for t<sup>r</sup>me of hys liefte v marke a yer & all hys costs that he doth abought me; same to Richd: Grotemore; euerich of my god children x s.; myn executors John Verney, John Peke, Humfry Conyngesby and Richard Grote-more; John Verney & Humfrey Conyngesby Resid. Legatees; And I the seid Raufe the last day of Septembyr the yer of our Lord mlcccclxxxv ratifie and conferme the same. Probatum fuit coram nobis ac p. nos approbatum et in sinuatum testm. (no date given)—Logge 27.

1504—Richard Pen, Citizen & Tailor of London; to be buried in the Chapel of St. Ann, Church of St. Brides, Flete strete; brothers John & Richard Pen; sister Lewce; nephew Thomas Everton; wife deceased; Proved 2 April 1504.—Holgrave 5

1558—Thomas Penne of Stonestretforde, co. Bucks, Tanner; to be bur. in Church of St. Gyles at Stonestretforde; sons Roger, John & Thomas Penne; dau. Marye; Exrs. sons Roger & John; Overseer Jordeyne Thomas; dat. 11 Sept., pro. 13 Feb 1558—Welles 37



1559—John Penne, Esquire, of Codycote, co. Herts.; to be bur. in Church of Codynte; to churches of C. & Welwyn; daus. Elen, Elizabeth & Dorothye each 40 li at marriage; son Robert's wif; son Robert Penne my mylle of Codynte; son William; wife Lucy Residuary Legatee & Extrix. Wit. Michael Hogkin; Signed John Pen; dat. 15 Aug. 1556; pro. 6 May 1559 by wid. second grant 10 Oct. 1560 to Gyles Penne—Chayney 16

1570—David Penne of Penne in the countie of buck, Esquior; to be bur. decentlie in Penne Chan'cell among myne auncestors; Exrs. to remove the bodie of my wife where she in nowe buried and burie her in the same place where I shalbe buried; legs. to poor of Penne & other Townes nere adioyninge; I giue and bequeathe for the tearme of xxx yeares nexte to begynne ymmediatlie after my deathe to my executors & their assignes to paie my debtes my manno<sup>r</sup> howse of Penne with all the Demeane groundes belongeinge vnto the same; if sonne Thomas Penne doe order hymselfe frome henceforthe honestlie and be ruled by my executors in the choseinge of his wyfe and reforminge of his oder lewde manors then I giue vnto hym ymmediatlie after my deathe by the space of Tenne yeares £11-6s-8d.; dau. Marie Peckham & dau. Margett Gyfforde to either of them foure of my beste bowles & cuppes of siluer; to George Peckham, my dau. Peckham's son the nexte best bowle; to son Edward Penne the Tenthe beste bowle or cuppe of siluer; myne olde sarvaunte Edward ffowkes; Exers. welbeloued brother Richard Hampden esquio<sup>r</sup>, sonne-in-law George Peckham, cosen Nich'as Weste & sonne-in-lawe Thomas Gifforde.

Codicil dat. xxij Jan. 1564—Legs. of furniture &c. to das. Mary Peckham & Margaret Gifford & sons Edward & Thomas Penne to Thos. Tempeste my downe geldinge; to Anne Playcer for her paines that she hath taken with me in my sicknes., the beste bedd; legs. to Ellis Tiler, Roger Clerck, Richard Sexten, John Bovindon of Penstrete, Margerie Cockley, Andrew Deane, William Parsley & John



Cutler; my grounde called Bentles in the pishe of Agmondeshm; to Davide Easte my sister's sonne xl s.; to Henrie Easte my sister's sonne xx s.; William Nasshe xl s.; all my landes over & above xxtie marckes of annuitie by the yeare graunted to my sonne Thomas Pen I will & bequeathe to my eldest sonne John Pen; This being written by the concent of me David Pen being sick in bodie but being pfecte in memorie thankes be gyven to god the xxvth. daie of Januarie Anno d'n'i 1564. p. me DD Pen. Wit: John Cheyne de bois, John Cheyne of Agmondshm, Thos. Tempest. dat. 5 Jan 1564; Adm. granted 13 June 1570 to son John Penn, the exors. having renounced.—Lyon 18.

1572—Anthony Penne Esquier of London; wife Julyan; bro. William; sister Cisley; Michael, Clement & Baptist Hickes; Proved by widow Julyan Penn, 17 July 1572.—Daper 24.

1573—Gilbert Pen of fforburie, parish of Bromsgrove, co. Worcester; mother; wife Johanna; son-in-law William Chaunce. Proved 2 June 1573 by widow Johanna Pen.—Peter 20

1575—John Pen of ffifhed, co. Somerset, Yeoman; to be buried in Cathedral Church of Wells; sons John, Henry & Edward Pen; daus. Agnes, Mary & Alice; dau.-in-law Jesse Taylor; sist. Ellner Strowde; wife Agnes; Proved 14 May 1575 by widow.—Pyckeringe 20

1579—Edward Pen of ffyfehede, co. Somerset. sisters Agnes & Mary Pen; sist. Ales Chamber; Joane Comb; Proved 18 Dec. 1579 by bro John Pen.—Bakon 49.

1579—Henry Pen of ffyfehede, co. Somerset; to be buried in Cathedral Church of Wells; sisters Agnes, Mary & Ales; bros John & Edward Pen; Exr. bro. Edward Pen; Admon. 18 Dec. 1579 to bro. John Pen, bro. Edward being decd.—Bakon 49.

1584—Richard Penne, Citizen & Butcher of London; son William Penne; wife Margaret; wives' brothers; sons Adam & William; daus Alice, Barbara & Margaret; Proved 26 Mch. 1584 by widow.—Butt 34

1586—Anthony Penne of Pedmore, co. Worcester, Gent.; mother Eliz.; bro. Humphrey's 4 children Roger, Henry, Ursula & Martha; sist. Ann Combye's children William, Joane, Katherine & Philip; sist. Joice Taylor's child. Anthony, Agnes, Mary Margaret & Elizabeth Taylor; sist. Mary Pearman, wife of Hugh Pearman & their child. Anthony, John, Nicholas, Jane & Anne Pearman; bro. Francis Penne's child.; Edmund & Eliz.; bro. Gilbert Penne; son-in-law John Cartwright; bro-in-law John Harle; wife Elizabeth; Exrs. bros. John & Francis; Overseer, bro. Humphrey. Pro. 12 Nov. 1586 by John and Francis Penne.—Windsor 58

1591—Anthony Penne, Citizen & Mercer of London; to be buried in the Church of St. Mary Magdalen in Milk street; mother Mrs. Julian Penne; bros. Clement & Michael Hickes; sister Elizabeth, wife of bro. Baptist Hickes. Pro. last of August, 1591.—Sainberbe 64

1591—Gilbert Penn of the Fenn, parish of Belbroughton, co. Worcester Sythsmith; sons William, John & Oswald Penn; dau. Elizabeth; wife Margaret; bro. William; bro.-in-law John Wakeman of Bewdley. Pro. 18 Dec. 1591 by widow Margaret.<sup>1</sup>—Sainberbe 94

1592—Will of William Penne of Minety, Gloucester, Yeoman.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A note in reference to this Gilbert Penn, scythesmith, will be found in *Herald & Genealogist*, VII., 131, demonstrating that the trade is not one incompatible with a gentleman, and giving instances.

<sup>2</sup> His monumental inscription at Minety Church in Chancell near South door reads, according to Awbrey (fo. 270), as follows:

“William —enn dyed the 12 of March in the year of our Lord 1591.”

The writer learns from Rev. Mr. Edwards, Rector of Minety, that this stone has now quite disappeared.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN The first day of May in the two and Thirtieth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the Grace of God Queen of England France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c Et Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo Nonagesimo I Willm Penne of Myntie in the County of Glouc Yeoman being at this present time whole in Body and of good and perfect remembrance (laud and praise be vnto Almighty God) Do ordain and make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following viz. first I commit and bequeath my Soul to my Lord and Sauior Jesus Christ by whose Death and Merits and precious Bloodshedding I hope to be saved And my body to be buried within the Parish Church Chancel or Church Yard of Mintij where my friends shall think meet Item I give and bequeath vnto the poor people dwelling within the said Parish Twenty Shillings to be distributed by my Overseers after my Burial according to their Discretions Item I give and bequeath vnto Giles Penn, William Penn, Marie Penn, Sara Penn and Susanna Penn being the Children of my late Son William Penn deceased Twenty Pounds apeice To be paid vnto them by my Executor as they shall come to and be of the age of Twenty one Years apeice or at the day of any of their Marriages (if any of them happen to be married before) So that such Marriage or Marriages be made to the liking and with the Consents of my Overseers Provided always that if any of the said Children shall fortune to departe this Life before the Age of Twenty one Years Then my Will is that their portion or portions so dying shall be equally divided among the Rest that shall be living Item I give and bequeath vnto Margaret Penn Widow late Wife to William Penn my Son deceased the Sum of Ten pounds to be paid vnto her Yearly during her natural Life by my Executor at the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary and

It is much to be regretted that the Parish Registers should have perished before 1663. In the Bishop's Transcripts at Sarum there are five fragmentary years before that date, beginning with 1607, which were carefully searched but without result.



StMichael the Archangel by equal portions if she shall and do so long keep herself sole and chaste and vnmarrried The same payment to begin after my death at such time as my Heir shall come to and be of the full age of Twenty one Years Provided always that if at any time the said Margaret shall happen either to marry or otherwise to miscarry and not to continue an honest Life Then my Will is that the foresaid Ten pounds shall surcease and be no longer paid vnto her by my Executor But that then vpon either such Marriage of her or other disordered Life being known my Will is that my Executor shall pay and deliver vnto her the Sum of Twenty Pounds in money and also a good Bed with all manner of Furniture therevnto belonging and so she quietly to depart from my Executor Item my Will is that the said Margaret Penn my Daughter-in-Law and my Overseers shall have the whole Charge Rule and Government of my Heir and of all the Rest of the Children which were the Sons and Daughters of Willm Penn my Son deceased and of all such Lands and Tenements and Hereditaments and of all such Goods and Chattells as I shall leave at my Death till such time as my Heir shall accomplish and be of the full Age of Twenty one Years and that the said Margaret Penn shall continue with the said Children and help to breed them vp during the time aforesaid And that she shalbe maintained of the whole and shall do and vse all things in the House for the vse and benefit of my Executor in such manner of wise and sort as she did in my own days vsed to do for me so that her doings and Dealings therein be done with Consent and Advice and good liking of my Overseers provided always that if the said Margaret Penn shall fortune to marry or otherwise not to live sole and chaste as beforesaid before such time as my Heir shalbe of the Age of Twenty one Years Then my Will is that my Executor with the Advice and Consent of my Overseers shall pay and deliver unto her the said sum of Twenty Pounds and the said Bed with all the ffurniture to the same as aforesaid and that therevpon the said Margaret quietly to depart and have no more Rule and Authority of any of my



said Sons Children or of any Thing to them belonging But my Overseers only to do all Things concerning the Children according to their own Discretions and according to my true meaning herein expressed as my faithful Trust is in them finally the Rest of all my Goods and Chattels Moveable and vnmovable not bequeathed my Debts and Legacys being paid and my funeral discharged I give and bequeath to George Penn being the eldest Son of Willm Penn my late Son deceased whom I do make my sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament With Condition that he the said George Penn shall perform and do all Things herein contained by and with the advices and consents of my Overseers Mr Robert George of Cirencester and Richard Lawrence of Withington in the County of Glouc: Gent and Francis Bradshaw of Wokesey<sup>1</sup> in the County of Wiltshire Gent whom I desire to be my Overseers And I give to them hereby lawfull authority to see that all Things herein mentioned be by my said Executor with their helps and Consents performed And I give to every of them for their Pains so taken in and about the Premises ten Shillings to be paid by my said Executor In witness whereof to this my said last Will and Testament I the said William Penne have put my Hand and Seal the day and Year first above written Item I further give to Richard Bidle one Cow Item I give to his Daughter Katherine Bidle one Heifer of two years of Age Also I give to my Daughter Ann Greene one Heifer and to Elizabeth Greene one Heifer each of them to be two Years old Item I give to Willm Mallibroke one Yearling Heifer And likewise I lastly give to Alice Thermor my old white Mare These being Witnesses—Francis Bradshaw Gent, Willm Taylor and Richard Munden with Others.

Probatum fuit superscriptum Testamentum apud London coram Venli Viro Magro Wilimo Lewin Legum Doctore ad exercendum Officium Magri Custodis sive Commissarij Curiae Proerogativae Cant et Etimo deputat Vicesimo primo

<sup>1</sup> Oaksey, often written Wokesey.

Die Mensis Aprilis Anno Dni 1592<sup>o</sup> in Psona Georgij Penn Executoris in Testo dicti Defuncti nominat Cui Commissa fuit, adstrationum omnium et singulorum bonum et Creditum ejusdem Defti De bene et fidelitur ad strand eadem juxta juris in eo Qto exigenciam et tenorem dicti Testamenti ad Sancta Dei Evangelia in Debita nostris forma personala juratj.

Wm: Legard, Pet: St. Eloy, Hen: Stevens Deputy Registers.—Harrington 31.

1596—John Penn of Penn, co. Bucks, Esq.; sons William, John, Griffyth, Edward & Francis Penn; bros. Thomas & Edward Penn nephew Edward Penn; dau. Martha; sist. wife of John Eden; Mr. John Walliston; friend Nowell Sotheston. Proved 6 Oct. 1596.—Drake 71

1596—William Penn of Kings Sutton, co. Northants.; sons Thomas, Michael, William & John Penn; dau. Margaret; wife Margaret (*enceinte*); bro. Richard; sisters Dorothy and Johan Penn; mother Christian; mother-in-law Agnes Caddie; Pro. 18 Oct. 1596 by widow.—Drake 70

1599—John Penne of Great Sherston, co. Wilts.; sons John, Robert, Thomas & William Penne; dau. Joane Penne; Pro. 20 June 1599 by John & Joan Penne.—Kidd 56

1607—Julian Penn of London, widow. Will dated 20 Aug. 34 Eliz. To be buried in parish church of Mary Magdalen in Milke streete “as nere to my late husbandes Anthony Pen & Robert Hickes as convenyently yt may be;” my mansion house vpon St. Peters hill where I now dwell to eldest son Michael Hickes, with remainder to son Baptist Hickes, remainder to my right heirs; my house called the White Beare in Cheapside wherein my son Baptist Hickes doth now inhabite & all houses in Bredstreete &c to said son Baptist; to son Clement Hickes “one blacke leather chiste;” to Julyan Hickes my goddau. & to her mother my son Bap-

tist his wife; To Mary Hicke one other of the daus. of said Baptist £50; To the child that my dau. Baptist his wife now goeth withall "yf it be a male childe" £100 & if a female £50 &c Sons Michael & Baptist exrs. Witnesses—Andrew Sumner, ffrancys Mynne. Codicil dat. 1 Sept. 1592 with several small legacies. Pro. 29 Jan 1607 by Sir Baptist Hicke knt one of the exor., reservation to Sir Michael Hicke knt the other exor.—Windebanck 4

1609—William Penne of parish of Belbroughton & diocese of Worcester; will dated 6 June 1609. To daughter Bridget £100; To daus Elizabeth, Dorothe & Anne 100 marks each; To son Gilbert £100 to be paid to him at Michaelmas in 1612; To dau. Anne Westwood one sylver spoone; same to daus. Joane & Margerie To son Oswald all my waynes, Tumbrells, yokes, Towes, Harrowes &c. Residue to son Henry whom I make exor. (No signature) Witnesses—John Hemming, Oswald Penn & Joyce Tollye her marke. Proved 23 Aug 1609 by exr.—Dorset 79

1610—Edward Penn of Middleton, co. Northants, Yeoman; bro. Thomas of Banbury; sons John, Thomas, Edward, William & Mathew; daus. Margaret & Elizabeth. Proved 9 Oct. 1610 by bro John Penn.—Wingfield 84

1611—Robert Penn of Westerleigh, co. Gloucester; dau. Eleanor; son Robert Penn to whom he bequeaths the living of Sherston, co Wilts; dau. Agnes; wife Ann. Pro. 21 Jan. 1611.—Wood 1

1613—Francis Penne of Bobbington, co. Staff., Gent.; to be buried at Bobbington; daus. Mary, Anne, Margaret & Magdalen; sist.-in-law Margaret Gray; son Edward; wife Constance; Overseers bro.-in-law John Brodock & John Duke, Gent. Pro. 31 Dec. 1613.—Capel 114

1616—Oswald Pen of Belbroughton, co. Worcester, Yeoman; only child William Pen; sisters Ann & Dorothy;



Proved 4 May 1616; Admon. de bonis non granted in 1630 to Ann, widow of William Pen.—Cope 47

1617—William Penn of Kings Sutton, co. Northants.; bros. Henry, William, Richard, Thomas & Michael; sist. Margery, Margaret & Elizabeth. Proved 13 Oct. 1617.—Weldon 99

1618—Johane Peene late of Tovill in parish of Maydstone, co Kent, widow; (*nuncupative will*) In the monethes of Julye & August 1617 declared that her sonne Thomas Peene should haue her howse & all the goodes therein as yt was hers after her decease & as greate a share in money besides as any other of her children for that she meant he the saied Thomas Peen shoulde giue entertaynment to all the rest of her children, which wordes or like in effect were vttered within the tyme aforesayed at the house of Robert Jackson situate in ffancburche streete, London, in the p'nce of Barbara Jackson wife of the sayed Robert & Elizabeth Winterborne & dyvers others. Admon. gr. 19 Aug. to son Thomas Peene.—Meade 79.

1618—Thomas Penne of Stony Stratford, co. Bucks., Gent.; sons Michael, Thomas & William Penne; dau. Catherine; grson. Thomas Franklin; grdau. Grace Michell; Thomas, son of bro. Edward Penne; wife Grace, Extrx. Pro. 10 Oct. 1618.—Meade 98

(To be continued.)



EXCITEMENT IN PHILADELPHIA ON HEARING OF  
THE DEFEAT AT BRANDYWINE.

[The following letter, addressed to "Mrs. Fergusson, Graeme Park," and in her handwriting endorsed, "Mrs. Stedman's letter to E. F., 1777," was probably written by Margaret, wife of Alexander Stedman, the brother of Charles, who was married in 1749 to Ann Graeme, sister of Mrs. Fergusson. The original letter is in the collection Mr. William J. Buck, to whose courtesy we are indebted for this copy.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

Septemb<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 11, 1777.

Knowing that my dear Mrs. Fergusson is a warm patriot, and that this important critical period, so big with diurnal events must create and keep alive a continual anxiety and desire of hearing what is passing, I seize every opportunity of conveying a few lines, and tho' very imperfect and far short of what any of her other Correspondents is qualified to engage in, yet as the motive that prompts me to take this frequent liberty arises merely from esteem and friendship, the goodness of your heart I am well assured is quite sufficient to justify the weak effect it produces. But Oh my dear Madam, how shall I be able to go on with this epistle, for this very moment we have accounts that both armies are, and have been since 7 o'clock in the morning in close engagement, and now it is between 11 and 12. Mr. Stedman with numbers of others is just returned from a walk to the Bettering House, where the firing is very distinctly to be heard, so that it is no vague report. I really tremble for the event, and am so agitated that I must lay down my pen, but if permitted will resume it again, and transmit you all I can collect, tho' it will be inaccurate I am sure.

3 o'clock in the afternoon, desirous to communicate all I can, and agreeable to promise I shall endeavour to proceed a little with my narative. First I must inform you that a Man at this very instant is parading through the City ringing a Bell and ordering all Houses to be immediately shut up,

alarming the inhabitants that General Howe is advancing and that every man who can carry a Gun must appear on the Commons. The morning has been chiefly employed in pressing Carts, Horses and Wagons, a great number of Boats and Cannon are sent down to Schuylkill. We are now so closely shut up that I can scarcely tell what is going on in the busy scene, nor have I yet heard whether any express is came in with an account of the Battle. From the various reports that are circulating, no true judgment is to be formed, but as it comes to hand I will annex it, in the interim proceed to give you a sketch or two relative to Mr. Comb, who I much fear and sorry I am to say it, has acted a part that will forever throw an indelible reflection on his character. Innocently I believe he embarked in the same difficulties with his fellow Prisoners, he promised to stand by and with them to the last extremities, and with them to share his fate, be their doom ever so severe, and was included as adhering to said determination in their mode of redress of grievances, as you see by the papers sent. But somehow or other yesterday afternoon, permission being granted him for an hour or two to go home, before he was sent away his resolution failed, and without acquainting any of the confined Gentlemen he patched up a queer kind of a parole, much worse in my opinion than if he had gone with the rest, perhaps the sweets of liberty was the tempting snare, for here he is to have no abiding place, but as soon as possible repair to Virginia and surrender himself to the Governor as a Prisoner of war, and from thence be shipped to Eustacia. His main drift I fancy was to go home on any lay almost, poor man he has been hardly treated, and by this last piece of conduct lost all credit with friends. The rest of the Gentlemen are sent off this afternoon with a strong guard, but how inadequate are words to represent the agonizing distresses of the day, the subject is too tender, I must leave it to your sympathy to imagine it drew tears from several men who were by standers, and so shook their resolution that they could not help confessing their eyes had never beheld so moving a scene before.

One imprudent subordinate Jack in an officer insulted our neighbour Wharton, as they were forcing him into the waggon and called him a D—— Tory, but he was soon intimidated by Murdoc Taylor (tho' only one of the gazers) whose compassion was so raised that he flew at the miscreant and swore he would thrust his hands down his throat and pull out his heart if he dared abuse a Prisoner—an assertion of humanity highly to be commended. P. Bond I find is not gone but the conditions of his stay I have not heard and Mr. Comb, as above mentioned has obtained leave to go to New England, but he is taken so ill, that it is more than probable he will fall into other hands soon. An address from the Vestry was presented in his favour, but their answer was that it came too late, as the Warrant for their departure was signed and issued, as to his belonging to Church it was no recommendation at all. It is whispered about that Capt<sup>n</sup> George Morgan has been lately taken up with a Commission in his pocket from General Howe, indeed my dear Madam calamities of all sort prevail, and as I know not when or whether ever I shall write you again if it is but nonsense I will scribble on, but I must turn to a more tragick scene.

Friday 11 o'clock,—Jemmy is this moment came from the Coffee House, where he saw on the Book that eight hundred of our People fell yesterday, and as our army continues to retreat this way and the English to persue, every hour becomes more important and perhaps before you peruse this, the Conflict will be in part over with us, as they are making fast advances. Some of the wounded are coming and the Town is all in confusion, the last effort will be at Schuylkill, where preparations are now forming, but I fear in vain.—Gracious God, look down upon us and send help from above, every face you see, looks wild and pale with fear and amazement, and quite overwhelmed with distress. Some flying and some moving one way some another and the slaughter some think much greater than what is yet made public. Strange it is tho' at no greater distance than Chester, the accounts should be so very various, that one can scarce



be certain of anything. Just now I hear the Baggage Waggons are all coming over the Ferry, it so flutters me I must again break off, but if anything of consequence occurs between this and bed time I will try and insert it. I hope the letter to Betsy on Wednesday came to hand, yours mentioned by Miss Betsy in her last I know nothing of.

General Washington and all his army are come over of this side and marched up to the Falls, expecting the English will cross at the Sweedes Ford. Our fate no doubt will be determined in a very short time,—I hope for the best tho' my fears are great. Our love and regards attend you and Betsy and with compliments to Mr. Young,—assuring you that through all the changes and chances of this poor mortal fluctuating state, nothing I hope will so draw off my attention as to prevent me from devoting some little portion of time for the satisfaction of a friend which by every opportunity you may depend on.

God bless you, Adieu.



FIRST CONGRESS OF THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN  
AMERICA.<sup>1</sup>

BY FREDERICK D. STONE.

Through the influence of Mr. Thomas T. Wright, a citizen of Florida, and others interested in the subject, there was a meeting of representative descendants of Scotch-Irish settlers in America, held in May, 1889, at the city of Columbia, Tennessee. The object of the gathering was the formation of a society for the collection and preservation of material relating to the history of the Scotch-Irish in this country, with a view of setting forth the magnificent achievements of that hardy and energetic race that has stamped the record of its influence on the settlement of our country, the formation of our institutions, and the development of our resources. For these ends a society was formed, and through its members sketches of the families represented and of the race in general, together with interesting relics connected with its history, will be collected and deposited in Princeton College until the society has a permanent home of its own for their preservation.

The proceedings of this meeting have been published. The first part of the volume contains a number of letters received by the committee, the minutes of the Congress, and some of the remarks that were called forth. The second part contains the opening address, delivered by Ex-Governor Proctor Knott, of Kentucky: "What the Scotch-Irish have done for Education," by Dr. Macloskie, of Princeton; "Scotch-Irish Characteristics," by Rev. John Hall, of New York; "The Scotch-Irish of the South," by the Hon.

<sup>1</sup> The Scotch-Irish in America. Proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Congress at Columbia, Tenn., May 8-11, 1889. Published by order of the Scotch-Irish Society of America. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1889.

William Wirt Henry, of Virginia; "The Scotch-Irish of Tennessee," by Rev. D. C. Kelly, D.D.; "Scotch-Irish Achievements," by Colonel A. K. McClure, of Philadelphia; an address by Hon. Benton McMillin; "John Knox in Independence Hall," by the Rev. John S. MacIntosh; and "Scotch-Irish Settlers in South Carolina, and their Descendants in Maury County, Tennessee," by the Hon. W. S. Fleming.

Making due allowance for the exhilarating circumstances which called forth these addresses and the surroundings of their delivery, there remains much that is interesting in them, and some facts that will be useful in tracing the history of the Scotch-Irish in America. After reading the volume with care, however, we feel the force of Colonel McClure's wish, that some other than a Scotch-Irishman should write the history of the Declaration of Independence. "The Scotch-Irish cannot write it," he said, "because in writing they would make themselves immortal." The same, we fear, would be the case should one of their number attempt to write a history of the race in this country. With such a magnificent subject he would have to be a man of steel to prevent the blood of his ancestors from carrying him away from his historic moorings and blinding him to the fact that other than Scotch-Irish influences were at work in the settlement and development of the country.

A good deal of surprise was expressed at the Congress that a history of the Scotch-Irish had never been attempted; but we do not have to seek far for the reason. There is ample material from which to speak in a general way of their origin and of their existence in Ireland, but when we come to their emigration to America, excepting the causes which led to it, it is meagre in the extreme. Coming from one part of Great Britain to another, no record has been preserved of their arrivals as would have been the case had they been of alien origin; and all we know is that while a large majority came to Pennsylvania, others settled in Virginia and the Carolinas. The country along the Atlantic coast was then comparatively thickly settled, and the Scotch-

Irish took up their abodes on the outskirts of civilization. This was not because the Quakers sent them there, as has been asserted, to protect their own settlements from the Indians, or because the Scotch-Irish did not wish to live near the Quakers, who were continually finding fault with them, but for the same reason that now takes the emigrants to the West,—*i.e.*, because there good land is cheap, and large families can be supported at a small expense. They took with them their religion and their schools, and those in Pennsylvania extended their settlements across the mountains and down the valley into Maryland and Virginia. There they met with their brethren from Virginia and Carolina, and penetrated into the country now included in the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. Excepting in a general way the records of this emigration are difficult to trace, and are only found by examining old deeds, wills, and in family tradition.

It must also be remembered that in no way, in the same sense of the word, did the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians *settle* a colony as the Puritans *settled* Massachusetts, the Quakers Pennsylvania, the Catholics Maryland, or the Episcopalians Virginia. They belonged to a later wave of emigration than any of the above, and when they arrived on this side of the Atlantic, governments were firmly established. The consequence is that there are no early governmental records that can be quoted as giving expression to their views. Besides this, the worldly condition of many of the emigrants was not such as would permit them to take an active part in political affairs, as the elective franchise was then limited by a property qualification, and some of those who might have claimed the right to vote were too deeply engaged in providing for their families to take an active part in politics. It was not, therefore, until they gained a foothold, and by their thrift, energy, and enterprise made their settlements important, that they exercised any influence in colonial affairs. When this point was gained they brought into public life an element directly antagonistic to the established order of things, and no one can deny that they were



instrumental in bringing about the War for Independence, which they loyally supported. What the result of their influence would have been in Kentucky and Tennessee, where they were pioneer settlers, had it not been for the Revolution, we can only surmise. After that, civil and religious liberty were such cardinal principles of government, that it is not safe to attribute them to any one class. The material for the history of the Scotch-Irish in this country we fear has been largely destroyed. Some portion of it may yet exist in private letters, in church records, and in the diaries that some of their ministers wrote while travelling from one settlement to another. Much can also be accomplished by preparing memoirs, as full of original material as possible, of early settlers in various parts of the country, and this, we trust, will be one of the chief efforts of the Scotch-Irish Society.



## EARLY GROUND-RENTS: CHESTNUT STREET, SOUTH SIDE, BETWEEN FRONT AND SECOND STREETS.

Since the discovery of the original charter to the city of Philadelphia, much interest has been shown in Humphrey Murrey, named therein as first mayor.

That he was a man of considerable education, and either of much wealth or great political influence, is evident from the selection of him as chief magistrate, and from the extensive grants of land which he obtained throughout Philadelphia. One of these grants was a narrow but valuable strip of property extending along the south side of Chestnut Street from Front to Second. In 1703-4 Murrey disposed of this tract in lots on ground-rents. The following, rearranged from an old chart endorsed "Amount of Ground-rents on Chesnut St. Real estate of I. P.,"—probably Israel Pemberton,—shows the original grantees, and some of the purchasers of the lots, and owners of the ground-rents at various periods. As a complete explanation of this age-worn document, which appears to have been written prior to the Revolution, would require an extended brief of title to each lot, it is simply inserted as it is, with a few such changes as are necessary to include it within our pages.

Thomas Doyle 1753 £3, 21.6 Ft. Sold him in 1753.	1707 28 Jany £4.19	Humphrey Murrey to Daniel England, 33.4 Ft. on Chestnut St., beginning cor. Second St. and extending East.
George Sharswood 1753 £1.19, 11.10 Ft. Sold him 1765.		
Subsequently "Estate of T. Bolitho and Hugh Henry" £2.5 each.	1703-4 1 mo. 3d £4.10	Humphrey Murrey to John Hart <sup>1</sup> 30 Ft. on Chestnut St., begin- ning cor. Daniel England, and extending East.

<sup>1</sup> "There appears to be some mistake about this, as there is 30 ft. of Ground granted on Chesnut St. more than Murry's Lot contains, and by another Draught it apprs. there is but 117 ft. west of Isaac Marriott's Lot,—the mistake apprs. to be in Patk Ogilby's Lot."

Andrew Bartholomew 1753 £2.5  
Patrick Tomins from 1759.  
Jane Chapman in 1753 £2.5  
Jos. Ogden from 1761.

1703-4 Humphrey Murrey to  
1 mo. 3 Richard Hall, 30 Ft on  
£4.10 Chestnut St, begin-  
ning cor. John Hart, and ex-  
tending East.

Subsequently Thomas Doyle and  
Est. of P. Tomins £2.5. each

Alexander Cruckshank 1753, £2.5  
Thomas Doyle in 1754.  
John Blackwood 1753 £2.5.  
Richard Hall in 1754 12 mo.  
J. Bolitho from 1759.

1703-4 Humphrey Murrey to  
1 mo. 3d William Southbee,<sup>1</sup> 30  
£4.10 Ft. on Chestnut St,  
beginning cor. Richard Hall,  
and extending east. J. Morris  
£2.11.9 23 Ft. Benjamin Smith.  
Vanaken, 7 Ft.

John Morris 1753, £2.11.9

Patrick Ogilby<sup>2</sup> £4.4 26 Ft.

Estate of Jane Vanaken 1753, £7.14.

1713 Humphrey Murrey to  
29 June Isaac Marriott,<sup>3</sup> 38 Ft,  
£6.13 on Chestnut St., begin-  
ning cor. Patrick Ogilby, and  
extending east.

Estate of Vanaken £7.14. 45 Ft.  
to Morris on one side & E.  
Moode on the other.

Swen Warner 1753 £2.2. Sold him  
1754.

Richard Murrey to Swen War-  
ner, 16 Ft. on Chestnut St., be-  
ginning cor., Isaac Marriott,  
and extending east.

William Moode 1753 £2.2.  
Frances Many 1753 £2.2.  
P. Reeve from 1758.

1703-4 Humphrey Murrey to  
1 mo. 3d. John Bettle, 32 Ft. on  
£5.12 Chestnut st, begin-  
ning cor. Swen Warner, and  
extending East. "now P.  
Reeve £2.2, and E. Moode,  
£2.2."

<sup>1</sup> "1715. H. M. agreed with Frans Knowles to take £3.7.6 in lieu of the ab. £4.10. J. Knowles sold F. K. this lot—F. K. sold John Mifflin, J. M. sold Jos. Richards, J. R. sold W. Carter pt. of it 23 ft. front the assignee paying £2.11.9—the remaining 7 ft was sold by F. K. to I. Marriott, whose relict Jane held it during her life with other ground."

<sup>2</sup> "There does not appear to be any Ground where this lot is laid down."

<sup>3</sup> "The deed Murry to Marriott was formerly in the hands of Henry Vanaken. Isaac Marriott devised this lot to his wife Jane who died intestate without Issue, and without heirs then found."

74 *Early Ground-Rents: Chestnut Street, South Side.*

Samuel Flower 1753 pd £2.9	} Sold W. C in 1774	1703-4	Humphrey Murrey to
W. Crispin from 1758		1 mo. 3d.	Thomas Wharton, 20
Mary Wharton 1753 £2.9		£4.18	Ft. on Chestnut st, be-
W. Crispin from 1758.			ginning cor. John Bettle and extending East. Afterward Joseph Richardson.

Mary Duhmson 1753 £4.	1703-4	Humphrey Murrey to
John Knowles from 1752	1 mo. 3d	Thomas Andrews, 20
	£4.	Ft. on Chestnut st, be-
		ginning cor. Thomas Wharton, and extending east. "now P. Syng."

Joshua Maddox in 1753 pd £4.	1711	Humphrey Murrey to
	25 Mar	Thomas Ohley 21.2 Ft.
	£4.6	on Chestnut st, begin-
		ning cor. Thomas Andrews, and extending East. <sup>1</sup> Subse- quently Joshua Wallace. "now Robt. Waln."

Joshua Wallace . . . . .	£ 4.6
Philip Syng . . . . .	£ 3
P. Reeve & E. Moode . . . . .	£ 4.4
Jane Vanaken . . . . .	£ 7.14
John Morris . . . . .	£ 2.11.9
Hugh Henry V. M. B. . . . .	£ 4.10
Tomins and Doyle . . . . .	£ 4.10
	<hr/>
	£30.15.9

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Ohley's lot was, at the time of this survey, bounded east by land of John Mifflin and others, 121 feet to Front Street.













them, into y<sup>e</sup> Sale  
proper use and behoofe  
for ever. In witness  
whereunto set his hand

Signed Sealed & Delivered in y<sup>e</sup> presence  
of May 1679.

J. Hall as Surveyor

John Adams

William Norrington

John Herman Esq.

FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURES TO THE INDIAN BILL OF SALE OF BOMBAY HOOK, 1679.





INDIAN BILL OF SALE OF BOMBAY HOOK, DELAWARE, 1679.

[Mr. D. M. Chambers, of Camden, N. J., is the possessor of the original of "Mechacksitt ye Indian Kings bill of sale of Boompies Hook [Bombay Hook] to Peter Bayard," in May of 1679, which is "Recorded in ye Records of Pattents in New Castle on fi. 72 and 73 p<sup>r</sup> mdd.," by Ephraim Herman, Clerk, in 1679.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

**B**EE itt knowne unto all Men by These presents that I MECHACKSITT, Cheef Sachema of Kahansink & sole Indian owner & Proprieto<sup>r</sup> of all that Tract of Land Commonly Called by the Christians Boompies hock & by the Indians Newsink, for and in Consideration of one gun fower hands full of powder three Mats coats one ankor of Licquors & one kittle, before the Ensigning and delivery hereof, to mee in hand paid & delivered by Peter Bayard of New Yorke, wherewith I aknowledge & Confesse myselfe to be fully sattisfyed Contented and payed, & therefore doo hereby acquit Exonerate & fully discharge the s<sup>d</sup> Peter Bayard for the same; Have Given granted bargained Sold Assigned Transported & made over & by these presents do fully Clearly & absoluthly give grant Bargaine sell assigne Transport and make over unto him the s<sup>d</sup> Peter Bayard, his heirs & assignes all that tract of Land Called Boompies hooch afores<sup>d</sup> Lying & being on ye westsyde of Delaware River, & att y<sup>e</sup> mouth thereof, beginning at a great Pond & a Little Creeke Issuing out of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Pond, being the uppermost Bounds of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Land & stretching downe along the Bay & River to Duke Creek Including and Comprehending, all y<sup>e</sup> Land Woods underwoods marshes Creekes & waeters, betweene y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> uppermost Pond & Creeke, and duke Creeke afores<sup>d</sup>: To Have and to Hold, the s<sup>d</sup> tract of Land Marshes & premises, w<sup>th</sup> all & singular the appurtenances as alsoe all the Right Tytle & Interest of him y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Mackacksitt, his heirs & assignes therein, unto y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Peter Bayard his heirs &

assignes unto y<sup>e</sup> Soale & Proper use and behoofe of him y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup>  
Peter Bayard his heirs & assignes for Ever In witness  
whereof hee y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Mackacksitt hath hereunto set his hand &  
seale att New Castle In delewar this 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1679.

Signed Sealed and delivered in y<sup>e</sup> presence of us :—

The Signing or

marke × of Mechackpitt [L.S.]

J. d. haes as Interpreter  
John addams

This is the marke × of  
Moess appenakin ak the Son  
of mechacksitt

Eph. Herman Cl<sup>r</sup>

---

This deed Recorded in ye  
Records of perticular In-  
strum<sup>ts</sup> of ye Towne of N.  
Castle p<sup>r</sup> mee  
Eph Herman Cl<sup>r</sup>  
1679

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We regret to announce the death of

JOHN JORDAN, JR.,

which occurred on Sunday morning, 23d March, 1890. Mr. Jordan was elected a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania 23d September, 1840, and during his membership of nearly half a century filled the following offices: Executive Council, 1846-1890; Corresponding Secretary, 1846-1848; Recording Secretary, 1859-1863; Vice-President, 1876-1890. As a Trustee of the Publication Fund, he served from its organization to his death.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

ANDREW HAMILTON.—The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of May 11–18, 1738, contains the following letter from London, dated in February of 1737–8:

“WE have been lately amused with Zenger’s Trial, which has become the common Topic of Conversation in all the Coffee-Houses, both at the Court End of the Town and in the City. The greatest men at the Bar have openly declared, that the subject of Libels was never so well treated in Westminster-Hall, as at New York. Our political Writers of different Factions, who never agreed in anything else, have mentioned the Trial in their public Writings with an Air of Rapture and Triumph. a Goliath in Learning and Politics gave his opinion of Mr. Hamilton’s Argument in these terms, If it is not Law it is Better than Law, it Ought to be Law and will always be Law wherever Justice prevails. The Tryal has been reprinted four times in three months, and there has been a greater demand for it, by all ranks and degrees of People, than there has been know for any of the most celebrated performances of our greatest Geniuses. We look upon Zenger’s Advocate, as a *glorious Assertor of Public Liberty and of the Rights and Priveleges of Britons.*”

LETTER OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.—Copy of a letter of Dr. Franklin to Colonel Thomas McKean in command of the second battalion of the Philadelphia Associators, in camp at Perth Amboy.

Philad<sup>a</sup> Aug. 24. 1776

DEAR SIR

I heard your letter read in Congress relating to the disposition of the German troops and understanding from Col: Ross that they are cantoned on the Island opposite to the Jersey Shore I send you herewith some of the Resolutions of Congress translated into their language as possibly you may find some opportunity of conveying them over the water to these people.—Some of the papers have tobacco marks on the back, it being supposed by the Committee that if a little tobacco were put up in Each as the Tobacconists use to do and a quantity made to fall into the hands of that soldiery by being put into a Drift Canoe among some other little things, it would be divided among them as plunder, before the officers could know of the contents of the paper and prevent it.

With great esteem, I am  
Your most obed<sup>t</sup> humble serv<sup>t</sup>

B. FRANKLIN

Col: M’Kean.

ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE OF THE TEA-SHIP AT PHILADELPHIA IN 1773.—Mr. William Fisher Lewis contributes the following letter of Thomas Wharton to Thomas Walpole, Esq., of Eng-



land, giving an account of the arrival of the tea-ship, the action of the merchants, and the departure of the vessel without breaking cargo, in December of 1773.

PHILADA<sup>a</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> 27 1773.

DEAR FRIEND

I did myself the Pleasure of writing a few lines to thee on the 21 inst via Ireland & I enclosed a printed Account of the very imprudent Conduct of the Bostonians in Destroying the Tea which the Honourable the Directors had shipp'd for that Porte. I fancie they were led to this Act by not attending to the Consequences resulting from their Entering the several Vessels, at their Custom house because We find, that when the Owner applied to the Collector for a Clearance, he told them He could not grant it without the Dutiable Goods being landed, they then Applied to the Governor for his lett Pass who refus'd it because the Owner did not produce a Clearance from the Collector's Office agreeable to Law & Usages, hence it appears the Reason of their Proceeding to the Act, which (I think) cannot be supported by any principal of Law or Government, but I am truly happy to tell my honoured Friend, that Altho' the Philadelphians cannot admit of the East India Company's Tea to be landed because it will Subjugate them to an Act of Parliament which they think Unconstitutional, yet on the arrival of Capt<sup>n</sup> Ayres on the 26<sup>th</sup> Inst. they conducted themselves towards Him in a friendly & polite Manner. His vessel came to Anchor about 3½ Miles below the city. A number of Respectable Citizens went there and told him they neither meant or Intended an Injury to his Vessel or Cargo, but advised, that, the ship should not come nearer the City, but, that he should come up, deliver his Letters take the Sentiments of the Inhabitants & make his Protest, & proceed back to London with all the Dispatch he could. He accordingly came up to the city about 4 °Clock P.M. & after He had been at the Coffee House came down to my house with G. Barclay, accompanied by a large Concourse of People. He asked me what he should do. I told him as there was to be a Meeting of the Inhabitants on the next Morning, He must wait till then, but I mentioned we could not receive the Tea. He said he must Protest. I told him this was a Legal & regular step, & was what the Inhabitants had no objection to. The next morning the Captain accompanied by Ja<sup>s</sup> Humphreys Notary Publick & several respectable Citizens called at my House, when my Brother Isaac & Jon<sup>a</sup> Brown were present when Capt. Ayres made the following Demands whither We would receive the Tea 2<sup>nd</sup> Whither We would pay the Freight thereof, to which T & I. Wharton & Jon<sup>a</sup> Brown gave the following answer—"That while the Tea belonging to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the East India Company (under your Care) is subject to the Payment of a Duty in America we cannot Act in the Commission which they have been pleas'd to Honour us with—2<sup>d</sup> that as we cannot receive the Tea, we cannot pay the Freight thereof."

Thus Matters stood on the morning of the 27th, at 10 °Clock a very numerous Meeting of the Inhabitants determined that the Tea should not be landed, & allow'd Capt. Ayres till next day to furnish himself with Provisions &c. on Condition, that his Ship should depart her then situation & proceed down the River, Some of the Committee going down to the Ship with Capt. Ayres in order to see the first Step performed, which being Effected he returned to the City. T & I. W. with J. B. having offer'd to Advance Capt. Ayres such a sum of money as He should want for Provisions & other Necessaries. He accepted the same, and we shall forward you his Bill on his Owners for the Amount thereof. Thoul observe that as the Ship was not enter'd in our Port no part of the

Cargo was unloaded, Either the property of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the East India Company or that of any private Persons, & as I find my Brother Samuel had caused a Chariott to be shipped on board Capt. Ayres's Ship it naturally returns with the other goods. I must beg the favour that, thoul please to cause the Freight back to London to be paid if the same be receiv'd of the other Shippers, and that thoul take Charge of the same with a box shipp'd by S. W. to his Wife, & send them to Me either by the Return of Cap<sup>t</sup> Ayres or some good Ship in the Spring. I now Enclose Capt. Ayres Bill of Lading for the Chariott & receipt for the Box directed to me, the Cost attending which I will repay with thanks . . . . .

I am sensible that no Men in this city can serve the East India Comp<sup>y</sup> with more Fidelity or Advantage than the House of Willing and Morris of this City Merch<sup>ts</sup>. I shall accept it as the most singular mark of thy Regard if thou will unite with their friends: Messrs W<sup>m</sup> Baynes & Co, Mess<sup>rs</sup> Peter & John Barthow, Mess<sup>rs</sup> John Mollian & Co, & Mess<sup>rs</sup> Ferries & Co to have those Gentlemen nominated with us in the Commission for the Sale of the East India Company's Teas in Case the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Directors shall be pleas'd to ship the same for this Port after the Duty is repealed by Act of Parliament. . . . .

I remain with the sincerest  
Esteem thy real Friend,  
THOMAS WHARTON

To Thomas Walpole Esq<sup>r</sup>.—

LETTER OF WILLIAM PENN.—  
ff<sup>d</sup> TATHAM

I am very ready to Comply w<sup>th</sup> any proposall y<sup>t</sup> may serve the King & our mother Country & these poor Colonys & what ever becomes of ye Journey to Burlington, shall be ready to morrow at 9 in ye morning (God Willing) Especially since Coll<sup>o</sup> Quarry approves of it, but forasmuch as ye post is upon the way & an Exprese for what wee know from ye Earl of Bellemont In answer to mine to y<sup>t</sup> Lord, about the Pirates, to whom ye King has referred the Government I think it would be prudence to stay till wee see ye news of this Post, which cannot detain us long, perhaps not loose us the tyde. I am w<sup>th</sup> Sincerity Coll<sup>o</sup> Quarrys & thy assured ffriend

W. P.

Philad: 21. 1.m<sup>o</sup> 1700

CORRECTION OF DATES.—SETTLERS IN MERION.—THE HARRISON FAMILY AND HARRISON PLANTATION, PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIII., page 457.—The date of Hannah Harrison's marriage to Charles Thomson is given as 1775. It has been ascertained that Hannah Thomson lost her right of membership in the Society of Friends, in consequence of her marriage, in the Tenth Month, 1774. It has also been ascertained that her mother, Hannah Harrison (see foot of page 457 and top of page 458), died in the Seventh Month, 1774. It is supposed that the marriage took place after the decease of her mother, and, of course, before the termination of her membership with Friends.

G. V.

4 Mo. 9, 1890.

EPITAPH AT GWYNEDD MEETING-HOUSE.—The following inscription upon a grave-stone at the Friends' Meeting-House at Gwynedd,



Montgomery County, Pa., is becoming so indistinct that it may, ere long, be quite illegible. Perhaps the editor may think it worth preserving in "Notes and Queries."

T. S.

Hear lieth the body of Martha the daughter of Humphrey Bate and Anne his Wife departed of this life Aprile 25 aged 3 Y: 6 M: 1714.

OLD MILL AT YARDLEY, PA.—Cut in a stone of the front wall of an old water-mill at Yardley, Pa., are the following letters and figures: "I. N. Y. 1769." The lower half of the Y is obliterated. A local antiquary told me that this mill is the second one built upon the same spot, and that the above date is that of this last erection. I find no mention of the inscription in the histories of Bucks County to which I have access.

T. S.

GENEALOGY OF GEORGE FOX, BY THOMAS HILL.—"George Fox was born at Drayton in the Clay in the County of Leichestre, was bread a Shoemaker, was one of the first of that set called Quakers In England. he went from England over to America And there purchas'd divers lands of W<sup>m</sup> Pen founder at the Colony called Pensilvenia in America, came back into England died in London without Child the next Heir was his Brother John's Son, Geo. Fox Nephew to the above Geo. Fox was bread a Taylor and resided at Palesworth in Warwickshire died there and left one Son & three daughters the Sons name was Joseph bread a Baker at Polesworth and died there and left two Sons George the Eldest bread a Baker and now living at polesworth. The younger Brother's name was Joscph who died the 26 of July 1756 aboard the prince Frederick in Admiral Boscawings Fleet and left neether Wife nor Child therefore it must Evidently appear upon examining the Regesters and every Circumstance that the said George now living at Polesworth is the lawful male Heir at Law to all the Estates and Effects of the aforesaid Geo. Fox which he possessed or had any right to in America.

"The above pedegree I had from Geo. Fox's own Mouth and saw in Writing at his own house as Witness my hand this 10<sup>th</sup> day of Oc<sup>to</sup> 1768.

"THO<sup>s</sup> HILL.

"Halifax Yorkshire  
in England."

POWDER FOR THE PROVINCE.—"Mr. Thomas Wharton please Deliver Commissary Bard five Barrels of Musquet & five Barrels of Cannon powder & Charged to the province

"JO. HUGHES

"May y<sup>e</sup> 11 1758."

"recd. twenty Qr. Cask powder markt F & Six Qr. Cask F for the use of Fort Augusta May y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> 1758."

"PETER BARD  
"Commess."

THE WYNN-AP JOHN TRACT.—"Jonathan Wynn son and heir of Thomas Wynn alledging that his ffathers joynt purchase with John Ap

John of 5000 acres was not fully taken up, craves a Warr<sup>t</sup> for 400 acres in the Welsh Tract if to be had or elsewhere if not.

“Granted with a proviso in the Warr<sup>t</sup> that it be released in case they have had or sold their whole complement : 18<sup>th</sup> 4<sup>mo</sup> 1705.

“By the Commissioners of Property.

“ . . . . These are to authorize and require thee to Survey & lay out to the said Jonathan Wynn the said quantity of four hundred acres of Land in the Welsh Tract if there to be found vacant or elsewhere according to the Method of Townships where not surveyed nor seated by the Indians, and make Returns by a copy of this Certified by the Secretary into the Surveyor General Office which said Survey in case the said Jonathan hath a Right to so much yet untaken up shall be Valid otherwise shall be Void & of no Effect. Given under our hands & the Province Seal at Philad<sup>a</sup> the 18th 4 mo 1705.

“ EDW<sup>d</sup> SHIPPEN  
GRIFFITH OWEN  
JAMES LOGAN

“To David Powel  
Surveyor.”

COST OF A LIGHTNING-ROD IN 1766.—

“ Mr. Thomas Wharton Sen<sup>r</sup>  
“ To William Rush Dr.

“ 1766  
Octo<sup>r</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> To an Electrical Rod £1.. 9.. 6.”

LETTER OF JOSEPH HARRISON TO MRS. JOHN LAWRENCE.—

“PHILADA June 16. 1781.

“MADAM

“You have done me great honour in permitting me to write to you & I shall ever esteem this Correspondence with a Lady of your embellish’d Understanding & superior Attainments not only as a singular favour but as one of the most flattering Circumstances of my Life—I should be sorry to have the Language of Sincerity mistaken for that of Adulation & be understood as professing Sentiments of unmeaning Compliment—I should feel myself little indeed could I be suppos’d capable of a Meanness like this. It is a very sincere though inadequate acknowledgement for the pleasure & Improvement I have receiv’d from your Conversation & I flatter myself my Conduct may be such as to merit a Continuance of the Intimacy with which I have been honour’d—

“I cannot promise you much Entertainment with respect to what passes in this Baotian City. The tittle-tattle of the day can have varied little since you left it & there seems to be very little Change with respect to those Matters on which the fate of our Country depends—It will be unnecessary to tell you the Lies of the day—they are often contradicted by those that made them the same Hour & if I should pretend to relate any thing I hear from common fame or the News papers I should be in very great Danger of having either my Understanding or my Sincerity suspected—most people are so fond of Novelties that they often run to hear what they have very little Expectation of finding true. ’Tis the Business of some to invent & the folly of others to believe. I may with Certainty inform you that Tobago has surrender’d to the French & that the Count de Grasse has landed from 6 to 10.000 men on the Island of Barbadoes the Inhabitants of which place have refus’d to arm in its Defence. Rodney with 7, other accounts say 17 Ship of the Line lies



between the Island & the French fleet consisting of 25 Sail of the Line. there is very little doubt of this place experiencing the fate of Tobago. By authentic Intelligence from the Southward we are inform'd that L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis has been for a considerable time past retreating—for what End we know not. Candour will not permit me to suppose it the Apprehension of a defeat, tho' our troops under the Marquis are equal in Number, Bravery & discipline to his—it may be as well not to hazard an action where the Event is so very uncertain. I wish however the gallant & enterprising Spirit of the Marquis may hasten an Event which must certainly decide the fate of the Campaign. The distresses of the Southern States call for a speedy termination to this destructive war. They suffer every Evil that a disappointed & vindictive Enemy can inflict. By a late Order from the Commandant of Charlestown, the wives and Children of those who were sent to Augustine & others prisoners under the Capitulation all of whom are now exchanged are oblig'd to quit their Country & seek an asylum among Strangers. Many of them without Money & without friends. Two flags are arriv'd and several others expected. M<sup>rs</sup> Moultrie, M<sup>rs</sup> Middleton & M<sup>rs</sup> Cattle are among the Number of the unhappy fugitives. It is said there are not less than 2000 Men Women and Children who have left Charlestown for different parts of the Continent. I am apprehensive this Severity will produce some violent Step on our part. The disaffected may become objects of Retaliation. Many Quakers from policy or an humane principle have shewn a disposition to provide for these unhappy people. They have offered their Country seats for their accommodation & every Effort is made by the Inhabitants for their Relief. A national Revolution cannot be effected without some such melancholy Scenes, but human Nature if not quite lost must shudder at contemplating the Barbarities this unhappy Contest has exhibited. Britain in considering us as Rebels has considered us as having forfeited the Common Offices of Humanity & whether she promotes her darling Scheme of Conquest by such policy as has marked the progress of her armies let the present Situation of the Country shew. At this time she retains no more of the Countries she has conquer'd than their respective Capitals. It is the opinion of most of our politicians that Gen<sup>l</sup> W—— who is joined by the French troops & is now at Morrisania is meditating an attack against N York & I hazard my Judgment & my whiggism by being of a different opinion. It may be good policy to hold out the Idea and make every vigorous preparation for the accomplishment of this desirable purpose as it may prevent Succours to the Army in Virginia which if not reinforced will be obliged to leave that State as it is recovering from the first Shock of the Invasion & collecting all its force to repel the Invaders. I cannot think there is any other object in the present appearance of an attack upon a place which is certainly too strong for any force we can carry against it. But it is a subject so popular that to a *true* whig there appears every prospect of Success.

“Villainy seldom goes unpunish'd & is very often defeated by the Means of its Existence. Arnold—notwithstanding his unremitting Exertions in the plunder of Tobacco is depriv'd of the Benefits of his Labour. Arbuthnot has claim'd it as High-Admiral of the Ocean on which it was taken & will no doubt remain Master of the ill-gotten Weed. As the age we live in is replete with every thing that is marvellous and new you will not be surpris'd at hearing that McKean from presiding over Boys now presides over the United States. To be sure the Chair went a begging & many refus'd the dignity: but that must be owing to a Consciousness of their Unworthiness.—An objection which can by no means apply in the present Case.

“The intense heat and stupid atmosphere we breathe in has dissipated every Idea from the Minds of the once gay & brilliant & tho’ according to Gen<sup>l</sup> Lee’s estimation this place can never be deem’d an Athens yet it has had for some time past an unusual portion of Dulness. As the Air of Trout Hall has not those bad Qualities I apprehend the Genius of that delightful spot (whose least Excellence is its Air & Situation) will not fail to distinguish its Inhabitants by Brilliancy of Wit & Sprightliness of fancy & flatter myself that we who are not so fortunate as to be under its immediate Influence, may nevertheless partake of her Gifts by a Communication from those who are so greatly favourd. With this Expectation & my most respectful Comp<sup>ts</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Lawrence I have the Honour to subscribe myself your friend & hble serv

“JOS HARRISON.”

LETTERS OF LAFAYETTE, GREENE, CLARK, AND O’HARA, from the Autograph Collection of Isaac Craig, Esq., Alleghany, Pa.

HEAD QUARTERS the 29 November 1777

DEAR SIR

It is with the greatest pleasure that I follow his excellency’s order, in acquainting you that he desires his thanks should be made to the Officers and soldiers of the brave detachment of riflemen under your’s and major moriss’ command—the general is very sensible of the alacrity and gallant conduct they showed the 25<sup>th</sup> instant in having attacked and repulsed with a great loss an enemy much superior in number and force—I congratulate you and them, Sir, for having so well deserved his approbation—with the greatest affection and esteem I have the honor to be

dear Sir your most obedient servt.

THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE <sup>1</sup>

my compliments if you please to  
Colonel morgan and major moriss  
*lieutenant colonel butler*

HEAD QUARTERS  
ASHLEY RIVER Octo 9<sup>th</sup> 1782

DEAR SIR

I have been twice made happy on the receipt of your letters the last dated 22d July; and came to hand only yesterday. I should have been happy had you been with this Army, as there’s but few Officers of whom I have so good an opinion, or for whom I feel an equal attachment. The service of the Campaign has been generally very insipid and your loss of military glory from your not being here is little to be regretted; for it is ten to one if fortune would have favored you with one opportunity to gain glory, nor does your reputation want it.

Our Army has been exceedingly sickly and often in great distress for want of provisions and clothing. I believe it is happy you did not march as it is highly probable you would have had the same ground to tread over again this fall or winter. It is dayly expected the Enemy will leave Charlestown, as soon as that happens the Troops will be put in motion to march Northerly.

From the present measures of the enemy one would be apt to conclude peace is at hand. I wish it may be so. I believe both the people and the Army are tired of war. The one from the expense the other

<sup>1</sup> Two or three letters follow the signature, but too indistinct to be made out. See Sparks, V., 170, 171, for an account of this action. Lafayette’s seal on the letter is well preserved.



from getting no pay. A great reduction of the Army is in contemplation I find at any rate, peace or not. I am glad you are recruiting so fast in your State, it will hasten peace to see rapid preparations for war.

General Wayne is very unwell with a fever, and has been for some time past. I have had a fever myself; but am now pretty hearty.

With esteem & regard

I am dear Sir

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup>

humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

N. GREENE.

NOTE.—The address is lost, but I think it was to General Daniel Morgan.—I. C.

CROSSINGS March 23<sup>d</sup> 1781

DR. CAPT.

Yours of the 18<sup>th</sup> came safe to hand I much approve of your going down in order to take measures to Compleat yourself in stores wanted for your Dep<sup>t</sup>, not only for the necessary for the Enterprize but to Inable you to gain those Laurels I could wish to put in your power. I am sorry to find by the indent you Honoured me with the great defitiency of stores at Fort Pitt, but am in hopes it will be in your power to procure them in time; you may Rely on all necessary Assistance his Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington if you should be obliged to make application to him. It would be advisable to get what artillery men and artifices you Could below; we must indeavour to make up the defitiency (if any) other-ways there is a few pretty well trained in the Illinois thats on their way to Join you. I could wish you to be as Compleat as possible and am in hopes you will meet with no difficulty in procuring what you want. I am happy you have Consulted Co<sup>l</sup> Brodhead on the subject, by a letter he honored me with approves the plan as Highly advisable. I hope you will a sufficient length of time between this and the first part of May to compleat your Business. I heartily wish you success.

am with Much esteem

Y<sup>r</sup> very Obt. Serv<sup>t</sup>

G. R. CLARK B. G.

I. CRAIG. ESQ.,

Captain of Artillery,  
Pittsburgh.

NIAGARA July 19th 1796

DEAR SIR.

I wrote you at Presque isle on the 14th and took the liberty of making a few serious observations there as well as at Franklin on the subject of carrying over from La Beauff.

I sett out from Presque isle on the 15th and on the 17th Arrived at Fort Erie at the same time that Col<sup>o</sup> England of the 24th landed there with three Schooners and the Garrison of Detroit, a Detachment of Hamtramck's Command having relieved him at that Garrison. On the morning of the 18th I had an interview with the Col<sup>o</sup> which confirmed all my apprehensions respecting the consequences that will certainly attend the delay in carrying over from La Beauff.

The Command for Michilamachanack cannot proceed for want of salt provisions if the Exchange proposed between you & me had been made practicable, this serious delay would have been made practicable, this very serious delay would have been prevented, as I have already mentioned, by Cap<sup>t</sup> Fearsons Comeing to at Presque ile on the Evening of the 13th in Ballast, wishing for Cargoe to the Upper Posts

In the Course of my Conversation with Col<sup>o</sup> England he politely

offered the Use of his three returning Schooners on the Day after tomorrow to Detroit for any purpose I should think proper, I had no freight, and no Salt meat Can possibly be obtained on this line, at any Rate.—I wrote by Fearson for a Vessell to be at Presque isle, on the 28th Instant she may be there sooner. I hope a load will be Ready, and can assure you that Pork and Whisky is all that is wanted, therefore Should this Reach you in time you will have those articles first brought over, and forwarded on my Account.

on the moment of my Arrival at the foot of the Rapids (Quenstown) a Schooner loaded with 250 Barrels of my Salt Came to the Wharf which will go on tomorrow for Fort Erie. the Scooner of which Hunn purchased one half will sail in a fortnight Calculated for the Harbor of Presqueisle Navigated by Lee one of the Owners. I have brought flour here this day on better terms on the Fort landing than you Receive it at Pittsburgh, therefore I have abandoned the Idea of laboring on the Alleghany for the Supplies of the Lakes, it is yet lower at Detroit.

The British Troops have left this Post in Possession of a few of the Rangers, in perfect order, our Troops are yet at Oswego where Bruff with 90 men took possession last Thursday there they Wait for the Return of Hunns Salt Vessell. He has agreed that She shall bring them up, She Sails for Oswego to-morrow—I intend going to Oswego, but finding that Governor Simcoe has determined to Sail from York in two days, for England, I Shall pass over tomorrow morning in hopes to see him. I must Return this way for Oswego, this appears at present my only difficulty, as I am offered a Birth in a Gun Boat that Sails Early for York, I will risque my passage back.

I have accounts from the detachment on their way by Oneida and find that every thing was Conducted by the agency of the Bleekers with ample promptitude, their orders having been to Supply at all events.—

I have appointed William Beard my Agent at Presqueisle and dependencies, you will give him such instructions as you may think proper respecting my business there. I wish you would immediately order Parks to send up about Twenty fat Cattle for each of those Posts and for Franklin, that the Garrisons may have fresh provisions and the Salt Pork be Forwarded.—

Offer my Respectfull Compliments to Col<sup>o</sup> Butler, he may not be Rapid in his Visit here, I do not expect possession in less than ten days.

I am

Dear Sir

Your very Sincere Friend

JAMES O'HARA

MAJOR ISAAC CRAIG.

AN OLD EPITAPH.—Near Blackwood, N. J., is located an old cemetery known as "Wallan's Grave Yard," in which the following epitaph on the stone covering the grave of Henry Roe may be read:

IN MEMORY OF  
HENRY ROE

Who departed this Life

January 31, 1750

Aged 45 years.

H.A.S.D.N.J.J.R.H.U.J.

As you are now, so once was I;  
In health & Strength, though here I lye:  
And as I am, so You must be;  
Prepare for Death & follow me.



PHILIP JACOB WEISS.—Recd 6 mo. 21<sup>st</sup> 1771 of John Roman Eight Pounds Three Shillings & four pence in part of the Passages of Philip Jacob Weiss & Wife in the Pennsylvania Packet from London the remainder of the passage Money being paid by George Seitz.

£8.3.4.

JOSHUA FISHER & SONS.

CLAYPOOLE GENEALOGY.—We are indebted to Mr. J. Rutgers Le Roy, Paris, France, for the following genealogical notes relating to James Claypoole, the emigrant, and his son Joseph.

Memorandum that I James Claypoole and Helen Mercer were Joyned in Marage the 12 day 12 month 16 $\frac{5}{8}$  at Bremen in Germany by Conradus Lelius a Calvin Minister.

1. The 15th day of 9 month 1658 my sonne John was borne at London in Nicholas Lane between 2 & 3 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock in y<sup>e</sup> Morning.

2. My Daughter Mary was borne the 14th day 8 Month 1660 near 8 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock at night in Minsing lane in London.

3. My Daughter Helen was borne y<sup>e</sup> 6 day 9 Month 1662 about 9 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock in the Evening in Scots yard near London stone.

4. My sonne James was borne y<sup>e</sup> 12th day 6 Month 1664 about 8 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock in y<sup>e</sup> morning in Scots yard near London stone.

5. My Daughter Prissilla was borne the 25th of y<sup>e</sup> 2 Month 1666 at  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 4 in the Morning in Scots yard as above

6. My Sonne Nathaniel was borne the 23<sup>d</sup> Day 7 Month 1668 at 2 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon at the Signe of the Still upon Horsly Downe in Southwark

7. My Sonne Josiah was borne y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of 9 Month 1669 about half an hour past 9 at night in Scots yard as above.

My sonne Josiah departed this life the 2<sup>d</sup> day 3<sup>d</sup> Month 1670 about 7<sup>th</sup> hour at night at Kingston upon Thames & was there buried in our friends burying place.

8. My sonne Samuel was borne y<sup>e</sup> 19th 1 Month 167 $\frac{0}{1}$  about  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 2<sup>d</sup> hour in y<sup>e</sup> Morning in Scots yard as above.

9. My second sonne Nathaniel was borne y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> day 8 Month 1672 about  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 6<sup>o</sup> hour in y<sup>e</sup> Evening in Scots yard as above.

10. My sonne Georg was borne y<sup>e</sup> 14th day 11 Month 1674 about ye 9<sup>th</sup> hour in the Evening in Scots yard as above.

11. About the End of the year 1673 my Wife was Delivered of a sonne that Dyed in the birth & was not named.

12. My sonne Joseph was borne y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> day 1<sup>st</sup> month 1676 at  $\frac{3}{4}$  past one of y<sup>e</sup> Clock in y<sup>e</sup> Morning in Scots yard.

My sonne Joseph Departed this lyfe the 30<sup>th</sup> 6 Month 1676 about 3 in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon at Lambeth & was buryed in friends burying place by Moorfields.

13. My second sonne Joseph was borne the 14<sup>th</sup> day 5 Mo 1677 at  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 8th hour at night in Scots yard as above.

14. My Daughter Elizabeth was borne the 25th day 5 Month 1678 at halfe an hour past 6 in the Morning in Scots yard.

My Daughter Elizabeth departed this life the 31th 5 Month 1678 about the 9<sup>th</sup> hour at night & was buryed in friends burying place by Moorfields.

My Sonne Samuel departed this life the 11th 1 month 16 $\frac{8}{1}$  about 10<sup>th</sup> hour at night at Edmendton & was buryed y<sup>e</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> at friends burying place by Moorfields.

My Deare father James Claypoole Departed this Life the 6 6 mo 1687 and was buried in friends burying place at philadelphia 7 6 mo.

My dear Mother Helena Claypoole departed this Life the 19 6 mo 1688 and was buried in friends burying place at Philadelphia 20 6 mo 1688.

My Uncle Norton Claypoole departed this Life in July 1688 at the Whorekill in Lewistown.

My Sister Helen Bethell departed this Life y<sup>e</sup> 9 5 mo 1691 at Jemaca and their both her Children dyed.

My Sister Priscilla Crapp departed this Life the 16 10 mo 1698 and was buried in friends burying place at Philadelphia 20 10 mo 1698.

Brother John Claypoole Departed this Life ye 8 9 mo 1700 and was buried in friend burying place in Philadel.

Brother Georges Wife Mary departed this Life in y<sup>e</sup> 2 mo 1702 and was buried in friends buryind place in philadelphia.

We set Saile from gravesend the 25 5 mo 1683 and Arrived at philadelphia in pensylvania 8 8 mo 1683. we came in the ship called the Concord Captain Jeffrys Commder burthen 550 tuhn.

Memorandum that Francis Cooke and Mary Claypoole was Joyned in Marrage in the 8 mo 1687 In Philadelphia.

This May Certify Whome it May Concern that I, Joseph Claypoole & Rebecca Jennings Ware Married according to the Manor & forme of ye Church of England Prayer Book July y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>dy</sup> 1703 By Mr. Edward Maston Minister of Charles towne in South Carrolinah.

Philadelphia March y<sup>e</sup> 30dy 1704, on thursday at 6 in y<sup>e</sup> Morning Was Borne Mary my first dafter in y<sup>e</sup> house of Mary Cook My Eldest sister Living in y<sup>e</sup> high streat & dyed aged 6 yeres & 8 Months.

Philadelphia March ye 5dy 1705 James my first Son was Borne on thursday a boute two in y<sup>e</sup> Morning at my house in Walnut Street—dyed aged 14 yers & 5 mon<sup>th</sup>

Philadelphia december y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>dy</sup> 1706: George My second Son was borne on Saturday aboute Nine in ye Morning at My hous in Walnut street.

Munday Philadelphia October y<sup>e</sup> 24 dy 1709, Joseph my third Son Was borne a boute three in y<sup>e</sup> afternune at My house in Walnut Street.

Philadelphia November y<sup>e</sup> 26 d<sup>y</sup> 1711. Rebecca My Second Dafter Was Borne on Munday a Boute three quarters Past twelve in ye Morning at My house in Walnut Streate

Philadelphia May y<sup>e</sup> 11 d<sup>y</sup> 1714, Jehu My [torn] Son Was Borne on tusday a bout teen a Clock in y<sup>e</sup> Morning at My house in Walnut Street.

Philadelphia November y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>dy</sup> 1715 Josiah My fifth Son Was Born on Saturday a bout Nine in ye Morning at My house in Walnut Street Dyed in Nine Months.

This is to Certify whom it may Concern that M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Claypole, & Mes Rebecca Jennings were Marry'd according to the Common prayer Book of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England July ye 20<sup>th</sup> 1703 by

Edward Marston  
Minister de Charles Town

Philad'lphia December ye 21 dy 1710, On thursday A bout Nine in ye Morning Mary My first Dafter Died & was Buried in Christs Curch yard aged six years & Eight Months.—

Piladelphia November ye 30 dy 1715, On Wensday a bout a quarter Past twelve in ye afternune, My Most Dere & well Beloved wife Rebecca Claypoole Died at my house in Wallnut Streete & was Buried in ye ould Bering Ground By My Relations & on Saterdag December ye 17 dy 1715 I had My Dafter Mary Removed from ye Church yard & Laid in My Wifes Grave with her.

Philadelphia March y<sup>e</sup> 30dy 1704, on thursday about 6 of y<sup>e</sup> Morning Was Borne Mary my first Dafter in ye house of Mary Cook my Eldest Sister Liveing in ye high Street.

Philadelphia March ye 1 dy 1705, James my first Son was Borne one thursday about two in y<sup>e</sup> Morning at my hous in Wallnut Street.

Philadelphia December ye 14 dy 1706, George my Second Sun Was borne on Saterdag a bout nine in ye Morning at My house in Wallnut Street.

Philadelph October ye 24 dy 1709, Joseph My third Sun Was borne a bout three in ye afternune on Munday at my house in Wallnut street.

Philadelphia November ye 26 dy 1711, Rebecca My Second Dafter was Borne on Munday a Bout three quarters Past twelve in ye Morning at my house in Wallnut Streete.

Philadelphia May ye 11dy 1714 Jehu my forth Son was Borne on tuesday about ten or Eleven a Clock in the Morning at My house in Wallnut Street.

Philadelphia November ye 19 dy 1715 Josiah my fifth Sun was Borne on Saterdag aboute Nine in ye Morning at my hous in Wallnut Streete.

FIRST TROOP PHILADELPHIA CITY CAVALRY.—On the revolt of the Pennsylvania Line, the City Troop was ordered to New Jersey. The original of the following document, which relates to their service during this exciting period, is preserved in the autograph collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania :

“PHILADELPHIA Feb<sup>y</sup> 27 1781.

“SIR,

“I am this Day Called on by Sundry Persons for Demands on me for the Troop Light Horse's Expenses to Trenton with you. Shou'd thank you Sir for a Small Drafft on the Treasury for that Purpose Untill a Genral Account can be obtain'd from the Different Gentlemen that were on Detachments One Hundred Pounds will Answer the Present Demand.

“I remain with the Greatest Respect

“Sir,

“Your Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

“SAML PENROSE

“Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> of the Philad<sup>a</sup>

“Troop Light Horse.

“To His Excelency The President

“In Council.”



On the back of the document it reads :

---

“ For £100. . . state Currency.

---

“ In Council

“ PHILADA February 27 1781

“ SIR,

“ Pay to Samuel Penrose Esquire Quarter Master of the Philad<sup>a</sup> Light Horse or his order the sum of one hundred pounds State money for the purpose within mentioned

“ To David Rittenhouse Esquire.

JOS. REED,  
President.

“ Treasurer.

“ Received the above Contents

“ SAML PENROSE.”

A WEST JERSEY DOCUMENT OF 1683.—This copy was made from “ State Papers, Colonial Series, Entry-Book Plantations General, 1679-1684,” Vol. LXXXIX. :

“ Whereas We were pleased for good cause and considerations us thereunto moving to give and grant unto Our Dearest Brother James Duke of York severall tracts of Land in America, And whereas our sayd Dearest Brother hath likewise given and granted part of the sayd Lands called West New Jersey unto Edward Byllinge Gent with power necessary for the Good Government thereof which Gover<sup>amt</sup> he the sayd Edward Byllinge intends to undertake himself in his own person We do approve of that his Undertaking and have thought fitt hereby to publish Our Will and Pleasure That all persons settled and inhabiting, or that hercafter shall settle and inhabit within the limits of the s<sup>d</sup> Province of West New Jersey do yield all due regard to him the sayd Edward Bylling as Governor and to his Deputies and Agents according to the powers and authorities legally Granted unto him by our sayd Dearest Brother with which Our Will and Pleasure We expect and require a ready Compliance from all persons whom it may concerne as they tender Our Displeasure Given under our Signet and Sign Manuall at Our Court at White hall the 15<sup>th</sup> November 1683—

“ To the Inhabitants and Planters of the Province of West Jersey in America.”

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, WILKES-BARRE, PA.—The following officers were elected for the ensuing year : *President*, A. T. McClintock ; *Vice-Presidents*, Rev. H. L. Jones, Eckley B. Coxe, Calvin Parsons, L. D. Shoemaker ; *Trustees*, C. A. Miner, Edward Wells, S. L. Brown, Dr. L. H. Taylor, H. H. Harvey ; *Treasurer*, A. H. McClintock ; *Recording Secretary*, S. C. Struthers ; *Corresponding Secretary*, Sheldon Reynolds ; *Librarian*, J. R. Wright ; *Assistant Librarian*, F. C. Johnson ; *Historiographer*, George B. Kulp. The society is prosperous, its members energetic, and it deservedly ranks the first of all the county societies of the Commonwealth.

SIR WILLIAM HOWE'S RETURN TO ENGLAND.—“ Yesterday morning at ten o'clock [3d July, 1778] Gen. Sir William Howe went to Lord Geo. Germaine, at his house in Pall Mall, with whom he had a conference, the General was afterwards at Court, and introduced to the king [by Lord Fauconberg] ; when the Court broke up he had a conference with his Majesty 'till past five o'clock. Sir W<sup>m</sup> Howe was just five weeks on

his passage from Philadelphia to Portsmouth; when he sailed from thence no advice had been received of the Trident man-of-war with the Commissioners on board. Sir William kissed his Majesty's hand, on being appointed while in America, a General to act in America only, and also on his institution to the Ensigns and Order of the Bath."

MARRIAGE OF THE CAPTOR OF GENERAL LEE, 1778.—"Yesterday [September 7, 1778] was married at his seat in the country General Harcourt, brother of the present Earl (who sometime since arrived from America where he had made a captive of the American General Lee), to Mrs. Lockhart, a young widow lady, daughter of the Rev. Dr Danby."

A BRITISH HERO OF BUNKER'S HILL.—The *London Chronicle*, November 5-7, 1778, announces: "On Wednesday last Col. Gunning brother to the Duchess of Argyle arrived at Argyle-house from America. This gentleman with his regiment was the first that began the attack against the rebels at Bunker's Hill. In the engagement he was shot through one hand, and one arm, and three balls went through his hat. Only one man out of his regiment was saved; and both him and his colonel have served in America ever since. The man came home with Col. Gunning."

THE OLD REGISTER OF ST. PAUL'S, CHESTER, NOT LOST.—Since the printing of my paper on the "Registers of the Anglican Church in Pennsylvania," in this magazine (p. 341, Vol. XII.), I have discovered that it is an error to suppose that the old Register of St. Paul's is lost. On the contrary, the original lists of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, each beginning in the year 1704, remain in place, within the old Register-Book, in the keeping of the rector. P. S. P. CONNER.

DU SIMITIERE LETTERS.—We are indebted to Thomas Stewardson, Esq., for the following copies:

"PHILADA March 24<sup>th</sup> 1767

"SIR

"I have for a long time flatter'd myself with hopes of going to pay you a visit at Burlington, but the season & the precarious business I follow have till now prevented me from having that satisfaction, but as the season grows better I am still in some hope to do myself that honour & shall now lay hold of the first opportunity for that purpose.

"Now Sir I must beg leave to trouble you with asking you a small favour. I have one way or other been able to muster up twenty two numbers of the Jersey Magasine so that I want but five more I believe to compleat my set. Our Friend Mr Benezet told me that when you was about compleating yours you wrote to Parker the publisher to supply you with such of them you had not would it not be too much presumption in me to desire you to make use of the same method to procure me those I want, a letter from you will have a much better effect than from a stranger therefore Sir if it is not putting you to any inconveniency I shall be very gratefull for the addition of that favour to many other I receiv'd from you, for all of which give me leave to subscribe myself with Respect

"Sir, Your most obedient

"& most humble Servant

"DU SIMITIERE.—

“ My obediences wait on  
M<sup>r</sup> Samuel Smith & the rest of the  
gentlemen I have had the honour to  
be acquainted with—

the numbers are on the other side—

Numbers of the Jersey Magazine I want No I V XIV XX XXVI

“ To

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> JOHN SMITH ESQR.”

[Undated.]

“ SIR

“ I took the Liberty to write you by the Post in date of the 25<sup>th</sup> of last month, having no opportunity to convey the letter to you otherwise, which letter I hope is safely come to your hands, it should have given me a sensible pleasure to have heard from you, & make not the least doubt that had it been convenient for you you would have favour'd me with an answer, which will be very acceptable at any time.

“ I have now the Satisfaction to inform you that I have of late got in some business in the miniature way & am in hopes of more, which tho' it may keep me here sometime longer will not be to my disadvantage.

“ I imagine there was no such thing as a glove manufactory in Burlington, but if otherwise should be much oblig'd to you at your leisure to let me know of it.

“ the approaching Season would render the use of some cloaths that are in one of my trunks upstairs in your house, of service to me if I had them here, & if it was not too much trouble to get them, I would beg the favour of you to desire your house keeper to look into the largest trunk of the two, the key of which is in the upper drawer of my desk & take out of it a crimson cloath coat without Buttons, an old crimson velvet Jacket with short Skirts, laced behind like a pair of Stays, & towards the bottom of the trunk there is a small bundle cover'd with gray paper & ty'd with twine, Containing marten skins, these three articles, might be sewed up into Osnaburgh of which there is enough in the same trunk & directed to me here to be sent by some good opportunity. I have wrote to a gentleman in Philad<sup>a</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Haldiman nephew to General Haldiman of S<sup>t</sup> Augustine who is to come here in his own carriage, to know whether he would send for them as he past thro' Bristol & expect his answer, but if in the interim some other persons of your acquaintance coming this way would take the care of it I should be much oblig'd to you & them.

“ I must beg your indulgence for so much trouble I give you & conclude by Subscribing my Self with Respect & gratitude,

“ Sir

“ your most Obedient & most

“ Obliged humble Servant

“ DU SIMITIERE

“ P S. I am in some hope I shall be able to acquaint you by my next of the time of my return your way.

“ the directions upon the cloathes should be

“ to M<sup>r</sup> Du Sim at M<sup>rs</sup> Haight in maiden lane opposite to M<sup>r</sup> Anthony Rutgers's brewhouse in New York

“ To

the hon<sup>ble</sup> JOHN SMITH ESQR

in

Burlington”—

(Post-mark)

[15] NEW  
[NO] YORK



CORRECTION.—In the paper “Owen of Merion,” PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIII. p. 175, there occur one or two slight errors which it is desirable should be corrected for future reference,—viz., Gerrig y druidion should be Cerrig y druidion, Marcherweithian should be Marchweithian, and Issalt should be Issalet,—still more correctly Is-aled.

J. J. L.

HISTORY AND THE FINE ARTS.—“Yesterday were presented to George Clymer, Esq., and Dr. Benjamin Rush, as surviving members of the Congress that declared THE INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA, fine impressions of the medal lately struck in Philadelphia in commemoration of that splendid event:

OVERSE.

A head of Benjamin Franklin, taken from Houdon’s bust.

*Inscription*

LIGHTNING AVERTED: TYRANNY REPELLED.

REVERSE

THE AMERICAN BEAVER nibbling at the OVER SHADOWING OAK OF BRITISH POWER, on the Western Continent.

Date  
1776.”

DEATH OF MAJOR JOHN DYKE ACKLAND, OF HIS MAJESTY’S TWENTIETH FOOT REGIMENT.—“On Saturday last [Nov. 29, 1778] were interred in the family vault at Broadcliff, in Devon, amidst the tears of a grateful country, the beloved and respected remains of John Dyke Ackland, Esq., Colonel of the First Regiment of Devonshire militia and Major of the 20th regiment of Foot. Such untrue accounts have been circulated of an affair that happened with a Mr. Lloyd previous to Col. Ackland’s last fatal illness, that it becomes necessary to assure the public the dispute did not originate from a private quarrel or misunderstanding. Mr. Lloyd was not of Col. Ackland’s acquaintance, and absolute necessity could only reconcile such a measure to the Colonel’s excellent understanding. Mr. Lloyd called on him, as Colonel of the 1st regiment of Devonshire militia, to answer for the corps declining his company at the public mess before as well as after the Colonel’s return from America, which he considered as the occasion of the universal neglect he experienced. In consequence of a demand so extraordinary, the Colonel received the fire of a pistol from Mr. Lloyd, and snapped both his pistols in return. A friend of Mr. Lloyd’s then interposed, and Mr. Lloyd acknowledging he had no personal cause for complaint, and was sorry for what had happened, the affair thus ended. Col. Ackland returned home by the usual time of breakfast and was amusing himself in directing some improvements about his place, to all appearances as well as for some days before, when he was seized so suddenly, that though standing between his particular friends, they could not prevent his receiving injury from a fall. After this seizure there remained little hope, though he continued till the fourth day. The exertion of his active mind and the severity of two American campaigns had entirely exhausted a good constitution, and his family and friends are left to lament a loss that must forever be deplored.”

THE AMERICAN PRIVATEER "VENGEANCE."—The *London Chronicle* of October 22–24, 1778, contains the following account of the capture of two British packet vessels by the privateer "Vengeance:"

"Accounts are just received at the Post Office that the Harriot, packet boat [Capt Sparge] with the mail of September for New York was attacked and taken on the 18th of September in lat. 49. long. 22. by the Vengeance, American privateer carrying 20 six pounders. One man was killed and five wounded on board the Harriot.

"Intelligence is likewise received, that the Eagle, packet boat, [Capt. S. Spencer.] from New York [for Falmouth] was taken on the 21st. of September in lat. 51.26. long. 19.27. by the same privateer. Col. Howard, a passenger and one more was killed on board the Eagle and six men wounded. The crews of the above packets were put on shore at Corunna and the packets were sent to Newburyport in North America. The mails with the letters were thrown overboard."

The issue of the same paper, of October 29–31, gives a list of the principal officers killed and captured on the "Eagle:"

"Col. Howard, 1st reg. Guards, killed; Lieut. Col. McDonald, 71st reg.; Lieut. Col. Anstruther, 62d. reg.; Lieut. Col. Stevens, Coldstream Guards; Major Gordon Forbes, 7th reg.; G. Barklay, late Major 35th reg.; Hon. Charles Cathcart Capt. of Athol's Highlander's, second Major of Lord Cathcart's Legion and Cornet John Sloper, 17th. light dragoons, taken."

There were also 26 "sea officers," 62 sailors, and 1 lady captured on both vessels.

In October, the "Vengeance" captured the brig "Defiance" of 14 guns and 72 men; lost 8 killed and wounded; the enemy 15 killed and wounded.

The "Vengeance" was a brig, commanded by Captain Newman, with a crew of 100 men, and owned in Massachusetts.

W. J. P.

#### SHORT ROUTE FROM PHILADELPHIA TO NEW YORK IN 1815.—

##### "NEW YORK STEAM BOATS.

*Only twenty five miles by Land.*

Passage through Four Dollars and fifty cents.

THE Philadelphia and Rariton Steam Boats connected by Stages form a line to New York. Passengers leave the foot of Market street in the Philadelphia, every Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning, at 7 o'clock, sleep at Brunswick; and arrive at New York the next morning at 12 o'clock. This mode of conveyance is to be preferred to any other, as the distance by land by the Bristol and Elizabethtown Boats is fifty six miles, by the commou stages eighty six, but by this route only twenty five miles.

Sept. 25, 1815."

THE SEARCH POWER OF THE CAMERA.—The *American Journal of Photography* for May contains a contribution from Mr. J. F. Sachse under the above caption, from which we make the following extracts: "The second example occurred in photographing the portrait of Queen Christina of Sweden, in the hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. . . . After developing the plates, which were both a success,

brush marks appeared over the head of the portrait, which were not noticeable on the painting, and on close examination of the negative the marks showed plainly the outlines of a crown or coronet. . . . The painting in question is a copy from the original by David Beek, a pupil of Vandyke, in the National Museum at Stockholm, by Mdle. Elsie Arnberg, of Stockholm. The portrait represents the queen crowned, as did the faithful copy. However, when during the Centennial year the painting was secured by the Historical Society, for some reason not known, the crown was carefully painted out and that part of the background made to correspond with the remainder, leaving the portrait of the queen so familiar to all who attend the meetings of that society."

PROVOST SMITH TO MAJOR BRUEN.—

"SIR

"The following is the return of my horses &c which notwithstanding my notion of casting it into Hudebrastic (*sic*) Doggrel, may be as much depended upon for truth, as other *mens prose*.

"I am &c

"Accept these Lines good Master Bruen  
Unless you mean to be my ruin—

"My list of HORSES and their Gear  
You ask. The first a sorrel *Mare*.  
Her age, last summer, was twice seven,  
And sorely crippled with the SPAVIN,  
But thin of Flesh & little marrow,  
Was never yok'd to plough or Harrow,  
Nor yet to chaise or Cart or Waggon,  
And her weak back ne'er bore a bag on;  
With her my daughter learn'd to ride,  
And *prays* to keep her—'till a Bride.  
A FILLY three years old last summer,  
Not broke—too slim even for a drummer;  
Claim'd by my son, now full eighteen,  
Who hopes to mount her—next campaign.  
Dear Spouse & I with HORSES Two,  
To Church or fair were wont to go;  
The men with WHISKERS took the best,  
Worth thirty *sterling pounds* confest;  
The other scarce will drag us thro'  
The miry roads & winter's snow.  
Of all my stock, two *horses* more  
Only remain, their age two score,  
Hackney'd & slow, my fields to till,  
Or with craz'd Team, & fractur'd wheel,  
To drag some sticks thro' paths uneven  
To warm a wife & children seven—  
My winter's beef and mutton gone,  
My fields laid waste my fences floun,  
The damage spread throughout my grounds,  
Exceeding twice three hundred pounds.  
Of all these facts pray take inspection  
And for what's left grant me *protection*."

"Philad<sup>a</sup>

Oct<sup>r</sup> 13. 1777"



Beneath this is the following note :

“The above address to Major Bruen was written by Doctor Smith & the original fell into the hands of an intimate friend of mine who permitted me to take the copy solely for your amusement, & makes it a point of honor that the lines be committed to the flames after your perusal of them.

“(Signed) HENRY HILL.

“To M<sup>rs</sup> Susanna Wright”

The paper is endorsed in pencil, as follows :

“Henry Hill, Phil<sup>a</sup> Oct. 13. 1777

“Susanna Wright (Wright’s Ferry)  
(now, 1800, Columbia)”

Henry Hill, among whose papers the foregoing was found, was a merchant of Philadelphia, who died of the yellow fever in 1798. He built and occupied the house, still standing, on Fourth Street, between Cypress Alley and Union Street, afterwards owned by Dr. Physick.

T. S.

LETTER OF HOCKANOOTAMEN TO JAMES LOGAN.—Hockanootamen says thus:

“James Logan is my brother and friend and he shall have my Land on Sakung Creek, and the Dutch folks & other People settled on it without his Leave or my Leave shall not have it. Old William Penn was my Brother I have seen him often, and his Children are as my children, so sayes Hockanootamen

“his X mark

“7<sup>th</sup> of July 1730.”

INDIAN LAND ON THE BRANDYWINE.—Thomas Chandler declares that Meelock, an old Indian of the Brandywine, told him, that he “& y<sup>e</sup> other Indians of Brandywine had reserved all y<sup>e</sup> Lands on that Creek from ye mouth to the head of it a mile in breadth on each side and that y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Indian produced to him a Paper so much defaced that he could not read any more than a word here, and there, that it had a piece of a Seal to it and y<sup>e</sup> name Markham, but he knows nothing of the Contents of it further than that the Indian told him it was a Grant from the Govern<sup>or</sup> for all that Land.

“THOMAS CHANDLER.

“Signed 16<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>st</sup> 1725.”

LETTERS OF HENRY DRINKER.—Mr. Henry D. Biddle, editor of the “Diary of Elizabeth Drinker,” contributes the following letters of the husband of the diarist, written while attending with other Friends the treaty with the Indians held at Easton, Pa., in the Summer of 1762.

“EASTON 17<sup>th</sup> 6 mo 1762 past 9 in the Evening.

“My dear Betsy

“Some of my fellow-Travellers detain’d me at Germantown yesterday so long before they joined me there, that we were prevented reaching the Stage at first proposed, and last night about 9 o’clock, stop’d at a Dutch House about 25 miles from Home, where we lodg’d, but the Bugs prevented my getting Sleep; soon after being in Bed was oblig’d to rise

and Dress without Slumbering; as soon as it was light between 3 & 4 we got ready to proceed & Breakfasted 10 miles further at a good House kept by Inslee—about 11 this morning reached Bethlehem, dined tolerably well—viewed the Curiosities there, went to sleep from 3 till 5—drank coffee & set off for this place, & got here before Dark—have secured a pretty good Lodging in a private House with some difficulty.

“It seems probable Business will begin tomorrow in the afternoon. Papoonan<sup>1</sup> and some of his Indians with Job Chilloway came with us from Bethlehem—it is said there are about 100 Indians in Town—Teedy-uscung has till today been drunk without intermission——Isr<sup>l</sup> Pemberton & others say that Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson, the Gov<sup>r</sup> Croghan and that party are very close-mouth’d about Indian affairs, tho’ otherwise quite affable. These matters be pleased to communicate to Abel James, and give my kind Love to him & Family. \* \* \*

“I intended the above by Peter Miller, but expect it will reach thee sooner by Abraham Mitchell—upon Enquiry I find to day, it is uncertain when Business will come on. Andrew Montour, the Indian Interpreter has been expected some time, and until he comes, it is said nothing will be done. Tho’ Isaac Still is here, who is reckon’d a good Hand but not fully approv’d by some folks—as he is supposed to have an Attachment to Friends &c. There is a man in Goal here, & has been for a long time, who is charged with Murder—his Tryal was to have come on today, but William Allen is laid up with a severe Gout. It is expected the Gov<sup>r</sup> will grant a Special Commission to Edward Shippen for that purpose.

“It looks low’ring & like for Rain today, but if no Business & clear weather tomorrow, I have thoughts of visiting Nazareth, Christian Spring, Gnaden-dahl & other Moravian Curiosities—when I can reduce my stay here to a certain time shall acquaint thee. The above was all wrote on a Feather Bed for a Table, which I find is but a bad Shift. Pray desire Abel to acquaint me pr first opportunity as near as he can when Budden may sail for —— Spanenberg’s governm<sup>t</sup>. who is anxious to know—and likewise to furnish me with what intelligence he can about the Chesterfield Man of War.

“My dear Love, I am most unfeignedly thy

“Affectionate Husband

“HENRY DRINKER

“18<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> mo<sup>h</sup> morning.”

“EASTON. First Day 20<sup>th</sup> 6 mo. 1762.

“My dear Love

“Since I wrote thee 18<sup>th</sup> Instant, per Abraham Mitchell, I rec<sup>d</sup> thine the same day per Thomas Hewes with the truly pleasing Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Wellfare of thyself, the dear pledge of our affections, little Sal, & our dear Polly. I had some hopes of hearing further from you yesterday of a later date, but had not that satisfaction, save what Abel wrote me by Giles Knight the same afternoon. Ant<sup>o</sup> Benezet & Rob<sup>t</sup> Parrish are expected this Evening—I hope thou was timely acquainted of their coming so as to let me hear from thee, which is the greatest pleasure I have when absent from my dear Betsy.

“Edw<sup>d</sup> Shippen Esq<sup>r</sup> set out yesterday afternoon very unexpectedly to Friends for Philad<sup>a</sup>, so that they did not write by him—towards the evening I heard of a person just going for Bethlehem who would be likely to overtake him there—by him I wrote a few lines to Abel, &

<sup>1</sup> Papoonan or Papoonhank was a professedly Christian Indian, and was baptized by Zeisberger. Job Chilloway was his interpreter.

inclosed some rough notes which I took in a hurry, containing the substance of what has yet pass'd at this Treaty—to which I refer thee.

“We had an excellent meeting this morning where our good Friend Daniel Stanton appear'd to the great Satisfaction of many. Indeed it seem'd to be a Solid satisfactory meeting to the whole audience, among which were a large number belonging to other Societies, as well as Papoonan & his Indians, with Teedyuscung & some others—this afternoon at 3 o'clock another meeting is to begin, which I must soon attend. I had the Luck to get accommodated at a good private House, where we have good Beds, & upon the whole good Fare.

“It seems uncertain when the Business will be concluded, I am afraid it will last longer than I shall be easy to stay—however expect to determine tomorrow whether to set off in the Evening towards Home, or to stay a day or two longer if it should be probable it may then end.

“I can't say but it gives me a good deal of Thought how to act. As it is now certain that an Express went off this morning from the Gov<sup>r</sup> to take off the Embargo, which with Capt. Budden's sailing ere long, and other Business at Home, leads me to wish a Speedy Return, as well as the Sight and Comp<sup>y</sup> of my dear Wife, which is a Treasure nearer & dearer to me than anything else in this World. But at same time I have a strong desire to stay and see how the Important matters of this Treaty are conducted—and the hurrying home suddenly I must own looks as if my coming here was more from an inclination to see the novelty, than any Concern for the cause which has induced a number of Friends to attend here.

“I hope it will suit thee and Sister with Sarah to ride out often, and give Isaiah Worrell any Instructions he may want, as well as furnishing him with such Necessaries as may be requisite, (in which Abel James I am confident would readily afford his assistance), that my absence may not be a means of protracting that work.

“When I may write again, or whether I shall before I return is uncertain—be that as it may, receive the warmest, tenderest wishes of one who has great pleasure in his Right to subscribe himself thy truly

“Affectionate Husband

“HENRY DRINKER”

HARTRANFT FAMILY.—Herewith is an item for the genealogy of the Hartranft family, found in a catalogue of students in the University of Groninger, Holland: “Casparus Hartranft, a native of Zittau, Lusatia, Saxony, inscribed his name as student of law, January 28, 1635.” F.

AMERICAN TEMPLARS.—The following is a list of Americans, who, before, during, and immediately subsequent to the war for Independence, finished their legal studies in London, at the “Inns of Court:”

THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.

Edmund Key,	Maryland,	1759.
Alexander Lawson,	Maryland,	1759.
William Fauntleroy,	Virginia,	1760.
Walter Livingston,	New York,	1761.
Robert Livingston,	New York,	1761.
Lloyd Dulany,	Maryland,	1761.
Jasper Yeates,	Pennsylvania,	1762.
Gabriel Cathcart,	North Carolina,	1763.
Nicholas Waln,	Pennsylvania,	1763.



Joseph Reed,	New Jersey,	1763.
William Hamilton,	Pennsylvania,	1764.
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,	South Carolina,	1764.
John Matthews,	South Carolina,	1764.
Thomas Heyward,	South Carolina,	1765.
James Wright,	Georgia,	1765.
Hugh Rutledge,	South Carolina,	1765.
Henry Yonge,	Georgia,	1766.
Edward Rutledge,	South Carolina,	1767.
Paul Trapier,	South Carolina,	1767.
Thomas Lynch,	South Carolina,	1767.
Gustavus Scott,	Virginia,	1767.
Alexander Moultrie,	South Carolina,	1768.
Richard Shubrick,	South Carolina,	1768.
Philip Neyle,	South Carolina,	1768.
James Perronneau,	South Carolina,	1768.
William Oliphant,	South Carolina,	1769.
James F. Grimke,	South Carolina,	1769.
Henry La Bail,	Virginia,	1769.
Richard Tilghman,	Pennsylvania,	1769.
Daniel Dulany,	Maryland,	1770.
Phineas Bond,	Pennsylvania,	1771.
Walter Atchison,	Virginia,	1771.
Cyrus Griffin,	Virginia,	1771.
William Ward Barrows,	South Carolina,	1772.
William Heyward,	South Carolina,	1772.
Edward Tilghman,	Maryland,	1772.
John Laurens,	South Carolina,	1772.
Henry Lee,	Virginia,	1773.
Richard Beresford,	South Carolina,	1773.
Charles Pinckney,	South Carolina,	1773.
Nicholas Maccubbin,	Maryland,	1773.
Thomas Shubrick,	South Carolina,	1773.
Jared Ingersoll,	Pennsylvania,	1773.
Henry Nicholas,	South Carolina,	1773.
John Pringle,	South Carolina,	1773.
Joseph Ball Downman,	Virginia,	1773.
Arthur Lee,	Virginia,	1773.
Moses Franks,	Pennsylvania,	1774.
Benjamin Smith,	South Carolina,	1774.
William Smith,	South Carolina,	1774.
Robert Milligan,	Maryland,	1774.
William Simpson,	South Carolina,	1775.
John Parker,	South Carolina,	1775.
Hoyt McCall,	South Carolina,	1775.
William Dumner Powell,	Massachusetts,	1776.
Charles Pryce,	South Carolina,	1776.
James Simpson,	Georgia,	1777.
William Roberts,	Virginia,	1781.
James Smith,	South Carolina,	1781.
William Rawle,	Pennsylvania,	1781.
Joseph Manigault,	South Carolina,	1781.
Daniel Horry,	South Carolina,	1781.
Peter Porcher,	South Carolina,	1782.
John Gaillard,	South Carolina,	1782.
Theodore Gaillard,	South Carolina,	1782.

Archibald Young,	South Carolina,	1782.
Thomas Simons,	South Carolina,	1783.
William Mazyck,	South Carolina,	1783.
Benjamin Chew,	Pennsylvania,	1784.
John Saunders,	Virginia,	1784.
Philip Key,	Maryland,	1784.
William Vans Murray,	Maryland,	1784.
I. Leeds Bozman,	Maryland,	1785.
Robert Alexander,	Virginia,	1785.
George Boom Roupell,	South Carolina,	1785.
Henry Gibbes,	South Carolina,	1785.
William Allen Deas,	South Carolina,	1786.

## THE INNER TEMPLE.

Philip Alexander,	Virginia,	1760.
William Paca,	Maryland,	1762.
Alexander White,	Virginia,	1762.
Edmund Key,	Maryland,	1762.
Lewis Boswell,	Virginia,	1765.
William Cooke,	Maryland,	1768.
James Lloyd Rogers,	Maryland,	1768.
John Perronneau,	South Carolina,	1772.
Kean Osborne,	America,	1772.
John W. Irwin,	America,	1772.
Gibbes W. Jordan,	America,	1773.
St. George Tucker,	Virginia,	1773.
James McKeely,	Virginia,	1775.
William Houston,	Georgia,	1776.
Francis Corbin,	Virginia,	1777.
Daniel Leonard,	Virginia,	1777.
William Robert Hay,	Virginia,	1781.
George Tyson,	America,	1781.
John Kilsall,	America,	1783.
Francis Rush Clark,	America,	1783.
Carter Braxton,	America,	1783.
James Robertson,	America,	1783.
Richard Foster Clark,	America,	1785.
John Wentworth,	.....	1785.

## LINCOLN'S INN.

Philip Livingston,	New York,	1761.
Arthur Lee,	Virginia,	1770.
William Vassall,	Boston,	1773.
Francis Kinloch,	South Carolina,	1774.
William Walton,	South Carolina,	1775.
John Stuart,	South Carolina,	1775.
Peter Markoe,	Pennsylvania,	1775.
Benjamin Lovell,	Massachusetts,	1776.
Robert Williams,	South Carolina,	1777.
Gabriel Manigault,	South Carolina,	1777.
Clement C. Clarke,	New York,	1778.
Alexander Gordon,	South Carolina,	1779.
Richard Henderson,	Maryland,	1781.
Neil Jamieson,	New York,	1782.
Thomas Bee,	South Carolina,	1782.

**MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF OWEN AND ANNE [WOOD] OWEN, 1714.**—Whereas Owen Owen of Upper Dublin in the County of Philadelphia, and Province of Pennsylvania, Yeoman, and Ana Wood, daughter of John Wood of Darby in the County of Chester, and Province aforesaid, Yeoman, having declared their Intentions of Marriage with each other before Several Monthly Meetings of the people called Quakers in Darby aforesaid, according to the good order used amongst Them, Whose proceedings therein after a Deliberate Consideration thereof, and having the Consent of Parents & Relations concerned; Nothing appearing to obstruct was approved by the said Meetings. Now these are to Certifie all whom it may Concern That for the full accomplishment of their said Intentions this twenty third day of the first Month In the year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fourteen, They, the said Owen Owen & Anne Wood appeared in a publick meeting of the said people for the purpose appointed at the Meeting house in Darby aforesaid, and the said Owen Owen Taking the said Anne Wood by the Hand, Did in a Solemn manner openly Declare that he Took her to be his wife, Promising to be unto her a Loving and faithful Husband till Death should Separate them. And then & there in the said Assembly, The said Anne Wood Taking the said Owen Owen by the hand did in Like manner Declare that she Took him to be her Husband, Promising to be to him a faithful and Loving wife till itt should please the Lord by death to separate Them. AND Moreover, the said Owen Owen & Anne Wood (she according to the custom of Marriage assuming the name of her husband) as a further Confirmation Thereof Did then & there to these presents set their hands.

OWEN OWEN  
ANNE OWEN

And we whose names are hereunto subscribed being amongst others present at the Solemnization of the said Marriage and Subscription in manner aforesaid, as witnesses Thereunto have also to these presents set our hands the Day and Year above written.

John Blunston	Josiah Hibberd	Rose Bethell	Owen Roberts	John Wood
Griffith Owen	Thomas Paschall	Anna Sellers	Anne Roberts	Rebecca Wood
John Smith	James Hunt	Margaret Blunston	John Cadwalader	Evan Owen
Rowland Ellis	Geo. Claypoole	Agnes Salkeld	Martha Cadwalader	John Owen
John Salkeld	Evan Harry	Margaret Paschall	Edward Roberts	Robert Owen
John Roberts	Edward Cadwalader	Jane Garratt	James Hunt	Joshua Owen
Caleb Pusey	Thomas Jones	Katherine Jones	John Jones	Evan Bevan
Edward Jones	John Bethell	Ellin Jones	Tho <sup>s</sup> Lloyd	Eliner Bevan
John Smith	Rob <sup>t</sup> Roberts	Phebe Pulford	John Blunston jun <sup>r</sup>	Jonathan Jones
Thomas Worth	Rich <sup>d</sup> Jones	Elizabeth Pulford	Obadiah Bonsall	Gainer Jones
Samuel Bradshaw	Hugh Evans	Phebe Blunston	Rich <sup>d</sup> Parker	David Evans
Samuell Garrett	Owcn Evans	Hannah Parker	William Smith	Eliz <sup>a</sup> Evans
David Thomas	Moses Roberts	Sarah Hunt	Aubray Wood	George Wood
Benja. Cliffe	John Davids	Jane Jones	Joanna Paschall	William Wood
Josiah fcarne	John Marshall	Rachel Wharton	Sarah Thomas	Barbra Wood
John Worth	Thomas Paschall jun <sup>r</sup>	Mary Wharton	Mary Smith	Mary ffawsitt
John Marshall	Evan Thomas	Hannah Clemison	Tho <sup>s</sup> Worth	Benjamin Bonsall
Thomas Edwards	Job Harvey	Martha Bonsall	Eliz. Hallowell	Daniel hiberd
		Rachall hiberd	Enoch Bonsall	Rebakah Huntt
		Ellin Bonsall		John Wood jun <sup>r</sup>
		Martha Parker		Barbra Bevan
		Anne Blunston		Abraham Wood



A PHILADELPHIA HOME OF 1754.—From its earliest years, Philadelphia has justly enjoyed a reputation for the hospitality of its inhabitants and the comforts of their homes. The following "Inventory of Goods and Effects belonging to the Estate of George Mifflin, Junr." will afford some idea of how the houses of our prominent citizens were furnished over a century and a quarter ago.

	£	s.	d.
Cash . . . . .	202	5	6
Bonds . . . . .	357	0	0
Wearing Apparel . . . . .	20	0	0
Sleeve buttons, shoe buckles & knee buckler . . . . .	2	17	0
Silver Watch . . . . .	8	0	0

*Silver Plate.*

1 Rich chased Silver Teapot	} 121 oz. 6 dwt. . . .	97	7	3
2 Chased Wine Waiters				
1 pair chased Sauce boats				
1 chased Sugar dish				
1 Milk ewer				
1 large Silver Tankard	} 90 oz. 15 dwt. . . .	40	16	9
13 Table spoons				
11 Tea spoons				
1 pair Tea Tongs				
1 silver Cup				
1 punch strainer				
1 pepper box				
1 shagreen Case, cont'g 12 Ivory handle knives and forks	3	0	0	
1 set black & white China . . . . .	5	6	0	
9 Blue & white China plates . . . . .	0	13	6	
6 Blue & white China dishes . . . . .	0	15	0	
5 Enameled Soup Plates . . . . .	0	15	0	
2 two quart enameled China bowls . . . . .	1	10	0	
1 two quart blue & white ditto . . . . .	0	8	0	
1 blue & white pint bowl & small dish . . . . .	0	4	0	
3 pint blue & white china bowl . . . . .	0	6	0	
3 ditto enameled . . . . .	0	9	0	
3 half pint blue & white bowls . . . . .	0	3	9	
1 set Dresden China, complete . . . . .	7	0	0	
2 scalloped enameled China bowls, gallon each . . . . .	2	0	0	
2 two quart ditto . . . . .	1	10	0	
2 Enameled China Dishes . . . . .	1	0	0	
5 small blue & white ditto . . . . .	0	12	6	
18 blue & white China plates . . . . .	1	10	0	
6 Enameled China plates . . . . .	0	15	0	
3 pint bowls ditto . . . . .	0	9	0	
9 blue & white pint bowls . . . . .	0	18	0	
9 half pint ditto . . . . .	0	11	3	
12 Custard cups blue & white . . . . .	0	8	0	
2 oval white stone dishes . . . . .	0	5	0	
1 quart & one pint Decanters . . . . .	0	6	6	
2 Salts & 1 small Tumbler . . . . .	0	3	0	
11 Drinking Glasses . . . . .	0	13	9	
1 Wooden Tea board & a little Japan'd ditto . . . . .	0	9	0	

	£	s.	d.
9 blue & white cups & saucers, Tea pot stand & milk pot	0	15	0
3 half pint blue & white bowls . . . . .	0	4	6
12 blue & white Custard cups . . . . .	0	8	3
6 burnt coffee cups & saucers . . . . .	0	12	0
6 new fashend Wine glasses & Decanter . . . . .	0	14	0
A sett of Waiters with silver tops & ground stoppers . . . . .	3	0	0
2 glass Salts & 4 small Tumblers . . . . .	0	7	6
1 large Mahogany Table & carpet for it . . . . .	4	10	0
Clock with enamelled face & walnut case . . . . .	20	0	0
1 square Japan'd Table with Draws . . . . .	2	0	0
1 eight square Tea table Japan'd . . . . .	2	0	0
2 large sconce Looking Glass . . . . .	12	0	0
2 India pictures . . . . .	1	16	0
11 Prospect pieces, gilt frames . . . . .	5	10	0
8 Walnut frame Chairs with leather bottoms . . . . .	12	0	0
2 Arm ditto ditto . . . . .	3	10	0
1 pair Iron Dogs, Shovels & Tongs with brass heads . . . . .	3	0	0

*In Small Sitting Room.*

1 Mahogany Table . . . . .	3	0	0
1 Sconce Looking Glass . . . . .	4	5	0
6 Walnut Chairs with leather bottoms . . . . .	4	10	0
1 round Walnut Tea table . . . . .	1	5	0
1 small square table cloth . . . . .	1	10	0
2 Quarter Maps . . . . .	0	10	0
1 pair Iron Dogs, shovel & tongs with brass heads . . . . .	2	10	0
1 painted Tin square box . . . . .	0	5	0

*Front Chamber.*

1 Walnut Chest Draws & Table . . . . .	8	0	0
6 Walnut chairs with blue russell bottoms . . . . .	4	10	0
1 Sconce Looking Glass . . . . .	4	5	0
1 Feather bed, bolster, 2 pillows, bed stead, Curtains Vallans & 3 Wind curtains . . . . .	19	0	0
1 Copper Warming pan . . . . .	0	10	0
1 pair Brass Dogs, Shovels, Tongs & Dustpan . . . . .	2	0	0
A small Bedsted, bed & pillow . . . . .	5	0	0

*Best Chamber.*

A Bed, Bolster, 2 pillows, Bedstead, blue hariteen Cornish & bases 3 windw Curtains & Vallans of the same	21	10	0
A chest of Draws & Table of Curled Maple . . . . .	13	10	0
1 Sconce Looking Glass . . . . .	4	5	0
1 Easy Chair of blue Damask . . . . .	5	0	0
8 Walnut Chairs blue Damask bottoms . . . . .	16	0	0
2 ditto worked bottoms . . . . .	4	0	0
1 small Bed . . . . .	3	0	0
2 pair best Blankets . . . . .	3	10	0
3 common Blankets . . . . .	1	0	0
1 Pair Brass Dogs . . . . .	2	15	0
3 pair holland Sheets . . . . .	3	15	0
4 pair ditto part worn . . . . .	3	0	0
6 pair pillow Cases . . . . .	1	4	0
3 Cotton Coverlids . . . . .	4	10	0

	£	s.	d.
1 Dozen Damask Napkins . . . . .	3	0	0
½ doz Diaper ditto . . . . .	0	7	6
1 doz old ditto . . . . .	0	12	0
5 Diaper Table Cloths . . . . .	1	15	0
1 Damask ditto . . . . .	1	0	0
8 Diaper Tea Cloths . . . . .	0	12	0
1 blue satin bed Quilt . . . . .	10	0	0
1 India Bed Quilt . . . . .	4	0	0
1 blue & white Callico ditto . . . . .	4	0	0
1 hair Trunk, Leather Trunk . . . . .	4	0	0
a Remnant of blue Russell, 21¼ yds 2/ . . . . .	2	2	6
a Remnant of blue Damask, 19½ yds 4/ . . . . .	3	18	0
a Remnant of blue Linnen & a Remnant of Check . . . . .	0	15	0
2 oval pewter Dishes hard metal } 18½ lbs 3/ . . . . .	2	14	9
1 ditto } . . . . .			
1 Soup Dish 1 little Deep Dish & } 18½ lbs 20d . . . . .	1	10	5
5 common Dishes } . . . . .			
2 doz hard mettle pewter plates with Cyphers . . . . .	2	8	0
4 plates & 3 pewter Porringers . . . . .	0	7	0
Sundry Tin ware . . . . .	0	10	0
7 knives & forks & a Tea Chest . . . . .	0	15	0
1 round Pewter Dish 4¾ lbs . . . . .	0	7	1½
18 pewter plates & 6 water plates . . . . .	3	0	0
6 small knives & forks with sheathes . . . . .	0	5	0
1 glass Lanthorn . . . . .	1	0	0
2 Tea kettles . . . . .	1	15	0
1 Copper Coffee pot 4 Iron pots . . . . .	1	4	0
1 large bell mettle Skillet, 1 small ditto . . . . .	1	10	0
1 large pair Iron dogs, shovel & Tongs . . . . .	1	0	0
1 Iron dripping pan, Frying pan, Chafing dish, Pot hooks, Gridiron, Sauspan, Bellows Scewers &c . . . . .	1	3	0
1 small brass Mortar & pestle, sad Irons . . . . .	0	17	6
4 brass Candlesticks, 2 Iron do. & 1 pair Snuffers . . . . .	0	17	6
A Smoak Jack . . . . .	2	0	0
1 Dutch Oven . . . . .	2	0	0
1 Iron Dish kettle, small pine table, 3 rush chairs, Buckets, tubs & baskets . . . . .	1	7	0
1 Saddle & bridle . . . . .	1	0	0
Negroes Beding, an old Iron grate for Coals, old Sail for an Awning . . . . .	2	0	0

*In Store.*

a small shagreon Case w <sup>th</sup> Scales &c weights to weigh Gold . . . . .	0	10	0
a pair of Scales & Weights to weigh Silver . . . . .	1	15	0
a pair of Copper Scales Weights & Beam . . . . .	3	10	0
a Prospective Glass . . . . .	1	10	0
5 Hhds Tobacco 3722 lbs 12/6 . . . . .	23	5	3
1 bagg Cotton 277 lbs 15d . . . . .	17	6	3
part barrell Cherry brandy 20 gallons 5/ . . . . .	5	0	0
24½ lbs Myrtle wax 12d . . . . .	1	4	6
3 ullage pipes Sower Wine 157 galls 9d . . . . .	5	17	9
209½ bush. Indian Corn 2/ . . . . .	20	19	0
One Horse . . . . .	10	0	0
Sundry Books, History &c. . . . .	15	0	0



	£	s.	d
1 Microscope in Shagreen Case . . . . .	1	14	0
2 Fowling pieces . . . . .	4	0	0
1 Walking Cane . . . . .	0	17	0
Sundry fishing Tackle . . . . .	0	15	0
a pair of Globes . . . . .	4	0	0
a Tobacco box & a parcell of pipes . . . . .	1	0	0

*Negroes.*

Luke, apprentice to W <sup>m</sup> Wraght for 18 mo. . . . .	45	0	0
Henry, bound to Joseph Shewell for 5 years . . . . .	50	0	0
Gilbert, bound to Ruben Haines for 7 years . . . . .	50	0	0
Jemmy, ditto for 7 years . . . . .	39	10	0
Samuel, bound to Sam. Griscomb for 8 years . . . . .	35	0	0
Abraham, in the house . . . . .	40	0	0
Susannah, ditto . . . . .	42	10	0
Jenny, ditto . . . . .	42	10	0
Prissilla, ditto . . . . .	35	0	0
Bess, bound to Hannah Adams for 8 years . . . . .	25	0	0

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£1565 19 5½

Philada. Sept<sup>r</sup> 3. 1754.

Appraised by H<sup>r</sup> Harrison, Reese Meredith and Joseph Saunders.

## LETTER OF CHARLES THOMSON TO RIVINGTON, THE PRINTER.—

“SIR

“Though the paragraph in your paper gave very grave offence, as it misrepresented facts, & held out to the world an Idea of disunion at this important crisis, yet I am sorry to find by your letter of 16 July that the resentment of several Gentlemen should be directed against you as a printer, especially as it is expressly understood you were ‘authorised to say’ what you did.

“I wish it were in my power to serve you by my mediation which I assure you has not been wanting on the present occasion, with as many as I heard express a disapprobation of your conduct.

“As I have no doubt of your desire to afford perfect satisfaction to your readers, I beg leave just to hint that several pieces in your paper last winter gave offense to the polite, the grave and the sober. Had I been a subscriber for it, I should have taken the liberty to have expressed my sentiments to you at the time; as it is a Rule with me to mention with all possible delicacy to my friend, & to the man I would encourage & promote those parts of his conduct that gives offence.

“I need not observe to a gentleman of your understanding that there is a chastity & decency to be observed even in a newspaper which is very consistent with the freedom of the press.

“I am Sr.

“your hearty welwisher

“& Obed. Serv<sup>t</sup>

“CHA<sup>s</sup> THOMSON.”

*Queries.*

CLAYPOOLE.—Information desired concerning James Claypoole, sheriff of Philadelphia, 1777–80; names of his parents; dates of his birth and death; names of his wife or wives. I believe he had thirteen children. Their names. Any matter concerning the Claypoole family and its many branches will be thankfully received.

14 Rue Clement Marot, Paris, France.

J. RUTGERS LE ROY.

VALENTINE WEAVER.—Information is desired concerning the descendants (and ancestors) of Valentine Weaver, Ensign in the Eighth Pennsylvania Line, who was commissioned by Congress in 1776.

ETHAN ALLEN WEAVER.

HUGH HILL.—Who were the parents of Hugh Hill, of Philadelphia, who died about 1746? S. P. Q.

WATSON.—Luke Watson, who removed from New Jersey to the Hoar-kill [Lewes] settlement in Delaware, in 1676, was a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1683, 1687, 1689, and 1690. His father md. Elizabeth, d. of William Frost, of Fairfield, Conn., and died prior to 1645. The widow subsequently married John Gray. Luke Watson md. Sarah . . . , probably by m. n. Wines [Wynes or Winds], and had a son Luke Jr., who was an Assemblyman in 1697. (1) I desire to ascertain the Christian name of the father of Luke Watson; (2) the family name of Luke's wife Sarah, and in what way he was connected with the Wines (now Wynne) family; (3) when the Watsons removed from Lewes and where they settled in Pennsylvania; (4) the names of the children of Luke and Luke Watson, Jr.; (5) the dates of the deaths of Luke and Luke Jr., and who the latter married?

W. FARRAND FELCH.

P. O. Box 565, Hartford, Conn.

GENERAL JOSEPH SPENCER.—Who are the descendants of "Gen. Joseph Spencer, Brig. Gen.," appointed by Congress 1775?

J. DICKINSON SERGEANT.

DAVIS—MORRISON.—From an old record, which fails to locate the family, it appears that Stephen Davis, son of Stephen and Esther Davis, was born December 1, 1745, and married, August 21, 1766, Eleanor, daughter of John and Sarah Morrison, who was born January 27, 1746. Stephen Davis, the son, died October 5, 1785, and on May 7, 1789, administration on his estate was granted to his widow, Eleanor Davis, then of White Deer township, Northumberland (now Union) County, Pa. She soon after married a second husband, William Robb. Whether her first husband died in that locality is unknown.

By the administration accounts it appears the following were debtors to the estate: William Foulk, Samuel Poak, William Charters (?), David Moor, William Glover, Henry Neal, James Fisher, William Morrison, and Joseph Groninger. These names might assist in identifying the former location of the family.

It is desired to discover the place of birth and antecedents of Stephen and Eleanor Morrison Davis.

GILBERT COPE.

West Chester, Pa.

EARLY EMIGRANTS.—Desired the maiden names of the following; — —, wife of Nathaniel Claypoole; Florence, wife of John Gilbert; Sarah, wife of William Hearne; Margaret, wife of Thomas Marle; Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Oldman; Ann, wife of William Preston; Marjery, wife of John Thomas; all early emigrants, 1682-1700, to Pennsylvania? What were the periods of the respective arrivals of the above emigrants?

The maiden names of the following are also desired: Mary, wife of Abraham Brown; Experience, wife of Benjamin Field; Judith, wife of Benjamin Robins, early residents about 1700 in Burlington County,

New Jersey; Sarah, wife of Thomas Townsend, who moved from Long Island to Bucks County, Pa., 1700-1730; Mary, wife of Hope Willets, an early resident of Long Island prior to 1700; Elizabeth, wife of Charles Finney, of Frankford, who died about 1750. A. B.

HANCKEL MONUMENT.—In Philadelphia, or vicinity, some years ago, a monument was erected to commemorate the services of Dr. John Hanckel, who came from Prussia shortly after the close of the Revolution. The doctor's remains were buried in the Friends' ground, Fourth and Arch Streets. The location of this monument is desired.

20 Church Street, Charleston, S. C.

CHARLES F. HANCKEL.

### Replies.

CLAYPOOLES OF PENNSYLVANIA (PENNA. MAG., Vol. X. p. 124).—"Genealogist" has without doubt received an answer to his query. I will, however, state that Edith Claypoole, who married (1) David Chambers, 1744, and who had by him at least six children, was the daughter of Joseph Claypoole by his second wife, Edith Ward. This Joseph was the thirteenth of fourteen children of the emigrant James Claypoole. This James was a full brother to Sir (John) Claypoole, who married Elizabeth, second and favorite daughter of Oliver Cromwell. Therefore, Edith Claypoole was not descended from the Protector Oliver. I should be glad to know the dates of marriage of Edith Claypoole with (2) William Archibald McRae; (3) Lord Ralston, with names of her children, if any.

J. RUTGERS LE ROY.

14 Rue Clement Marot, Paris, France.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA GRADUATES AND MATRICULATES, CLASS 1762. (Honorary Graduates.)—Dr. Isaac Smith was a judge of the Supreme Court of New Jersey in 1777, and a member of Congress from 1795 to 1797. In the catalogue of the Alumni of the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, he appears as a graduate of the class of 1755.

W. S. S.

J. F. S.—Old surveys give the Indian name of Darby Creek as the "Mocoratling;" the Swedes called it "Mill Kiln."

ED. PENNA. MAG.



## Book Notices.

A LENÂPÉ-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. FROM AN ANONYMOUS MS. IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH AT BETHLEHEM, PA.

—Edited with additions by Daniel G. Brinton, A.M., M.D., and Rev. Albert Seqaqkind Anthony. Philadelphia, 1888. 8vo, 236 pp.

The history of the mission of the Moravian Church among the Lenâpé or Delaware Indians is well known. As early as 1742, a school for the instruction of its missionaries in the dialect was founded at Bethlehem, from which Zeisberger, Pyrlaeus, and others were graduated. The compiler of the work before us was probably the Rev. C. F. Dencke, who, subsequent to the second war with Great Britain, was missionary to the Delawares at New Fairfield, Canada.

It has been published by a few members of the Historical Society, who generously contributed the means and who desire that the entire proceeds arising from its sale shall be devoted to the production of works of a similar character, under the title of "The Pennsylvania Students' Series." In the preparation of the MS. for publication Dr. Brinton has been assisted by the Rev. Mr. Anthony, a born Lenâpé, and at present a missionary among his people in Canada. The book is handsomely printed on heavy paper, neatly bound, and embellished with a portrait of Zeisberger. We hope that the edition, which is limited, will be readily disposed of, so that the second volume of the series will be issued at an early date. Copies can be purchased by addressing the Librarian the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Price, \$3.

EARLY CHICAGO AND ILLINOIS.—Edited and annotated by Edward G. Mason, Chicago, 1890. 521 pp.

The present volume is the fourth in order of publication of the collection of the Chicago Historical Society, and is ably edited by its president. It contains the memoirs of Gurdon S. Hubbard, Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, Hon. Mark Skinner, Hon. E. B. Washburne, Philo Carpenter, and Samuel Stone, all deceased citizens of Chicago; the first Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, Pierre Menard, the pioneer trader Noel le Vasseur, and the biographies of John Rice Jones, the earliest and foremost lawyer in the Northwest Territory, and of his family. Lists of early Illinois citizens, the John Todd Papers, and the Rocheblanc Papers, are valuable historical contributions. The book is illustrated with nine portraits, a picture of Governor Menard's house, and a fac-simile of the proclamation of Colonel John Todd, Jr., issued in 1779. The copious index will be appreciated by all who may consult the work. Clear type, good paper, and liberal margins add to the attractions of this valuable publication of our collaborators in historical research.

GENEALOGY OF THE FARNHAM FAMILY. By Rev. J. M. W. Farnham, D.D., New York.

The reverend compiler in this the second edition of his genealogy has added a supplement of fifty pages, containing much matter collected during the past four years. Good paper, clear type, and neat binding, with an engraving of the family crest, a griffin's head protruding from a ducal crown, bearing in its beak a crossed crosslet sharpened ready to be set up, with the motto, "Je suis pret," make it an attractive little book.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PIANO-FORTE; ITS TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE TRADE. By Daniel Spillane. New York, 1890. 8vo, 369 pp. Illustrated.

We believe the author to be correct in stating that his history is the first work of the kind printed in any country that treats of the piano-forte from the technical, historical, national, and personal stand-point, and he has brought to light many facts of interest connected with American musical art. Boston hitherto has been credited with being the first place in America where the piano-forte was manufactured, but the author proves that the honor belongs to Philadelphia, where also was produced the *first* upright, approximating to the present instrument in shape, and the first pipe-organs and barrel-organs. Throughout the book the influence exercised by Philadelphia upon the piano and kindred arts is well emphasized, and the stimulus given by the Franklin Institute as early as 1824, through their exhibitions, duly acknowledged. The book contains a list of important patents taken out from 1796 to 1890, including those destroyed in the fire of 1836 at the Patent Office; sketches of early piano and harpsichord importers and makers in Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and Baltimore; portraits of old piano manufacturers, early exhibitors, and sketches of the present manufacturers. The book is well printed and neatly bound.

FORT ANCIENT, THE GREAT PREHISTORIC EARTHWORK OF WARREN COUNTY, OHIO, COMPILED FROM A CAREFUL SURVEY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF ITS MOUNDS AND GRAVES. By Warren K. Moorehead. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1890. 8vo, 129 pp. Price, \$2.

The author of this work, Mr. Warren K. Moorehead, of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, spent an entire summer making an accurate survey and exploration of this prehistoric work, and has not, like many writers on American antiquities, compiled his book from the writings of others. Among the discoveries he made were two distinct races of aborigines and the site of a large village in the Miami River bottoms, five feet below the present surface. The terraces, which have long been under discussion among geologists as to their origin and the features of the plateau upon which the fort is located, are dwelt upon at considerable length. The book is embellished with a topographical map and thirty-five full-page phototypes from photographs taken on the spot, and exhibit interesting sections of the embankment, gate-ways, mounds and their contents, graves, relics, skeletons, etc.

WASHINGTONIANA.—When Mr. William S. Baker stated in the closing lines of the preface to his "Bibliotheca Washingtoniana" that it was his "fourth and *final* (the italics are our own) contribution to Washingtoniana," we believe it was made without any reservation. He has, however, kindly consented to add a *fifth*, and we take pleasure in announcing that in the July number of the PENNA. MAGAZINE we will begin the publication of his "Itinerary of General Washington during the War for Independence, 1775-1783,"—a fitting subject to finally cover the field in which he has labored so industriously and with so much acceptance.

THE STORY OF AN OLD FARM, OR LIFE IN NEW JERSEY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, with a Genealogical Appendix. By Andrew D. Mellick, Jr., Somerville, N. J., 1889. 8vo, 743 pp. Price, \$5.00.

We have read with interest Mr. Mellick's charming "Story of an Old



Farm," which represents careful and conscientious research. He has drawn from family and other hitherto unpublished papers many bright pictures of social life, the manners and customs and the political history of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods in East Jersey, and presents them with marked literary ability. The chapters devoted to the early German emigration to the American colonies, and the causes which had so much to do with this people in seeking new homes, are explained, and should be read by every one claiming a German ancestry. And for his earnest words in behalf of the German contingent of the British army, during our war for independence, he is to some extent justified.

The genealogy contains a full record of the *Moelich*-Malick-Melick-Mellick-family, following five ancestral lines from five different emigrants, and in addition is given the posterity of Jacob Kline and Richard I. Field, of Hunterdon County, N. J., and Simon Himrod and Bethnel Vincent, of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania. The closing pages of the book are devoted to a comprehensive bibliography and a very complete index.

The volume is an excellent piece of book-making; well printed on good paper, with liberal margins, four full page illustrations, gilt top, uncut leaves, and bound in heavily stamped cloth with bevelled edges. We can cordially commend the book to our readers.

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM PATERSON OF NEW JERSEY.—We learn that a descendant of William Paterson, who submitted what is known as the Jersey Plan of a Federal Government to the Convention in 1787, afterwards becoming Senator of the United States, Governor of New Jersey, and a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in which position he died, is preparing a memoir of his ancestor for publication. He would be glad to receive suggestions and materials from any source in aid of this purpose. Judge Paterson was in public life during the Revolution, and was prominent in establishing as well as organizing the machinery of the Federal government. Other high Federal stations had been offered to him by General Washington before that which he held at the time of his death. There may be letters and documents in the possession of others which may be of service to the compiler. The biography will contain matters pertaining to college,—Princeton,—Colonial, Revolutionary, State, and Federal history, and personal reminiscences, more especially of Aaron Burr, with correspondence of an interesting nature with Captain John Macpherson, Jr., of Philadelphia, who, with Burr, was an aide to General Montgomery, and fell with the latter at Quebec.

We are informed that the justices of the Supreme Court at Washington have become subscribers to the proposed volume, and Justice Bradley writes to the compiler, that "we are all pleased to know you intend to publish a memoir of your ancestor, whose statue should have been placed by the side of that of Stockton in the Hall of the Capitol, as representing New Jersey." The residence of the compiler, William Paterson, is Perth Amboy, New Jersey.

A HISTORY OF THE SCHUYLKILL FISHING COMPANY OF THE STATE IN SCHUYLKILL, 1732-1888. Philadelphia, 1889. Royal 8vo, pp. 446.

The preface to this sumptuous volume states that it is "a reprint of William Milnor, Jr.'s, history of this ancient association, published in 1880, with a continuation of the same to the year 1888, to which is added a list of members from its formation to the present time." The



handsome paper, broad margins, leaded type, and numerous illustrations that mark the work make it difficult to realize the truth of the modest statement of the committee, nor do we think the gentlemen who constituted it have been entirely just to themselves. Not only is its continuation to Mr. Milnor's work more than double the size of the original, but the committee have added to it a number of notes, and have supplied the names of members of committees which in the edition of 1830 were provokingly left in blank.

The volume is profusely illustrated, and besides a number of views and fac-similes of documents relating to the history of the Fishing Company, there are portraits of the following of its Governors: Samuel Morris, Jr., Robert Wharton, Thomas Morris, William Wharton Fisher, William H. Hart, William V. Andersen, William Harmer, Robert Adams, William Stevenson, Samuel B. Thomas, William Camac, Samuel J. Christian, and John Wagner.

It is unnecessary to attempt to give the history of so well known an organization as the "Schuylkill Fishing Company in the State in Schuylkill." Suffice it to say that it was founded as the "Colony in Schuylkill" in 1732, and is the oldest social organization speaking the English language. The name of the State in Schuylkill was taken after the Revolution. Its first home was on the west side of the Schuylkill, near where the Girard Avenue Bridge crosses the river. When Fairmount dam was built it destroyed the fishing above that point, and in 1822 the State in Schuylkill moved its home to Rambo's Rock, on the east side of the river, below Gray's Ferry. By 1887 the commerce of the city had so encroached upon the retired spot chosen by the company that it was obliged to seek other quarters, and a committee was appointed to select a suitable spot. The result was the purchase of the present site on the Delaware, opposite Beverly, New Jersey, where, by the side of a substantial brick mansion, the ancient structure of the company was re-erected.

In the volume before us there are numerous interesting incidents connected with the history of the company, but none more so than the account of the visit of Lafayette to the Castle in 1825, when the enthusiastic patriot, having been made a citizen of the State in Schuylkill, donned the white apron and straw hat of his companions, and superintended the cooking of the beefsteaks. Simplicity and hospitality are the maxims of the company, and no modern innovations or distracting extravagances are allowed to enter into its management to disturb the harmony or endanger the prosperity that has marked its more than a century and a half of existence.

The committee on publication consisted of Dr. William Camac, John Hockley, William Redwood Wright, and William Fisher Lewis, and they are to be congratulated upon the result of their labors.

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

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

[In preparing an Itinerary of General Washington during the war for independence, the compiler does not propose to limit himself to simple statements of comings and goings, but will endeavor to present, in chronological sequence, the story of Washington's connection with the events of the period, and the gradual steps by which, through his unselfish, untiring and patriotic services, the independence of his country was accomplished. All the usual sources of information, such as the newspapers and individual diaries of the day, monographs on particular battles, and movements of the army, special biographies, county, city, local, and general histories, will be carefully consulted. Much reliance, however, will be placed on the introduction of Washington's own letters, quotations from which will not only afford information as to dates and localities, but will also give the causes for his movements and the ends he desired and worked for. It is hoped that in this way the dry detail of an itinerary may be avoided, and the story of the Revolution as connected with Washington's direct personality, its beginnings and endings, may prove interesting to others besides the historical student.

W. S. B.]

1775.

THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1775.

At Philadelphia, as a delegate to Congress from the Colony of Virginia: On this day Congress, in session at the

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State House, *Resolved*, "That a General be appointed to command all the Continental Forces, raised or to be raised for the defence of American liberty.

"That five hundred dollars per month be allowed for the pay and expences of the General.

"The Congress then proceeded to the choice of a General by ballot, and GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq., was unanimously elected."—*Journal of Congress.*

The second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, and it is recorded by John Adams, that "Colonel Washington appeared every day in his uniform, and by his great experience and abilities in military matters, was of much service to all." At the session of June 15, however, in consequence of Mr. Adams having stated at a previous meeting that it was his intention to propose for the office of Commander-in-Chief, a gentleman from Virginia, and one of their body, Washington was not present. The nomination was made by Thomas Johnson, a delegate from Maryland.

FRIDAY, JUNE 16.

At Philadelphia, in Congress: "The President [John Hancock] informed Col. Washington that the Congress had yesterday unanimously made choice of him to be General and Commander in Chief of the American forces, and requested he would accept of that employment; to which Col. *Washington* standing in his place answered.

"*Mr. President.*

"Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet, I feel great distress from a consciousness, that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust: However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

"But, lest some unlucky event should happen unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every Gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.



“ ‘As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expence of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expences. Those I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all I desire.’ ”—*Journal of Congress.*

MONDAY, JUNE 19.

At Philadelphia: Receives his commission, appointing him “General and Commander in Chief of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the Forces now raised, or to be raised by them.”

“Philadelphia, 19 June 1775. I have been called upon by the unanimous voice of the colonies to take command of the continental army. It is an honor I neither sought after, or was by any means fond of accepting, from a consciousness of my own inexperience and inability to discharge the duties of so important a trust. However, as the partiality of the Congress has placed me in this distinguished point of view, I can make them no other return but what will flow from close attention and upright intention—for the rest I can say nothing.”—*Washington to John Parke Custis.*

TUESDAY, JUNE 20.

At Philadelphia: “On Tuesday morning [June 20] the three battalions of this city and liberties, together with the artillery company, a troop of light horse, several companies of light infantry, rangers and riflemen, in the whole about two thousand, marched out to the Commons, and, having joined in brigade, were reviewed by General WASHINGTON, who is appointed Commander in Chief of all the North American forces by the honorable Continental Congress, when they went through the manual exercise, firings and manœuvres, with great dexterity and exactness.”—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, June 22, 1775.

THURSDAY, JUNE 22.

At Philadelphia: Is entertained at a farewell supper, given in his honor, at the City Tavern (Second Street above Walnut), at which several distinguished citizens of Philadelphia assisted.

## FRIDAY, JUNE 23.

Leaves Philadelphia: "Yesterday morning [June 23] the Generals WASHINGTON and LEE set off from this city [Philadelphia] to take command of the American army at Massachusetts Bay. They were accompanied from town by the troop of light horse, and by all the officers of the city militia on horseback, who went no farther than about five miles, when they returned, but the former continued with them, and how far they will go is uncertain."—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, June 24, 1775.

Washington left Philadelphia on horseback, and travelled in that manner all the way to Cambridge, the first entry in the account current that he rendered at the conclusion of the war being as follows: "To the purchase of five Horses (two of which were had on credit from Mr. James Mease) to equip me for my Journey to the Army at Cambridge—& for the Service I was then going upon—having sent my Chariot and Horses back to Virginia, £239 —." General Schuyler, Thomas Mifflin, and Joseph Reed were also of the party, which before reaching Trenton was met by a courier bearing despatches to Congress, concerning the battle of Bunker Hill. The troop of light horse which acted as an escort, is now known as the "First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry." It was organized November 17, 1774, and bears an honorable record for services rendered during the war.

## SATURDAY, JUNE 24.

At New Brunswick, New Jersey: "General Washington, with his retinue, is now here [New Brunswick], and proposes to be at Newark by nine to-morrow morning. The situation of the men-at-war at New York (we are informed) is such as to make it necessary that some precaution should be taken in crossing Hudson's river, and he would take it as a favor if some gentlemen of your body would meet him to-morrow at Newark, as the advice you may then give him will determine whether he will continue his proposed route or not."—*General Schuyler to the President of the New York Provincial Congress*.

## SUNDAY, JUNE 25.

At Newark, New Jersey: Meets a committee appointed by the Provincial Congress of New York to attend him

to the city. Committee: John Sloss Hobart, Melancthon Smith, Richard Montgomery, and Gouverneur Morris. Arrives at New York about two o'clock in the afternoon, crossing the Hudson at Hoboken.

“ June 25—This afternoon at four [? two] o'clock, General Washington, attended by Generals Lee and Schuyler, and the light-horse of Philadelphia, on the way for the American camp at Cambridge, landed at Colonel Lisperard's seat, about a mile above New York [in the vicinity of Laight Street, near Greenwich], from whence they were conducted into the city, by nine companies of foot, in their uniforms, and a greater number of the principal inhabitants of that city than ever appeared on any occasion before.”—*Riv- ington's Gazetteer*, June 29, 1775.

MONDAY, JUNE 26.

At New York: Receives and answers, at half-past two in the afternoon, an address from the New York Provincial Congress, and leaves for Kingsbridge.

“ New York. July 3. 1775.—On Monday last [June 26] General WASHINGTON with his suite, attended by the several New York Military Companies, and likewise by a Troop of Gentlemen of the Philadelphia Light Horse, commanded by Captain Markoe, and a number of the inhabitants of this city, set out for the Provincial Camp at Cambridge, near Boston. The General rested that night at Kingsbridge [fourteen miles from the city], and the next morning proceeded on his journey; The Troop returned to this city the next evening, and departed hence for Philadelphia, the Thursday following.”—*Pennsylvania Journal*, July 5, 1775.

TUESDAY, JUNE 27.

Leaves Kingsbridge: General Schuyler, who had been commissioned to “take command of all the troops destined for the New York department,” accompanied him as far as New Rochelle, Westchester County, where they met and conferred with General Wooster.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28.

At New Haven, Connecticut: Reviews a military company of students of Yale College, and “lodges at the house of the late Isaac Beers.”

“New Haven, July 5, 1775.—Last Wednesday [June 28], his excellency General Washington, Major General Lee, Major Thomas Mifflin,



General Washington's aid-de-camp, and Samuel Griffin, Esq. General Lee's aid-de-camp, arrived in town, and early next morning they set out for the Provincial Camp, near Boston, attended by great numbers of the inhabitants of the town. They were escorted out of town by two companies dressed in their uniform, and by a company of young gentlemen belonging to the Seminary in this place, who made a handsome appearance, and whose expertness in the military exercises gained the approbation of the Generals."—*Connecticut Historical Collections.*

THURSDAY, JUNE 29.

At Wethersfield, Connecticut: "Philadelphia, June 22, 1775. This will be handed you by his Excellency, General Washington, in company with General Lee, and retinue. Should they lodge a night in Wethersfield, you will accommodate their horses, servants, &c., in the best manner at the tavern, and their retinue will likely go on to Hartford."—*Silas Deane to Mrs. Deane.*

Mrs. Silas Deane, to whom the above quoted letter was addressed by her husband, was the widow of Joseph Webb, of Wethersfield, and mother of General Samuel Webb. The "Webb House," in which they resided, and in which Washington, in all probability, stayed on the night of June 29, was the place of conference between Washington and Rochambeau, May 22, 1781.

FRIDAY, JUNE 30.

At Springfield, Massachusetts: Meets a committee from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts-Bay,—Dr. Benjamin Church and Moses Gill,—who had provided escorts for the remainder of the journey, through Brookfield, Worcester and Marlborough to Watertown.

SUNDAY, JULY 2.

At Watertown, Massachusetts: Arrives in the morning, attended by the committee and a train of other gentlemen, under escort of a company of horse from Marlborough, and receives an address from the Provincial Congress, then in session at Watertown, which he answers by letter of July 4. Leaves in the afternoon, for Cambridge, three miles distant, and arrives at two o'clock.

MONDAY, JULY 3.

At Cambridge, Massachusetts: Takes command of the army on Cambridge Common, at nine o'clock in the morning, and afterwards visits the several posts occupied by the American troops.

Two medals were struck in 1875, in commemoration of the centennial celebration of Washington's taking command of the army. In both of them, however, the date is given as of *June 3*, an inexcusable error. See Baker's "Medallic Portraits of Washington," Nos. 436, 438.

TUESDAY, JULY 4.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: *Orderly Book*.—"The continental Congress, having now taken all the troops of the several colonies, which have been raised, or which may be hereafter raised for the support and defence of the liberties of America, into their pay and service, they are now the troops of the United Provinces of North America; and it is hoped that all distinction of colonies will be laid aside, so that one and the same spirit may animate the whole, and the only contest be, who shall render, on this great and trying occasion, the most essential service to the great and common cause in which we are all engaged."

The first house occupied by the Commander-in-Chief at Cambridge, as head-quarters, was known as the "President's House," built by Harvard College in 1726, for the use of its presidents. The house of John Vassall, a fugitive royalist, known later as the Craigie house, and still later as the residence of Henry W. Longfellow, was made head-quarters about the middle of July. This house, which is still owned and occupied by the Longfellow family, Washington retained as his quarters, until he left Cambridge for New York, April 4, 1776.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 5.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: "Gen. Washington accompanied by Major Gen. Lee, visited the Roxbury camp, works, &c."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

THURSDAY, JULY 6.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: Visits all the American posts, and reconnoitres the enemy's works.

SUNDAY, JULY 9.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: A council of war, in which it was unanimously determined to defend the posts as occupied, and that measures ought to be immediately taken to increase the army by recruits.

The army in front of Boston at this time, composed of troops from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, brought together after the battle of Concord and Lexington, was estimated to be about fourteen thousand five hundred effective men. Intrenchments had been thrown up on Winter and Prospeet Hills, on the left, and at Roxbury on the right, with works at intermediate points. The college buildings and houses in Cambridge were also occupied by the troops.

THURSDAY, JULY 13.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: Visits the camp at Roxbury.

SATURDAY, JULY 15.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: Present at the reading before the army, by President Langdon of Harvard College, of the Declaration of Congress (July 6), setting forth the causes and necessity of the United Colonies taking up arms.

THURSDAY, JULY 20.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: A day of public humiliation, fasting, and prayer, recommended by Congress, June 12.

“July 20, 1775.—I have been much gratified this day with a view of General Washington. His Excellency was on horseback in company with several military gentlemen. It was not difficult to distinguish him from all others; his personal appearance is truly noble and majestic; being tall and well proportioned. His dress is a blue coat with buff colored facings, a rich epaulette on each shoulder, buff under dress, and an elegant small sword; a black cockade in his hat.”—*Thacher's Military Journal.*

SATURDAY, JULY 22.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: By general orders of this day, the army was distributed into three grand divisions. One, forming the right wing, was stationed on the heights of Roxbury; it was commanded by Major-General Ward.



Another, forming the left wing, under Major-General Lee, was stationed on Winter and Prospect Hills; while the centre, under Major-General Putnam, was stationed at Cambridge.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 3.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: A council of war held to take into consideration the discovery of the alarming fact, that the whole stock of powder in camp, was only nine thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven pounds.

“ August 5, 1775.—We had a general council the day before yesterday, and, to our great surprise, discovered that we had not powder enough to furnish half a pound a man, exclusive of what the people have in their horns and cartridge-boxes. The General [Washington] was so struck, that he did not utter a word for half an hour. Every one else was also astonished.”—*Sullivan to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety.*

TUESDAY, AUGUST 15.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: “To-morrow I expect a supply of powder from Philadelphia, which will be a most seasonable relief in our present necessity.”—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 31.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: “Last Saturday night we took possession of a hill [Plowed Hill, Mount Benedict], considerably advanced beyond our former lines; which brought on a very heavy cannonade from Bunker’s Hill, and afterwards a bombardment, which has been since kept up with little spirit on their part, or damage on ours.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: A council of war, held to consider whether it was expedient to make an attack upon the troops at Boston by means of boats, in co-operation with an attempt upon their lines at Roxbury. It was unanimously agreed, that, “considering the state of the enemy’s

lines, and the expectation of soon receiving some important advices from England, it was not expedient to make the attempt."

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: "Sep. 18. To the Exps of myself and Party in reconnoitering the South & West Shore of Boston Harbor. . £16. 6. 4."—*Washington's Accounts.*

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: A council of war, held to consider the treachery of Dr. Benjamin Church, director-general of the hospital.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: A council of war, on the treachery of Dr. Church, second sitting.

Dr. Benjamin Church, who had been a prominent patriot, was discovered in an attempt to hold a correspondence with the enemy. The matter, after being considered in council, was referred to Congress, who, on November 6, directed that he should be closely confined in a jail in Connecticut. He was imprisoned at Norwich, but was released in May, 1776, on account of declining health, and afterwards obtained permission from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, in whose charge he was, to visit the West Indies; the vessel in which he sailed was never heard of. Dr. Church was the first traitor to the Revolutionary cause.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 18.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: A council of war held to consider an intimation from Congress, that an attack upon Boston, if practicable, was much desired. It was decided to be impracticable.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 23.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: In conference with a committee of Congress appointed to consider the most effectual method of "continuing, supporting, and regulating a Continental army." Committee: Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Lynch, and Benjamin Harrison.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: In conference with the committee of Congress.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: Visits General Ward at his quarters, Roxbury.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: Attends service at the Rev. Dr. Appleton's Church; discourse by Abiel Leonard, chaplain to General Putnam's command.

This was the "Old Congregational Church," which Washington attended while in Cambridge, the minister being the venerable Nathaniel Appleton. The building was taken down in 1833, and the land sold to the corporation of Harvard College. It stood near the spot where Dane Hall now stands.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 11.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: Mrs. Washington arrives at Cambridge, accompanied by her son, John Parke Custis, and his wife.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 18.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: "In the afternoon, Gen. Washington and several other General Officers came on to the Point [Lechmere's Point]."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

1776.

MONDAY, JANUARY 1, 1776.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: *Orderly Book*.—"This day giving commencement to the new army, which in every point of view is entirely Continental, the General flatters himself that a laudable spirit of emulation will now take place, and pervade the whole of it."

The appointment of Washington as Commander-in-Chief of all the American forces, and the adoption by Congress of the army which had gathered before Boston, immediately after the battle of Concord and Lexington, gave that army more of a military status than it had possessed as commanded by



provincial officers ; yet the enlistments were short, and it soon became necessary from that and other causes, to reorganize the whole body. The *new army* referred to in the order was enlisted for a year's service from January 1, 1776, under a plan agreed upon by Washington and a committee of Congress, and while the army it replaced had to a certain extent possessed something of a national character, yet the *new army* may certainly be classed as the first Continental army, raised for the cause of independence. On this day, also, the Union flag, composed of thirteen alternate red and white stripes, with the British union (the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew) in the upper corner, was displayed for the first time.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 4.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge : " It is not in the pages of history, perhaps, to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy, for six months together, without [powder], and at the same time to disband one army, and recruit another, within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more, probably, than was ever attempted."— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

TUESDAY, JANUARY 16.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge : A council of war, in which it was agreed that an attempt ought to be made to conquer the ministerial troops in Boston, but that the force was inadequate. The council, therefore, advised the Commander-in-Chief to request of the neighboring colonies thirteen regiments of militia, to serve till the first of April.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge : A council of war, in which the Commander-in-Chief advanced what he deemed strong reasons for making an immediate assault on the town of Boston, by proceeding from Cambridge and Roxbury over the ice. This opinion was overruled by the council on the grounds that there was not force enough for such an attempt, and that the army was deficient in arms and powder.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge : A council of war, in which it was decided to take possession of Dorchester Heights on

the night of the 4th of March, that being the eve of the anniversary of the "Boston Massacre."

TUESDAY, MARCH 5.

At Dorchester Heights: Awaiting an attack from General Howe. "His Excellency General Washington is present, animating and encouraging the soldiers, and they in return manifest their joy and express a warm desire for the approach of the enemy."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

General Howe took command of the army in Boston on the first of October, 1775, and General Gage sailed within a week afterwards for England. The attack, delayed by a boisterous wind which prevented the British from landing, was finally abandoned.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13.

At General Ward's Quarters, Roxbury: A council of war, in which it was determined, that if Boston was not evacuated the next day it would be advisable, at all events, to fortify Nook's Hill the next night.

Nook's Hill, Dorchester Point, completely commanded Boston, and on Saturday, March 16, a strong detachment was sent to fortify it. The British discovered it, and cannonaded it during the night. The Americans did not return the fire, but maintained their ground. General Howe then resolved to evacuate the town without further delay.

SUNDAY, MARCH 17.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: "I have the pleasure to inform you, that this morning [about nine o'clock] the ministerial troops evacuated the town of Boston without destroying it, and that we are now in full possession."—*Washington to Governor Cooke*.

"Cambridge, March 21.—Last Sabbath [March 17] a few hours after the enemy retreated from Boston, the Rev. Mr. Leonard [chaplain to General Putnam's command] preached an excellent sermon, in the audience of his Excellency the General [Washington], and others of distinction, well adapted to the interesting event of the day, from Exod. XIV. 25. 'And took off their chariot wheels, that they drave them heavily: so that the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel, for the Lord fighteth for them against the Egyptians.'"—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, March 30, 1776.

MONDAY, MARCH 18.

In Boston: Dines with James Bowdoin at the house of Mr. Erving.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20.

In Boston: The Commander-in-Chief enters the city with the main body of the army.

*Orderly Book*, March 20, 1776.—“Whitcomb’s, Phinney’s and Hutchinson’s Regiments are to march into Boston this day, and remain there until further orders, they are to guard the Town and public stores there, and do all such fatigue and other duties, as the General commanding there, thinks proper to order—Every possible precaution will be taken to destroy the Infection of the small-pox. The Troops now in Boston are to march out, and join their respective Regiments, upon being relieved by the Regiments that are to march in.”

THURSDAY, MARCH 21.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: Issues a proclamation for the preservation of peace, good order, and discipline, and enjoining “All officers of the Continental army to assist the civil magistrates in the execution of their duty, and to promote peace and good order.”

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: Entertains at dinner the Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot, Pastor of the New North Church of Boston. Dr. Eliot remained in Boston during its occupancy by the British.

THURSDAY, MARCH 28.

In Boston: “Thursday [March 28] the Lecture, which was established, and has been observed from the first settlement of Boston, without interruption, until within these few months past was opened by the Reverend Doctor Elliot. His Excellency General Washington, the other General Officers and their suites, having been previously invited, met in the Council Chamber, from whence, preceded by the Sheriff with his Wand, attended by the Members of the Council who had had the small pox, the Committee of the House of Representatives, the Selectmen, the Clergy, and



many other Gentlemen, they repaired to the old Brick Meeting House, where an excellent and well adapted discourse was delivered from those words in the XXXIII. Chapter of Isaiah, and 20th verse. After divine service was ended his Excellency, attended and accompanied as before, returned to the Council Chamber, from whence they proceeded to the Bunch of Grapes tavern, where an elegant dinner was provided at the public expence; after which many very proper and pertinent toasts were drank. Joy and gratitude sat on every countenance, and smiled in every eye."—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, April 9, 1776.

FRIDAY, MARCH 29.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: Receives and answers an address from the General Assembly of Massachusetts.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: "The chief part of the troops are marched from hence towards New York. I will set off to-morrow."—*Washington to General Arnold*.

By diploma of this date, April 3, 1776, Harvard College conferred on Washington, "who by the most signal smiles of Divine Providence on his military operations, drove the Fleet and Troops of the enemy with disgraceful precipitation from the town of Boston," the degree of Doctor of Laws.

THURSDAY, APRIL 4.

At Head-quarters, Cambridge: Receives and answers an address from the Selectmen of the town of Boston, and leaves for New York.

FRIDAY, APRIL 5.

At Providence, Rhode Island: Meets Governor Nicholas Cooke and his Council, and is present in the evening at an entertainment given in his honor.

MONDAY, APRIL 8.

At Norwich, Connecticut: Meets Governor Trumbull by appointment at Jedediah Huntington's, where they dine together. Leaves in the evening.

## TUESDAY, APRIL 9.

At New London, Connecticut: Meets Commodore Hopkins, and sleeps at the house of Captain Nathaniel Shaw.

## WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10.

At Lyme, Connecticut: Spends the night at the house of John McCurdy, and reaches New Haven on the following day.

## SATURDAY, APRIL 13.

At New York: "Last Saturday [April 13], His Excellency General Washington arrived at New York from Cambridge, attended by [William] Palfrey, Esq. his aid-de-camp, Horatio Gates, Esq. Adjutant General, and several other gentlemen of distinction."—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, April 16, 1776.

## MONDAY, APRIL 15.

At Head-quarters, New York: "I am now to inform you, that on the 4th instant I set out from Cambridge, and arrived here on Saturday last. I came through Providence, Norwich and New London, in order to see and expedite the embarkation of the troops."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

Washington's first head-quarters in New York were at a house in Pearl street opposite Cedar, where he remained until summoned to visit Congress at Philadelphia, towards the end of May. On his return, June 6, he went to the Mortier House, later known as Richmond Hill, which stood on the spot since the southeast corner of Varick and Charlton Streets. Here he remained until the evacuation in September, when he moved to the "Roger Morris House," Harlem Heights.

## WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17.

At Head-quarters, New York: Mrs. Washington arrives at head-quarters.

## MONDAY, APRIL 29.

At Head-quarters, New York: Issues a proclamation forbidding intercourse and correspondence with the ships of

war and other vessels belonging to and in the service of the King of Great Britain.

FRIDAY, MAY 17.

At Head-quarters, New York: Observed by order of Congress, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

TUESDAY, MAY 21.

At Head-quarters, New York: "The Congress having been pleased to signify [resolution of May 16] a desire that I should repair to Philadelphia, in order to advise and consult with them on the present posture of affairs, and as I am on the point of setting out accordingly, I have to desire that you will cause the different works now in agitation to be carried on with the utmost expedition."—*Washington to General Putnam.*

Washington left New York on May 21 and arrived at Philadelphia on the 23d, at two o'clock in the afternoon, stopping on the way at Amboy, New Jersey, to "view," as he wrote to General Schuyler, "the ground, and such places on Staten Island contiguous to it, as may be proper for works of defence."

THURSDAY, MAY 23.

At Philadelphia: "On Thursday last [May 23] arrived here [Philadelphia], his Excellency General WASHINGTON from New York."—*Pennsylvania Journal*, May 29, 1776.

FRIDAY, MAY 24.

At Philadelphia: "Agreeable to order, General Washington attended in Congress, and, after some conference with him, *Resolved*, That he be directed to attend again tomorrow."—*Journal of Congress.*

SATURDAY, MAY 25.

At Philadelphia: "Agreeable to order, General Washington attended [Congress], and, after some conference with him, *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to confer with his excellency general Washington, Major-general Gates, and brigadier-general Mifflin, and to concert a plan of mili-



tary operations, for the ensuing campaign.”—*Journal of Congress.*

MONDAY, MAY 27.

At Philadelphia: “On Monday afternoon [May 27], Gen. Washington, the Members of Congress, Gen. Gates and Mifflin, reviewed the four battalions, the rifle battalion, the light horse, and 3 artillery companies of the city militia, amounting to near 2500 men, when they went through their manœuvres to general satisfaction. At the same time two battalions of the Continental troops were reviewed by the General. The Indians, who are come to town on business with the Congress, attended the General in reviewing the militia, &c.”—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 29, 1776.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5.

Leaves Philadelphia: Mrs. Washington, who had been with him during his stay (arriving on May 22), remained somewhat longer, being under inoculation for the small-pox. Washington left the city in the morning, attended by Generals Gates and Mifflin.

When President Hancock, under date of May 16, wrote to the Commander-in-Chief advising him of the resolution of Congress, requesting his presenee in Philadelphia, he added: “I request the favor, that you will please to honor me with your and your lady’s company at my house, where I have a bed at your service, and where every endeavour on my part and Mrs. Hancock’s will be exerted to make your abode agreeable. I reside in an airy, open part of the city, in Arch Street, corner of Fourth Street.” Washington, however, on his arrival at Philadelphia, received a note from Mr. Hancock, expressing his sorrow that it was not in his power to wait on him in person on account of a severe fit of the gout. From this note it does not appear that the General and Mrs. Washington availed themselves of the invitation.

THURSDAY, JUNE 6.

At Head-quarters, New York: “New York, June 10.—Thursday afternoon [June 6] his Excellency GENERAL WASHINGTON arrived in town from Philadelphia.”—*Pennsylvania Journal*, June 12, 1776.

SATURDAY, JUNE 8.

At Head-quarters, New York: Receives and answers a resolution of thanks from the Provincial Congress of New York, for the "important services he has rendered to the United Colonies."

TUESDAY, JUNE 18.

At Head-quarters, New York: "This afternoon [June 18], the Provincial Congress of New York gave an elegant entertainment to General Washington and his suite; the general and staff officers, and the commanding officer of the different regiments in and near the city."—*Diary of the American Revolution.*

THURSDAY, JUNE 20.

At Head-quarters, New York: "I have been up to view the grounds about Kingsbridge, and find them to admit of several places well calculated for defence, and, esteeming it a pass of the utmost importance, I have ordered works to be laid out."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"These works were of great importance in keeping open a communication with the country. They embraced the fort on an eminence near Hudson's River, called Fort Washington, the redoubts at Jeffrey's Point and on the hills north and east of Fort Washington, breastworks at Kingsbridge, and Fort Independence on the north side of Harlem Creek near its junction with the Hudson."—*Sparks, III. 430.*

SATURDAY, JUNE 29.

At Head-quarters, New York: "I just now received an express from an officer appointed to keep a look-out on Staten Island, that forty-five [ships] arrived at the Hook to-day; some say more."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, JUNE 30.

At Head-quarters, New York: "When I had the honor of addressing you yesterday, I had only been informed of

the arrival of Forty-five of the fleet in the morning, since that I have received authentic Intelligence from Sundry persons, among them from Genl Greene, that One hundred and Ten Sail came in before night that were counted, and that more were seen about dusk in the offing.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

TUESDAY, JULY 9.

At Head-quarters, New York: *Orderly Book.*—“The Honorable Continental Congress, impelled by the dictates of duty, policy and necessity, having been pleased to dissolve the connection which subsisted between this country and Great Britain, and to declare the United Colonies of America free and independent States,—the several brigades are to be drawn up this evening on their respective parades at six o’clock, when the declaration of Congress, showing the grounds and reasons of this measure, is to be read with an audible voice.”

“New York, 10 July 1776.—Agreeably to the request of Congress, I caused the *Declaration* to be proclaimed before all the army under my immediate command; and have the pleasure to inform them, that the measure seemed to have their most hearty assent; the expressions and behaviour, both of officers and men, testifying their warmest approbation of it.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

THURSDAY, JULY 11.

At Head-quarters, New York: “General Howe’s army is between nine and ten thousand. . . He has landed his men on Staten Island, which they mean to secure, and is in daily expectation of the arrival of Lord Howe, with one hundred and fifty ships, and a large and powerful reinforcement.”—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17.

At Head-quarters, New York: “Yesterday evening a flag came from General Howe with a letter addressed to ‘George Washington, Esq., &c. &c.’ It was not received, on the



same principle that the one from Lord Howe was refused.”  
— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

On the 14th of July, Lord Howe, under a flag, sent a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, with the superscription “To George Washington, Esq.,” which was not received, as it did not acknowledge the rank of the General. This action of Washington was endorsed by Congress in their resolution of July 17.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7.

At Head-quarters, New York: “By two deserters this day, we have the following intelligence, namely, that General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis with the whole Southern army, have arrived and landed on Staten Island from South Carolina, in number about three or four thousand.”— *Washington to Governor Trumbull.*

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13.

At Head-quarters, New York: *Orderly Book.*—“The Enemy’s whole enforcement is now arrived, so that an attack must and will soon be made; the General therefore again repeats his earnest request, that every officer and soldier will have his arms and ammunition in good order, keep within their quarters and encampment, as much as possible; be ready for action at a moment’s call; and when called, to remember that Liberty, Property, Life and Honor, are all at stake.”

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20.

At Head-quarters, New York: *Orderly Book.*—“General Sullivan is to take command upon Long Island till General Greene’s state of health will permit him to resume it.”

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23.

At Head-quarters, New York: “Yesterday morning, and in the course of the preceding night, a considerable body of the enemy, amounting by report to eight or nine thousand, and these all British, landed from the transport-ships mentioned in my last, at Gravesend Bay on Long Island, and

have approached within three miles of our lines.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

*Orderly Book*, August 23.—“The enemy have now landed on Long Island, and the hour is fast approaching, on which the honor and success of this army, and the safety of our bleeding country will depend. Remember, officers and soldiers, that you are freemen, fighting for the blessings of liberty; that slavery will be your portion, and that of your posterity, if you do not acquit yourselves like men.”

SATURDAY, AUGUST 24.

At Brooklyn, Long Island: General Putnam placed in command upon Long Island, and General Sullivan superseded.

MONDAY, AUGUST 26.

At Brooklyn: Towards evening, the Commander-in-Chief, in company with Generals Putnam, Sullivan and other officers, rides down to the outposts near Flatbush, and examines the position of the enemy.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27.

At Brooklyn: From a hill within the American lines, Washington watches the Battle of Long Island, and witnesses the total rout of Stirling's division and the slaughter of the Maryland battalions.

“The height upon which Washington stood was crowned by a redoubt, and occupied the block now bounded by Court, Clinton, Atlantic, and Pacific Streets.”—*Field*, Battle of Long Island.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28.

At Brooklyn: A council of war, in which it was decided “to give up Long Island, and not, by dividing the force, be unable to resist the enemy in any one point of attack.”

“The council was held [at five o'clock in the evening], in the stone Dutch church which stood near the junction of the present Fulton and Flatbush Avenues. This church was designated in the order for the evening as an alarm post during the night, where they might rendezvous in the event of the movement being discovered by the British.”—*Lossing*, Field-Book, II. 606.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 29.

At Brooklyn: With the army on its retreat from Long Island, embarking with the last of the troops, about six o'clock in the morning of August 30.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31.

At Head-quarters, New York: "Inclination as well as duty would have induced me to give Congress the earliest information of my removal and that of the troops from Long Island and its dependencies, to this city the night before last; but the extreme fatigue which myself and family have undergone, as much from the weather since, as the engagement on the 27th, rendered me and them entirely unfit to take pen in hand. Since Monday scarce any of us have been out of the lines till our passage across the East River was effected yesterday morning; and, for forty-eight hours preceding that, I had hardly been off my horse, and never closed my eyes; so that I was quite unfit to write or dictate till this morning."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

At Head-quarters, New York: A council of war, in which it was concluded to arrange the army under three divisions, —five thousand to remain for the defence of the city; nine thousand at Kingsbridge and its dependencies; the remainder to occupy the intermediate space, and support either.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

At Head-quarters, New York: A council of war, in which it was determined to abandon the city.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13.

At New York: With the main body of the army moving towards Fort Washington and Kingsbridge.

Washington made the house of Robert Murray, near the corner of the present Thirty-sixth Street and Fourth Avenue, his head-quarters on the 14th, and on the 15th he was at Mott's tavern, Harlem Plains. Early on the morn-



ing of the 15th, the enemy landed some troops at Kip's Bay, about the foot of the present Thirty-fourth Street, when two brigades of Connecticut troops (Parsons and Fellows), panic-stricken at the cannonade, fled in confusion. Washington, hearing the cannonade, hurried to the spot, and, meeting the fugitives, made a vain attempt to rally them; enraged at their cowardice, he rode into the hottest fire, and was with difficulty turned back to a place of safety.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.

At the "Roger Morris House," Harlem Heights: Battle of Harlem Heights, during which Washington was at the Point of Rocks (an outpost), the present One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Street and Ninth Avenue.

The "Roger Morris House," at which Washington's head-quarters were now established, and at which they continued until October 21, was on high and commanding ground, called Harlem Heights, three miles north of the village of Harlem, and about a mile and a half south of Fort Washington. It was erected by Colonel Roger Morris, who married a daughter of Frederick Phillips, owner of the Manor of Phillipsburg, which comprised a great portion of Westchester, and parts of Dutchess and Putnam Counties, New York. Morris adhered to the Crown, and when the British evacuated New York, in 1783, went to England with his family. The house, which still stands, is almost opposite to the intersection of Tenth Avenue and One Hundred and Sixty-first Street with the old Kingsbridge road.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17.

At Head-quarters, Harlem Heights: *Orderly Book*.—"The General most heartily thanks the troops commanded yesterday by Major Leitch, who first advanced upon the enemy, and the others who so resolutely supported them. The behavior of yesterday was such a contrast to that of some troops the day before [at Kip's Bay], as must show what may be done where officers and soldiers exert themselves."

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

At Head-quarters, Harlem Heights: "The Commander in Chief, Maj. Gen. Putnam, and some other officers, came up to our General's division [at Kingsbridge], and rode round the camp."—*Heath's Memoirs*.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

At Head-quarters, Harlem Heights; "The enemy have formed a large encampment in the plains, or rather heights,

below us, extending across from the East to the North River; but have attempted nothing as yet of a general nature."—*Washington to Governor Trumbull.*

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26.

At Head-quarters, Harlem Heights: In conference with a Committee of Congress appointed to make inquiries into the condition of the army, and to agree upon the necessary augmentation. Committee: Roger Sherman, Elbridge Gerry, and Francis Lewis.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27.

At Head-quarters, Harlem Heights: In conference with the Committee of Congress.

On September 28, in the morning, Washington crossed the North River, "in order to view the post opposite [Fort Lee], and the grounds between that and Paulus Hook."

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 13.

At Head-quarters, Harlem Heights: "Yesterday the enemy landed at Frog's Point, about nine miles from hence, further up the Sound. Their number we cannot ascertain, as they have not advanced from the Point, which is a kind of island, but the water that surrounds it is fordable at low tide."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 16.

At General Lee's Quarters, Kingsbridge: A council of war, in which it was determined, in consequence of the enemy having landed the main body of their army at Frog's or Throck's Point (in the American rear), that the forces should be withdrawn into Westchester County, leaving sufficient garrison to defend Fort Washington and its dependencies.

Washington retained his head-quarters at Harlem Heights until October 21, when he moved to Valentine's Hill, Westchester County, and on the 23d established himself at White Plains, twenty-six miles northeast of New York, where he remained until November 10.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 23.

At White Plains, New York: "While the army was moving from Harlem Heights to White Plains, and for several days afterwards, General Washington was almost the whole time on horseback, reconnoitering the grounds, fixing on a place for a camp, and superintending the works thrown up for its defence."—*Sparks*, IV. 524.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 28.

At Head-quarters, White Plains: Battle of White Plains, or Chatterton's Hill.

Chatterton's Hill, where the battle was fought, sixteen hundred Americans being engaged, is a commanding eminence west of the Bronx River, about a mile from White Plains. Washington's head-quarters, at the "Miller House," were to the north of the village, and east of that stream, the main body of the army being intrenched two miles beyond.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30.

At Head-quarters, White Plains: Visits the several posts of the army.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31.

At Head-quarters, White Plains: On the night of the 31st of October, General Washington withdrew his army to a very strong position upon the heights of North Castle, about two miles in the rear of his first encampment, and five from White Plains, where he caused new works of defence to be thrown up.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

At Head-quarters, White Plains: "Yesterday morning the enemy made a sudden and unexpected movement from the several posts they had taken in our front. They broke up their whole encampments the preceding night and have advanced towards Kingsbridge and the North River."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 10.

At Head-quarters, White Plains: "The late movement of the enemy, and the probability of their having designs upon



the Jerseys, confirmed by sundry accounts from deserters and prisoners, rendering it necessary to throw a body of troops over the North River, I shall immediately follow, and the command of the army, which remains, after General Heath's division marches to Peekskill, will devolve upon you."—*Washington to General Lee.*

Washington left White Plains at eleven o'clock on the morning of November 10, and arrived at Peekskill, the entrance to the Highlands, at sunset.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

At Peekskill, New York: Visits the Highland forts, in boats, accompanied by Generals Heath, Stirling, Mifflin, and others.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12.

At Peekskill: Reconnoitres the eastern side of the Hudson, from Peekskill to the mountains, with General Heath, and about ten o'clock in the morning crosses the river into New Jersey.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

At Fort Lee, New Jersey: "I have the honor to inform you of my arrival here yesterday, and that the whole of the troops belonging to the States, which lay south of Hudson's River, and which were in the New York government, have passed over to this side, except the regiment lately Colonel Smallwood's which I expect is now on their march."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Fort Lee, Bergen County, New Jersey, was situated upon a sort of plateau, three hundred feet above the Hudson river (the Palisades), opposite the present One Hundred and Sixtieth Street of New York, and a short distance below Fort Washington. The army having gone into camp at Hackensack, five miles northwest of the Fort, Washington established his head-quarters at that place, in the house of Mr. Peter Zabriskie.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

At Fort Lee: "This day about twelve o'clock, the enemy made a general attack upon our lines about Fort Washing-

ton, which having carried, the garrison retired within the fort. Colonel Magaw finding there was no prospect of retreating across the North River, surrendered the post. The force of the garrison, before the attack was about two thousand men.”— *Washington to General Lee.*

Washington was at head-quarters at Hackensack on November 15, when he was informed of the movement on Fort Washington. He immediately went to Fort Lee, and had partly crossed the North River, when he met Generals Greene and Putnam, who were returning from the Fort, who stated that the troops were in high spirits, and would make a good defence; it being late at night, he returned to Fort Lee. On the morning of the 16th, in company with Generals Putnam, Greene, Mercer, and other principal officers, Washington again crossed the river to the old head-quarters at the “Roger Morris House,” from whence he surveyed the scene of operations. Having remained a short time, he retired. Fifteen minutes later the British troops took possession of the very spot on which the Commander-in-Chief, with the officers, had been standing.

#### THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

At Head-quarters, Hackensack: “Yesterday morning the enemy landed a large body of troops below Dobbs’ Ferry, and advanced very rapidly to the Fort called by your name [Fort Lee]. I immediately went over, and, as the Fort was not tenable on this side, and we were in a narrow neck of land, the passes out of which the enemy were attempting to seize, I directed the Troops to move over to the west side of Hackensack River.”— *Washington to General Lee.*

Washington, finding that the army was in some danger of being pent up between the Hackensack and Passaic Rivers, moved, on the 21st, to the west side of the Passaic, crossing at Acquackanoc bridge. The retreat through the Jerseys begins, in which “often the music of the pursued and the pursuers would be heard by each other, yet no action occurred.”

#### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23.

At Newark, New Jersey: “The situation of our affairs is truly critical, and such as requires uncommon exertions on our part. From the movements of the enemy, and the information we have received, they certainly will make a push to possess themselves of this part of the Jerseys.”— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

Washington arrived at Newark on the evening of the 22d, and remained until the morning of the 28th, the advance-guard of the British army entering the town as his rear-guard left it; the next day he arrived at New Brunswick.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30.

At New Brunswick, New Jersey: "On Thursday morning I left Newark, and arrived here yesterday with the troops that were there. It was the opinion of all the generals, who were with me, that a retreat to this place was requisite and founded in necessity."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 1.

At New Brunswick: "The enemy are advancing, and have got as far as Woodbridge and Amboy, and, from information not to be doubted, they mean to push for Philadelphia. The force I have with me is infinitely inferior in numbers, and such as cannot give or promise the least successful opposition."—*Washington to General Lee.*

"Two brigades left us at Brunswick [by expiration of service], notwithstanding the enemy were within two hours march and coming on. The loss of these troops at this critical time reduced his Excellency to the necessity to order a retreat again. When we left Brunswick, we had not 3000 men."—*General Greene to Governor Cooke.*

MONDAY, DECEMBER 2.

At Princeton, New Jersey: "I arrived here this morning with our troops between eight and nine o'clock."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3.

At Trenton, New Jersey: "I arrived here myself yesterday morning, with the main body of the army, having left Lord Stirling with two brigades at Princeton and that neighborhood, to watch the motions of the enemy and give notice of their approach."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5.

At Trenton: "I shall now, face about with such troops as are here fit for service, and march back to Princeton, and



there govern myself by circumstances and the movements of General Lee.”— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6.

At Trenton: “To-day I shall set out for Princeton myself, unless something should occur to prevent me, which I do not expect.”— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 8.

At Mr. Berkeley’s summer-seat, Pennsylvania: “Colonel Reed would inform you of the intelligence, which I first met with on the road from Trenton to Princeton yesterday. Before I got to the latter, I received a second express informing me, that, as the enemy were advancing by different routes, and attempting by one to get in the rear of our troops, which were there, and whose numbers were small, and the place by no means defensible, they had judged it prudent to retreat to Trenton. The retreat was accordingly made, and since to this side of the river.”— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

Washington crossed the Delaware at Trenton with the rear-guard of the army, early in the morning of the 8th, and about eleven o’clock the same morning, the British came marching down to the river, expecting to cross, but no boats were within reach, all having been collected and secured on the west bank. The Berkeley House, at which Washington made his headquarters, was in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, about half a mile from the Delaware, within the limits of the present Morrisville, opposite Trenton. Here he remained until December 14.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At Head-quarters, Berkeley’s: “I shall remove further up the river to be near the main body of my small army, with which every possible opposition shall be given to any further approach of the enemy towards Philadelphia.”— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

“On the 14th, Washington moved to the farm-house of William Keith, built in 1763, and still standing, on the road from Brownsburg to the Eagle tavern. These quarters were retained until December 25. Here he was near the upper fords of the Delaware, at which it was supposed the enemy

would attempt to cross, and within a half-hour's ride of Newtown, the depot of supplies."—*W. W. H. Davis, Pennsylvania Magazine, IV. 133.*

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15.

At Head-quarters, Keith's: "With the utmost regret I must inform you of the loss our army has sustained by the captivity of General Lee, who was made a prisoner on the morning of the 13th by a party of seventy of the enemy's light-horse, near a place called Vealtown, in the Jerseys."—*Washington to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania.*

Notwithstanding many earnest appeals and orders from Washington to join the main army, Lee, who had been left at North Castle, New York, with a force of three thousand men, so delayed his start, and moved so slowly when started, that he only reached Morristown, New Jersey, on the 11th of December, having crossed the Hudson on the 4th. On the 12th the troops were marched to Vealtown, now Bernardsville, eight miles distant, and Lee took up his quarters three miles off, at Mrs. White's tavern, at the village of Basking Ridge, where he was taken prisoner the following morning. General Lee was not exchanged until the latter part of April, 1778, when he rejoined the army at Valley Forge.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 23.

At Camp above Trenton Falls, Pennsylvania: "Christmas day at night, one hour before day, is the time fixed upon for our attempt on Trenton. For Heaven's sake keep this to yourself, as the discovery of it may prove fatal to us."—*Washington to Colonel Joseph Reed.*

Four brigades, under Generals Stirling, Mercer, Stephen, and De Fermoy, had been posted on the Delaware to guard the fords above Trenton, the troops being stationed at the crossings from Yardley's up to Coryell's Ferry, now New Hope. The above-quoted letter was written from one of these camps, probably that of Lord Stirling, at Beaumont's, eleven miles up the river, which Washington had visited on the 10th. The Commander-in-Chief returned to head-quarters at Keith's on the evening of December 24.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 25.

At McKonkey's Ferry, on the Delaware: Crosses the river a little before midnight, the transportation of the troops, about two thousand four hundred, being completed

at three o'clock in the morning of the 26th. Marches with the army to Trenton, New Jersey.

The command was formed into two divisions under Generals Sullivan and Greene, one to march by the lower or river road, the other by the upper or Pennington road. Washington marched with the upper division under Greene, which arrived at the enemy's advanced post at eight o'clock, a few minutes earlier than the lower division. McKonkey's Ferry, now Taylorsville, on the Pennsylvania side of the river, and designated on the Jersey shore as "Washington's Crossing," is about nine miles above Trenton. A bridge six hundred feet long now takes the place of the old ferry.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 26.

At Trenton, New Jersey: Surprises the Hessians, who, after a short and decisive engagement, surrender, and recrosses the river the same evening, with nearly a thousand prisoners, the same number of arms, and several cannon.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27.

At Newtown, Pennsylvania: "I have the pleasure of congratulating you upon the success of an enterprise, which I had formed against a detachment of the enemy lying in Trenton, and which was executed yesterday morning."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Newtown, where Washington made his head-quarters after the battle of Trenton, then the county seat of Bucks county, Pennsylvania, is about five miles west of the Delaware River, and about the same distance southwest of Taylorsville. The house occupied was the property of John Harris; it was retained by Washington as his quarters until December 29, when he set out to recross the Delaware.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29.

At Head-quarters, Newtown: "I am just setting out to attempt a second passage over the Delaware, with the troops that were with me on the morning of the 26th."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

MONDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At Trenton, New Jersey: This morning Washington crossed the Delaware at McKonkey's Ferry, in advance of the troops, and proceeded to Trenton.

(To be continued.)







EDWARD TILGHMAN.

1750 - 1815

*From the original in the possession of Edward Tilghman, Esq*







THE LEADERS OF THE OLD BAR OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY HORACE BINNEY.

(Continued from page 27.)

EDWARD TILGHMAN.

I place in advance of some remarks of the present day a short sketch of this admirable lawyer, written a few years since for a work which was published in Philadelphia.

“TILGHMAN (Edward); an eminent lawyer of the State of Pennsylvania, at the Bar of Philadelphia. He was born at Wye, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, on the 11th of December, 1750, of an old and respectable family, which in the paternal line emigrated to the province of Maryland from Kent County in England, about the year 1662. His academical education was received in the City of Philadelphia, under teachers who were successful in accomplishing him in the ancient classics, to an extent which, at a subsequent time, now happily passed away, it was the poor fashion to undervalue or decry. His education in the law was obtained principally in the Middle Temple, of which he was entered a student about the year 1771; and in the years 1772 and 1773 he became an assiduous attendant upon the Courts of Westminster Hall, taking notes of the arguments in Chancery before Lord Apsley, and of such men as Wallace, Dunning, Davenport and Mansfield, before Lord Mansfield and the Judges of the King's Bench. His note-books are still extant in the possession of his descendants; and one of them was of remarkable use upon the argument of Clayton against Clayton, in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in explaining an obscure report by Sir James Burrow, of Lord Mansfield's judgment in *Wigfall v. Brydon*, which was cited before the same Judges in *Goodright v. Patch*, in 1773, and then put upon its true ground. After finishing his course at the Middle Temple, he returned

to Philadelphia, and was admitted to the Bar, at which he continued till his death, on the 1st of November, 1815, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

“There are two very different methods of acquiring a knowledge of the law of England, and by each of them men have succeeded in public estimation to an almost equal extent. One of them, which may be called the old way, is a methodical study of the general system of law, and of its grounds and reasons, beginning with the fundamental law of estates and tenures, and pursuing the derivative branches in logical succession, and the collateral subjects in due order, by which the student acquires a knowledge of principles that rule in all departments of the science, and learns to feel, as much as to know, what is in harmony with the system, and what is not. The other is to get an outline of the system by the aid of commentaries, and to fill it up by the desultory reading of treatises and reports, according to the bent of the student, without much shape or certainty in the knowledge so acquired, until it is given by investigations in the course of practice. A good deal of law may be put together by a facile or flexible man in the second of these modes, and the public are often satisfied with it; but the profession itself knows the first, by its fruits, to be the most effectual way of making a great lawyer. Edward Tilghman took the old way, and acquired in it not only great learning, but the most accurate legal judgment of any man of his day, at the Bar of which he was a member. No one of his contemporaries would have felt injured by his receiving this praise. Upon questions which to most men are perplexing at first, and continue to be so until they have worked their way to a conclusion by elaborate reasoning, he seemed to possess an instinct, which seized the true result before he had taken time to prove it. This was no doubt the fruit of severe and regular training, by which his mind became so imbued with legal principles, that they unconsciously governed his first impressions. In that branch of the law which demands the greatest subtlety of intellect, as well as familiarity with principles, the chapter of con-



tingent remainders and executory devises, he had probably no superior anywhere. An eminent Judge has said of him, 'that he never knew any man who had this branch of the law so much at his finger ends. With all others with whom he had had professional intercourse, it was the work of time and consideration to comprehend; but he took in with one glance all the beauties of the most obscure and difficult limitations. With him it was intuitive, and he could untie the knots of a contingent remainder or executory devise as familiarly as he could his garter.' When this can be justly said of a lawyer—and it was said most justly of Edward Tilghman—nothing is wanting to convey to professional readers an adequate notion of the extent of his learning, and the grasp of his understanding; for the doctrines upon these subjects are the higher mathematics of the law, and the attainment of them by any one, implies that the whole domain lies at his feet. Mr. Tilghman was also an advocate of great powers—a master of every question in his causes—a wary tactician in the management of them—highly accomplished in language—a faultless logician—a man of the purest integrity and of the brightest honor—fluent without the least volubility—concise to a degree that left every one's patience and attention unimpaired—and perspicuous to almost the lowest order of understandings, while he was dealing with almost the highest topics. How could such qualities as these fail to give him a ready acceptance with both courts and juries, and to make him the bulwark of any cause which his judgment approved? An invincible aversion to authorship and to public office, has prevented this great lawyer from being known as he ought to have been, beyond the limits of his own country. He has probably left nothing professional behind him but his opinions upon cases, now in various hands, and difficult to collect, but which, if collected and published, would place him upon the same elevation with Dulany, of Maryland, or Fearne, the author of the work in which he most delighted. The Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania was offered to him by Governor McKean, upon the

death of Chief-Justice Shippen; but he declined it, and recommended for the appointment his kinsman, William Tilghman, who so much adorned that station by his learning and virtues.

“It is instructive to record, that the stern acquirements and labors of this eminent man never displaced the smiles of benevolence from his countenance, nor put the least weight upon his ever buoyant spirit. His wit was as playful and harmless, and almost as bright, as heat lightning upon a summer’s evening. It always lit up the edges of the clouds of controversy that surrounded the Bar, and sometimes dispersed the darkest and angriest. A more frank, honorable, and gentlemanly practitioner of the law, and one more kind, communicative, and condescending to the young students and members of the Bar, never lived. The writer of this article, thirty years his junior, regards it as his greatest good fortune to have been admitted to the familiar intimacy of Edward Tilghman, and to have enjoyed not only instruction from his learning and wisdom, but an example of life in his cheerfulness and serenity, during the vicissitudes of health and fortune which chequered his declining years.”

The preceding article was written by request of a daughter of Edward Tilghman, for the supplementary volume of the *Encyclopædia Americana*, edited by Professor Vethake, now Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. As it has been reprinted more than once in the public journals, I do not break it up into a rather fuller sketch of its eminent subject, but leave it unaltered, as a condensed account of Mr. Tilghman’s parentage and education, and of his profound attainments in the deep-sea learning of the law, far off from common soundings, as well as of his pleasant wit and most benign temper. But it may be useful to give a little further extension and detail to the subject, by some particulars of his education in the law, and of his professional and personal character. A notice of them in the article would have extended it too much for the work in

which it was published, and perhaps would have imparted to it either a too professional or a too familiar air. These particulars are as fresh with me now as when I first knew them, some of them sixty years ago, and will not be, I think, without interest to such of the members of the Bar as recollect him or have heard much of him.

Of the perfect confidence of the Judges in his opinions, I will refer to two or three instances in this place, without, at present, including an obituary notice immediately after his death, which will be allowed to be authoritative when I shall name its author.

In the well-argued and important case of *Finlay's Lessee v. Riddle*, reported in 3 Binney, 139, the question of law was one of those which are sometimes called *gordian*. It was a devise of an estate to A. for his natural life, and after his decease, if he shall die leaving lawful issue, to his *heirs* as tenants in common, and their respective heirs and assigns forever; but in case he shall die without leaving lawful issue, then to B., his brother, to hold to him and his heirs and assigns forever. Of course, "the pinch of the case," as Judge Brackenridge called it, was in the word *heirs*, as first used, whether it was to be regarded as a word of limitation, or as a word of purchase; that is to say, whether A. took an estate tail, or an estate for life only. Chief-Justice Tilghman, before whom the cause was tried at a Circuit Court, told the jury that the inclination of his mind was rather in favor of the opinion that A. took only an estate for life; but as it was a question of considerable difficulty, he would reserve the point; and he directed the jury to find a verdict in correspondence with his inclination. Of the same opinion were all the Judges finally. Judge Brackenridge, in giving his opinion, said that "something was thrown out in the course of the argument at the Bar, by the counsel contending for the estate tail,"—the same gentleman who afterwards, as a Judge of the same Court, so distinctly affirmed the supremacy of Edward Tilghman in this branch of the law,—“of a confidence in what the opinion would be, of the elder of the profession, were it taken on



this devise. The case being held under advisement, and it so happening that I had an easy opportunity, I put the case to one of the eldest and ablest of the profession in the State, and totally unconcerned in the matter, but submitted merely as a problem in legal science, in that abstruse part of it, the doctrine of devises and contingent remainders. His note to me I hold in my hands, and will read it." And then follows, in the printed report, without the author's name, a page of short, close, pithy sentences, after the writer's fashion, affirming the estate for life only, and unloosing the knot "familiar as his garter." The writer of that note was Edward Tilghman.

Another instance of the respect entertained for him by the foremost Judge on the Bench occurred in my presence. It was a case in which Chief-Justice Tilghman did not concur with the argument of his cousin, and put to him two or three objections, which were answered, and the argument then was pressed in its first direction. At the close, the Chief Justice said, "Mr. Tilghman, I have so much respect for your judgment, and so much knowledge of your sincerity in what you press, that I will look further into the point."

A third occurred in the great case of the Bush Hill estate, *Lyle v. Richards*, 9 Serg. & Rawle, which grew out of a common recovery, that I had conducted with his support and advice. It was in this case that Judge Duncan, after Mr. Tilghman's death, pronounced the eulogy upon him that is mentioned in the article.

In that emphatic praise, Judge Duncan said of him, "that, with one glance, he took in all the beauties of the most obscure and difficult limitations. With him it was intuition." And this was so far true, that it had that appearance. But Mr. Tilghman's intuition, in such cases, took in more than is included in the letter of Mr. Locke's definition. It was not only the immediate perception of the agreement or disagreement of two ideas in the party's own mind, but the immediate grouping of reasons and authorities, and the unconscious comparison of them, and

the giving out the true result in a moment, as it happens with an accomplished performer on the organ, who expresses a whole score without consciously perusing the parts of it. This was, in reality, deduction so infinitely quick, that it had the appearance of intuition.

It was this quick and accurate glance that distinguished him in his arguments at the Bar. The difference between cases which to some men appeared contradictory or discordant,—the little more or the little less in circumstance,—he knew, and could touch as quickly as a musician touches the flats and sharps of the key-board; and he did it without the least affectation of learning, passing along them, from one key to another, with the purest modulation, and bringing them into harmony with the key of his own argument.

No man talked less at the Bar for talk's sake, or less frequently resorted to words for want of thoughts. His plain and direct reasoning was very rarely embellished by anything that was collateral. He kept the narrow and straight way, and culled little or nothing from the fields alongside; yet he intermixed the reasons of the law with its principles, so smoothly and shrewdly, that he never was dry or abstruse. When he began, he generally meant to say all that he afterwards said, rarely or never leaving his path; and when his argument was at an end, he did not utter a word to round it off,—no peroration, no retouching, no supplemental answers to objections,—all had been noticed and disposed of in due order as he advanced.

In no instance did he argue a cause superficially, nor in any did his cousin, Chief-Justice Tilghman, decide a cause *hastily*. The characteristics of both, as to preparation, deliberation, and caution, were the same. The case of *Newlin v. Newlin*, 1 Sergeant & Rawle, which asserted the right of a married woman to dispose of her separate trust estate, unless restrained by the deed of trust, was argued by Edward Tilghman and John Sergeant, and was decided in Bank, after mature consideration, by Chief-Justice Tilghman and Yeates, who delivered full opinions, affirming the right. The case of *Dolan v. Lancaster*, 1 Rawle, in the time of

Chief-Justice Gibson, overruled *Newlin v. Newlin*, and swept away every vestige of authority from a married woman, during coverture, to alienate or pledge her separate trust estate. Chief-Justice Gibson said that "*Newlin v. Newlin* was *hastily* determined upon an exception to evidence." He never made a greater mistake, unless when he overruled the authority. It was argued upon pre-existing authorities, which are cited in the report, and came before the Court upon a writ of error to the Common Pleas. It has taken more than one Act of Assembly to patch the hole in the law that was made by *Dolan v. Lancaster*; and it is not well patched yet. Chief-Justice Gibson has delivered good opinions; but he never was less sure-footed than when the shadow of his predecessor fell upon his path. Imagine the terror of the old authorities at the flash of his cimeter in *Ferree v. The Commonwealth*, 8 Sergeant & Rawle: "For myself, I shall never consent to give effect to a claim by the husband, or those in his stead, to what was at any time the wife's real estate, where it is possible to defeat it by any construction, however forced!" Where is the limit to the possibilities of forced construction? Where is the wisdom of a crotchet that would tie the hands of all womankind because a few of them are thought not to have wills of their own?

With a certain description of juries, and by similar intuition of all that bore upon his case, Edward Tilghman was nearly irresistible. He talked to the panel as if he was one of them; as if he was opening to his brethren the path in which they had to walk with him in the discharge of a duty, that was a duty of conscience equally to them and to himself. This of course implies that he knew his jury would understand him, and that he thought his case would bear any quantity of sifting. If he thought either the jury or his cause in fault, he threw nothing away upon either, and reserved himself for a better occasion. But, at all times, his sense and shrewdness, occasional pleasantry, and constant air of sincerity made it delightful to listen to him. He never condescended to propitiate a dishonest prejudice,



rarely a prejudice of any kind. He would laugh at it, and sometimes give it a touch of the whip; but he never coaxed it or wheedled it, or set up a counter prejudice to contend with it. Some of this may at times be proper, but it was not his way. If he thought his cause a good one, and the tribunal an intelligent one, he walked to victory with the most easy and assured step possible. In such a case, before Judge Washington, I heard him once say at the conclusion of his argument, when a colleague was to follow him, "I have now finished what I had to say in the case, and I will let my colleague lose it if he can;" and this he said without the least vanity or triumph, but as if he was merely giving a voice to what others had thought before he was done.

But we must not infer, from this account of him, that the knowledge of remainders and executory devises came to him, or comes to any man, by inspiration. He worked hard for what he knew, and began early. I have read those note-books, recording his attendance in Westminster Hall, from 1772 to the beginning of 1774; and there, at his age of twenty-two, I have seen, as any one may, the seeds and plants which grew up into that marvellous intuition. The books are in the form of receipt books, with clasps at the end, of a size to be easily carried in the hand, Law being recorded at one end, and Equity at the other; and are full, it would seem, of all the cases of importance which had been argued in his time. They note the points or questions, the name of the counsel who argued, a summary of their arguments and authorities, the dicta of the Judges, and the opinion of the Court, sometimes abbreviated almost into short-hand, half a word, and frequently the initial and final letters being made to stand for a word, connectives being omitted where they could be implied; and there is, in some instances, an authority or a remark of his own interlined, showing that he had taken the notes in Court, perhaps on his knee, and had conned them over in private, especially such as involved great principles, like *Goodright v. Patch*, where Lord Mansfield explained his opinion in *Wigfall v. Brydon*, and perhaps damaged that case a little,

and in *Doe v. Burville*, a case of cross-remainders, *Campbell v. Power*, and other cases bearing on Mr. Tilghman's favorite subject. His accuracy of language, and perspicuity, are remarkable throughout. In one case, *Morgan v. Jones*, he says, "Upon what legal grounds Lord Mansfield founded his opinion, in what particular way he effectuated the intention, and according to what rules, I could not understand, being in a crowd and at a distance. However, this I heard him say plainly: 'Tis now settled that marriage and having children is a revocation of a will of land.'" His constancy in attending the arguments and judgments in the several Courts—for his note-books report the cases in the King's Bench, Common Pleas, High Court of Chancery, and, in a few instances, the sittings before Lord Mansfield—is remarkable; and the precision of his abbreviated words, in noticing what fell from counsel or Court, much of which was technical and abstruse, was striking, at his age, and shows him to have been not only a vigilant, but a most intelligent, student; and, as he followed his profession with ardor, it is not difficult to understand the cause of that "intuition" of which Judge Duncan spoke. There was so much in his own mind to behold, and he had looked upon it so frequently and habitually, in at least the great department of estates and tenures, that his quickness and certainty were like those of the eye when it takes in a landscape or a picture.

Besides the labor and attention which his note-books imply, they also bear frequent traces of the same pleasant sparkle which so often twinkled like a star in the face of our own Bar and Court.

It is probable that Lord Mansfield maintained great dignity on the Bench, and delivered himself with some formality and elegance, more, on occasions, than the juniors thought necessary. One of the note-books has this note: "1773, May 21. Lord Mansfield. 'I will not give judgment to-day, but on Monday.' N. B. Lord Mansfield said this with usual perspicuity and emphasis."

Again: "King's Bench. Thursday, 7 Feb. 1774. Camp-

bell *v.* Hall, Esquire. Special verdict. *Lord Mansfield*. 'What a farrago Sir John gave us yesterday!'—meaning Sir John Dalrymple, in the matter of Literary Property. *Sir Richard Aston*. 'Strange stuff! His criticism upon "no longer" was against him.' *Lord Mansfield*. 'Sad stuff, Sir Richard! This will prove sad stuff.'"

Again: In this instance the words are given with Mr. Tilghman's abbreviations:

"Indt. sp. conts. wds. of J. of P. in Ex. of Off. Objt. not suff'y certain. *Rex v. Barr*."

"*Burland*. 'Where only one time in Indt. v. and a. must rel. to that. Adt. and ibid. verbt. in Indt. stds. for both stroke and asst. *Hawks. Hale*.'"

"——, ad idem. Indt. is that —— was a Justice on 6th June, and that a petty sess'n was held before him and an'r, and deft. then and there spoke the words, 'you don't do justice.'"

"*Serg. Davy*. 'I wont trouble your Lds. with a wd. from Hale or Sergt. Hawkins, but I believe a word or two from Sergt. Davy will do. Indt. is, —— was a Justice before 6th June, and ever since has been. Ergo, if then and there refers to the 6th June, he must have spoke the words "before and ever since.'"

"*Ld. M.* 'Tis a flat objection.'"

A Mr. Morgan, a barrister of that day, is well known to have acquired the *sobriquet* of "Frog" Morgan, from his manner of citing Cro. Eliz., Cro. Jac., Cro. Car., as *Croak* Elizabeth, &c., and not *Crook*. His voice probably assisted to nick the name. Mr. Tilghman never omits to give him a fling.

One of the note-books records: "Mr. Morgan, with much solemnity, moved for an information against a constable for refusing to run after a person against whom he had a warrant, when that person ran away; and for jeering and deriding the Overseers of the Poor, who obtained the warrant."

"*Sir Richard Aston*. 'The constable ought to have run; but it is not a fit subject for an information. Indict him.' So Frog took nothing by his motion."



In another case,—Lord Sandwich against Miller, a motion to change the venue,—after noting the argument of Serjeant Glyn, contra, the note proceeds, “Morgan, n. b. Frog, ad idem.”

A triplet on the first page of the note-book, runs thus :

“ My prayer grant, ye Gods, and your altars shall smoke,  
That as he goes home, Frog’s neck may be broke,  
And then we shall never more hear the whelp *croak*.”

The temper of this profound lawyer was as remarkable as his learning. His pleasantry made a luminous circle around him whenever he was in a cluster of his friends; and it was particularly bright when two or three of them accompanied him in a walk for recreation. On such occasions, quotations from English or Latin poetry, in aid of his pleasantry, were frequent and pointed; but he was neither a jester nor a satirist. His wit seemed to escape from him, its flow was so easy and lambent, and it neither raised a blister nor left a sting in any one. A friend, who could appreciate his wit, called at his office to pay his *honorarium*. “I am come, Mr. Tilghman, to pay you for winning my cause, which delights me;” and then pulling a purse of gold from his pocket, and taking some broad pieces from it,—“Come, hold out your hand,—one, two, three, four,—tell me when to stop.” Mr. Tilghman looked at him with his bright smile, and replied,—

“ Lay on, Macduff,  
And damned be him that first cries, hold—enough !”

The world seems to be of opinion that this might be a motto for the Barrister’s Arms; but it would hardly be a sufficient distinction.

His friends were rather a select body, and it was with them that this airy temper was freest. Those with whom he was most intimate derived from his unreserve the same sort of compliment to themselves that Cotton did from Izaak Walton’s keeping company with him. “For my father Walton,” says Cotton, “will be seen twice in no man’s company that he does not like, and likes none but

such as he believes to be very honest men, which is one of the best arguments, or at least of the best testimonies, that I either am, or that he thinks me one of those, seeing that I have not yet found him weary of me." It is thought, however, that old Izaak overvalued a little the morality of his adopted son.

Mr. Tilghman's heart, moreover, was as true as his temper. No one was less demonstrative, or made fewer professions, but he held to those he loved with hooks of steel; and if these were ruptured, the wrench seemed to give his heart the greater susceptibility.

There was the utmost simplicity in his dress, and in his address and manners. Though no man was less a Quaker, no man less affected decorative forms of any kind. He never wore black, that I recollect, at the Bar, nor hair powder, though everybody else wore it; nor appeared to give a thought to his outward appearance, though he was always perfectly well kept. He was rather of short stature, spare of flesh, and of delicate but well-proportioned frame. His complexion was fair, and his brown hair was without a thread of gray in it to the last. His face was oval, his nose slightly aquiline, and the shape of his forehead and chin corresponded with this outline. But his eyes and his mouth were his most expressive features; his mouth even more than his eyes. Whatever was the thought that was to come from him, grave or gay, the motion of his lips, before he spoke, was the harbinger of its character. Indeed, it was not difficult to tell what reception he gave to an argument he was listening to, by the opening and shutting of those flexible and mobile valves. When a little pinched, you might easily discover it, by his chewing one of them, until he had cleared away the difficulty. But over all his countenance, and over all his acts, in Court or out of Court, a kind and intelligent nature had diffused the expression of truth, wisdom, and sincerity. There are very few now living, at the Bar, who have any remembrance of his person, and I have therefore given this detail.

In August, 1798, a person, most respectably connected,

who was a neighbor of Mr. Tilghman's, and in the kindest relations with him, as he was with many, committed a number of forgeries, which became known, simultaneously, after the banks had closed for the day, and drove him to immediate concealment and flight. I recollect well the deep resentment of the City. This individual had abused Mr. Tilghman's confidence, and had injured him in point of fortune; and no one heard, at that time or afterwards, anything to palliate the crime he had committed. I may add that he was never permitted to return to his family, but died in exile from Pennsylvania; not, however, without having given proofs of repentance, by efforts in a humble way, to do good to the poor and to the sick, as far as his limited supply from others permitted.

In the night that followed the discovery, when he was about to fly, Mr. Tilghman, knowing that he must depart in poverty and wretchedness, took a large purse of gold in his hands, and went to his place of concealment. The only words he spoke to the flying man, when he entered his room, were these: "———, I laid up this for a rainy day; but as I do not believe that any trouble can fall on me or mine as bitter as yours, take it, and may it do you good. Farewell!"

Yet trouble did fall upon him, without his fault, and of unutterable bitterness too; and he bore it with a fortitude and resignation in which no martyr could have surpassed him. He let concealment feed upon his fortune, and upon his health, that he might keep pain from those he loved. The sacrifice may have been a misjudgment on his part. There were some who thought it was; but it would have been a bold word to express to one whose judgment for everybody else was the best in the world. I knew him and saw him in the agony of that day, and revered him for the heroism of the fortitude with which he parted with nearly all his active property, put down his carriage, and sold his long-accustomed habitation, that his determination might be accomplished without possibility of failure. In the last walk of any length that he took,—from the City to



his farm in Delaware County, about eighteen months before his death,—I was his only companion; and while crossing the last field to his house, he stopped at a fence, and told me that two days before he had accomplished the full sacrifice. The only comment that he made was, “I am sorry that my good wife must, for the rest of her days, go afoot.”

Mrs. Tilghman was a daughter of Benjamin Chew, a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania before the Revolution, and afterwards President of the High Court of Errors and Appeals. Up to the time of her husband's death, she was for many years in infirm health, and sometimes suffered almost the extremity of pain and illness, becoming the cause of constant solicitude to him; but she survived him twenty-six years, for several of them with improving health, the compensation perhaps of some of the luxuries she had been compelled to forego, and at length died at the venerable age of ninety-one. Cheerfulness and a gentle temper, which she had shared with him, did not leave her even to the latest hour, but were sustained by the public respect, by the affectionate kindness of her surviving son and two daughters, and by the regard and reverence of all her husband's friends.

I should probably, at some period of my life, have made this sketch of Edward Tilghman, without request, from my admiration of his learning and virtues, and also from the debt I owed him, which has given a zest to every word that I have written of him. He launched me in my profession. I pray to be excused for relating the personal anecdote.

More than fifty years ago, Samuel W. Fisher, the President of the Philadelphia Insurance Company, came one morning into my small office, then having abundant room for all my visitors, and gave me a retainer to argue the case of Gibson against that Company, which I afterwards reported.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gibson, the plaintiff, who was a member of the Bar, and my master in the law, Mr. Ingersoll, were to argue it against me. The question regarded the proper

<sup>1</sup> 1 Binn. 405.

mode of adjusting a particular average under a clause in a Respondentia Bond; and it was new, and not without difficulty. It came before the Court upon exceptions to a report of award under the Act of 1703, made by Edward Tilghman, with the concurrence of another member of the Bar, against the opinion of the third referee, who was also a member of the Bar; and it turned altogether upon principles of commercial law. I examined the papers, and then said to Mr. Fisher, the president, "You are not going to leave me alone in this cause? You know who is against me?" "I know all that," he said, "but I will not retain anybody else. Go on, and make the best of it." After the award was confirmed, I asked Mr. Fisher why he had been so short in refusing me a colleague. He replied, "that he had done as he was told to do." Mr. Tilghman had told him to retain me, and had said, "Put it on his own shoulders, and make him carry it. It will do him good." The lesson may be good for others. The most cheering effect of it to myself was its giving me the assurance of the good-will of such a man as Edward Tilghman.

The obituary notice of him which appeared in the newspapers a few days after his death, and which I have said would be allowed to be authoritative when I should name the writer, may very fitly conclude this little memorial. Its author was Chief-Justice Tilghman.

"DIED, on Wednesday, 1st November, 1815, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, EDWARD TILGHMAN, Esquire, of this City, counsellor at law.

"Although the usual style of funeral eulogium has almost levelled all distinction of character, yet departed merit has dues which should not be withheld. Mr. Tilghman descended from an old and respectable family in the State of Maryland, and was placed at an early age in the Academy of Philadelphia, where he obtained as good an education as this country could afford. From nature he received a clear and strong understanding, with a disposition for close and laborious study. At school he was distinguished for classi-

cal attainments, which he preserved unimpaired amidst the occupations of an active and busy life. The profession of the law was his choice, and his subsequent eminence proved that he had not mistaken his genius. He possessed a deep knowledge of principles, and his sense of duty led him to a thorough investigation of facts in all his causes. His style of speaking was such as might be expected from his turn of mind,—unambitious of ornament, but commanding attention from its intrinsic weight. Regardless of the passions, his arguments aimed at the head, and seldom missed their mark. In stating the evidence, he was remarkably upright; and, on points of law, he gave full weight to the argument of his adversary, and met it without evasion. He never refused a just attention to the opinions of others, however inferior to him; and the unassuming manner in which he delivered his own, gave a character of kindness to his superiority, which conciliated affection, while it commanded respect. To his professional excellence, his brethren of the Bar have recently borne mournful but honorable testimony; and from his example the younger members may derive the useful lesson, that although declamation may glitter, yet success is most surely attained by industry, integrity, and sound legal knowledge. In private life, Mr. Tilghman was no less estimable than in his professional character. His temper was cheerful and benevolent, his friendship warm and steady, and his unshaken integrity has been proved on trying occasions. In the domestic scene his family best know his value. Long will they lament their loss, and never will they repair it.”

(To be continued.)



GENEALOGICAL GLEANINGS, CONTRIBUTORY TO A  
HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF PENN.

BY J. HENRY LEA, Fairhaven, Mass.

PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY. PENN WILLS  
from 1383 to 1700.

(Continued from page 63.)

1621—Will of Lawrence Penn of Stebenheathe als Stepney, co Middx, gent.; da 17 Sept 1620; pr 1 Mch 1621; wife Christian all household stuff in dwelling at Stepney; mother Julian Penn annuitie of £15 per ann. for life to be yssuing as foloweth, viz. Nyne pds for dwelling ho. afsd in S., sixe pds out of farm Lands in psh of Petersfield, co South.; to Neiphue & godsonne Lawrence Penn the 3d son of my brother Richard Penn, & his heirs male, fee simple of farm lands in Tything of Sheete, in psh of Petersfield, co South. & a mortgage now held on same by Mistress Marye Hyndsey of Lond. widow, to be discharged, & for want of such issue to John Penn, one other son of my bro Rich. & his hrs male & for want of such yssue remaynder to Richard Penn one other of the sons of sayed bro. R. P., with remaynder to William Penn, son of my bro Wm. P. & his hrs male & for want of suche yssue to my right heirs forever; brothers Richard, Thomas & William Penn 20 marks apeece to be rayسد out of certain Corne, Horses &c remayninge in hds of sayed bro Richard P. which are in full discharge of my promises heretofore made in that behalfe vnto my late father William Penn decd.; to Thos. Orchard & Sara Orchard sonne & dau of Edward O., bro vnto my sayed wife 20/s apeece; Richard Budd, esq., the kinges' Majesties' Auditor of Co. of Southampton sole Exr.; Witnesses—Thos. fludd, Richard Penn (his mark), Rich Philipp, Rob. Evelye.

Codicil: same date. wife Christian lease which I have to come of ffarme called Reade ffarme in psh of warnring Campe, co Sussex. Wit: Thos. fludd, Rich Penn (mark) Robt. Evelyn, Rich. Phillip.—Dale 72

1628—Thomas Peene of Ryd, co Sussex, Yeoman; to be bur at Ryd; bro. William; sist. Margarett Harvey; Thomas, son of bro. William; son Thomas Peene; Pro. 28 June 1628.—Clarke 39

1634—John Penn of Arundell, co. Sussex, Mariner; wife Ursula; bro. Jacob; sister wife of William Cornelison; sister Elizabeth Sansum; Proved 8 Oct. Admon. de. bons non of widow Ursula in 1637.—Seager 90.

1637—William Penn of Canterbury, co. Kent; bro-in-law Richard Keeling; godsons William Allen & Michael Page; sole Extrx Good Friend & Mistress the Right Honble. Margarett Lady Wotton. Pro. 25 May 1637.—Goare 66

Limited Admon. gr. in May 1667.

1637—Ursula Penn of Arundell, sick of body &c. Will dated 23 Dec 1636 To be buried in Arundell churchyard; To Anne Gibbons dau. of George G. of Littlehampton decd., my now dwelling house called the Blew Anker, if she die without heirs of her body remainder to Mary Goble dau. of Thos. Goble of Anckton in the psh. of Felfame; To poor of Arundell 20s. at burial; To repairs of Schoolhouse commonly called Marygate 20s.; To Godchild the dau. of Peter Foster 50s.; John Wade 40s.; Anne Wade my Godchild £3; Benjamin Ellyott 5s.; Godchild Mary Bishop 40s.; James Humfrey 20s.; William Turner £3 & his wife Jane 40s. & to their children £5 each; John Walter 10s.; Jane Rewell 10s.; Sister Elizabeth Clarke 30s. & to her children 20s. each; Alice Bell £10; godchild Mary Thorne 40s.; Ursula Sandon £5; my kinsmen Thomas & William Humfrey 40s. each; John Emery 40s.; Anne Emery 20s.; Thomas Druett my peace ring & to his son my godson 40s.;

To wife of Robt. Roberts 40s.; To Mary wife of Thos. Goble £5 & to my goddau. Marie Goble £5; Mary Lutard £5; My godchild the dau. of Kewell (altered from Rewell) of Littlehampton 20s. Mr. Edward Southcott of Chichester £20; Mrs. Robertes 20s. for a ring; Also wife of Edward Laslatt £4; Also wife of John Masters of Chichester £4; Richard Robertes 20s.: John Willard £3; Richard Moth 40s.; Mary wife of Thos. Russell £13/6/8.; Elizabeth Crowch 20s. for a ring; Anne wife of Henry Stoner 10s.; widow Browing 30s.; Mary wife of John Moore 20s.; my brother Robert Lawnsone £5; father-in-law Richard Studder £5 which he owes me; John Thorne £10; To Mr Christopher Minshall three Angells for a ring; Richard Wooldridge 10s. for a ring; John Strong senior 40s.; Susan Walter dau. of Samuell Walter £10 at age of 18 or marriage; Mary Carter dau. of John Carter 5s.; my wearing apparel to widow Browing, widow Clarke, Mary Bishop, Mary Moare & Elynor Bishop; Residue to John Hale, son of George Hale, & Thomas Philpott of Arundell, to be Exors; friends Wm. Voakes & Richard Colden Overseers, 20s. each; Mr. Westwood 40s.; Sara Stringam junr. 20s.; Witnesses—peter Foster & John Carter. The mark of Ursula Penn. Proved 2 May 1637 by Thomas Philpott, John Hale the other Exor. having renounced.—Goare 80

1638—Robert Penn of Sherston, co. Wiltes., Yeoman; bro-in-law Wm: Knapp the younger of Redborne in psh. of Malmesbury, Wiltes Yeoman, & Elliner his wife all my landes &c in Didmarton & Oldburie, co. Gloucester & ground called Mussels in Luckington for their lives & aft. their dec. to hrs of said Wm. Knapp on bodie of said Ellianor begotten, the sd. Wm. K. to enter into bond of £120 vnto Ethelbright Howell of Sherston Magna co Wilts yeoman & John Boy of Luckington yeoman for payment of £60 in 1 year aft. my dec. & in consideration of sd. land called Mussells to pay to sd. Boy £10 to be employ. by him for benefit of his dau Johanna at 15 years of age; to William, John, Joseph, Anne & Johanna Boy child. of sd Joh



Boy 5s. each; to Elizabeth wife of Ethelbright Howell xx s; to John, Henry & Katherine child. of said Eth. Howell 5s. each; to Joane, Richard, Julyan & Eliz. child. of William Lawrence of Westerlie 5s. each; to Wm., Anne, Marie, & Susanna Knapp, child. of bro-in-law Wm. K. 5s. each; to Wm. Boy son of sd. John Boy my best coat; Israel Holborn 5s.; Gabriell Humfrie my best Cloak; to Henrie Howell my best suit of wearing apparel; mother Anne Penn Res. Leg. & Extrx. Signed Robti Penn. Wits: Nicholas Waddington, ffrancis Goodenough, Nicholas Gastrell. Dat. 15 Mch. 1637. Pro. 18 July 1638 by Extrx.—Lee 86

1639—Richard Penn of Peterfeild, co. Southants., Yeoman; sons Lawrence & John Penn; dau. Magdalen.—Harvey 166

1640—Will of Anne Penn of Sherston Magna, co. Wilts; to sister Gillian, wife of William Lawrence of psh of Westerlay, co. Gloucester, my second gowne & petty cote & wast cote; child. of Wm. Lawrence above named every one of them a pewter platter, i. e. to Richard, Jone, Gillian & Elizabeth L.; child. of brother-in-law Ethelbright Howell of S. M. every one of them a pewter platter, i. e. John, Henry & Katherine Howell; to child. of bro.-in-law John Booy of Luckington, every of them a pewter platter, i. e., William, Anne, John, Joseph & Joanne Booy; to grchild. the sons & daus of William Knapp & Ellen his wife, every on of them a pewter platter, i. e. Anne, Marie, Susan, William & Sara Knapp; Residuary Legs Anne & Susan Knapp, my grchild.; Executor son-in-law Wm. Knapp; Witness—Nicholas Waddington, Clarke. Dat. 17 Jan. 1639; pro. 11 Dec. 1640.—Coventry 163

1641—Thomas Penne of Stretton-super-ffosse, co. Warwick, Yeoman, "weak of body"; Nuncupative will dated 30 Sept 1640; To be buried in Stretton churchyard; dwelling house & 2 cottages in Stretton to wife Margaret for life, after her decease to be divided between my 2 daus. Christian

Penne & Anne penne, also bedding & furniture to said daus. after wife's death; wife Margaret Penne Residuary Legatee & sole Extrix.; Wit. Tho: Brownent, minister; Robert Gressingham, Joice ffisher, Elizabeth Longe, Marie Gressingham, Anne Boyse & Jane Savage. Pro. 12 Feb. 1640 (1640-1) by Margaret Penne the relict.—Evelyn 21

1641—John Penn of Penn, co. Bucks; To be buried in Church of Penn; names wife Sarah; sons William & John Penn; cozen Sibell; uncle Francis; proved 21 Oct. 1641 by relict.—Evelyn 121

1642—Henry Penn of London., gent., weak in body &c. (described in Probate Act as of the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, co. Middx.) Will dated 10 Oct. 1642; To be buried at discretion of Exor.; To wife Elizabeth Penn £300 due to me by her bro. Richard Hull upon a statute in the penalty of £600 in full performance of an Obligation wherein I stand bound to her brother Richard Hull & George Hull; To said wife all my goods now remaining in the house of Sir Thomas Hampson, Bart in Shoe Lane commonly called the Statute Office; said Sir Hampson, Bart., to be sole Exor.; Witnesses—daniel Evance, Nathaniel Humfreys, Elizabeth penn, John Longs, John Taylor. Proved 5 Nov. 1642 by Sir Thos. Hampson, Bart.—Cambell 120

1643—Edward Penn of Stony Stratford, co. Bucks, gent.; will dated 28 March 1643; To be buried in Church or Chapel of St. Giles on the west side of Stony Stratford near my wife; son Edward Penn 5s.; son John Penn 5s.; godson & grandchild Edward penn, son of Thomas Penn 50s.; to the rest of my grandchildren 2/6 each.; to Anthony Norman senr. of Shenley £3/6/8.; To Joane now wife of Thomas Lovell of Stonistratford 20s.; Bequests to servants; Residue of lands, goods & tenemts. to eldest son Thomas Penn sole Exor.; Overseers friends Anthony Norman & Richd. Abbott of Stonistratford. Witnesses—Richd. Abbott, Jane (sic) Lovell, Dorcie Densee. Pro. 29 Apr. 1643 by son Thomas Penn.—Crane 32.

1645—Henry Penn of Stony Stratford,<sup>1</sup> co. Bucks, gent., sick of body; will dated 15 July 1644; To be buried in St. Giles Church where my father John penn lies buried; to poor of the West side of Stony Stratford 20s. in bread at my death; to my grandchild peter Penne the Copyhold Close & 2 houses at the Bridgefoot at age of 21 paying to his brother Arthur Penn £5 in the meanwhile my son Matthias penn shall receive the rents in consideration of which he shall pay his brother Nathaniel Penn 40s. per ann. & my dau. Sarah penn 20s. per ann. till my said grandchild peter is of age; my said son Matthias penn sole Exor., to whom residue; Overseers—Thomas Simcocks & Robert Garner; Witnesses—John Reball, Erasmus Simons, William Dudley, Mary Dudley. Proved 27 Feb. 1644 (1644–5) by son Matthew penn.—Rivers 44

1646—George Penn of Westerham, co. Kent, Yeoman; Legacies to Catherine, Benjamin & John Bonwicke; Proved 24 Apr. 1646.—Twisse 51

1649—Edward Penn of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, Middx., gent.; will dated 15 Feb. 1648; To be buried in parish I shall die in; to niece Annie Harper £5; cousin Martha Harper £5; to Doctor Atherton £5; Mr. Francis Shelley £5; Mrs. Anne Penn £5; to Thomas Penn, Edward penn, Ursula penn & Civill witney, children of the sd. Anne Penn £15 amongst them; I release to Sir Thomas Shirley knt. £100 which he owes me by Bond & it to be

<sup>1</sup> Mr. P. S. P. Conner, the writer of the article in "Notes and Queries" (5 S. 1. 265), referred to by Mr. Lea, sends us the following extract from a letter of William Penn, the Founder, in regard to the Penns of Stony Stratford:

"Let Stephen Gould, my servant, and now the Governour's Clerk, [have] six pounds. He is an ingenious lad, a good scholar, and something of a lawyer, being about two years in Counsellor Poordan's service as clerk, a man of 800 or 900 per annum. His mother was a Stony Stratford Penn, old Arthur's daughter, that was housekeeper at Chelsea College. His father's side, gentleman of 300 or 400 per annum, but left his father upon a religious account." (Penn to James Logan: London, 29, 7 mo., 1708. "Penn and Logan Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 294.)—ED. PENNA. MAG.



divided between him & his children; to Geoffrey Minshall of Sutton, co. Chester, gent., my lands called parke & Fulford grove, parke meade & Downesall, in the parish of Upton-St.-Leonards, co. Glouc. (which lands were demised to me by Henry Lygon of London Esq. in 1640) & I also give the said Geoffrey Minshall £100 & I make my sister Mrs Martha Harpur & the said Geoffrey Minshall my Exors. Witnesses—John day, Andrew Giffard, Thomas Button & Wm. Minshall. Proved 7 Mar. 1648 (1648–9) by Martha Harpur, power being reserved to Geoffrey Minshall.—Fairfax 29

1650—Robert Penn of Radway, co. Warwick, Yeoman; Legacies to sons William, Richard, Zackary & John Penn; daughters Mary & Anne; grandson Robert Penn; grand-dau. Elizabeth; brother Giles; wife Elizabeth; Proved 25 May 1650.—Pembroke 79

1653—John Penn, son of William Penn<sup>1</sup> of Harborow in the parish of Hagley, co. Worc., sick in body &c.; Will dated 22 Apr. 1651; To brother Richard Penn my right & title to a Lease of 1000 years made by Thos. Blunt & George Tokey, Esqrs. to my grandfather Thomas Cookes & his brother Wm: Cookes decd., dated 1 May 4 & 5 phil. & Mary, lately given me by the will of my uncle William Cookes, & also my messuage &c in Romsley in the parish of Halsowen, Salop, commonly known as Smiths ground, & 30 acres of land in the Common Fields of Romsley now in the tenure of Fortune powell; my brother Gervase penn £5; to Wm. penn, son of my brother Wm. penn, to Anne penn, & Mary penn, daus. of my brother Thomas Penn, & to Thos. Dickins & Mary Dickens, son & dau. of my brother-in-law Thomas Dickins & my sister Mary his wife, 40s. each; said brother Richard penn sole Exor.; Wit. William penn, Edmond Kettell & Thomas Penn; Proved 13 May 1653 by brother Richard penn.—Brent 66

<sup>1</sup> "William Penn of Bromsgrove, gent., married Margaret, daughter of Henry Cookes (of the Bentley family) she was living in 1683."—Grazebrook's article on Penn MS. in *Her. & Gen.*, VII. 131.

1654—William Penn of Drayton, co. Worcester; Legacies to sons Wm. & John Penn; daughters Ann & Mary; wife Margaret; Proved by relict 26 Sept 1654.—Alchin 228

1654—Thomas penn of Haddon, co. Huntington, Grazier, weak in body; Will dated 12 Feb. 1653; I suppose my wife to be with child & I give such child £300 if a son, at age of 21, & if a dau. at age of 21 or day of marriage; to niece Anne Penn of Glapthorne, co. Northamp. £40; to Edward Penn & Thomas Penn the two sons of Robert Penn of Chasterton, £20 each at ages of 21; to William Cole son of Thomas Cole of Haddon £20 at age of 21; to sons-in-law William Burton & Savige Burton each £100 at ages of 21; Residue of goods & chattels to Cicely my wife, sole Extrx.; Wit.—Kenelme Collins, Robt. Savig; Proved 20 Mar. 1653 (1653-4) by Cicely penn the relict.—Alchin 152

1654—Edmund Penn of Littleton Packington,<sup>1</sup> co. Warwick, Gentleman; Legacies to sons Thomas, Francis & Humphrey Penn; daughter Constance; grandson Edward Wilson; wife Elizabeth.—Alchin 291

1654—Frances Pen of Send, co. Surrey, widow, weak in body &c.; Will dated 11 Dec. 1653; To be buried in the churchyard of Send; my late husband John Pen bequeathed to his 2 daus. Julian & Frances pen £10 each. The said Julian is since dead & her portion is due unto her sister Frances penn, & in consideration of the said £20, I devise to my said dau. Frances my lease of the tenement & lands belonging in which I now dwell & which I have by devise from Sir Richard Weston late of Sutton in the parish of Workinge (sic) co. Surrey, decd., & Dame Grace his wife, & also £30 which is in the hands of the said Sir Richard Weston & Dame Grace, as by a certain writing signed by him, ap-

<sup>1</sup> Littleton Packington is probably in the southwest part of Warwick, or in Worcester. I do not identify the place, but a group of Littletons (North, South, Middle, &c.) are in Worcester close to the Warwick border (*vide* Register of South Littleton, page 58).

peareth. I give her all my house hold goods; to grandchild Francis Potter £50 & to grandch. Damaris potter £40 at their ages of 21; Richard Forbench, gent., Wm. Bowell, yeoman, Edward Worsfold, mealman, & Thos. Ryde, yeoman, all of Send, to be my Exors in Trust. Wit.—John Bowell, Nicholas Hunt. Proved 20 Mar. 1653 (1653-4) by the Exors. named in the will. Signed by mark.—Alchin 359

1655—Thomas Penn of Codicote, co. Hertf., Gentleman; To be buried in his own chapel; Legacies to wife Alice; sons, John, Francis, William, Simon, Jonathan & Robert Penn; daus. Ellen & Alice; grandson Thomas Kirke; Proved 29 Jan. 1655.—Aylett 28

1655—Symon<sup>1</sup> Penn of St. Clements Lane, London, Surgeon; Legacies to mother Alice; sister Eleanor; brother Francis.—Aylett 32

1656—Gilbert Penne of Cakborow, co. Worcester, Yeoman; aged 80 years; brother John Penn's sons John, William & Gilbert Penn; daughters of same Margaret, Elizabeth & Mary; Proved 15 May 1656.—Berkley 179.

1657—Oswald Penn of Romford in the parish of Hornchurch, Essex, Baker, in perfect health &c.; Will dated Feb. — 1651; To be buried at discretion of my Extrx.; eldest daughter Sarah Penne £25 at age of 18 or marriage; youngest dau. Marie Penn £25 at 18 or marr; sister Mary, now wife of Wm. Collins of Bewdley, co. Worc., Yeoman, 10s.; Overseers friends James Jetur of daggenham, Essex & Christopher wilson of Romford & to each 5s.; Residue to wife Sarah, sole Extrx.; Proved 19 June 1657 by Sarah penne the relict. No witnesses named.—Ruthen 246

1657—William Penn of Cosgrave, co. Northampton, gent.; Will dated 19 Aug. 1657; To grandchild William Thorne a messuage on East side of Stonie Stratford, co.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the son of preceding.



Bucks, wherein Jane Purchase, widow; my house in Stonie Stratford in which Thomas Fisher now dwells to be sold by my Exors. & out of the money which it fetches to Rockingham & Charles Bason 2 of the sons of my late wife Ellen by her former husband William Bason, £5 each to bind them apprentices, & the overplus to be equally divided between the said Rockingham & Charles, Richard, Robert & John, being all the sons of my said wife & her former husband. Residue of my goods &c to the aforesaid Rich., Robert, John, Rockingham & Charles Bason at ages of 21; Exors., my friends Richard Rockingham the elder & the said Richard Bason, eld. son of my said wife; Whatever debts I owed before my marriage with my said wife Ellen are to be paid by my son Gabriel penn out of the profits of a lease which I took of Sir Edward Longside & have since assigned to the said Gabriel. Signed with mark; Wit.—Thos. Tresham, Richd. Collins, Thos. Hearne & John Mansell; Proved 15 Sept. 1657 by Richard Bason, power reserved to Richard Rockingham.—Ruthen 361

1658—Giles Penn of Middle Aston, co. Oxon., husbandman, weak in body Will dated 3 Aug. 1657; To wife Elizabeth Penn, household stuff, &c.; grandchild Lawrence Middleton £10; son Robert Penn £8/10/; grandchild Elizabeth Middleton £10; daughter Jane Southam 20s.; dau. Anne Hanwell 20s.; Overseer son-in-law William Hanwell; to the 3 children of my son Giles Southam, a sheep each; & the 2 children of my son William Hanwell, a sheep each; & the 4 children of my son Robert Penn, a sheep each; son Giles Penn sole Exor.; Signed with mark. Wit. Wm. Hanwell & Joane Martin.—Wootton 59

1658—Walter Penn of Hanbury, co. Worc., Yeoman, in good health &c. Will dated 13 Feb. 1654; Thomas Vernon, gent, 2nd. son of Edward Vernon of Astwood in the parish of Hanbury, Esq., by deed 16 June 1647, for £200 paid to Edwd. Laser D. C. L. & Richd. Mence (or Meuce) for the uses therein mentioned & whereas I have reserved

£50 of the said sum of £200 to be disposed by my last will, I give to Anne penne, dau. of my son Wm. penne decd., £25, to make up the sum of £75, (named in above deed) to £100; To Mary Hatton & Anne H., daus. of my son-in-law Mathew Hatton & Elizabeth his wife, £5 to make up the sum of £75 (named in af sd. deed) to £80; To dau. Elizabeth Hatton £5; my sister Anne Bucknell 20s.; To John Penne son of my brother Wm. Penne 40s.; my son-in-law Mathew Hatton 20s. & my wearing apparel; to the af sd. Mary & Anne Hatton a moiety of all my goods &c.; Residue to the af sd. Anne Penne, sole Extrx.; Overseers my friends Edwd. Lake, Dr. of the Civ. Law, my cousin Wm. Chaunce & the sd. Mathew Hatton; Wit.—Richd. Vernon, junr., John Elvins, Thos. Meuce & Wm. Heywood. Admon 25 May 1658 to Mathew Hatton, father and guardian of Mary & Anne Hatton, minors, grandchildren of the testator.—Wootton 317

1659—Henery Penne the Seniour of the parish of Wittersham in Isle of Oxney co. Kent, yeoman; To poor of Wittersham 20s.; sister Catherine Martine one silver Bowl; bro. Geo. Martine £10; brother Eastland's children 20s. apiece; servant John Brummell 10 ewe sheep; uncle Henry Peene £40; to child which my wife is now great withall £100 at 21 & if it die under that age then £50 to my wife Elizth. & the other £50 amongst my sisters' children i. e. bro. Eastland's & bro. Martine's children; my father-in-law Isaacke Cloake of Eboney & Rich. Couchman of Beckley Overseers; wife Elizth. Extrx.; Wit.—Margarett Gilbard her marke & John Whatlow; Proved 27 Jan. 1658-9 by the Extrx.—Pell 26

1659—Katherine Penne of Worcester (no abstract).—Pell 245

1666—John Penn the elder of Boddicott, co. Oxon., yeoman; Will dated 21 Jan. 1663; To be buried in church or churchyard of Adderberry, co. Oxon.; To eldest son

Thomas messuage &c. in Boddicott wherein I now inhabit (except the estate & interest of Margery my loving wife settled upon her for her Jointure before our intermarriage); to dau. Anne Penn £200 of which £100 is to be paid by said son Thomas to the overseers of my will for her benefit within six months of my decease & the other £100 to be paid in same way twelve months after my decease & “if it shall please God to restore my said daughter Anne Penn to her former sences” said money to be paid to her; to son Samuel Penn & dau. Alice Crafts 12d. apiece; to son John Penn all moveable goods &c & I appoint him Exor.; Richard Crafts of Hornton, co. Oxon yeoman, & Robert Baily of Combroke, co. Warw., yeoman, to be Overseers; Wits.—W. Style, Phill. Style, Tho: Nicholls, Steuen Danyell; Proved 26 Nov. 1666 by Exor.—Mico 168

1670—William Penn of the Parish of St Mary Whitechappell; Will dated 110ct. 1669; To sister Joane Penn 40s. which her husband oweth me; to sister Ann Major 40s.; to brother Samuel’s child Judith Penne 40s.; to sister Sarah £16; to brother Thomas Penne 5s.; to brother Robert Penn 5s.; to godson Willm: son of Mathew Penn 5s.; to cozen Wm: Penn son of bro. Thos. Penn 5s.; to cozen Wm. Major 5s.; to cozen Richard Penn son of Thos. Penn 5s.; to cozen Mathew Penn son of bro. Mathew Penn 5s.; to cozen Susanna Arrow 5s.; to sister Sarah a Table &c.; to bro. Mat. Penn of parish of St. Mary Whitechapel, gardiner, all residue; Wits.—James Roberts, Nicholas Snelson; Admon. with will annexed granted 24 Jan. 1669–70 to Matthew Penn the brother and legatary above named.—Penn 8

1670.—Sir William Penn of London, Knight; Will dated 20 Jan. 1669; To be buried in Parish Church of Redcliffe (i.e. St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol,) “as nere unto the body of my dear mother deceased as the same conveniently may be”; to have a monument for self & mother; wife Dame Margaret Penn; son William Penn; younger son Richard



Penn £120 per ann. until 21 years of age & then £4000; daughter Margaret wife of Anthony Lowther; nephews James & John Bradshaw & William & George Markham; cozen William Penn son of George Penn late of the Forest of Brayden, co. Wilts, Gentlemen, deceased; Proved 6 Oct. 1670 by son William Exor.—Penn 130

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION IN  
ST. MARY REDCLIFFE—BRISTOL.

Sir William Penn, Knight, born at Bristol 1621, of the Penns of Penns Lodge, in the county of Wilts. He was made captain at 21, rear admiral of Ireland at 23, vice admiral of England at 31, and general in the first Dutch wars at 32, whence returning in 1655 he was chosen a parliament-man for Weymouth 1660, was made commissioner of the admiralty and navy, gouvernor of the forts and town of Kingsale, vice-admiral of Munster and a member of that provincial council, and in 1664 was chosen great captain commander under his Royal Highness in that signal and most evidently successful fight against the Dutch fleet. Thus he took leave of the sea, his old element, but continued his other employs till 1669, when through bodily infirmities (contracted through the care and fatigue of public affairs) he withdrew, prepared his mind for his end, and with a gentle and even gale in much peace arrived and anchored in his last and best port at Wanstead, in the county of Essex, 16 September, 1670, being then but 49 years of age and 4 months. To whose name and merit his surviving lady erected this remembrance.<sup>1</sup>

1671—Chevall Penn of Wellwyn, co. Hertford, gent.; Will dated 7 Dec 1667; To my two daus. Mary Penn & Sarah Penn £100 each at 21 or marriage, to be paid by Thos. Penn my son, the said £200 being laid out & disbursed by me for the building of the mills in the parish of Coddicott, co. Herts,

<sup>1</sup> The above inscription, on a stately mural monument in the south transept, adorned with the armor and faded fragments of the banners of the deceased, is placed at such a height on the wall as to make the reading of the inscription, even with a glass, a very difficult task, but the writer believes that the transcript here given is correct. It will be noticed that the inscription contradicts the statement of Wood (*Ath. Ox.* II. 1050) that the admiral was born at Minety. The writer found no trace of the monument to his mother, Margaret (Gilbert) Penn, provided for in the admiral's will, q. v. An account of this tomb has been printed in *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, XI., fo. 457. *An exhaustive search of the Parish Registers of St. Mary Redcliffe should be made.*

now in the occupation of John Chalkley; to wife Elizth. for life one close of arrable land in parish of Wellwyn called Thomas Croft, after the decease of my mother Alice Penn & after sd wife's decease to my sd. two daus. Mary & Sarah; Residue to sd. wife Elizth.; Bro. Jonathan Penn Exor.; said son Thomas to be a "dutifull sonne to his mother-in-law"; Wits.—Ro: Vaughan, Nath. Manestey, William Hill; Pro. 21 Jan 1670-1 by the Exor.—Hene 8

1673—Richard Penn of Walthamstow, Co Essex, younger son of Sir Wm. Penn late of Wansted in Essex, Knt., deceased; Dated 4 April 1673; To be buried in Walthamstow & to poor of that place £10; To mother Dame Margaret Penn £40 yearly for life; To sister Margaret Lowther, wife of Anthony Lowther, Esq. £50 & to said Anthony Lowther £30, 2 guns & a pair of pistols, at the selection of brother William Penn; To servant Geo. Homond £10; Mourning for mother, bro. & sister Anthony & Margaret Lowther, & their children, servant George & mother & sisters servants; To sister (*in law*) Gulielma Maria Penn £50 in token of love; Mother Dame Margaret Executrix; Wit: Richard Newman, George Haman, Michael Lee; Proved 11 April 1673 by Extrix named in Will.—Pye 49.

1691—William Penn of Petworth, co. Surrey; died abroad; Emma Markin of Petworth sole legatee & Executrix; Proved 30 Sept. 1691.—Vere 147

1692—Oliver Penn of Stoney Stratford, co. Bucks; brother William Penn of London, Innholder, & his son Oliver; daughter Mary Busby; grandchildren Catherine, Olive, Mary, John & Elizabeth Busby; wife Anne; kinswoman Sarah wife of Henry Honour; Proved 25 July 1692.—Fane 132

1696—William Penn of Penn Place, co. Bucks, Esq.; To father William Penn; sisters Martha, Elizabeth & Henrietta Penn; Exor. Sir Nathaniel Curson; Proved 15 June 1696.—Bond 100

1697—Oswald Penn, Mariner, of H. M. Ship Shrewsbury; Will dated 1 June 1695; wife Mary Penn of Christ Church, Southwark, named Atty. to receive Prize Money & sole Legatee & Exrx; Proved by Relict 8 Apr. 1697.—Pyne 81.

1698—Giles Penn of St Marys, Whitechapel; Susan Butler sole Legatee & Executrix; Proved 26 Mar. 1698.—Lort

1699—Sarah Penn of Penn, co. Bucks, widow; son Roger; 3 daughters Martha-Elizabeth, Catherine & Henrietta; Proved 16 Jan. 1699.—Pett 12.

I WILLIAM PENN, Esqr. so called Cheife proprietor & Gouvernour of the Province of Pensilvania and the Territoryes thereunto belonging being of sound mind and understanding for which I bless God doe make and declare this my last Will and Testament.

my eldest Son being well provided for by a Settlement of his Mothers and my ffathers Estate I giue and devise the Rest of my Estate in manner following

The Gouvernment of my Prouince of Pensilvania and Territoryes thereunto belonging and all powers relateing thereunto I giue and devise to the most Hono'ble the Earle of Oxford and Earle Mortimer and to William Earle Powlett so called and their Heires upon Trust to dispose thereof to the Queen or any other person to the best aduantage they can to be applyed in such a manner as I shall hereinafter direct.

I give and devise to my dear Wife Hannah Penn and her ffather Thomas Callowhill and to my good ffriends Margarett Lowther my dear Sister and to Gilbert Heathcote Physitian, Samuel Wildenfield, John ffield, Henry Couldney all liueing in England and to my ffriends Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston and James Logan liueing in or near Pensilvania and their heires All my lands Tenements and Hereditaments whatsoeuer rents and other profitts scituate lyeing and being in Pensilvania and the Territores thereunto belonging or else where in



America upon Trust that they shall sell and dispose of so much thereof as shall be sufficient to pay all my just debts and from and after paymt thereof shall conuey unto each of the three Children of my son William Penn, Gulielma-Maria, Springett and William respectiuey and to their respectiue heires 10000 acres of land in some proper and beneficiall places to be sett out by my Trustees aforesaid All the rest of my lands and Hereditamts whatsoever scituate lyeing and being in America I will that my said Trustees shall conuey to and amongst the Children which I haue by my present wife in such proporcon and for such estates as my said Wife shall think fitt but before such Conueyance shall be made to my Children I will that my said Trustees shall conuey to my daughter Aubrey whom I omitted to name before 10000 acres of my said Lands in such places as my said Trustees shall think fitt.

All my p'sonall estate in Pensilvania and elsewhere and arreares of rent due there I giue to my said dear Wife whom I make my sole Executrix for the equall benefitt of her and her Children. In Testimony whereof I haue sett my hand and seal to this my Will which I declare to be my last Will reuoking all others formerly made by me.

Signed Sealed and Published by the Testator William Penn in the presence of us who sett our names as Witnesses thereof in the p'sence of the said Testator after the Interlineracon of the Words aboue Vizt: whom I make my sole Executrix.

Sarah West, Robert West, Susanna Reading, Thomas Pyle, Robert Lomax. (Signed) Wm Penn.

This Will I made when ill of a feauour at London with a Cleur understanding of what I did then but because of some unworthy Expressions belying Gods goodness to me as if I knew not what I did doe now that I am recouered through Gods goodness hereby declare that it is my last Will and Testament at Ruscomb in Berkshire this 27th of the 3d Month called May 1712.

Wm Penn.

Witnesses p'sent Eliz. Penn, Tho: Pyle, Tho: Penn, Eliz. Anderson, Mary Chandler, Josiah Dee, Mary Dee.

Postscript in my own hand.

As a further Testimony of my loue to my dear Wife I of my own mind giue unto her out of the rents of America vizt: Pensilvania £300 a year for her naturall life and for her care and charge ouer my children in their Education of which she knows my mind as also that I desire that they may settle at least in good part in America where I leaue them so good an Interest to be for their Inheritance from Generacon to Generacon which the Lord p'serue and prosper. Amen.

Probatum fuit hujusmodi Testamentum apud London (cum Codicillo annexo) coram venerabili viro Gulielmo Phipps Legum Doctore Surrogato Venerabilis et egregij viri Johannis Bettsworth Legum etiam Doctoris curiae Proerogativae Cantuari Magistri Custodis sive Comissarij legitimo constituti Quarto die mensis Nouembris Anno Domino Millesimo Septingen'mo Decem Octavo per Affirmaconem sive Declaraconem solennem Hannae Penn viduae Relictae dicti defuncti et Executricis unicae in dic to Testamento: nominatae Cui commissa fuit Administratio omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti declaracone praedicta in praesentio Dei Omnipotentis juxta Actum Parliamenti in hac parte editum et provisum de bene et fidelitur administrando eadem per dictum Executricem prius facta.

Decimo Sexto die mensis ffebruarij Anno D'ni 1726 emt. Com'o Johanni Penn Armo. filio et Ad'stratori cum Test'o annexo bonor' &c Hannae Penn viduae def'tae dum vixit Relictae Ex'tricis unicae et Legatariae Residuariae nominatae in Tes'to dicti Gulielmi Penn def'ti hen' &c ad ad'strandum bona jura et Credita dicti def'ti juxta tenorem et effectum Tes'ti Ipsius def'ti per dictam Ex'tricem modo etiam demortuam inad'strata de bene &c jurat.

Tenison 221.

PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY. PENN ADMONS.  
1559 to 1700.

1598—Richard Pen late of the town of Salop, decd., Admon. issued 10 Feb. 1597–8, to Willm. Pen, his son.—Act Book 1592–98, fo. 239

1606—Anne Penne late of Barston, co. Warwick, decd., Admon. 25 June 1606 to Thos. Penne her brother.—1605–10, fo. 43

1606—Richard Penne late of City of Westminster, decd., Admon. 11 Nov. 1606 to John Penne his brother.—1605–10, fo. 56

1612—Richard Pen late of parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, co. Midd., Admon. 6 Jan. 1611–12 to Bridgett Pen, relict.—1611–14, fo. 46

1615—Richard Penne late of Stanwell, co. Midd., decd., Admon. 3 April 1615 to John Jordaine one of the creditors.—1615–18, fo. 11

1619—William Penne late of Bromsgrove, co. Worc., decd., Admon. 12 July 1619 to Elizth. Penne, relict. Admon. de bonis non in Nov. 1626 (q. v.).—1619–22, fo. 29

1622—Edward Pen late of Pen, co. Bucks, decd., Admon. 16 July 1622 to Willm. Pen his brother.—1619–22, fo. 187

1626—John Penn late of Gregory Stoke, co. Somerset, bachr., decd., Admon. 3 May 1626 to Agnes Penn alias Middleton & Margt. Penn alias Pockocke, his sisters.—1625–27. fo. 81

1626—William Pen of Bradford in parish of Belbroughton, co. Worcester decd., Admon. 11 Nov. 1626 to Anne Pen the relict.—1625–27, fo. 117



1626—William Penn late of Bromsgrove, co. Worcester, decd., Admon. “de bonis non” 20 Nov. 1626 to Gervase Penn his son, Elizth. Penn, the relict, being dead not having fully administered. (Former grant July 1619.)—1625–27, fo. 116

1631—Sibill Winscombe alias Penn late of parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, co. Midd., decd., Admon. 30 June 1631 to Francis Penn next of kin.—1631–33, fo. 36

1632—Henry Penn late “in partibus transmarinus” bachr., decd., Admon. 7 June 1632 to Giles Penne his father.—1631–33, fo. 107

1632—George Penn late of Brinckworth, co. Wilts, decd., Admon. 15 Dec. 1632, to Elizabeth Penn the relict.—1631–33, fo. 138 b.

1641—John Penn late of Corton, co. Suffolk, decd., Admon 7 Nov. 1641 to his mother Elizabeth Penn.—1641, fo. 83

1646—Paul Pen late of Stonystratford, co. Bucks, decd., Admon. 9 June 1646 to Matthew Penn, his kinsman.—1646, fo. 64

1646—William Penn late of Chadesley Corbett, co. Worcester, decd., Admon. 12 Sept. 1646 to Ellianor Penn, the relict.—1646, fo. 108

1648—William Penn late in partibus vltamarinus decd., Admon. 25 Aug. to Susanna Penn, the relict.—1648, fo. 90

1648—Thomas Penn late in partibus transmarinus, bachelor, decd., Admon. 26 Dec. to father Matthew Penn.—1648, fo. 144

1649—Samuel Penn late of parish of St. Clements Danes,

co. Midd., decd, Admon. 9 June to Thomas Penn, his father.—1649, fo. 66

1649—Oswald Penne late of Belbroughton, co. Worcester, bachelor, decd., Admon. 13 July 1649 to William Penn his brother.—1649, fo. 80

1650—James Penn late of the City of Oxford, decd., Admon. 13 Sept., to Willm. Farr, principal creditor.—1650, fo. 138

1654—Michaell Pen late of Stonie Stratford, co. Bucks, decd., Admon. last day of Feb. 1653-4, to Anne Pen, the relict.—1653-54, II, fo. 21

1656—Humfrey Penne late of Hagley, co. Worcester, decd., Admon. 18 June to Katherine Penne, the relict.—1656, fo. 139

1657—Thomas Penn late of Twickenham, co. Midd., decd., Admon. 17 July to Grace Penn, the relict.—1657, fo. 168

1657—Alice Penne late of the City of Worcester, decd., Admon. 5 Oct. to Marke Penne, her husband.—1657, fo. 238

1658—William Penne late of Bromsgrove, co. Worcester, decd., Admon. 18 May to Dorothy Penne, the relict.—1658, fo. 117

1660—Thomas Penne late of the City of Oxford, decd., Admon. 23 Oct. to Alice Pen, the relict.—1660, fo. 145

1671—Thomas Pen late of parish of St. Giles, Cripple-gate, London, decd., Admon. 1 Feb. 1670-71 to Elizabeth Pen, the relict. Admon. de bonis non 15 June 1671 to Edward Astell, uncle & guardian assigned to Beate Pen, daughter of said Thomas Pen, Elizabeth Pen, the relict, having died.—1671, fos. 19 & 72

1681-2—Margaret Penn. 13 March 1681-2 Letters of Admon. issued to William Penn, Gent., natural & legit. son of Margarete Penne late of Waltham Stow, co. Essex, widow, deceased intest.—Act Book, fo. 31.

1689—Thomas Penn—Jan. 31, 1689-90, Com. issued to John Armstrong principal Creditor of Thomas Penn late of psh. of St. Olaves, Southwark, in com. Surry, but on the Queen's ship Advice on seas deceased & admon. granted as above. Hanna Penn the Relict first renouncing.—Act Book fo. 14

1691—George Penn—Dec. 15, 1691, Com. issued to George penne the natural and legit. son of George penne Sen: late of Toller Wilm in co. Dorset, deceased intestate &c., Elizabeth penne, the widow, first renouncing.—Act Book fo 224

1693—Stephen Pen—May 17, 1693, Com. issued to Roger Grier, prin. Creditor of Stephen Pen, late in the Island of Barbadoes, deceased unmarried & intestate.—Act Book fo 78

1698—Elizabeth Penne—Jan. 6, 1698—Com. issued to Elizabeth Parker (wife of John Parker) nat. & legit. daughter of Elizabeth penne, late of Evershott, in com. Dorset, widow, deceased intestate, &c—Act Book fo 17

“ —Richard Penn—Sept. 30, 1698, Com. issued to Judith Penn, Relict of Richard Penn, late of Shotteswell, in co. Warwick, deceased intestate &c.—Act Book fo 167

1700—Thomas Penn—Oct. 8, 1700, Com. issued to Thomas Penn natural & legit. son of Thomas Penn, late of the City of Bristol, deceased intestate, &c.—Act Book fo 201



The following will, cited in the *Heraldic Journal*, Vol. IV., folio 110, as occurring among the Suffolk wills, may be properly introduced here :

1679—Katherine Penn, widow of James Penn; Will dated 25 Oct. 1679; names only her kinsmen James Allen & his sons James, John & Jeremiah; Witnesses—Humphrey Davis & John Fayerweather. Seals with Arms—Party per chevron Ar. & Erm., in chief 2 leopard's heads erased. Crest—A leopard's head erased. These arms are identified by the writer in the Journal as those of the Alleynes, Baronets, formerly of Barbadoes.

(To be continued.)

AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION OF FERDINAND J.  
DREER.

BY PROFESSOR GREGORY B. KEEN.

[Read at the Annual Meeting of the Historical Society held May 5, 1890.]

The collection of autographs of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, recently presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, was begun by him more than forty years ago, and comprises upward of nine thousand letters written by persons of various nationalities and almost every pursuit in life. The nucleus of these treasures consisted of two letters presented to Mr. Dreer, one written by the Norwegian violinist, Ole Bull, the other by the American author, Lydia Maria Child.

The first purchased autograph letter was written by George Washington. It proved not to be the writing of the illustrious "father of his country," but that of his nephew of the same name, who resided at Mount Vernon while Washington was President. This was bought in 1848, and from that period Mr. Dreer collected autographs of distinguished persons with continually increasing assiduity and success. In 1850 appeared Lossing's "Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution," presenting more than eleven hundred pictorial illustrations of persons and events associated with that subject, among which were a great number of fac-similes of signatures of persons who took part in the American war for independence. These, Mr. Dreer informs us, inspired him with an irresistible desire to possess full letters written and signed by the same hands, and gave a special direction to his acquisitions at that time.

In 1851, Mr. Dreer bought the valuable collection of autographs made by Robert Gilmore, of Baltimore. He continued to buy only through local dealers in such commodi-

ties, and by chance opportunities, until about 1870, when he began to purchase foreign autographs of dealers in London, Paris, and Berlin, from whom he regularly received packages of letters, with the privilege of making his selection from them, and returning what he did not wish to keep. He also bought many letters at public sales in England, France, Germany, and the United States.

The great size and variety of the collection thus formed precludes the possibility of describing it satisfactorily in a few words. Suffice it to say, it contains autographs of—

*Popes.*—Leo X., XI., and XIII., Innocent XI., Clement XIII. and XIV., Gregory XVI., and Pius IV., VIII., and IX.

*Emperors of Germany.*—Charles V. and many subsequent emperors, and the Empress Maria Theresa.

*Emperors of Austria.*—Francis I. and later emperors.

*Czars of Russia.*—Alexander I. and others, and the Empress Catherine II.

*Kings of Prussia.*—Frederick I., II., and III., Frederick William I., II., and III., and William I. and the late Frederick, Emperors of Germany.

*Kings of England.*—Henry VII. and VIII., and all sovereigns from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Victoria, besides Oliver Cromwell. Also Mary, Queen of Scots.

*Kings of France.*—Francis I. and nearly all subsequent monarchs, including Catherine de Médicis, Henry IV. and Louis XIV., and the Emperors Napoleon I. and III.

*Kings of Spain.*—Philip II. and several later.

*Other Sovereigns.*—Gustavus Adolphus and Christina, King and Queen of Sweden. Christian IV., King of Denmark. William of Orange, founder of the Dutch Republic. Lorenzo de' Medici, the Magnificent, Prince of Florence. Cosimo II. de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Augustus I., King of Poland. Leopold I. and II., Kings of Belgium. Dom Pedro I. and II., Emperors of Brazil. René of Anjou.

*Clergy, Catholic.*—St. Charles Borromeo, St. Vincent de Paul; Cardinals Alberoni, Antonelli, Caprara, Dubois, Fleury, Manning, Mazarin, Newman, De Retz, Wiseman,



Ximenes; Bossuet, Dupanloup, Fénelon, Holstenius, Huet, Lacordaire, Massillon, Richelieu.

*Clergy, Protestant.*—Arminius, Atterbury, Baxter, Beza, Bull, Burnet, Butler, Calvin, Chalmers, Eber, Farel, Fleetwood, Hengstenberg, Irving, Laud, Lightfoot, Lowth, Luther, Melancthon, Mant, Mosheim, Neander, Paley, Ridley, Robertson, Sparheim, Strauss, Summerfield, Spener, Spurgeon, Stanley, Tholuck, Taylor, Tillotson, Wake, Warburton, Watts, Wesley, Whately, Whitefield, Whewell, Zinzendorf.

*Philosophers.*—Bacon, Bayle, Beccaria, Bentham, Berkeley, Buckle, Cousin, Des Cartes, Diderot, Emerson, Fichte, De Gerando, Grotius, Helvetius, Jacobi, Kane, Leibnitz, Locke, Mill, Rousseau, Rumford, St.-Simon, Schelling, Spencer, Stewart, Stilling, Schopenhauer, Tyndall, Voltaire, Wolff, Zimmerman.

*Statesmen.*—Beaconsfield, Bolingbroke, Bright, Brougham, Brühl, Buckingham, Burleigh, Burke, Cairns, Calhoun, Castelar, Cavour, Chateaubriand, Chatham, Clay, Cobden, Colbert, Constant, Cosimo de' Medici, Danton, Derby, Dickinson, Essex, Everett, Fox, Franklin, Gambetta, Gladstone, Godoy, Gortchakoff, Grattan, Grenville, Duc de Guise, (Alexander) Hamilton, (Warren) Hastings, (Patrick) Henry, (John) Jay, Kossuth, Machiavelli, Marat, Metternich, Moñino, Montalembert, Necker, North, O'Connell, Palmerston, Peel, Pitt, Randolph, Robespierre, Rockingham, Serrano, Seward, Strafford, Strozzi, Sydney, Talleyrand, Temple, Thiers, De Tocqueville, Turgot, (Sir Henry) Vane, Walpole, Webster, Wellesley, Wirt, Wotton, Wyndham.

*Political Economists.*—Carey, Colwell, Filangieri, Malthus, (Adam) Smith.

*Lawyers and Jurists.*—D'Aguesseau, Blackstone, Coke, Curran, Ellenborough, Erskine, Feuerbach, Kent, Kenyon, Malesherbes, Marshall, Puffendorf, Ryder, Story, Taney, Wheaton.

*Soldiers.*—Blücher, Boulanger, Broglie, Condé, Egmond, Eugene, Fabert, Fairfax, Grant, Grouchy, Don John of Austria, Jomini, Kleber, Lee, MacMahon, Marlborough,

Masséna, Meade, von Moltke, Montmorency, Montrose, (Sir John) Moore, Murat, Napoleon, Nassau, Ney, Piccolomini, Poniatowski, Prim, Pulaski, Putnam, Rochambeau, Prince Rupert, Prince de Soubise, Sully, Marshal Saxe, Schwarzenberg, Scott, Sheridan, Sherman, Soult, Taylor, Thomas, Todleben, Trochu, Turenne, Vauban, Vioménil, Wellington, Wolseley.

*Sailors.*—Barry, Dale, Decatur, De Witt, Drake, Farragut, Gravina, Hawke, (John Paul) Jones, Napier, Nelson, Perry, Rodney, Ruyter, Warren.

*Physicians.*—Agnew, Aikin, Arbuthnot, Baillie, Boerhaave, Brodie, Cooper, Desgenettes, Hahnemann, Howe, Hunter, Jenner, Orfila, Pelletan, Physick, Radcliffe, Rush, Scarpa, Sloane, Spurzheim, Van Swieten.

*Naturalists.*—Agassiz, Audubon, Blumenbach, Brewster, Cuvier, Dana, Darwin, Evelyn, Forster, Haller, Humboldt, Huxley, Leidy, Mesmer, Monboddo, Oersted, Owen, Tyndall, Wilson.

*Botanists.*—Balfour, Bartram, Candolle, Durand, Gray, Greville, Torrey.

*Chemists.*—Berzelius, Brogniart, Cavendish, Chevreul, Dalton, Davy, Faraday, Gay-Lussac, Hare, Klaproth, Liebig, Pasteur, Priestley.

*Mathematicians.*—D'Alembert, Babbage, Euler, Legendre, L'Hospital, Manfredi, Maupertius, Playfair.

*Astronomers.*—Amici, Arago, Encke, Galileo, Halley, (Sir W. R.) Hamilton, the Herschels, Newton, Rittenhouse, Rosse, Le Verrier, Zach.

*Geologists.*—Hutton, Lyell, Miller, Murchison, Verneuil, Werner.

*Inventors and Engineers.*—Daguerre, Edison, Ericsson, Evans, Fitch, Fulton, Godfrey, Goodyear, De Lesseps, Montgolfier, Morse, Rennell, Rennie, Rittenhouse, Rumford, Stanhope, Stephenson, Telford, Watt, Wedgwood, Whitney.

*Travellers and Explorers.*—Baker, Burton, Du Chaillu, Fremont, Greely, Kane, Livingstone, Malte-Brun, Nordenskjold, La Pérouse, Speke, Stanley, Volney.

*Historians.*—Alison, Bancroft, Boswell (the biographer of Johnson), Botta, Camden, Carlyle, Clarendon, Freeman, Froude, Gervinus, Gibbon, Grote, Guizot, Hallam, Heeren, Hume, Irving, Lingard, Macaulay, Motley, Muratori, Niebuhr, Prescott, Proud (the historian of Pennsylvania), Ranke, Robertson, Smollett, Sismondi, Thiers.

*Scholars and Philologists.*—Adelung, Bentley, Buttman, Casaubon, Champollion, Crusius, Ebers, Eichhorn, Erasmus, Ernesti, Ewald, Facciolati, Gesenius, Griesbach, Grimm, Hermann, Heyne, Humboldt, Jebb, (Samuel) Johnson, (Sir William) Jones, De Lacy, Lepsius, Magliabecchi, Michaelis, Montfaucon, Max Müller, Parr, Porson, Rénan, Salmasius, Scaliger, Schlegel, Taine, Tischendorf, Villoison, Vossius, Wilkinson, Winckelmann.

*Essayists.*—Addison, De Quincey, Gifford, Jeffrey, Lamb, Mackenzie, Sainte-Beuve, Steele.

*Novelists.*—(Jane) Austen, Balzac, Brontë, Bulwer, Burney, Cooper, De Foe, Dickens, Dumas, (George) Eliot, Florian, Hawthorne, Hugo, (Charles Paul) de Kock, Manzoni, Mitford, Reade, Reid, Richardson, Richmond, (George) Sand, Scott, Madame de Staël, Sterne, Sue, Thackeray, Trollope, Zola.

*Poets.*—Akenside, Arnold, Beattie, Béranger, the Brownings, Bryant, Burns, Byron, Campbell, Chatterton, Coleridge, Cowper, Crabbe, Dryden, Foscolo, Gay, Gellert, Goethe, Goldoni, Goldsmith, Gray, Halleck, Hayley, Heine, Holmes, Hood, (Ben) Jonson, Keats, Keble, Klopstock, Körner, Longfellow, Lowell, Lytton, Milton, Montgomery, Moore, Mussel, Pellico, Poe, Pope, Prior, Procter, Pushkin, Rouget de Lisle, Rousseau, Schiller, Shelley, Southey, Swift, Tasso, Tennyson, Tieck, Voiture, Voss, Warton, White, Whittier, Wieland, Willis, Wordsworth, Young.

*Dramatists.*—Kotzebue, Laharpe, Palissot, Racine, Rowe, Sardou, Scarron, Scribe, Sheridan, Vulpius.

*Actors.*—The Booths, Boucicault, Cooke, Cushman, Fechter, Forrest, Garrick, Henderson, Irving, the Jeffersons, Kean, the Kembles, Knowles, Macready, Modjeska, Mur-



doch, Rachel, Ristori, Salvini, Siddons, Sothern, Talma, (Ellen) Terry, Wallack.

*Singers.*—Grisi, Lablache, Malibran, Mario, Nilsson, Patti, Rubini, Sontag.

*Composers of Music and Musicians.*—Abt, Auber, Balfe, Beethoven, Berlioz, (Ole) Bull, von Bülow, Carafa, Cherubini, Chopin, Czerny, Donizetti, Flotow, Gounod, Grétry, Halévy, Handel, Haydn, Hérold, Hummel, Kreutzer, Le Sueur, Liszt, Meyerbeer, Mozart, Offenbach, Paganini, Raff, Rossini, Rubenstein, Schumann, Spohn, Spontini, Thalberg, Thomas, Verdi, Wagner, von Weber, Zelter.

*Architects.*—Cockerell, Gerbier, Latrobe, Le Brun, Pugin, Rennie, Walter, Wren, Wyatt.

*Sculptors.*—Bartolini, Canova, Crawford, Flaxman, Gibson, Houdon, Nollekens, Oeser, Powers, Rauch, Rogers, Schwanthaler, Story, Thorwaldsen, Wyatt.

*Painters and Designers.*—Allan, Bonheur, Church, Copley, Cruikshank, Doré, Eastlake, Gérard, Gérôme, Greuze, Hamilton, Hasenclever, Healey, Isabey, Kauffman, Kaulbach, Kneller, Landseer, Lawrence, Le Brun, Leslie, Leutze, Overbeck, the Peales, Poussin, Read, Retzsch, Reynolds, Rigaud, Rosa, Rubens, Stuart, Sully, Turner, Vanloo, Vasari, Wappers, Wertmüller, West, Westall, Wilkie.

*Engravers.*—Bartolozzi, Desnoyers, Longhi, Müller, Revere, Sartain, Sharpe, Toschi, Townley, Wille.

*The Beau Monde.*—Brummell, Chesterfield, the Duchess of Devonshire, Lady Hervey.

Of special interest to us, as members of this Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are autographs of the Presidents of the United States, of members of the Continental Congress, signers of the Declaration of Independence (all of whom are represented), the generals of the Continental army, and statesmen and soldiers of Great Britain and France, who were conspicuous in the War of the Revolution. The letters of Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, Jefferson, and Robert Morris are particularly numerous and valuable. There are peculiarly interesting letters of Lincoln and Grant, including the famous demand of the latter for

the unconditional surrender of Fort Donelson, and there is an extraordinary series of documents relating to the attempt of John Brown to incite insurrection in Virginia.

Besides the letters and shorter autographic writings comprised in the collection, there are several autograph books, as John F. Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," and "Historical Incidents of Germantown," "The Journal of John Heckewelder," "Minute Book of General John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, of the American Army of the Revolution," "Log-Book of Elisha Kent Kane, M.D., kept during his Arctic Exploration," etc. Special mention should also be made of fifteen volumes, handsomely bound, of the correspondence of Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, presented to Mr. Dreer by Mr. George W. Childs.

Such is a mere indication of the nature of the magnificent collection so generously bestowed on the Historical Society by Mr. Dreer. It has been topically arranged by him in cases made for the purpose, and a catalogue of it, comprising about one thousand pages, is in course of preparation, and already partly printed, which will, it is hoped, be quite completed in the fall.

A JOURNEY ON HORSEBACK FROM NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, TO LYCOMING COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, IN 1799.

CONTRIBUTED BY HON. THOMAS HILL, PORTLAND, MAINE.

[Abijah Hill, of Warwickshire, England, b. May 1, 1690, d. Jan. 26, 1783, had one daughter and five sons, of whom the youngest, Samuel, was b. Aug. 3, 1741, d. Jan. 1804. He had four sons, of whom the oldest, Thomas, came to America prior to reaching his majority and settled in New Brunswick, N. J. Here he died April 3, 1828. He was a man of great stature and muscular strength, of sound sense, and incorruptible integrity, and for many years filled honorably the offices of Justice of the Peace, and Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas in Middlesex County, N. J. The following extracts from his diary of a horseback journey from New Brunswick, N. J., to Lycoming County, Penna., are of interest, as they contain a certain amount of historic interest concerning the roads, manners, and customs of the inhabitants, crops, etc., at the close of the last century.]

*New Brunswick N. J. June 29, 1799.*—Cash thirty dollars, three silk neck hdkfs, three pocket hdkfs, two pair stockings, three nankeen waistcoats, two coatees, three pair of trousers, a great coat, one pair of shoes, one hat of chip, a watch, a pair of saddle bags, a brace of razors, a knife with three blades; and a good horse, a bright bay, with a poor bridle and a good saddle, on which is mounted

your humb serv't

T. HILL.

P.S.—Tobacco in segars, 100; also a box full of opium, rhubarb, aloes, and magnesia.

*July 1.*—[from New Brunswick] to Reading town meeting, 20 miles; to Exton's, 14 miles more, to lodge. A pleasant country, [Raritan] river brimfull, grass good, chiefly mowed; crops on the west side, 20 bushels, on the east side 12 bushels. But the pleasant prospects will not cure my blisters which are as big as a dove's egg. Oh dear!



the hot weather, and rough fustian trousers, and a hard trotting horse incline me to pray!

*July 2.*—Put on linen trousers. To the Hickory tavern, 7 miles, along the ridge of a mountain;—hard pebbly road, few settlements, and poor land. The linen trousers do better than cotton. To Phillipsburg and East Town [Easton], 12 miles, through several small villages, on fine rapid trout streams, with mills. Limestone land, very indifferent; lime not used as a manure; average of produce 12 bushels, scarcely. Red clover and pretty good lots, wherever there are mills. On such lots, 25 bushels; hay, 1½ tons; apple trees look well. Abutment and piers for a bridge from Phillipsburgh; two piers only; span 180 ft. The Lehigh falls in, just below; high banks, stony lands; river not rapid enough to be romantic, nor wide and full enough to be majestic; much disappointed. Pretty good houses of limestone. Stone lime delivered at one shilling per bushel. A many stores. Inhabitants chiefly German. 130 houses or more. Four or five tanners. Bark stones drove by water. A few miles off, one on the coffee mill principle, answers well. Seven years ago I could find no clover sown, except near cities; now, wherever you find a mill, or a store, you see lots [fields] of clover; a plain proof of superior information in any class of men over farmers.

A most beautiful romantic clump of houses, on a brook, west side of the town, with a delightful tumbling dam. When I turn hermit, here will I live. To Stierk's tavern 18 mile, yellow loam with limestone bottom, chiefly, till last two or four miles, slates very good. Two houses covered with them by Stierk's father. He's an intelligent German, a rare thing. Very unlike the Yankees, in general they can give me no information at all. The Yankees on the contrary, in York State, used to tell me not only their own business, but every one of their neighbor's!

*July 3.*—To Harry Hoes 9 miles, to breakfast, generally over a poorish land, a yellow shelly loam; the bottom chiefly a whitish, spar-looking stone, something like plaster in appearance, but very hard. All Germans;—the most

early rising, hard working people I ever saw; they seem to enjoy not more happiness or knowledge, than some bell-flowers, who sleep at night, wake early, to bed late, perpetuate their species, and die. They cannot tell you the distance, or route to the next village. How different from the new Englishmen who, of all others, abound in local information in a superior degree. The women, all at work in the fields, seem very active, but are masculine in the extreme; their countenances seem to express much jealous suspicion. Their dress,—one petticoat striped blue linsy, a man's hat, and a shift, some of them with wristbands. Twelve miles from Harry Hoes to Livy's, arrive at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 o'clock. The mountain is very steep; about a mile and a  $\frac{1}{4}$  up and a mile down again; but in appearance, or height, from the foot, it falls far short of the Catskill Mountains. The stones seem a very hard kind indeed, a little gritty, with Motherstones and the white stones above mentioned, which I suppose Granite, mixed in small quantity; about a mile of this side, say west, a perfect Red Shell.

Crops, the 21 miles I have come, not more than 10 or 12 bushels. I have not yet seen any equal to the Raritan [valley]; and no trees deserving the name of timber; small chestnuts and oaks all the way from Exton's. I have much trouble with my horse, he stumbles so much, I dare not ride him down hill, and up hill I walk to save him.

This country has been settled with Germans about fifty years, I hope to be soon through them. My breakfast was this morning two cups of coffee without sugar, and 3 eggs; bread baked hard, and crust wet. What a pity I cannot draw, if I could I would describe a beautiful wild deep red flower, on a stem 18 inches long, flower  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, bell-shape. [Lilium Philadelphium]

A new and curious species of Laurel [Rhododendron or Kalmia] a long leaf like Magnolia, 15 ft high; the flowers from their having a kind of natural bird lime upon the outside of them, are hung up, Livy tells me, for fly traps;—I suppose on Sundays only, from the dirt. In the brook plenty of trout. A lizard makes a noise like the constant

rapping of a small stick upon a board. Leiby (for so he spells his name) says he often sees them. I doubt. Salad with milk, oil, vinegar, bonny clabber and bread; good God! how can they work so hard on such food! A fine lesson; I was determined to eat as they did, but was forced to take a piece of dried venison. They have a fine black eyed girl,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years old, but I suppose by ten, she will lose all her beauty and look like one of Shakespears witches. I notice their shifts being made exactly like shirts, except the collar,—they button with one button at the top. Can it be possible! Am I in America! where wages are six or seven shillings per day! No wonder they acquire wealth. No schools, no itch for learning. Were they dressed alike, I defy any man to tell boys and girls of 10 or 12 apart. When grown up their forms differ, but their masculine features nearly the same. What will not education do! To see and observe these people is worth riding a hard trotting horse 90 or 100 miles. I am 12 miles from that part of the Lehigh which produces such excellent coal;—6d per bushel to Philadelphia, by water.<sup>1</sup>

My present landlord has a considerable store, a small farm, &c.,—wages  $\frac{1}{2}$  a dollar per day. Set off, at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  o'clock for Snyder's; went over a long high mountain called Somer's Ridge, at the foot of which you cross the Little Schuylkill. The Somer's Ridge is a miserable road, a sharp sand, upon a sandstone, too hard to be called free. The next mountain, called the Second Blue Mountain is still worse; I wonder how it is possible to get loaded wagons over such miserable rough stony roads. I then crossed the Tuscarora Mountain, which contained a many rocks of that kind of motherstone used in mills. The timber that covers these lands, if so it be called, consists of short, knotty pitch pine, chestnut and chestnut oak. At the bottom of this

<sup>1</sup>I remember that about 25 years later than this, my father procured a lump of Lehigh coal about as large as his two fists, and tried it on his wood fire in an open Franklin stove. After two days he concluded that if the world should take fire the Lehigh coal mines would be the safest retreat, the last place to burn.



mountain I come to a house, kept by Snyder as a tavern. I had been told of a fine barn, and meadows, though a middling house; five miles from the Schuylkill. How disappointed was I in finding a large family in a small old log house as black as a smoke house and more dirty than a hogpen. I entered, look at a thousand holes thro' the roof, see that they have the itch badly, drink a small glass of whiskey, pay them 6d instead of 3d, and set off for Trushes, 3 miles, and there find a stable without hay or straw. A poor house and dirty bedfellow,— $\frac{5}{8}$  dollar. 15 miles from Leibys. A foolish democrat with strange notions, all for want of candid information.

*July 4.* 15 miles to Fred. Lavinburgh's to breakfast, over mountains composed of nearly the same materials; more motherstone, at 11 miles come down the first road worth observing over these mountains, N. E. side. You observe the trees in the under valley as plain as plums in a pudding under your nose. Over the valley and next hill plains of  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile broad, of very good pine and oak, fit for spars of any kind; and the land has not many stones; and would no doubt be worth clearing. A brook runs through east and west, but the dumb fools know not where it empties. However, good eggs and bacon, bad coffee and a good stomach, make up for wanted information, in some respects. To Roaring Creek 9 miles. First over a mountain called the Little Mountain, over which is the best road of any mountain I had yet crossed; it took me one hour, exact, to cross it; after that pretty good roads to this place. I have through the want of information gone five miles out of the way. However, my landlord says the better road will make up for it. He is well informed, descended from Irish parents; not party spirited; has 3 seeming industrious girls; chatty; use thee and thou; majestic sounds after the yaw, yaw! Though ordinary persons, they are vastly superior to the Germans in expressive *phizes*. Can this be all education, or not? They live pretty well, ham, eggs, lettuce, plain; much better than the German warm salads. Have come over some red shell land; very poor; will never

be settled until the vine is cultivated. Six qts oats, pint cider royal, dinner, half a dollar, at Penrose's tavern on Roaring Creek, which I cross and then—

Started at 2 o'clock, and although I kept on a steady jog trot, I did not reach Sunbury until nine at night. Now 4 miles an hour would have been 28 miles although I was told it was but 20. I am sure, having but one hill to cross, and the rest a road not very stony, I could not have come a less distance, which with the 24 miles before dinner, makes the distance travelled, too far; it being 52 miles. An hour or two's ride, and I came to the Roaring Creek where it empties, into the Susquehannah. In riding over, nothing have I seen so naturally picturesque; an almost natural-bridge, formed by the rocks, through which you see the falls of a milldam, with a bridge over to the mill. Had man planted a neat cot above in the bushes, it would make a fine picture for a painter to copy. I now travel along the, or rather under the banks of a very fine river, three times the breadth of Brunswick river, to Sunbury. The slow majestic crystal moving stream, with monstrous mountains and banks on each side, and a level road on a flat not more than a hundred or two yards wide, covered in general by lofty sugar maples and beech, made me conclude at once that Matilda and J—— would be in raptures to have an opportunity of walking on these banks, calculated to please lovers, not farmers. Just as these thoughts were turning over, I saw the most beautiful serpent moving across the road. I stopt short to view this horrid fellow, for by the rattle of his tail I discovered him to be a rattlesnake. I have seen many a one in a box, but their colors were nothing, compared with this. I instantly dismounted and picked up a stick of four feet long. He prepared for an engagement by raising his sides, flattening his head, and shaking his tail. His colors now heightened surprisingly. By three or four strokes with a thick stick I killed him. What a prize! I cut with my knife to cut his head and tail (of seven rattles) off, and thought of putting them into my pocket carefully packed. I would not at that moment [have] sold them for a dollar. I pressed on his

neck my stick and begun to separate his head from—when he opened a monstrous mouth and rolled his sides toward my legs. I was startled and in mad frenzy, at a few strokes laid on unmercifully, destroyed my prize entirely; for I had mashed his head and shattered his tail to shivers. Seven rattles,  $4\frac{1}{4}$  feet, as thick as my wrist, fangs a large half inch, black and yellow.

Sunbury is pleasantly situated on a fine flat, half a mile broad, on the east side of the river just below the junction of the two rivers. What a pity, several rapids and falls, below, should prevent its being as useful as 'tis pretty. Lay here all night, breakfasted next morning. Being the fourth of July, a fine frolic, all a little bousy. Divided into two parties, very violent. A curious dispute, in which Bob Grey charged Dr Watson and Jackson with instilling Democratic principles into a negro, because they offered the negro money for behaving well.

*5th July*, to Northumberland about two miles above Sunbury on the opposite shore, situated on nearly the point between the two rivers. Put my horse up and went to see Priestley. He looks exceeding well, lives in a good house, with a garden leading to the E. Branch of the S. [Susquehanna] River, with a fine island in the middle.

Though I half promised to dine with Dr. P[riestly]., meeting with a man going to Millstown, for the sake of company ride with him, twelve miles up the W[est] Branch to Millstown. Flats pretty good, but not above half a mile wide. The rest part of the way over, or rather between mountains, on the Genesee road, to Murray creek. Middling land by places; limestone sufficient all the way; and the best twenty eight miles of roads, I have ever seen together in America. To Mr. Robb's to lodge, 30 miles from Northumberland and 16 from J. Hills.

*6th July*. Mrs Robb was so good as to go across the wilderness with me to Mr Hills. After crossing the Alleghany mountains, the bottom lands became good, covered with immense white pines, sugar maple, and beech and birch. John Hills lands, one thousand acres,—six hundred bottom,



and four mountain. The bottoms up this creek are rather too sandy. A new county road is laid out, and will be a very good one, being pretty level, and free from stones in comparison; and will, from its goodness and short distance, become the Genesee Road. In fact there is a kind of road [already] that a many people travel over for that country. Some days back a very high wind blew down a great many trees, which has made it very difficult travelling indeed.

John Hill's situated on the south side of Loyalsock, 11 miles below the Forks. Flats above him surrounded in appearance by mountains, half a mile high. My land on the north side, next Huckels. John Warren is settled at the forks, middle branch of the Loyalsock.

Was I disposed to hunt I believe I could shoot a deer any day, but the dread of being bit by a rattlesnake prevents my attempting it. Not a day has passed without the dogs being after one, in full cry, near us. I wonder the dogs do not drive them all off. A man who was lost in the woods saw a great many elk the morning after he was lost. A heavy rain and wind was the cause of his losing his way. Between town and Elk creek is the only road that wants opening to complete an open road between Muncy and the Genesee; and this new route will be eighty miles nearer than the old route; which must enhance the value of the lands thro' this settlement. The greatest objection I can see against this settlement is, there never will be settlers sufficient to support a schoolmaster under any reasonable proportion to each. For six miles from this spot, that is three each way, there cannot well be more than seven farmers, a miller, and blacksmith, say nine. A 10£ per year would do,—but it will be a little age before this number can be procured; and even then this distance from market will make this proportion a high tax. Ministers they must always dispense with; which is, in my opinion, no objection.

Elk Creek branches off from the Loyalsock 2 miles above J. Hills and 29 from the Susquehannah. Went to see Jno. Warren. 150 acres, 25 acres of land clear. 10 in good meadow. Timothy—2 ton; 3 acre, corn—40 bushels; good

wheat & rye, 7 acre; 10 oxen, 4 cows and a bull, 50 bushels of old grain, two horses, plenty of meat and content in a comfortable log house. Pretty good flats, all the way up, but too narrow, and rather sandy.

Killed a rattlesnake, black and white, Friday; Saturday, another, black and white. I am told one color is the male and the other the female. The one I killed near Roaring Creek, from the beautiful yellow, white & black, must have been a male. Ha, ha, ha! beautiful because a male! I am in great pain from burnt legs by the sun while making a fish weir and dam.

*Sunday the — of July.*—Left Loyalsock on my way home to Brunswick. To J. Websters 12 miles to tea. Part of the road lay over a branch of the Alleghany Mountain, four and a half miles across. Much credit is due to John Hill as the engineer in forming this road, for by taking proper advantages of the ridge he has rendered the road, not to say very steep in any one part, and yet managed it so that few zigzag windings appear to much lengthen the route. The whole distance from John Hills to Websters was cut and levelled for \$1130; at a time that a  $\frac{1}{4}$  dollar a pound was given for pork and beef. And yet Priestly and other owners of lands refused giving J. H. more than one thousand dollars, because J. H. supposed before he began that that sum would be sufficient. Thus has J. H. not only given a years time in planning and overseeing the men, gratis, but has paid \$130 cash out of his own pocket.

Mr. Webster is the most intelligent man for the advantages he has had, of almost any one I have ever met with. He, a brother and sister, when children, were surprised by a party of Indians. The brother was shot, his sister and he lived with the Indians some years; he could not prevail on his sister to leave them; and go without her he would not. He therefore laid a plan with some Indian traders to take the sister off; but such was the force of habit, that she as much disliked going back to the settlements, as she at first did to leave them; and when her brother and his two comrades were busy in crossing a lake she absolutely jumped

out of the canoe, and made for the banks in hopes of getting back, but was prevented. She had nearly forgot the English language. This is no uncommon case. Few children, like them, taken young, and confined with them two or three years, without any chance of getting away, but will after that time become so attached to their new habits, as to not wish to leave them off and return to their own relations; though they have nothing to prevent them from returning but their attachment to their present mode of living. And even people of maturer age often have been known to act like these children. It is strange what habit will do, and no one can say what it will not do.

From Mr. Websters four miles to squire Robb's, through a country not yet settled; but the land being tolerably good, it is capable at some future day of maintaining a many inhabitants. Mrs. Robb is a motherly old woman and was very tender over plastering my sunburnt legs with sour cream. I could not have supposed it possible for sunburns to be so bad.

*Monday July 15.*—My legs are much better but I shall lose the outside skin of each calf. To Muncy—[here the diary suddenly ends].



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

PEDIGREE OF ROWLAND ELLIS, OF BRYN-MAWR, FROM HIS OWN MANUSCRIPT, 1697.—Rowland Evans, Esq., of Haverford College Station, P. R. R., has kindly placed in my hands a sketch of his ancestor Rowland Ellis (after whose estate in Wales the present Bryn-Mawr is named), and also the following account of the descent of Rowland Ellis and of his second wife, written by himself some time prior to 1697. He was born at Bryn-Mawr, in Merionethshire, in 1650, and was the son of Ellis ap Rees ap Lewis. In 1686 he sailed from Milford Haven to Pennsylvania. Owing to rough weather the voyage lasted fully twenty-four weeks, during which time the vessel was driven into Barbadoes. He remained in the province only nine months, when he returned to Wales, leaving his young son, who had accompanied him, in the charge of his uncle John Humphrey. It was his intention to have sailed again for Pennsylvania the next spring, with his family, but he did not get back until June, 1697. This delay was probably caused by his succession to a property belonging to his cousin Lewis ap Owen, who having lost his life by an accident, and leaving no issue, Rowland Ellis became entitled under a settlement made by his grandfather, Rees, on the marriage of his uncle, Lewis ap Rees. On his departure from Wales he left his eldest daughter, and heiress by a former wife, in possession of his paternal estate. In Pennsylvania he resided during most of his life upon his plantation of some six hundred acres of land situate a little north of the present Bryn-Mawr Station. This farm is now known as the Morris property. Among other manuscripts left by this early Welsh Friend was the above-mentioned pedigree, a copy of which was made by Rowland E. Evans, uncle of Rowland Evans, Esq., through whom, as I have explained, it came into my possession. The manuscript has this endorsement by Rowland E. Evans: "The annexed pedigree is extracted from one in the hand writing of Rowland Ellis, except the names in parenthesis (") which are inserted in the original in a different hand. The original, it may be presumed from the omission of his daughter Catherine, was written prior to 1697, at which time her birth had happened, and if it had been written after that event, her name, as may be supposed, would not have been omitted. The part of the original not copied here is the pedigree of Rowland Ellis's first wife. The parts between brackets [ ] are additions here." As this genealogy is in the form of a chart it is, for convenience, here given much after the style of the ancient Welsh Heralds:

Rowland (Ellis) of Brin Mawr in Merionethshire, in Wales, born 1650, also described as of Dyffryden in 1677. He was son of Ellis, ap Rees, ap Lewis, ap Sion, ap Gruffydd, ap Howell. The mother of Rowland Ellis was Anne verch Humphrey, ap Hugh, ap David, ap Howell, ap Gronw(y). The mother of Anne verch Humphrey, was Elizabeth verch John. The mother of Elizabeth verch John, was Sibill verch Hugh Gwynn or Penarth. The mother of Sibill verch Hugh, was Jane verch Sir Hugh

Owen. The mother of Humphrey ap Hugh, was Catherine verch Sion, ap Rhydderch Wyn Abergvno. The mother of Hugh ap David, ap Howell, was Mary verch Hugh Sion Bedo. The mother of Ellis ap Rees, ap Lewis, was Catherine verch Ellisa, ap David, ap Owen, ap Thomas, ap Howell, ap Mrhedydd, ap Gruffydd Derwas. The mother of Catherine verch Ellisa ap David, was Mary verch Sion, ap David, ap Gruffydd. The mother of Rees ap Lewis, was Ellin verch Howell Gruffydd. The mother of Lewis ap John Gruffydd was Elsbeth verch Dd Lloyd. Rowland Ellis married first Margaret daughter of Ellis Morris, descended from Gruffydd Derwas, and had issue: Ann, and Jane. He married secondly his cousin, Margaret, daughter of Robert ap Owen, ap Lewis, ap Sion, ap Gruffydd, ap Howell. The mother of Margaret verch Robert ap Owen, was Margaret verch Sion, ap Lewis, ap Tyddwr, ap Ednyved, ap Howell, ap Mrhedydd, ap Gruffydd Derwas. The mother of Margaret verch Sion ap Lewis, was Agnes verch Owen, ap Thomas, ap Owen, ap Thomas, ap Howell, ap Mrheydd, ap Gruffydd Derwas. The mother of Agnes verch Owen, ap Thomas, was Mary verch Ellisa (Byrin?) The mother of Robert ap Owen, ap Lewis, was Mary, verch Tudwr Vaughan, ap David Llwydd, ap Tyddwr. Vaughan, ap Gruffydd ap Howell [ap Gr. Derwas]. The mother of Mary verch Tudwr Vaughan, was Agnes verch Lewis ap Mrheydd. [The mother of Agnes, was Elin verch Robert ap Howell, ap David, ap Mevrig]. The mother of Owen ap Lewis, was Elin verch Howell Gruffydd. The mother of Lewis ap Sion Gruffydd, was Elsbeth verch David Lloyd.

Rowland Ellis had, by his second wife, five children: Elizabeth, Rowland, Ellin. (m. John Evans of Gwynedd), (Catherine).

A few explanations to the foregoing pedigree are desirable. Rowland Ellis was a descendant of the Nannau family, and it is in part the descent of that ancient house in Merionethshire that is here given. Humphrey ap Hugh was father, it appears, of John Humphrey of Llwyn-dy, the uncle of Rowland Ellis. According to Dwnn, II. 252, David ap Howell, ap Gronwy, ap Einion, married Mary, daughter of Howell ap Sion, ap Mer<sup>ad</sup> ap Deio, descended from Aleth, Lord of Dyvet, the name of Bedo being dropped. This family was of Llwydiarth in Montgomeryshire. Hugh Gwyn's wife was Jane, sister, and not daughter to Sir Hugh Owen, Kt., son of Owen, ap Hugh of Bodean (Bodowen in Anglesea), who signed the visitation 8 Nov. 1588, (Dwnn, 205-6) and died 1613. Hugh Gwyn's daughter married John Powell of Llan Wyddyn. Other particulars will be found in the visitations of Lewis Dwnn II. 22, 241-235. Rowland Ellis was a descendant of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, son of John of Gaunt, through the Kynaston family, in the same line as Thomas Lloyd, Dep.-Governor of Pennsylvania.

THOMAS ALLEN GLENN.

A COLONIAL TRADER OF 1756.—Mr. William Fisher Lewis contributes the following letter:

NEW YORK, Jan<sup>ry</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> 1756

M<sup>r</sup> WHARTON  
S<sup>r</sup>

I desier Soon after Y<sup>r</sup> arrival at Philadelphia You<sup>l</sup> advise me what Inshurence can be made on y<sup>e</sup> Schooner Margret, Paul Miller mas<sup>tr</sup> From hence to y<sup>e</sup> Coast of Affrica at & From thence for Burbadus, for advice, If no warr from Burbadus to Charlestown S<sup>c</sup> Carolina If a warr to Sell at Burbadus, or proceede to Jamaca The Vessel Sail<sup>d</sup> hence y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup>



Nov<sup>br</sup> Last, is about 100 Tons Three Years old, new Sheath<sup>d</sup> when She went out, well fitted & well mane<sup>d</sup>, y<sup>e</sup> mas<sup>tr</sup> & Two mates well acquainted has bin Several Voyages on y<sup>e</sup> Coast & Severel of y<sup>e</sup> people well Season<sup>d</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Coast, mounted w<sup>th</sup> 4 Carege Gunns 5 Swival<sup>d</sup> Blunderbushes, a Sofishent quantity of muskets & ammonisen, If they ask a mod<sup>t</sup> pr<sup>m</sup> Shall want about £1000—Inshuerence made on Vessel & Cargoe—

Y<sup>r</sup> Answear will oblige S<sup>r</sup> Y<sup>r</sup>

Humb<sup>le</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAS W. HARMER

OXFORD FURNACE, NEW JERSEY.—From “A Memorandum taken this 2d. day of January 1764, at Oxford Furnace out of s<sup>d</sup> Furnace Books by me Elias Thomas,” we take the following items:

“An Account of the whole Expençe of said Furnace from the 12th. day of March 1761 to January the 1st Day 1764, amounts to £6241 8.0.

“The first Blast in the year 1761 was made in Pig Iron, Tons 87.1.1.6.

“Castings made and sold, Tons 3.10.0.8.

“Account of all Pig Iron and Castings that were made the Second Blast, viz.

“In Pig Iron, Tons 310.0.0.0.

“Castings Tons 50.17.3.19.

“An Account also of the Third Blast in 1763, made into Pig Iron Tons 243.0.0.0.

“Castings made about, Tons 41.8.2.0.

“ELIAS THOMAS.”

CELEBRATION OF THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.—The American Philosophical Society, which may be considered the parent stem from which came those flourishing branches, the Historical Society, the Academy of Natural Sciences, and Academy of Fine Arts, commemorated the one hundreth anniversary of the death of its “Illustrious Founder and First President Benjamin Franklin,” April 17 last. This ancient society of men of science, letters, and useful knowledge in the United States, founded in 1743, still flourishes in our midst, quietly and unobtrusively doing the good work planned for it by the most typical American of the eighteenth century, meriting the consideration of the wealthy patrons of science and letters.

It is interesting to note that time has not diminished the fame of the poor printer lad whose industry and knowledge made the provincial town of Philadelphia known to the civilized world, whose old age was crowned with the classic words,—

“Eripuit fulmen cœlo, septrumpque tyrannis.”

The following committee were appointed by the society to make arrangements for the commemoration upon the day above noted: Charles A. Oliver, M.D., Chairman; Henry Phillips, Jr., Arthur Biddle, William John Potts, William H. Greene. Five able speakers, from different parts of the country, addressed a very distinguished audience on this occasion. A sketch of Franklin's biography was given by Prof. John Bach McMaster, of the University of Pennsylvania. His association with the society, by the venerable President Frederick Fraley, now in his eighty-seventh year. His literary labors, by Prof. G. Brown Goode, of the Smithsonian Institution. As a scientific man, by Prof. John W. Holland, of the Jefferson University. As a diplomat, by Prof. Henry M. Baird, of the University of the City of New York. These papers, which it is proposed to publish in a memorial volume, will form a valuable addition to Franklin's history.



A BILL OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, 1733.—Mr. William Fisher Lewis contributes the following :

		Hon. Tho <sup>s</sup> Penn Esq. to B. Franklin	Dr.
1733			£ s. d.
July	For printing 300 Speeches with paper . . . . .		2 2 6
	For printing 500 Blanks at 2 <i>d.</i> . . . . .		4 3 4
	For Advertisements twice in Gazzette . . . . .		0 10 0
			£6 15 10

19<sup>th</sup> 2<sup>mo</sup> 1734

Received above acc. in full,

DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

PEACE COMMISSIONERS TO CONGRESS, 1778.—A letter from a British officer on board a transport, dated June 19, 1778, off Reedy Island, Delaware Bay, says, "The troops crossed into the Jerseys yesterday morning, as it is said on their march to New York, after evacuating Philadelphia. Lord Howe and the greater part of the shipping together with the Commissioners [Peace] are come down to this place, and are hourly expected to proceed to New York, where the Commissioners expect to receive their answer from Congress; how it will be is uncertain, but it looks not like reconciliation at present. I wish they may succeed in making a peace or this country must be totally ruined."

"On Saturday the lady of his Excellency Governor Johnston received a letter from her husband, one of the Commissioners appointed to treat with Congress towards establishing peace and reunion between Great Britain and her Colonies, purporting that the American States would neither treat or hold converse with the delegates of England sent out upon the occasion, and in consequence thereof the Governor would return the first opportunity, giving it as his opinion that no terms whatsoever offered by Great Britain would be accepted by the present members of the Congress on this side of Independency, in the strict sense of the word."—*London Chronicle*, July 25–28, 1778. W. J. P.

DEATHS OF BRITISH OFFICERS WHO SERVED IN AMERICA.—"A few days ago died Major Saxton, of the 45th. regiment of Foot."—*London Chronicle*, June 30, 1778.

"Philip Anstruther, lieutenant in Lord Seaforth's Highlanders died in the Downs last week on board one of the transport ships."—*Ibid.*, November 3, 1778.

"On the 31st of last month [October] died at Kinsale the Hon. Lieut. Col. Gordon, of the 81st regiment of foot and brother to the Earl of Abogne."—*Ibid.*, November 17, 1778.

"On the 15th. of November died, at New York, Capt. Richard Maintland."—*Ibid.*, December 29, 1778.

"Lately died in this city George McKay, of Fordreath, Captain Lieutenant in the Royal American regiment."—*Rivington's Gazette*, December 1, 1778. W. J. POTTS.

"COMMONWEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."—The "Porcupine" frigate, from Philadelphia for Portsmouth, England, arrived there July 22, 1778. "On her passage she took a large French ship with 282 hogsheads of tobacco. Her dispatches are thus dated: 'In the second year of the Commonwealth of the United States of America.'"

## Notes and Queries.

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE JOHN AND SARAH [OWEN] BIDDLE, 1736.—Whereas John Biddle of the City of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, son of William Biddle of Mansfield, in the County of Burlington in the Province of New Jersey; and Sarah Owen, daughter of Owen Owen of the said city: Having declared their intentions of Marriage with each other before several Monthly Meetings of the People called Quakers at Philadelphia aforesaid, according to the good order us'd amongst them, and having consent of Parents, their proposal of Marriage was allowed of by the said Meetings: NOW these are to certify whom it may concern, that for the full accomplishing their said intentions, this Third day of the First month in the year of our Lord, One thousand seven hundred and thirty six; They the said John Biddle and Sarah Owen appeared in a public meeting of the said people of Philadelphia aforesaid, and the said John Biddle taking the said Sarah Owen by the Hand did in solemn manner openly declare that He took Her, the said Sarah Owen to be his Wife, promising with the Lord's assistance to be unto Her a Loving and Faithfull Husband until Death should separate them: and then and there in the same assembly, the said Sarah Owen did likewise declare that she took Him, the said John Biddle to be her Husband, in like manner promising to be unto Him a Loving and Faithfull Wife until Death should separate them: And moreover They, the said John Biddle and Sarah Owen, (she according to the custom of Marriage assuming the name of her Husband), as a further confirmation thereof did then and there to these presents set their Hands, and we who herunto subscribe our names being present at the solemnization of the said Marriage and Subscription as witnesses thereunto set our Hands the Day and Year above written.

Saml Preston	Saml Norris	Margaret Preston	Thos <sup>s</sup> Cadwalader	Michael Biddle	Rebecca Eyans	John Biddle
William Hudson	Saml Burge	Beulah Coates	Rees Roberts	Clayton Biddle	Mary Roberts jr	Sarah Biddle
Henry Clifton	William Horne	Mary Emlen	R <sup>d</sup> Broekden		Rebecca Scull	Owen Owen
John Jones	Edward Scull	Hannah Hudson	Cadwalader Foulke		Jonathan Jones	Ann Owen
Jonathan Corkshaw	Jacob Lewis	Phebe Morris	Mary Foulke		Jane Wood	Mary Biddle
Anthy Morris	W <sup>m</sup> Shippen	Eleanor Bevan			W <sup>m</sup> Biddle	Penelope Whitehead
Dennis Raekford	Stephen Vidal	Hannah Lewis				Nicholas Scull
Daniel Cheston	Jos. Morris jr	Susanna Shippen				Abigail Scull
Isaac Griffith	Nicho.: Scull	Hannah Cadwalader				Robert Owen
Isalah Foulke	Jonas <sup>th</sup> Eyans	Hannah Morris				Rebecca Owen
Epraim Parker	Charles Jenkins	Elizabeth Dickenson				Taey Owen
		Amy Lawrence				Jane Owen
		Sydney Eyans				Martha Owen
		Sarah Eyans				Mary Jones
		Ann Broekden				Hannah Owen
		Lettitia Broekden				Rachel Owen
		Mary Roathford				

THE DUTCH SALUTE THE AMERICAN FLAG IN 1778.—The *London Chronicle*, July 21–23, 1778, states: “The Dutch garrison in the West Indies now, without any ceremony, return the salute to the flag of the United States of America.”

LETTERS FROM THE AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION OF ISAAC CRAIG, ESQ., OF ALLEGHENY, PENNA.—

PHILADELPHIA Oct. 15th 1801

DEAR SIR

From old acquaintance & the communications of my Friend Col. Hodgdon I presume I risk not too much trespassing upon your goodness by soliciting you to receive for me Baggage agreeably to the enclosed Receipts & Invoices in case I should not arrive at Pittsburgh immediately—though I expect to be before it a whole week—my principal object in writing is to procure two *strong* mississippi Boats—one for my horses, five or six the other for my Family which of course must be of good accommodations and tight roof or cover—Length I think from forty to forty four Feet and to steer upon the Deck—one Partition forward to keep off the rowers and the residue space to be divided into two rooms with a double stack of Fire places in the Centre, all finished so as to be very comfortable and the least possible Expense—the horse boat may need a single Fire place no Divisions & may steer below.

with great Esteem

Your Friend

W SARGENT

I wish you would procure me some Cranberries.

MAJOR ISAAC CRAIG

WASHINGTON [PA.] Sept 17th 1801

DEAR SIR

The Falls of slippery-rock belongs to me, which perhaps is the best site for water works in Penn<sup>a</sup> and for which two years ago I was offered \$16 pr acre. This tract embraces both sides of the road from Pittsburgh to the Lake, and abounds in iron ore. To accommodate a brother of mine, who lives at Steubenville, I am disposed to exchange this tract for land which I am told you possess on the Ohio near that place—If you are also inclined to exchange, I will make you proposals on the subject—I am with real respect

D<sup>r</sup> Sir Your

Ob<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

JNO. HOGG

MAJ. ISAAC CRAIG

NORWICH, August 27<sup>th</sup> 1790.

SIR

Your letter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March came to hand on the 26<sup>th</sup> of May by Lieutenant Kingsbury.

I am happy to find that the officers from this State which are under your Command have conducted with military propriety, & greatly to your Satisfaction.

Your particular regard for Major Wyllys & esteem of his merit gives me pleasure; I have taken the liberty to communicate an extract of your so far as relates to Major Wyllys, to his Father, Mr. Secretary Wyllys, a very venerable character in this State; the old gentleman is highly gratified with the favourable Sentiments & Friendship you have manifested towards his son.

But I am sorry to find by Information from Gen<sup>l</sup> Knox that there will



be no vacancy at present, by which Major Wyllys might be promoted according to his merit.

With due consideration & Esteem  
I have the honour to be  
Your most Obedient  
humble Serv<sup>t</sup>  
S. HUNTINGTON

GENL. HARMER.

FORT WASHINGTON May 30<sup>th</sup> 1798

DEAR SIR

Thomas Graham, Silvester Aldrich & — Whiteford the three men you employed to descend the River on Board Mr. James Smiths Boat to this place were detained here by me to this Date. I have this morning furnished them with provisions up to the 12th June Inclusive & given them Directions to Return to pittsburgh as quick as possible

I am Sir your  
Very Humb. Serv<sup>t</sup>  
WM. H. HARRISON  
Asst. Qur<sup>t</sup> Master

MAJOR ISAAC CRAIG  
A. Q. M. Gen.

PHILADELPHIA, Ja<sup>y</sup> 17th, 1793.

SIR

You have probably been informed how our journey succeeded with all the jndians-kings j had the honor to accompany, they arrived here safe enough, but the Air of Philadelphia has been very fatal to them, two of them catched the small Pox and the danger of communicating this sickness to the others engaged the faculty of Medicine to have all the Princes inoculated, six of them died, and another who resisted a little longer, experienced yesterday the sad fate of his red-Brothers.

j do not know yet wheter j am to stay here or to go back with the Jndians having settled my Accounts but yesterday though I indeavoured to do it since my arrival in the City. the two jnterpreters swoped their horses'at 20 miles from here for two bad ones and probably got some boot, j told it to Mr. francis preposed for the Jndians Business, to Mr. hodgodon, and Mr. Stag, j asked them if it was necessary to mention it to the Secretary of War, but they did not seem very inclined to my doing it, they know the caracter of the Jnterpreters, and look upon them as People more dangerous than the Jndians themselves. it seems that the Jndians wo'n't stay along while here, and j will go back with them, what j attribute to yr recommandation in my favour. permit me, Sir, to give you my sincere thanks for your kindness to me which j will never forget, j hope my conduct will never give you any room to repent at the Jnterest which you and all the family of Colenel Neville gave me so many proofs of. please, Sir, to give my respects to Mistress Craig, Mistress Neville and all the family. J hope j shall the satisfaction of seeing Col. Neville before this letter Reaches you, and renew to him verbally all my gratitude. Mr. Wallace j saw a few days ago told me he would be here very soon.

j am With Respect  
Sir

your Most humble Servant  
SALANDER.

Please to present my civilities to Col. Ohara.  
MAJOR ISAAC CRAIG,  
Fort Pitt.

PHILADELPHIA Nov. 17 1800.

DEAR SIR

Permit me to recommend to your Civilities the Bearer Mr. Chauncey a young Gentleman of the Bar with whose Acquaintance you will be gratified. He will make some stay at Pittsburgh & your Attentions to him will much oblige

Yours very Sincerely  
RICHARD PETERS

MAJOR ISAAC CRAIG.

NEAR FALLS OF OHIO, July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1792.

DEAR SIR:

On my arrival here I found a Box of Chocolate in the Boat that did not belong to me. You put some articles on Board for General Wilkinson all of which I delivered, Examining my receipt for them, & Seeing that they Corresponded with it. The Contractors people put Several Barrells, and a Box or Bale of Goods on Board, which I delivered—The Yankey Doctor, & the man who Brought the Boat from Elizabeth Town, I thought were very Careful to take out their Goods at Muskingum,—I took in a Store keeper at Buffaloe Creek, who had a Number of Barrells, Keggs, Boxes, Bales &c, which I thought he would have been attentive to take out at Fort Washington, where he landed and took out his Goods—The Box Remaining in the boat when I left Fort Washington I concluded it belonged to a Mr. Hopkins whom we took in at Wheeling, who had some Few articles which he brought with him to this place But the Chocolate yet remains with me,—perhaps there might have been a mistake in my not Receipting to you for the Box, if so, or that you Can hear of the owner pray let me know, & what I am to do with It. I had a safe & Excellent passage down the River, Stayed at Fort Washington and Other places near two days, & got here the Seventh day after I left you.—The Indians Continue to Kill & Distress the people of this State, A few Days ago they killed & Wounded five people on little Barren River (a branch of Green River,) & Wounded Jacob Coleman who lives near this place at Mr. Hites—Coleman was formerly Lieutenant to Col. Gibson's Regiment, They also killed some people at the Salt Works, I could give you a long Catalogue of the mischief they have Done this spring & summer, however Sufficient to Convince you that they are Determined for War, & that (I think) it Unnecessary to Send Runners Among them to offer them a treaty—please offer my best Compliments to Mrs. Craig & General & Colonel Neville's Families, let me hear from you & believe me your most Humble Servant  
W. CROGHAN.

MAJOR ISAAC CRAIG

DEAR MAJOR

You will be astonished when I tell you I have had all the arrangements to make for my detachment since my arrival, which has detained me at this place, I have them nearly completed and expect to move shortly; you never saw such confusion of stores and want of system as appears in this quarter I have often wished to have had my arrangements to make with you—as I have been obliged to be *Q. M.* and Serg<sup>t</sup> and in fact every thing. I have not been yet with the Reg<sup>t</sup> as my presence was absolutely necessary until all my supplies were forwarded.

I am much afraid that the Spaniards mean to be troublesome, report is just received that an express has passed through Kentucky with dispatches to government, that Mr. Ellicott is prevented from proceeding;

the report being not properly ascertained, it will be proper not to let it pass as authenticated. Will you Please give my kind respects to Gen. & Col. Neville—make my compliments acceptable to Mrs. Craig and believe me your very

Humb. Serv<sup>t</sup>  
THOS. BUTLER Lt. Col.  
Ft. Washington May 22, 1797

MAJ<sup>R</sup> ISAAC CRAIG  
D.Q.M.G.

DEAR CRAIG

I arrived her on Friday, and find that Goods have taken such a rise, that I am deterred from purchasing until I return from Richmond, for which I shall set off in a few minutes and expect to return in about Twenty days.

Johne<sup>y</sup> Ormsby is not yet arrived so have not had the pleasure of hearing from the dear friends we left at Shirtee. My letters are to be sent after me to Richmond and you may depend on my writing to you as soon as I receive any accts Anne or Presley. Please make Enquiry whether I could sell any of my Military land warrents and for what price, and whether Goods can be had on paying down half Cash and the remainder in Six months. I hope you have had a happy meeting with your friends. Mr. Tannehill remains here until I return from Richmond. I accidentally met my Brother Geo. here, he desires me to present his Compliments to you. Please present mine to Bayard and Lloyd, and Believe me to be Dear Craig with sincere Esteem, your Affect friend

JOHN GIBSON

Baltimore Oct<sup>r</sup> 20th 1783.

LETTERS OF DAVID RITTENHOUSE TO WILLIAM HENRY, OF LANCASTER, PA., 1786.—

PHILADELPHIA Feb. 24<sup>th</sup> 1786

DR SIR

I have carefully counted the Money you last sent by the Stage and found it agreeable to the List except the Number of 15/ Bills which is mark'd 542 when there are no more than 538. There are likewise two french Crowns instead of Dollars. These two mistakes I have corrected & enclose a Receipt. I will endeavour to find an occasion for drawing on you for the sum you mention or perhaps something more. The 2<sup>d</sup> Volume of the Transactions of our Philosophical Society is now in the press & in good forwardness. It will be a neat and valuable Book; have you not something to communicate which you wou'd wish to have inserted? If you have no time should be lost. I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir your

friend & Humble Servant

DAV<sup>P</sup> RITTENHOUSE

WILLIAM HENRY ESQ.

PHILADELPHIA May 9<sup>th</sup> 1786

DR SIR

I have drawn on you in favour of Capt. Stephen Porter for £400. hard money, this I thought necessary to inform you of as he will not be in Lancaster before Saturday, and I wish him to be paid in preference to any other, it being highly necessary for the public Service. I shall be exceedingly obliged to you for sending some Gold or Silver to Philadelphia by the first good Opportunity. Paper money likewise is much



wanted and I must beg of you to urge the Collector of Taxes that he may not run aground in paying Interest on the Debts assumed by the State.

The [torn] issued by the Continental Treasury called Facilities will no doubt be offered to you in payment of Taxes. we must not touch them, immense sums will be issued many people taking all their arrears of Interest in those papers. No pains will be spared to push them off to the collectors but we cannot take them.

Your frd. & Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

DAV<sup>d</sup> RITTENHOUSE

WM HENRY ESQ

SETTLERS IN MERION, ETC.—REMOVAL OF REMAINS OF CHARLES THOMSON.—There are some inaccuracies in the account of the removal of the remains of Charles Thomson, contained in an article entitled "Settlers in Merion, etc.," in the last January number of the PENNA. MAG., that should not be allowed to pass without correction. The removal was made by the order of John Thomson, who assumed all responsibility for it in a published paper. It was not suggested by the managers of Laurel Hill, but had been discussed for several years before it took place. It was not done at night. The persons engaged in it did not, when discovered, flee in silence, but had a debate with the farmers on the place, and three bodies, not two only, were removed. John Thomson had written directly to the undertaker, Mr. Moore; and the other person present at the disinterment, besides the undertaker's assistant, was a well-known resident of Lower Merion, who had no interest in Laurel Hill. The body removed, and not referred to in the article in question, was that of Charles Thomson, Jr., a son of John Thomson, who was very desirous to have these remains removed, with those of his uncle, from a ground in which the graves had been treated with neglect and disrespect to such an extent that they were in danger of obliteration. Evidence of these and of other facts will be put in an accessible shape and deposited with the Historical Society. Meanwhile, it may be mentioned that the feeling of the neighbors who desired the removal was in favor of a reinterment in the ground attached to the Baptist meeting-house near by, and not at Laurel Hill. The pastor of this church had requested permission to make the removal two years before, but had been refused. For the present, an extract from a letter written by Mr. George F. Curwen, of Walnut Hill, to a gentleman connected with Laurel Hill, and who was acting for and at the request of John Thomson, is offered. Mr. Curwen writes: "I will now briefly state the result of the information I have obtained of the feeling in this vicinity respecting the removal . . . to Laurel Hill. Mr. Hunter" (who afterwards changed his mind on learning all the circumstances) "is decidedly opposed to their disinterment on any account; on the general principle that *here* many of the last and most tranquil years of the life of Thomson were passed. . . . My brother is of the same opinion; but if necessity, arising from those feelings of decency and veneration which must ever attach to the memory of such a man, should require it, he still thinks that there can be no place so proper for the final depository of his relics as some spot in the possession of the Baptist Church. . . ."

"Mr. John Thomson is, however, the sole arbiter in the case. Perhaps it is unfortunate that he should differ so decidedly from his friends and former neighbors here, but, I repeat, it is his province alone to determine. Should he fix upon a removal to Laurel Hill, I will cheerfully contribute to the object in view."

Mr. John Thomson writes to the same gentleman: "The question now

is, would it be more proper, under these circumstances, to remove the remains . . . or to leave them . . . where, at no distant day, they will be trodden under foot by the cattle. . . . Of the latter I cannot bring myself to think with patience. I should be for removal at every hazard. . . . The tomb I would have respectable, . . . the inscription not lengthy, but concise. I also hope you will confer with (the pastor) on the subject; he has been kind in offering his aid, although he has not proceeded to execute. I am the rather pleased that he has not, as Laurel Hill is now in prospect the most proper place that could have been selected, in my view of the matter."

Mr. Thomson, in another letter, encloses his check for \$100 towards the erection of the monument, and says he would have given more were it not that it might discourage others who desired to contribute. But if more should be needed, he authorizes his correspondent to draw upon him. He writes again: "After having made further arrangements, viewed the grounds, and conversed with friends on the subject, you will write me again; indeed I wish you to communicate as frequently as your leisure will admit."

Mr. Thomson was living at Newark, Del., and confined to the house by a painful disease of the heart. This was the only reason that he did not attend to the matter in person. He regretted that he was never able even to see the monument when finished.

Letters showing why the name of his much-loved son was not brought into the public discussion, and explaining the cause of the family quarrel that had led to the owner's refusal to permit Mr. Thomson even to care for the neglected graves of his uncle and son, are extant. One extract in conclusion: "The inscriptions are appropriate . . . although I would have been gratified if one other line had been added. . . . After saying, 'erected by John Thomson,' I would have said, 'and a few friends.' . . . I am indeed greatly indebted to those few friends; many, very many thanks to Mr. Norris, Mr. Watson, Dr. Mease, and though last, not least, to yourself. My mind is in some degree relieved from a weight of debt and gratitude, and from which I could devise no mode of relief. Your kindness . . . claims my everlasting gratitude."

To explain the attraction that Laurel Hill had for Mr. John Thomson, it seems necessary to add that this cemetery was not, as stated in the article under review, opened in 1838,—the year of the removal,—but had been acquired by the company nearly two and a half years before, and, at the date in question, had become conspicuous for its beauty and its costly improvements.

T. S.

A BIT OF NATURAL HISTORY.—In 1793, the missionary John Heckewelder visited Niagara Falls. From his journal we take the following:

"The people living above the Falls, for several years together lost all their Geese and Ducks; these by swimming out being carried off by the suction, but now they have got into a method of saving them, viz. by plucking the feathers out of the Breast about the size of a Dollar, which naked spot when they go into the water chills them so that they return to land again."

NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS, 1778.—The following items have been collected from the *London Chronicle* for the year 1778, and relate to several naval engagements that are of interest:

"The Rattlesnake, American privateer, passing the south side of the island lately took the Bristol's tender of ten guns and 45 men, and three other vessels, and sent them to Hispaniola, after landing the crews, and



proceeded through the Gulf. Two men of war were detached by the Admiral [Sir. P. Parker] in pursnit of her but to no purpose, as she is supposed to sail faster than any vessel in the British navy here. We have five or six prizes sent in every week, among them several privateers, particularly the Gen. Gates of 16 guns and 84 men, taken by the Friendship letter of marque, of Liverpool, after a bloody engagement, in which the privateer had most of her men killed and wounded; among the former was the Captain."—*Letter from Jamaica*, April 18th.

"The Hodges an American privateer of 16 guns and 120 men, came in here [Groyne] two days ago in a most shattered condition. Off Cape Finisterre she fell in with an English frigate or privateer, whom she engaged upwards of four hours, during which action she had every bit of her running rigging shot away, both her masts wounded (she is a brig of 140 tons) two shots in her bowsprit, 11 men killed, and upwards of 20 wounded; her sides are full of shot; I am told they counted 56 in her sides and other parts of her hull and just when they were thinking of striking, a vessel bore down on them, which proved to be a French frigate. She immediately attacked the English vessel, and took her before the Hodges was out of sight as the wind being fair, she stood away for this place as soon as the French frigate began to engage the Englishman: we are at a loss to guess whether she was a King's ship or not, but some of her shot taken out of the American's sides are nine pounders, so that we conclude she was either a frigate or an armed ship."—*Extract from a letter*, Aug. 19.

"We are informed that upon the arrival at Philadelphia of Capt. Hawker, late of his Majesty's ship Mermaid, which was chased on shore off Sinepuxent, in Maryland, by five sail of the French fleet, the Continental Congress gave orders that both himself and Capt. James Duncan, of the Rose letter of marque, which ship fought against a French frigate of much superior force until she sunk, should be subsisted entirely upon rations of salt provisions and kept close confined in dirty durance, while the only rebel navy prisoner taken by the British, of the Captain's rank, was on parole, enjoying every blessing of liberty at his house in the city of Philadelphia. To these particulars we must add that the seamen belonging to the Mermaid had been attacked in their prison by a body of armed rebels, on a pretence of an intended insurrection, which had not the smallest foundation in truth. Twenty four of the sailors were cruelly hacked, and many of them dangerously wounded: amongst them an old Quartermaster, upwards of 60 was stabbed in three places by a bayonet and his skull fractured."—*Extract from letter dated Sept. 5, 1778*, at New York.

"They write from Philadelphia, that the Americans have saved all the stores out of the Mermaid British frigate, which was drove ashore at the mouth of the Delaware, and that they yet hoped to save the vessel, which if done, she will be brought up to that city and fitted out there, changing her name to Providence."

From a letter dated Sept. 30, on board the letter of marque Laurence, at Madeira, and bound for the West Indies:

"Three days before we arrived here, in a hard gale of wind, we sprung our main-mast two feet below the cross-trees, which we had but just finished and repaired, when we saw a sail bearing down upon us. We soon discovered she was a privateer and therefore lay to, in order to engage her. She hoisted the thirteen stripes, hailed us and ordered us to strike to the United States of America, which we immediately answered with a broadside, and for three quarters of an hour we were within pistol shot of each other, when part of her quarter deck blew up, and put their



whole vessel in confusion. We hauled off thinking the privateer might blow up entirely and then considered whether we should continue the action or make the best of our way on our voyage. We agreed on the latter, as she had to appearance about two men to one of what we had, and also four more guns. By some seamen on this island, who were taken by the above privateer and set on shore here by a Portuguese vessel, we hear that she had 18 guns, and upwards of 100 men. We had not one killed, and only two wounded, both of whom are in a very fair way of recovery.”

W. J. P.

A LEAF FROM THE HISTORY OF SWEDESBOROUGH, N. J.—The following letter from Rev. Doctor Nicholas Collin, the last of the missionaries sent from Sweden to the Swedish congregations on the Delaware, and for some years rector of the church at Raceoon, or Swedesborough, N. J., addressed to “Doctor James Stratton near Swedesborough in W N Jersey,” is of interest as showing the strong character of that venerable and excellent man and as throwing light upon the distrust which the legal-tender acts passed by Congress had caused, and which as late as the commencement of the present century had not been dispelled. The efforts of the Rev. Dr. Collin to prevent the sale of the “plantation” which William Mattson had devised to the church at Swedesborough were not without effect. The church is still the owner of the property.

“PHILAD. Apr. 30. 1804.

“DEAR SIR :

“With the greatest astonishment I have been informed that the Vestry have offered to sell the Plantation that Wm. Mattson left to the Church ; and that yourself and Ch. Lock, as Executors have given your consent. I beseech you for the sake of God and your conscience to reflect on these rash proceedings: When I see you I will tell what would take many sheets to detail. I proposed to have come to your Vestry, but a multiplicity of ecclesiastical affairs hindered me. I was a faithful slave to your Congregation for many years—All must own that I did not seek my own interest: I need not say to you, Sir, that all personal interest is out of the question. Thank God I have an ample provision in my native Country, and enough in this Country, while I stay or live, but I cannot bear to see a sacred Legacy exposed to all the hazards that may very justly be feared in this *new and unsettled government*.

“My Dear Sir: You have not forgot the *Congress Money* and other *Tender-Laws* as their application was. These *Tender but most cruel laws* have deprived *Churches, Widows, orphans* of their all: What security have we that such may not return? Besides, you have no need of selling this Legacy. Was there any feeling among the so called Swedes, they would have more regard for the memory of a benefactor.

“Finally,—as I esteem you as a man that hates Anarchy and Jacobinic principles, let me advise to beware, for your own sake and your family. You know how uncertain law is in this Country. If by any mis-fortune that property is lost, you and Mr. Lock may be great sufferers. Show my letter to him and to whom you please. With due respect, I am Dear Sir,

“Your most h'ble s'r't.

“N. COLLIN.

“P.S. I have wrote to C. Lock and several, much in the same stile.

“P.S. In my travels through Maryland I found that several Glebes had been totally lost.”

JAMES STRATTON, son of Benjamin Stratton 3d and Sarah Austin, was born in Cumberland County, New Jersey, 20th August, 1755. His preceptor was Dr. Isaac Watts Harris, of Pittsgrove. He graduated M.D. at the University of Pennsylvania and became a successful and distinguished physician, and President of the Medical Society of New Jersey. His residence, known as "Stratton Hall," a large brick mansion, and farm, situated on the north side of Raccoon Creek, near Swedesborough, remained in the possession and occupancy of the family until after the death of his son, ex-Governor Charles C. Stratton, in 1859. Dr. James Stratton died here 29th March, 1812. He married, 1st, July 15, 1779, Anna Harris, daughter of Benjamin Harris, of Bound Brook, Somerset County, N. J., by whom he had,—

1. *Benjamin Harris*, b. April 18, 1780; d. August 29, 1795.

2. *Sarah*, b. September 30, 1781; d. February 12, 1852. Married, September 5, 1799, Edward Carpenter, son of Thomas Carpenter, of Carpenter's Landing, descendant of Samuel Carpenter, first Treasurer of Pennsylvania, member of the Provincial Council, etc., and left issue.

3. *Anna Harris*, b. December 12, 1782; d. May 15, 1810. Married, May 5, 1803, Dr. John L. Stratton, of Mount Holly, N. J., and left issue.

Dr. Stratton married, 2d, January 1, 1787, Mary Creighton, b. December 9, 1762; d. April 30, 1847, daughter of Hugh Creighton and Mary French, *née* McCullough, of Haddonfield, N. J., by whom he had,—

1. *Maria*, born, November 17, 1789; d. April 12, 1857. Married, 1st, May 9, 1812, Erkurius Fithian, M.D., son of Joel Fithian and Elizabeth Beatty, of Roadstown, N. J. She married, 2d, December 31, 1814, Daniel Powell Stratton, son of Levi Stratton and Abigail Harris. She left issue by second marriage.

2. *James Creighton*, b. November 16, 1792; d. July 26, 1793.

3. *Samuel Creighton*, b. May 10, 1794; d. October 25, 1860. Graduated from Rutgers College; ordained priest, Episcopal Church. Married, 1st, November 17, 1824, Margaret Sheppard Ker, daughter of George Ker and Sarah Parker, of Albemarle County, Virginia, and, 2d, Elizabeth Hood, daughter of John and Sarah Hood, of Philadelphia. He left issue by first marriage.

4. *Charles Creighton*, b. March 6, 1796; d. March 30, 1859. Graduated from Rutgers College; was twice a Representative to Congress and Governor of New Jersey. Married, February 1, 1854, Sarah Taggart, daughter of Joseph Taggart, of Philadelphia. No issue.

5. *Harriet*, b. January 4, 1798; d. May 20, 1850. Married, November 12, 1817, Dr. Joseph Fithian, son of Amos Fithian and Rachel Leake, of Cumberland County, New Jersey. No issue.

6. *Isabella*, b. July 10, 1799; d. July 1, 1847. Married, February 20, 1817, Benjamin Matlack Howey, son of Isaac Howey and Abigail Matlack, and left issue.

7. *Frances*, b. March 24, 1802; d. unmarried, February 2, 1890.

8. *Abigail*, b. January 9, 1804; d. April 27, 1805.

WILLIAM MATTSON, a large benefactor of the Swedish Church at Swedesborough (now Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church), left no descendants. His property was devised to his wife—who survived him—for life, with remainder at her death to the church. Dr. James Stratton and Charles Lock were the executors of his will. J. E. C.

THE *True American and Commercial Advertiser* of December 14, 1807, printed by Thomas Bradford, No. 8 S. Front Street, contains the following taken from a "London paper:"



“Two Stone shot fired from the Batteries of the Dardanelles during the passage of the British fleet and which fell into one of the ships were lately sent home by her commander, but were not permitted to be landed in England until the duty at the Custom House had been first paid, which was charged at ten shillings.”

A COLLECTION OF NAMES OF OFFICERS OF THE REVOLUTION.—In the account of Colonel William Henry, of Lancaster, Pa., of “Returns of Shoes, Boots, Hats, Hose, and Shirts” delivered to the army between September of 1777 and September of 1779, the following names appear: Lt. Isham Keith, 3 Va.; Lt. James Kemper, N. C.; Major Francis Nichols; Capt. Weaver; Gen. Pulaski; Col. Brodhead; Col. Hartley; Serg<sup>t</sup> Nach, N. C. Dragoons; Serg<sup>t</sup> Samuel Thompson, ditto; Gen. Edward Hand; Lt. Jno. Banks, 10 Pa.; Lt. George Guyger, 2 Pa.; Serg<sup>t</sup> Robert Dugan; Ensign Jno. Hambright, 10 Pa.; Capt. William Bratton, Col. Bland’s Light Dragoons; Major Howard, 4 Md.; Capt. Winder, 1 Md.; Capt. James Camper, N. C.; Col. Graydins, Va.; George Ross, QM.; 7 Va Regt.; Col. Proctors Regt. Artillery; 4 Regt. Light Dragoons; Col. Hubley; Roger Goff, 7 Pa.; Capt. Christian Meyer; James Davis, 7 Va.; John Smith, 8 Va.; John Halpin, 11 Va.; John Henry, Johnston, 7 Va.; Thomas Turner and John Wallis, Charles Brown and Peter Brihelder, 4 Va.; John Barret, 6 Md.; Nathan Levy, 6 Pa.; William Moody, 4 Va.; Robert McKillin, 2 Pa.; Col. White’s Light Dragoons; John Cochran, 6 Va.; Lt. Ramsay, 4 Pa.; John Brown, 7 Pa.; William Blair, 2 Va.; Thomas Johnston, 4 Va.; Lyon Bakly, 6 Va.; John Harnald and James Paul, 8 Va.; Lt. Feltman, 10. Pa.; Capt. Benj Bigs, 13 Va.; Capt. Bush of Hartley’s Regt.; Col. Beauford; Col. Geo. Gibson; Capt. Daniel Topham; Lt. William Stevenson, 9 Pa.; Robert Porter, German Regt.; Capt. Herr; Lt. Heil, 8 Va. The total amount of the requisitions were 15,727 prs Shoes; 700 prs Boots; 2283 Hats; 265 pr. Hose; 206 pr Brecches; 546 Shirts and 126 yds Linen.

PENN-LOGAN SILVERWARE.—The following doubtless refers to the silver tea-service that, if I have not been misinformed, has been left by its present owner on deposit with the Historical Society.

William Dillwyn, writing, in 1794-95, to his daughter, Mrs. Susanna Emlen, encloses a list of plate, in which occur the following items, viz.:

“One Sett of Tea Table Plate marked J S L in a Cypher, viz:

2 Cannisters, w <sup>t</sup> . . . . .	16 ounces
1 Sugar Dish . . . . .	12
1 Tea pot, Stand & Lamp . . . . .	36½
1 Salver . . . . .	11
1 Spoon Boat . . . . .	3
1 Cream pot . . . . .	9

—87½

which with a Gold Girdle Buckle marked H L (thy Grand Mother’s) . . . . . I think were left in 1777 packed up in a Trunk. I believe the Tea Table Plate was a present from William Penn to thy great grand Father and Mother, James and Sarah Logan on their marriage.”

T. S.

TOM PAINE AT LANCASTER IN 1778.—“Thomas Paine I recollect well. He was at my father’s house in Lancaster, Penna., in 1778, where he occupied a room in the second story. I often saw him sitting in a chair before a table on which he had writing materials,—he was then writing the ‘Crisis,’ a political work which appeared in the public newspapers.



Upon his table were also a bottle of Gin, a pitcher and tumblers. His habits were disgusting to every one of the family, but my father said that his writings had a great effect on the Revolutionary war by urging on the inhabitants in opposition to the British. He was very slovenly and dirty in his dress, and I have frequently seen him dozing in his chair and supposed he drank too much liquor. Some days he did not write more than a line or two. As soon as my father found out his opinions on religion, he did not encourage him to remain in his house, and he soon left."

**BARTOW GENEALOGY.**—Thomas Bartow, merchant of Philadelphia, [son of Thomas Bartow, b. 22 Oct. 1709 at West Chester, New York, d. Bethlehem 5 Dec. 1782] was born at Perth Amboy N. J. 1737. Married 23 June 1768, Sarah daughter of Daniel and Elizabeth (North) Benezet. Their children were:

Elizabeth, b. 24 March 1769, md. Christian Reich.

Mary, b. 16 June 1770, md. George Peter.

Thomas, b. 4 July 1771.

Sarah, b. 1 July, 1773, md. William Geddes Latimer.

Susannah, b. 10 July 1775, md. John David.

Daniel, b. 16 July 1777.

Anna, b. 14 May 1779, md. Joseph Drinker.

Helene, b. 1783, md. John Sergent.

John Benezet, b. 16 Aug. 1787.

Benjamin, b. 23 April 1789, d. 9 Nov. 1790.

B.

**COST OF ARMS AND ACCOUTREMENTS, 1777-79.**—14 Powderhorns, £5.5; 1 Cartouch Box, £1.; 1 drum sling, 7s. 6d.; 900 Flints, £4.10; 1 Drum, £5.; 100 Bayonet belts, £7.19.; 1 Bayonet, 5s.; 3 Rifles, £45; 100 Staffs for Lances for Gen. Pulaski's Regiment, £56.2.6.; 24 Fifes, £18.; 17 Ramrods for Carbines; £6.7.6.; 1 pair Pistols, £22.10.; 100 Rifle gunlocks, £750.; 1626 Belt Buckles, £304.17.6.; 49 gunlocks, £257.5.

**FROM A LIST OF RENTS, 1760.**—Cap<sup>n</sup> G. Smith 1 y<sup>rs</sup> G<sup>d</sup> Rent 1760—£2.0.0 £3.2.0 Geo Smith marryd Geo. Clares widow lives right opposite Christopher Sowers in German Town.

From "Assessor's Taxat<sup>n</sup> Anno 1760" Sam<sup>l</sup> Preston Moore's Estate;

Sam<sup>l</sup> Smith for G. Smith £2 " " —

Benj<sup>a</sup> Franklin 10 " " —

T. S.

**LOST! A MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE.**—The Marriage Certificate of Caleb Cresson (son of James Cresson and Sarah Emlen) and Annabella Elliott (daughter of John Elliott and Annabella Bonnyman) who were married at Philadelphia, in the Market Street Meeting House on 5th. day the 16th. of the 4 mo 1772, has been lost. Any information that will lead to its recovery should be addressed to

CHARLES CALEB CRESSON,  
Germantown, Philada.

**CERTIFICATE OF ELIZABETH LLOYD.**—I have come across the "certificate" of Elizabeth Lloyd "daugh<sup>t</sup> of Thomas Lloyd dec<sup>d</sup>" from the Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia 27. 11<sup>mo</sup> 1698, going as companion with Elizabeth Webb "who came in y<sup>e</sup> love off God to vissitt these Remote parts and havcing Parted with her dear companion Mary Rogers

who came here in y<sup>e</sup> same service with her but is now drawn to vissitt Barbados with y<sup>e</sup> Islands thereaway."

This is signed by (*inter al.*) Hannah Carpenter, Mary Morris, Elizabeth ffox, Mary Dickinson, Rebekah Shippen, Grace Lloyd, Sarah Smith, James ffox, Jonat<sup>a</sup> Dickinson, Sam: Carpenter. T. S.

JOHN BULLUS, CUTLER.—We whose names are underwritten do hereby certify whom it may concern, that it appears from the Parish Register of Sheffield, that Sam<sup>l</sup> son of John Bullus cutl<sup>r</sup> was Baptiz'd the 13<sup>th</sup> Day of January in the year 1743. G. BAYLIFF

Assist<sup>t</sup> Minister of Sheffield

W<sup>m</sup> Hall, Richd Yeomans, Church Wardens

T. S.

SOME RESIDENTS OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1747.—The following names of residents of Philadelphia in the year 1747 have been selected from the day-book of a shop-keeper whose place of business was on Front Street, near Arch: Thomas Beatson, carter; John Burden, woolcomber; Peter David, silversmith; John Herrinbom, tailor; John Moore, blacksmith; William Nickson, cedar-cooper; John Worrell, Jr., carter; John Sprogel, saddler; Gustavus Hesselius, organ-builder; William Potts, parchment-maker; Peter Etter, stocking-weaver; Jacob Francke, shoemaker; John Adam Guss, hatter; Nicholas Kraft, book-binder; Daniel Miller, potter; Jacob Weiss, barber and periwig-maker; Daniel Zweibler, physician; Frederick Klemm, baker; John F. Schaub, cooper; Frederick Hoeth, baker; John Peter Mueller, shoemaker; Edward Evans, shoemaker.

LETTER OF RICHARD HILL, JR., 1698.—"Letter from Richard Hill Jr. London 11<sup>th</sup>: 6 mo: 1698, addressed Isaac to Jn<sup>o</sup> ffollowfield in Cockermouth Cumberland for James Dickinson.

"Deare fr<sup>d</sup> J. D. I am truly grieved to see a pson favord w<sup>h</sup> those ptiuous quallifications, w<sup>h</sup> are liberally bestow'd upon the Child<sup>n</sup>: of men should exclude Charity to entertaine piudice against a Stranger, w<sup>h</sup> Thou rashly pceeds to Judgm<sup>t</sup> against mee according to y<sup>e</sup> current of a scurrellous report w<sup>h</sup> Thou unhaply glean'd up to brand mee w<sup>th</sup>all in the highest nature: w<sup>ch</sup> I know thou art contious of & shall therefore apeale to y<sup>e</sup> wittness of truth in thy boosom for Justice, requireing no other Compensation then an instrum<sup>t</sup> from thy hand to reverse that former rash iudgem<sup>t</sup> by w<sup>ch</sup> I stand Condemned, but if Thou refuse; know then I must pceed according to truth's discipline (w<sup>ch</sup> thou nere usd w<sup>h</sup> me) to vindicate my innoseny but do sinseerly desire to be Excused from that Trouble & remaine Thy fr<sup>d</sup> R: H. Jun<sup>r</sup> London the 11<sup>th</sup>: 6 mo: 1698.

"I desire thee would please to favoure mee w<sup>th</sup> a line ꝑ the next post, my stay being but Short, Determineing for America w<sup>th</sup> all conveniet speed. Direct to Math<sup>v</sup> Plumsted att the Shyp & Anchor in gratious Street for mee. Vale."

The names and addresses in the above, which I find among some family papers, may have a certain value. T. S.

A WEDDING OUTFIT, 1768.—The writer has before him the partial account of the "outfit" of a young lady of this city, who was married in May of 1768, from which he selects the following items and their cost: 1 Bedstead with curtain, £15; 8 Chamber and 1 Arm Chair, £13.10; 1 Chest Drawers, £10; 1 Sconce Glass, £4; 1 Damask Table cloth and 12 Napkins, £4. 15; 1 Silver Cup, £4.4.4; 1 pair Silver Castors, £4.15.7; 1

Silver Cream Jug, £2.19.6; 1 Silver Tea Tongs and Strainer, 11s. 4d.; 1 Black Padusay Gown, £5; 1 Damask do., £5; 1 Taffity do., £3; 1 Silverett do., £2; 1 Persian do., £2; 1 Poplin do., £2; 1 Velvet Cloak, £2; 1 Broadcloth Cloak, £4; 1 Black Petticoat, £2; 1 Serge do., 1; 1 Persian do., £1; 1 Poplin do., £1.5; 1 Blue do., £1; 1 Dimity do., 7s. 6d.; 1 Camblet Cloak, 10s.; 4 Cambric and Linen Handkerchiefs, £1; 1 pair Stockings, 3s. 4d. W. F. L.

ACCOUNT OF SALES OF HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, ETC., AT VENDUE 6TH MO. 4TH, 1771.—The conditions of sale were: That the purchaser of any articles amounting to no more than Twenty Shillings, shall pay Ready Money, And for all larger Sums, Six months Credit will be given, the purchaser giving Security if required.

Articles Sold	Persons Names	Price
1 Wine cask . . . . .	James Pemberton	£0 3 0
1 power <sup>s</sup> Tub & old Barr <sup>l</sup> . . . . .	Aaron Pancoast	0 2 1
Wheel Firkin & Chair . . . . .	Peter Worrell	0 1 2
Rake & pitch Fork . . . . .	Jonath. Guest	0 1 8
Real & Winding Blades . . . . .	Eliz: Miller	0 1 7
Neck Yoke & Strap . . . . .	W <sup>m</sup> Lovett Smith	0 3 6
Hay Knife & Weeding Hoe . . . . .	Joseph Ferguson Jr.	0 2 1
Saw & Horse . . . . .	Sam <sup>l</sup> Preston Moore	0 7 6
Side Saddle & 2 Trusels . . . . .	Peter Worrell	0 0 8
Rabbit Box . . . . .	John Hoskins	0 2 0
Bed Cornish & <sup>c</sup> . . . . .	W <sup>m</sup> Dillwyn	0 1 0
Parcel Wooden Ware & 2 Mouse Traps	W <sup>m</sup> Logan	0 1 3
1 Riddle Horse Brush & <sup>c</sup> . . . . .	W <sup>m</sup> Logan	0 2 2
2 Brass Candlesticks . . . . .	John Elliot	0 2 9
Hair Entry Cloth . . . . .	Peter Worrell	0 6 6
2 Iron Spits . . . . .	W <sup>m</sup> Dillwyn	0 2 0
pair Tobacco Tongs . . . . .	Peter Worrell	0 4 3
High Walnut Corner Cupboard . . . . .	Isaac Collins	3 5 6
Large Copper Fish Kettle . . . . .	Doct <sup>r</sup> More	1 16 6
half Doz Walnut Chairs with Damisk } Bottoms @ £1.2. apiece	Sam <sup>l</sup> Smith Esq <sup>r</sup>	6 12 0
a Bald Faced Bay Horse . . . . .	Sam <sup>l</sup> How	5 5 0
Black Cow with White Belly . . . . .	Joseph Merriot	5 6 0
Bake Iron & Lazey Back . . . . .	Joseph Fenemore	0 11 6
Shagreen Case with Knives & Forks . . . . .	Sam <sup>l</sup> Eyre	1 1 6
Small Spinning Wheel . . . . .	John Hoskins	0 7 6
Eight-Day Clock . . . . .	Tho <sup>s</sup> Rogers J <sup>r</sup>	14 13 0
pair of Hand Bellows Brass Nozel . . . . .	James Verree	0 10 3
10 Hard Mettle Plates . . . . .	James Smith	0 12 1
Mahogeny Server . . . . .	Sam <sup>l</sup> Eyre	0 1 10
2 pair Snuffers & Callender & Toaster . . . . .	Edw <sup>d</sup> Cathrill	0 0 8
Old Tin Lanthorn . . . . .	Eliz: Miller	0 1 1
Clever Mup & Basket . . . . .	Jos: Kimble	0 3 0
1 pair of double flint Beer Glasses . . . . .	Joseph Smith	0 2 8
7 Sillabub Glasses . . . . .	Dan <sup>l</sup> Smith	0 4 6
1 Doz: Large & ½ Doz Small Patterpans	Isaac Hewlings	0 1 5
a Draw & Parcel Galley Pots . . . . .	Dan <sup>l</sup> Smith	0 1 3
a Large Lignum Whity Morter and } pestel	Joseph Smith	0 12 9
Warm <sup>s</sup> Pan w <sup>th</sup> Copper Bottom . . . . .	Mary Barker	0 16 6
Jack & Gears . . . . .	John Hunt	4 5 0
Old Fashion High Case Draws . . . . .	Seth Auston	2 2 0



Articles Sold	Persons Names	Price
Curled Maple Case of High Draws .	Isaac Hewlings	6 15 0
1 p <sup>r</sup> Old Blankets . . . . .	Jonath Adams	0 7 6
1 pair Homesp: Ditto . . . . .	Adam Shepherd	0 14 6
1 Dieper Table Cloth . . . . .	Joseph Haight	0 10 6
1 Ditto Homespun . . . . .	Rich <sup>d</sup> Wells	0 19 0
16 Bottle of Beer @ 6 <sup>d</sup> $\frac{3}{4}$ Bottle . . . . .	James Smith	0 8 0
3 Gall Kag of Grape Wine . . . . .	W <sup>m</sup> Dillwyn	0 7 0
5 Gall Ditto of White Current Wine . . . . .	Sam <sup>l</sup> Smith Esq <sup>r</sup>	0 15 0
10 Gall Kag of Prick't Wine . . . . .	James Craft	0 6 5
2 Brass Sconsances . . . . .	Ann Dillwyn	0 5 0
1 p <sup>r</sup> Saddle Bags . . . . .	Sam Newton	0 6 6
1 p <sup>r</sup> Fire Buckets . . . . .	Jam <sup>s</sup> Verree	0 2 8
1 Tin Jack or Mug . . . . .	Langston Carlisle	0 1 10
1 Hard Mettle Chamber pot. . . . .	Sam: Eyre	0 4 3
1 Ditto . . . . .	Dan <sup>l</sup> Ellis	0 3 1
1 Ditto . . . . .	Langston Carlisle	0 3 1
1 Bed pan . . . . .	James Logan	0 8 3
1 Lead Tobacco Box . . . . .	James Smith	0 1 7
2 N. England Leather Bottom Chairs } @ 7/1 Each	Sam: Newton	0 14 2
1 View of Penny <sup>a</sup> Hospital . . . . .	W <sup>m</sup> Dillwyn	0 5 3
1 pair Gold Scals & Weights . . . . .	Charles Pettit	0 6 3

The above is part of a much longer list, in a handwriting unfamiliar to me. The heading "Acc<sup>t</sup>" is in that of an ancestor of mine. Were the articles sold seized for non-payment of the "militia tax"? If not, what is the explanation? Were all the persons named Quakers? Others in the catalogue are Dan<sup>l</sup> Bacon, J<sup>r</sup>, Tho: Rodman, Aaron Wills, Pearson Rodman, Ceazer Murray, Uriah Foster, Elnathan Stevenson, Ann Hume, Simon Tribbit, Rich<sup>d</sup> Stockton, Patrick Kelley, Will<sup>m</sup> Allen, of Neshameny, Joseph Toy, Tho<sup>s</sup> English, Tho: Pryor, Tho: Powell, Sarah Blumfield, Sam<sup>l</sup> Haines, Ann Wheeler, and many more. T. S.

ELIZABETH DRINKER'S ROUTE TO VALLEY FORGE, 1778.—In the extracts from the journal of Elizabeth Drinker, published in the recent number of the PENNA. MAGAZINE (p. 304), the diarist gives an account of a journey undertaken by herself and others to meet near relatives and friends, then detained at Lancaster as State prisoners, but who were about to be discharged. She speaks of passing "the ferry," which was no doubt the crossing of the Schuylkill at Market Street. The route followed must have been the Old Gulf Road, which then formed one of the principal means of communication with the interior of the State. John Robert's mill, where the party spent the first night, was on this road, a little beyond the point where it reaches Mill Creek, after passing over a steep and difficult hill. From the Robert's mill the route of the Old Gulf Road is as follows: It again ascends abruptly what is now known as Sheetz's hill, and, after passing in front of Harriton Mansion, formerly the residence of Charles Thomson, near which the old eleven-mile-stone is still standing, a little farther on turns short to the right immediately at the Lower Merion Baptist church. Continuing north-westward, it passes the old Green-Tree tavern, at the corner of the Spring Mill Road, and, finally, after a somewhat steep descent, approaches the Gulf Hills in the neighborhood of Rebel Hill. It is probable that the "picket guard" mentioned by Elizabeth Drinker was stationed at this point, as skirmishes are known to have occurred here, and ancient trees

in the vicinity have marks upon them said to have been made by cannon-balls striking them at the time such skirmishes took place. Cannon-balls have been turned up by the plough not far from this point. The route continues through "The Gulf," where an old mill is still standing, which has a date upon it antecedent to the Revolution, and, passing the old "Bird in Hand" tavern (many years since changed into a dwelling-house), proceeds *via* the King of Prussia to Valley Forge.

James Vaux, whom Elizabeth Drinker mentions as having come over the river to meet them at Valley Forge, lived on the opposite side of the Schuylkill on a large plantation then known as "Vaux Hill," but which is now owned in the Wetherill family and called Fatland Farm. He was an Englishman and a member of the Society of Friends, but favored the cause of the colonies. The "large bridge over the Schuylkill just by his house," referred to in the diary, was "Sullivan's bridge," built at the time the American army was encamped at Valley Forge. It was at this point that the army crossed the Schuylkill after the encampment was broken up. The site of the eastern end of Sullivan's bridge is marked on the Fatland Farm with a red sandstone monument, standing out of the ground three feet and nine inches. It appears to have originally been seventeen inches broad, but is now broken and narrower at the top. Upon it is inscribed "1778—Sullivan's Bridge." The date is partially obliterated and the inscription rather rudely done. The stone bears the marks of having been there a long time, and shows the effects of abuse and wear.

A relative of the writer records in her diary, under date of 9 Mo. 10, 1786, the circumstances of a visit she made to James Vaux, in which she states that in strolling over his plantation she "saw some remains of a bridge built over this river in the war which they vainly thought could bear many a blast, however one severe frost carried it quite away."

After the army crossed the river it encamped on James Vaux's plantation, which it devastated, destroying the crops, pulling down the fences, and cutting down the trees.

Washington spent a night in the mansion-house with the owner, and left only twelve hours in advance of the arrival of the British commander Howe, who lodged there the following night. When Howe was informed that Washington had preceded him, he expressed great disappointment that he had not been aware of it in time to make an effort to capture him.

G.V.

SMITH BIBLE RECORDS.—Joseph Smith and Phebe Chester was married in the year of our Lord 1771 it being the first day of the year & the 3 day of the week.

Isaac Smith was Born the 19th Day of January 1772.

Samuel Smith was Born the 6th Nov. 1773.

Martha Smith was Born the 16th Day of March 1776.

Joseph Smith was Born the 3d Jan. 177 [8?].

Nickson [?] Smith was Born the 21 Day of June 178 [1?].

William Smith was Born 4th day of Sept. 1783.

Phebe Smith was Born 2. Day Oct. 1785.

Chester Smith was Born the 28th of Jan. 1788.

Phebe Smith Died the 29th Day Jan. 1790.

THE "INDIANA" LAND COMPANY.—By the treaty made at Fort Stanwix, 3d November, 1763, by the chiefs and sachems of the Six United Nations of Indians, William Trent and others, in consideration of the losses which by the depredations of the Shawnese, Delawares, and Hu-



rons they had sustained in the year 1763, were granted a large tract of land in what is now West Virginia. Its bounds were: "Beginning at the Southerly side of the mouth of the Little Kanawha Creek where it empties itself into the River Ohio, and running thence southeast to the Laurel Hills, thence along the Laurel Hills until it strikes the River Monongahela, down the stream of said river according to the several courses thereof to the southern boundary line of the Province of Pennsylvania, thence westerly along the said course of said boundary line as far as the same shall extend, and from thence by the same course to the River Ohio, thence down said river according to the several courses thereof to the place of beginning."

In January of 1776 the proprietors of this tract of land, with the number of shares each was entitled to at £1 per share, were: William Trent, 7147; Robert Callender, 8651; David Franks, 5730; Joseph Simon, 4822; Levy Andrew Levy, 3097; William Trent *et al.* in right of Philip Boyle, 784; Thomas Smallman and George Crogan, 1548; John Baynton's Extrs., 8530; Samuel Wharton, 16,628; George Morgan, 5400; Samuel Wharton, trustee John Welsh, 3000; Edward Moran, Evan Shelby, and Samuel Postlethwaite, 1215; John Gibson, 1692; Edward Cole, 1208; Dennis Cogan, 430; William Thompson, 306; Richard Neave, 352; James Dundas, 352; John Ormsby, 1780; William Edgar, 546; William Franklin, 5399; Joseph Galloway, 1125; Thomas Wharton, 1125.

At a meeting of the proprietors held at the Indian Queen Tavern in Philadelphia, 20th March, 1776, the following officers of the company were elected: Joseph Galloway, President, and Thomas Wharton, Vice-President, and George Morgan appointed Secretary of the Land Office and Receiver-General, and Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr., Surveyor-General.

WILLIAM FISHER LEWIS.

THE RECORDS OF THE CHURCH AT SWEDESBOROUGH, N. J., contain the following entry, in the handwriting of the Rev. Nicholas Collin:

"The Year 1778. The usual Vestry meeting on the 3d day of Easter could not be observed because of the general distraction produced by the war. Militia and continental troops on one side, and refugees with British on the other were frequently skirmishing, and both almost equally distressing the country Plundering, marauding, imprisoning, and burning houses with other horrid excesses were frequent from the beginning of Spring 'till July, when the British army evacuated Philadelphia. In the morning of Easter Sunday a man who had traded with the British, was tied to a pine near the burying-ground, and cruelly whipped. He died after a short time. On the 4 day of April, some hundred of English Marines and refugees came to Swedesborough early in the morning to surprise the militia. Being disappointed they burnt the Schoolhouse, alledging for a reason that some royal subjects had been imprisoned therein some weeks before."

MANOR OF PERKASIE.—The Manor of Perkasia, or Perkasea, was a tract of 10,000 acres of land, lying within the limits of Hilltown and Rockhill townships, Bucks County, granted by William Penn to Samuel Carpenter, Edward Penington, and Isaac Norris, by letters patent bearing date of 25th October, 1701. In 1735, the three grantees conveyed the tract to John Penn the first, when it became known by the name of "John Penn's Manor of Perkasea in the County of Bucks." In July, of 1759, Thomas Penn donated one-fourth of the estate to the University of Pennsylvania.

P.





## Queries.

ABRAHAM WOOD.—Among the names of the relatives attached to the marriage certificate of Owen and Anne [Wood] Owen, PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIV. p. 100, is Abraham Wood, of Darby, Pa. Who did he marry, and what are the names of his children? J. W.

HENRY FAMILY OF CHESTER COUNTY, PENNA.—Robert and Mary Ann Henry immigrated to Pennsylvania and settled in Chester County in 1722. A son, Robert, married Sarah Davis or Davison, of Chester County, and about 1760 removed to Virginia with his family. Information relating to his descendants is requested. ED. PENNA. MAG.

FIRST MANUFACTURER OF RIFLES IN PENNSYLVANIA.—Who was the first manufacturer of rifles in the province of Pennsylvania? Carlisle, Pa. P. T.

CALEB LOWNES.—This gentleman was living in Philadelphia, in 1794. I am desirous to learn if he has any descendants and their address? HOWARD EDWARDS.

PHILIP REDMOND married, October 10, 1773, Hannah *Kimmons* (Cummings,) in the Swedes' Church, Philadelphia. I would be obliged for any information relating to the birth and origin of this individual and his death? Was he related to the family of Redmond, of Redmond Hall, in the County of Wexford, Ireland? J. J. LATTING.  
New York.

HOW-STADLER FAMILY.—Mary, daughter of Robert and Anne How, was born in London O. E. Feby.  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$  1731, and next day baptized in White Chapel Church. The latter end of the year 1732, her grandparents Robert and Margaret Gilbert took her to Savannah, Georgia, and from thence in 1740 to Philadelphia. She was married to Jacob Stadler—date unknown. Information as to her descendants is requested. C. B.

COLONEL FREDERICK REDEGELT.—I have this person's commission, signed by William Penn in London the "Sixteenth Day of the First month (call March) 170 $\frac{3}{4}$ " appointing him "Sey Master General of the aforesaid Province, during Fourteen Years," and also testifying of his great skill and experience in discovering and working of mines and minerals as well as in other useful inventions. Who was Frederick Redegelt? Where can any notice of him be found? HOWARD EDWARDS.

"DOYLESTOWN DEMOCRAT."—The *Doylestown Democrat* was started about the year 1816 by Lewis Diffebach. His motto for the paper was:

"Here shall the Press the People's Rights maintain,  
Unawed by Influence and unbribed by gain."

It was supposed by some persons that he was the author of the couplet, and that originally it consisted of four lines. Who was the author? Did the motto consist of more than two lines, and if so what are they? EASTON, PA. B. F. F.

## Book Notices.

A UNIQUE EPHRATA PRINT.—The *Christian Culture* of Lancaster, Pa., announces the discovery of a hitherto unknown Ephrata publication entitled Ernstliche | *Esweckungs-Stimm* | In ein Lied verfasst | Über den so lang gestandenen und grossen | COMETEN | Welcher sich im X Monat des Jahrs 1743 | das erste mal sehen liess | und 10 Wochen lang gestanden. | Von einem Freund zugesandt, | Und, | auf dessen Begehren, | Zum Drucek befördert. | Zu Ephrata, MDCCXLV. It is a 16mo of 16 pages, printed on the old hand-made paper and from the peculiar type so familiar to Ephrata collectors. The preface states that the hymn is printed unknown to the author, at the request of a friend, and because such calls to repentance are very much needed in those times. The hymn itself consists of only sixteen seven-lined stanzas, which are preceded by a prologue of five pages and followed by an epilogue of two pages. The latter is a characteristic homily, full of the peculiar Ephrata theology, closing with the prayer, "Therefore O Heaven, condescend to us, and thaw out what has been frozen so hard by the hellish cold and midnight darkness!" etc. The comet referred to was that discovered by Klinkenberg in September of 1743.

A HISTORY OF DEER PARK IN ORANGE COUNTY, NEW YORK. By Peter E. Gumaer. 8vo, 204 pp. Port Jervis, 1890.

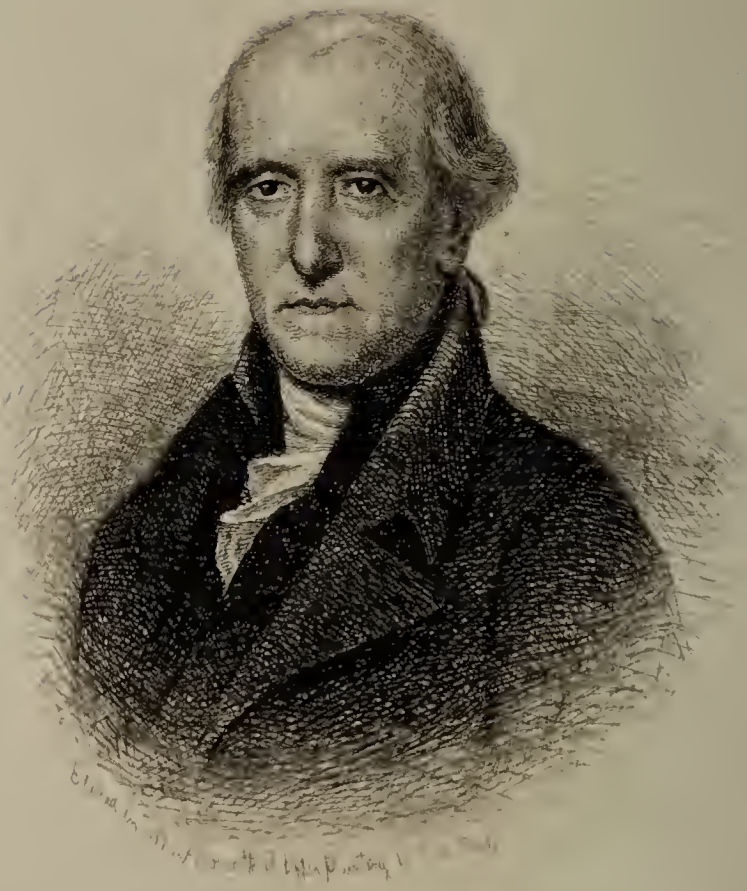
Mr. W. H. Nearpass, Corresponding Secretary of the Minisink Valley Historical Society at Port Jervis, N. Y., sends us a copy of this little book, so full of valuable records of the events which transpired in this valley from its first settlement. In addition to this it will interest genealogists, for it gives a list of the first settlers, from whence they came, and who are their descendants. The work is illustrated with a portrait of the author and a cut of the house in which he lived, and is neatly printed on good paper, and bound in cloth. The Society was organized in 1889, but it has already performed a substantial public service in the publication of this book, which we hope will meet with a full appreciation by a ready sale. Price, \$1.

THE OLD YORK ROAD AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.—During the present summer Mrs. Ann de B. Mears will publish her history of this well-known highway, for which she has been collecting material for some years. It is to be copiously illustrated, and will prove of interest to all who are interested in the local history of old Philadelphia County. A list of the early landholders comprises, among others, the names of Toby Leech and descendants, George Shoemaker, John Russel, Samuel Carpenter, Thomas Griffith, Thomas Godfrey, Samuel Richardson, Griffith Jones, Thomas and John Roberts, Anthony Morris, and the Logans.

CLEVELAND GENEALOGY.—Mr. Edmund J. Cleveland, 278 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, Conn., offers for sale the complete records of the Cleveland family. They are bound in volumes, including some 2500 pages of manuscript, with 45 engravings.







JARED INGERSOLL.

Nat-1750 - Ob-1822.

*From the original painting in the possession of Edward Ingersoll, Esq*







JARED INGERSOLL

Nat. 1750 — Ob. 1822.

*From the original painting in the possession of Edward Ingersoll, Esq*







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THE LEADERS OF THE OLD BAR OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY HORACE BINNEY.

(Continued from page 159.)

JARED INGERSOLL.

JARED INGERSOLL, of the Philadelphia Bar, my learned master in the law, was a native of the Colony of Connecticut, and was born at New Haven in the year 1750.

His father, of the same name, was a distinguished lawyer in the Colony, and was her agent in England, jointly with Richard Jackson, Lord Grenville's secretary, who was a member of the Parliament which inaugurated Lord Grenville's scheme of taxing the Colonies.

It is to him, the father, that we owe the preservation of Colonel Barre's famous burst of eloquence in reply to Charles Townshend, when he boasted that the Colonies had been planted by England's care, nourished by her indulgence, and protected by her arms, and therefore ought not to grudge a contribution to her treasury. Mr. Ingersoll, who was in the gallery of the House of Commons at the time, immediately wrote out the brilliant reply of Barre,

and transmitted it to Connecticut; and from one of her journals it passed into all American hearts, and has become a first lesson in oratory to her sons.

Jackson, and Franklin, and Ingersoll, and all the Colonial agents in England, were opposed to Lord Grenville's scheme of taxation; opposed to it as unconstitutional as well as inexpedient. But none of them thought that the Stamp Act of March, 1765, would be resisted by the Colonies; and Mr. Ingersoll consented even to assist the ministerial plan of distributing the stamps through American agents, to insinuate them the better among the people. He therefore returned to his Colony in August following, with the commission of Stamp-master. But in a very short time he learned something of his people that he had never apprehended before. During his absence, and while the Stamp Act was passing through Parliament, the people from New Hampshire to Georgia had resolved not to pay a stamp tax; and as this was the first assertion of the right by the Parliament of England, had made up their minds to take the bull by the horns, at all risks.

On Mr. Ingersoll's arrival home, his fellow-colonists at first endeavored to persuade him to resign his commission; but he reasoned with them, doubted whether there was anybody he could resign to, doubted if it would be of any avail, and kept them in suspense. He then heard of menaces, extending to property and person, and cast about for protection by the usual means; but, finally, with some astuteness, thought of asking the direction of the Legislature, at Hartford, knowing, that while they liked the Act of Parliament as little as he did, they would as little like to resist it, and therefore might give him their countenance in adhering to his commission.

To attain this end, he left New Haven, as he thought, privately, to put himself and his commission under the direction of the Legislature at Hartford; but his caution was of little avail. That inquisitive and curious people knew all about his movements. They divined his purpose, and were on the traces of his *incognito*; and, when he arrived

on horseback within five miles of Hartford, he found himself riding into a body of five hundred mounted men, who were in something like battle array, though armed with nothing more deadly than staves like broom-handles; and with them he had to ventilate, on the broad street of Wethersfield, the definitive question of the commission. This body did not mean that the Legislature should be appealed to on the subject; and, perhaps, the Legislature was very much obliged to them for their intentions. They insisted upon Mr. Ingersoll's resigning his commission on the spot.

The parley was long, but it was vain. It lasted for three hours and more, and neither party convinced the other. Mr. Ingersoll seems to have been as tenacious a reasoner, and as acute, as his son proved to be. It availed nothing but to show his coolness and skill. At length, when the hours were exhausted, and there were symptoms of impatience, he asked what was to happen if he did not resign; and they told him—"his fate." He might guess what that would be, in the general; but not liking any particular aspect of it, he concluded that it was better to do what he was told to do. He wrote and signed a resignation of his commission as Stamp-master. He pulled off his hat, and hurra'd three times for "Liberty and Property," after they had deprived him of both; and then, knowing that he was bound to Hartford, they marched with him to the outside of the Hall of the Legislature, and left him there at liberty to go in, or to go home, as he might think best.

This was the first, and, perhaps, the best-conducted case of Lynch law that our books report. It shed no blood, it broke no bones, and it accommodated the constituted authorities to their heart's content. The Stamp Act was dead, and the death could not be laid at their door. A striking feature to disprove personal malice on any side was this: that, although affidavits were taken and filed, and some show made of calling out the judicial authorities, Mr. Ingersoll named no names, though he knew the leaders as well as they knew him.

Such a contest would ordinarily have driven the weaker



party into exile, or the extremity of opposition; but in this case it did neither. Mr. Ingersoll, the elder, was loyal to the British Constitution and to the Crown, as were hundreds of thousands of the Colonists in the same day; but he never was a loyalist in the special sense, and his refusal to surrender his commission except by the application of *vis major*, did not alienate the people from him, nor him from them. He remained in his natal homestead; but during the ten years of irritated pride on one side, and of dogged contumacy on the other, which intervened between the repeal of the Stamp Act and the Declaration of Independence, he was more of an observer than an actor; and as, in the later years of that decade, the country waxed more and more warm, and the attention of young men was turning more and more every day to arms rather than to the law, he sent his son, in the year 1774, from the contagious atmosphere of Connecticut, to finish his law education in London.

Mr. Ingersoll, the son, continued in that school until shortly before or after the Declaration of Independence, when he embarked for France, and resided there until the autumn of 1778. From that country to his own he passed in an American letter of marque, *flagrante bello*, and, as I have heard him say, came pretty much under water, from press of sail, to avoid disagreeable interviews on the way.

His London life, from his own account, as well as from that of Edward Tilghman, his contemporary for part of the time, must have been pretty equally divided between study and pleasure; though in the allotment for the latter, he included a large portion of exercise on foot. In the summer season he lived in the country, ten miles from his place of study in the City, and not unfrequently footed that interval both morning and afternoon. As a proof of the extent to which females in England use their feet and limbs in the same healthful way, he told me that one of the daughters of his hostess sometimes accompanied him, and, after dropping him in the City in the morning, trotted back with him at the close of the afternoon. The value of that exercise was

his frequent theme. He profited by it in his youth, and was able in his old age to dispense with it, by the confirmation it had given to his health. It is as necessary a foundation for a lawyer as his professional studies. Both sexes in our country, and especially in our cities, would take more of it, if our climate, like that of England, and of the Continent generally, would give its more frequent consent; but few of them take as much of it as they might; for to the habitual walker, a cloud is not so often a shower-bath as it is a parasol, nor is the sun so much a scorcher to the quick-footed as to the slow. Next to St. Peter's full ordinance, it deserves universal observance by men of our profession, that "if they will love life and see good days" they must give a fair portion of their practice to their legs. After doing my best, one morning, to overtake Chief-Justice Marshall in his quick march to the Capitol, when he was nearer to eighty than to seventy, I asked him to what cause in particular he attributed that strong and quick step; and he replied that he thought it was most due to his commission in the army of the Revolution, in which he had been a regular foot practitioner for nearly six years.

From relations of friendship between Mr. Ingersoll's father and Joseph Reed, then recently elected a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, under the Constitution of 1776, and chosen President of that body by the joint ballot of the General Assembly and Council, the son was encouraged by President Reed to remove to Philadelphia for advancement in his profession; and he accordingly removed thither in 1778, was admitted to the Bar in January, 1779, married the eldest daughter of Charles Pettit in 1781, and continued in professional service in that City all the active years of his life, and died there at the age of seventy-two, on the 31st of October, 1822. He had his English education in the law, consequently, some years after he had attained his majority.

Though encouraged to remove to Philadelphia by the President of the Executive Council, and promised his patronage, which no doubt he received as far as it could be

afforded, Mr. Ingersoll's success at the Bar, like that of every other lawyer of eminence, was, and must have been, his own work. He received a retainer from the State, during President Reed's administration, as an assistant to the Attorney-General, Mr. Sergeant, in the matter of the Proprietary estates, which were *vested* in the Commonwealth, as the Act of Confiscation calls it, in the year 1779; and the Reports show him to have been associated with the counsel of the State in one or two cases in the year 1780. He was in friendly, and, by his marriage, in family relations, with President Reed, during the three years of his presidency, and until his death in 1785; and was an executor of his will. But President Reed's political ardor during his term of office, and an embittered opposition to him which had been kindled among men of business and importance, in Philadelphia, did not make his return to the Bar, in 1781, very easy or agreeable; nor, as I have heard Mr. Ingersoll say, did his mind return willingly to the pursuits of the law. The patron, therefore, must have been more willing than able to assist him; and in a short time Mr. Reed's health gave way, and after visiting England in 1783, he returned towards the close of 1784, and, without attempting to resume his profession, died on the 5th March, 1785. Mr. Ingersoll wanted no other patron than his own talents, learning, integrity, and industry; and if he had wanted any of these, no patron could have raised him to the great elevation which he attained at the Bar.

His professional character, fairly and not partially described, is that of a very sound and well-read lawyer, and a most consummate advocate. Though he was strong as a lawyer in learning, and in the accomplishments which assist the application of it, his great forte was at the Bar, in the face of an intelligent Jury, and, indeed, of any Jury; and second only to that, was his power with the Court. In his full vigor, which continued for nearly twenty years after the year 1797, I regard him as having been without comparison the most efficient manager of an important Jury trial among all the able men who were then at the Bar of Philadelphia.



His priority in this species of service was, I think, generally acknowledged; and it is my purpose to show, hereafter, with as much brevity as I can, what were the intellectual qualities, and especially the intellectual temperament, which led to this superiority; and how far his falling a little short of this great excellence, in some other exercises of his profession, is traceable to the same characteristics.

He was invited, or encouraged to come to Philadelphia, pretty much under the postulate, that he was to prepare himself for the popular side in politics, which President Reed, in his letter of 3d December, 1778, to Mr. Ingersoll's father, described as not being the side upon which any of the Bar of Philadelphia, who possessed considerable abilities, were to be found. What that side was, in the apprehension of Mr. Reed, it would be useless to investigate in such a sketch as this. The Whig side was, by no means, of one complexion; and among the opponents of President Reed, who was a Whig, were true Whigs whose colors never changed. Some of the features of what he probably regarded as the popular side were eliminated even in his own time; and if an adhesion to the Constitution of 1776 was the test, it was becoming less and less strong every day, until, with general consent, it was rejected by all, as it was first rejected by him. A young practitioner of the law, who had gone with ardor into the harness of President Reed during his presidency, might have found himself where the President did at the end of that short career.

Mr. Ingersoll had, at no time of his life, a warm predilection for politics. He had the common aspiration of all patriotic men, after the peace with Great Britain, and the failure of the Confederation, to see the people settled under a Constitution that would build up a Nation, and would promote and secure the public welfare; and, in the general effort to this effect, he took part, by accepting the place of a delegate from Pennsylvania to the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States; but, with the exception of this service, from May to September, 1787, I am not aware that he held or sought a position in any popular or

representative body whatever. He was what is called conservative in politics; that is to say, he was not, by constitutional temper, a rebuildler or reconstructor of anything that had been once reasonably well built; nor was his favorite order of political architecture the democratic. After the great subversion in 1801, he was found as rarely as anybody in Pennsylvania on the side of the majority. He was known to be inclined to the contrary, so far that, with or without his consent, he was selected in that State, in the year 1812, as the opposition or anti-Madisonian candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States; but his general course did not manifest a very lively sympathy with extremes in any direction. Mr. Ingersoll's devotion, after I knew him, was to the law, singly and unremittingly, with a decided preference for its investigations and labors; nor did anything, until old age came upon him and impaired his sight, break off or interfere with the great engagement of his life.

He was the first Attorney-General of the State under the Constitution of 1790, and held the office by Governor Mifflin's appointment until Governor McKean's election in 1799, when he retired for, or was superseded by, the son of Governor McKean: and he held the same office by appointment of Governor Snyder, after his election in 1808; and this professional office, and the Presidency of the District Court for the City, for a short time in the last years of his life, were the only offices that at any time drew him away from his extensive private practice. Governor Snyder appointed him without his "application or expectation;" and when, in that Governor's last term, the Secretary of State intimated to him that the Governor and others thought that the principal law-officer should reside at Harrisburg, the seat of Government, Mr. Ingersoll replied with great dignity in his letter of resignation in December, 1817, that "the Governor knew the inconveniences of his residence when he appointed him; and that if they had increased, in his own apprehension, he would have saved the Governor the expression of a wish for his resignation; but that, yielding to

the Governor's official opinion and authority, he should retire from office, as he entered it, at the Governor's request."

His person, carriage, and manners, and even his dress, had the same aspect in my eyes, and probably in the eyes of all who knew him, from his middle life to the very close of it.

He was of good height, three or four inches short of six feet, spare of flesh, and perfectly well made and erect, expressing much dignity, with the ease and air of good society. His complexion was fair and his hair light-colored, and his features not large or salient, though sufficiently defined and strong; the lower part of his face, particularly the mouth and chin, being very well developed and expressive. Though to this caste of complexion and features striking expression does not so commonly belong as it does to faces in which the features are more irregular, and the shadows deeper, yet nothing could be more manly and clear than the whole tone of his countenance. The perpendicular walls of his head, and the ample roof of the chamber which contained his brain, with the breadth of the lower part of the face, to which I have adverted, gave a very firm and compact appearance to the whole head; and the limner who seized upon these, seized the governing expression of the mass. The best likeness I ever saw of him was a small and rough pencil-sketch, made by the late Gideon Fairman, while Mr. Ingersoll was addressing one of his most spirited speeches to a jury of which Fairman was a member. He gave it to me while Mr. Ingersoll's head was yet in the attitude by which the artist was struck. It was produced by a very few strokes of the pencil, which shows, of course, that the head was a speaking one.

His carriage was rather remarkable, and, at this time of day, when familiarity in address and manner is much more common in our courts than it used to be, would be generally remarked. There was a measure, and the observance of breeding in all that he said and did. He was full of attention when you spoke to him, and uniformly regardful of



good manners in his reply ; but there was little playfulness, no jocularly, nor the slightest attempt at repartee, though he had a keen sense of both wit and humor. When you saw him walk in the street, or pace the floor of the courtroom, it was difficult to resist the impression that in early life he had received a military training ; and the dress of the pre-democratic age, a full suit of black, or of light brown or drab in the warm season, with knee-breeches and shoes, and long after others had abandoned the usage, hair-powder and a cue, very much assisted the impression. His uniform air of self-possession and purpose, together with the outward attributes I have noticed, gave him decidedly the look of the old officer. But he was entirely free, as the best of that class, of everything like assumption or presumption, or the assertion of command, where it would have been in the least out of place. On the contrary, he gave to every member of the Bar his due in civility and respect, and to those with whom his intercourse was intimate, he was both gracious and cordial.

He passed with some for a rather proud man, perhaps the consequence of this soldierly carriage, and of the forms of life in which he had been bred up, and continued to observe. But the charge in regard to him was even more unjust than it generally is, proceeding as much from that fault in the accuser, as from any serious liability to it in the accused. He had nothing about him that, in his intercourse with others, whether equals or inferiors, tended to abase anybody. He was not, generally, familiar or communicative. That was the whole. He was not born or brought up in an age in which the worshippers of popularity press hands or lift hats to as many as they can ; but he offered and reciprocated civility wherever it was due ; and where he professed either respect or regard, he was uniformly sincere. In one sense and respect he probably was a proud man ; and unless we use the word only in the condemnatory sense in which the Scriptures appear to use it, he was none the worse for being so. The poor moralists approve the emotion, though they have not succeeded in giving it a name, by which it may be

distinguished from a very different one, of which it bears some of the outward marks. "He had that generous elation of heart, which is the pride of conscious virtue,"—virtue in his relations with mankind,—virtue that is above the perpetration of a wrong, and spurns a temptation to dishonor. We mean this, when we say that a man's virtue is *lofty*. No man that I ever knew, lived further away from the fault or the toleration of a dishonorable act. His personal virtue was as straight-upward and erect as his person; but he was a religious man also, in open and full communion with the Presbyterian Church, of which he was a member to his death, and made as humble an estimate of his own moral attainments, as if the life he led had been anything but what it was, in close correspondence with his duties.

At one period his domestic relations passed under my own observation, and no one could be more faultless in them. His kindness and even tenderness to his children were striking. Oppressed as he was sometimes with business, and generally obliged to crowd a good deal of it into a small portion of time, I never knew him to be so much absorbed by it, as to make him put aside a request from them, or cut short any of their appeals. I well recollect that on one occasion, when he was instructing me in regard to obtaining some of the means for his preparation in a cause of much importance and urgency, his youngest son, a little fellow of seven or eight years of age, ran into his office with a piece of dough on the back of a fire-shovel, and laying the shovel on the hot ashes, said, "Pa, mind my cake," and ran off to his play. The response was, "*Tsut, tsut,*" drawing in his breath with his tongue, "well, I suppose it must be so." This was his usual manner upon such interruptions.

With the world generally, except in matters of business, his intercourse when I knew him first, and I believe afterwards, was not large. His intimate friends were few and select, and, for the most part, such as bore a family relation to him. He was upon a kind footing with all his contemporaries at the Bar, but not upon an intimate one with more

than a very few. He was neither a taciturn nor a reserved man; but was eminently discreet in his language, and said little to no purpose.

After this description, I will state my impression, rather than attempt to give an analysis, of Mr. Ingersoll's mental powers, as applied in both the study and the public management of his causes; though as they exhibit what I think are rather unusual phenomena of the mind, they would probably be worthy of a very full one.

After a long acquaintance with him, and understanding him through his mode of teaching, and by frequently observing him in Court, and in the course of consultations, I came to distinguish between the active and the passive state of his mind, or between its warm and its cold state. The difference may frequently be observed in men; but with him it was so marked, that at times the cold state might have passed for a disruption of continuity between the mind and the faculties. No man was better constituted to show that the mind is a subsisting and organic subject, and neither a mere succession of ideas or impressions, nor a confederacy of independent powers without root in a spiritual body that excites and directs them all. He was a fine practical study for a metaphysician. The intellectual constitution of Mr. Ingersoll, as illustrated in his professional life, proved experimentally to the observer, that although consciousness is the supreme and fundamental faculty of the mind, yet that this, and all the faculties, have their times of somnolency and of sleep, and of waking, renovation, and energetic action; and that they are inherent in a great essence, by which they are stimulated and educated to the work of their several ends, according to their respective nature and use, or to the demands of their work, or of their great motive centre and source.

In what may be called the passive state of Mr. Ingersoll's mind, two or three or more of his faculties would seem to be reposing in it, without giving out any clear evidence of their activity or life. They were, apparently, lying deep in the bosom of their matrix, or like sympathetic ink on the



paper, waiting the influence of the requisite heat to make them perceptible; while others would be in a state of gentle action, as if they had not yet gone to sleep, or were just awaking. This was, indeed, the normal condition of his mind in its negative or unexcited state. The law which he had read faithfully, and facts of various kinds which he had collected, would, both of them, be written upon his memory, and would, nevertheless, in that state, seem to have sunk in and disappeared, so as not to be legible, for the time, even to himself. But the moment that the electric flash of excitement passed through his mind, the spiritual body itself would seem to awake; the necessary faculties would wake along with it, and the law and the facts, which had seemed before to have gone from the surface, would stand bright up in the memory, and the influence work from faculty to faculty, with instantaneous quickness and truth. These different conditions of the mind were not made evident by much change of expression in his countenance or person. What it was that specifically put his mind into the positive state, I never ascertained with certainty; but, as I always perceived it, when he was engaged in Court, and often perceived the contrary, when he was studying or preparing a cause in his office, I inferred that it was emulation or opposition, and, probably, a mixture of both. A particular antagonist might excite him, or the expectation of the Bar in a cause of importance, or the confidence and vivacity of his opponent.

In the negative state of his mind, he did not himself appear to place confidence in the operation of any of his faculties, nor had he his true vigor in either department, whether his memory, his reason, or his imagination; and the latter was as full of activity with him under excitement as either of the other two,—not a poetical imagination certainly, which takes its flights into the higher regions of light and ether, but a different form of it, most important for its uses in the Law, where it is an active suggester of relations in life and in the concerns of men, not generally obvious, and is frequently of immense service in the explanation of

legal principles, and in the elucidation of facts and evidence. In the proper state of excitement, his mind woke up into immediate energy, and the required faculties sprang to their appropriate work, as if they were new-born, and not merely refreshed by repose. Dr. Reid's remark is no doubt very true, "that the difference of minds is greater than that of any other beings of the same species;" but Mr. Ingersoll exhibited and illustrated another truth, something akin to that, that the difference of the same man's mind from itself is, at times, as great as it is from the mind of any other man.

Mr. Ingersoll had a very considerable body of learning in the law, as well as of general information and literature, that was sufficiently at command; and, in ordinary conversation, you did not perceive any deficiency in it; but when he was cold and unexcited, its flow was by no means rapid, and he was not quick to perceive the bearing of what he knew upon the subject presented to him. Very different was the case with Edward Tilghman, who, in several departments of law-learning, not knowing more, and of commercial law knowing perhaps less, brought his knowledge to bear instantly upon the point or points of a case, like a charge of the electric fluid. Mr. Ingersoll did not open his eyes immediately to the full light that was in him. He would seem to be in that state which the old writers call *darkling*, a diminutive of dark. In this condition of his mind, his faculties would seem not to have light enough to wake them up; and if he then sat down to write an opinion upon a case, he might miss it; and a day afterwards, when something had occurred to put his mind into the proper glow, he would be surprised that he had not before seen what was then conspicuously clear to him; or if he drew a special plea, or a law-paper which required that he should group all the facts at once, or the principles of law that ruled them, the probability was not small, that, in a different state of mind, he would be the first to find a flaw in it.

In preparing his causes for trial or argument, he seemed to feel this peculiarity, and to provide for it in some degree

by the stimulus of motion on the floor, and by suggesting contradictions or opposition on the other side, to work up against them. There was a door of communication between his front and back offices, the upper half of which was glazed like a window, so that what was going on in either room could be seen in the other, though not distinctly heard. No one could have read law with him without perceiving that, in these preparations, he was a complete peripatetic. He would sit for a moment at his table and write, and then would rise and pace the floor, not unfrequently stopping and holding out a hand, or nodding, or shaking his head, and then return to his table, and write again, and so repeat the process for an hour or more, until the work was elaborated; and those who saw his briefs, knew that the labor had not been brief, nor perfunctory. Yet nearly all this preparation seemed to be thrown away when he got into action at the Bar. He did not resort to his brief with any frequency, and was as clear, and full, and precise, in regard to what had unexpectedly arisen, or been first suggested against him at that time, as he was in regard to what had occupied him in the study. In the vivid state of his mind, he saw and heard everything that concerned his cause, both that which promoted, and that which impaired, his chance of success; and every needful principle of law, with its qualifications, was present to him, all the strength and weakness of his position, all the concessions of his adversaries, however unemphatic or slight, and the minutest facts that were in evidence on either side. But all this time the glow or excitement was in the intellect, and not perceptible in either voice or action.

From these characteristics, it is easy to obtain the reason or cause of his extraordinary excellence as an advocate, and of the shade that sometimes came over its brightness, when he was acting as an adviser or judge. What he did when his mind was cold was one thing; what he did during the strong action of his mind was another. Though he could not always write off-hand an impregnable plea or opinion, he could criticise it on his legs with the greatest acuteness



and strength. His cold opinions had not, by any means, the persuasion or force of his oral arguments. Perhaps he was not so extensively learned in the law of Tenures, and of Remainders, and Executory Estates, as his finished friend and compeer, Mr. Edward Tilghman; yet, even in this line, as Lord Brougham remarks of Erskine, who was also wanting in this and some other kinds of law-learning, "he could conduct a purely legal argument with the most perfect success," by the force of industry previously applied, by the cautious limitation of his positions, which were always taken within the range of his acquired knowledge, and by the bright light of his intellect, which made clear to him the bearing of everything that he said upon the controverted point. But he was most complete and ready, at all times, in commercial law, in which, from his great practice, he was the most frequently called to think and to speak; and which, better than black-letter learning, suited the texture of his mind.

When he rose to a Jury, no lawyer could be better prepared with a knowledge of the facts, and of the law that bore upon them; and he chose his point of assault, and his field of defence, with the tact and decision that belong to a first-rate commander. No stratagem of the enemy could seduce him from either. He might be driven from them by force, but not turned by artifice or false attack. His eye was open, and his spirit alert, during the whole contest; and woe betided the adversary that took a false position, or used an illogical argument, or misstated a fact against him. If he felt strong in his case, he might give the error a short correction or rebuke, and pass on to the direct application of his own means; but if he was at all doubtful of his victory, he fastened upon the mistake with the grasp of death, and would repeat and reiterate and multiply his assaults upon it, until there did not remain a shadow of excuse for the blunder. In such a juncture, his having a weak and doubtful cause, it was of no importance to Mr. Ingersoll whether the blunder was in a material point or not; for he entertained the opinion, and was much governed by it in practice,

and was perhaps more than half right in his impression, that if he could satisfy the Jury that his antagonist was decidedly wrong in anything, they would not always distinguish whether it was in the main thing or not. As to catching him in a blunder, material or otherwise, it was out of the question. The thing never happened. He was infallible in every statement he made, whether of principle or of evidence; and the only hope of the opposite side was to show, that what he said might be true, without helping his cause.

He was, moreover, remarkably wary in abstaining from all admissions or concessions that could in any way be turned to his prejudice; so much so, that, before a Jury, I hardly ever knew him to concede or admit anything. This circumstance, undoubtedly, shows the great vigilance that his mind was called to, in the action in which he was engaged. Nothing is more common than for gentlemen of the Bar to endeavor to win upon the Jury by the appearance of candor, in admitting what they think is of no importance at all, to give more color to their sincerity in insisting upon what they deem more important. But Mr. Ingersoll knew its dangers; and without ever being uncandid, he always compelled the adversary to win his cause by his own strength.

He once told me an anecdote that he had heard of Bar practice in one of the States, which, perhaps, had fortified him in his own practice to the contrary. The Bar of that State, as the story ran, were accustomed, when a special verdict, or a case stated, was opened in Banc, to relieve one another and the Court, by setting forth, orally, what each admitted in his adversary's favor, and therefore would not be disputed by him. On one occasion, when Judge Chase, of the Supreme Court of the United States, presided, an old lawyer began to state his admissions, and went on with them with some prolixity, Judge Chase taking a note of them for some time, and then stopping. As the old gentleman persevered to make other admissions, the Judge became restive, and at last broke out: "You may sit down, old

gentleman; you need not make any more admissions. You have admitted all your case away, half an hour ago." The practice, if it existed, came to an end probably soon after that.

Few lawyers were so facile, plausible, and quick as Mr. Ingersoll was in suggesting distinctions, either in principle, or in testimony, to relieve himself from a difficulty that pressed him; which is also a trait of a quickened mind. And I think we may discover a trace of this talent in the only speech that Mr. Madison records of him, in his Minutes of the Federal Convention; a very short, but, for the occasion, a very fortunate and persuasive one.

There was no question that gravelled the Convention more than the very last they were to decide, namely, in what form or manner the proposed Constitution of the United States was to be attested by the delegates, to give it the best effect with the people.

Almost every delegate of much distinction in the body had objected to some parts of the Constitution; and very few had approved of all its clauses, as well as of its omissions and exclusions.

Those who were most desirous of its success with Congress and the people, wished an unanimous signature, not for the States only, but by the delegates personally. General Hamilton especially, who, according to Mr. Madison, said that "a few characters of consequence, by opposing, or even refusing to sign the Constitution, might do infinite mischief," expressed "his *anxiety* that every member should sign." "No man's ideas," he said, "were more remote from the plan than his own were known to be; but was it possible to deliberate between anarchy and convulsion on the one side, and the chance of good to be expected from the plan on the other?" I give his language in Mr. Madison's words, without entering into the question of Mr. Madison's accuracy in all respects.

Three prominent members, however, Randolph and Mason, of Virginia, and Gerry, of Massachusetts, had, on the previous day, declared their determination not to sign;



and it was apprehended that others reserved themselves for the final action.

Gouverneur Morris had very adroitly put into Dr. Franklin's hands a form of motion, declaring unanimity in one respect, which it was not easy to gainsay; and, after an excellent speech in his own style, Dr. Franklin moved the Convention, that the Constitution should be signed by the members, and offered, as a convenient form, the words which had been placed in his hands: "Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the *States* present;" but, in the discussion which followed, Mr. Morris himself, with the view no doubt to gain some of the delegates who might dissent from the form, remarked, that the signing by the members in the form proposed attested only the *fact* that the *States* present were unanimous.

This very suggestion was the ground of objection by one of the most frank and honorable men in the Convention, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, who said that if the meaning of the signers should be left in doubt, his purpose would not be answered. He should sign the Constitution with a view to support it with all his influence, and wished to *pledge* himself accordingly.

This alarmed Dr. Franklin; and though in his written speech he had expressed his desire "that every member should put his name to the instrument," and "that for their own sakes, and for the sake of posterity, they should act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution, if approved by Congress and confirmed by the Conventions," he now said "that it was too soon to *pledge* themselves, before Congress and their constituents should have approved the plan."

Here was a crop of distinctions and difficulties,—a pledge to support the Constitution at all events,—or a mere attestation of the fact, that the Convention had agreed to it according to parliamentary rule,—or a partial signature by the members,—or no personal signature at all; and no one could predict the result. Immediately after Dr. Franklin sat down, Mr. Ingersoll rose and said, "that he did not

consider the signing as a mere attestation of the fact, or as pledging the signers to support the Constitution at all events, but a recommendation of what, all things considered, was the most eligible."

It was at the close of this remark, that the question was taken upon Dr. Franklin's motion; and although the manly aversion of General Pinckney and Pierce Butler to an ambiguous attestation divided South Carolina, the motion was agreed to by every other State, and every member signed it, Pinckney and Butler included, except the three from Virginia and Massachusetts, whom I have named. And it would have been better if they had accepted Mr. Ingersoll's distinction; for the event has falsified the predictions of the two Virginia delegates; and the Massachusetts delegate, who predicted from the Constitution a crisis in his own State, and spoke of democracy as "the worst of all political evils," afterwards contributed his best to make the Government the thing he had deprecated.

The soundness of Mr. Ingersoll's general positions with a cautious exclusion of what, though possibly comprehended in them, he did not mean to admit, was one of his forensic characteristics.

His oratory was of a very high order for both classes of men to whom it was addressed, not varying materially, whether before the Jury Box, or the Bench, except in topics or illustrations. It was clear, earnest, logically connected, rarely or never rising to the highest flights, but always on the wing, not wanting in vehemence on a proper occasion, and always sufficiently animated to keep every one awake. Before the Court his weapons were from the armory of the law and the facts of his case exclusively. Before the Jury he seized with dexterity and effect upon every honest prejudice that could enlist the feelings of the panel. He never stumbled upon an awkward phrase, nor said a bitter thing, nor uttered a pointless expression, nor began a sentence before the thought was ready for it, and the language for the thought. He was not voluble nor rapid. His words did not interfere with each other; nor, in any height

of excitement, did his voice bray, nor his arms lash the air, nor his foot explode upon the floor. Neither was he hesitating or slow as if he was inquiring for the next word, nor monotonous as if he was reading from a stereotyped memory. But, with just the proper tone and measure, rising sufficiently above the natural key of conversation to give something like air or rhythm to his language, and speaking as from his brain and not from his brief, he proceeded, with proper pauses and variations of time, from beginning to end, without a single break-down or trip in word or thought. I have known a distinguished leader in the British House of Commons utter sentence after sentence with some rapidity, and come bolt up to the last word of his last sentence, without finding it at home. He had to trust, therefore, to a chance selection, and ended in a platitude. This is not, I think, a very common American failing; but the same thing has sometimes happened at our own Bar, and with rather clever men too. But it never happened to Mr. Ingersoll. He was on his feet always, whatever might be the footing of his cause; and his step, whether quick or otherwise, was sustained to the point where he intended to pause. Without affectation of ornament, or the use of coloring words in the place of imagination, he would proceed from hour to hour, if the cause required it, giving out a regular current of pertinent thoughts and manly words to the close. It was impossible for any one to be more clear and intelligible, in the whole design of his speech, and in every phrase of it; and equally impossible, in any part of it, to detect an instance or occasion in which temper, dignity, manliness of carriage, or gentlemanliness of manner had been either forgotten, or studiously remembered by him, so natural and habitual were these observances with him.

It was not an unfrequent thing with him to begin his summing up in conclusion to the Jury with an apothegm, or some historical fact, that was apposite to the main matter, and thus, from the outset, to win the attention of the panel, and assist the impression of his address, by assuming the connection of his claim or defence with an indisputable



truth. On one occasion he was counsel for a party who had gone beyond the legal line of retaliation, for sharp words spoken of his mother. "Gentlemen of the Jury," he began, "we are informed by a traveller in Africa, that universally among her savage tribes, they have a saying that is worth our remembering: 'Strike *me*, but do not curse my mother.' The most imbruted negro on the Senegal or Gambia has this instruction from his wild nature. How much clearer a voice speaks the same language to civilized man, who derives his manhood from the bosom and training of a refined and loving woman! We must take care not to be surpassed in manliness and filial affection by a brutish negro." This is an instance of his manner. It was also, to some extent, the manner of William Lewis. Their practice may recommend it to others; but, unless the speaker has the last word, it is not always difficult to turn an edge of the same kind against him. Mr. Ingersoll, however, was eminently successful at the Jury-bar. I knew him to gain all his causes, and they were many, at a long session held by Judge Washington; and when I reminded him of it, he said: "Yes; I have had good luck." It was the good luck that probably had all the other antecedents to success in a lawsuit, required by Dr. Franklin,—“a good cause, a good lawyer, a good jury, and a good judge.” “Good luck” was the Doctor’s last requisite.

I have described Mr. Ingersoll’s characteristics with the greater confidence and particularity, because I knew him longer and better than any of my seniors at the Bar. I not only read law with him, but, while his powers were still in their vigor, I had attained to practice in that line in which he had held a position of command, and associated him with me as often as I could. I was both happy, and just to my clients, in doing so; for I had great admiration of him, and great confidence in him, and knew both the intellectual and moral foundation on which I reposed. He was a man of the purest honor personally, and of the strictest fidelity in his profession. Both of them, in a general way, were well known to the City; but his honor was more especially

known to myself, by circumstances which did not pass to the knowledge of many others. It is rather a singular fact in the history of the Philadelphia Bar, that at least five of its most conspicuous members in his time, came to the close of their business and lives with rather inadequate provision for their families, which, nevertheless, did not proceed from extravagant living, nor from wild and abortive speculation. In three of the instances it might be traced to responsibilities that were assumed for, or cast upon them by, other persons. The carriage of men in the decline of life, under a weight of obligations which must either impair the comfort of their families, or imperil their own integrity, is literally the *experimentum crucis* of their honor; and I do not recollect one of them who did not bear the cross, as their descendants must now rejoice that they bore it.

Our City has one fault in common with all cities, and with mankind in general; and another that is local, and, at this day, rather uncommon. And she has so many good qualities, that she may bear to be told of her defects.

Like all the world, she rushes to the notice of what is new, and puts old merits and services into the wallet, which Shakspeare makes Ulysses say, Time "hath at his back,"

"Wherein he puts alms for oblivion,  
A great-sized monster of ingratitude.  
Those scraps are good deeds past, which are devoured  
As fast as they are made, forgot as soon  
As done."

The other is the more uncommon fault. It is not to be regretted that Mr. Ingersoll's day, and that of the really able men who were at his side, was not, in any part of our Country, the day that has since dawned, and it is hoped has got beyond its meridian; a day of puffing and ballooning of everybody and thing, however little above the ordinary stature or quality, sometimes indeed when it is below it. His day was a day of becoming modesty, and of some per-

sonal dignity, in all the professions, and nothing will be gained by our day's becoming otherwise. But these qualities furnish no excuse to a great City for indifference to the really great talents that are sometimes found in connection with them. And this is the fault referred to, that she has been hitherto, and perhaps immemorably, indifferent or insensible to the abilities of her sons, who have gained their first public consideration elsewhere. She is wanting in civic personality, or what is perhaps a better phrase for the thought, a family unity or identity. She does not take, and she never has taken, satisfaction in habitually honoring her distinguished men as *her* men, as men of her *own* family. It is the City that is referred to, as distinguished, perhaps, from the rest of the State. She has never done it in the face of the world, as Charleston has done it, as Richmond has done it, as Baltimore has done it, as New York has done it, or at least, did it in former times, and as Boston did it, had done it, and will do it forever. She is more indifferent to her sons than she is to strangers; and this perhaps may be the reason why other parts of the State so much more readily advance their own men to public office and distinction.

The fact has been often stated for sixty years past, but is not easy to explain, nor will I attempt to account for it with any confidence. Perhaps it grows out of her Quaker origin. It is certainly in harmony with it, to put nothing more striking than a drab-colored dress upon the men who have done their best for her. It is in the key of Quaker manners of old times,—of Quaker moderation and equability. It may, to some extent, be a result of the division of parties in the Proprietary time, the Country against the City, as for the most part adherents of the Proprietary, but with a minority in favor of the Assembly, enough to break their own people into disunion. To this day, the Country of Pennsylvania is against the City in everything, and for no existing cause that can be stated. In recent years, the composition of the City gives the best explanation of the fact; for while there is something like a general tempera-



ment in the life and manners of the City, there is no City whose significant population is less homogeneous. We are by no means one, but very many, in origin and education; and not so likely to have a family heart to our distinguished men as either the South or the East.

But, without explaining it, we may regret it. If it be modesty, it is a virtue that has its conveniences. There is no need, certainly, of putting everybody of good figure into scarlet, or flame color, and sending them up by gas, that they may be seen afar; but it is both just to individuals, and profitable to a City, to give to its really able men in every profession or walk, such prominence and decoration as will bring to both a due share of consideration from the country at large. It helps the community, and it helps the individual. It warms him, and draws him out, or disposes him the more readily to be drawn out. It gives him confidence, and enlarges him both in power and productiveness.

The elder Matthews, an inimitable mimic and droll, at one of his first appearances in the Philadelphia Theatre, when I was present, found his audience rather unresponsive to him. "I tell you what," said he, turning to a group in the orchestra near him, "if you want me to make you laugh, you must laugh at me." This is human nature, and shows that even first-rate talents require the occasional dew of public sympathy and praise.

Full public justice was not done to Tilghman, Lewis, Ingersoll, Rawle, and Dallas, who occupied the front seats at the Bar of Philadelphia at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. It was done at the Bar, and it was done in other States, but it was not done generally in the City. The night is now settling fast upon those memories which go back to their meridian, or even to their declining sun; and this is one motive of my imperfect attempt, in three or four cases, to remove the obscurity that is coming upon names, which at one time, within the halls of the law, were surrounded by as pure a light, and as bright, as is now shining anywhere in any part of our country. One and all of them would have been regarded

as able men in Westminster Hall. More than one of them would have stood at the height of that Bar. Their superiors I think have not shown themselves in any part of our land; and among those who have followed on the same spot, the praise of being next after ought to have satisfied the foremost of them that I have known.

There is another influence that has led to these sketches. Mr. Ingersoll's day at the Bar was moreover the day of judicial tenure during good behavior. It ought not to be forgotten what sort of men were made at the Bar, by that tenure of judicial office, any more than we should forget who were the Judges that adorned it, and shed their influence upon all around them.

We are now under the direction of a fearful mandate, which compels our Judges to enter the arena of a popular election for their offices, and for a term of years so short as to keep the source of their elevation to the Bench continually before their eyes. At least once again in the life of every Judge, we may suppose he will be compelled by a necessity, much stronger than at first, to enter the same field; and the greater the necessity, the less will his eyes ever close upon the fact. It is this fact, re-eligibility to office, with the hope of re-election, that puts a cord around the neck of every one of them, during the whole term of his office. It is transcendently worse than the principle of original election at the polls. Doubtless there is more than one of the Judges who had rather be strangled by the cord than do a thing unworthy of his place; but the personal characteristics of a few are no grounds of inference as to the many; nor are even the mischiefs already apparent a rule to measure the mischiefs that are in reserve. We must confess that a system is perilous which holds out to the best Judge, if he displeases a powerful party, nothing better than the Poor-house, which a late eminent Chief-Justice saw before him, and committed the great fault of his life, by confessing and avoiding it. The mind of the public, of all parties, is becoming apprehensive upon the subject; and well may it be so, even among party men, for parties change

suddenly, and once in every five or ten years we may be sure that the chalice will come round to the lips of those who have drugged it. No man can be too apprehensive of the evil, who thinks the law worth preserving as a security for what he possesses, and no lawyer who regards it as a security for his honor and reputation. For what can it give of either, if the wheels of the instrument receive a twist or bias through party fear or favor, or are so ignorantly and presumptuously governed, as to let them cut and eat into each other, until they work falsely or uncertainly?

At the formation of the Federal Constitution in 1787, the tenure of the judicial department was thought by our forefathers to be not only the guarantee of that department, but the best guarantee of all the departments of government. What guarantee is there for the Constitution itself, if you emasculate the judicial department, the only one that is a smooth, practical, wakeful, and efficient defence against invasions of the Constitution by the Legislature,—the only one that can be efficient in a republican representative government, whose people will not bear a blow, and therefore require a guarantee whose blow is a word? A leasehold elective tenure by the judiciary is a frightful solecism in such a government. It enfeebles the guarantee of other guarantees—the trial by jury—the writ of habeas corpus—the freedom and purity of elections by the people—and the true liberty and responsibility of the press. It takes strength from the only arm that can do mischief by its strength, and gives it to those who have no general intelligence to this end, in the use of it, and therefore no ability to use it for their own protection. The certainty and permanence of the law depend in great degree upon the Judges; and all experience misleads us, and the very demonstrations of reasons are fallacies, if the certainty and permanence of the judicial office by the tenure of good behavior are not inseparably connected with a righteous, as well as with a scientific administration of the law. What can experience or foresight predict for the result of a system, by which a body of men, set apart to



enforce the whole law at all times, whatever may be the opposition to it, and whose duty is never so important and essential as when it does so against the passions of a present majority of the polls, is made to depend for office upon the fluctuating temper of a majority, and not upon the virtue of their own conduct?

But an equally inseparable connection or dependency exists between the Bar and the Bench,—between the knowledge and virtue of the respective bodies. A good Bar cannot exist long in connection with a favor-seeking Bench,—a Bench on the lookout for favors from the people or from any one. Such a Bench is not an independent body, whatever some of the Judges may be personally. Nobody thinks it is. The Constitution of 1837, and the people, declare that it is not, by the very principle of the recurring elective tenure. Under a false theory, and for a party end, they meant to make it a dependent body, by abolishing the tenure during good behavior. The Bench therefore, as now constituted, is not raised sufficiently above the Bar to command it by the power of its political constitution. The Bar is constitutionally the higher body of the two, the more permanent, the more independent, and, popularity being the motive power, the more controlling body, though only for its personal and several ends. This is the fatal derangement that the present judicial tenure makes between the two corps. The subordinate becomes the paramount. The private and personal will controls the public; not by reason, not by virtue, not always openly, but by influence.

In our cities and principal towns, the Bar is a large and diversified body. Like the web of our life, it is a mingled yarn, good and ill together; and the ill yarn is not always the weakest, nor the least likely, by its dye, to give hue and color to the whole. Venal politicians,—leaders in the popular current,—minglers in it for the purpose of leading it, or at least of turning the force of its waters to their own wheels,—adepts in polishing up, or in blowing upon or dulling the names of candidates for judicial office,—students in the art of ferreting out the infirmities of Judges, and track-

ing the path of their fears,—such men are always to be found in such a body, and to be found in most abundance at the Bar of a Court that has a weak constitution. It is there that thrift waits upon them. There is no need that the pregnant hinges of their knees should be crooked to the Judges, if they only be to those who make them. Where is the independent Bench, that can habitually exercise the restraining or the deterrent power, to prevent such “faults” of the Bar from “whipping the virtues” out of Court, or breaking down their influence upon the mass? And if the Bench—not individual Judges—if the Bench, as the Constitution makes it, cannot steadily and uniformly, without special virtue or particular effort, repress the professional misconduct of every member of the Bar, whatever be his popular influence and connections, what honor or esteem will professional distinction obtain from the world, and what sanction will professional integrity have at the Bar?

It is no comfort to think that the people, or at least a large number of them, must be present sufferers from such a state of things, and that, finally, all of them must take their turn; for the whole people must suffer from a disordered Bar. But the more cutting evil must fall on the honorable members of the Bar, who regard their own distinction in it as an estate in character for those who are to succeed them; and who, if their community be generally vitiated, must see the inheritance of honor which they would lay up for their children, day by day sapped and undermined, while they are toiling against the hour-glass, to find at last in their best acquisitions nothing better than the sand at the one end, or the emptiness at the other.

The Bar of Philadelphia, I doubt not of all Pennsylvania, but of the former I may speak *scienter*, was, for nearly half a century, under the judicial tenure of good behavior, an honorable Bar, professionally and personally. If there were spots or blemishes, they did not meet the face of the Court, and rarely the face of the day. The serene virtue of the Bench was no more disturbed than its strength was chal-

lenged by them. Without any doubt, very many honorable and able lawyers are still extant at it, and so are pure and unterrified Judges. But is there no symptom of change? Perhaps not great. Is the countenance of the public towards the Bench and the Bar the same that it was in times past? Perhaps not exactly. Both the fact and the causes of it are worthy of much observation by the Bar, and by everybody.

Whether the connection between Bench and Bar, however, be such as has been suggested, or the full influence of learned and honorable members of the profession must always be felt, whatever be the tenure of the Bench, in either supposition it must be profitable to lawyers of virtuous aspiration to recall their predecessors of distinguished name, and to corroborate their own virtue and influence at this day, by examples from the old "good behavior" Bar of Philadelphia.



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

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from page 142.)

1777.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1777.

At Trenton: "On Monday morning [December 30, 1776,] I passed the Delaware myself; the whole of our troops and artillery not till yesterday, owing to the ice, which rendered their passage extremely difficult and fatiguing."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

THURSDAY, JANUARY 2.

At Trenton: Head-quarters close to the Assunpink Creek, to the south of which the army was encamped.

The enemy, who were in force at Princeton, under Lord Cornwallis, advanced during the day, the head of their column reaching Trenton about five o'clock in the afternoon. After making several attempts from the north, to cross a small bridge spanning the creek, they halted for the night. Washington having discovered by this time that they were greatly superior in number, called a council of war, in which it was decided to abandon the Delaware, and by marching silently in the night gain the rear of the troops still at Princeton, and if possible, strike a blow at New Brunswick, the depository of the British stores. Accordingly, after renewing all the fires, the army left its position at midnight, and by a circuitous route reached Princeton, ten miles distant, about sunrise of the 3d.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 3.

At the battle of Princeton: The seventeenth and fifty-fifth regiments of the British brigade, commanded by Colonel Mawhood, being defeated, the former retreated towards Trenton, and the latter to New Brunswick, as did also the fortieth, which took little part in the action.

Washington pursued the enemy as far as Kingston, beyond the Millstone River, three miles northeast of Princeton, and then filing off to the left,

after destroying the bridge, marched to Somerset Court-house, now Millstone, where the troops bivouacked for the night. "Washington and some of his staff quartered at the residence of John Van Doren, just south of the village; the house is still standing, as is the barn in which the general's horse was stabled."<sup>1</sup> In the morning the army continued the march over the hills to Pluckamin, twenty miles north of Princeton, which place was reached during the afternoon. When Horace Walpole heard of the affair at Trenton, and Washington's night march to Princeton, he wrote to Sir Horace Mann: "Washington the dictator, has shown himself both a Fabius and a Camillus. His march through our lines is allowed to have been a prodigy of generalship."

SUNDAY, JANUARY 5.

At Pluckamin, New Jersey: "Fortune has favored us in an attack on Princeton. . . . Three regiments of British troops were quartered there, which we attacked and routed. The number of the killed, wounded, and prisoners amounts to about five or six hundred. . . . After the action we immediately marched for this place. I shall remove from hence to Morristown."—*Washington to General Putnam.*

MONDAY, JANUARY 6.

At Morristown, New Jersey: Fourteen miles northeast of Pluckamin. Establishes head-quarters at a tavern owned and kept by Colonel Jacob Arnold, where he remains until May 28th.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 18.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "The enemy by two lucky strokes, at Trenton and Princeton, have been obliged to abandon every part of Jersey except Brunswic and Amboy, and the small tract of country between them, which is so entirely exhausted of supplies of every kind, that I hope, by preventing them from sending their foraging parties to any great distance, to reduce them to the utmost distress, in the course of this winter."—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

"Morristown was in a mountainous region, difficult of access to the enemy, and surrounded by a fertile country, affording abundant supplies. Washington did not sit down idle, however, nor trust to the barriers of nature

<sup>1</sup> The "Story of an Old Farm," by Andrew D. Mellick, p. 382.

for his protection. Unprovided as his men were with almost every thing necessary for a winter campaign, he sent out detachments to assail and harass General Howe's troops; and with such vigor and address were these expeditions conducted, that in a short time not a single British or Hessian regiment remained in the Jerseys, except at Brunswick and Amboy, between which places and New York was an open communication by water."—*Sparks*, I. 233.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 25.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: Issues a proclamation commanding and requiring every person who had signed a declaration of fidelity, taken the oath of allegiance, and engaged not to take up arms against the King of Great Britain, to repair to head-quarters within thirty days, and there deliver up such protection, certificate, and passport, and take the oath of allegiance to the United States of America, or withdraw within the British lines.

This proclamation, which was issued to counteract the effects of one by Lord Howe and General Howe, November 30, 1776, promising amnesty to all in rebellion who should, within sixty days, return to their allegiance, was objected to by the Legislature of New Jersey, that body regarding it as a violation of State supremacy. Others again, jealous of the extraordinary powers vested by Congress in Washington (December 27, 1776), questioned whether he had not transcended these powers, and exercised a degree of despotism.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 28.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "I am just moving to Boundbrook [Middlebrook], from whence I returned yesterday morning. On Monday morning a body of the enemy advanced near that post. They retreated, on seeing a detachment march to meet them."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

THURSDAY, MAY 29.

At Middlebrook, New Jersey: Establishes head-quarters, where he remains until July 3.

Middlebrook, Somerset County, New Jersey, is on the Raritan River, fifteen miles south of Morristown. Middlebrook and Boundbrook lie close together, and are included in one village.



TUESDAY, JUNE 17.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: "The main body of our army is encamped at Middlebrook, and a considerable body under General Sullivan at Sourland Hills. . . . The enemy are strongly posted, having their right at Brunswic and their left at Somerset."—*Washington to General Arnold.*

SUNDAY, JUNE 22.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: "The enemy evacuated Brunswic this morning and retired to Amboy."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25.

At Quibbletown, New Jersey: "After the evacuation of Brunswic, I determined with the advice of my general officers, to move the whole army the next morning to this post, where they would be nearer the enemy, and might act according to circumstances. In this I was prevented by rain, and they only moved yesterday morning."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Quibbletown (now New Market), Middlesex County, New Jersey, is about six miles from Middlebrook, on the road to Amboy.

THURSDAY, JUNE 26.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: On the morning of the 26th, General Howe advanced with his whole army in several columns from Amboy, as far as Westfield, with the design of either bringing on a general engagement, or to possess himself of the heights and passes in the mountains on the American's left. Washington, perceiving this, put the troops in motion and regained the camp at Middlebrook. After some skirmishing the enemy retired on the 27th to Amboy.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: "The day before yesterday he [General Howe] threw the whole of his army over to Staten Island, and totally evacuated the State of New Jersey."—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

FRIDAY, JULY 4.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "The army marched yesterday for this place, where it will be more conveniently situated for succoring Peeks Kill, or the Eastern States, and will be near enough to oppose any design upon Philadelphia. General Sullivan is further advanced towards Peeks Kill."—*Washington to Governor Trumbull.*

THURSDAY, JULY 10.

At Head-quarters, Morristown: "In consequence of the advices from General St. Clair, and the strong probability there is that General Howe will push against the Highland passes to coöperate with General Burgoyne, I shall, by the advice of my officers, move the army from hence to-morrow morning towards the North River."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"July 11, 1777. The whole army marched from Morristown to Pompton Plains, about seventeen miles."—*Pickering's Journal.*

SATURDAY, JULY 12.

At Pompton Plains, New Jersey: "We have been prevented marching to-day by the rain; but, as soon as the weather permits, we shall proceed as expeditiously as we can towards the North River, and cross, or not, as shall appear necessary from circumstances."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"July 12, 1777. A rainy day. 13th the same. 14th. Marched to Van Aulen's, a mile east of Pond Church; 15th to Sovereign [Suffren's or Suffern's] tavern near the entrance to Smith's Clove."—*Pickering's Journal.*

SUNDAY, JULY 13.

At Pompton Plains: "This is the second day I have been detained here by the badness of the weather. As soon as it will permit, I shall prosecute my march through the Clove."—*Washington to General Schuyler.*

"Tradition reports that Washington had his head-quarters [at Pompton] in a little frame house, on the banks of the Wynockie, which stands at the bend of a road leading from the Rycerson Furnace to the Passaic County

Hotel. It is opposite to a more imposing structure known as the Ryerson House. During the revolution it belonged to Capt. Arent Schuyler."—*Magazine of American History*, III. 158.

TUESDAY, JULY 15.

At the Clove, New York: Washington's head-quarters were at Suffern's tavern, near the entrance to the Clove, a valley in Orange County, New York, where he remained until July 20.

"The Clove is extremely wild, and was scarcely known before the war: it is a sort of valley, or gorge, situated to the westward of the high mountains between New Windsor and King's Ferry, and at the foot of which are West Point and Stoney Point, and the principal forts which defend the river."—*De Chastellux*, I. 345.

SUNDAY, JULY 20.

At Galloway's in the Clove: "Went from Suffern's tavern into the Clove eleven miles. Head-quarters at Galloway's, an old log house. The General [Washington] lodged in a bed, and his family on the floor about him. We had plenty of sepawn and milk, and all were contented."—*Pickering's Journal*.

MONDAY, JULY 21.

At Galloway's: "The intelligence, which occasioned us to advance from the entrance of the Clove yesterday morning, I find to have been premature, and mean to remain here till I have your answer."—*Washington to General Putnam*.

The movement into the Clove was made under the supposition, or *premature intelligence*, that General Howe was about pushing up the North River to co-operate with General Burgoyne.

THURSDAY, JULY 24.

At Ramapo, New Jersey: "I have just received advice of the enemy's fleet having sailed from the Hook; in consequence of which I have to desire, that you will immediately order General Sullivan's and Lord Stirling's divisions to cross the river [the Hudson], and proceed towards Philadelphia."—*Washington to General Putnam*.



“Ramapo, or Ramopock, was a small settlement, about five miles south of the present Suffern’s Station on the New York and Erie rail-way, and within the province of New Jersey. It was nearly seven miles below the present village of Ramapo, founded by Mr. Pierson.”—*Lossing, Field-Book*, I. 780.

FRIDAY, JULY 25.

At Ramapo: “I have received yours of yesterday’s date enclosing the intercepted letter from General Howe to Burgoyne. To me a stronger proof could not be given, that the former is not going to the eastward, than this letter affords. It was evidently intended to fall into our hands. . . . I am persuaded more than ever, that Philadelphia is the place of destination.”—*Washington to General Putnam*.

The letter from General Howe to General Burgoyne, referred to above, informing the latter that an expedition to Boston would take the place of one up the North River, was written to deceive. It, however, only confirmed Washington in his purpose to put the army in motion towards Philadelphia.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 30.

At Coryell’s Ferry, New Jersey: “As we are uncertain as to the real destination of the enemy, though the Delaware seems the most probable, I have thought it prudent to halt the army at this place, Howell’s Ferry, and Trenton, at least till the fleet actually enters the bay, and puts the matter beyond a doubt.”—*Washington to General Gates*.

The route of the army from the Clove to Coryell’s Ferry, on the Delaware, sixteen miles above Trenton, is given by Colonel Pickering in his *Journal*: “July 23d. Returned from the Clove to Ramapo. 25th. Marched to Pompton; 26th, to Morristown; 27th, to Reading, eighteen miles from Coryell’s Ferry over the Delaware. 28th. Marched to the ferry, and quartered at a hearty old Quaker’s named Oakham.”

THURSDAY, JULY 31.

At Coryell’s Ferry: “At half after nine o’clock this morning, I received an express from Congress, advising that the enemy’s fleet, consisting of two hundred and twenty-eight sail were at the Capes of Delaware yesterday in the fore-

noon. . . . The troops are on their march from hence.”—  
*Washington to Governor Trumbull.*

Washington left Ramapo on the 25th of July, and arrived at Coryell's Ferry, on the Delaware, now Lambertville, New Jersey, on the 28th. One brigade of the army crossed the river on the morning of the 29th; two divisions under General Stephen crossed at Howell's Ferry, now Stockton, three miles above, and Lord Stirling at Trenton. The troops which crossed at Coryell's and Howell's, comprising the bulk of the army, were put in march for Philadelphia, down the Old York Road, on the morning of the 31st, Washington going in advance, arriving in the city at about ten o'clock at night. On the following day, August 1, he examined the defences of the Delaware,<sup>1</sup> and passed the night at Chester, fifteen miles below Philadelphia.

#### FRIDAY, AUGUST 1.

At Chester, Pennsylvania: “I have this moment [10 o'clock P.M.] received intelligence by express, that the enemy's fleet yesterday morning about eight o'clock sailed out of the Capes in an eastern course.”—*Washington to General Putnam.*

#### SATURDAY, AUGUST 2.

At Philadelphia: Washington remained in Philadelphia until August 5, when he rejoined the army, which was in camp near Germantown, about five miles north of the city.

It was during this visit to Philadelphia that Washington, at a public dinner given in his honor, met Lafayette for the first time. The marquis, who had just been commissioned a major-general, refers to this meeting in his Memoirs, which are written in the third person, in the following words: “The two Howes having appeared before the Capes of the Delaware, General Washington came to Philadelphia, and M. de Lafayette beheld for the first time that great man. Although he was surrounded by officers and citizens, it was impossible to mistake for a moment his majestic figure and deportment; nor was he less distinguished by the noble affability of his manner.”

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 7.

At Camp near Germantown: “We are yet entirely in the dark as to the destination of the enemy. The fleet has

<sup>1</sup> “Aug. 1777.—Expended in a trip to examine Mud Isl<sup>d</sup> [Fort Mifflin] Red bank [Fort Mercer] and Billingsport. 60 $\frac{2}{3}$  Doll<sup>s</sup>.—To Ditto going to Marcus hook. 86 Doll<sup>s</sup>.”—*Washington's Accounts.*

neither been seen nor heard of since they left the Capes of Delaware, on this day week.”—*Washington to General Putnam.*

On August 1 the army arrived at its camping ground between Germantown and the Schuylkill River (Schuylkill Falls), five miles from Philadelphia, where Washington rejoined it on the 5th. On the 9th, under the supposition that the enemy had sailed for the eastward, he started it back to Coryell's Ferry.

## FRIDAY, AUGUST 8.

At Camp near Germantown: “The army was reviewed, and in the afternoon marched about nine or ten miles back from Germantown.”—*Pickering's Journal.*

The Marquis de Lafayette, an eye-witness to the review, has left us the following description in his Memoirs: “About eleven thousand men, ill armed, and still worse clothed, presented a strange spectacle to the eye of the young Frenchman: their clothes were parti-coloured, and many of them were almost naked; the best clad wore *hunting shirts*, large grey linen coats which were much used in Carolina. As to their military tactics, it will be sufficient to say that, for a regiment ranged in order of battle to move forward on the right of its line, it was necessary for the left to make a continued counter march. They were always arranged in two lines, the smallest men in the first line; no other distinction as to height was ever observed. In spite of these disadvantages, the soldiers were fine, and the officers zealous; virtue stood in place of science, and each day added both to experience and discipline.”

## SATURDAY, AUGUST 9.

At Camp near Germantown: “We have no further account of the Enemy's Fleet and therefore concluding that they are gone to the Eastward we have again turned our faces that way and shall move slow till we get some account of it.”—*Washington to John Augustine Washington.*

## SUNDAY, AUGUST 10.

In Camp at the Cross-Roads: “I this minute [nine o'clock P.M.] received your favor of this afternoon, transmitting intelligence that a fleet was seen off Sinapuxent on the 7th instant. I was about three miles eastward of the Billet tavern [now Hatborough], on the road leading to Coryell's Ferry, when the express arrived. The troops are



encamped near the road, where they will remain till I have further accounts of the fleet.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

On the 11th, Washington established his head-quarters at a house on the Old York Road, near the Neshaminy Creek, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, about half a mile above the village of Hartsville, known as the Cross Roads, and twenty miles north of Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup> The army remained at the “Neshaminy Camp” until August 23.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13.

At Head-quarters, Neshaminy: “We moved to this place on the 10th inst. Here we received the account from Synnepuxent, and remain at fault till some more particular accounts of the motions of the enemy enable me to judge of their designs. . . . The men are exercised in smaller or greater numbers every day.”—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 21.

At Head-quarters, Neshaminy: A council of war, in which it was decided that, as the enemy’s fleet had most probably sailed for Charleston, it was not expedient for the army to march southward, and that it should move immediately towards the North River.

The Marquis de Lafayette took part, for the first time, in the council of war convened on this occasion, as major-general, having been commissioned July 31.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 22.

At Head-quarters, Neshaminy: “I am honored with your favor containing the intelligence of the enemy’s arrival in Chesapeake Bay. . . . I have directed General Sullivan to join the army with his division as speedily as possible, and I have issued orders for all the troops here to be in motion to-morrow morning very early, with the intention to march them towards Philadelphia and onwards.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

<sup>1</sup> “Washington’s Encampment on the Neshaminy,” by William J. Buck.—*Pennsylvania Magazine*, I. 275.

## SATURDAY, AUGUST 23.

At Head-quarters, Neshaminy: "I beg leave to inform you, that the army marched early this morning, and will encamp, I expect, this evening within five or six miles of Philadelphia."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The army moved down the Old York Road, and encamped for the night near Nicetown, within five miles of Philadelphia. Washington made his head-quarters at Stenton, the homestead of the Logan family, and from which the same evening he issued the following general order: "The army is to move precisely at 4 o'clock in the morning, if it should not rain. . . . The army is to march in one column through the city of Philadelphia, going in at and marching down Front Street to Chestnut, and up Chestnut to the Common. A small halt is to be made about a mile this side of the city until the rear is clear up and the line in proper order."

## SUNDAY, AUGUST 24.

At Philadelphia: "Last Sunday [August 24] part of the Continental army, amounting to about ten thousand men, with his excellency general Washington at their head, marched through the city, and immediately proceeded over the river Schuylkill [at the Middle Ferry, Market Street], on their way, it is said, to the eastern shore of Maryland. And on Monday morning gen. Nash's brigade of N. Carolina forces, and col. Proctor's regiment of artillery, passed through the city, who, we hear, are to pursue the same route, in order to join our most illustrious general."—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, August 28, 1777.

"August 24th, 1777.—The army marched through the city [Philadelphia], and was allowed to make a fine appearance, the order of marching being extremely well preserved. We advanced to Derby.—25th. The army marched through Chester to Naaman's Creek, the General and family advancing to Wilmington, a pretty town and pleasantly situated."—*Pickering's Journal.*

## MONDAY, AUGUST 25.

At Wilmington, Delaware: "Six o'clock p.m. I have just received information, that the enemy began to land this morning about six miles below the Head of Elk, opposite to Cecil Court-House."—*Washington to General Armstrong.*

"On reaching Wilmington [twenty-eight miles southwest from Philadelphia], Washington took up his head-quarters on Quaker Hill, in a house

which for many years afterwards stood on the west side of West Street, midway between Third and Fourth; the army encamped on the high land west of the town, some going as far as Newport, three miles below."—*Scharf, History of Delaware, I. 243.*

TUESDAY, AUGUST 26.

At Head-quarters, Wilmington: "The General [Washington] went with all the horse, save Sheldon's to reconnoitre."—*Pickering's Journal.*

It was on this reconnoissance that Washington, in consequence of a terrible storm, passed the night at a farm-house near Gray's hill, two miles from the Head of Elk (now Elkton), at the imminent risk of being surprised by the enemy's scouts; his only companions being Generals Greene, Weedon, and Lafayette.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 27.

At Head-quarters, Wilmington: "I this morning returned from the Head of Elk, which I left last night."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

On August 25 the British army, under Sir William Howe, landed from the fleet at Turkey Point, at the head of Chesapeake Bay, and on the 28th marched to the Head of Elk, eighteen miles from Wilmington. From this point Howe issued a declaration, promising, among other things, pardon to those who had taken an active part in the rebellion, provided they should voluntarily return to their allegiance.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 29.

At Head-quarters, Wilmington: "The enemy advanced a part of their army yesterday to Gray's Hill, about two miles this side of Elk."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30.

At Head-quarters, Wilmington: "I was reconnoitring the country and different roads all yesterday, and am now setting out on the same business again."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

At Head-quarters, Wilmington: "Eight o'clock P.M.—This morning the enemy came out, with a considerable force



and three pieces of artillery, against our light advanced corps, and, after some pretty smart skirmishing obliged them to retreat, being far inferior in number, and without cannon.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5.

At Head-quarters, Wilmington: Issues an order informing the army of the intention of the British to possess themselves of Philadelphia, and warning them of the importance of the impending battle.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

At Head-quarters, Wilmington: “Since General Howe’s debarkation in Elk river he has moved on about seven miles; his main body now lies at Iron Hill, and ours near a village called Newport. In this position the armies are from eight to ten miles apart.”—*Washington to General Heath.*

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9.

Six miles from Wilmington: “The enemy advanced yesterday with a seeming intention of attacking us upon our post near Newport. We waited for them the whole day; but in the Evening they halted, at a place called Milltown, about two miles from us. . . . The army marched at two o’clock this morning, and will take post this evening upon the high grounds near Chad’s Ford.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

“September 9th, 1777.—Left Newport in the morning before daylight, and marched to Chad’s Ford; crossed it, and encamped on the east side of the Brandywine, having information that the enemy had marched far to the north of Newport.”—*Pickering’s Journal.*

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.

At Chadd’s Ford, Pennsylvania: Head-quarters at the house of Benjamin Ring, one mile east of the ford.

Chadd’s Ford, Brandywine Creek, on the heights east of which the main strength of the army was posted, commanding the passage of the creek, is about thirteen miles north of Wilmington. The battle of the 11th,

however, was decided three miles to the northward, near Birmingham Meeting-House, a large body of British troops under Cornwallis having crossed the creek at the upper fords.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

At the Battle of Brandywine: "With the fall of night the conflict ended, and the whole American army retreated to Chester twelve miles distant, during the evening, under the immediate command of Washington, who there restored order, and before he slept, arranged his plans for the morrow."—*Lossing, Life of Washington, II. 507.*

"Chester, twelve o'clock at night, 11 September, 1777.—I am sorry to inform you, that, in this day's engagement, we have been obliged to leave the enemy masters of the field."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

On the march to Philadelphia: "This day the army marched to the Schuylkill, part crossing and marching to our old camp by Schuylkill Falls."—*Pickering's Journal.*

The camp "by Schuylkill Falls" was on the east bank of the Schuylkill River, five miles above Philadelphia, and west of Germantown. On the following day, the 13th, as recorded by Colonel Pickering, "the rest of the army crossed, and the whole collected at the old encampment, vast numbers of stragglers coming in."

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13.

At Schuylkill Falls, Philadelphia: *Orderly Book.*—"The General, with peculiar satisfaction, thanks the gallant officers who on the 11th inst. bravely fought in their country's cause. Although the events of that day, from some unfortunate circumstances, were not so favorable as could be wished, the General has the satisfaction of assuring the troops that from every account he has been able to obtain, the enemy's loss vastly exceeded ours."

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

Leaves Schuylkill Falls: "The army having yesterday cleaned their arms, and received ammunition to complete forty rounds a man, this day marched up a few miles and

recrossed the Schuylkill at Levering's Ford, the water being nearly up to the waist. We advanced about five or six miles that night."—*Pickering's Journal*.

Levering's Ford, on the Schuylkill, was at Green Lane, two miles above the Falls, but the crossing was really made at Matson's Ford, now Conshohocken, six miles farther up the stream.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 15.

At the Buck Tavern: "Three o'clock, P.M.—We are moving up this road [the old Lancaster road] to get between the enemy and Swede's Ford, and to prevent them from turning our right flank."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

The Buck Tavern, about nine miles northwest of Philadelphia, on the old Lancaster road, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, a well known hostelry of its day, is still standing, but occupied as a private house. The army advanced the same day thirteen miles farther up the road to a point near the junction of the Swede's Ford road, northwest of the Warren Tavern, in Chester County, and encamped between that point and the White Horse Tavern, Washington making his head-quarters at the residence of Joseph Malin.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.

Near the White Horse Tavern: "About nine in the morning we were informed that the enemy were advancing towards us. The troops got under arms, and the baggage was sent off. An advance party of the enemy attacked our picket, just posted (about three hundred strong), who shamefully fled at the first fire. About this time it began to rain. General Scott, with his brigade, was ordered to advance to attack this party of the enemy, or skirmish with another expected in our front. The rain increased."—*Pickering's Journal*.

The rain finally turned into such a violent storm that the arms became absolutely unfit for use, and orders were given to march to the Yellow Springs, a distance of five miles to the northward, where the troops arrived about ten o'clock at night. Washington himself is said to have passed the night at the Red Lion Tavern (now Lionville), about three miles from the Springs.



## WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17.

At the Yellow Springs, Pennsylvania: "Yesterday the enemy moved from Concord, by the Edgemont towards the Lancaster road, with evident design to gain our right flank. This obliged us to alter our position and march to this place, from whence we intend immediately to proceed to Warwic." — *Washington to the President of Congress.*

Part of the army marched to Warwick Furnace, on French Creek, eight miles north of the Yellow Springs, and about nine miles from the Schuylkill River, on the 17th, where they were joined by the rest on the following day. Warwick Furnace was a depot for the manufacture and repair of guns, and casting of cannon, sixty of which, for the use of the Continental army, of twelve- and eighteen-pound calibre, were cast in 1776.

## FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19.

At Parker's Ford: "I am now repassing the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford [Lawrenceville], with the main body of the army, which will be over in an hour or two, though it is deep and rapid. . . . As soon as the troops have crossed the river, I shall march them expeditiously as possible towards Fatland, Swede's, and the other fords, where it is most probable the enemy will attempt to pass." — *Washington to the President of Congress.*

The army marched southward from Parker's Ford, on the east side of the river, by way of the Trappe (a village on the Reading road, twenty-five miles from Philadelphia), as far as Perkiomen Creek, where it encamped. "His Excellency General Washington was with the troops in person, who marched past here [the Trappe] to the Perkiomen. The proecssion lasted the whole night, and we had numerous visits from officers, wet breast high, who had to march in this condition during the whole night, eold and damp as it was, and to bear hunger and thirst at the same time." — *Muhlenberg's Journal*, September 19, 1777. On the 21st, the enemy having moved rapidly up the road on the west side of the Schuylkill, Washington marched the troops to within four miles of Pottsgrove (now Pottstown), eight miles above the Trappe. Here he remained until the 26th, when he moved to Pennybacker's Mills, on the Perkiomen, nine miles to the eastward.

## TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

At Camp near Pottsgrove, Pennsylvania: "The enemy by a variety of perplexing manœuvres through a country from which I could not derive the least intelligence (being

to a man disaffected), contrived to pass the Schuylkill last night at the Fatland [half a mile below Valley Forge], and other fords in the neighborhood of it. They marched immediately towards Philadelphia, and I imagine their advanced parties will be near the city to-night."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"September 26th, 1777.—At half past eight this morning Lord Cornwallis with the two Battalions of British Grenadiers and Hessian Grenadiers, two squadrons of Sixteenth dragoons and artillery with the Chief-Engineer, Commanding officer of Artillery, Quartermaster and Adjutant-General marched and took possession of the city of Philadelphia at 10 the same morning amidst the acclamation of some thousands of the inhabitants mostly women and children."—*Journal of Captain John Montresor, Chief-Engineer of the British Army, Pennsylvania Magazine, VI. 41.*

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26.

At Camp near Pottsgrove: "We shall move towards Philadelphia to-day, as the weather is fair and our reinforcements are at some distance below, ready to fall in with us."—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27.

At Pennybacker's Mills: "You are hereby authorized to impress all the Blankets, Shoes, Stockings and other Articles of Clothing that can be spared by the Inhabitants of the County of Lancaster for the Use of the Continental Army, paying for the same at reasonable Rates or giving Certificates."—*Washington to William Henry, Lancaster.*

William Henry, to whom the above order was addressed, was at the time a member of the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania and Treasurer of Lancaster County.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 28.

At Pennybacker's Mills: *Orderly Book.*—"The Commander-in-Chief has the happiness again to congratulate the army on the success of the Americans to the Northward. On the 19th inst. an engagement took place [at Bemis's Heights, New York] between General Burgoyne's army and the left wing of ours, under General Gates. The

battle began at 10 o'clock, and lasted till night—our troops fighting with the greatest bravery, not giving an inch of ground.”

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29.

At Pennybacker's Mills: “I shall move the Army four or five miles lower down to day, from whence we may reconnoitre and fix upon a proper situation, at such distance from the Enemy, as will entitle us to make an attack, should we see a proper opening, or stand upon the defensive till we obtain further reinforcements. This was the opinion of a majority of a Council of General officers which I called yesterday.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Washington reached Pennybacker's (formerly Pauling's) Mills, now Schwenksville, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, on September 26, making his head-quarters at the house of Samuel Pennybacker, the owner of the mills. On the 29th he moved down the Skippack road to Skippack Creek, within twenty-five miles of Philadelphia, and on the 2d of October, five miles farther down the road to Worcester township. It was from this point, “Methacton Hill,” that the army started, at seven o'clock on the evening of October 3, to attack the enemy at Germantown.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4.

At the Battle of Germantown: “In the midst of the most promising appearances, when every thing gave the most flattering hopes of victory, the troops began suddenly to retreat, and entirely left the field, in spite of every effort that could be made to rally them.”—*Washington to the President of Congress, October 5.*

“After the army were all retreating, I expected they would have returned to their last encampment, about twelve or thirteen miles from the enemy at Germantown; but the retreat was continued upwards of twenty miles; so that all those men, who retired so far, this day marched upwards of thirty miles without rest, besides being up all the preceding night without sleep.”—*Pickering's Journal.*

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 5.

At Pennybacker's Mills: “This day and the following the stragglers had generally joined the army over Perkiomen Creek.”—*Pickering's Journal.*



TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7.

At Pennybacker's Mills: "My intention is to encamp the army at some suitable place to rest and refresh the men, and recover them from the still remaining effects of that disorder naturally attendant on a retreat."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

On this day Washington received a committee of six prominent Friends, appointed by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to visit "William Howe, General of the British Army, and George Washington, General of the American Army," for the purpose of presenting them the Society's "testimony" against war, and of explaining the position the Friends occupied as non-resistants, conscientiously restrained from bearing arms on either side. Committee: Samuel Emlen, William Brown, Joshua Morris, James Thornton, Warner Mifflin, and Nicholas Waln. The committee were kindly entertained by the commander-in-chief, after which he sent them to Pottsgrove, to remain a few days, in order that, should they be exposed to British questioning, on their return to Philadelphia, they could make the reply that it had been some time since they left head-quarters.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8.

At Pennybacker's Mills: "The army here marches this morning, from hence to the Baptist Meeting House in Montgomery Township."—*Washington to General Varnum.*

The Baptist or Mennonite Meeting-House referred to in the letter to General Varnum is on the Sumneytown road, in Towamensing Township, near Kulpsville, three miles northeast of the Skippack road, and twenty-six from Philadelphia. The burial-ground attached thereto contains the remains of General Nash, of North Carolina, and other officers, wounded at the battle of Germantown, and who died in this vicinity. Washington made his head-quarters at the farm-house of Frederick Wampole, three-fourths of a mile from the meeting-house, until October 16, when he moved to the house of Peter Wentz, on the Skippack road, Worcester Township, near "Methacton Hill."

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 9.

At Head-quarters, Wampole's: "My intention was that you and Gen'l Huntington should join me this morning, with the remainder of the Troops, and so I thought I expressed myself."—*Washington to General Varnum.*

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16.

At Head-quarters, Wentz's: "We moved this morning from the encampment at which we had been for six or seven

days past, and are just arrived at the grounds we occupied before the action of the 4th. One motive for coming here is to divert the enemy's attention and force from the forts [on the Delaware]. . . . I yesterday, through the hands of Mrs. Ferguson of Graham [Graeme] Park, received a letter of a very curious and extraordinary nature from Mr. Duché, which I have thought proper to transmit to Congress."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

The Rev. Jacob Duché, the writer of the letter referred to by Washington, was an Episcopal clergyman of Philadelphia, rector of Christ Church, and was celebrated as an eloquent and popular preacher. At the beginning of the Revolution he espoused the cause of the Colonies, and made the opening prayer at the First Congress, September 7, 1774. He was chosen chaplain to Congress, July 9, 1776, but resigned in October, on account of ill health. When the British took possession of Philadelphia, alarmed at the gloomy aspect of affairs, Duché forsook the patriot cause, and in the letter to Washington dated October 8, 1777, urged him to pursue the same course. Mr. Duché, who married a sister of Francis Hopkinson, went to England with his family, but returned to Philadelphia in 1790, where he died, January 3, 1798.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18.

At Head-quarters, Wentz's: *Orderly Book*.—"The General has his happiness completed relative to the successes of the Northern army. On the 14th instant General Burgoyne and his whole army surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Let every face brighten, and every heart expand with grateful joy and praise to the Supreme Disposer of all events, who has granted us this signal success. The chaplains of the army are to prepare short discourses, suited to the occasion, to deliver to their several corps and brigades at five o'clock this afternoon."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This order was based on a despatch received from Governor Clinton, dated Albany, October 15, 1777: "Last night at 8 o'clock the capitulation whereby General Burgoyne & whole Army surrendered themselves Prisoners of War, was signed and this Morning they have to march out towds. the River above Fish Creek with the Honours of War (and there ground their Arms) they are from thence to be marched to Massachusetts bay."—*Ford*, VI. 128. *Negotiations* for the surrender were commenced on the 14th, but the articles of the "Convention between Lieutenant-general Burgoyne and Major-general Gates" were not signed by Burgoyne until the morning of the 17th of October.

Washington remained at Wentz's until October 21, when the army moved lower down to Whitpain Township, within fifteen miles of Philadelphia. Here he made his head-quarters at the house of James Morris, between the Skippack and Morris roads, where he remained until November 2, when the army marched to Whitemarsh Township, twelve miles from Philadelphia. His head-quarters at Whitemarsh were at the "Emlen Mansion," described by Lossing, in 1848, as "standing upon the edge of a wet meadow at the head of a fine valley, and was a sort of baronial hall in size and character when Elmar [Emlen], its wealthy owner at the time of the revolution, dispensed hospitality to all who came under its roof."

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

At Head-quarters, Whitemarsh: "This morning a heavy cannonading was heard from below [on the Delaware] and continued till afternoon; from the top of Chew's house in German Town to which place the General [Washington] took a ride this morning, we could discover nothing more than thick clouds of smook, and the masts of two vessels, the weather being very hazy."—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

"November 7.—The cannonading heard day before yesterday was between the Somerset 64 Gun Ship, the Roebuck and some other vessel on the one part, and our row-gallies seconded by a two gun battery on the other."—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9.

At Head-quarters, Whitemarsh: "A letter, which I received last night [from Lord Stirling], contained the following paragraph. 'In a letter from General Conway to General Gates he says, "*Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak General and bad counsellors would have ruined it.*"'—*Washington to General Conway.*

This brief note is the earliest public record bearing on the subject of the conspiracy to displace Washington from the command of the army, known as the *Conway Cabal*. The particulars respecting this cabal will be found fully set forth by Sparks, V. 483.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17.

At Head-quarters, Whitemarsh: "I am sorry to inform you that Fort Mifflin [on the Delaware] was evacuated the night before last, after a defence which does credit to the



American arms, and will ever reflect the highest honor upon the officers and men of the garrison.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

At Head-quarters, Whitemarsh: *Orderly Book.*—“The Commander-in-Chief offers a reward of ten dollars to any person, who shall by nine o’clock on Monday morning produce the best substitute for shoes, made of raw hides.”

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23.

At Head-quarters, Whitemarsh: “I am sorry to inform Congress, that the enemy are now in possession of all the water defences [on the Delaware]. . . . The garrison [of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank] was obliged to evacuate it on the night of the 20th instant, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis, who had crossed the river from Chester with a detachment, supposed to be about two thousand men, and formed a junction with the troops lately arrived from New York, and those that had been landed before at Billingsport.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 24.

At Head-quarters, Whitemarsh: Reconnoitres the enemy’s lines of defence around Philadelphia, with a view to an attack. A council of war, held at head-quarters in the evening, decides adversely.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 30.

At Head-quarters, Whitemarsh: A council of war held to consider a proper place for winter-quarters. No decision being arrived at by the board, Washington determined to form an encampment at Valley Forge, on the west side of the Schuylkill River.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At Head-quarters, Whitemarsh: “In the course of last week, from a variety of intelligence, I had reason to expect

that General Howe was preparing to give us a general action. Accordingly, on Thursday night [December 4] he moved from the city with all his force, except a very inconsiderable part left in his lines and redoubts, and appeared the next morning on Chestnut Hill, in front of, and about three miles distant from, our right wing. As soon as their position was discovered, the Pennsylvania militia were ordered from our right, to skirmish with their light advanced parties; and I am sorry to mention, that Brigadier-General Irvine, who led them on, had the misfortune to be wounded and to be made prisoner. Nothing more occurred on that day. On Friday night [December 5] the enemy changed their ground, and moved to our left, within a mile of our line, where they remained quiet and advantageously posted the whole of next day. On Sunday [December 7] they inclined still further to our left; and, from every appearance, there was reason to apprehend they were determined on an action."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"On Sunday, the seventh of December, Washington felt certain that an attack upon his camp was meditated, and that a general engagement would follow. This he desired above all things, and prepared for the event. During the day he visited every brigade, imparted minute directions to the officers, and by words and actions gave the greatest encouragement to the troops. But night came, and nothing but skirmishes, as usual, had occurred. Howe was afraid to assail Washington, and on the afternoon of Monday, the eighth, he changed front, and marched his army back to Philadelphia."—*Lossing, Life of Washington, II. 568.*

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11.

Leaves Whitemarsh: "At four o'clock the Whole Army were Order'd to March to Sweeds Ford [Norrstown], on the River Schuylkill, about 9 miles N.W. of Chestnut Hill, and 6 from White Marsh our present Encampment. At sun an hour high the whole were mov'd from the Lines and on their march with baggage. This Night encamped in a Semi Circle nigh the Ford."—*Diary of Albigenice Waldo, Historical Magazine, V. 129.*

"December 12th.—A Bridge of Waggons made across the Schuylkill last night consisting of 36 waggons, with a bridge of Rails between each.

Sun Set.—We are order'd to march over the River. The army were 'till Sun Rise crossing the River—some at the Waggon Bridge, & some at the Raft Bridge below. Cold & Uncomfortable."—*Diary of Albigenice Waldo.*

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At the Gulf Mill: "The Army march'd three miles from the West side of the River [Swedes Ford], and encamp'd near a place called the Gulph and not an improper name either. For this Gulph seems well adapted by its situation to keep us from the pleasure & enjoyments of this world, or being conversant with any body in it."—*Diary of Albigenice Waldo.*

The Gulf Mill, a substantial stone building, erected in 1747, and still standing, is situated at the intersection of the Gulf road with Gulf Creek, which empties into the Schuylkill at West Conshohocken, the Matson's Ford of the Revolution. What is understood as the Gulf is where the creek passes through the Gulf Hill, and to effect a passage has cleft it to the base. The mill, near which Washington had his head-quarters until December 19,<sup>1</sup> is about a mile and a half west of the river, and between six and seven miles from Valley Forge. The movements of the army after the battle of Germantown had been entirely in what was then Philadelphia County, now (since 1784) Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, the townships or districts mentioned in the Itinerary being the same as at present, although not so clearly defined as to boundaries.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 14.

At Head-quarters, Gulf Mill: "On Thursday morning [December 11] we marched from our old encampment, and intended to pass the Schuylkill at Madison's [Matson's] Ford, where a bridge had been laid. When the first division and a part of the second had passed, they found a body of the enemy consisting from the best accounts we have been able to obtain, of four thousand men, under Lord Cornwallis, possessing themselves of the heights on both sides of the road leading from the river and the defile called the

<sup>1</sup> Tradition points to a house which stood about one mile north of the Gulf Mill, and half a mile east of the road, as having been Washington's head-quarters. It was known as "Walnut Grove," the residence of Lieutenant-Colonel Isaac Hughes, Pennsylvania Militia, built prior to 1743 by his father, John Hughes, stamp officer. The house, which was a notable building of the day, was taken down about twenty-five years ago.



Gulf. This unexpected event obliged such of our troops, as had crossed, to repass, and prevented our getting over till the succeeding night.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

“The army was ordered to march to the Swedes Ford three or four miles higher up the river and encamp with the right to the Schuylkill. The next morning [December 12] the want of provisions—I could weep tears of blood when I say it—the want of provisions render’d it impossible to march. We did not march till the evening of that day. Our ancient bridge, an infamous construction which in many parts obliged the men to march by Indian file, was restored, and a bridge of waggons made over the Swedes Ford.”—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens, December 23, 1777.*

MONDAY, DECEMBER 15.

At Head-quarters, Gulf Mill: “The army cross’d the Schuylkill on the 13th and has remained encamped on the heights on this side. Our truly republican general has declared to his officers that he will set the example of passing the winter in a hut himself. The precise position is not as yet fixed upon, in which our huts are to be constructed; it will probably be determined this day.”—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

“December 16th.—Cold Rainy Day—Baggage ordered over the Gulph, of our Division, which were to march at Ten—but the baggage was order’d baek and for the first time since we have been here the Tents were pitch’d to keep the men more comfortable.”—*Diary of Albigence Waldo.*

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 17.

At Head-quarters, Gulf Mill: *Orderly Book.*—“The Commander in Chief, with the highest satisfaction, expresses his thanks to the officers and soldiers for the fortitude and patience with which they have sustained the fatigue of the campaign. Although, in some instances [we] unfortunately, failed; yet upon the whole Heaven hath smiled upon our arms and crowned them with signal success; and we may upon the best grounds conclude, that, by a spirited continuance of the measures necessary for our defence, we shall finally obtain the end of our warfare, independence, liberty, and peace.”

## THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18.

At Head-quarters, Gulf Mill: This day having been set apart by Congress for public thanksgiving and prayer, the army remained in its quarters, and the chaplains performed service with their several corps and brigades.

## FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19.

At Valley Forge: "The camp moved to near the Valley Forge, where we immediately struck up temporary huts covered with leaves. In a few days we began the building of our log huts."—*Diary of Joseph Clark*, Proceedings New Jersey Hist. Soc., VII. 103.

In general orders of December 18, Washington gave explicit directions for constructing the huts. He ordered the colonels or commanding officers of regiments to cause their men to be divided into parties of twelve, and see that each party had its proportion of tools, and commence a hut for that number; and, as an encouragement to industry and art, the general promised to reward the party in each regiment which finished its hut in the quickest and most workmanlike manner, with a present of twelve dollars. He also offered a reward of one hundred dollars to the officer or soldier who should substitute a covering for the huts, cheaper and more quickly made than boards. The exact dimensions and style of the huts were also carefully set forth.

## SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: *Orderly Book*.—"The army being now come to a fixed station, the Brigadiers and officers commanding brigades, are immediately to take effectual measures to collect and bring to camp all the officers and soldiers at present scattered about the country."

Valley Forge is situated in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, on the west side of the Schuylkill River, about twenty-two miles northwest of Philadelphia. Upon the hills surrounding the valley, then partly in Philadelphia (now Montgomery County) and partly in Chester County, Washington established the winter-quarters of the army, occupying his marquee until the huts were completed. When the men were comfortably settled, the commander-in-chief took up his own quarters in the village, at the small two-story stone house of Isaac Potts, near the mouth of Valley Creek. The house, which is still standing, was purchased in 1879, together with two and one-half acres of land, by an association entitled the "Centennial and Memorial Association of Valley Forge," organized and incorporated for

the purpose of preserving it as Washington's head-quarters. Quite recently an additional acre and a half have been purchased, making altogether four acres of land immediately contiguous and pertaining to the VALLEY FORGE HEAD-QUARTERS.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 22.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "It is with infinite pain and concern, that I transmit to Congress the enclosed copies of sundry letters respecting the state of the commissary's department. In these matters are not exaggerated."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

These letters were from Generals Huntington and Varnum. The latter used the following language: "Three days successively we have been destitute of bread. Two days we have been entirely without meat. The men must be supplied, or they cannot be commanded."

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 23.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "I am now convinced beyond a doubt, that, unless some great and capital change suddenly takes place in that line [the commissary's department], this army must inevitably be reduced to one or other of these three things; starve, dissolve, or disperse in order to obtain subsistence in the best manner they can."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Notwithstanding this deplorable condition of the army, there were not wanting those who complained of its inactivity, and insisted on a winter campaign. At this time, the whole number of men in camp was eleven thousand and ninety-eight, of whom two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight were unfit for duty, "because they were barefoot and otherwise naked." In making this statement to Congress, and alluding to a memorial, or remonstrance, of the Assembly of Pennsylvania against his going into winter-quarters, Washington said, "I can assure those gentlemen, that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and, from my soul, I pity those miseries, which it is neither in my power to relieve or prevent."

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "A considerable number of our men are in warm, comfortable huts; but others



have made little progress as yet, the march of several thousand of the enemy from Philadelphia to Derby (where they remained till the 28th) having obliged a considerable body of our men to leave their work to watch them. The work is also retarded by the scarcity of tools. On Christmas day it snowed, and before the next morning it was four inches deep. The weather has since been clear and cold.”—*Colonel Pickering to Mrs. Pickering.*

(To be continued.)

GENEALOGICAL GLEANINGS, CONTRIBUTORY TO A  
HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF PENN.

BY J. HENRY LEA, Fairhaven, Mass.

WORCESTER PROBATE COURT.<sup>1</sup>

(Continued from page 181.)

1493—Wm. Penne of Halesowen or Hagley<sup>2</sup> (no abstract).  
File 1493—N° 1.

1526—Hugh lee of Bromsgrove; will dated xvj May 1526 ;  
to be buried in Church of our ladye at B. ; Trustees, for  
wife Alys & child., Nicholas Barnysley of Barnysley, co.  
Worc., gentl. & William Chaunce of same ; (inter alia child.)  
dau. Elizabet Pen, wiffe to Phylp Pen, & Gilbert Pen, son  
of sd. Phylp ; &c., pro. iij Apr. 1528. File 1526—N° 96.

1552-3—Richard Penne (no abstract). File 1552-3—N° —.

1557—Edmund Penne of Bidford (no abstract). File 1557  
—N° 50.

<sup>1</sup> At the time of the writer's examination of the Worcester Calendars the idea of collecting Penn material had not suggested itself to him, and the fragments above given were preserved by a mere accident. As the county was evidently rich in Penns, from the evidence in the Prerogative Court, there can be no doubt that a thorough search of this District Court would yield considerable results.

<sup>2</sup> In the Visitation of Worcestershire in 1634

William Penn of Hagley

Francis Pen of Belbroughton

occur among the Disclaimers, alleging that they are no gentlemen and claim no right to bear arms. (Brit. Mus. Ad. MS. 19,816, art. 2.) The will of Richard Penn, of Hagley, dated 1470, beneficiary to Cath. of Worc., and to parishes of Hagley, Clent, Pedmore, Belbroughton, Churchill, etc., is quoted by Nash, the county historian, "Herald and Genealogist," Vol. VII. fo. 131.

PENN MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS AT PENN, CO. BUCKS.<sup>1</sup>

In Memorium Gulielmi Penn Armigeri ex desiderio suo extra in Coemeterio sepulti qui obiit duodecimo die Maij Anno Dom. 1693. Anno aetatis suae 64 hoc positum.

Heere lyeth the Bodyes of William Pen, Esq and of Martha his Wife, by whom hee had issue one Sonne and two Daughters. Shee dyed the 19th. day of November Anno Dni 1635. Hee dyed the 9th. day of January Anno Dni 1638.

Hic jacent corpora Johannis Pen Armigeri quond'm Domini hujus Manerij de Pen qui obiit—die Octobris Anno salutis 1597 et aetatis suae 63 et Ursulae uxoris eius Que obiit anno salutis — et aetatis suae - Horum terreno clauduntur membra sepulchro sed capiunt animas sydera sola pias Quos univit, mortis seperare potestas Non voluit, junctos cerimus hoc tumulo.

Heere lyeth interred the Bodye of John Pen of Pen Esquire, who married Sarah the Daughter of Sr : Henry Drury, Knight, by whome hee had Issue five Sonnes and five Daughters. Hee departed this life the second of July A° Dni 1641.

Here lies the Body of Mrs. Henrietta Penn, sister of Roger Penn, Esq., who died Jany. ye 17th. 1728.

Here lies the Body of Roger Penn, Esq., Lord of this Manor, who died unmarried March ye 17th. 1731 in the 55th year of his age.

— lies the Body of Mrs. — Penn, Sister to Roger Penn, — who died Augst. 12th. 1728.

Here lies the Body of Elizabeth Catherine Penn, Sister to Roger Penn, Esq., who died Feby. ye 20th. 1—.

<sup>1</sup> From Lipscomb's "History of Bucks," Vol. III. fo. 287.



William, Son of the Honble: Thomas Penn, Esq., Proprietor of Pennsylvania & of the Rt. Honble: Lady Juliana Penn, his Wife, died Feb. 14, 1753, aged 7 months.

Near this place lies the Body of — daughter of Sr: Nathaniel Curzon of Kedleston, Bart., by Sarah his Wife, daughter of William Penn, Esq. who died Jan. 19 1701, aged 29 years. Also Christopher Curzon, Doctor of Civil Law, younger son of same, who died Feb. 4, 1713, aged 32 years.

PEWSEY (WILTS) REGISTER.<sup>1</sup>*Baptisms.*

1568—m—— Pen the son of Richard Pen was baptized the sixt of January.

1569—William Pen the sone of Richard Pen was baptized the 6 of December.

1572—Richard Pene the son of Richard Pen was bapt. the xx of Aprill.

1573—John Pen the son of Richard Pen was bapt: the same 17 of January.

1576—Richard Pen the sone of Richard Pen was bapt: the x of October.

1578—Gregory Pen the sone of Richard Pen was bapt: th 22 of march.

1582—Jone Pen the daughter of Richard Pen was bapt: May 7.

1601—Ellenor Pen the daughter of Richard Pen was bapt: Aprill 12.

1604—Thomas Pene the sone of Richard Pene was bapt: July: 29.

1606—Daniel Pene the sonn of Mathew Pene was bapt: ffebru: 22.

<sup>1</sup> The register dates from 1568, and is in beautiful preservation. The writer's most cordial thanks are due to the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Bouverie, Rector of Pewsey, for the great courtesy shown by him and the facilities afforded for making the examination of this important Register full and thorough. Most valuable items were obtained from it for the family in whose behalf the search was made.

1607—Richard Pene the sone of Richard Pene was bapt: June x.

1611—Agnis Pene the Daughter of william Pene was bapt: ffebru: 26.

1612—Jane the daughter of mathew Pene was bapt: Dec: 20.

1612—Elizabeth the daughter of Gregory Pene was bapt: Jana: 24.

1641—Jane the daughter of Williā Penn was baptized sixth of march.

1642—wenifrinte the Daughter of Richard Penn was bapt August the 4.

1644—William the sonne of William Penn was bapt: March the 2.

1650—Christian the daughter of John Penn was baptized the 7th of Aprill.

1650—Sarah the daughter of William Penn was baptised the 19th. of July.

1652—Hester the daughter of Richard Penn was bapt the 13th. of Aprill.

1652—Ann the daughter of John Penn was bapt the 17th of octob: /August.

1662<sup>1</sup>—elner the daughter of John Penn was bapt the 14 of September.

1653—Daniell penn the sonn of Richard penn was bapt the 15 of october.

1655—John penn the sonn of John penn was bapt the 15 of april 1655.

1657—Richard the soon of Richard penn was baptized 4 of october.

1658—philipe the sone of John penn was bapt the 8 of february 1658.

1660—Thomas the soone of John penn was bapt the first of nouember 1660.

1662—Ellenor the daughter of John Penn was bapt Sept: 14th.

<sup>1</sup> Misplaced and duplicate entry. See foot of page.

1665—James the Sonn of John & Edey Penn bapt May th fifteenth.

1668—Elizabeth Penn ye Daughter of John Penn & Edith his Wife was baptized March ye 7th.

*Weddings.*

1604—Roger Deare and Jone Pene were maryed Janua : 21 : 1604.

1626—John Adams and Agnis Pen were maryed Octo : 9.

1641—Richard Pen & Christian Colman were married August th 28.

1676—William Harding & Elizabeth Penn both of this Parish were married June the twelfth.

*Burials.*

1568—Michael Pen the sone of Richard Pen was buried Janu : 23.

1573—Richard the Sone of Richard Pen was buried march : 28.

1574—Catherine Pen was bury—noub : 21.

1605—Alice Pene the wife of Richard Pen was buried Janu : 20.

1606—Richard Pene was buried Janu : 5.

1623—Jone the Daughter of Richard Pen was buried Jan : 14.

1649—Cicely the wyfe of Richard Penn was buried the 18th of Octbr :

1654—widow penn was buried the 19 Nouember.

1657—Richard penn was buried the 24 of september 1657.

1663—Jean Penn was buried Octob : 4th.

1665—Doritey the wife Richard Penn buried May the siuenth.

1665—William Penn buried Deasember the sixt.

1669—Jacob Pen son of Richard Pen of Kepnet Tithing buried April.

1670—John Penn & Edith his wife buried August the seventeenth.



1688—Richard Penn was buried the Third of March (Affidavit not made till March the thirteenth).<sup>1</sup>

1694—Penn—Richard Penn was Buried September the third (in woollen).

REGISTER OF ST. MARY'S-MARLBORO' (WILTS).<sup>2</sup>

*Baptisms.*

1603—Richard the sonne of John Pen was bapt the ixth of December.

1605, June—Mariar the daughter of John Pen the fourth day.

1608-9, March—Amy and Elizabeth the daughters of John Pen the 26.

1623—Alice daughter of Robert Pen Septamb 14.

1641—Mary daughter of John Pen octobr: 3.

1648—Margaret daughter of John Penn Aprill 18.

*Weddings.*

1637—John Pen & Susan Auste August 19.

*Burials.*

1625—Mary wife of John Pen January 12.

1641—John Pen sonne of John Pen March 27.

1656—Elizabeth ye daughter of John Penn March ye 21.

1657—John Penn octobr: th 29.

1673—John Penn August 28.

HIGHWORTH REGISTER.<sup>3</sup>

1636—Robert Penne sonn of Richard Penne buried 20 January 1636.

MALMESBURY ABBEY (WILTS) REGISTER.<sup>4</sup>

1606, Aug.—The xvij daye was baptized Elizabeth Penn the Daughter of Thomas Penn of Rodborn.

<sup>1</sup> Affidavit of burial in woollen only, according to act of Parliament in 1679.

<sup>2</sup> The register dates from 1602.

<sup>3</sup> Searched from 1627 to 1650 only. Records date from 1539.

<sup>4</sup> The Malmesbury Abbey Registers, which include the Chapelry of Rodborne, commence in 1590, and are in a fine state of preservation. No

1610-1, January—The xxiiijth. daye was baptized Joane Penne the Daughter of Tho: Penn.

1613, Maij—Anna Penn, daughter of Tho: bap: 29.

1615, Deceb:—Janet ye daughter of Thomas Penn of Rodborne bap: 30.

1619, September—The 16 day was baptized william Penne the sonne of Thomas Penne.

1619, October—The 23rd. was buried Joane Penn of Rodbourne.

1622, December—The 2th. day was buryed Elizabeth Pen the daughter of Thomas Pen of Rodburne.

1626, July—Baptized the 23 George Sonne of Tho: Penne of Rodborne.

1646—Buryed the 18th. februarie 1646 Thomas Penn of Rodborne.

SHERSTON MAGNA (WILTS) REGISTER, FROM THE TRANSCRIPTS<sup>1</sup> AT DIOCESAN REGISTRY, SALISBURY.

1605—Editha Penne sepulta fuit xij die Julij Anno pd.

REGISTER OF ALLHALLOWS PARISH, BARKING,  
LONDON.

*Baptisms.*

1644, October 23—William, son of William Penn and Margaret his wife of the Tower Liberty.<sup>2</sup>

search was made for Penns after the burial of Thomas, in 1646, and other entries may exist, as the family were still seated there in 1665 (see will of Thomas Penn, in Archdeacon of Wilts Court). In one of his manuscripts Awbrey mentions "old Mr. Penn of Rodburne, an ingeniose man and a good chymist," temps Jac. I., as of the same family as the founder of Pennsylvania and Admiral Sir William Penn.—JACKSON'S "Awbrey's Wilts," fo. 280.

<sup>1</sup> These transcripts are very fragmentary and defective. The Register at Sherston has perished previous to 1653. The earliest year in the Transcripts is 1605. Although searched to 1812, no other Penns were found.

<sup>2</sup> This extract of the baptism of the Founder is taken from "Collections Relating to the History of the Parish of Allhallows, Barking, in the City of London," by Rev. Joseph Maskell, folio 68. It has been previously cited in PENNA. MAG., Vol. VIII. folio 108.

BIDFORD (WARWICKSHIRE) REGISTER.<sup>1</sup>*Baptisms.*

- 1688, Sept. 3—John son of William Pen.  
 1690, June 10—William son of William Pen.  
 1692, Sept. 17—Robert son of William Penn.  
 1694, Feb. 10—Elizabeth, dau. of William Penn.  
 1705, Oct. 7—Sarah dau. of Ann Penn.  
 1720, Feb. 23—Mary dau. of Elizabeth Penn.

*Marriages.*

- 1731, Apr. 27—Edward Price and Elizabeth Penn.  
 1742, Sept. 2—Thomas Court and Sarah Penn.

*Burials.*

- 1666, Mch. 8—John son of William Pen.  
 1669, Dec. 26—William Pen.  
 1695, Sept. 21—Elizabeth Pen, widow.  
 1695, Nov. 3—William Pen.  
 1747, Oct. 25—Anne Penn, widow, of Brome.

SOUTH LITTLETON (WORCESTER) PARISH REGISTER.<sup>2</sup>*Baptisms.*

- 1554, Jan. 10—Alys, dau. of Wyllyam pen, tayler.  
 1576, Oct. 17—Phyllyppe, dau. of Wm : and Joane Hyll,  
 commenly called Pen.  
 1580, Apr. 9—Alyce, dau. of Wm : and Jone Hyll, com-  
 menly called Pen.  
 1588, Nov. 24—Elsabeth Hyll, commenly called Penne,  
 dau. of Wm : and Joane Hyll.

<sup>1</sup> The Bidford Register dates from 1655 for marriages and 1664 for baptisms and burials. The above extracts, which are evidently fragmentary, appear to have been taken from the bishop's transcripts. They, as well as the four following register extracts, are taken from Coleman's "Notes," pp. 12-14. Bidford lies close to the Worcestershire border, about fourteen miles south-east of Bromsgrove and four north of Littleton. Brome is about one mile west of Bidford.

<sup>2</sup> The registers exist from 1538, but are defective—the baptisms after 1644 and the burials after 1610—according to the government report.



- 1734, Oct. 6—Mary, dau. of Samuel and Mary Penn.  
1736, Nov. 14—William, son of Samuel and Mary Pen.  
1738, Mch. 11—Anne, dau. of Samuel and Mary Penn.  
1741, June 14—John, son of Samuel and Mary Penn.

*Marriages.*

- 1562, Nov. 21—Jhon Marshall and Margery Hyll otherwise called penne.  
1566, Oct. 26—Michael Roberts and Jone Hyll otherwise called penne.  
1581, Nov. 21—Thomas Marshall and Elnor Hyll com-  
menlye called Pen.  
1587, Oct. 2—Wm: Tayler and Alice Hyll com-  
menlye called Pen.

*Burials.*

- 1553, Oct. 31—Thomas son of Wyllyam penne, tayler.  
1559, July 3—Sybyll Hyll als penne.  
1564, May 14—Margarete Hyll als pen.  
1588, July 15—Wyllyam Hylle the elder, com-  
menly called Pen, a tayler.  
1594, Jan. 24—Ales, wife of Wm: Hill als Pen.  
1736, May 27—John Penn.  
1741, Aug. 15—Samuel Penn.

BLOCKLEY (WORCESTER) REGISTER.<sup>1</sup>

*Baptisms.*

- 1665, May 2—Nathaniel son of Giles Pen of Dorne.  
1719, June 7—Anna filia Gulielmi Penn et Annae ux. de  
Blockley.

*Marriages.*

- 1713, Sept. 29—Gulielmus Pen et Anna Wilks de  
Blockley.

<sup>1</sup> The register dates from 1538. Blockley, although under the jurisdiction of Worcester, is geographically in Gloucester, being a detached part of Oswaldslow Hundred, about a mile south of Chipping-Campden, Gloucester.

STANTON (GLOUCESTER) REGISTER.<sup>1</sup>*Baptisms.*

- 1629, Sept. 20—Wm. son of Wm. Penne.  
 1631, July 24—Maria filia Gulielmi Penne.  
 1633, Sept. 1—Johannes filius Gulielmi Penne.  
 1636, May 1—Richard son of Wm. Penne.  
 1638, Jan. 20—Anna filia Gualteri Penne.

*Burials.*

- 1629, May 21—Richardus Penn, puer.  
 1640, May 7—Gulielmus Penne, Textor.  
 1696, Mch. 23—Maria Penn, vetula inupta.  
 1729, May 4—Johannes Pen, coelebs.

CHIPPING - CAMPDEN (GLOUCESTERSHIRE) PARISH REGISTER.<sup>2</sup>*Baptisms.*

- 1660, Sept. 14—Thomas son of Wm. Pen.  
 1661, Dec. 1—Anthony and Wm. sons of Wm. Pen.  
 1664, Nov. 1—John son of John Pen.  
 1666, July 1—Sarra dau. of John Pen.  
 1668, Feb. 8—John son of John Pen.  
 1671, Apr. 9—Wm. son of John Pen.

*Marriages.*

- 1695, Oct. 14—Wm. Pen and Mary Adkinson.

*Burials.*

- 1681, May 18—William Pen.

REGISTER ST. HELEN'S—WORCESTER.<sup>3</sup>

- 1630—Anne, daughter of John Penn baptized 4 July.  
 1632—Henry Penne & Elizabeth Redinge married 20 August.

<sup>1</sup> The existing register only dates from 1653, showing that Mr. Coleman's extracts, in this case at least, must have been taken from the transcripts. Stanton is in the northeast part of the county, close to the Worcestershire border and about seven miles west of Blockley and about the same distance from Chipping-Campden.

<sup>2</sup> The register dates from 1616.

<sup>3</sup> Cited by H. S. Grazebrook, Esq., in "Herald and Genealogist," VII. 131.

## WILTS LAY SUBSIDIES IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

1576—Rodbourne—Edmond Pen in goods iiij li vjs viijd. (198.294).

1581—Rodbourne—Edmond Pen bon. iiij li iijs. (198.296).

1587—Sharston Magna—John Penne goods xxs. iiijd. (198.324).

1587—Malmesbry borough—Willms Pene<sup>1</sup> goods iij li—viijd. (198.324).

1587—Rodborne—Edwardus Penne goods iij li—viijd. (198.324).

1599—Rodborne— — Penne goods iij li — — (198.331).

1600—Luckington — William Penn goods iij li viijs. (198.333).

1609—Rodborne—Thomas Peine (Seassors<sup>2</sup>) terris, xxs; 1—iiijd. (199.366).

1609—Luckington—Willms Penn terris xxs; js—iiijd. (199.366).

1623—Rodborne—Thomas Penn Lands xxs. ; 4s. (199.378).

1625—Sherston Magna—Agnes Pen Goodes. iijli xls. (199.382).

1625—Rodborne—Thomas Pen Lands xxs. (199.383).

1629—Sherston Magna—Agneta Penne Vid. goods iijli viijs. (199.399).

1629—Rodborne—Thomas Penn lands xxs. iijs. (199.399).

1641—Allington (Calne) Willms Pen gen., Goodes iijli xxs iiijd. (199.406).

## WILTS MUSTERS IN PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

1538—The Certyfycatt of the vewe of abull men, as well Archars as Byllmen, takyn the x daye of Apryll, in the xxxth yere of the reyne of our Soverayne Lorde, King Henry the VIIIth by the Grace of God Kynge of Englonde

<sup>1</sup> This William Penn, of Malmesbury, I believe to have been the William, father of William, of Minety, who died before his father, and was grandfather of Admiral Sir William Penn.

<sup>2</sup> Query if assessor—*i.e.*, of taxes—is not intended by this?



& of fraunce, defender of the ffayth, Lord of Irelande & in the erth mooste suppreme hed of the Church of Englonde; by Sir Henry Longe, Knt., John Hamlyn, Esq., & Wyllm Stump, Commyssyoners :

Brynkworth.

Roger Pen            archar.

(A. 6. 12.)

1633—Bond of Richard Cusse<sup>1</sup> of Wotton basset, in com. Wilts, Mercer to the Bishop & Sir John Proudren, clerk, in £100 that there be not nor hereafter shall be any let or impediment etc. etc but that Richard Cusse & Susan Penn of the Parish of Brinkworth, spinster, may lawfully marry together. Sworn before ffran : Roberts, ntr. pbu. 2 August, 1633.

Marriage Bonds in Diocesan Registry Office at Salisbury 1628 to 33.

#### WILTSHIRE PROBATE COURTS.

##### *Archdeacon of Sarum's Court.*

1538—John Penne of Patney Will & Inventory (Will has perished).

##### *Consistory Court of Sarum.*

(Searched 1593 to 1744.)

1616-17—Thomas Pen de Aldrington Test. 121

1632—Henry Penn of Broad Chalke, Wilts., sick & weak &c; will dated 4 June 1632; To be buried in Broadchalke Churchyard; To my daughter Alice Penn, bedding, household stuff, & also my biggest coffer at my son, Ralph Penn's house; household stuff &c to my daughter Sarah Smalwell,

<sup>1</sup> The name of Cusse is an ancient one in Wiltshire. A pedigree from the Visitation of 1623 is in Harl. Manuscripts 1165, folio 97. In the Parish Register of Christian-Malford, Wilts, the writer met with a member of this family bearing the somewhat contradictory appellation of "Christian Cuss."

This Susan Penn is unquestionably the daughter of William and Margaret (Rastall) Penn, and the aunt of Admiral Penn, father of the founder.

wife of John Smalwell, to my sons Ralph Penn & Thomas Penn, my godson Henry Penn & my grandchild John Penn; Residue to my son Thomas Penn & my daughter Alice Penn, joint Exors; The mark of Henry Penn; John Streat & Thos. Moxam, overseers, to whom 12 d. each; Wit: Wm. Archer, Thos. Moxam, John Streat, Henry Davis; Inventory taken 30 June 1632, total not given, but about £20; proved 28 July 1632, by the Exs.

1646—Ralph Penn, late of Broadchalke, Wilts., Yeoman, decd. Admon. Bond of Mary Penn of Broadchalke, relict of the above, & John Smalwell of Broadchalke, Yeoman, 22 May 1646. Inventory taken 2 May 1646, total 171 li. 7 s. 10 d., The mark of Marie Pen, Jo: Smalwell, Jo: Lawes.

*Sub Dean of Sarum's Court.*

1587—John Penn, late of the parish of St. Martin in the City of New Sarum, deceased. Admon. 7 July 1587 to his son John pen Senr (sic) Inventor 35s. 8d.

*Chantor & Treasurer's Court.*

1697—Mary Penn of Highworth. Will (abstract not received).

*Peculiar of Dean of Sarum.*

1699—Jsabella Penn of Hurst. Will (abstract not recd).

*Archdeacon of Wilts' Court.*

1601—Will of Edmund Towerman of Rodborne, co. Wilts. dated 20 Dec. 1601; Overseers Wm: Knapp, Thos. Powle & Thos. Penn. Witnessed by William Penne, the writer.

Reg. Book A. fo. 144.

1619—Joane Penn of Rodburne in the parish of Malmesbury, co. Wilts., widow; will dated 13 July 1619; no date of Probate; To the children of Nathaniel Butt & Mary Butt £20 to be employed to the use of Mary Butt, my daughter, for her maintenance & that of her children, by

the hands of my daughter Alice Power of Stanton Quinton.<sup>1</sup> To Thomas Butt & George Butt, two of the said children, an ox & a steer when of age; To Edith Batten's children 30s. among them; To Wm. Cox 40s.; To Margery Bayley 20s.; To my son William Penn, all my goods & chattels unbequeathed, he to be sole Exor. if at the time of my death he shall come into England to take possession thereof, but if he shall be dead, or not come into England as aforesd., then I bequeath the said residue to my daughter Alice Powell & make her Exrix. (No signature.) Wit. Thos. Penn, Elizth. Penn, John Smith; Inventory of goods taken 25 Oct. 1619 by Richd Jaques, gent., Thos. Cox, Zacharias Power & Wm. Tanner, yeomen (no total given, but in all about £60).

1628—George Penn of Brinkworth. Will (abstract not received).

1630—Will of George Jones, Yeoman, of Grittenham, co Wilts; dated 20 Feb. 1629; proved 7 Oct. 1630: Overseer George Penn, gent. File 30 N° 12.

1634—Will of Robert Sargent of Gritlington, co Wilts—Yeoman; dated June 1634; no date probate; bequest "to Joanne Penne, wife of John Penne, 3 ackers of Barley, shonting vpon ould mead."

File 40 N° 34.

1637—Will of Richard Cromwell of Startley, Parish of Broad Somerford, co. Wilts, husbandman; dated 8 Aug. 1637; Witnessed by Elizabeth Penne. File 49 N° 14.

1665—Thomas Penne of Rodborne in Parish of Malmesburie, co Wilts, Yeoman; nuncupative will dated 20 Maye 1657; proved 5 June 1665; To all his children then living

<sup>1</sup> Compare with Awbrey's statement, already cited (page 287), that "at Rodbourne there were Penns, which — Power of Stanton Quinton married." Jackson's "Awbrey's Wilts' Collections," folio 270. It is probable that the Zacharias Power who assists in taking the inventory was the husband of Alice.



1/s. apeece; wife Anne Penne Sole Residuary Legatee & Extrx.; Witnesses Wm: Gale & John Winkworth, sen. Inventory taken 22 May 1657 by David Alexander & Jeremy Godwine:—Sum to'l is 71 li 3s. 0d. File 57 N<sup>o</sup> 32.

1665—Will of Elizabeth Penne of Rodborne, Widow; da 11 Apr 1664; pr 4 June 1665; dau Joane wife of Walter Wastfield 6 pounds & to all her child. 40/s. to be div. among them & to sd dau Joane table & bed linen & clothing; child. of son-in-law John Sparrow 12/d apeece; Elizabeth dau. of said J. S. “one greene rugg”; grchild Mary Symmons 1 Iron Pott, bed linen, clothing, &c. & 10 pounds at 21 years, with remainder to grchd. Jane Penne, eld. dau. of my son Thomas Penne, dec'd; grchd Mary Penne, dau of William Penne dec'd., 20/s at end of 7 years after my decease “if she shall not recover any lands in Ireland,” but if she recover such lds this legacy to be void; to all child. of son Thomas Penne dec'd 20/s apeece! to dau-in-law Anne Penne of Rodburne Residuary Legatee & Extrx; Overseers—Friends John Auth of ffowlesweeke & Richard Winkworth of Somerford Magna; Witnesses—William Gale, Jeremie Godwin. Signed with mark.

Inventory taken 14 Nov. 1664 by John Handy, William Gale & Jeremiah Godwin. 24 li—13s—2d.

File 57 no. 48.

1682—Eliza Penn of Pewsey. Bond. (abstract not rec'd).

1689—Richard Penn of Pewsey. Will & Inv. (abstract not rec'd).

*Marriage Licenses at Diocesan Registry—Worcester.*

1580, Jan. 27—Thomas Penne & Mary Bradshaw of Worcester.

1584, Sept. 20—Thomas Penne & Ann Vizar of St. Nicholas Psh. Worcester.

1681, July 2—John Clarke & Mary Pen both of Clent.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The above from a communication by Rev. Thomas P. Wadley, in Marshall's “Genealogist,” VI. folio 177.

*Somerset Wills.*

1606—James Bysse of Croscombe, Somerset. Will not dated. Proved 14 Feb. 1606/7 by relict Christian. Legacy to daughter Joyce Penn.

*Pre. Ct. Cant.*      Huddleston 21.

1608—Christian Bisse of Croscombe, co. Somerset. Will dated 30 Jan. 1608; Proved 10 Aug. 1609. Legacy of £10 to daughter Joyce Pen. Proved by son Robert. Wells Registry.

ST. MARY REDCLIFFE—BRISTOL.<sup>1</sup>*Baptisms.*

1607, februarie 24—Rachell daughter to Gyles Penne.

1610, Maie 26—Elianor the daughter of George Penne.

1610, Decembr 23—Catherine the daughter of willia Penne.

*Marriages.*

1600—Giles Penne and Joan Gilbeart were married the vth. Daye of Nouember.

*Burials.*

1612, Nouember 24—Elianor the daughter of M<sup>r</sup> Giles Penne.

1628, Awgust 12—Mattha Pen Daughter to m'gery Pen Wydow.

1651, ffebe: 23—Ann Pen.

1670, Octobr 3—S<sup>r</sup> willam penn In Led.

NOTE.—The writer must express his most cordial thanks to the Vicar, Rev. C. E. Cornish, and the curates, Messrs. Ramsay and Seavey, for the facilities shown him in the examination of these important registers.

<sup>1</sup> First Vol. Reg. 1559-1677.







THE OLD GOD'S ACRE AT EPHRATA.

Negative by Julius F. Sachse.







THE REGISTERS OF THE EPHRATA COMMUNITY.

BY JULIUS F. SACHSE.

Probably no community, religious or secular, within the bounds of our State has excited more interest and speculation than the old Sabbatarian congregation on the banks of the Cocalico in Lancaster County, known as the "Ephrata Community." This is not alone due to the peculiar organization and conventual form of life adopted shortly after their formation into a distinct religious body, nor to the unique buildings erected for their use,—many of which are still standing,—but mainly to the fact that more or less mystery has always surrounded the whole establishment, and that here in the wilderness a printing-press was set up, the third within the province, and the first to print with both English and German characters. Here in their seclusion these religious recluses wrote their mystic speculations, made their own paper, printed the sheets, and bound them into books; one of their earlier works being the largest published in America, prior to the present century. Numerous as were the issues of their press, if we except the "Chronicon Ephratense" and the preface to the large edition of the "Wunderspiel," we have but little or nothing in their writings which bear on the inner life or habits of the Community, or the rules and regulations under which they lived and died.

There can be but little doubt that in the early days of the establishment, when the various commercial enterprises undertaken by the Eckerlin brothers flourished, that careful records were kept of the business transactions and correspondence of the Community; however, after their expulsion from the settlement, in 1745, and the consequent reaction against their policy, one of the first things done seems to have been to publicly burn their writings, and even the orchard of thousands of trees which had been set out under

their direction was ordered to be destroyed. In carrying out the doctrine that the accumulation of property was a sin, the mills were stopped, advertisements sent out that no more rags would be bought, no more flaxseed pressed into oil, no grain bought and ground for sale, or other enterprises engaged in for gain or profit. In view of these facts we may well infer that the tradition is true, which tells us that all written records then in existence were destroyed at the same time.

It is doubtful if anything like a systematic church record was ever kept in the Community, as they were divided up into three separate organizations which really had but little connection with one another, except as to the mode of baptism and the keeping of the seventh day holy.

In a systematic search, extending over a wide scope of country during the last four years, for any records, papers, or documents bearing on the daily or inner life of this Community, it was the good fortune of the writer to find in the possession of an aged descendant of one of the first settlers a copy of the death register of the Community. This consists of three parts, the first, "Von die Bruder u: Schwe: die in U: auser Ephratha Gemeinschaft gestorben sind," relates to the secular congregation at large, or it may be said the "German Seventh-Day Baptist Congregation." The second relates to the Brotherhood that lived in the monastery: "Die Bruderliche gesellschaft in Bethania," the brother-house of the present day. The third part—"Register vor die Gesellschaft der Schw: in Saron"—relates to the Sisterhood of the order of "Spiritual Virgins." Their "Kloster," or Convent "Saron," with the adjoining "Saal," or chapel, is still in use by the Sabbatarian Community. As before stated, it is doubtful if any attempt was made during the last century to keep a systematic list of the deaths or burials as they occurred; a well-authenticated tradition states that it was usual when a death occurred, in either of the two orders or the congregation at large, to notify the officers of the other orders with merely a written notice. The lists here reproduced were copied about 1820, by an inmate of

the Sisterhouse, from an old, torn book and a number of loose slips, who performed the task as a labor of love and duty, as the ink with which the old records were written had in the course of years destroyed the fibre of the paper; and it is further stated that, after the task was completed, she burned the records. There is more or less irregularity in these lists, and to the personal knowledge of the writer there are not a few omissions; still, the record as here given may be accepted as authentic so far as it goes, and will be found a valuable addition to Ephrata literature, giving much information not found elsewhere, and possibly may contain important clues for the genealogist or future investigator. It has been the aim of the translator to retain so far as possible the unique expressions and wording of the original.

#### REGISTER

*For the Brothers and Sisters who in and without Ephrata Community died.*

- 1728.— 1. Br. Sealthiels Helpmate [wife of Sigmund Landert, B. 14].  
2. Br. Peter Bo daughter.  
1729.— 3. Br. Eckerlin their Mother.<sup>1</sup>  
1733.— 4. Br. Jacob Lässle in February.  
5. Br. Samuel Eckerlin Helpmate [wife of Bro. Jephune].  
1734.— 6. Br. Peter Lässle (the) Elder Apriel the 11.  
7. Br. Kasper Walter in Autumn.<sup>2</sup>  
8. Schw. Anna Meylisin.  
1735.— 9. Br. Sealthiels 2<sup>te</sup> Helpmate [second wife of Sigmund Landert, B. 14].  
10. Br. Heinrich Steinhin the Sister Maria.  
11. Br. Philip Kieszner.  
1736.—12. Br. Peter Lellers 2<sup>te</sup> Daughter.

<sup>1</sup> Mother of the four Eckerlin brothers,—Onesimus, Jephune, Jotham, Elimelich.—*Chron. Eph.* p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> A member of the original congregation, who died from grief caused by Beissel leaving the congregation.—*Chron. Eph.* p. 63.



- 1737.—13. Br. Hansz Shühlin.  
 14. Conrath Debahe Helpmate.  
 15. Br. Daniel Eichers Helpmate [mother of sisters Naomi 15 and Maria 26 and No. 58].
- 1738.—16. Br. Martin Bremmer.<sup>1</sup>
- 1739.—17. Schw. Migdonia('s) Mother [not in manuscript register of sisterhood].  
 18. Ludewig Blum Helpmate [wife of Bro. —? the singing-master of Ephrata, *Chron. Eph.* 160].  
 19. Br. Germann.  
 20. Br. Hansz Jacob Thoma [Thomen, S. 39].  
 21. Br. Philip Zittel.  
 22. Br. Ulrich Schuh Helpmate.
- 1740.—23. Br. Jonadabs Helpmate [No. 32].  
 24. Br. Jonadabs Daughter—Toch—Lowis [Daughter Louisa?].  
 25. Schw. Eliesabeth Wengerin.
- 1741.—26. Schw. Estehr Böhlerin.  
 27. Schw. Anna Walltherin.  
 28. Johan Macks Mother.  
 29. Conrath Wieschers Daughter [Conrad Weiser?].
- 1742.—30. Schw. Catharina Tohmisin [from Switzerland, S. 29].  
 31. Young Br. Lewi [B. 6].  
 32. Br. Jonadab [a member of the Zionitic Brotherhood].  
 33. Schw. Widow Weyderin.  
 34. Br. Dores Thomas Helpmate [from Nantmeal, Chester County].
- 1744.—35. Br. Henrich Höhn.  
 36. Br. Casper Hardmann.  
 37. Br. Isaie Lasse in Autumn [B. 7].  
 38. Schw. Germannin.  
 39. Br. Andreas Erlenwein.
- 1745.—40. Br. Jacob Thoma [B. 8 and *Chron. Eph.* 164].  
 41. Br. Engelberd Schreid.

<sup>1</sup> The Community tailor, the first death among the solitary at Ephrata.

- 1746.—42. Schw. Magdalena Funken 11 Janu.  
43. Mellinger.  
44. Schw. Maria Gohnauprin.  
45. Br. Rebmann.  
46. Br. Johannes Müllers Daug :—Hanna.
- 1747.—47. Schw. Ursula Ittesin.  
48. Schw. Migdonia Meierin.  
49. Young Br. Jacob Zinn [B. 9].  
50. Schw. Chatarina Lascherin 6 Sep.  
51. Br. Eiszbord Bänder.  
52. Br. John : Georg Rothe Daug : Anna.
- 1748.—53. Br. Johan Heinrich Kalkgläser [B. 10 ?].  
54. Schw. Barbara Heidin.  
55. English Br. Johan Dobere.<sup>1</sup>  
56. Schw. Gläta Müllerin.  
57. Schw. Margaretha Jägerin.  
58. Schw. Anna Eicherin.<sup>2</sup>  
59. Schw. Amalia.  
60. Br. Betticoffer Helpmate.  
61. Br. Michael Wägele.  
62. Br. Jacob Schuh Helpmate.  
63. Schw. Sophia Gorgesin.  
64. Br. Christian Graff.  
65. Br. Pe : Bellers Helpmate.  
66. Br. Effrim Heide.  
67. Schw. Barbara Stattlerin [Mother of S. 36, S. 8, and S. 12].  
68. Br. Paul Hueppel.  
69. Old Sister Kohlin.
- 1749.—70. Br. Kaleb Friedlieb.  
71. Schw. from the Gemszhei-er<sup>3</sup> Margareth [*Chron. Eph.*, pp. 218, *et seq.*].
- 1750.—72. Schw. Christian Hardmännin.  
73. Schw. Ursula Hardmännin.

<sup>1</sup> John Derborough, of Nantmeal, Chester County, *vide Chron. Eph.* 197.

<sup>2</sup> Eldest daughter of No. 15. One of the first two maidens who followed Beissel into seclusion on the Cocalico.—*Chron. Eph.* p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Gemsheimer revival.—*Chron. Eph.* 209.

- 1751.—74. Br. Henrich Funk 17 April.  
 75. Br. Michael Bölner.  
 76. Schw. from the Gemszhei-er: Maria Magdale  
 [*Chron. Eph.* 218].
- 1752.—77. Old Sister Magdelena.  
 78. Schw. Maria Christianna Saurin [for a time  
 Sister Marcella, sub-prioress, *Chron. Eph.*  
 56].
- 1753.—79. Br. Kohl.  
 80. Br. Jacob Kimmels Helpmate [from Gimsheim].  
 81. Br. Peter Klop [S. 5].  
 82. Br. Wilhelm Hagemann and his Helpm: 11  
 weeks.  
 83. from each other died.
- 1754.—84. Br. Kemberger.  
 85. Br. Friedrich Gass Helpmate.  
 86. Br. Johan Heinrich Hagemann 1 Apr: [B. 13].  
 87. Schw. Kembergerin.  
 88. Bro. Nägele Helpmate [wife of B. 19, mother  
 of B. 11].  
 89. Old Schw. Magdalena Hagemännin 28 July.  
 90. Br. Philip Traut Helpmate.  
 91. Br. Henrich Gut [a seceder from Zion, *Chron.*  
*Eph.* p. 127].  
 92. Br. Jacob Loscher.
- 1755.—93. Br. Vallendin Mack [father of Sister Constantia,  
 S. 24].  
 94. Br. Henrich End.  
 95. Old Br. Spriegel.  
 96. Br. Jerimias Pirsal Helpmate.<sup>1</sup>  
 97. Young Br. Johannes Bauman.
- 1757.—98. Schw. Hildebrandin [wife of John Hildebrand,  
 No. 124].  
 99. Br. aged Br. Henrich Müller.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wife of Jeremiah Piersal, from Nantmeal, Chester County.—*Chron. Eph.*, pp. 197, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> A house father, who paid the expenses for dedicating the prayer-house on Zion, July 16, 1740.



- 1757.—100. Br. Samuel Gut Helpmate.  
101. Old Br. Joseph Schäfer 14 Septem.  
102. Br. Japhet Sensemann.  
103. Br. Nathan [B. 16].  
104. Br. Manoah [B. 17].
- 1758.—105. Schw. Margaretha Macken 11 August.  
106. Aged Schw. Sprigelsin 31 August.  
107. Schw. Christin Schacks 10 Sept.  
108. Young Sister Magdale-Hagemäin [sister of B. 13-16].  
109. Old Schw. Kalckglässer [wife of No. 53].
- 1760.—110. Br. Braunn his Helpmate.  
111. Friend of Br. Condad Wieser.
- 1761.—112. Br. Leonhard Hejd 25 Jennuar [S. 1].  
113. Schw. Pelagia 3 March.  
114. Br. Lens Hirsch, and [115] Br. Ulrich, and  
116. Schunck, were in the Register forgotten.  
And so do not know their proper place.  
117. Schw. Catherina Boldhausen 14 March [from Amwell revival].
- 1764.—118. Br. Rudolph Schoppe in March.  
119. Br. Peter Gehr 12 May.  
120. Br. Lamech 13 June [Jacob Gass].  
121. Young Br. Hildebrand Junebene.  
122. And his Housemother [Housekeeper].
- 1765.—123. Br. Bastian Keller('s) first Helpmate.  
124. Br. Johan Hildebrand [from Germantown revival, *Chron. Eph.* p. 102].  
125. Old Schw. Tohreteä Doberin [Derborough, wife of No. 55 from Nantmeal, Chester County].
- 1766.—126. Schw. Magdalena Klevin.  
127. Br. Jorgadam Martin his Daughter.  
128. Old Br. Johan Senseman [steward of the divided households in Sharon, *Chron. Eph.* p. 158].  
129. Br. Chrisostomus Gorges.  
130. Schw. Magdalena Morin.  
131. Schw. Catharina Schmittin.
- 1767.—132. Schw. Albina 29 Apriel [S. 20].

- 1767.—133. Br. Valintin Kimmel Helpmate [wife of No. 141].  
 134. Br. Braun.  
 135. Br. Valentin Henrich.  
 136. Schw. Schwartz-Bachin.
- 1768.—137. Schw. Barbara Höflesin 3 July.  
 138. Schw. Chatarina, of Jacob K—— his Daug 6 July.  
 139. Schw. Margret Bauman 6 Dece.  
 140. Br. Jacob Behr 13 Decem.  
 141. Br. Valentin Kimmel 28 Decem.
- 1769.—142. Schw. Christina Hönin 2 Febr.  
 143. Schw. Veronica Knepperin 27 April.  
 144. Br. Johan Steiner, was quick dead 18 May.  
 145. Br. Valentin Lessele.  
 146. Br. Siemeon, 11 August [one of the Zionitic Brotherhood, *Chron. Eph.* p. 120].  
 147. Old Johan Bettekoffer 11 Septem [*Chron. Eph.* p. 102].  
 148. Br. A as the old Meyer 14 Oct.
- 1770.—149. Old Br. Johan A.  
 150. Old Br. Peter Höffele 18 March [S. 6].  
 151. Aged Schw. Marlesin.  
 152. Schw. Regina Hartmännin 20 Octo.
- 1771.—153. Schw. Anna Weberin 11 Februar.  
 154. Old Br. Marx Graf 22 March.  
 155. Young Br. Marte Merkel.  
 156. Old Br. Baumann, lost his life 5 Au.  
 157. Br. Sensinger.  
 158. Br. Friedrich Keller 10 Novem.
- 1772.—159. Old Schw. Maria Ja. Graff in 19 June.  
 160. Schw. Anna Seifertin 12 May.  
 161. Seifinger Daughter Elisabeth 23 Aug.  
 162. Br. Jacob Rohrer.
- 1773.—163. Schw. Rebecca, John—Fahn—12 Janu.  
 164. Old Br. Daniel Eicher 1 Februar [S. 15 and S. 26 and No. 58].  
 165. Br. Theomis 5 March [B. 20].

- 1773.—166. Old Br. Jorg Han 7 March [B. 21].  
167. Br. Jacob Friedrich; and his Mother were forgotten.  
168. Old Br. Martin Funk 19 April [B. 23 and S. 9].
- 1774.—169. Br. Jacob Höfle on the New Year.  
170. Br. Josua Knepper.  
171. Br. Jorg Meiser.  
172. Br. Henrich Roth.
- 1775.—173. Schw. Bensin.  
174. Old Br. Dierich Fahnestock 10 Octob. [S. 2].
- 1776.—175. Schw. Agnes Sensemännin 13 March.  
176. Br. Jacob Graff 6 May [S. 7].  
177. Schw. Anna Maria Dublesin.  
178. Schw. Pervertua Zinnen 10 Novem.  
179. Barbara Landesin 29 March.  
180. Br. Jacob Sensemann 23 Decem.
- 1777.—181. Br. Marcarius Zinn 15 March [Bro. "Marcarius," father of B. 9].  
182. Old Sister Schneebergerin.  
183. Young Br. Martin Funk [son of No. 168].  
184. Br. Johan Bens.  
185. Old Sister Margaretha a Switzern.  
186. Br. Johannes Koch.  
187. Young Br. Caspar Walter [son of No. 7] and his wife [188] were forgotten.
- 1778.—189. Schw. Anna Maria Huberin 19 Janu.  
190. Schw. Gertraut Melinger 3 Febru.  
191. Henrich Miller the tavern keeper 12 Januar.  
192. Br. Adam Kimmel 27 Januar.  
193. Br. Jonnes Anguas 4 March.  
194. Br. Friedrich Gas 28 October.
- 1779.—195. Schw. Anna Landesin 17 Febauar.
- 1780.—196. Br. Fillib Kebel 16 Janner.  
197. Br. Henrich Hoffman.  
198. Old Schw. Siebila, John—Müllerin.
- 1781.—199. Br. Peter Fahn(estock) his House-sister 23 July.  
200. Br. Daniel Fahn(estock) House Mother 22 Sept.  
201. Br. Ludwig Bender and his wife [202].



- 1781.—203. Schw. Borwe.
- 1782.—204. Br. Henrich Lohma and his House.  
Sister [205] are together in one grave also.
206. Henrich Lohman 24 January.
207. Second Sister Armella in Saron 5 Apriel [S. 23].
208. Schw. Annalis Henrich.
209. Schw. Constantia 31 October [*vide* S. 24, *Chron. Eph.* p. 56; daughter of No. 93 and S. 34].
- 1783.—210. Old Sister Dierich Fahnestockin 29 Decemb  
[*née* Margarett Hertz, wife of No. 174].
- 1784.—211. Schw. Elisabeth Guterin 27 March.
212. Schw. Annalis Niesen 15 Juley.
213. Schw. Balsler Schmittin.
214. Schw. Riesen.
215. Old Br. Jacob Kimmel 25 Novemb. [*Chron. Eph.* 220].
- 1785.—216. Schw. Annalis Höcken.
217. Old Sister Crothausen.
218. Br. Johan Belsner 21 May.
219. Old Br. Michael Muller 11 Septem.
- 1786.—220. Br. Peter Mohr 22 April.
221. Sister Susana the dumb (stumme) 28 May.
222. Schw. Maria Latha-Müllerin 3 Decem.
- 1787.—223. Old Sister Agnes Huberin 22 Apriel.
224. Schw. Elizabeth, Jacob Kellerin 25 May.
225. Schw. Margaretha Schreidin 31 October.
- 1788.—226. Br. Abraham Graff 9 March.
227. Br. Georg Keller 21 Februar.
228. Young Br. Johann Müller 18 Decem.
229. Br. Benjamin Gorges 27 Decem.
230. Young Sister Margaret Benssin.
231. Schanschlag 4 Novem.
- 1790.—232. Br. Jacob Martin [Der Hohe Filosofen].
233. Br. Adam Merckel.
234. Br. Jacob Nägle 8 August.
235. Old Brother Jeremias Nies [baptized Dec. 1751; *Chron. Eph.* 220].

- 1790.—236. Schw. Margaretha Gunlisiin.  
1791.—237. Schw. Flafia<sup>1</sup> last Horning (February).  
238. Schw. Eva Sensinger 8 Febr.  
239. Br. Mund-Schauer.  
240. Br. David Heffner in June.  
241. Sister Veronica Kemmelsin in June.  
242. Br. Peter Knepper.  
243. Schw. Veronica Sprigelsin 12 Dec.  
1792.—244. Schw. Sara Baumanin 30 June.  
245. Old Sister Annge 14 October.  
246. Schw. Ester Fahnestock 6 Decem.  
1793.—247. Br. Mormon König 31 Janu.  
248. Rosina Herschpergerin 23 Febr.  
249. Br. Hans Neyle 31 March.  
250. Schw. Benjamin Fafustocking.  
251. Br. Johannes Höffle 3 August.  
252. Schw. Cathrina Kappin 1792 30 Sept.  
253. Schw. Magdalena Wewerin.  
254. Schw. Maria Kappin 1793 30 Sept.  
255. Schw. Mundschauerin.  
256. Br. Johpe Henrich.  
257. Br. Jacob Negle the younger 3 Decem.  
1795.—258. Br. Peter Beissel [Bro. Zadock?].  
259. Schw. Margareth Sensemännin 9 March.  
260. Br. Jacob Keller 10 March.  
261. Elisabeth Gerdorin 12 June.  
262. Br. Peter Klopff the younger [son of No. 81].  
263. Sister Barbara Rohbacherin 14 July.  
264. Br. Jorgadam Marte 29 Apriel [George Adam  
Martin, *Chron. Eph.* p. 224].  
265. Schw. Christina Baumanin 22 August.  
266. Schw. Jacob Martisin 14 October.  
267. Young Br. Jacob Gorges 24 Octo.  
268. Br. Samuel Meile. Schw. Maria Reiters  
Daughter.  
269. Peter Knepper his wife 10 Octo Jacob Kimmel.

<sup>1</sup> A spiritual virgin in the second class, *vide* manuscript Chronicle of Sisterhood, p. 24.

- 1795.—270. Young Brother Henrich Reiter 23 Har—— his  
2 Daughter.
271. Old Sister Jacob Borin, afterwards Huberin 5  
Sept.
272. Schw. Elizabeth Höfflesin 7 Septem.
273. Sister Anna Maria, the English Peter his  
wife.
- 1796.—274. Br. Petter Henrich 22 May.
275. Br. Christian Bollinger 5 July.
276. Schw. Ester Kimmel 13, July.
277. Old Steinert.
- 1797.—278. Barbara Eckstein 25 August.
279. Br. Jacob Spriegel 23 Decem.
- 1798.—280. Schw. Elizabeth Hopflisin 1 Jan.
281. Br. Jacob Marte his Daughter 4 Janu [*vide* No.  
232].
282. Br. Zenna Gor—— 21 March.
283. Schw. Salone Gor—— 30 March.
284. Schw. Hans Neglesin 31 August.
- 1800.—285. Old Sister Wieser in July.
286. Old Br. G—— in July.
- 1802.—287. Gorg Zinn 12 March.
288. Young Jacob Keller 20 August.
289. Henrich Kebel 2 Sep.
290. Schw. Christian Gorgas 21 Octo.
291. Schw. Susanna Kimmel 25 Novemb 72 ye 3 Mo.
- 1805.—292. Is the Brother Peter Nägle Wife, 3 March died,  
and the 7 March the Peter Nägle [293] 2 old  
Married people who both were in 80.
294. Brother Peter Fahnestock<sup>1</sup> died the 15 Septem-  
ber of his age 75 yr. 6 Mo. several days [son  
of Diedrich, No. 174].
295. Juliana Georgesin 24 October.
- 1806.—296. Susanna Kimelsin a daughter of Henrech Mül-  
ler aged 47 year.

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Fahnestock, the youngest son of Peter, became the well-known Seventh-day Baptist preacher. He was born November 29, 1781; died February 5, 1863, and is buried in the Snow-hill ground.



- 1806.—297. Schw. Martha died the 3 Harni [February] 86 years [not in manuscript register of Sisterhood].
298. Br. Hagaj den 4 March.
299. Br. Jacob Senseman oldest Son of Johan Senseman the 15 Julius aged 27 year 2 mo 3 day.
300. Joseph Senseman died the 10 March aged 24 year in 1810.
301. Schw. Hanna Dischang 20 October aged 70 yr 10 Mo.
- 1807.—302. Wilgam Dischang the 2 January.
303. Br. Salma Hoffij the 26 feby old 80 ye 6 mo.
- 1808.—304. Br. Bastian Keller in Harning [February] old 78 ye 10 Mo.
305. Anna Springel the 2 May.
306. Schw. Barbara Neglisinden 14 Aug 85 ye 10 Mo.
307. Kasper Fahnestock<sup>1</sup> 17 Aug old 84 year 4 Mo [eldest son of No. 174].
308. Br. Christian Gut 24 August aged 64 year.
- 1809.—309. Johan Bauman died the 9 Novem was old 44 year 6 Mo and his wife Margareth [310] 8 Decem was 41 year old and Benjamin Bauman [311] was his father died the 27 Decem was aged 77 year 10 Mo.
- 1810.—312. Bastian Seisinger the 28 May.
- 1811.—313. Rosin Schenck died the 28 March.
314. Johan Spriegel the 4 Apriel.
315. Br. Angwisch his daughter the 21 Octo was old 22 year and 10 Mo and his wife [316] the 10 Novem was old 52 year.
317. Casper Schmitt died the 3 Novem was aged 62 year 2 Mo.
318. John Senseman 13 March 1819 aged 64 year.

<sup>1</sup> Kasper Fahnestock, eldest son of Dietrich Fahnestock, the emigrant, is buried in Chester County, in the "Fahnestock ground," on the North Valley Hill, near "The Warren." His wife and mother-in-law, Elizabeth Gleim, are also buried there.

319. Justina Gorges 24 March 1819 aged 62 year 4 Mo. 4 day.
320. John Bauman 15 July 1819 aged 20 year 12 day.
321. John Friedrich 31 October 1819 aged 76 or 77 year.
322. Benjamin Fahnestock 29 July 1820 aged 73 year 4 Mo 25 D [son of 174].
323. Christina Guth 22 Nov 1820 aged 66 year 9 day.
324. Br. Abeel Wittmer 5 Sept 1821 aged 53 year 10 Mo 3 day.
325. Adam Königma(cher) from Philadelphia 18 Jan 1821 old 45 y. 25 day.
326. Sister Elizabeth Fahnestock of Pe(ter) Fahn(estock) his wife in July 1781.
327. Schw. Sara Bauman 33 year old She was K. Bau(mann) his wife, a Daughter of P(eter) Fahnestock.
328. Br. Adam Fahnestock II.
329. Johan Fahnestock II.
330. Susanna Angaus of Jacob Angaus [372] his wife.
331. Christina Königmacher the 19 Janu. 1816 was old 70 year 2 Mo. 10 day she was Adam Königmacher [325] his wife.
332. Schw. Sara Urich the 20 Jan. 1816.
333. Anna Seyder, 1816 was aged 80 year.
334. Br. Diedrich Fahnstock II [son of 174].
335. Christian Bauman the 4 July 1815.
336. Schw. Hannah Fahn(estock) of S: Fahn(estock) his wife from Barlien (Berlin?).
337. Schw. Ester Brand, of Jacob Keller his Daughter.
338. Br. Bores Fahnstock of Adams County.
339. Abraham Königmacher in Septem 1824.
340. Sister Catherina Fahnstock, the
341. Johannes Fahn(stock) his wife.
342. Hannah Dischang, of D. Dischang his wife and Daughter of Ada(m) König(macher) II.

343. Br. Samuel Fahnstock von Berlien.
344. Elisabeth Fahnstock, of Bores Fahnstock of Adams County.
345. Rahel Höfly of Salamo Höfly his wife.
346. Rebecca Königmacher of Jacob Königmacher his wife.
347. Jacob Gorges and Nansy Gorges [348] of J: Gorges.
349. Hannah Landes the 16 Janu. 1844 aged 76 ye 3 Mo. 8 day of John Landes his Wife from Jorg (York) County.
350. Ester Schmitt in Jan. 1844 old 78 year she was of Casper Schmitt his wife one daughter of Caspber Fahnstock.
351. Elisabeth Fahnstock of Daniel Fahn(stock) his wife and Daughter of S. Fahnstock.
352. Obed Fahnstock of Härresburg died 1840.
353. Marÿ Fahnstock of O(bed) Fahnstock his wife died the 3 Decem 1842.
354. Doct. Jacob Königmacher in Septem. 1839.
355. Catherina Simonÿ in June 1824 aged 70 year.
356. Elizabeth Betecoffer.
357. Susanna Kimmel of Jacob Kimmel his wife.
358. Daniel Negely died 1805 in Comper (Cumberland?) County.
359. Br. Isac Betecoffer.
360. Br. John Betecoffer.
361. Elisabeth Henry died 1809 a Daughter of Conrad Henry.
362. Maria Spriegel of M: Spriegel his wife.
363. Sasanna Gorges the 31 July 1835.
364. Sofia G—— 87 year.
365. Mary Bauman died July 1845 aged 74 year 10 Mo. 3 Day.
366. Dietrich Dischang 3.
367. Margaret Königmacher his wife and Daughter of Peter Fahnstock [No. 294].
368. Susanna Brubacker died the 29 August 1847



- was old 70 year, she was of C. Brubacker his wife, a daughter of Dierich Fahnstock.
369. Susanna Hoffstätter died August 1847 was of Henry Hoffstätter his wife and a Daughter of Christian Guut.
370. Catherina Gargas died 1 May 1849 she was of G. R. Gorgas his wife.
371. Mary Hefly died in 1849 she was a Daughter of Salona Hefly.
372. Br. Angus died in November 1848 [Jacob Angus].<sup>1</sup>
373. Br. Benjamin Königsmacher died the 24 March 1850 aged 76 years 6 Mo 12 day.<sup>2</sup>
374. S. Barbara Keiber died the 16 March 1852 aged 80 yr.
375. S. Sarah Zerfass died the 17 June 1852.
376. John Bollinger died the Octo. 1850 aged 51 year.
377. Christina Fahnstock died 1853 the 19 March was old 89 year 6 Month She was of Benjamin Fahn(estock) his helpmate.

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Angus was the last survivor of the Community who assisted during the Revolution (1777-83), at Zion when used as a military hospital, and was an eye-witness to the scenes then enacted. At the laying of the corner-stone, July 4, 1845, of the monument to the memory of the Revolutionary soldiers who died at Ephrata, he was present, together with Peter Shindel, of Lancaster, who was the last survivor, so far as known, of the soldiers who had been treated there.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Königsmacher was the vorsteher or preacher of the congregation. He succeeded Andreas Fahnstock.

(To be continued.)

## PRE-RAILWAY TRIPS TO NORTHERN PENNSYLVANIA.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

Among the papers preserved by Cadwalader Foulke, of Gwynedd (d. 1830), is a brief diary of two rides northward over the mountains to the Bentley's Creek settlement, on the New York line, in Bradford County. As these trips were made, one in 1823, and the other in 1826, they just preceded the era of the railroads, and the memoranda which have been made afford us definite details, though meagre, as to the manner, expense, and rapidity of such travelling in that day, as well as aid in fixing localities, names of places, owners of hotels, etc.

Cadwalader Foulke was a great-grandson of Edward Foulke (a first settler at Gwynedd, 1698), and was born at Richland, Bucks County, in 1765. About 1805 he removed to Gwynedd, and added to his ordinary avocation of farming many engagements as a surveyor and conveyancer in the middle and lower townships of Montgomery County. His surveys were remarkably careful, and in the searches of land titles in that section his drafts are well known for their accuracy. These trips to Northern Pennsylvania he made in the interest of the estate of 'Squire John Roberts, of Montgomery (township), of which he was an executor. 'Squire John had purchased, in 1808, a tract of seven hundred and fifty-one acres of land located on Bentley's Creek, in Luzerne (subsequently and now Bradford) County. James Chapman, the grantor to Roberts, held under a Pennsylvania patent, but the lands were claimed by other parties, who were occupying them under the Connecticut claim, and a long and tedious series of suits of ejectment, with negotiations for compromise, etc., followed.

The journey from Gwynedd to Bentley's Creek makes a

distance of about one hundred and seventy-five miles by the best route, which is that of the present railway: to the Lehigh River at Bethlehem, then northwestward over the mountains to Wilkes-Barre, and from there up the North Branch of the Susquehanna by Tunkhannock to Towanda. This is substantially the route of the first journey. Cadwalader was accompanied on it by his co-executor, William Foulke, of Gwynedd, and probably by Samuel Iden, of Richland. They rode in a wagon, and took seven days for the trip. Returning, they came in part by a different route, crossing southwardly the mountains, through what is now Sullivan County, into Columbia County, and striking the North Branch at Berwick; then bearing southeastward over the Nescopec and other ridges to Mauch Chunk, and so down the Lehigh to Bethlehem.

His second trip Cadwalader seems to have made alone, and from the charges for toll, which appear too low for any sort of vehicle, he was probably on horseback, though he was then nearly sixty-two years old. This time he went up through Berks County, spending the first night with his Quaker friend, Thomas Lee,<sup>1</sup> at Oley (or Maiden Creek), on the east bank of the Schuylkill, below Reading; thence by Hamburg and Catawissa to Bloomsburg, and thence northward through the Fishing Creek settlements into Sullivan County, and so to Bradford. His return was by Tunkhannock and Wilkes-Barre, then over the new turnpike towards Easton, by the Wind Gap to Bethlehem. This trip required six days only, going up, though the distance by this route, from Gwynedd to Sheppard's Tavern on the New York line, appears by Cadwalader's memoranda to be one hundred and eighty-three miles.

The charges to the traveller, at the hotels where he stopped, are of interest. At Sellersville, in Bucks County, Thomas Sellers charged him twenty-five cents for dinner, as

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Lee had married Mary Boone, who was the daughter of James Boone (uncle to Daniel, the Kentucky pioneer) and Mary Foulke. Mary Lee was a second cousin of Cadwalader, but had recently died, at the age of eighty-six.



he went up, and the same sum, when he came back, for “two quarts of oats, a gill of wine bitters, and cakes.” At several places the charges were eighteen and three-quarter cents for breakfast and fifty cents for supper and lodging.<sup>1</sup>

The memoranda of the first trip are as follows:

1823, August 28th.—[Left home.] To Jesse Iden’s [Richland, Bucks County] 21 miles: expenses, 2 cents toll, and 25 cents at Seller’s [tavern, now Sellersville].

29th.—Set off at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past five; 13 miles to Butz’s, 2 miles beyond Lehigh; thence, 13 miles to George Heller’s [Wind Gap], and 4 miles to A. Shaffer’s all night.

30th.—Set off at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5; 10 miles to Sox’s [Sach’s] tavern [on Broad Mountain] to breakfast;  $14\frac{1}{2}$  to Buck’s;  $14\frac{1}{2}$  to Wilkes-Barre,  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 at night.

31st.—Set off at 8 o’clock; paid at Wilkes-Barre \$2.81; paid at Wilson’s, 9 miles,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents, [and] toll 16; at Ayres’s 31, toll 16; ferriage 40 and 25; 14 miles to the river at mouth of Tunkhannock [Creek], Col. Buckingham’s, over night.

Sept. 1st.—6 miles to Isaac Osterhout’s to breakfast, expenses .93; passing through a variegated country, soil chocolate colour; one valley of the greatest timber, mixed of almost all kinds. Welding wagon bolt at Meshoppen, 10 cents;  $10\frac{1}{2}$  miles to Joshua Sturdivant’s, Tuscarora Creek,  $31\frac{1}{4}$  cents; to Wyalusing, 8 miles, 49 cents; 6 miles to Lefevre’s over night, \$1.44.

<sup>1</sup> These charges, however, were not below the general custom of even a later day. Before the war (say thirty years ago,—1854), Jacob Quillman, at the Veranda House, Norristown, charged but twenty-five cents for dinner, abundant and good, though plain. Here is a bill of David Acuff, at the Gwynedd Hotel, a few years earlier:

The Board of Officers of Gwynedd Election District, October 10th, 1843,

To DAVID ACUFF, Dr.

To 7 Dinners @ $37\frac{1}{2}$	. . . . .	\$2.62
“ 7 Suppers @ $31\frac{1}{4}$	. . . . .	2.18 $\frac{3}{4}$
“ Drink & Segars . . . . .	. . . . .	1.75
“ Stationery . . . . .	. . . . .	.31 $\frac{1}{4}$
		<hr/>
		\$6.87

*2nd.*—1 mile to J. W. Dininger's,  $31\frac{1}{4}$  cents; 10 miles to Towanda, on the west side of the river; 6 miles to Henry Wilhelm's, night.

*3d.*—8 miles to Athens, crossing Chemung on a bridge at the town (Indian Narrows) 2 miles above Tioga, thence 4 miles to Isaac Sheppard's, up the Chemung; now in York State, an oak line tree about 30 perches in front of the tavern. Excellent road; ague.

[He was now occupied with the business on which he had come for five days. His return is thus noted:]

*Sept. 9th.*—Left Meansville [Towanda] at 8 o'clock;  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the turnpike<sup>1</sup> at Towanda creek, at Wilcock's;  $11\frac{1}{2}$  miles to Miller's, turnpike toll .52; to Amos Ellis's, 11 miles, over night.

*10th.*—12 miles to Joseph Watson's, at the middle gate, expenses, including toll,  $.62\frac{1}{2}$ ; to Koon's town, 9 miles, 45 cents, toll  $6\frac{1}{4}$ ; to Berwick, 12 miles, over night at John Jones'.

*11th (5th day).*—Bill, \$2.75; 11 miles to Abm. Klatz's, expenses  $.37\frac{1}{2}$ ; over Niscopack mt. to Felix Bisel's, 13 miles; over the Buck and Spring mts. into Quakake Valley, 8 miles; Mauch Chunk, over night.

*12th.*—11 miles to Craig's, at the [Lehigh Water] Gap, 40 cts.; then 10 miles to Geo. Palmer's, toll  $6\frac{1}{4}$ ; expense, mending bolt, 10 cts; 11 miles to Bethlehem, over night, expenses \$2.00, toll .20, cakes  $12\frac{1}{2}$ .

*13th.*—At Jesse Iden's; settled all our joint expenses with Sam'l Iden; amount \$17.29 $\frac{1}{2}$  each, which was also made even with William Foulke; then paid Jesse Iden 75 cents.

*14th.*—At Thos. Sellers' paid for 2 qts oats, gill of wine bitters, & cakes, 25 cents.

<sup>1</sup> This was the Susquehanna and Tioga turnpike, extending from Berwick, on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, up into New York State. It was a very extensive public work, "projected," says Day ("Historical Collections of Pennsylvania," p. 136), "at the early settlement of Bradford County, about 1802-4, and driven through the then wilderness by the exertions of Philadelphians and others interested in the lands." (These dates, however, may be misleading. In Gordon's "Gazetteer," 1832, it is stated to have been chartered in 1818. The State subscribed \$30,400 to its stock. Its completion was subsequent to 1820.)

*Sept. 16th, 1823.*—Be it remembered that the whole amount of moneys Expended & paid by Cadw'r Foulke, on the Journey to the mouth of Bently's Creek (Well's burg), for Traveling and other Expenses, and Including Attor's fees, Prothon's, and Recorder's fees is \$27.73½; the time spent was from August 28th to Septbr 14th, both dates Included, making 18 days.

*Statement of a Journey & Expenses to Bradford county.<sup>1</sup>*

*May 24th, 1826.*—To Abraham Everhart's [Skippackville], 10 miles, .12½ cents; to Henry Krep's, 10 miles, .18¾c; to Thomas Lee's, over night, 14 miles.

*25th.*—To Benjamin Lightfoot's, 10 miles, 18¾c; to Hamburg; to Ben. Bensiner's, 17 miles, 11 cents; turnpike toll, 6 cents; to Raiver's tavern, over night, 10 miles, 48c.

*26th.*—To Fry's tavern, breakfast, 8 miles, 30 cents; to Boyer's tavern, 9 miles, 12½c; to Catawissa Town, 14 miles, 11 cents; to Bloomsburg, over night, 4 miles, .73 cents.

*27th.*—To Jacob Shoemaker's, breakfast, 9 miles, 34 cents; to Seward,—Allegheny, 15 miles, 9 cents; to Amos Ellis's, over night, 12 miles, 75 cents; turnpike toll for 40 miles, 24 cents.

*28th [Sabbath].*—To Miller's, 9 miles, \$1; to Meansville [Towanda], 15 miles.

*29th.*—Remained at Meansville, attending to and arranging business, and preparing for going to Wellsburg, Bentley Creek.

*30th.*—To Sheppard's tavern, in York State, dinner, 17 miles, 33 cents; to Wellsburg, over night, 12 miles, .37½.

*31st.*—To James Covell's, & return; turnpike toll, 17 miles, 13½ cents; to James Long's, Sugar Creek, over night, 12 miles, 56¼.

*June 1st.*—To Meansville [Towanda], bill \$3.62½; crackers & cheese .18¾.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cadwalader Foulke's notes on his second trip to Bentley's Creek.

<sup>2</sup> Was this a "levy's" worth of crackers and a "fip's" worth of cheese, or the reverse of that?



*2nd.*—Left Meansville, 7 o'clock, ferriage .10; Wyalusing, 16 miles,  $.18\frac{3}{4}$ ; Joshua Sturtivant's, 8 miles, .08; John Prevost's (a Frenchman, excellent), over night,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  miles,  $.62\frac{1}{2}$ .

*3d.*—To J. B. Tuttle's, Tunkhannock, breakfast, 6 miles,  $.37\frac{1}{2}$ ; to Benj. Gardner's, 15 miles, 7 cents; to Wilkesbarre, 15 miles, 9 cents; to Sayre's, over night,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles, .25.

*4th.*—To Frederick Deitrick's (Bear Creek,) breakfast,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles, .53; to George Sox's [Sach's],  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles,  $18\frac{3}{4}$  cents; to Wm. Sox's,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles, 11 cents; (paid for 47 miles turnpike, Easton & Wilkesbarre,<sup>1</sup> toll, 45 cents); to Abraham Shaffer's, over night, 10 miles, .73.

*5th.*—To George Heller's, Wind Gap, breakfast, 8 miles,  $.37\frac{1}{2}$  cents; to Seigfritz's, 14 miles, 23 cents; to Quaker-town, 15 miles.

*6th.*—To Peter Convear's, 15 miles, 20 cents; home, 5 miles.

Total of expenses for the trip,  $\$14.08\frac{1}{4}$ .<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was an early and important turnpike road, chartered in 1804 and completed about 1815. The State gave it twelve thousand five hundred dollars.

<sup>2</sup> The precise statement of half- and even quarter-cents strikes us, now, rather oddly; but in the days of "levies" and "fips" the fractions of a cent were carefully considered and counted. Cadwalader probably carried half-cents with him to pay his toll charges exactly.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

LAFAYETTE'S ADDRESS TO THE INDIANS.—The following address of Lafayette to the Indians was made at Fort Stanwix in 1784. In 1778 he accompanied General Schuyler and Colonel Duane to the Council held at Johnstown, where he was adopted by the Indians under the name of *Kayewla*. The words "Free Translation, Lafayette," attached to the document before us is in the general's handwriting.

"In meeting my Children I give thanks to Heaven which has conducted me to this place of Peace where, you smoke together the pipe of friendship.

"If you remember the voice of Kayewlaa, call to mind also his advice, and the belts, which he has often sent you. I come to thank the faithful Children, the Sachems, the Warriors, and such as have been my Messengers, and if Paternal memory did not sooner forget *ill* than *good*, I might be disposed to punish those, who in opening their ears, have shut their hearts, who blindly taking up the hatchet, have been in danger of striking their own Father.

"That the American cause is just, I formerly told you, that it is the cause of humanity, that it is your cause in particular, that you ought at least to remain neutral, and that the brave Americans would defend, both their liberty and yours, that your fathers, the French, would take them by the hand, that the white birds would cover their shores, that the great Onondio, like the Sun would dispel the clouds which surrounded you and that the adverse projects would vanish like a sinking fog.

"Not to listen to Kayewlaa was the advice given you from another quarter, but you were also told that the Northern Army would enter Boston in triumph, that the Southern would conquer Virginia, that the great chief Warrior Washington at the head of your Fathers and Brothers would be forced to abandon the Country. Those who put their hand before *your* eyes, have not failed to open *their own*. Peace has ensued—you know the conditions of it, & I shall do a favor to some of you, by speaking thro' pity a repetition of them.

"My predictions have been fulfilled. Open your ears to the new advice of your Father, and let my voice be heard among all the Nations.

"What have you ever gained my Children? What have you not lost in European quarrels? Be more wise than the White men, keep peace among yourselves, and since the great council of the United States is, in their goodness disposed to treat with you, profit of those good dispositions. Forget not that the Americans are the intimate friends of your Fathers the French. This alliance is as durable, as it has been successful. The great Onondio has given forever his hand to your brothers, who offer you theirs, and by this means we shall form a salutary chain. To satisfy yourselves of it, Trade with the Americans, with those of your fathers who may cross the great Lake. The manufactures of

France, are known to you, and your experience will lead you to prefer them. They will be to you, a token of the Alliance.

"In selling your Lands, do not consult the Keg of rum, and give them away to the first adventurer, but let the American Chiefs, and yours united around the Fire, settle reasonable terms.

"At present my Children you know, that if some have a title to the acknowledgments of Congress, there are many whose only recourse is in their clemency, and whose passed faults call for reparations.

"If you hearken well my Children I have said eno' to you—Repeat my words one to another. Whilst on the other side of the great Lakes, I shall hear you with pleasure, and untill we shall again smoke our Pipes together, and be together under the same huts, I wish you good health, successful huntings, union, and plenty, and the fulfilment of all dreams, which promise you happiness.

"Free translation  
"LAFAYETTE."

LETTER OF CORNPLANTER.—Garyan-wah-gah, or the Cornplanter, the celebrated chief of the Seneca Indians, was a half-breed, the son of John O'Beal, an Indian trader. His effort to eradicate intemperance from his nation is well known, some of the evil effects of which he refers to in the following letter. He died on the Seneca reservation in Pennsylvania in February of 1836.

"GENESADEGO 3<sup>d</sup> Decr. 1795.

"I thank the States for Making Me Such kind offers. We have Made Peace with the united States as Long as Water Runs which was the Reason that I build't a Mill in order to Suport My family By it. More so Because I am getting old & Not able to Hunt. I also thank the States for the Pleashure I now feel in Meeting them again in friendship you have sent a Man to Make a Bargain with me for a certain time which I Do not Like to Do. But as long as My Mill Makes Boards the united States shall always have them in Preference to aney at the Market Price & when you want No more Boards I cant Make Blankets of them. As for the Money you have sent if I have not Boards to the Amount leav it and I will pay it on Boards in the Spring.

"I thank you kindly for the things you have sent Me I would thank Magar Craig or Col. Butler to Let Col. Pickering & Gn<sup>l</sup> Washington know that there is a Grate Deal of Damage Done in this Country by Liquor Capt. Brant has kiled his Son & other Cheifs has Done the same & when the Drink was gone & they Began to think on the Horrid Crime they had Comited the Resigned their Comand in the Nation two Cheifs has been kiled the one at fort franklin the other at Genesee I have sent a Speech to the States Concerning the Cheif kiled at franklin & has Been waiting all Sumer to Receive Pay for him But can see no Sign of its Coming I am By My self to Bear all the Burden of the People. Now father take Pitty on me & Send me 40 Dollars worth of Black Wampum & 10 of White & I expect to see it in two Months & an half as I Must Make New Cheifs with it again that time to help Me.

"I wish to hear from My Son and what Progress he is Making in his Learning and as soon as he is Learned enough I want him at Home Manage My Business for Me I will leave it all to my father Gn<sup>l</sup> Washington to Gudge when he is Learned enough. My Compliments to My father & the united States & I wish that it was posible for me to live forever in the united States.

"To MAJOR CRAIG.

his  
CAPT X O BEAL"  
mark



LETTER OF MRS. ELIZABETH DUCHÉ TO HER MOTHER, MRS. MARY HOPKINSON.

“ASYLUM LAMBETH  
“Aug 3<sup>rd</sup> 1783.

“MY DEAR MAMA

“We have received your letter with those from the rest of our dear family, they were truly affectionate but so much upon y<sup>e</sup> negative in regard to the subject so near our hearts that it was a considerable abatement to the pleasure they would have otherwise given us. However it is certainly right we should know the worst, for a deception in such a case might be attended with infinite consequence to our future happiness, and we have nothing now to do but submit to him who orders everything by number weight & measure: and altho’ the good he means to do us by this rejection is at present hid from our sight, we may rest assured it is the best thing for us. This I am as confident of as that I exist. The poor children feel the disappointment very sensibly particularly Hetty who is frequently in tears upon the occasion but I hope she will get y<sup>e</sup> better of it in time.

“I know not when I had more pleasure than in seeing our Philad<sup>a</sup> friends. Mrs. Hare was very much shocked at her son’s appearance, nor do I wonder at it for I never saw him so much emaciated, however he is so much recovered already that it is not doubted but that his native air will restore him to perfect health. Since I last wrote I have been very much entertained with a sight that I believe I may venture to say that no part of the world can produce such another—this was the Charity Children collected from all y<sup>e</sup> different Parishes in London who amounted to 5000 in number. These were all placed on seats erected in a circular form under ye Dome of St Pauls Church which my brother will describe to you. They were all dressed in their different Uniforms & each School had its Standard bearer with emblematical figures upon each Standard. The company were in the Centre when the Children joined the Choir in singing the Gloria Patri, it was so overcoming that I almost forgot I was upon earth & had they been dressed in white they would have answered the idea of so many Cherubs, which help to form y<sup>e</sup> heavenly Host, but in order to enjoy this Idea I was obliged to forget that each of these had a human polluted heart. There is nothing I have met with in England pleases me so much as y<sup>e</sup> many different public Charities and was I to excel in y<sup>e</sup> descriptive, which you know I never yet did, I might probably give you some satisfaction. However I cannot refrain from making another attempt by describing a scene at White Hall Chapel, it was what is called distributing the King’s bounty which is done every Maundy Thursday. There are 150 poor people who bring cards of recommendation from people of rank—they stood in regular order in y<sup>e</sup> middle of the Chapele with these tickets in their hands ready to deliver when called upon. There are 4 Clergymen in their Gowns & white scarfs with two yards of Linen wound round their waists with part hanging down like a Towel. They stand in a train one before y<sup>e</sup> other—near the first there was two of the largest Chests I had ever seen—they contained clothing which the Clergyman who stood nearest the Chest took out & delivered to the second & so on to the last who delivered them to y<sup>e</sup> poor men upon their delivering the Tickets, the Cloths were one pair of Shoes & Stockings, Cloth for a suit of Clothes & Linnen for 2 Shirts, after this ceremony was over there entered several yeomen of the Guards dressed in scarlet & gold y<sup>e</sup> first of them that entered had an immense large gilt or gold Dish upon his head containing red Purses & white ditto’s of each tied together, the red purses contained a Guinea in Silver & the white

as many silver pence as the King is of age; these were delivered to y<sup>e</sup> Women as well as the men. The Clergymen being girded with the Linnen was in imitation of our Saviour being girded with a Towel when he washed the Deciples feet. Upon the whole it was a most pleasing sight particularly to our family who had never seen anything like it.

"I am much pleased with Mrs Bingham's account of your situation, and I am happy to find it is so much better than it has been. She tells me you have agreeable people with you & that you live very comfortable—Remember me to all my dear friends & tell them tho' I have little prospect of ever seeing them or my native Country I shall ever retain the highest regard for them & a grateful sense of their kindness to me.

"You will now have an opportunity of writing almost every week, & I know my ever indulgent parent will not omit giving me that satisfaction, it is y<sup>e</sup> only one I now can expect. I can truly say that hearing of your health and happiness will ever be the greatest consolation to your affectionate

E. DUCHÉ

"P.S. We all wrote by D<sup>r</sup> Denormandy By him M<sup>r</sup> Duché sent you a sett of his Sermons elegantly bound.

"I refer you to Mrs Meade for an answer to your last letter—I had only time to write to her."

CLARKSON MEMOIR.—In the Memoir of Matthew Clarkson some uncertainty was expressed as to his family connection with the artist Benjamin West. Since the printing of the book I found in Dr. Fisher's admirable "Life of Professor B. Silliman" a letter of West's to Colonel Trumbull, dated London, October 14, 1790, in which he says, "the favourable opportunity by *my nephew John Clarkson*, returning to Philadelphia, I could not permit to pass without giving you this letter;" and, again, "*my nephew John Clarkson* will show you the print of S<sup>t</sup> Paul, from the picture at Greenwich" (Vol. II. 391, 393). This seems to intimate that Rachel West ("Memoir," p. 23), wife of John Clarkson, was sister of the painter.

The Rev. David Clarkson was rector of the Mortlake Church, Surrey; then he surrendered the living rather than yield to the compulsory "conformity." In Ellis's "Letters of English History," Third Series, IV. 209, there is this sentence in a letter of Archbishop Laud (1637): "To this Rectory [Wimbleton] Putney & Mortlake are chapels of ease; and Mortlake hath been for divers years, and is at present, a place of great inconformity, and there usually such are placed as will take little from your lessee, and live upon the humour of the people."

In 1888 was published in London "A History of the Independents or Dissenters at Mortlake, in the county of Surrey, with an account of their chapel and the various pastors who have officiated since the year 1662. By John Eustace Anderson." 44 pages. J. H.

Trenton, September 13, 1890.

WILL OF CHARLES THOMSON.—We are indebted to Mr. William J. Buck for this copy of the will of Charles Thomson, so well known as the secretary of the Continental Congress.

"In the name of God, Amen. I Charles Thomson of the Township of Lower Merion and County of Montgomery, and State of Pennsylvania, being desirous to settle all my Worldly affairs whilst I have capacity so to do, make and ordain this to be my last Will and Testament. Hereby revoking and making void all former wills by me at any time made, and first I desire to be Buried in the old Burying ground at Harrington where I now live, and as to my worldly estate, I give, devise and



bequeath the same as follows: I give and devise all my estate real and personal and mixed unto my nephew John Thomson of New Castle County in the State of Delaware and to his Heirs and Assigns in fee Simple, subject to and Charged with the payment of the rents, issues, profits and interest thereof unto my aged sister Mary Thomson for and during the term of her Natural Life, and lastly I nominate and appoint my nephew John Thomson as aforesaid my sole Executor of this my last will and testament. In Witness whereof I have here unto set my hand and seal this Twenty Ninth day of January A.D., one thousand eight hundred and twenty two. Signed, sealed, published and delivered by the said testator as his last will and testament in presence of us who in his presence and at his Request have subscribed as Witnesses.

“CHARLES THOMSON [SEAL]

“CHARLES THOMSON

“JOS. C. MORGAN,

“JOHN MATHEYS.

“Charles Thomson being asked why he wrote his name twice to the within answered that the first was not plain, and that he wrote the second time that it might be better understood.

“JOS. C. MORGAN,

“JOHN MATHEYS.

“January 29th, 1822.

“Montgomery County, ss. The aforesaid Witnesses who being duly affirmed and sworn, September 13th, 1824.

“JOHN MARKLEY, *Register*.

“Sept. 13th, 1824, the foregoing will of Charles Thomson was proved under seal of office.”

ONONDAGA NAMES OF MONTHS.—An Indian friend recently gave me the old Onondaga names of the months, which were likely to be lost, and which he wished to have preserved. In Loskiel's “Moravian Missions” is an account of the Delaware months, but he does not give the Indian words, and commences with the spring. In Pennsylvania, of course, the season is earlier. Because they caught shad in March the Delawares called that the shad-fish month. April was the planting month, and May the time for hoeing Indian corn. June was the month when the deer became red; July the time for hilling corn. In August the corn was in the milk, and from this the month had a name. September was the first month of autumn, October the harvest month, and November the month for hunting. December was the time when the bucks cast their horns; January the squirrel month, or the time when chipmunks came out of their holes, and February the month of frogs, as they then began to croak in Southern Pennsylvania. Zeisberger gives the Indian names of some of these.

The Onondaga names were obtained by Albert Cusick from John Jacobs (Ke-nent-too-te, “Hemlock sticking up”), an old Onondaga. Although the White Dog feast, in January or February, is the beginning of the religious year, yet in other ways the year began in the fall, when the Indians went out to hunt, and I shall follow this arrangement:

October—Chut-ho-wa-ah, little cold.

November—Chut-ho-wa-go-nah, large cold.

December—Tis-ah, little long day (*i.e.*, not very long).

January—Tis-go-nah, longer day.

February—Ka-na-to-ha, winter leaves fall (*i.e.*, those that have stuck on the trees).

March—Ka-na-to-go-nah, winter leaves fall and fill up the large holes.



That is, the high March winds blow all the leaves into the hollows in the woods.

April—E-sut-ah, warm and good days, but not planting time.

May—O-yea-ie-go-nah, strawberries ripe and the leaves are in full size.

June—Ses-ka-hah, sun goes for long days.

July—Ses-ka-hah-go-nah, sun goes for longer days. (The longest day.) A natural mistake. Perhaps the syllable "hah" should be omitted.

August—Ken-ten-ah, the deer sheds its hair.

September—Ken-ten-ah-go-nah, deer in its natural fur.

As in the case of the Delaware names some allowances have to be made in these divisions.

From the same source I had the names of the week-days, which cannot be very old:

Sunday—Ah-wen-tah-to-ken-te, holy day.

Monday—Ah-wen-tah-ten-tah-ee, holy day over.

Tuesday—Te-ken-wah-tont-ah, second one (*i.e.*, after Sunday).

Wednesday—Ta-wen-to-ken, between the days (*i.e.*, the middle of the week).

Thursday—Kah-yea-ie-wah-tont-ah, fourth one.

Friday—Wicks-wah-tont-ah, fifth one.

Saturday—En-tuck-tah, near the (holy) day.

These names have not before appeared, and would soon have been lost. I think "wisk" is the more common word for five, but have observed a difference in this, which may be one of dialect.

W. M. BEAUCHAMP.

GENERAL SULLIVAN'S ATTACK ON STATEN ISLAND, 1777.—A British officer of the Fifty-second Foot, writing home under date of August 24, 1777, gives the following account of General Sullivan's attack on Staten Island:

"The rebels on the night before last made a descent on this island, to the number of 2500 men, commanded by Major-General Sullivan and two brigadiers. I already informed you that Brigadier-General Campbell was left here to command in this island, with two foreign regiments and the Fifty-second Regiment, the whole not exceeding nine hundred men. The intention of the rebels upon this occasion was to invest us with a superior force, while they made a diversion at the same time upon New York Island. They attacked a post of our provincials at the distance of three miles from our camp, and made the lieutenant-colonel, a major, and 30 privates prisoners; they then directed their course through the centre of the island, with a view to surprise two battalions of Provincials (I should have told you that, besides the 900 Regulars, 400 Provincials were posted as guards on different parts of the island) about 200 strong, and to carry off the whole cattle on the island with all the well-affected inhabitants.

"Our numbers being so small, they did not expect that we should quit our camp and redoubts; however, they were mistaken, and General Campbell ordered the Fifty-second and Waldeck Regiments to get under arms and attack the enemy. No time was lost; but having very bad intelligence we made several retreats before we could trace the route the rebels took. The two regiments together did not make up 500 men. The Anspach and our old men were left to guard the redoubts.

"After having marched 18 miles, the Fifty-second came up with the rear of the rebels at a bay called the Blazing Star, where they were busy

embarking. However, a hot engagement ensued, which did not continue above five minutes, when 300 of the rebels, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, five or six captains, 24 officers in all, and a number of subalterns, cried out for quarter and clubbed their arms. The Waldeck regiment was at this time two miles behind, not being able to keep up. I prevented, as much as possible, any effusion of blood, but in the havock of such cases, it was impossible to prevent it wholly. The number I have mentioned became prisoners, and being equal to the number of the captors, it was impossible to do more, so the rest got off.

“Our advantage upon this occasion was great; we had command of ground and had two six-pounders (field pieces), which with grape did great execution among the rebels. Had it not been for the treachery of an officer of the Provincials, we should have taken and killed the whole of this detachment, sent by the rebels to this island in full assurance of carrying everything before them.

“The night the rebels attacked us, they also attacked King’s-bridge, and took off a captain’s guard of Provincials; troops were immediately sent after them by General Clinton, but the rebels got off with their prisoners. They also made, the same night, an attack on our posts on Long Island; what success they had there is not yet well known, but their chief attack was here in which they have lost at least 500 men, with a loss on our side not exceeding 50, including the Provincials.”

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.—Count Christoferi, Private Secretary of the Pope, at Rome, and a well-known antiquarian and archæologist, writing to an esteemed correspondent on the subject of documents relating to the discoveries in America to be found in the Vatican Library, states,—

“Many of the early documents now being brought to light were for years, even centuries, lying hidden in the Castle of St. Angelo, where they had been thrust into leathern bags, originally for safety, and then forgotten. Under direction of the present Pope, they are for the first time thoroughly catalogued as far as possible: the variety of matter is so great that letters, reports, etc., have rather to be massed together than separately indexed.”

COATE[s], LEEDS, AND STEELMAN FAMILY RECORD.—On the fly-leaf to the New Testament in a Bible, printed by Thomas Basket, London, 1758, in the possession of Mrs. Chalkley S. Leeds, Atlantic City, New Jersey, the following is recorded:

John Coate [sic], Born January y<sup>e</sup> 2d. 1747–8 y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> week at 11 o’clock in the Morning.

Mary Coate Born September y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1749 y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> week 10 o’clock in y<sup>e</sup> Morning.

Daniel Leeds Born July y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1752 y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Day of y<sup>e</sup> week at 1 o’clock in the afternoon.

Jeremiah Leeds Born March y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1754 y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> week about Noon.

Vincent Leeds Born July y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1756 y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> week about Noon.

Dorothy Leeds Born July y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1756 y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Day of y<sup>e</sup> week at 7 o’clock afternoon.

Sarah Leeds wife of John Leeds was Born September 19<sup>th</sup> 1721/2 old stile these are their children.

Mrs. Jeremiah Leeds, the mother of Chalkley S. Leeds, was a Millicent Steelman. The following family record is from a book formerly belonging to her called "The Young Man's Companion."

Peter Steelman the son of Isaac Steelman and Mary Steelman his wife was born the 28 day december in the year of our Lord 1779.

Jesse Steelman the son of Isaac Steelman and Mary Steelman his wife was born the 21<sup>th</sup> day of September 1781.

Hannah Steelman the daughter of Isaac Steelman and Mary Steelman his wife was born the 25th day of August 1783.

Judith Steelman the daughter of Isaac Steelman and Mary Steelman his wife was born the 13 day of March 1785.

Sarah Steelman the daughter of Isaac Steelman and Mary Steelman his wife was born the 12th day of July 1788.

Melesent Steelman the daughter of Isaac Steelman and Mary his wife was born the 30th day of August 1792.

Isaac Steelman the son of Isaac Steelman and Mary Steelman his wife was born the 5th day of March 1795.

LETTER OF DR. SAMUEL PRESTON MOORE.—The following letter from Dr. Moore to his father-in-law, Dr. Richard Hill, has not heretofore, I believe, appeared in print. It is not to be found in the collection published by the late John Jay Smith, under the title "Letters of Dr. Richard Hill and his Children," Philadelphia, 1854. T. S.

"PHILADA June 7<sup>th</sup> 1758

"DEAR FATHER

"Thine by Chancellor with the agreeable account of thy safe arrival was exceeding acceptable to us all and esteemed another instance of Divine favour to our Families.

"The five pipes of wine proved good of the sort & Sam<sup>l</sup> Grisly has engaged to buy 3 at 35£. . . . Wister and Kepley say they have bought under 30£ of the Stedmans. . . . I shall make the most of these or any other thou mayst think proper to commit to my care, notwithstanding my other Business . . . for the sake of clearing myself of my own & Bro<sup>r</sup> Hills engagements which I am extremely anxious to do before I dye. . . . Adm<sup>l</sup> Boscowen is arrived at Hallifax & join'd by L<sup>t</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Hardy & all the American Transports and were to sail yesterday, there are 2 French ships of the Line & 4 Frigates in Louisbourgh & now it is to be hoped more may be prevented getting in as the Adm<sup>l</sup> has such a strong squadron. Strong Forces are intended against Crown point & Fort du Quesne, the 3 attacks to be made about the same time. Providence only can give the victory but mortals may conjecture there will be a deluge of Blood & the Empire of America perhaps Britain influenced if not determined by the events this summer.

"Coll Tucker says in a letter to R Meredith that thy Brig arrived I think the 11<sup>th</sup> instant & nothing more of her. I am with much love to all Thy very affect<sup>o</sup> son

"SAM<sup>L</sup> PRESTON MOORE."

REYNIER TYSON.—It is quite interesting to note the different spellings of Reynier Tyson's name. While he seems to have been a person of much character, and a man of influence and property, he was not able to write. There being no uniformity in the efforts to Anglicize his name, many different spellings resulted. To his will the name is written Reynear Tyson, and the Recorder's index gives it as Rynear Tyson. Stephen



Jenkins and Robert Hugh, the appraisers of his estate, give it Roynor Tyson, while in other old records I find it spelled Rhiner Thysen, Rheinert Tisen, Reineir Tissen, Reinier Tyson, Reinert Tisen, Reinert Tissen (Thomas Story's spelling), and Reinier Tissen. Watson generally spells the name Reiner Tyson, and Hon. S. W. Pennypacker, Reynier Tyson. His children spelled their surname Tyson and Tysen, the former being the name as spelled by the family to-day.

CHARLES F. JENKINS.

LETTERS OF GENERALS WAYNE, O'HARA, AND HODGDON.—We are indebted to Isaac Craig, Esq., Allegheny, Pennsylvania, for copies of the following letters in his autograph collection :

“ HEADQUARTERS,

“ GREENEVILL, 4th July 1794

“ SIR

“ I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, and am much pleased at the account you give of a plentiful supply of Forage & Stores, and the means of transport both in your own and the Contractors departments which will rather require to be increased than otherwise.

“ The Enemy to the number of between 1000 & 1500 Warriors attacked our Escort on the morning of the 30th ulto close in with Fort Recovery and immediately followed that attack by a General assault from all quarters upon that Post, in which they were repulsed with considerable Slaughter, however they continued a heavy and distant fire upon the Garrison for the remainder of the day, and by intervals during the night and morning of the 1st instant, but were ultimately compelled to retreat between the hours of 12 & 2 O'Clock of that day, and were followed for a little distance by Capt Gibson and part of the Garrison who called & invited them to return & fight, this produced a hideous yell from the thick Coverts in which large bodies of the enemy were secreted and served as a direction where to deliver the Shells, and they appeared to take proper effect and soon put a period to the yelling, and precipitated the retreat of this numerous herd of Savages.—

“ We had 21 Officers and Soldiers killed, and 29 wounded during the Action, among the first the Gallant & ever to be regretted Major M<sup>c</sup>Mahon, the brave Captain Hartshorne, Lieut. Craig & Cornet Terry, —among the latter the intrepid Capt. Taylor of the Dragoons and Lieut. Drake of the Infantry : there is but one Soldier missing. The Dragoons suffer'd most—out of 50 in toto, 21 were either killed or wounded, 23 horses are in our possession but almost all of them wounded—the balance 27 were generally killed in the reiterated charges made by that gallant Corps—Hence you will see the immediate necessity of the purchase of 50 Dragoon horses to replace this loss, which you will please to order to be procured and forwarded with all possible dispatch, perhaps they may be obtained in time to come on with the last detachment of Volunteers of Kentucky.

“ You will please to be punctual in the arrival of the escort and Convoy from Fort Washington at Fort Hamilton, on or before the 6th instant as heretofore directed—where they will be reinforced by a strong Detachment from this place, at about the same moment, nor can their immediate return be delayed without the utmost risk and damage, it is to be clearly understood that waggons or Carriages are totally out of the question, nor shall the present Convoy be encumbered or committed by them on any pretext whatever, the Commanding Officer of the Detach-

ment will be instructed accordingly—Corn & Whiskey are wanted but the Convoy and Escort cannot be delayed on account of a deficiency in either Article, because this is the only place in which they can receive effectual protection, & where they are effectually wanted to facilitate the advance of the Army & for which your presence is indispensably necessary.—

“ I am with respect & esteem

“ your most Ob<sup>t</sup> Hble Servt

“ ANTY WAYNE

“ TO COLONEL JAMES O'HARA

“ Q. M. Gen<sup>l</sup> Fort Washington”

“ FORT WASHINGTON, July 5, 1794.

“ SIR,

“ The enclosed letter from the Commander-in-Chief dated yesterday, at Head Quarters will give you a general Idea of the disposition of the Indians, and of the result of their attack on the Escort, and Fort Recovery, on the 30th Ultimo.

“ Major M<sup>c</sup>Mahon, in whose fall we have lost a good man and Excellent officer, marched a detachment of 50 Dragoons, and 90 Rifle men on the 29th from Head Quarters to Fort Recovery with a large supply of provisions, and safely lodged his convoy.—on the morning of the 30th Mr. William Wilson having ordered the Contractor's Horses out about half a mile to graze, they were fired upon by a party of Indians; upon which the Major at the Head of the Dragoons, ordered a general charge; both Horse and foot were beat back, Rallied, and charged a second time, but being overpowered by numbers, retreated to the Fort, and were followed up, and the assault made as Represented by the General.

“ Notwithstanding the well known custom of the Indians cautious carrying away of their dead, our People are in possession of ten Scalps—and other proofs of their having dearly paid for their temerity.

“ Mr. Southerland arrived a few minutes ago with a Boat loaded with corn and oats, and he says, in very good order. I am sorry that Forget is so remarkably unfortunate. I expected to received by his Boat, the *Spelter Sodder*,<sup>1</sup> saddles and Horsemen's Tents. all being immediately wanted but I am informed that he got wrecked and was obliged to land his Cargoe near Buffaloe;

“ I know of no difficiency in the department except Saddles and Horsemans Tents, and these were reported on the way three months agoe.

“ As I find my Stores of Grain considerably greater than was Reported, you will please to observe that you are not to run any Risque of either perplexity or damage, by pressing on forage in low water, or purchasing on unreasonable terms, you will at the same time continue to purchase on the terms proposed by my letter of the 11th Ultimo, provided you can have the delivery made here, or in your Country at the proper Season for transporting it to this place.—

“ I wish you to forward all the twill'd Bags you can possibly procure, and if in your power, I pray you send all the whisky you Can in ten Gallon Kegs, and one thousand Extra Empty; two Dollars each being Offered here this day to no purpose, and Coopers not to be got.—I can say very little respecting the Kentucke Volunteers, the 10th & 14th are days appointed for their Rendezvous. I expect one thousand here on the 20th of this month, but the general opinion is not so sanguine.—

<sup>1</sup> Spelter Sodder was the name given to silver money in easks.

“Enclosed you have despatches for the Secretary of War, which you will please to forward as soon as possible.—

“I am,

“Sir,

“Your Hum<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“JAMES O’HARA

“Q. M. G.

“ISAAC CRAIG, ESQ<sup>R</sup>

“D. Q. M. G.”

“PHILADELPHIA, 21 September, 1793.

“DEAR SIR

“I am favoured with your Letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> instant—Myself and family—Blessed be God are nearly recovered from the Malignant disorder that has made such havock in our City, the scene has surpassed everything that I have before seen—the dying groans has filled our Ears all night, and the dead has rushed on our Eyes with the returning day—whole families have been swept away—we have great cause for thankfulness. With respect to smoking and repacking the Clothing, I believe nothing more was intended by the Secretary of War than attention in that way to the two last Loads that were packed—indeed I gave him at his request my opinion in writing on the subject,—that even that precaution as to the last Loads was unnecessary for reasons at large offered in my Letter—it was morally and almost Physically impossible for infection to have reached any of the Clothing—indeed a large portion of the Clothing was on the road before there was any infection in the City—if however it were Necessary it would have been better to have taken the precaution when the Clothing had reached its destination—I never conceived it Necessary any where—I am sorry to find your own articles had not reached you—and that any part of the stores appear to be unnecessarily detained on the road. I wish you to make particular inquiry into the reasons for such detention, and if they are not satisfactory to you—Note it on the Back of the receipt which you give them, and I will then take proper Measures with the delinquents.

“The President of the United States is gone to Mount Vernon—the Secretary of the Treasury to New York—the Secretary of foreign affairs to Virginia, and the Secretary of War to Boston—the last has left my hands full of business—No franks are left, all Letters now Pay Postage—you will charge what you pay—No papers are printed, consequently you have no News, the Printers, with more than half the inhabitants of the City are gone into the Country, all business is at a stand.

“I thank you for the Copy of my former Letter must request the same favor for this—I have no one to assist me—Knox<sup>1</sup> is better, and removed into the country—adieu—

“I am as ever

“Sincerely yours

“SAMUEL HODGDON.

“MAJOR ISAAC CRAIG

“D. Q. M. Gen<sup>l</sup>

“Pittsburgh.”

“Miss St. Clair left at Muskingum a trunk, which she ordered to be left with Major Craig at Pitt—it was to have been in the Boat with Captain Pratt—she is anxious to know if it has been received & is under his care—if so Major Craig will benefit Miss St. Clair by troubling himself as far as to place it in a Waggon & direct it to her at Legonier—if it has

<sup>1</sup> William Knox.



not yet arrived to inquire for it on any Boat which may arrive & forward it the first opportunity—she is sorry to give Major Craig so much trouble—but depending on his demonstrated goodness to her is emboldened.

“Yours &c

“LOUISA ST. CLAIR.

“MAJOR CRAIG,  
“Greensburgh,  
“May 1, 1792.”

“Miss St. Clair takes the liberty on her Papa’s Credit of requesting Major Craig to advance her a little money, she is now on her way to Muskingum & as it was a hasty thought she had not time enough to make the regulations necessary. I rely upon your indulgence. I will not mention any sum.

“Wednesday Morn  
“Murphys.”

The following letter relates to the laying out of the town of Beaver, Pennsylvania :

“WASHINGTON 25 Apr. 1798.

“SIR.

“Last monday the town was to be laid out. The idea you at first suggested of an angle along the river was found necessary—to have made a straight line would have removed the front lots very far from the river—or the street would have soon terminated in the river.

“I hope you will make a point to be down on the day of sale and early.

“I am Sir,

“Your most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“ALEX. ADDISON.

“ISAAC CRAIG ESQ.,  
“Pittsburgh.”

“BROOKLYN L. I.

“21 May 1815.

“SIR,

“You will repair to Philadelphia and report yourself to Capt. Babcock of the Engineers for Duty under his Command.

“I am your respectful

“hum. Serv<sup>t</sup>

“J. G. SWIFT B. G<sup>l</sup>

“LIEUT I. E. CRAIG,  
“U. S. Artillery attached to the  
“Engineer Department.”

“PHILADELPHIA 25<sup>th</sup> May 1815

“SIR,

“You will proceed immediately to New Castle, where I will join you to proceed from thence to the Pea-patch Island in order to make such surveys and observations as may be necessary in order to complete plans for the works to be erected at that place

“Very Respectfully

“Your obt. Serv<sup>t</sup>

“S. BABCOCK

‘LIEUT. ISAAC E. CRAIG  
“attached to the Engineer Dept  
“4<sup>th</sup> M. D.”

DR. JOHN KEARSLY.—The London *Chronicle*, December 22–24, 1778, has the following “Extract of a Letter from Plymouth, Dec. 9.” “During the last fortnight we have had very severe weather here to the westward of us, by which a snow transport from New York, was wrecked near Marazion in Cornwall; amongst the passengers saved were the widow and orphans of the late Dr. Kearsly, of Philadelphia, who suffered death for persevering in his loyalty to great Britain. The widow and children were brought on shore quite naked, but by the humanity of the people, the above were all cloathed, and a collection made for them, as they had lost all their property to the amount of 50*l.* and a worthy Parson has taken two of his children under his care to provide for them.”

CORRECTION.—REES THOMAS AND MARTHA AWBREY, PENNA. MAG., VOL. XII. P. 292.—It has been ascertained that Rees Thomas was probably a native of Caermarthenshire, Wales, and not of Monmouthshire, as stated.  
G. V.

### Queries.

NAMES OF AUTHORS WANTED.—Information is requested as to the names of the authors of the following works of prose and poetry. Cushing's works do not give them.

“A Conference on Society and Massachusetts. A Poem.” Boston, 1820.

“The Orphan Twins; or the Adventures of a Brother and Sister. A Poem.” New York, 1849.

“Poems. By Gold-Pen.” Philadelphia, 1856.

“Ideals and other Poems. By Algernon.” Philadelphia, 1849.

“The Conference; or Sketches Wesleyan Methodism.” In two parts. By the author of “Amusements of a Mission.” Bridgeton, N. J., 1824.

“Tan-go'-ru-a: An Historical Drama.” In prose. Philadelphia, 1856.

“The Condottier, A Poem. Philadelphia, A Satire.” Philadelphia, 1821.

“Some of the Poetical Fragments of a Washingtonian.” Washington, 1838.

“A Valentinc. By A Gill. An Appeal. By A Jack.” Philadelphia, 1882.

“The Saint and the Sinner. A tale not stranger than true.” New York, 1854.

“Zilia: A Poem.” In three Cantos. New York, 1830.

“The Trollopiod; or Travelling Gentlemen in America.” A Satire. By Nil Admirari, Esq. New York, 1837.

“Aldorncre: A Pennsylvania Idyl.” Philadelphia, 1872.

“Coaquanock A Song of Many Summers.” In four Cantos. Philadelphia, 1878.

“The Dagon of Calvinism, or the Moloch of Decrees.” A Poem in three Cantos. By the same. Philadelphia, 1827.

“The Æneid—In modern American.” Winsted, 1870.

“Liberty. A Poem.” By Rusticus. Philadelphia, 1768.

JACOB HULL appears as an Associator in Capt. Kucher's Company, Northern Liberties, Philadelphia Co., Pa., Dec. 19, 1776. He was reported there as not having yet joined his company. He appears as private November 1, 1781, in Capt. Philip Waggoner's Company, Second Regiment of Foot, Philadelphia and District's Militia (Pa. Arch., II., S. XIII., 509, 782). He married *Catherine Abell*, and had Catherine,

who was married, by Rev. Samuel Helfenstein, in the German Reformed Church, Philadelphia, June 7, 1804, to William Hause, of that city. I desire information as to Jacob Hull; how long he served, when he died, and what other issue he left.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

WILLIAM HOWE CUYLER, in 1805, advertises for sale 100,000 acres of land "on the waters of the Ohio River," in what is now the State of West Virginia. Genealogical information is requested of the owner.

C.

ALMANAC COMPILER.—"The Virginia Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1766," published at Williamsburg, was compiled by Theophilus Wreg. What is known of him?

B.

WHITMORE FAMILY.—Information is requested of a family named Whitmore, living in Luzerne, or Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, prior to 1788.

M. C. O.

MARY JONES.—In a letter dated Philadelphia, February 13, 1744, "Mary Jones" is named as a school-mistress of some prominence. Information is desired as to her descendants.

JONES.

### Replies.

AN OLD EPITAPH.—The series of capital letters in the epitaph of Henry Roe (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIV. p. 85) has been the subject of much question and some research among antiquarians, but remained an unsolved enigma until this year. Henry Roe was probably a son of John Roe, who located land in forks of Timber Creek, Gloucester County, New Jersey, as early as 12th mo., 1696/7. Henry Roe was the first person who surveyed land at Williamstown (formerly called Squankum), locating cedar swamp land in 1726. In 1729 he married Hannah, daughter of Richard Cheesman, who came from Hempstead, Long Island, to Monmouth County, New Jersey, and in 1720 to Gloucester County, where he became an extensive land-owner. Henry Roe also became a large landholder in cedar swamp, which was valuable in those days. While superintending the building of a saw-mill and a wharf for shipping lumber, he was taken sick with small-pox and died. His will only mentions his wife Hannah and son Abraham, whom he makes his executors. In the office of the Register of Wills, Philadelphia, Lib. P, fol. 337, is to be found the will of David Roe of that city, dated 16th April, 1761, but not probated until 3d December, 1772, in which he leaves all his property to his "honoured mother Hannah Roe of Philadelphia, at her death to be equally divided between my living brothers Abraham, Jesse, Uriah, and John, and my sisters Jemima and Hannah."

From the family Bible formerly belonging to Uriah Roe, we learn that he was born 4th June, 1745, and his sister Jemima 3d June, 1741. From this data I would arrange the names as follows:

*Hannah*, widow of Henry Roe, buried in St. Paul's P. E. Church burying-ground, Philadelphia.

*Abraham*, died between 1766 and 1794.

*S.*

*David*, died on the Island of Granada, West Indies.

*N.*



*John*, buried in Christ Church burying-ground, 25th October, 1793.

*Jemima*, died 25th September, 1792; buried in St. Paul's burying-ground.

R.

*Hannah*, married — Burden, who had a son, Jesse Roe Burden, M.D., of Philadelphia.

*Uriah*, died 12th April, 1812, and buried in St. James's P. E. Church grounds, Paschallville, Philadelphia.

*Jesse*, buried 1st March, 1814, in Christ Church yard.

W. S. L.

FIRST MANUFACTURER OF RIFLES IN PENNSYLVANIA [PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIV. p. 221].—I do not know who was the first, but from the following letter it will appear that General Edward Hand was engaged in the manufacture of rifles at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1792:

“PITTSBURGH, 22 June, 1792

“DEAR SIR

“I have received your favor of the 13th instant inclosing Thomas Masters and James Silvers receipt for twenty-nine boxes of three hundred and forty-eight Rifles. I suppose the wagoners must be here in a few days.

“I shall see Genl. Neville to-morrow and show him your friendly letter.

“I am, dear Sir, with great esteem

“Your obedient servant

“ISAAC CRAIG, D.Q.M.G.

“MAJOR GENERAL HAND,  
“Lancaster.”

These rifles were for General Wayne's army.

I. C.

DOYLESTOWN DEMOCRAT.—The *Doylestown Democrat* was established by Lewis Diffenbach in September of 1816, the first issue bearing date the 16th of that month. From the issue of September 9, 1817 (Vol. I. No. 52), we copy the motto in full:

“Here shall the *Press*, the people's *rights* maintain,  
Unaw'd by influence, and unbrib'd by gain;  
Here patriot *truth*, her glorious precepts draw,  
Pledg'd to *religion*, *liberty*, and *law*!”

Prior to its appearing for the last time, in the issue of December 25, 1821, the form of insertion had been changed, first to two lines, and at last to one line, reaching nearly across the head of the paper. The name of the author is unknown to us.

ED. PENNA. MAG.

FIRST MANUFACTURER OF RIFLES IN PENNSYLVANIA.—Between 1740 and 1776 there were at least three manufacturers of rifles in Lancaster County: Matthew Roeser and William Henry at Lancaster, and Henry Albright at Litiz. In 1778, William Henry, Jr., began to manufacture them in Northampton County.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

JACOB HULL'S name does not appear on the muster-roll of Capt. Philip Waggoner's Company, Fourth Class, Philadelphia Militia, dated November 9, 1777. From 1791 to his death, in 1804, he was a tax collector of the city. His widow survived him.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

**Book Notices.**

THE BORDER OR RIDING CLANS, FOLLOWED BY A HISTORY OF THE CLAN DICKSON AND A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILY OF THE AUTHOR. By B. Homer Dixon, K.N.L. 1 vol. Small quarto, 224 pp. Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, 1889.

The first edition of this work was privately printed for the compiler's own family and friends, but as applications were made for copies, the present enlarged edition was prepared, and embraces: The Border Clans; Landed Titles; The Clan Dickson; Families; Members of Parliament; Arms; Homer Dixon Family; Index to Clans and Surnames,—of the latter upwards of two hundred. Among the American connections of the Clan Dickson are members of the families of Dallas, Sergeant, Biddle, Trotter, Thayer, Newbold, and Sharpless, of Philadelphia. Mr. Dallas Yorke, of Walmsgate Park, near Louth, Lincolnshire, England, who assumed the additional name of Yorke upon inheriting the estates of his maternal uncle in 1856, is the present chief of the Dallas family. He has one son, and one daughter who married the Duke of Portland. The volume is beautifully printed on heavy cream-laid paper, and bound in cloth. Price, \$5.

SKETCHES OF WAR HISTORY, 1861-65. Edited by Capt. Robert Hunter. Vol. III. 8vo, pp. 471. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.

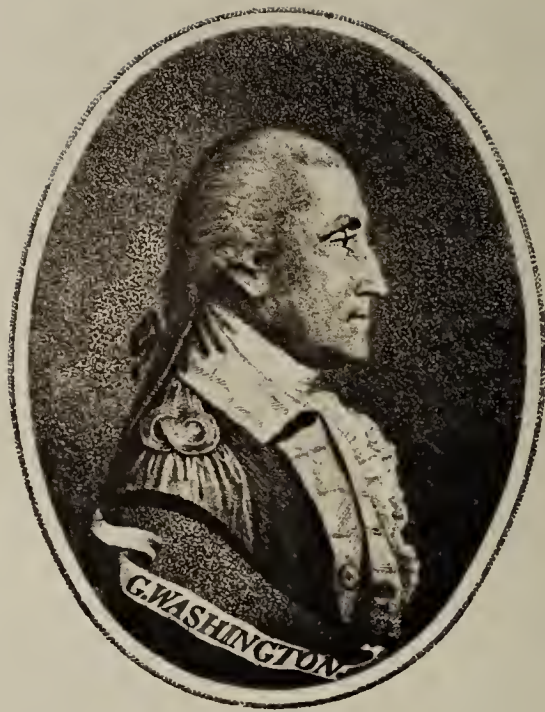
The papers which make up the handsome volume before us have been prepared in conformity with a rule of the Ohio Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, which imposes on its recorder the collection of historical papers from members relating to their experiences and observations in the battles and campaigns of the late rebellion. Among the contributors we find the names of Major-Generals D. S. Stanley, J. Warren Keifer, W. P. Carlin, and C. C. Doolittle; Brigadier-Generals R. R. Dawes, A. Hickenlooper, and John Beatty; and Colonels M. M. Granger, Douglas Putnam, Jr., Gilbert D. Munson, William E. Merrill, and R. M. Kelly, whose papers, "The Tullahoma Campaign," "Battle of Sailor's Creek," "Battle of Bentonville," "Defence of Decatur," "On the Right at Antietam," "Our Volunteer Engineers," "Battle of Cedar Creek," "Battle of Shiloh," "Battle of Atlanta," throw a new light upon the events in which their authors participated. The Loyal Legion, by the collection and publication of original contributions to the history of the late rebellion, is in a measure an historical society of no mean importance, and its efforts should be substantially appreciated by the public and army men. The volume is printed on fine paper, bound in blue-grained cloth, with gilt top and uncut edges, and is uniform with the two former volumes issued by the Commandery. Price, delivered, \$2.

COAL: ITS ANTIQUITY, DISCOVERY, AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT IN THE WYOMING VALLEY. By George B. Kulp, Wilkes-Barre, 1890.

This interesting paper was read before the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, in June last, by its compiler, Mr. Kulp, who is the historiographer of the Society.







*Photogravure of a print  
by Collyer, after an Etching  
by Joseph Wright. 1790.*







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

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from page 280.)

1778.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1778.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "The enemy returned into Philadelphia on Sunday last, having made a considerable hay forage, which appeared to be their only intention. As they kept themselves in close order, and in just such a position that no attack could be made upon them to advantage, I could do no more than extend light parties along their front, and keep them from plundering the inhabitants and carrying off cattle and horses; which had the desired effect."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SATURDAY, JANUARY 3.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "Our army are tenting themselves; they are almost worn out with fatigue, and greatly distressed for want of clothing, particularly the

article of shoes and stockings. The present mode of clothing the army will always leave us without a sufficient supply. The change in the Commissary department has been a very distressing circumstance; the army has been fed from hand to mouth ever since Mr. Trumbull left it. Our operations have been greatly retarded from the situation of the Commissary department. The Quartermaster-General's department also has been in a most wretched condition. General Mifflin, who ought to have been at the head of the business, has never been with the army since it came into the State." — *General Greene to Jacob Greene.*

Although the necessities of the army demanded a speedy change in the quartermaster's department, it was not until the 2d of March that General Greene was chosen to be the head of it. John Cox, a well-known merchant of Philadelphia, and Charles Pettit, a lawyer of New Jersey, secretary to Governor Livingston at the time, were appointed assistants. The much-needed change in the commissary department, however, did not take place until later. On the 9th of April Congress elected Jeremiah Wadsworth, of Connecticut, commissary-general, and five days later adopted a plan for the management of the department, more liberal than the original one, which had induced the first commissary-general, Colonel Joseph Trumbull, to quit the department, and in its operation had nearly destroyed the army. The good effect growing out of the appointment of General Greene and Colonel Wadsworth is particularly mentioned by Washington in a letter to the President of Congress, dated August 3, 1778.

MONDAY, JANUARY 5.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "The letter you allude to, from the Committee of Congress and Board of War, came to hand on Saturday morning; but it does not mention the regulations adopted for removing the difficulties and failures in the commissary line. I trust they will be vigorous, or the army cannot exist. It will never answer to procure supplies of clothing or provision by coercive measures. . . . I shall endeavour, as far as possible, to carry the intention of Congress into execution, respecting the extra pay, and to prevent any from receiving it, who do not come under their description." — *Washington to the President of Congress.*

As soon as it was determined that the army would go into winter-quarters at Valley Forge, Congress directed General Washington to inform the officers and soldiers that, in consequence of "their soldierly patience, fidelity and zeal in the cause of their country," one month's extraordinary pay would be given to each.—*Journal of Congress*, December 30, 1777.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "About the 15th of January, we had our huts nearly completed, and the men in comfortable quarters."—*Diary of Joseph Clark*, Proceedings New Jersey Hist. Soc., VII. 103.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "We have taken a post on the west side of the Schuylkill, about twenty miles from the city [Philadelphia], and with much pains and industry have got the troops tolerably well covered in huts."—*Washington to General Arnold*.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 27.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "I am much obliged by your polite request of my opinion and advice on the expedition to Canada and other occasions. In the present instance, as I neither know the extent of the objects in view, nor the means to be employed to effect them, it is not in my power to pass any judgment upon the subject. I can only sincerely wish, that success may attend it, both as it may advance the public good, and on account of the personal honor of the Marquis de Lafayette, for whom I have a very particular esteem and regard."—*Washington to General Gates*.

On January 22 Congress adopted a resolution that "an irruption be made into Canada, and that the Board of War be authorized to take every necessary measure for the execution of the business, under such general officers as Congress shall appoint." The following day the Marquis de Lafayette, Major-General Conway, and Brigadier-General Stark were elected to conduct the *irruption*. This proposition, which emanated from the Board of War, of which General Gates was president, was without the knowledge of the commander-in-chief, the appointment of Lafayette being made for the purpose of detaching him from Washington. In this, however, the conspirators were disappointed, and finding they could not use the marquis, the expedition was abandoned.



WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "The disagreeable picture, I have given you, of the wants and sufferings of the army, and the discontents reigning among the officers, is a just representation of evils equally melancholy and important; and unless effectual remedies be applied without loss of time, the most alarming and ruinous consequences are to be apprehended."—*Washington to a Committee of Congress.*

The above is the concluding paragraph of a lengthy paper (fifty folio pages) drawn up by the commander-in-chief for the use of a committee of Congress, then in camp for the purpose of consulting with him, in order to mature a new system of arrangements for the administration of the army. Committee: Francis Dana, Joseph Reed, Nathaniel Folsom, Charles Carroll, and Gouverneur Morris. The paper or memoir, prepared from information communicated by the general officers, exhibits in detail the existing state of the army, the deficiencies and disorders, with their causes, and suggests such changes and improvements as were thought essential. This formed the basis of the plan adopted by the committee, who, after remaining in camp nearly three months, returned to Congress. The report, containing the result of their proceedings and the new scheme of the army, was approved.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "Lord Cornwallis has certainly embarked for England, but with what view is not so easy to determine. He was eyewitness a few days before his departure to a scene, not a little disgraceful to the pride of British valor, in their manœuvre to Chestnut Hill, and precipitate return, after boasting their intentions of driving us beyond the mountains."—*Washington to Richard Henry Lee.*

Lord Cornwallis sailed from Philadelphia for England, December 19, on private business, but returned June 6, and took part in the battle of Monmouth Court-House, June 28.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "For some days past, there has been little less than a famine in the camp. A part of the army has been a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. Naked and starving as they

are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, that they have not been ere this excited by their suffering to a general mutiny and dispersion.”—*Washington to Governor Clinton.*

“The situation of the camp is such, that in all human probability the army must soon dissolve. Many of the troops are destitute of meat, and are several days in arrear. The horses are dying for want of forage. The country in the vicinity of the camp is exhausted. There cannot be a moral certainty of bettering our circumstances, while we continue here.”—*General Varnum to General Greene, February 12.*

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: “We have lately been in a most alarming situation for want of provisions. The soldiers were scarcely restrained from mutiny by the eloquence and management of our officers. Those who are employed to feed us, either for want of knowledge or for want of activity or both, never furnish supplies adequate to our wants.”—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

“The unfortunate soldiers were in want of everything; they had neither coats, hats, shirts, nor shoes; their feet and legs froze till they became black, and it was often necessary to amputate them. From want of money, they could neither obtain provisions nor any means of transport; the colonels were often reduced to two rations, and sometimes even to one. The army frequently remained whole days without provisions, and the patient endurance of both soldiers and officers was a miracle which each moment served to renew. But the sight of their misery prevented new engagements: it was almost impossible to levy recruits; it was easy to desert into the interior of the country.”—*Memoirs of Lafayette.*

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: “Baron Steuben has arrived [February 23] at camp. He appears to be much of a gentleman, and as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, a man of military knowledge, and acquainted with the world.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

SUNDAY, MARCH 1.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: *Orderly Book.*—“The Commander in Chief takes occasion to return his warmest

thanks to the virtuous officers and soldiery of this army, for that persevering fidelity and zeal which they have uniformly manifested in all their conduct. Their fortitude, not only under the common hardships incident to a military life, but also under the additional sufferings to which the peculiar situation of these States had exposed them, clearly proves them worthy of the enviable privilege of contending for the rights of human nature, the freedom and independence of their country. The recent instance of uncomplaining patience during the scarcity of provisions in Camp, is a fresh proof that they possess in an eminent degree the spirit of soldiers and the magnanimity of patriots."

SATURDAY, MARCH 7.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "I came to this place, some time about the first of February [the 10th], where I found the General very well. I left my children at our house. . . . The General is encamped in what is called the Great Valley on the banks of the Schuylkill. Officers and men are chiefly in huts, which they say are tolerably comfortable; the army are as healthy as can well be expected in general. The General's apartment is very small; he has had a log cabin built to dine in, which has made our quarters much more tolerable than they were at first."—*Mrs. Washington to Mrs. Mercy Warren, Upham, I. 293.*

FRIDAY, MARCH 20.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "I have every reason short of absolute proof to believe, that General Howe is meditating a stroke against this army. He has drawn, some say two thousand, and others twenty-five hundred, men from New York, who I believe are arrived at Philadelphia, as a number of transports have just past Wilmington in their way up the Delaware; and reports from Newport say, that the garrison there had orders to be in readiness to embark by the 20th instant."—*Washington to General John Cadwalader.*



“This conjecture as to General Howe’s designs was doubtless without foundation. It does not appear from his letters, that he had formed any plans of attacking the American army at Valley Forge. As late as the 19th of April, he wrote to the minister; ‘The enemy’s position continues to be at Valley Forge and Wilmington. Their force has been diminished during the course of the winter by desertion, and by detachments to the back settlements where the Indians make constant inroads; but the want of green forage does not yet permit me to take the field, and their situation is too strong to hazard an attack with a prospect of success.’”—*Sparks*, V. 291.

## TUESDAY, MARCH 24.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: “As it is not improper for Congress to have some idea of the present temper of the army, it may not be amiss to remark in this place, that, since the month of August last, between two and three hundred officers have resigned their commissions, and many others were with difficulty dissuaded from it. In the Virginia line only, not less than six colonels, as good as any in the service, have left it lately; and more, I am told, are in the humor to do so.”—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

## SATURDAY, MARCH 28.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: *Orderly Book*.—“The Baron Steuben, a Lieutenant General in foreign service and a gentleman of great military experience, having obligingly undertaken to exercise the office of Inspector General in the Army, the Commander-in-Chief, till the pleasure of Congress be known, desires he may be respected and obeyed as such, and hopes and expects that all officers, of whatsoever rank, will afford him every aid in their power in the execution of his office.”

Frederick William Augustus, Baron von Steuben, a Prussian by birth, succeeded General Conway in the office of inspector-general of the American army, his real appointment dating May 5, five weeks later than the above-quoted order. His valuable services in improving the discipline of the army are too well known to need any comment. The following description of the condition of the army at Valley Forge, written by Steuben, shortly after his arrival in camp, is taken from Kapp’s *Life of Steuben*: “The arms at Valley Forge were in a horrible condition, covered with rust, half of them without bayonets, many from which a single shot could not be fired. The pouches were quite as bad as the arms. A great many of the

men had tin boxes instead of pouches, others had cow-horns; and muskets, carbines, fowling-pieces, and rifles were to be seen in the same company. The description of the dress is most easily given. The men were literally naked, some of them in the fullest extent of the word. The officers who had coats, had them of every color and make. I saw officers, at a grand parade at Valley Forge, mounting guard in a sort of dressing-gown, made of an old blanket or woollen bed-cover. With regard to their military discipline, I may safely say no such thing existed."

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "I must not omit to inform you that Baron Steuben is making a sensible progress with our soldiers. The officers seem to have a high opinion of him, and discover a docility from which we may augur the most happy effects. It would enchant you to see the enlivened scene of our Campus Martius. If Mr. Howe opens the campaign with his usual deliberation, and our recruits or draughts come in tolerably well, we shall be infinitely better prepared to meet him, than ever we have been."—*John Laurens to Henry Laurens.*

SATURDAY, APRIL 4.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "I am happy to inform Congress, that General Lee will be out on parole to-morrow in place of General Prescott; and I have every reason to expect, if the negotiation can be continued upon admissable terms, that his exchange will immediately follow the release-ment of Colonel Campbell and the Hessian field-officers."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

General Lee was exchanged, April 21, for Major-General Richard Prescott of the British army, who had been made prisoner on the night of July 10, 1777, at his quarters near Newport, R.I., by William Barton, lieutenant-colonel, Rhode Island militia. At the time of his exchange (which was finally arranged at Germantown), Lee was in Philadelphia, and on April 23, the day fixed for his reporting to head-quarters, 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<sup>l</sup> Lee appeared. General

Washington dismounted & rec<sup>d</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> 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<sup>rs</sup> 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<sup>rs</sup> Washingtons sitting room, and all his baggage was stowed in it. Gen<sup>l</sup> 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."<sup>1</sup>—*MS. of Elias Boudinot.*

MONDAY, APRIL 6.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "Mrs. Jones Mrs. Pleasants and two other Ladies connected with the Quakers confined at Winchester in Virginia waited upon me this day for permission to pass to York Town [Pennsylvania] to endeavour to obtain the release of their Friends."—*Washington to Thomas Wharton, President of Pennsylvania.*

One of these ladies, Mrs. Henry Drinker, has left us, in her journal, a record of this visit to Valley Forge: "April 6, 1778.—Arrived at H<sup>d</sup> Quarters, at about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past one. We requested an audience with the General, and sat with his wife, (a sociable, pretty kind of woman), until he came in. A number of officers were there who were very complaisant, Tench Tilghman among ye rest. It was not long before G. Washington came, and discoursed with us freely, but not so long as we could have wished, as dinner was served, to which he invited us. There were 15 Officers, besides ye G<sup>l</sup> and his wife, Gen. Greene, and Gen. Lee. We had an elegant dinner, which was soon over, when we went out with ye Gen<sup>l</sup>s wife, up to her Chamber—and saw no more of him. He told us, he could do nothing in our business further than granting us a Pass to Lancaster, which he did, and gave a letter to Is<sup>l</sup> Morris for T. Wharton."—*Journal of Elizabeth Drinker, p. 93.*

MONDAY, APRIL 20.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "There seem to be but three general plans of operation, which may be premeditated for the next campaign; one, the attempting to recover Philadelphia and destroy the enemy's army there; another, the endeavoring to transfer the war to the northward by an enterprise against New York; and a third, the remaining quiet in a secure, fortified camp, disciplining and arranging the army till the enemy begin their operations, and then to

<sup>1</sup> General Lee rejoined the army at Valley Forge, May 20. His oath of allegiance to the United States, preserved in the Department of State, Washington, D.C., is dated June 9.



govern ourselves accordingly—which of these three plans shall we adopt?”—*Washington to General Greene.*

The letter, from which the above is an extract, was sent as a circular to all the general officers in camp, each of whom returned a written reply. “They differed widely in opinion. Wayne, Paterson, and Maxwell recommended an attack on Philadelphia. Knox, Poor, Varnum, and Muhlenberg were in favor of an attack on New York. Greene thought it best for the main body of the army to remain at Valley Forge, but that an attack should be made on New York by a detachment of four thousand regulars, joined to the eastern militia; that General Washington should command this expedition in person, and leave General Lee to command in Pennsylvania. Lord Stirling was for operating against both New York and Philadelphia. Lafayette, Steuben, and Duportail had doubts as to the expediency of any attack upon the enemy, till the army should be strengthened and put in a better condition; and they were inclined to adopt the third plan suggested by the commander-in-chief.”—*Sparks*, V. 320.

TUESDAY, APRIL 21.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: “The enemy are beginning to play a game more dangerous, than their efforts by arms (though these will not be remitted in the smallest degree), which threatens a fatal blow to the independence of America, and of course to her liberties. They are endeavoring to ensnare the people by specious allurements of peace. . . . Nothing short of independence, it appears to me, can possibly do. A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war. The injuries we have received from the British were so unprovoked, and have been so great and so many, that they can never be forgotten.”—*Washington to John Banister.*

The above remarks were induced by the perusal of Lord North’s *Conciliatory Bills*, as they were called, copies of which had reached head-quarters on April 17. The Earl of Carlisle, George Johnstone, formerly governor of West Florida, and William Eden, the three commissioners appointed under their provisions, accompanied by Adam Ferguson, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, as secretary, arrived in the Delaware River on the 4th of June. After the commissioners reached Philadelphia, Sir Henry Clinton wrote to Washington, requesting a passport for Dr. Ferguson to proceed to Congress at York, Pennsylvania, with despatches. The request was declined (*Sparks*, V. 397), and the letter containing it was forwarded to Congress. Not waiting for the result, the commissioners forwarded their papers to Congress, which were received on the

13th of June. Congress ordered a reply to be returned to the commissioners, in which, after expressing a readiness to make peace whenever the King of Great Britain should manifest a sincere disposition for that purpose, the President, Henry Laurens, added, "The only solid proof of this disposition will be, an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these States, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies." The commissioners remained in the country until October, and made various attempts, by art and by official intercourse, to gain their object. The reply of Joseph Reed to an offer of money and position, to induce him to exert his influence in behalf of the commissioners, is well known: "I am not worth purchasing; but, such as I am, the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: By order of Congress, observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

FRIDAY, MAY 1.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "With infinite pleasure I beg leave to congratulate Congress on the very important and interesting advices brought by the frigate *Sensible*. General McDougall and Mr. Deane were so obliging as to transmit me the outlines of the good tidings."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"Simeon Deane, brother to Silas Deane one of the American Commissioners in Paris, was the bearer of the despatches containing the treaties between France and the United States. He came over in the French frigate *Sensible*, of thirty-six guns, which was sent by the King for the express purpose, and arrived at Falmouth (now Portland) in Casco Bay, on the 13th of April, after a passage of thirty-five days. He reached Yorktown on Saturday, the 2d of May. Congress had adjourned till Monday, but the members were immediately summoned to assemble by the president, and the despatches were read."—*Ford*, VII. 2.

SATURDAY, MAY 2.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: *Orderly Book*.—"The Commander in Chief directs that Divine Service be performed every Sunday at 11 o'clock, in each Brigade which has a Chaplain. Those Brigades which have none will attend the places of worship nearest to them."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: Issues an order for a grand military *fête* and jubilee by the army, to celebrate the

conclusion of the treaty of alliance between France and the United States.

“The treaties of commerce and alliance between France and the United States were signed on the 6th of February. The first meeting between the French Minister and the American Commissioners, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty, was held at Versailles on the 12th of December. It was stated, in an article of the treaty of alliance, to be its direct end, ‘to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the United States, as well in matters of government as commerce.’”—*Sparks*, V. 325.

THURSDAY, MAY 7.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: In pursuance of the order of the 6th, a day of general rejoicing in the army.

At nine o'clock in the morning, Washington, Lord Stirling, Greene, and other general officers, with their ladies and suites, attended the religious services of the Jersey brigade. At half-past eleven the commander-in-chief, accompanied by the general officers, reviewed the whole army at their respective posts, after which he dined in public, with all the officers of his army, attended with a band of music. “The entertainment was concluded with a number of patriotic toasts, attended with huzzas. When the General took his leave, there was a universal clap, with loud huzzas, which continued till he had proceeded a quarter of a mile, during which time there were a thousand hats tossed in the air. His Excellency turned round with his retinue, and huzzaed several times.”

FRIDAY, MAY 8.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: A council of war, in which it was determined “that the line of conduct most consistent with sound policy, and best suited to promote the interests and safety of the United States, was to remain on the defensive and wait events, and not attempt any offensive operations against the enemy, till circumstances should afford a fairer opportunity for striking a successful blow.”

This council was convened by order of Congress. Present: the commander-in-chief; major-generals, Gates, Greene, Stirling, Mifflin, Lafayette, Kalb, Armstrong, and Steuben; and the brigadiers, Knox and Dupontail.

MONDAY, MAY 11.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: *Orderly Book*.—“The General officers are requested to meet at Head Quarters at



11 o'clock tomorrow, A.M. that they may take the oath appointed by Congress in a Resolution of the 3rd of February last, which was published in the order of the 7th inst."

"*Resolved*, That every officer who holds or shall hereafter hold a commission or office from Congress shall take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation: I do acknowledge the United States of America to be free, independent and sovereign States, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the third, King of Great Britain; and I renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him: and I do swear (or affirm) that I will to the utmost of my power support, maintain and defend the said United States against the said King George the third, and his heirs and successors, and his and their abettors, assistants and adherents, and will serve the said United States in the office which I now hold, with fidelity, according to the best of my skill and understanding. So help me God."—*Journal of Congress*, February 3, 1778.

MONDAY, MAY 18.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "A valuable detachment under the command of the Marquis de Lafayette, marched this morning, which is intended to move between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, for restraining the enemy's parties and procuring intelligence and to act as circumstances may require."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

SUNDAY, MAY 24.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "On the night of the 19th the enemy moved out in force against the detachment under the Marquis de Lafayette, mentioned in my letter of the 18th, which made a timely and handsome retreat in great order over the Schuylkill at Matson's Ford."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

A graphic description of the affair at Barren Hill, about twelve miles from Valley Forge, on the opposite side of the Schuylkill, will be found in Sparks, V. 545.

MONDAY, MAY 25.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "If any thing of greater moment had occurred, than declaring that every word contained in the pamphlet, which you were obliging enough to send me, was spurious, I should not have suffered

your favor of the 6th instant to remain so long unacknowledged. These letters are written with a great deal of art. The intermixture of so many family circumstances (which, by the by, want foundation in truth) gives an air of plausibility, which renders the villany greater; as the whole is a contrivance to answer the most diabolical purposes. Who the author of them is, I know not."— *Washington to General Henry Lee.*

In allusion to the "forged" letters, published in London in 1777, under the title "Letters from General Washington, to several of his Friends in the year 1776. In which are set forth a fairer and fuller view of American Politics, than ever yet transpired, or the Public could be made acquainted with through any other Channel." The letters, seven in number, were reprinted at New York in 1778, and at Philadelphia in 1795, and again at New York, with other letters, in 1796, with the title: "Epistles, domestic, confidential and official from General Washington." The appearance of the latter publication called out a letter from Washington to Timothy Pickering (March 3, 1797), in which he declared them to be base forgeries, and said that he had never seen or heard of them until they appeared in print. An interesting note concerning these letters, and ascribing the authorship to "John Randolph the last royal attorney general of Virginia, and long the ablest lawyer in the colony, who went to England in 1775," will be found in Ford's "Writings of George Washington," IV. 132.

FRIDAY, MAY 29.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "That the enemy mean to evacuate Philadelphia is almost reduced to a certainty. It is as much so, as an event can be, that is contingent. Their baggage and stores are nearly if not all embarked; and, from our intelligence, there is reason to conclude, that many days will not elapse before they abandon it."— *Washington to Governor Clinton.*

FRIDAY, JUNE 5.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "What the real designs of the enemy are, remains yet to be discovered. Appearances and a thousand circumstances induce a belief that they intend to pass through the Jerseys to New York."— *Washington to General Dickinson.*

"The enemy had resolved to evacuate Philadelphia as early as the 23d of May, and perhaps before. On that day General Clinton [who took com-

mand on the 11th of May] wrote to Lord George Germain that he had determined to leave Philadelphia and proceed to New York with the whole army, as soon as it could be done. Orders for evacuating Philadelphia had been sent by the ministry, dated March 21, immediately after the French government had publicly declared, that a treaty had been made with the United States. Gordon says (*History*, Vol. III. p. 130) that the order for evacuation was brought out by the commissioners, and that it was a secret even to them. But the fact is, it was contained in the instructions to Sir Henry Clinton, as the successor of Sir William Howe, and was received by him several days before the arrival of the commissioners."—*Sparks*, V. 395.

## WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: A council of war, in which among other questions proposed was, "If the enemy march through Jersey, will it be prudent to attack them on the way, or more eligible to proceed to the North River in the most direct and convenient manner, to secure the important communication between the Eastern and Southern States?" Nearly all the officers were opposed to an attack, on account of the inequality of force, but some thought it should depend on circumstances. Washington was desirous of attacking the enemy, but was obliged to yield to the force of circumstances.

## THURSDAY, JUNE 18.

At Head-quarters, Valley Forge: "Half after eleven A.M., 18 June. I have the pleasure to inform Congress, that I was this minute advised by Mr. Roberts that the enemy evacuated the city early this morning. . . . I have put six brigades in motion; and the rest of the army are preparing to follow with all possible despatch. We shall proceed towards Jersey, and govern ourselves according to circumstances."—*Washington to the President of Congress*.

June 18. *Orderly Book*.—"Poor's, Varnum's and Huntington's brigades are to march immediately under the command of Major-General Lee. The two Pennsylvania and late Conway's brigades to meet at 3 o'clock this afternoon, and the whole Army to march at 5 o'clock to-morrow morning."

## FRIDAY, JUNE 19.

Leaves Valley Forge: "The enemy evacuated Philadelphia, on the 18th instant. At ten [?] o'clock that day I got



intelligence of it, and by two o'clock, or soon after, had six brigades on their march for the Jerseys, and followed with the whole army next morning."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington, July 4, 1778.*

SATURDAY, JUNE 20.

At Doylestown, Pennsylvania: "I am now with the main body of the army within ten miles of Coryell's Ferry. General Lee is advanced with six brigades, and will cross [the Delaware] to-night or to-morrow morning. . . . I shall enter the Jerseys to-morrow."—*Washington to General Gates.*

The Doylestown of 1778 was a cross-roads hamlet, about ten miles from Coryell's Ferry on the Delaware (now New Hope), consisting of a tavern kept by William Doyle, and several small houses. Washington pitched his tent near the dwelling of Jonathan Fell, late John G. Mann's farm-house, just east of the present borough. The Doylestown of 1890, the county-seat of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, is a town of three thousand inhabitants.

SUNDAY, JUNE 21.

At Doylestown: "The whole army is advancing to the Delaware. We have been much impeded by rain. The troops with General Lee crossed the river last night."—*Washington to General Arnold.*

MONDAY, JUNE 22.

At Coryell's Ferry (now Lambertville), New Jersey: "I have the honor to inform you that I am now in Jersey, and that the troops are passing the river at Coryell's, and are mostly over. . . . We have been a good deal impeded in our march by rainy weather. As soon as we have cleaned the arms, and can get matters in train, we propose moving towards Princeton."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"June 22d, the whole army encamped near the new meeting house; having got word that the enemy were moving towards Trenton, the army marched next morning towards them, and encamped at Hopewell, the enemy having altered their route towards Monmouth."—*Diary of Joseph Clark.*

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24.

At Hopewell, New Jersey: A council of war, in which it was decided to attack the enemy.

“Hopewell Township, New Jersey, 4 o'clock A.M., 25th June, 1778.—The enemy are now at Allen Town, about ten miles southeast of Princeton, and we are about six miles north [of] Princeton, so that the two armies are now about nineteen or twenty miles apart. We are now on the march towards them, and their movements this day will determine whether we shall come in close contact with each other. We have now very numerous parties harassing and teasing them on all quarters.”—*General Knox to William Knox.*

THURSDAY, JUNE 25.

At Kingston, New Jersey: “You are immediately to proceed with the detachment commanded by General Poor, and form a junction as expeditiously as possible with that under the command of General Scott. You are to use the most effectual means for gaining the enemy’s left flank and rear, and giving them every degree of annoyance. All Continental parties, that are already on the lines, will be under your command.”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

In the council of war held at Hopewell on the 24th, General Lee had been strongly opposed to attacking the enemy, and, when this measure was resolved upon, he gave up the command of the advanced divisions to Lafayette; but he afterwards altered his mind, and requested to be restored to the command.

FRIDAY, JUNE 26.

At Cranberry, New Jersey: “Your uneasiness on account of the command of yesterday’s detachment fills me with concern, as it is not in my power fully to remove it without wounding the feelings of the Marquis de Lafayette. . . . The expedient I would propose, is, for you to march towards the Marquis with Scott’s and Varnum’s brigades. Give him notice, that you are advancing to support him, and that you are to have the command of the whole advanced body.”—*Washington to General Lee.*

As Lee was the senior major-general, this gave him the command of the whole advance. Washington explained the matter in a letter of the same date to Lafayette, who accordingly resigned the command to General Lee, when the latter joined him on the 27th.

SATURDAY, JUNE 27.

Three miles west of Englishtown, New Jersey: In camp with the main body of the army.

About five o'clock in the morning of the 28th, Washington put the army in motion, and after marching to within three miles of Monmouth Court-House, met the whole advanced corps under the command of General Lee retiring in the greatest disorder, and the enemy pressing upon their rear. Under the directions of the commander-in-chief, however, the troops were rallied and the enemy's advance checked.

SUNDAY, JUNE 28.

At the battle of Monmouth Court-House: "Which from an unfortunate and bad beginning, turned out a glorious and happy day."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington, July 4, 1778.*

"During this affair, which ended so well, although begun so ill, General Washington appeared to arrest fortune by one glance, and his presence of mind, valour, and decision of character, were never displayed to greater advantage than at that moment. The general and he [Lafayette] passed the night lying on the same mantle, talking over the conduct of Lee,<sup>1</sup> who wrote the next morning a very improper letter, and was placed under arrest. He was afterwards suspended by a council of war, quitted the service, and was not regretted by the army."—*Memoirs of Lafayette.*

MONDAY, JUNE 29.

Fields, near Monmouth Court-House: "About seven o'clock yesterday morning, both armies advanced on each other. About twelve, they met on the grounds near Monmouth Court-House, when an action commenced. We forced the enemy from the field, and encamped on the ground. They took a strong post in our front, secured on both flanks by morasses and thick woods, where they remained till about twelve at night, and then retreated."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

June 29. *Orderly Book.*—"The Commander-in-Chief congratulates the Army on the victory obtained over the arms of his Britannic Majesty yes-

<sup>1</sup> See note, p. 363.



terday, and thanks, most sincerely, the gallant officers and men who distinguished themselves upon the occasion, and such others as, by their good order and coolness, gave the happiest presages of what might have been expected had they come to action."

WEDNESDAY, JULY 1.

At Englishtown: "Being fully convinced by the gentlemen of this country that the enemy cannot be hurt or injured in their embarkation at Sandy Hook, the place to which they are going, and unwilling to get too far removed from the North River, I put the troops in motion early this morning."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Washington fell back from Monmouth Court-House, after the battle, to Englishtown, about five miles to the westward. He left Englishtown on July 1, and reached New Brunswick on the following day, the army encamping on both sides of the Raritan River.

FRIDAY, JULY 3.

At New Brunswick, New Jersey: "The march from Englishtown was inconceivably distressing to the troops and horses. The distance is about twenty miles through a deep sand without a drop of water, except at South river, which is half way. . . . My present intention is to cross the North River at King's Ferry."—*Washington to General Gates.*

July 3. *Orderly Book.*—"To-morrow [July 4th], the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, will be celebrated by firing thirteen pieces of cannon and a feu de joie of the whole line. The army will be formed on the Brunswick side of the Raritan, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, on the ground pointed out by the Quartermaster General."

TUESDAY, JULY 7.

At New Brunswick: "On Sunday morning, the left wing of the army moved towards the North River; the right followed yesterday; and the second line, which forms the rear division, is also now in motion."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"The army moved from Brunswick by the following Stages:—1st, to Scotch Plains; 2d, Springfield; 3d, Wardiston; 4th, Aquackanonk; 5th, Paramus; 6th, Cakaryatt [Kakeate]; 7th, King's Ferry, where the army

crossed. Scott's and Woodford's brigades crossed July 17th. Next day Gen'l Scott's brigades proceeded on towards Croton's Bridge. Gen'l Woodford's marched by Peekskill to above the village, where they lay till Monday, July 20th, then followed after the army which had by this time got within 7 miles of White Plains. . . . Friday, 24th, the army moved down to White Plains and joined Gen'l Gates' army."—*Diary of Joseph Clark.*

SATURDAY, JULY 11.

At Paramus, New Jersey: "The left wing of the army is advanced four miles from this place, and nineteen miles from King's Ferry; the other two divisions are moving after it, with proper intervals. The enemy, since quitting the Jerseys, have encamped in three divisions on Staten Island, New York Island, and Long Island."—*Washington to General Arnold.*

The village of Paramus, at which Washington made his head-quarters until July 15, is in Bergen County, New Jersey, near the New York line, and about forty miles northeast of New Brunswick.

SUNDAY, JULY 12.

At Paramus: "The vote of approbation and thanks, which Congress have been pleased to honor me with, gives me the highest satisfaction, and at the same time demands a return of my sincerest acknowledgments. . . . The left wing of the army, which advanced yesterday four miles beyond this, moved this morning on the route towards King's Ferry. The right and second line, which make the last division, are now here, where they will halt for a day or two, or perhaps longer."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

"*Resolved unanimously,* That the thanks of Congress be given to general Washington for the activity with which he marched from the Camp at Valley Forge in pursuit of the enemy; for his distinguished exertions in forming the line of battle; and for his great good conduct in leading on the attack and gaining the important victory of Monmouth over the British grand army under the command of general sir H. Clinton, in their march from Philadelphia to New York."—*Journal of Congress, July 7, 1778.*

TUESDAY, JULY 14.

At Paramus: "I take the earliest opportunity to advise you, that I have been informed of your arrival on this coast,

with a fleet of ships under your command, belonging to his Most Christian Majesty, our great ally. I congratulate you, sir, most sincerely upon this event, and beg leave to assure you of my warmest wishes for your success. The intelligence of your arrival was communicated to me last night by a letter from the President of Congress.”—*Washington to Count d’Estaing.*

This fleet, composed of twelve ships of the line and six frigates, with a land force of four thousand men, fitted out in accordance with the spirit of the treaty of alliance with France (February 6, 1778), had sailed from Toulon on the 13th of April, but did not reach the mouth of the Delaware till the 8th of July. It had on board M. Gérard, the French Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, and Silas Deane, one of the American commissioners who had effected the treaty of alliance. Count d’Estaing finding that the British had evacuated Philadelphia, sent up the French minister and Mr. Deane to the city in a frigate, and proceeded with the fleet to Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 11th of July. In August he made a demonstration against Newport, R.I., which obliged the British to destroy six of their frigates and some smaller vessels lying there; but the fleet was so shattered by a storm as to be obliged to refit at Boston. In 1779 he sailed to the West Indies, and in October of that year, in co-operation with the Southern army, under General Lincoln, attempted to recover Savannah, which had fallen into the hands of the British in December, 1778. The attempt was unsuccessful, D’Estaing himself being wounded in the assault. The fleet reached France on its return in December, 1779.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 15.

Leaves Paramus: Washington moved the army on the 15th to Haverstraw, New York, five miles below Stony Point (the western landing of King’s Ferry), and on the following day visited West Point, fifteen miles up the river. On the 17th the troops began crossing the North River at King’s Ferry, Washington passing over with the last division at about twelve o’clock noon on Sunday, the 19th.

“July 16.—His Excellency the Commander in Chief visited West Point, to take a view of the works which are constructing there. His arrival was announced by the discharge of thirteen cannon, the number of the United States.”—*Thacher’s Military Journal.*

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22.

At White Plains, New York: “On Monday afternoon [July 20th] I arrived at this place, in the neighborhood of



which the right and left wing encamped that night, with the second line a few miles in the rear.”— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

MONDAY, AUGUST 3.

At Head-quarters, White Plains: “In justice to General Greene, I take occasion to observe, that the public is much indebted to him, for his judicious management and active exertions, in his present department [quartermaster-general]. When he entered upon it, he found it in a most confused, distracted, and destitute state. This, by his conduct and industry, has undergone a very happy change, and such, as enabled us, with great facility, to make a sudden move, with the whole army and baggage, from Valley Forge, in pursuit of the enemy, and to perform a march to this place. In a word, he has given the most general satisfaction, and his affairs carry much the face of method and system. I also consider it as an act of justice to speak of the conduct of Colonel Wadsworth, Commissary-General. He has been indefatigable in his exertions to provide for the army; and, since his appointment, our supplies of provisions have been good and ample.”— *Washington to the President of Congress.*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20.

At Head-quarters, White Plains: “It is not a little pleasing, nor less wonderful to contemplate, that after two year’s manœuvring and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes, that perhaps ever attended any one contest since the creation, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and that the offending party at the beginning is now reduced to the use of the spade and pickaxe for defence.”— *Washington to General Nelson.*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

At Head-quarters, White Plains: “I intend to place the whole [army] in such a position in a day or two, that they may either march to the eastward, or be within supporting distance of the posts upon the North River, as appearances may require.”— *Washington to General Sullivan.*

Washington remained at White Plains until the 16th of September, when he moved the camp to Fredericksburg, then a precinct of Dutchess County, now a portion of Putnam County, New York. His head-quarters were at Patterson, a village almost due east from Newburg, and near the Connecticut line. Washington was at West Point on the 19th of September, but whether the visit was made before or after reaching Fredericksburg we cannot determine.

## WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

At Head-quarters, Fredericksburg: "The place I now date from is about thirty miles from the fort [West Point] on the North River; and I have some troops nearer, and others farther off, but all on the road leading to Boston, if we should be dragged that way."—*Washington to John Augustine Washington.*

In the same letter Washington wrote: "There are but two capital objects, which they [the enemy] can have in view, except the defeat and dispersion of this army; and those are the possession of the fortifications in the Highlands, by which the communication between the eastern and southern States would be cut off, and the destruction of the French fleet at Boston. . . . I have, therefore, in order to do the best that the nature of the case will admit, strengthened the works, and reinforced the garrison in the Highlands, and thrown the army into such positions, as to move eastward or westward, as circumstances may require."

## FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25.

At Head-quarters, Fredericksburg: "Immediately after my removal from the White Plains to this ground, the enemy threw a body of troops into the Jerseys; but for what purpose, unless to make a grand forage, I have not been able yet to learn."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

## SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3.

At Fishkill, New York: "The enemy in the Jerseys having received a reinforcement and made some forward movements, I ordered Major-General Putnam across the river for the immediate security of West Point, and moved a division of troops to this place, to be nearer that post. I have since come here myself, and propose to remain till the views of the enemy on the Jerseys are decided."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

When at Fishkill village (fifteen miles west of the Fredericksburg headquarters), Washington sometimes quartered at the house of Colonel John Brinckerhoff. The house, which was built in 1738, is still standing, and remains unaltered. It is now in the possession of Alfred White. The house of Colonel Derrick Brinckerhoff (a nephew of the former) was also resorted to by Washington. This house still remains in the Brinckerhoff family.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 8.

Visits the Hospital at the "Robinson House": "His Excellency the Commander in Chief, made a visit to our hospital; his arrival was scarcely announced, before he presented himself at our doors. Dr. Williams and myself had the honor to wait on this great and truly good man, through the different wards, and to reply to his inquiries relative to the condition of our patients. He appeared to take a deep interest in the situation of the sick and wounded soldiers, and inquired particularly as to their treatment and comfortable accommodations."—*Thacher's Military Journal*.

Dr. Thacher's description of the personal appearance of Washington, at the time of this visit to the "Robinson House" (a little below West Point, on the opposite or east bank of the Hudson), is well worth transcribing: "The personal appearance of our Commander in Chief, is that of the perfect gentleman and accomplished warrior. He is remarkably tall, full six feet, erect and well proportioned. The strength and proportion of his joints and muscles, appear to be commensurate with the preeminent powers of his mind. The serenity of his countenance, and majestic gracefulness of his deportment, impart a strong impression of that dignity and grandeur, which are his peculiar characteristics, and no one can stand in his presence without feeling the ascendancy of his mind, and associating with his countenance the idea of wisdom, philanthropy, magnanimity, and patriotism. There is a fine symmetry in the features of his face indicative of a benign and dignified spirit. His nose is strait, and his eyes inclined to blue. He wears his hair in a becoming cue, and from his forehead it is turned back and powdered in a manner which adds to the military air of his appearance. He displays a native gravity, but devoid of all appearance of ostentation. His uniform dress is a blue coat, with two brilliant epaulettes, buff colored under clothes, and a three cornered hat with a black cockade. He is constantly equipped with an elegant small sword, boots and spurs, in readiness to mount his noble charger."

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10.

At Head-quarters, Fredericksburg: "I have just received intelligence, bearing strong marks of authenticity, that the



enemy mean a total evacuation of New York. Various are the conjectures of their destination. I cannot think they mean to attempt any thing against Boston, considering the danger of taking a heavy fleet round Cape Cod at this advanced season.”—*Washington to General Heath.*

“The enemy in reality had no designs against the French fleet at Boston, though it is probable they kept up an appearance of such a purpose by way of feint. Sir Henry Clinton wrote to Lord George Germain at this time, informing him that the convoy was ready, and five thousand troops would shortly be despatched to the West Indies, and three thousand more to Florida. ‘With an army so much diminished at New York,’ he added, ‘nothing important can be done; especially as it is also weakened by sending seven hundred men to Halifax, and three hundred to Bermuda.’”—*Sparks, VI. 88.*

Washington returned to the Fredericksburg head-quarters about October 9, and remained there, with the exception of a second trip to Fishkill (noted in his expense account), until the 28th of November, when he set out for Middlebrook, New Jersey.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16.

At Head-quarters, Fredericksburg: *Orderly Book.*—“To-Morrow being the glorious anniversary of the surrender of Gen<sup>l</sup> Burgoine and his Troops to the arms of America under the Command of Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates, it will be Commemorated by the firing of 13 Pieces of Cannon from the park of artillery at 12 o’clock.”

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

At Head-quarters, Fredericksburg: “The question of the Canadian expedition, in the form in which it now stands, appears to me one of the most interesting that has hitherto agitated our national deliberations.”—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

“In the autumn of this year [1778], while at Fishkill, Mr. Jay received a visit from General Washington, whose head-quarters were at the time in the adjoining county of Westchester [? Dutchess]. The object of the visit was a confidential conversation on a plan then before Congress, for the invasion of Canada the ensuing campaign, by the combined forces of the United States and of France. They both concurred in disapproving of the plan.”—*Life of John Jay, I. 83.*

## FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

At Head-quarters, Fredericksburg: "I am upon the eve of my departure for winter-quarters. . . . It is eleven o'clock at night, and I am to set out early in the morning."—*Washington to Joseph Reed.*

## TUESDAY, DECEMBER 1.

At Elizabethtown, New Jersey: "In arranging the winter quarters of the army, Gen. Washington made choice of Middlebrook, Somerset County, N.J., for his own head-quarters with seven brigades, detailing the Jersey Brigade to occupy Elizabeth Town, as the advanced post of the army. This brought him on the 1st of December, to this town [Elizabethtown], where he remained until the morning of the 5th. In honor of his visit, a festive entertainment was given, on the fourth."—*Hatfield's History of Elizabeth*, p. 471.

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 7.

At Paramus, New Jersey: "I returned to this place from Elizabethtown, upon hearing that the enemy had gone up the North River, in considerable force. Their ships proceeded as far as King's Ferry, but they yesterday fell down again. . . . I shall set out to-morrow for Middlebrook."—*Washington to Governor Livingston.*

## SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook, New Jersey: "Sir Harry's [Clinton] late extra manoeuvre up the North River kept me upon the march and countermarch from the 5th till yesterday, when I arrived at these my quarters for the winter, and employed too much of my attention to investigate his designs, to indulge in more agreeable amusements."—*Washington to Joseph Reed.*

The letter from Washington to Joseph Reed, from which the above extract is made, was written to congratulate him on his election as President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: "I did not reach this place till late on the 11th, since which I have been much employed in attending to the dispositions for hutting the army."—*Washington to the President of Congress.*

Washington's head-quarters, as stated by Andrew D. Mellick in his "Story of an Old Farm," were at the Wallace house, about four miles west of Middlebrook, on ground now in Somerville, the county-seat of Somerset County, New Jersey; the house is still standing. General Knox had his quarters at Pluckamin, six miles to the north of the Wallace house, where his artillery brigade was comfortably hutted. The main body of the army was located near to Middlebrook, or Bound Brook as it is more generally called.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 21.

At Head-quarters, Middlebrook: "Congress having been pleased to require my attendance at Philadelphia for a few days the immediate command of the Troops at this place will devolve upon your Lordship."—*Washington to Lord Stirling.*

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22.

At Philadelphia: "Last Tuesday [December 22] GEORGE WASHINGTON, esq., commander in chief of the army of the United States arrived here [Philadelphia]. Too great for pomp, and as if fond of the plain and respectable rank of a free and independent citizen, his excellency came in so late in the day as to prevent the Philadelphia, troop of militia lighthorse, gentlemen, officers of the militia, and others of this city, from shewing those marks of unfeigned regard for this good and great man, which they fully intended, and especially of receiving him at his entrance into the State, and escorting him hither."—*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, December 28, 1778.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 24.

At Philadelphia: In attendance on Congress, and is informed from the chair, that Congress had directed his attendance "in order, among other things, to confer with him



on the operations of the next campaign, and that a committee will be appointed for that purpose." On the same day receives and answers an address from the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 28.

At Philadelphia: Present at the celebration of the festival of St. John the Evangelist by the "Most ancient and worshipful Society of Free and accepted Masons," being honored with the chief place in the procession, supported on his right by the Grand Master, and on his left by the Deputy Grand Master. In the sermon preached in Christ Church, on this occasion, by the Rev. Brother William Smith, D.D., Washington was alluded to as the Cincinnatus of America. On the following day, December 29, Washington was waited on by the magistrates of Philadelphia, with an address, which he answered.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29.

At Philadelphia: "This will be accompanied by a letter from Congress, which will inform you, that a certain expedition, after a full consideration of all circumstances, has been laid aside."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

The "certain expedition" was the invasion of Canada by the combined forces, naval and military, of France and the United States, which had been advanced and strongly advocated by Lafayette. The scheme met the approbation of a large majority in Congress, but Washington opposed it, and the committee appointed on the 24th to confer with him reported against it. The report was approved by Congress, and the President was instructed to write to Lafayette, who was about returning to France on a visit. The marquis sailed from Boston January 11, 1779. The letters, however, did not reach him before his departure, so that he went to France without being informed of the decision of Congress.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At Philadelphia: "If I was to be called upon to draw a picture of the times and of Men, from what I have seen, and heard, and in part know, I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation & extravagance seems to have laid fast hold of most of them.—That speculation—peculation—and

an insatiable thirst for riches seems to have got the better of every other consideration and almost of every order of Men.—That party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day whilst the momentous concerns of an empire—a great and accumulated debt—ruined finances—depreciated money—and want of credit (which in their consequences is the want of everything) are but secondary considerations and postponed from day to day—from week to week as if our affairs wear the most promising aspect—after drawing this picture, which from my Soul I believe to be a true one, I need not repeat to you that I am alarmed and wish to see my Countrymen roused.”—*Washington to Benjamin Harrison.*

NOTE to June 28, p. 352.—“Gen<sup>l</sup> Lee had considerable military knowledge & did very well on a small scale—but I have no doubt that whenever any thing on a very large scale struck him, that a partial Lunacy took place. His behaviour this morning [June 28] 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 L<sup>t</sup> 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<sup>l</sup> 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<sup>l</sup> Washington have come up in a lucky moment & turned the fortune of the day, it might have been fatal to America.”—*MS. of Elias Boudinot.*

(To be continued.)

A SKETCH OF WILLIAM BIDDLE AND THOMAS  
BIDDLE.

BY JOHN CLEMENT.

As the object of this paper is to trace the history of Thomas Biddle and his descendants in New Jersey, as distinguished from William Biddle, the emigrant, and his descendants in the same territory, a notice of each individual cannot be avoided if the subject is to be properly considered.

Of William Biddle and John Biddle, grandsons of the emigrant, who removed from New Jersey to Philadelphia in early life, enough has already been written, to the neglect of Joseph Biddle, another grandson of the emigrant, and of Thomas Biddle, who the emigrant in his will says was his cousin, both of whose descendants remained in New Jersey. At the risk of being tedious and of falling into repetition, this course will be pursued so as to accomplish the end suggested, and show, if possible, the distinctive lines so long considered as the same. Although open to criticism at the point where the data examined and the authorities at hand are so meagre and uncertain, yet any other conclusion than the one stated cannot be reached consistent with all that surrounds it.

If an error, it is hoped that some faithful student may eventually fall upon material sufficient to remove the cloud and put this mooted question at rest—

“And shed one ray of light  
Where none hath shone so long.”

Among those who emigrated to West New Jersey and had previously become interested in the settlement of a colony here was William Biddle. He lived in Bishopsgate



Street, parish of St. Buttolph, city of London, England, from which place he removed himself and family to America.

On the 23d day of January, 1676, William Penn, Gauen Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas, as trustees of the creditors of Edward Byllynge, executed a deed to Thomas Olive, Daniel Wills, and William Biddle for one whole share of propriety of West New Jersey, which was among the first conveyances made to such as contemplated making their homes in this wilderness country, and but a short time before the ship set sail which brought the commissioners, and arrived in the Delaware River on the 16th day of August in the next year.

There is but little conflict as to the time when William Biddle left England with his family to come to New Jersey, but the date of his arrival and what ship he came in and where he landed cannot be traced. On April 4, 1677, he was a resident of London, as appears by a deed from Thomas Olive and Daniel Wills of that date to him for a part of their share of propriety before named. Samuel Smith, in his History of New Jersey, introduces an abstract of a letter from Daniel Wills, then of Burlington, N.J., to William Biddle, of Bishopsgate Street, London, dated 11th month 6, 1679, which is conclusive that he was at that time in London; and this historian, in a foot-note to that letter, says he and his family came in the summer of 1681. It is evident that William Biddle and family came by way of Barbadoes, in the West Indies, for in Hotten's "List of Emigrants to America in and about St. Michael's Barbadoes in 1680" he names William Biddle, his wife, two children, one servant, and three slaves. Except the servant and slaves, this corresponds with what is afterwards shown of the family by reliable documentary evidence. Many of the ships bringing emigrants first went to the West Indies, sometimes to seek a safe passage and sometimes for the ship's company to visit friends who had been banished and had remained there. The dates also correspond, for Hotten says he was in St. Michael's in 1680, and Smith says he arrived in New Jersey in 1681.

Here it was he purchased three slaves, and no doubt carried them with him to his new home, where in a few years they largely multiplied.

The records show a dispute between William Biddle and numerous other owners of land on the north side of Rancocas Creek regarding a division of the same, which was settled in 1678, on which occasion William Biddle must have had a representative who resided in Burlington. His family was small, consisting only of his wife Sarah (Kemp), whom he married in 1666, and one son, William, born 10th month 4, 1669, and one daughter, Sarah, born 10th month 2, 1678. There were other children, but they died in infancy and before the family emigrated. Some authorities say that William Biddle was born in Staffordshire, England, but there is not sufficient evidence to bear this out. His first dwelling was a log cabin erected by himself, among others built by those who came in the various ships that brought settlers and needed shelter for their families.

With clay floors, stick chimneys, and bark roof, these habitations were of the most primitive character and unpretending appearance. The inside was generally divided into two rooms, one for a kitchen and a living-room, and the other for a sleeping apartment, with a loft where the boys and hired help found a resting-place. The furniture was home-made, with an occasional piece brought across the sea, and had neither style nor comfort about it. Carpets were not thought of, while glass for windows was the exception. Stoves were not known, and the broad open fireplace was found in every habitation.

The new-comers made haste to erect a place for religious worship, and built a tent of rude poles covered with sail cloth for that purpose. Here at regular intervals they met to listen to the exhortations of their leaders, and recount the trials and sufferings they had passed through for opinion's sake. But they felt they breathed the air of freedom and that no one could make them afraid; that their opinions and practices could not be brought in question nor their persons and property despoiled by those in authority. In

these meetings William Biddle took a high place. He had been confined in Newgate prison with many others of his belief, and had been robbed of his estate by those in power, who pretended his society was leagued with rioters and revolutionists.

This little group of houses in a short time took upon itself the name of Burlington, and, after some controversy, a main street, running from the river into the woods, was fixed upon and lots laid out on either side of the same. It is a curious fact that the creditors of Edward Byllynge were divided into two classes, the one known as the London proprietors and the other as the Yorkshire proprietors, and preserved that distinction even to the selection of town-lots; the Yorkshire owners taking the lots on the east side of the street and the London owners choosing the lots on the west side of that thoroughfare. It was carried so far that the bridges over the stream in the suburbs of the town were and to this day are known, the one as the Yorkshire bridge and the other as the London bridge.

This feeling originated, perhaps, in the choice of a site for a town. The London people insisted that Arwamus (now Gloucester City) was a proper place, while the other party argued that Burlington was preferable. The London people reluctantly yielded at last, but soon saw their mistake in abandoning what was by far the most desirable spot whereon to found a city. It has not and may never be disclosed why the new-comers, in going up the river, should have passed so many desirable sites for a town, and selected where Burlington now stands in preference to Billingsport or Gloucester or Beverly.

There is evidence that the controversy was sharp as between Gloucester and Burlington, and in fact some of the London folks soon returned to Gloucester and the neighborhood, and made locations of land and settled in that section.

Soon after William Biddle found his family properly cared for, he opened a store, for in many of the deeds he made in the sale of his land he is named as "merchant," and it was not until he built his house at, and removed to,



Mount Hope that he is called "yeoman" and occasionally "gentleman." This store of 1681 must not be compared to the store of the last decade of the nineteenth century. His molasses, sugar, and rum were brought from the West Indies, while his hardware, cloths, and cotton goods came direct from England. Every manufactured article sold over his counter was the product of his own people at home, and the government derived an immense revenue from this kind of trade with the colonies.

Much business was carried on with the Indians, who brought furs and skins to exchange for the necessaries of life, and too often sold these products of the chase for rum, thus wasting a winter's toil and exposure for a miserable debauch, which lasted but for a few days. The authorities sometimes interfered with this kind of trade, and attempted to regulate it by fines and forfeitures, but never accomplished much, because of avarice on the one side and the fondness for liquor on the other.

The first location of land by William Biddle (after the tract assigned to him on Rancocas Creek in 1678) was the island in the Delaware River about six miles above Burlington, and generally known as Biddle's Island. This was done December 17, 1681, and in the record is described as follows by Daniel Leeds, surveyor-general: "Surveyed then for William Biddle all that island in the river Delaware, known by the name of Sepassinck Island, lying in length eighty-five chains and in breadth fifty-one chains from high water-mark, and being measured as it lies 'twixt the form of a trapezium and an oval, it contains 278 acres." On this island there probably was an Indian town, which, being surrounded by water, was protected from the incursions of their enemies. The name is differently spelled, for in one document of 1690 it is written Sapassan, and in another of 1685 it is Sepussuick, and in another of the last-named year, Sapussing. It had advantages which soon after were apparent, for it was surrounded by marshes where grew the hay and fodder which in that day was the only procurable food whereon to feed the cattle through the winter. Farming had not as yet

made many steps in advance, and every yeoman looked to the wet lands along the streams for his supply of winter feed for his stock, which made this kind of property then and for many years after very desirable real estate.

But William Biddle did not hold his possession of this island in peace, for William Penn, when he projected his great manor-house at Pennsbury, on the shore opposite, saw the benefit this property would be as part of his domain. He admitted that the channel of the river was to the west of the island, but in a letter to James Logan upon this subject said, "Tho' the channel goes between that (the island) and Pennsbury, yet it always belonged to the Indians of our tribe that lived at Sepassin, now Pennsbury," and in conclusion he further says, "move in it as most prudent and advisable."

The controversy went far enough to attract the attention of the meetings to which the claimants belonged, and a committee was directed to examine into the question and report accordingly. This was done, and the claim as set up by the owner and governor of Pennsylvania was declared void, which put an end to a much-talked-of dispute between two eminent and conspicuous individuals.

Twenty-three days after the location of the island (January 10, 1681), William Biddle surveyed five hundred acres of land "against" Sepassinck Island, fronting on the river for sixty-five chains and extending into the woods seventy-seven chains. On this tract he erected himself a house and other buildings, to which he moved and remained until his death. This homestead property he called Mount Hope. Benjamin Scott and William Biddle made a survey of six hundred and thirty-five acres fronting the river, but above the homestead, in 1681, and William Biddle also selected a town-lot of one hundred acres at a place called Spring Hill in the same year. This was probably afterwards called Bordentown.

Subsequently he became the owner of several lots in the town-bounds of Burlington, and made numerous other surveys in the county, and before Hunterdon was set off, within

which some of his land was situated. This shows him to have been a man of large means and good judgment in the choice of territory.

The house at Mount Hope was built about the year 1684, and many reminiscences deserving of notice surround the old dwelling. Here William Biddle dispensed a liberal hospitality, and made all welcome who visited him there. It was a spacious mansion, and, although in the simplicity of Friends, was well-appointed and gave evidence of substantial wealth and good taste. Here the members of the society in which he was prominent assembled twice each week for religious worship, and where the Quarterly Meetings for business were regularly held from 1686 to 1712. Intercourse with the Penn family, which resided on the opposite side of the river, was no doubt frequent, as the pleasantest of relations existed between them. William Biddle had built a wharf on the river, still known as Biddle's wharf, near Kincora, where boats could land, and which showed the track over the water from Pennsbury to his mansion.

According to the good order of Friends, marriages were solemnized there, and many a gay company gathered about the place to welcome the guests and assist in their departure. Carriages were not in use and each one rode on horseback, the bride and groom always being in advance, except in the return to the house of entertainment. Two or three days were consumed in celebrating the nuptials by way of assembling at the houses of the near relatives, where everything eatable and drinkable was in profusion. A committee of elderly Friends, male and female, was always present to see that everything was orderly, but this committee generally closed their eyes to what was going on around them, and found it convenient to depart soon after supper had been served, leaving the young folks to their own purposes.

The marriage certificates of two hundred years ago show, by the signatures attached to them, how liberally the invitations were distributed and who were entertained on such occasions. At that house the meetings of ministers were



held, where questions endangering the doctrines or discipline of the Church were discussed and made ready for disposal at the regular Quarterly Meetings, and from thence to the Yearly Meetings.

In those days many controversial pamphlets were published, some of which were well written and convincing, while others were of questionable propriety and did not receive the sanction of the society. That slavery existed in the colony, from the first settlement, is beyond question. These unfortunate creatures were frequently brought direct from the African coast and sold from shipboard to the highest bidder, and the large profits realized made the trade active in this kind of property. An examination of the wills and inventories made of the personal estates of the emigrant fathers shows that this kind of chattel often increased the pounds, shillings, and pence of the deceased person's belongings. A plantation was not properly equipped without numerous slaves, nor was a gentleman's establishment complete except a number of servants attended the table, the kitchen, and the stables. They were in every family, and were bought, sold, and exchanged like any other commodity. When owned by considerate people they were treated kindly, but too often their condition was deplorable through abuse and neglect.

Gradually it dawned upon some of the colonists that the institution was an evil and that to hold a human being in bondage was questionable, but it was left for John Woolman to raise his voice in its condemnation. His testimony was always against it, and with him may rest the honor of bringing about its gradual abolishment in New Jersey. The three William Biddles in succession no doubt held slaves, and there is some secluded spot, long since forgotten, upon the Mount Hope estate where their remains were buried. Near by was the old family graveyard, where the emigrant, his wife, and others of his descendants were interred. A fence may have been about it to save it from intrusion, and within were rough stones, cut with rude and uncouth letters, showing where each mound of earth had been and where lay some

one of the ancestors of the family. As time progressed the mounds sank away and the stones lost their places. Perhaps the group of stately oaks now standing in one of the fields on the old farm may surround these graves. It may be that this spot was always pointed out to new owners, with the request that the soil be not broken nor the trees removed, which request has always been observed.

If this be so, then the descendants of these sturdy pioneers should occasionally visit the spot and show their respect for those who helped to lay the foundation of a free government, who were identified with many good works which have left their impress upon the institutions of our land, who enlarged civil liberty and restrained the abuse of power, and who left this inheritance to be enjoyed by coming generations.

“Nameless, noteless, clay with clay  
Mingles slowly, day by day.”

It is proper to turn back and examine the political preferences that came to William Biddle in the colony, from his first coming to the time of his decease. The interval between the arrival of the commissioners (1677) and the sitting of the first legislature (1682), when there was so much trouble in regard to the government of the colony, need not be discussed here. On the 2d day of May, 1682, the first legislature sat at Burlington, when William Biddle appeared as one of the members, elected from Burlington County, and was selected by the governor as one of his council. This showed the confidence of the executive in the man and proved his qualifications as a law-maker. By this he became one of the advisers of “His Excellency” and one of his confidential friends.

At the same session he was appointed one of the judges of the several courts of the county, and the minutes of those tribunals show his constant attendance in the discharge of his duties. This place he filled for several years and perhaps until old age admonished him to give up his public positions.

There is, perhaps, none of the ancient records preserved in the offices at Trenton, N.J., of more interest to the antiquarian than the minute-books of the minor courts of Burlington County. The entries commence in 1680, and are made up of lists of grand jurors and petit jurors, the names of parties litigant, style of action, and verdicts rendered. Considerable space is taken up with the "ear-marks" of owners, by which every man was expected to identify his hogs, calves, cattle, horses, and sheep running wild in the forests. There was an abundance of pasture in the woods, and when the berries, nuts, and acorns were ripe, the swine became fat and attractive. The temptation for hunters to kill them was too great for some, and occasionally a lawsuit grew out of such proceedings. The marks were easily destroyed by cutting off the entire ear, hence the difficulty of identification was much increased. Occasionally a man was caught with a pig on his back, and having in his haste forgotten to cut off "the marks," was readily convicted and punished. Many suits commenced were, by the advice of friends, settled and others abandoned when passion had cooled and a better judgment prevailed.

The minute-books of the supreme court, commencing March 25, 1681, show a different class of cases, and much more extensive as to territory, including Gloucester, Salem, and Cape May Counties. As the Council of Proprietors was not established until 1687, the proceedings of the commissioners in the locating of land are entered in these books, and contain much valuable information. The sentences passed by the court in criminal cases were in many instances severe; whipping on the naked back at the cart's tail and sitting in the stocks were frequently imposed. Imprisonment in the county jail was also part of the punishment for small offences.

With all this William Biddle had much to do, and lived to see many changes in the colony,—its rapid increase in population, its development in agriculture, and its commerce with the mother country. When the Council of Proprietors was organized (March, 1687) he was among the members



first elected, and took an active part in its affairs for several years. The duties were onerous and responsible, requiring patience and a proper appreciation of the rights of persons as derived from the proprietors. Many important cases were brought before this body touching the boundaries of surveys, the position of corners and monuments, the priority of location, and the right of occupancy. As has before been stated, William Biddle, when he arrived in New Jersey, had but two children,—William and Sarah. About the year 1695, William Biddle, the second, married Lydia Wardell, a member of the Society of Friends at Shrewsbury, Monmouth County, N.J., who was of French Huguenot extraction. He was not a conspicuous person in the Society of Friends nor in the affairs of the colony. In 1703 he was, with John Wills and John Reading,—a committee on behalf of the Council of Proprietors,—sent to Caponockus, above the falls, to visit the Indians in relation to some land previously purchased, and have them sign the proper documents of conveyance.

After his father's death (1711) he resided on the homestead property, Mount Hope, enlarging its cultivated acres and improving the buildings on the estate. An abundance of this world's goods rendered exertion unnecessary, and he filled his leisure in looking after his home comforts and caring for his large property. Sarah, his mother, died in 1709, aged seventy-five years.

Sarah was married, in 1695, to William Righton, of Philadelphia, who died soon after, and the widow returned to the home of her parents. William Righton was not a member of the Society of Friends, hence the marriage was solemnized in open court, in the presence of the sitting magistrates and invited guests. This was frequently the case where the contracting parties stood in the relation before named, and was not regarded as a breach of discipline, hence Sarah was not called to an account for her conduct, nor did she lose her membership in the Church of her parents. There was no issue by this marriage.

The records of the court at Salem, in Fenwick Colony,

show the same kind of proceeding in like cases, and left the parties interested in the same relation to the meeting that they held previously. It may seem a departure from the rigid rules of ancient Friends, but it must be remembered that the men who sat as judges in the courts were the same who sat at the head of the meetings when assembled for religious worship, the same forms, the same covenants, and the same certificate being adhered to in the one case as in the other.

In due course Sarah became an attraction in Philadelphia and Burlington society, and being connected with one of the best families, her associates were among the educated and refined. Her father's position brought her in contact with the officials and leading men and their families of either colony. The welcome that visitors received at her father's house drew towards her the young people of both sexes from Philadelphia and the country about Mount Hope. Clement Plumstead, a young man of Philadelphia, then in the employ of Samuel Carpenter, became her second husband in 1703, and she again took up her abode in that city. The wedding of this couple drew together a distinguished assembly. It took place at her father's house, in the presence of William Penn, Jr., son of the governor, Samuel Jennings, former governor of West New Jersey, Roger Monposson, first chief-justice of New Jersey after the surrender, William Hall, of Salem, N.J., Joseph Kirkbride, and many others with their wives and daughters. Although the surroundings were plain and the guests wore the simple garb of the Quaker; although there was no display of livery among the servants, nor style in the equipages, neither was there the blast of trumpets in the grounds, nor the sounds of music in the halls, yet the evidence of wealth and exclusiveness was there, to be seen and felt. Education, fortune, and family were there recognized and acknowledged without dispute and sustained without an effort. The foremost men of the colonies honored the occasion with their presence, and their lady companions made the place brilliant and attractive to all. It was a "goodlie companie," one that

any host might well be proud of, and one long to be remembered.

Clement Plumstead became a merchant in Philadelphia, and died in 1745, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, leaving a will. He was selected by the governor of the State as one of his council, and was several times chosen mayor of the city. In his will he names Clement Hall, of Salem County, as his cousin, hence his Christian name. He was three times married. His first wife was Sarah Righton (Biddle), who died in 1705; and in his will he names his wife Elizabeth, deceased, and his wife Mary, who survived him. His son William, by his first wife, and named in the emigrant William Biddle's will, also survived him, and a son Thomas. He filled many fiduciary positions with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of the people.

In 1775, Rebecca Gore, late Rebecca Plumstead, widow of Lieutenant Charles Gore, deceased, and one of the granddaughters of Clement Plumstead, deceased, of Philadelphia, sold land in Cumberland County, N.J., to Joseph Burr and others. Major Woodward says she was a daughter of Clement Plumstead by another marriage, but the recital in the deed says she was a granddaughter, which throws some doubt on this theory, and leaves the inference that she may have been a descendant of Sarah Biddle; hence there were other children by Sarah Biddle who survived her.

This may always remain an open question for want of some one skilled in ancient genealogy and with patience for the research.

June 23, 1711, William Biddle executed his will, and a codicil thereunto two days after, naming many persons therein and disposing of a large amount of property. He gave the Mount Hope estate and the island opposite to his son William and Lydia his wife, and to the survivor for life, with the fee to his grandson William, and disposed of the remainder of his property to various persons of his family. He named the children of his son William (besides William, Jr.) as follows: Elizabeth, Sarah, Penelope, Lydia, Joseph, and John. He also named a cousin, Thomas Biddle, and



three of his children,—Thomas, Sarah, and Rachel. William, a son of Clement Plumstead, of Philadelphia, and his daughter Sarah, at that time deceased, is given a legacy. A careful perusal of this document shows William Biddle to have been a man of means greatly beyond that of his associates, and in real property he was among the foremost in the colony. The mutations of time have left but little in the family or even in the line of blood, and strangers, at this writing, occupy most of the land selected by him.

This will was admitted to probate March 3, 1711, about which date William Biddle deceased. Samuel Bunting, John Wills, and his son William were the executors named in the will, and took upon themselves the settlement of the estate. The son William acquired but little, if any, real estate by purchase, and died, in 1743, without a will. The land he obtained under the residuary clause of his father's will he evidently divided among and deeded to his children, and, having so done, a testament and last will was unnecessary. His children were: William, who married Anne Holmes and Mary Scull (the latter in 1730); Elizabeth (single in 1727, being called a spinster in a deed she made for land that year); Sarah, —; Penelope, married William Whitehead; Lydia, married Peter Imlay; Joseph, married Rebecca Arney and Sarah —; and John, married Sarah Owen in 1736.

When William Biddle, the third, attained his majority he took up his abode in Philadelphia, and never afterwards claimed to be a citizen of the colony of New Jersey. In a deed executed in 1724 he is named as William Biddle, of Philadelphia, vintner, which showed him to be a dealer in wines and other liquors, from the sale of which he derived large profits. His attachment for the old homestead, which his grandfather had entailed to him, was not strong, for in the year last named he conveyed the Mount Hope property, with the island, to John Holmes, but who within two years after reconveyed the same.

His younger brother, John, also removed to Philadelphia,

and there remained during his life. From William, the third, came many of the distinguished men known in medicine, theology, law, and literature,—men who have graced the halls of legislation, who have left a brilliant record of deeds done in the military service of the country, and men who have stood in the front rank among merchants and business men, and known in philanthropy and benevolence as well.

Thomas Biddle, the person whom William Biddle in his will mentions as his cousin, was probably about his (William's) age, but did not cross the ocean to New Jersey. Both being members of the Society of Friends, they were imprisoned in Newgate, London, at the same time for their religious opinions. He was a resident of London, and is supposed to have died without a will, which has led to some uncertainty about his children; but as three of them are named in the emigrant's will (Thomas, Sarah, and Rachel), so far can be relied upon.

Thomas Biddle, son of Thomas, became the owner of part of the Mount Hope tract (one hundred and fifty acres) by deed from William Biddle, the second, and William Biddle, the third, in the year 1741, the first owning the life tenure and the second holding the fee to the land. The wife of Thomas Biddle is not known, but he had two children, Sarah and Thomas, who married Abigail, a daughter of Nicholas Scull, in 1760, who was a sister of Mary, wife of the third William Biddle.

The disparity of thirty years between the marriages of Mary and Abigail Scull creates some doubt of their being sisters, but it is put at rest by Nicholas Scull in his will, dated in 1761, wherein he names them as being his daughters. Nicholas Scull was a noticeable man in his day and generation. He was a son of Nicholas Scull, who came from Ireland to Chester, Penna., 9th month 10, 1685. Nicholas, Jr., was born near Philadelphia in 1687, and became an apprentice to Thomas Holmes, the first surveyor-general of the colony. In 1708 he married Abigail Heap, which Christian name has found a place in every generation of the

Biddles from that date to the present, and may be regarded as a safe guide when the line of genealogy becomes misty and obscure.

Benjamin Franklin, in his autobiography, writing of the members of the Junto,—previously called “The Leather Apron Club,”—says, “We have a member, Nicholas Scull, afterwards surveyor-general, who loves books and sometimes makes verse.” This club was the beginning of the Philadelphia Library, founded in 1731, now so extensive and useful. Nicholas Scull, as a surveyor, did much field-work in the wild lands of Pennsylvania, and spoke the Indian dialect fluently. In 1730 he was sent by the provincial government to visit the settlements of Dutch and French on the Delaware River (near the Water Gap), in what is known as the Minnisink Valley, to adjust any dispute of title to the land on the west side of the river occupied by them. These people had found their way across the mountains of New Jersey from New Amsterdam (New York) before William Penn had acquired his title to Pennsylvania, and, pleased with the fertility of the soil in the low lands along the river, remained there. In time the colony enlarged, but was almost isolated and had but little intercourse with the outside world.

He was present (September, 1737) at the great Indian walk which caused so much dissatisfaction among the aborigines and produced some bloodshed. This difficulty originated in the attempt of John and Thomas Penn, sons of the patroon, to extinguish the Indian title to certain territory in Pennsylvania, so that it might be sold and occupied by settlers. It was agreed that, for a consideration, the boundaries should be fixed by the distance that three white men could walk in a certain direction (from a point fixed) in one and one-half days. The walkers were chosen, and where they stopped at the expiration of the time was to be the point from where a line should be run fixing the extent of territory to be conveyed. Nicholas Scull took part in the surveying of that line, which consumed four days in the doing thereof.



June 14, 1748, he was made surveyor-general of the Province, and held the office until near his death. He died in 1761, and was buried in the old family graveyard near Scheetz's mill, in White Marsh. His wife, Abigail, who died in 1753, aged sixty-five years, is also buried there. Nicholas Scull, in this connection, should not be lost sight of, for he was the ancestor in the maternal line of two branches of the Biddle family; the blood of Mary Scull, the second wife of the third William Biddle, was infused into the generations that followed them and found their way into several States of the Union; while the blood of Abigail Scull, the wife of the third Thomas Biddle, can be traced through the direct and collateral branches of the family which remained in New Jersey.

The Mount Hope property was disposed of by the three William Biddles as follows: The first William conveyed seven and a half acres to Henry Stacy, who conveyed the same to Thomas Potts. This lot fronted the river and was within the bounds of the homestead, one hundred and fifty acres, conveyed to Thomas Biddle and excepted in that grant. This transaction has some history about it which, in the lapse of years, has been lost sight of. Henry Stacy was a man of large means and a leading member in the Society of Friends, and it may not be a wrong conjecture that this plot of ground was designed for a meeting-house, a school-house, and a graveyard. The meetings were held at William Biddle's house, and to accommodate the increasing population this spot was selected whereon to erect a permanent building for that purpose, and for some reason abandoned after the deed was executed, and the present site of the Mansfield meeting chosen. May 8, 1722, the second and third William Biddle conveyed to Thomas Newbold, Zebulon Clayton, and Asher Clayton two hundred acres, being part of the five hundred acres' survey, and February 14, 1722, the same grantors sold to John Brown, M.D., twenty-five acres, part of the same survey.

November 28, 1724, William Biddle, the third, his father having died, conveyed all the remainder of the Mount Hope

estate, with the island, to John Holmes (perhaps his first wife's father), but about two years after (August 30, 1726) John Holmes reconveyed the same, and William Biddle was again the owner. Soon after the last conveyance William Biddle sold parts of the tract to Jacob Garwood and Jonathan Shreve, and February 8, 1741, sold one hundred and fifty acres to Thomas Biddle, whereon stood the original dwelling and other buildings. In 1742 there were still four hundred and ten acres remaining, which the owner resurveyed to establish the ancient metes and bounds. For some reason not apparent this resurvey never received the sanction of the Council of Proprietors, but the map remains on file among the rejected papers of the office. In 1749, William Biddle, the third, disposed of the island, and the remainder of his interest in the homestead tract of four hundred and ten acres, by conveying the same to his brother-in-law, Peter Imlay, who, by his will dated the same year, directed his executors to sell his real estate.

The executors did so, and in 1752 conveyed fifty-nine acres, part of the four hundred and ten acres, to Thomas Biddle, adjoining the one hundred and fifty acres he purchased in 1741, on the north. Thomas Biddle, son of Thomas and Abigail, afterwards became the owner of part of the island, as appears in the division of his real estate among his children in 1813.

As before intimated, there is nothing to prove that Thomas Biddle, the first, was among the emigrants to New Jersey. That he was a near relative of William Biddle is shown in his (William's) will, and that he had three children living at the date of that instrument (1711). What his calling and what his business relations were do not appear, but he was probably of limited means and assisted by his cousin William occasionally. The parish where he lived in London is not found of record, nor the religious meeting where he attended.

There was then the Horslydown meeting, on the Surry side, the Peal meeting, in the old city and not far from St. Paul's, and the Ratliff meeting, in the old city below London

bridge, now almost entirely lost sight of. There was also the Houndsditch meeting, where now stands Devonshire House, the great central assembling place of the society in the kingdom. In that day all these were guarded by the military, and from where numbers were taken to prison, and there remained during the pleasure of the magistrates.

On one occasion Thomas Biddle was despoiled of his goods by a Roman Catholic priest for the non-payment of tithes. Two of his neighbors, for remonstrating with him for so doing, were arrested and kept in jail for twenty-four weeks, without any complaint being lodged against them. They were at last released by a committee of Parliament. Besse, in his history of the sufferings of Friends, disclosed much of the persecution of that religious denomination, and further shows how many of that class of citizens abandoned their homes and came to New Jersey and Pennsylvania. In fact, much valuable information may be gathered from this work, showing the particular locality of individuals before their removal here,—a fact always desirable to know.

Samuel Smith, in his History of New Jersey, does not mention the name of Thomas Biddle as among the first emigrants, neither can it be found in any of the public records of that date. His name does not occur in any of the old books as a locator of land, nor as a buyer or seller thereof. The ancient files do not disclose any will of his, nor that his estate was settled by administration. This is not conclusive evidence, but goes far to prove what has already been hinted.

Charles Biddle, in his Autobiography, 1745–1821, and who made diligent search as to this family, thus writes of it: "None of William Biddle's descendants live in New Jersey, but a number of the descendants of Thomas Biddle, cousin of William, reside there." He undoubtedly was in possession of some data that induced him to write this paragraph, which gives stronger coloring to the suggestions already made. More's the pity that Charles Biddle did not give his readers the benefit of his authority.



Excepting as to the descendants of Joseph Biddle and some of his sisters the foregoing quotation is substantially correct.

As before stated, the object of this sketch is to trace but one branch of the family that remained in Burlington County, N.J. It becomes necessary to inquire who Thomas Biddle was, where he lived, and who were his descendants. It is shown that two of the sons of the second William Biddle removed to Philadelphia, leaving Joseph, who resided on a farm in Springfield Township, and who died in 1776, leaving a will. It is noticeable that the name of Thomas does not occur in that branch of the family for several generations; hence the line must be traced from Thomas Biddle, the purchaser of the homestead in 1741. He was the son of Thomas Biddle named in the will of the emigrant as his cousin, and he, the second Thomas, was also named as a legatee in the same document. He came to New Jersey under the patronage of the second and third William Biddle, and died the owner of the homestead, intestate. There can be but little doubt that he occupied the old place, but the name of his wife is not known. He had two children,—Sarah, born in 1729, who never married, and Thomas, born in 1734, who married Abigail Scull in 1760. By the laws then in existence regulating the descent of real estate in New Jersey the third Thomas Biddle was seized of all the land his father owned at the time of his death.

The children of Thomas and Abigail Biddle were Thomas, born 1761, married Charlotte Butler; Abigail, born 1763, married John Harvey; and Mary, born 1766, married Caleb Foster. Thomas died in 1793, intestate, and Abigail died in ——. In 1793 the two sisters of Thomas Biddle (and their husbands) conveyed to the said Thomas all their individual interests in their father's real and personal estate, and by this the fourth Thomas Biddle became the owner of the one hundred and fifty acres and the fifty-nine acres as purchased by the second Thomas Biddle in 1741 and 1752. This last-named document removes any doubt as

to who were the children of the third Thomas Biddle, who the daughters married, and of the estate involved in the transfer. It is the kind of evidence that is never questioned, and an inquiry does not often go back of it. This deed, not of record, with many other papers of that character relating to the family, are in possession of John Bishop, of Columbus, N.J., who appreciates their value and cares for their preservation.

Thomas and Charlotte Biddle's children were Abigail, who died unmarried; Thomas, married Mary Harvey; Israel, married Sarah Tallman and Sarah T. Field; Mary, married James Bates and Isaac Field; John, died unmarried; Charlotte, married Samuel Black; Achsa, married Joseph Haines; and William, married Elizabeth Rockhill.

John and Abigail Harvey's children were Job, married Sarah Bunting; John, married Mary Potts; and Thomas, married Lydia Wainwright.

Caleb and Mary Foster's children were John, married — —, and Abigail, married Joshua Bispham.

It is true that Joseph Biddle, in his will dated February 19, 1776, mentions a "daughter-in-law Abigail Biddle," which might leave the impression that she was the wife of a son Thomas, who for some reason was not named in the will, that he was the purchaser of the homestead in 1741, and that the "daughter-in-law Abigail Biddle" was Abigail Scull. In this view, therefore, the descendants of Thomas Biddle must trace their line from William Biddle, the emigrant, through Joseph Biddle, and not from Thomas Biddle, the cousin of William, through Thomas Biddle of 1741. This might claim some plausibility in the absence of the conveyance before named from John and Abigail Harvey and Caleb and Mary Foster to their brother, Thomas Biddle, in 1793, for their interest in their father's property. The fact is, that Joseph Biddle's "daughter-in-law Abigail Biddle" was the widow of his son Arney Biddle, and puts at rest any speculation on the point before suggested.

Joseph Biddle was twice married. This is shown by two documents. In 1731, John Arney, of Freehold, in Mon-

mouth County, N.J., conveyed to his daughter Rebecca, wife of Joseph Biddle, of Mansfield Township, Burlington County, N.J., a tract of land in Springfield Township of the last-named county, and in the will of Joseph Biddle he mentions his wife Sarah.

Joseph Biddle's children were Joseph, married Sarah Shreve; Mary, married Restore Shinn; Sarah, married John Monroe; and Arney, married Abigail ——. The difficulty, however, is to show what relation the children of the testator bore to these two females, and the lapse of one hundred years renders it almost impossible of solution.

Apart from the service of Joseph Biddle as a member of the legislature from 1779 to 1790, with one interval, the name does not often occur in the civil or political records of the State. They seldom sought political preferment, but

“Kept the noiseless tenor of their way”

in the community where they lived. Surrounded with their broad acres, which gave the assurance of full and plenty, the profits of office did not tempt them, nor the allurements of speculation lead them astray. Although but little, if any, of the land is in the name or even in the line of blood, where the head of the house made his home and has but few representatives thereabouts, yet the many associations and incidents connected with the family are such that no proper history of the county can be written without giving it a conspicuous place.

The laws of New Jersey regulating the inheritance, the descent, and disposal of real estate have much to do with the constant change going on in the ownership of land. A lack of family pride, the division of properties, and the alienation in the female line is the reason in many instances why so little of the first settlers' choice of real estate can now be found in possession of their descendants.

The spirit of unrest, characteristic of the American people, is not influenced by home attachments. They leave the graves of their fathers without a sigh, and the old hearth-



stones without a regret. The ancestral acres have no charm where the temptations of fortune, of ambition, or of adventure stand out so boldly as they do in this wide domain, bounded by the oceans only.

“ Impell'd with steps unceasing to pursue  
Some fleeting good, that mocks *us* with the view,  
That, like the circle bounding earth and skies,  
Allures from far, yet, as *we* follow, flies.”

THE REGISTERS OF THE EPHRATA COMMUNITY.

BY JULIUS F. SACHSE.

(Continued from page 312.)

Vatter Friedsam (B 1).—Did in the presence of his spiritual Children, as he his farewell made quite gently and quietly in the Lord fall asleep, in the year 1768, the 6th July. His age was 77 Year,—4 Month—6 Day. In the 8th hour of the day after noon.<sup>1</sup> What his doings, and occupation of the spirit, and how much he suffered, and laboured, for the Lord's Sake, the time of his Life, by Day and Night. He who his writings diligently reads, and searches, can find in what kind of labour, his life passed in the 52 years.

[John Conrad Beissel,—“Vatter Friedsam Gottrecht,”—born March 1, 1690, O.S., at Eberbach, Germany, arrived in Pennsylvania in 1720, and became the founder of the Ephrata Community. As a theosophist, preacher, organizer, leader, and composer he ranks high among the religious leaders of his time. His funeral is said to have been attended by over six hundred mourners. The funeral sermon was preached by Brother Jabez from the text, Heb. xiii. 7 and 17, and was followed by addresses by Brothers Phileomen and Obed.]

Brother Agonius (B 2).—Was a venerable Co-Overseer and Vorsteher in the Community at Ephratha: He fell asleep the 20th May in Year 1741; his Age 54 Year 5 Month, his actions and Conduct was serious, in punishment was he severe, in admonishing kindly, and at the same time a Crossbearer of Jesu Christi, until his End.

<sup>1</sup> The biographical annotations to these records are mainly drawn from the *Chronicon Ephratense* and the recently-discovered manuscript, “Chronicon of the Sisterhood of Saron,” and have been further amplified by researches in the archives of the Community. According to the manuscript “Chronicon,” the Sisterhood was divided into seven classes. Each class had a special line of duties, and had a general room into which the cells of the sisters opened. Each class had its own superintendent, who was responsible only to the prioress.

[Michael Wohlfarth, born 1687, in Memel, on the Baltic, was the first to join with Beissel in preaching the Sabbatarian doctrine. In 1737 he published "*Die Weissheit Gottes schreiende und ruffende den Söhnen und Töchtern der Menschen zur Busc Seyende dass Wort des Herren von Michael Wohlfarth.*" He was buried in the old graveyard in the meadow between the Saal and Brotherhouse, not a vestige of which remains at the present day.]

*Now Follow the Brotherly Society in Bethania.*

[The Monastic Society formed after the dissolution of the "Zionitische Brüderschaft," in 1745.]

**Brother Martin Bremmer (B 3).**—Was a peculiar Spiritual Person; He was a Tailor in his Handicraft, did also our Habits or clothes, help to procure that we Now wear. Fell asleep in the Lord 1738.

[Martin Bremmer joined the Community in 1729, and together with Jacob Gast ("Jethro") and Samuel Eckerling ("Jephune") followed Beissel to the Cocalico, and in the winter of 1732 built the second cabin where Ephrata now stands. As the Community tailor, he designed the habits for both orders. He was one of the six Brethren who were imprisoned in Lancaster jail for refusing to pay their taxes in 1736. He died on the third or fourth day of First Month (March), 1738. His was the first death among the Solitary on the Cocalico.]

**Brother William Witt (B 4).**—Was a very quiet and reserved person who fell asleep in the Lord 1740.

**Brother Benedict Juchlie (B 5).**—Was already in the Schweitz awakened, as he however from our Community heard drew him soon over into this Land, came soon towards Ephrata, bought however firstly a Blandasche<sup>1</sup> up in the Swamp<sup>2</sup> for the Brethren, for he was wealthy, the Brethren poor; subsequently sold he his piece of Land again, and bought the grinding Mill for Ephrata, after this would he to Germany journey, there his inheritance to obtain. (He) wanted also the Brethren to Book-printing (to) assist; which was interfered with, for he did suddenly die, and was immediately buried in Year 1741 in November.

<sup>1</sup> Plantation.

<sup>2</sup> The valley or swampy meadows west of the present "Rhineold Station," on the Lancaster and Columbia Railroad, three miles north of Ephrata. Well-founded local traditions state that the timbers of which Peniel or the Saal was built were all given by Brother Benedict, and cut on his plantation.



[Benedict Juchlie was of a well-to-do Swiss family, and was one of the thirteen who formed the Brotherhood of Zion in 1738. Finding the rules too strict, he concluded to return to Switzerland for his patrimony. The Brotherhood advanced him the necessary funds, and in return he promised to purchase a printing outfit for them, and made a will appointing the Community his heir, in case he died before his return. Three days later, on his arrival in Philadelphia, he suddenly died.]

**The Young Brother Lewie (B 6).**—Did also in the Lord fall asleep 1742.

**Brother Isai (B 7).**—In the year 1738 towards Ephratha came: In year 1742 came the Herrn-Hutter here, into these parts—he permitted himself to be prejudiced by them, and they took him away, yet in the same year to Herrn-Haag: and in year 1744 took he his Journey again to this Land As he however on the Ocean was, became he sick, what was there to be done, the anguish of his Heart was so great, that he thusly daily exclaimed: O! Ephratha! Ephratha! you lovely Ephratha! O! my dear Mother! and my beloved Sister! in such Misery did he die, and so was the Ocean his Grave. His age did he bring, up to 29 year, 6 month.

[Isai Lässle was one of the original “Zionitische Brüderschaft.”]

**Brother Jacob Thome (B 8).**—Did in the Lord fall asleep, 1745: he was already in the Schweitz awakened.

[Another Brother from Switzerland, and member of the “Zionitische Brüderschaft,” whose two sisters also entered the order of Spiritual Virgins.]

**The young Brother Jacob Zinn (B 9).**—Did in the Lord fall asleep, 1749: he was a Son of the Marcari Zinn.

**Brother Joel (B 10).**—Did in the Lord fall asleep 1748: his age was 52 year. He led in his doings and Life, a lowly, retired fervent Course of Life; what he experienced, gave he never unto Day—his death was also as if he only his outer shell had Cast off.

[Johann Heinrich Kalckgläser was one of the important Brethren in the Community. He originally settled in Germantown, but came to Ephrata at an early day, and became one of the Zionitic Brotherhood.]

Brother Zephania (B 11).—Fell asleep in the Lord in year 1749 the 29<sup>th</sup> January, he was a Son (of) Jojada or Nägeli.

[Son of Brother Jojada (B 19), entered the Brotherhood in 1739.]

Brother Jethro (B 12).—Fell asleep in the Lord, the 1749<sup>th</sup> year, the 12<sup>th</sup> October : he was an Awakened, already in the Schweitz.

[Jacob Gast was one of the first to join the Community, and was one of the three who built the second cabin at Ephrata. He was frequently called into counsel by Beissel. When the Eckerlings were expelled, in 1745, Jethro was installed Prior, but only held the office for a few months, being succeeded by Brother Jabez. September 5, 1746, he was, however, installed a second time. Three years later he was dismissed from his office, being succeeded by Brother Eleazer (B 31). His downfall affected him so greatly that he died October 12, 1749.]

Brother Nehemia (B 13).—Fell asleep in the Lord, in the year 1754 the 14 Abriell (April) he was a Son from the old Hagemann.

[Johann Heinrich Hagemann, originally from Falkner's Swamp, came to Ephrata in October of 1728. A brother Nathan and sister Catherine entered the Solitary orders.]

Brother Sealthiel (B 14).—Was a house-father, in Year 1738 Journeyed he to Ephratha, with all that he possessed, Built the Solitary Sisters a Chapel,—“Kedar,” that was her name, at that time had he 2 Daughters, the one gave Ephratha good night, about the year 1744 He entered himself also in the poor life, and was a faithfull follower of Jesu Christi, and did in Peace fall asleep.

[Sigmund Landert became connected with Beissel as early as 1724. The first love-feast of the Conestoga congregation was held at his house in December, 1724, where Beissel officiated for the first time. His wife died in 1728, being the first recorded death of the congregation. He married again, but became a widower the second time in 1735. He came to Ephrata in 1738, with his two daughters, where he built the prayer-house adjoining Kedar out of his own means.]

1757.

Brother Elkana (B 15).—Is from this world departed, as one where it quickly takes place, in the year 1757.

**Brother Nathan (B 16).**—Did also from the world separate in the Year 1757, he was the Aged Hagemann's second son.

**The aged Brother Manoaah (B 17).**—Was also a House-father, and also in the Lord fell asleep, in the outgoing of the year 1757. He was aged 92 years.

**Brother Agabus (B 18).**—In the Lord fell asleep the 7<sup>th</sup> of July in the Year 1763. He was already an Old Warrior of Jesu Christi, in Germany, with the Pious, where also my Parents were too. He is well, can we say in Peace elevated.

[Stephen Koch first settled at Germantown. After the revival, in 1736, and with three others, he retired to a cabin about a mile from Germantown. They came to Ephrata in March of 1739.]

**Brother Jojada (B 19).**—Was also a House Father, but a very faith full (one) not Many will imitate him, in all conditions as he has done. He also in the Lord fell asleep the 1<sup>st</sup> of April in the year 1765.

[Rudolph Nägele, the father of Brother Zephania (B 11). In 1724 he was a Mennonite preacher, near Falkner's Swamp, and was one of the first persons baptized by Beissel, in May of 1725. In October, 1739, when his son adopted the Solitary life, he, with Martin Funk, built the prayer-house of Zion, which served as a hospital during the Revolution. In 1741 he was one of the Brethren who attempted to defend Hildebrand against the Brotherhood of Zion.]

**Brother Theonis (B 20).**—In the Lord fell asleep on the 5<sup>th</sup> of March 1773.

[He was one of the four Brethren who, in April, 1734, moved into the "Berg," or Hill House, as the first large building at Ephrata was known, where he lived until 1737.]

**Brother Jorg : Han (B 21).**—Was also a Man—did also in the Lord fall asleep on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 1773.

**Brother Peter Schumacher (B 22).**—Did also in the Lord fall asleep the 17<sup>th</sup> of November in the year 1773, he was a Schweitzer and did the wellknown land piece, above in the Swamp, will to Ephrata.

[Peter Schumacher was not a Solitary Brother.]



Brother Obadiah (B 23).—In the Lord fell asleep 1779 on the 7<sup>th</sup> of December, his age was 60 years 9 months, it happened so through certain circumstances, that he to Virginia came, (but) did before long to Ephrata return, (and) did even there die and was buried.

Brother Jemini (B 24).—In the Spring of the year departed in year 1781, he was from the Tolpehacken Awakening.

[He was one of the original members of the Zionitic Brotherhood.]

Brother Amos (B 25).—On the 6<sup>th</sup> of August (he) in the Lord departed, in (the) year 1783. His age was 82 years, he was one among the first in the Community; therefore an Old Warrior Jesu Christi.

[Jan Meyle first settled at Germantown December 25, 1723. He was baptized in the Wissahickon by Peter Becker, and at once became a prominent member in that denomination, but two years later went over to the Sabbatarian congregation. In December of 1728, "Bro Amos" rebaptized Conrad Beissel, who in turn rebaptized Brother Amos. He was one of the four Brethren who first occupied the "Berg-haus," from 1735 to 1737, and for a time was the preceptor of Brother Onesimus (Israel Eckerling).]

Brother Jonathan (B 26).—In the Lord fell asleep, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June, in (the) year 1784, his age was 67 years 6 months, he was from a preacher family.

[One of the Solitary who left the Community with the Eckerlings in 1745. For a time he became a trapper and hunter, but returned to Ephrata February 23, 1750, with the old Prior Onesimus.]

Brother Philemon (B 27).—In the Lord fell asleep (on) the 20<sup>th</sup> (of) March in (the) year 1785 he was an Awakened (one) already in Germany.

[John Reismann, after the Germantown revival, in 1736, together with Alexander Mack, Stephen Koch, and Henry Hoecker, built a cabin on the banks of the Wissahickon, near Conrad Mathäi, and lived in seclusion until 1738, when they united with the Ephrata Community.]

Brother Gideon (B 28).—In the Lord fell asleep, (on) the 26<sup>th</sup> (of) July in (the) year 1787, his age was 70 years. He

was a peculiarly awakened Person, in his youth in Germantown he left his fathers house, and selected the reproach Christi, (he) was therein faithfull until his end, but often must such souls, much pass through who much suffer.

[Brother Gideon (Christian) Eckstein was also a result of one of the Germantown revivals. He came to Ephrata Seventh Month, 1743. He was an important man in the Community, as well as a physician of considerable local reputation. He was one of the commissioners sent to Philadelphia in 1748 to settle the differences with William Young, the Philadelphia representative of the Community. Under the tripartite agreement with Samuel Eckerling, made February 3, 1770, he appears as one of the trustees. In his will, dated July, 1787, he devises the profits of forty acres of land to the uses of such Solitary who have been members of either society not less than ten years. His preceptor in physics was a Dr. Meder, from Germany, who lived in the Community from 1748 to 1749, but was expelled on his refusal to be baptized.]

**Brother Ruffinus (B 29).**—In the Lord fell asleep the 20<sup>th</sup> of Sept in (the) year 1787.

**Brother Nathaniel (B 30).**—In the Lord fell asleep, the 24<sup>th</sup> (of) May, his age was 74 Years and 2 Month he was a venerable old warrior Jesu Christi, up to his blessed (end).

**Brother Eleaser (B 31).**—In the Lord fell asleep, the 20<sup>th</sup> (of) August in the year 1791, his age was 82 years;—he was from his youth a Warrior of Jesu Christi; and suffered very much until his Death, he was blind near 16 years.

[Jacob (Christian) Eicher was one of the original Zionitic Brotherhood, and afterwards prominent in the "Brotherhood of Bethania." In 1749 he succeeded Jethro as Prior, but did not hold the office long, as his rulings were harsh and oppressive. He was known among the Brotherhood as "der grobe Eleazer."]

**Brother Obed (B 32).**—In the Lord departed the 27 (of) July (1791?); his age was 75 years, several months. He was a faithful Co-Worker in the house of God, and the Congregation almost 24 years with Brother Jabetz helped to support. He had been married here.

[Ludwig Höcker was one of the leading characters of the Ephrata Community. He first settled in Germantown, and in 1738 he went to live with Brother Agabus in the cabin on the Wissahickon. In 1744 we

find him at Ephrata with his family, and on the 28th of Twelfth Month he and his wife solemnly divorced themselves. He went into Zion and became "Brother Obed." She entered Hebron, and to her death was known as "Sister Albina." Their daughter, Maria, joined the "Sisterhood of Saron," under the name of "Petronella," and became a Sister of the Third Class. Soon after Höcker's arrival at Ephrata he became the school-master of the congregation, and in 1749 a building ("Succoth") was erected for his use, when he projected the plan of holding a school in the afternoons of the Sabbath. He maintained this Sabbath-school for more than thirty years before Robert Raikes introduced the present Sunday-school system. In a manuscript letter, in possession of the writer, he signs himself "Br. Obed, ein Wallender nach der Seeligen Ewigkeit."]

Brother Jacob Keller (B 33).—In the Lord fell asleep, in year 1794 the 10 March; his age was 87 y. and several mo. He was a peculiar man in his actions and Life, and walked in a God-agreeable path,—was already in his tender years from the Spirit of Eternity peculiarly from God apprehended; however afterwards to the woman came—and after that the same spirit induced him to journey to this Land, and did not rest until he to this Community came. He was a faithful and anxious Co-worker in the house of God—until in his advanced age; his venerable wife in her advanced age passed through much sorrow and pain and passed from this world in year 1787 the 24 May and thereafter he passed his Life in Silence with much fasting and prayer; in the 7 year passed to an edifying and Blessed end for 6 weeks he took no nourishment.

#### REGISTER

*For the Society of the Sisterhood in Saron.*

1744.

Sister Bernice (S 1).—Fell asleep in the Lord, the 30<sup>th</sup> (of) Janu(ary) her age 32 years. She was a peculiar Soul, in virginlike Life. She was the old Bro Leonhart Heits Daughter.

[A beautiful girl, who lived with her parents at Oley. After a visit from the Solitary Brethren to her father's house, she followed them to



Ephrata without the knowledge of her parents or the young man to whom she was betrothed, took the vows of eternal virginity, and joined the Sisters in Kedar. She died of consumption, and was buried at night by torch-light with much ceremony.]

**Sister Armella (I) (S 2).**—Fell asleep in the Lord the 23<sup>rd</sup> (of) October her age 32 year. She was a near relative with the old Bro. Diettrig Fahnestück. She was from Anwiell (Amwell, N.J.).

[A sister of Dietrich Fahnestock, the immigrant. She was the only Sister from the Amwell revival who remained steadfast.]

1746.

**Sister Rebecca (S 3).**—In the Lord fell asleep the 30<sup>th</sup> (of) May her age 34 years, and 5 Month. She was formerly the Bro: Peter Gehr, his wife.

1747.

**Sister Rosa (S 4).**—On the 13<sup>th</sup> of December in the Lord fell asleep, her age 19 years. 7 months She was the old Peter Läszele his youngest daughter.

[Daughter of Peter Lässle, Sr., and sister to Phoebe (Föben, S 25). She entered the Sisterhood in Kedar as soon as she attained her eighteenth year, and died shortly after her time of probation was over.]

1748.

**Sister Tecla (Thekla) (S 5).**—On the 6<sup>th</sup> (of) October: in the Lord fell asleep, her age 30 years—8 months She was the aged Bro: Peter Klopff, his faithfull Daughter.

[She is credited with composing several hymns in the "Turtle Taube."]

**Sister Drusiana (S 6).**—On the 7<sup>th</sup> (of) December in the Lord fell asleep, her Age (was) 28 years: 11 Mont. She was the aged Bro Peter Höffle his Daughter.

[Came to Ephrata from Falkner's Swamp, after the revival in 1734, and was only fifteen years of age when she joined the Sisterhood.]

1749.

**Sister Priscam (S 7).**—On the 20th (of) February in the Lord fell asleep, her age (was) 28 years. She was the aged Bro Jacob Graff his Daughter.

[She was the composer of several hymns in the "Turtle Taube."]

1750.

**Sister Teresia (S 8).**—On the 2 April in the Lord fell asleep. Her age (was) 30 years. She was the aged Bro: Stattler's Daughter.

[Daughter of Barbara Stattlerin.]

**Sister Genofeva (S 9).**—On the 12th (of) August in the Lord fell asleep. Her age (was) 32 years 2 months, 10 days She was a Daughter of Aged Bro: Martin Funk.

[Sister to Brother Obadiah, and is credited with the authorship of several spiritual hymns.]

**Sister Eunicke (S 10).**—On the 24th (of) October in the Lord fell asleep her age (was) 70 years. She was once very devout God fearing widow (who) had already much in Germany suffered.

[The wife of Philip Hanselmann, and came to the Community from Germantown in 1730, with the wife of Christopher Saur.]

1753.

**Sister Eufemia (S 11).**—Fell asleep in the Lord the 3rd (of) May. She was the aged Traut his Daughter.

[Daughter of Henry Traut, who had been a prominent member in the Baptist Community, in Germantown. Sister Eufemia was a member of the Seventh Class in the Sisterhood of Saron, and was the first who died after its reorganization.]

**Sister Sincretica (S 12).**—On the 5th (of) July in the Lord fell asleep in her age 51 years. She was the aged Stattlerin her Daughter, and was a Müllerin.

[Maria Stattler, the oldest daughter of Barbara Stattlerin, was one of the first four maidens who pledged themselves to a communal life and took

up their residence in Kedar. Sincretica was one of the ruling spirits in the Sisterhood and for years one of the sub-superintendents of the order.]

1754.

Sister Maria Bauman (S 13).—On the 11th of June in the Lord fell asleep, her age was 28 year.

1755.

Sister Juliana (S 14).—On the 1st (of) March in the Lord fell asleep She but one year before from Deutsch(land) came.

1757.

Sister Naemi (S 15).—On the 14th Sep(tember) in the Lord fell asleep, her age 33 years, 3 months: She was the aged Dani(el) Eicher his youngest Daughter.

[The youngest daughter of Daniel Eicher (No. 164 in Register) and sister to "Mutter Maria," the Prioress of the Sisterhood. She was a member of the Fifth Class of the Sisterhood, and is known to have written several spiritual hymns.]

1758.

Sister Eusebia (S 16).—On the 5th Sep(tember) in the Lord fell asleep her age (was) 36 years. She was a Bäseler (cousin) of the Venerable Superintendent. She was a Beisselsin.

1761.

Sister Persida (S 17).—On the 3d (of) June in the Lord fell asleep, her age 44 years. She was one Daughter of the aged Bro: Albrich Schuck.

1762.

Sister Joseba (S 18).—On the 1st (of) December in the Lord fell asleep her age 42 years—3 weeks She was an Awakened (one) from Deutschland.

1763.

Sister Catherina Böhler (S 19).—Fell asleep in the Lord, the 1<sup>st</sup> (of) March her age was 29 years 7 months, She had a Very pious Mother.



1767.

Sister Albina (S 20).—Died (on) the 29<sup>th</sup> (of) April at noontime before 1 O'clock.

[Margretha Höcker, the wife of Ludwig Höcker, "Bro Obed," the school-master of the Community.]

1770.

Sister Bassilla (S 21).—On the 9<sup>th</sup> (of) Novem(ber) in the Lord fell asleep, her age (was) 48 years 9 months She was the Aged Bro: Peter Höffle his 2<sup>nd</sup> Daughter.

[Elizabeth Höffle, a Sister in the Fifth Class, who composed several hymns in the "Turtle Taube."]

1773.

Sister Rahel (S 22).—On the 11<sup>th</sup> Novem(ber) in the Lord fell asleep, her age (was) 49 years 9 mon(th)s She was the Bro: Sealthiel's his faithfull Daughter.

[Maria Landert, the oldest daughter of Sigmund Landert, who built the chapel adjoining Kedar, so that the latter be changed into a Sister Convent, and his two daughters be received among their number. The younger daughter soon returned to the world.]

1782.

Sister Armella (II) (S 23).—On the 30<sup>th</sup> of March in the Lord fell asleep her age (was) 60 years. She was from the Gemsheimer Awakening (Revival).

[Catherina Hennrich ("Armella" the second) came to Ephrata, in 1751, from Gemsheimer, in the Palatinate. She was an active nurse in Zion during the Revolution.]

Sister Constantia (S 24).—On the 31<sup>st</sup> (of) October in the Lord fell asleep her age 50 years 3 mo(nths). She was the Bro Valentin Mack his daughter, and one grand Daughter of the Aged Johann Hildebrand.

[Elizabeth Mack was a daughter of Marie Hildebrand, "Sister Abigail," one of the four original Sisters who took up their residence in "Kedar," but shortly afterwards married Valentine Mack. Some years after she returned to the Sisterhood, with her daughter, who became Sister Constantia.]

1784.

Sister Föben (S 25).—On the 4<sup>th</sup> (of) March in the Lord fell asleep, her age 66 years—6 months. She was the aged Bro Peter Laszle his Daughter. She has within the 47 years with the Sisterhood dwelled.

[Christianna Lässle, daughter of Peter Lässle, was one of the first Sisters at Kedar, joining the order when but nineteen years of age.]

Sister Maria (S 26).—On the 24<sup>th</sup> (of) Decem(ber) in the Lord fell asleep. Her age 74 years. She was the aged Bro Daniel Eicher's Daughter and was for a time Superintendant over the Sisters. She had already died when we to her came.

[Maria Eicher, "Mutter Maria," one of the most remarkable women among the Sisterhood, with her elder sister, Anna, were the first two of their sex who followed Beissel into seclusion. They first went to Mill Creek in 1726, and thence to the Cocalico in 1732, where they formed the nucleus of the Ephrata Sisterhood. From the start she was the ruling spirit and Prioress, and was also the first to adopt a distinctive dress.]

1785.

Sister Augusta (S 27).—On the 19<sup>th</sup> (of) May in the Lord fell asleep her age was 69 years. She was from the Württenbergerischen.

1791.

Sister Petronella (S 28).—In the Lord fell asleep, the 27<sup>th</sup> (of) July, her age 52 years 11 months. She was Bro Obed his Daughter of Pharren family (Geschlecht) from her tender youth, (she) was drawn into this Lot. She did however with her father dwell up to her end; God did her with much tribulation afflict; and did almost 4 years lay sick and much misery experienced until her End.

[Maria Höcker, the daughter of Brother Obed and Sister Albina, and is credited with writing a number of hymns.]

1742.

Did Sister Catarina Thomäsin (S 29) die.—Which was forgotten; She was a loving soul (and) had in Switzerland

much persecution experienced for God's Sake, She did not long in this Society Dwell, her age was 40 years.

## 1786.

Sister Eufrosina (S 30).—On the 16 April in the Lord fell asleep, her age 77 years 5 mo : She was from the Anweller Awakening.

[Catherina Gartner or Gitter, who came to Ephrata about 1740 from Amwell in New Jersey.]

Sister Seforam (S 31).—On the 29 August in the Lord fell asleep, her age 74 year, She was also a Beislein from the Gemsheimer Awakening.

Sister Jael (S 32).—On the 14 January in the Lord fell asleep her age 74 year 6 mo. She was the aged Bro : Johann Majers Daughter, and one of the first Sisters, who in Ephra dwelled together, and has by 51 year lived here, and was with a great funeral followed to the Grave.

[Barbara Mayer, one of the four original Sisters of Kedar. Her family were among the first to follow the leadership of Beissel. Her father was baptized in the Pequea November 12, 1724, and it was on his motion that Beissel was made teacher of the congregation. Sister Jael was one of the rulers of the Sisterhood, and was generally beloved for her amiable disposition. She was also one of the most active nurses in Zion during the Revolution.]

## 1795.

S: Hanna (S 33).—Fell asleep in the Lord, the 31<sup>st</sup> of October, her age 79 years 10 mo : who came to Ephrata in the year 1739, though an only child, she left her fathers house, and became a faithfull fellow warrior in the economy of Jesu Christi, her life was edifying, until her end. She was by birth a ——— And in Germany had already been among the Awakened persons.

[Said to be Veronica Funk, who contributed several hymns to the Ephrata collection.]

## 1796.

S: Eugenia (S 34).—In the Lord fell asleep the 23 Aper age was 81 years—1 mo. 3 days.



[Catherine Hagemann, one of the first to enter the Sisterhood, and succeeded Sister Marcella (wife of Chr. Sauer) as Sub-Prioress. When Mother Maria was deposed, Eugenia succeeded her to the office.]

1797.

Sister Katura (S 35).—In the Lord fell asleep the 10 October her age 79 year 8 month.

[Elizabeth Eckstein, who came to Ephrata in 1743. She contributed a number of hymns to the Ephrata collection.]

1798.

Sister Zenobia (S 36).—Died the 14 March, 1798 her age 72 year 9 mo.

[Susanna Stattler, who is described as having been a beautiful, lovely, and devout girl.]

1799.

Sister Pauolina (S 37).—Died the 5 february 1799 was Old 77 year 5 month.

[A sister to Johannes Müller, and is mainly remembered by the huge hamper she wove in her room, which proved too large for the cell-door, and remains there a monument to her industry (and miscalculation) to the present time.]

1803.

Sister Efigenia (S 38).—In the Lord fell asleep the 29 March her age 86 year 2 mo. 6 day.

[Said to be Anna Lichty. She was a member of the First Class, and had charge of the "Schreibstube" of the Kloster. She was noted for her fine penmanship. It is stated that most of the "Fraktur Schrift" in the Saal are specimens of her work. The volume of sample alphabets still preserved in Ephrata was her work, assisted by Sister Athanasia.]

Sister Athanasia (II) (S 39).—Died the 24 November.

[Anna Thomen, first known as Sister Tabea.]

Sister Blandina (S 40).—Died the 23 April, 1799 was old 62 year 5 month.

Sister Sara (S 41).—Died the 6. January 1808, was old 78 year 6 weeks.

Sister Sofya (S 42).—Died the 14<sup>th</sup> of July, was old 82 year 5 months and 6 days.

Sister Meloniga (S 43).—Died the 19<sup>th</sup> September 1813 her age 87 years and 6 month.

[A Sister noted for her fine penmanship and manuscript notes and music.]

Sister Lucia (S 44).—Died in the year 18—.

[A Sister of the Fifth Class, and the last of the Sisterhood of Saron.]

MEMOIR OF ISRAEL DANIEL RUPP, THE HISTORIAN.

[Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, January 13, 1879.]

BY PROFESSOR OSWALD SEIDENSTICKER.

The local history of Pennsylvania has a literature which may be viewed with just satisfaction, if not with pride. Of countries, towns, churches, institutions, and families, not a few have found able spokesmen, and the historian of the State may build upon these local records as upon a firm and broad foundation. Of all this wealth of information very little indeed was to be found forty or fifty years ago. If we ask who was one of the pioneers in the arduous task of gathering materials widely scattered, of blending a thousand facts into an instructive story, of training the people to a proper appreciation of their local history, I believe that honor will hardly be disputed to belong to our lately deceased member Mr. Israel Daniel Rupp. It is, therefore, eminently fit that the Historical Society of Pennsylvania should pay its tribute of respect and gratitude to a man who has done so much towards furthering the very objects for which this Society was instituted.

As far as his standing as an historian is concerned, Mr. Rupp has carved out his own career. There was nothing in the surroundings of his birth and early training that augured the distinction which he has attained. It was his father's pride to bring up his sons as thrifty farmers and good citizens. There was no library like this to develop his taste in the direction of historical inquiry, no institute of learning to initiate him in the ways of an author, not even a prominent scholar to serve him as a model. He was, in the best sense, a self-educated man, and whatever opportunities he had were of his own making.

Israel Daniel Rupp was born July 10, 1803, in East Pennsboro' (now Hampden) Township, Cumberland County, Penn-



sylvania. From his carefully-written memorials we learn that his grandfather, Jonas Rupp, a native of Reihen, near Sinsheim, in Baden, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1751. He at once applied himself to farming; married, in 1755, Anna Maria Elizabeth Borst, and bought, in 1772, a farm on the Providence tract, in Cumberland County, the same place where Daniel Rupp was born. Jonas Rupp had nine children,—five sons and four daughters. George, the father of the subject of this memoir, was born in 1772, and married, in 1800, Christina Boeshor, with whom he had fourteen children.

In the fall of 1807, Daniel, then only four years old, was sent to the log school-house at Friedenskirch. Seventy years of a busy life did not obliterate the affectionate remembrance in which he held that little school, his venerable teacher, Peter Blaeser, and his fellow-pupils, whose names he was able to record in his last book, the "Family Register," published in 1875. In the family and school German only was spoken, and to Daniel the English was a foreign tongue. No wonder he did not relish the instruction of his next teacher, a Mr. Kelso, who knew only English, and tried to come to a mutual understanding with his bewildered scholars by the frequent application of the rod.

Whatever were the shortcomings of these scanty and frequently-interrupted school terms, Daniel had one teacher whose language needs no interpreter, whose voice, sweet and instructive, appeals directly to the senses and the heart. Nature, in her varied forms, the starry heavens and the teeming earth, spoke to him with an eloquence full of meaning and fascinating power.

That much of his boyhood was spent in active life upon the farm, and that he found his pastime in sports such as a wooded country affords, he never had reason to regret. He owed to this apprenticeship a healthy frame, industrious habits, self-reliance, and the art of being content with little.

While thus employed his eager mind imbibed all instruction that floated in his way. As he grew up he became an attentive reader, works on history, political economy, and

religion being his favorite choice. Before he was eighteen years old he organized, with his companions, an evening school for mutual improvement, and in the wake of it a debating society.

Of his maternal grandfather he learned Dutch, of Rev. Mr. Vorhoof the rudiments of Latin and French. Still, up to his twentieth year the path of life that lay mapped out before him was that of a Cumberland County farmer. The circumstance that led to a change in his career was a severe attack of sickness, brought on by over-exertion in the summer heat of August, 1823. For nearly two days he lay in a comatose state, and his life was trembling in the balance. His kind physician, Dr. Asa Herring, of Mechanicsburg, while making every exertion to restore him to health, became much interested in the talented young man, and when Mr. Rupp, whose literary taste had become more decidedly developed during the period of his convalescence, concluded to pursue a systematic course of study with the ultimate object of choosing the medical profession, Dr. Herring afforded him all assistance in his power. Mr. Rupp moved to Mechanicsburg and toiled faithfully to acquire a knowledge of the ancient languages,—Hebrew, the higher English branches, and physiology. But his heart, he soon found, was not drawn towards the altar of *Æsculapius*. Instead of giving his life to a pursuit for which he felt no inner call, he would rather have returned to the farm. Still, he was loath to turn back from the world of letters which filled his soul with joyful anticipations. Being now well qualified by his literary attainments, and prompted by the bend of his mind to become a teacher, he decided to choose that profession. And now commenced a life so strangely checkered, so full of vicissitudes, plans entered upon and abandoned, employments accepted and resigned, that it would be impossible for us to follow up the details of his zigzag career.

Much work he did as a teacher. In 1825 he opened a subscription school near Silver Spring, and soon after in Mechanicsburg. In 1827 he conceived the plan of writing

a history of the Germans in Pennsylvania, and with a view of collecting materials became an itinerant bookseller, for a short time associated with Dr. Jacob Weaver. The financial outcome of the enterprise was not satisfactory. He continued his historical researches in the State archives at Harrisburg, where he also opened a school in 1828. But, unable to resist the whirl of political excitement, he gave up his school to electioneer for John Quincy Adams, and after the defeat of his party undertook a lecturing tour to recommend, explain, and teach what then was called the American system of English grammar, devised by James Brown. In 1830 we find him in Ohio, first in Cincinnati, where his first book—a German translation of “Fox’s Book of Martyrs”—appeared, and next as principal of an academy in Montgomery. At that time he was no more in the single state. He was married, July 19, 1827, to Miss Caroline Aristide, daughter of Dr. Philip Aristide, a native of France. In the winter of 1831, with his family, he moved to Pleasant Township, Marion County, where, soon after his arrival, he was appointed postmaster at a station called Rupp’s. In 1832 he returned to Pennsylvania to resume once more his profession as teacher. Within the next ten years he was, however, busily engaged in many other lines of employment. In 1833 he edited the *Carlisle Herald*; in 1837, the *Practical Farmer*; he translated from German into English Schabalie’s “Wandering Soul,” organized social libraries, debating societies, and county lyceums, lectured on temperance, addressed teachers’ institutes, and acted as a delegate to political conventions. How indefatigable a laborer he was may be judged by the fact that, with all these miscellaneous occupations, he found time to prepare for the press numerous books,—of which in 1836 alone not less than five were printed, partly translations and partly originals in English and German; and in the next year, besides writing a book on practical farming, he furnished an English translation of that huge folio, “Der blutige Schauplatz oder Märtyrer Spiegel,” by Tieleman van Braght, in a royal octavo volume of ten hundred and forty-eight pages. At the same time



he never lost sight of the great work, with which, more than anything else, was bound up the aim of his life,—namely, the history of his native State. A title-page, printed as an advertisement or circular in 1843, shows that he designed at that time to issue a book bearing the title “The Pennsylvanian’s Own Book; or, The Annals and Chronicles of Pennsylvania.” While intent upon a work of so comprehensive a character he had accumulated rich stores of local information, and concluded, in 1842, to utilize them by writing county histories. The first taken in hand was the “History of Lancaster County.” It appeared in 1844, and was speedily followed by others in the same year,—Berks and Lebanon Counties; in 1845 by two volumes,—one containing the history of York County, the other that of Northampton, Lehigh, Monroe, Carbon, and Schuylkill Counties. In 1846 two more volumes were added,—one the “History of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties,” the other entitled “The Early History of Western Pennsylvania,” a large octavo volume of seven hundred and sixty-seven pages. In the following year, 1847, the history of Northumberland, Huntingdon, Mifflin, Centre, Union, Columbia, Juniata, and Clinton Counties furnished the materials for another volume. There appeared also, in 1844, quite an extensive work planned and edited by Mr. Rupp, “The History of Religious Denominations in the United States.”

The collection of thirty thousand names of German and Swiss immigrants, published, 1856, in Harrisburg, and in a second edition, 1876, in Philadelphia, closes the series of Mr. Rupp’s contributions to the history of Pennsylvania as far as printed in book-form. It should be added that he furnished, during his long life, to magazines and newspapers a large number of valuable articles upon historical subjects, and that several manuscripts, among which the “Original Fireside History of German and Swiss Immigrants in Pennsylvania” is the most extensive, yet await publication.

It is merely repeating a fact, generally acknowledged, to say that Mr. Rupp’s labors upon the field of local history

are second in importance to no others. His books are justly valued as a rich storehouse of information. They are indispensable to every inquirer into the history of Pennsylvania; you find them used and quoted or used though not quoted by all writers who have gone over the same ground as he. Their chief merit consists in having saved from oblivion and brought to light valuable material scattered in a thousand localities or hidden in some out-of-the-way place. He not only consulted printed books, but went to the archives of the State, the surveyor's and recorder's office, the county and township magistrates, the parson, the register of wills, the old inhabitant with long memory, the family record, the tombstone with its weather-beaten epitaph. His wayfaring life, that brought him into personal contact with many thousands of persons, gave him peculiar facilities for the task he had undertaken. He was aided, too, by his winning manners, by his pleasant and affable approach, and his readiness not only to receive but also to impart information,—qualities which opened to him the hearts and confidence of men.

In giving the results of his labors to the public Mr. Rupp clothed them in a plain, unostentatious garb, best suited to the subject and conforming with his own habits, which disdained affectation and tinsel. But simplicity does not imply coldness and indifference. Far from marshalling a dull array of facts and figures, he betrays a sympathetic warmth for his subject which makes itself felt by the reader.

It must be regretted that no opportunity was afforded to Mr. Rupp of bringing out new editions of his books, which have long been scarce; and, in justice to him, it should be borne in mind that he could not himself attend to the correction of the proof-sheets, and that the careless manner in which the printing was done has introduced many errors into his volumes. The numerous marginal notes, corrections, and additions which he has inserted in his own copies testify to his unremitting labor and his wish to improve upon the published editions.

We have followed Mr. Rupp's career up to the time when his county histories appeared. The rest must be briefly

told. There were again periods of scholastic employment, such as the management of a school in Manheim Township, Lancaster County (1847), of the Cumberland Valley Institute at Mechanicsburg (1857), and the Swatara Collegiate Institute at Jamestown, Lebanon County (1858-60). Between 1850 and 1874 he was at times engaged in the life-insurance business at Harrisburg and in Philadelphia.

A singular proof of the confidence reposed in him was his appointment, in 1866, together with Mr. John Wiest, to examine and report upon certain mining lands in Colorado. In charming letters, published in the *German Reformed Messenger* and other papers, he depicts the incidents of this journey. The varied information which he imparts on the geological features of the country, on the statistics of mining, the state and prospects of trade, and the customs of the people, is of surprising freshness, and proves him fully capable to deal with the facts of a novel situation.

The last years of his life Mr. Rupp spent in Philadelphia, mostly engaged upon literary labors. He enjoyed good health till within a week of his death, when a stroke of apoplexy signalized the approach of his dissolution. He died May 31, 1878, having nearly completed his seventy-fifth year, and about ten months after celebrating his golden wedding. Let me close this short sketch by recording some traits, which, while belonging to the man rather than to the author, should nevertheless find a place in the memoir of his life. In his capacity as teacher he was most conscientious in the performance of his duties and readily gained the love of his pupils. He devoted much thought and time to the best scheme for raising the standard of education and opening new channels for the diffusion of knowledge among all classes of the people. One of the means that he was very active in developing was the establishment of lyceums for mutual improvement. In 1825 one was formed at Mechanicsburg, which counted him among its most efficient members, and ten years later he made, in connection with Mr. Josiah Holbrook, a systematic effort to have lyceums spread over the whole State. In less than eight



months they helped to organize fifteen county lyceums, fifty township lyceums, and one hundred and twenty family lyceums.

Mr. Rupp felt, as a good citizen, in duty bound to use all the light given to him and all the power he could exert for the promotion of good government. While he never sought office, he was fully alive to the political issues of the nation. Taking sides with the Whig or National Republican party, he engaged quite actively in the presidential campaign of 1827 for John Quincy Adams against Andrew Jackson. While at Harrisburg, he reported the proceedings of the Senate for a newspaper, and earned some money—he states this fact himself in his diary—by writing speeches for members of both houses. The next presidential campaign found him likewise a spirited partisan. He was a delegate to the Republican Convention that met at Harrisburg May 29, 1832, and favored the nomination of Henry Clay.

Mr. Rupp kept a diary upwards of fifty years, noting down all that concerned him or attracted his notice. His written memoirs, based on it, contain also many of his addresses, the more important part of his correspondence, and display the whole course of his long and useful life, the most faithful portrait that he could leave to his family, to which he clung with affectionate love. Upon the turning of a new leaf in his life, either on his birthday or New Year's day, it was his custom to dot down the devout thoughts that filled his soul. Let us take leave of our departed friend and fellow-member by listening to one of these self-communions, which admits us to the inmost recess of his good and honest heart. On the 10th of July, 1866, he writes: "To-day I enter on my sixty-fourth year. I have great cause to praise God for thousands of temporal and spiritual blessings. I have suffered very little sickness. Vigor of body and mind remain unimpaired. To what cause have I to attribute all this but to a God who blessed me with a strong constitution and a will to abstain from anything detrimental to my health? I have had no anxious thoughts about 'the morrow,' no

anxiety to lay up dollars and cents for the sake of dollars and cents. I am well assured with industry and economy and the blessing of my Creator I shall not want any of the necessaries of life. . . . My natural wants are few. Luxuries I do not desire.”

The following are the published writings of Mr. Rupp :

1. *Geschichte der Märtyrer, nach dem ausführlichen Original des Ehrw. Johann Fox und anderer kurz gefasst, besonders für den gemeinen deutschen Mann in den Ver. Staaten von Nord-America aus dem Englischen übersetzt von I. Daniel Rupp.* 514 pp. Cincinnati, 1830. New edition, 1832.

2. *Collection of Choice Sermons, by the Rev. J. C. Albertus Helfenstein.* Translated from the German by I. Daniel Rupp. 261 pp. Carlisle, 1832.

3. *Discipline of the Evangelical Association in the United States.* Translated from the German by I. Daniel Rupp. 218 pp. Harrisburg, 1832.

4. *The Wandering Soul.* Originally written in Dutch by John Philip Schabalie. Translated into German by B. B. Brechbill. Translated into English by I. D. Rupp. 504 pp. Philadelphia, 1833 (stereotyped).

5. *A Foundation and Instruction of the Saving Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, briefly compiled from the Word of God.* Translated from the Dutch into the German by Menno Simon. Translated into English by I. D. Rupp. 480 pp. Lancaster, 1835.

6. *Das ursprüngliche Christenthum, oder eine Vertheidigung des Worts Gottes, von Peter Nead.* Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von I. Daniel Rupp. 306 pp. Harrisburg, 1836.

7. *The Stolen Child, or Heinrich von Eichenfels.* Translated from the German by I. D. Rupp. 216 pp. Harrisburg, 1836.

8. *The Lyceum Spelling-Book.* An improved method to teach children to think and read, etc. By I. Daniel Rupp. 240 pp. Harrisburg, 1836.

9. *The Voyages and Five Years' Captivity in Algiers of Dr.*

G. S. F. Pfeiffer, with an Appendix giving a True Description of the Customs, Manners and Habits of the Different Inhabitants of the Country of Algiers. Translated from the 2d German edition by I. D. Rupp. 398 pp. Harrisburg, 1836.

10. The Geographical Catechism of Pennsylvania and the Western States. With maps. By I. Daniel Rupp. 384 pp. Harrisburg, 1836.

11. The Practical Farmer. By an association of practical farmers of Cumberland County, Pa. Edited by I. D. Rupp. 288 pp. Mechanicsburg, 1837.

12. The Bloody Theatre, or Martyr's Mirror, of the Defenceless Christians who suffered and were put to Death for the Testimony of Jesus their Saviour from the Time of Christ till the Year 1660. By Thieleman J. van Bracht. Translated into German, from which it is translated, compared with the original Dutch by I. Daniel Rupp. 1048 pp.

13. The Homœopathic Horse Doctor, by Dr. Busch. Translated from the original German manuscript by I. D. Rupp. 208 pp. Carlisle, 1842.

14. The Farmer's Complete Farrier. By I. D. Rupp. 416 pp. Harrisburg, 1843, and Lancaster, 1847.

15. History of Lancaster County, to which is prefixed a Brief Sketch of the Early History of Pennsylvania. Compiled from authentic sources by I. Daniel Rupp. 528 pp. Lancaster, 1844.

16. He Pasa Ekklesia. An original history of the religious denominations at present existing in the United States. By eminent professors, ministers, and lay members of the respective denominations. Projected, compiled, and arranged by I. D. Rupp. 734 pp. royal 8vo. Philadelphia, 1844.

17. History of the Counties of Berks and Lebanon, containing a Brief Account of the Indians, Murders, and Massacres by them, etc. By I. Daniel Rupp. 516 pp. Lancaster, 1844.

18. History of York County from 1719 to 1845, with an Appendix, Topography, Statistics, etc. By I. D. Rupp. 256 pp. Lancaster, 1845.



19. History of Northampton, Lehigh, Monroe, Carbon, and Schuylkill Counties, containing a Brief History of the First Settlers, etc. By I. Daniel Rupp. 568 pp. Harrisburg, 1845.

20. The History and Geography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties. By I. Daniel Rupp. 594 pp. Lancaster, 1845.

21. Early History of Western Pennsylvania and of the West and Western Expeditions and Campaigns, etc. By a gentleman of the bar. 752 pp. large octavo. Harrisburg, 1846.

22. History and Topography of Northumberland, Huntingdon, Mifflin, Centre, Union, Columbia, Juniata, and Union Counties, Pa. By I. Daniel Rupp. 566 pp. Lancaster, 1847.

23. The Catechism, or Plain Instructions from the Sacred Scriptures, etc. Published by the Christian Communion called Mennonites in Waldeck. Translated from the German by I. Daniel Rupp. 72 pp. Lancaster, 1849.

24. A Collection of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French, and other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727 to 1776, etc. By I. Daniel Rupp. 405 pp. Harrisburg.

— The same. Second revised edition with German translation. Philadelphia, 1876.

25. Short Quotations Concerning the Christian Doctrine of Faith according to the Testimony of the Sacred Scriptures. By Rev. Christopher Schultz (Pastor among the Schwenkfelders). Translated by I. Daniel Rupp. Skippackville, 1863.

*Manuscripts.*

*a.* Original Fireside History of German and Swiss Immigrants in Pennsylvania.

*b.* Monograph of German Mercenaries, especially of the Hessian Mercenaries in the British Service.

*c.* Defunct Scots in Pennsylvania.

*d.* Quinque Lingual Nomenclature, in English, Latin, Greek, German, and French.

LIST OF THE TAXABLES OF CHESTNUT, MIDDLE,  
AND SOUTH WARDS, PHILADELPHIA, 1754.

BY WILLIAM SAVERY.

Philadelphia in 1704 was divided into ten wards. The eastern front of the Delaware, from Vine to Walnut Streets, was in two divisions, Lower and Upper Delaware Wards. Their western boundary was Front Street, with High (Market) Street as the dividing line. From Walnut to Mulberry (Arch) Streets, and from Front to Second Streets, contained three wards, Walnut, Chestnut, and High. Mulberry Ward occupied the whole space between Front and Seventh Streets and Vine and Mulberry Streets. South, Middle, and North Wards (in the former stood the State-House) were formed out of the space between Mulberry and Walnut and Second and Seventh Streets. Dock Ward embraced all that portion of the city between the Delaware and Seventh Street and Walnut and Cedar Streets. From the Assessor's Book for the year 1754, we have compiled the names of the taxables of Chestnut, South, and Middle Wards, under the "Tax of Two pence on the pound and six Shillings  $\text{⌘}$  head Laid on the Estates of the Freeholders & Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia for Regulating and paving several bad places in the Streets, discharging certain Debts due from the City, and the Remainder of the said Tax to be Apply'd to such Publick Uses as the Magistrates and Assessors shall hereafter Direct." Joseph Lownes, Jacob Lewis, Bartholomew Penrose, and Joseph Watkins, the assessors, on August 20, 1754, made their return, which was confirmed by Charles Willing, Mayor; Tench Francis, Recorder; Benjamin Shoemaker and Benjamin Franklin, Magistrates, who thereupon appointed Joseph Trotter Treasurer, and William Savery Collector.

CHESTNUT WARD.

George Sheed	Philip Syng
Jeremiah Willis	Philip Syng Jr.
Solomon Willis	Richard Budden
William Faulkner	Joseph Turner
William Gove	Robert Ray
Thomas Williams	Joseph Morris
James Rowen	Hester Hood
Peter Perfountain	Godfrey Carty
Patrick Mottley	Mary Roberts
Francis House	Scott
Edward Philips	Delamain
John Drury	Charles Cox
Darby Murphey	Mary Ball
John Madding	William Ball
Peter Owen	David Franks
Cornelius Donovan	Robert Moore
James Downing	Amos Strettle
Ann Hall	Jacob Duché
Daniel Goodman	Charles Meredith
Thomas England	Isaac Williams
Thomas Williams	Sarah Harbut
William Trotter	Edward Clague
Peter David	David Gregory
John Dawson	William Murdock
Mordecai Yarnal	Alexander Tremble
John Lort	Thomas Leech
Josiah Bettle	Thomas Leech Jr.
William Bradford	Thomas Rooke
Owen Fling	Peter Calwell
Susannah Howard	Thomas Coatam
Hannah Brentnal	John Farris
William Nichols	Capt. Longbridge
Jonathan Zane	William Kilpatrick
William Savory	John Pines
Robert Kearns	William Peters
William Perry	William Sandwith
Martha Graham	William Smith
Thomas Preston	John Smith
Joshua Maddox	John Crage
John Wilkinson	Joshua Nicholson
John Ord	Joseph Davis
Joseph Redman	Thomas Overend
Jane Dugdale	Ann Mirando
George Mifflin	Samuel Johnston
Charles Stow	William Ballard
Peter Partridge	Abner Francis



John Knight	John Pickle
Peter Turner	Sarah Pickle
Deborah Claypole	Joseph Donalson
Samuel Mifflin	Samuel Johnson
Francis Richardson	William Sturgeon
Jeremiah Warder	Michael Egoff
Glover Hunt	Thomas Carey
John Mifflin	William Freeman
James Benezet	John Dealy
David Palmer	Arent Hassert
John Kearsley	Arent Hassert
Cornelia Bradford	Noel Ladrew
Ann Hasell	Richard Brookband

SOUTH WARD.

John Guest	Isaac Stretch
Widow House	John Sibbald
Joseph House	John Anderson
Caleb Cash	John Clarke
Jonathan Bears	James Calley
John Bollitho	Thomas Parkinson
George Sharswood	William Willson
Christopher Marshall	William M <sup>c</sup> Kim
George Pooley	Michael Roberts
Richard Peters	John Page
Robert Leavers	Thomas Dowdney
David Barns	Moses Foster
William Cox	John Cummins
Michael Sish	Thomas Hallowell
Nathan Bire	Jacob Lewis
Joseph Sailer	Richard Jones
Hugh Daniel	Owen Jones
John M <sup>c</sup> Cullagh	Edward Jones
William Jonah	James Pemberton
William Smith	Edward M <sup>c</sup> Daniel
Joseph Beaks	John Hubbs
Paul Refford	Charles Hallem
Elizabeth Kerr	John Elliott
John Fisher	William Condall
Adam Harker	John Kenney
Charles Ganderwin	Joseph Allison
William Adams	Michael Newhouse
James Thomson	Adam Shay
James Whitten	Edward Kenney
Samuel Mason	John M <sup>c</sup> Craw
Robert Hasslett	John Perkins
Robert Tempest	William Leech

James Laremore	Patrick Ogelbey
Robert Carrithers	Joseph Howell
Samuel Jones	John Cunningham
Charles Norris	Henry Rathell
Deborah Norris	Samuel Rathell
James Johnson	John Mitchell
Benjamin Brittan	David Marris
John Smith	John Wallace
Samuel Harwood	Robert Cornish
Rachel Pemberton	Israel Pemberton
John Pemberton	William Dickenson
Jonah Thomson	Jane Grant
John Stagg	Peter Moore
William Green	William Hudson
John Cross	John Rouse
James Logan	Robert Cross
Thomas Gilbert	John Garrigues
Mary Jones	Joseph Hallowell
John Arskins	Thomas Cash
John Gass	Widow Peters
Ann Rakestraw	Samuel Garrigues
Sophia Fielding	William Smith
John Mitchell	John Jones Jr.
Joseph Arthur	John Jones
Anthony Stocker	John Cottenger
Gibbs	Ann Dawson
John Gedan	William Hollenshead
William Henderson	William Hurst
David Beavan	William Rausted
Allen M <sup>c</sup> Clain	Alexander Seaton
William Cuzzens	Samuel Bittle
John Hood	Nathaniel Goforth
Jonathan Hood	Alexander Sage
Samuel Simson	William Sage
John Dixon	Archibald Stewart
Samuel Shewrath	John Drinker
Patrick Miller	Samuel Lewis
James Whitall	Sampson Levey
Dennis Sulavan	Newburgh Chease
Robert Fleming	Morton Quin
Hugh Judge	Stephen Vidal
Morris Hunt	John Hinton
Joseph Ogden	Ebenezer Robeson
Charles Hewes	Edward Snead
Thomas Stretch	

## MIDDLE WARD.

John Biddle	James Spear
Benjamin Shoemaker	John Moore
John Correy	Tench Francis
Charles Duttens	Robert Manypenny
Martin Catter	Berwick Marshall
Charles Jones	Sarah Evans
Edward Collins	Joseph Merriott
Daniel Swan	John Bissell
Reuben Foster	Samuel Bissell
Andrew Creavile	William Bissell
Jacob Miller	John Grimwood
Samuel Best	John Eversley
Frederick Fox	Godfrey Hank
Samuel Burkelow	George Westcott
Frederick Stonemates	Nathaniel Daniel
Eden Haddock	Edward Farmer
George Cunningham	Peter Bloomshear
Michael O'Hara	Joseph Lownes
George Cunningham Jr.	Joseph Lownes Jr.
Samuel Foster	Elizabeth Rakestraw
Charles Brockden	Joseph Rakestraw
Elizabeth Miller	James Whitehead
James Jacobs	Peter Grigg
Anthony Duclé	Richard Wagstaff
David Erwine	Samuel Simson
Harman Fist	George Gray
Christopher Fort	Richard Parker
Sarah Manen	Edward Thomas
George Hert	Robert Smith
John Spield	James Clackson
Andrew Climer	Thomas Dunbar
Nicholas Yert	James Black
Conrad Housen	Joseph Craue
John Sayre	Abraham Dolby
George Webster	Matliias Abel
Daniel Stanton	Sarah Perry
Obediah Eldridge	Andrew Farrell
Thomas Pearce	Adam Roseborrow
Robert Holland	Daniel Jones
John Dite	John Benson
Joseph Bell	James Hustin
Isaac Moss	Joseph Parker
Thomas Apty	Thomas Akely
John Lownes	Samuel Kirk
Alexander Stedman	James Haselton
Thomas Jarvis	John Wilkiuson Jr.



Mark Kuhl	Joseph Stretch
William Gray	John Warder
Joseph Galloway	James Eddy
John Clarkson	John Howard
James M <sup>c</sup> Cracken	Joseph Trotter
John Petty	Joseph Trotter Jr.
George Wayn	John Jervis
Samuel Kuhl	Charles Jervis
Robert Ibison	William Grant
Jaeob Barge	Mary Taylor
Griffith Jones	Joseph Maule
Peter Fatter	William Millen
Hannah Pearson	James Kinsey
George Dueate	Abraham Skinner
Charles Rouse	Martha Skinner
Aaron Davis	Richard Farmer
John Ottenhamer	John Hatkinson
David Edwards	John White
George Emlen	John Holloway
Francis Hall	Daniel Dupee
Mary M <sup>c</sup> Intire	George Morrison
Thomas Steel	George Warner
Hugh Murray	John Blakely
Joseph Redman	John Blakely
Mathias Shady	Samuel Emlen
William Smith	Andrew Bankson
Anthony Benezet	Jacob Bankson
John Wilson	Robert Towers
Lewis Garman	Isaac Corren
Caleb Evans	John Burr
Thomas Mire	James M <sup>c</sup> Cullagh
Henry Henny	William Falkner
Isaac Lobden	James Coltas
Thomas Steel	Jane Williams
Andrew Kees	Isaac Corren
Hannah Hudson	Jacob Shoemaker
Joseph Wey	Thomas Siddens
Anthony Martin	Peter Keen
Mary Ann Hunt	John Williams
Samuel Shaw	Thomas Bartholomew
Edmund Windor	Elioner Dexter
Mary Lingard	John Eires
Matthew Drayson	William Sweeten
Edward Masters	Jonathan Shoemaker
Hannah Boydt	George Shoemaker
John Preston	Samuel M <sup>c</sup> Murray
Patrick O'Neal	William Wood

420 *List of Taxables of Chestnut, Middle, and South Wards.*

Thomas Lacey	Miles Smith
John Hains	Robert Fletcher
Widow Jones	Thomas Cooper
William Davis	William Hall
Edmund Davis	Samuel Hill
William Davis Jr.	John Oliver
Christopher Fitzgerald	John M <sup>c</sup> Cape
Edmund Nehile	Morris Smith
Morrice Nehile	William Cooper
Paul Eslim	Thomas Dodge
Christian Houke	Catharine Spangler
Frederick Craser	Mary Harmison
Widow Arnold	Rachel Nixon
John Miller	William Arbour
Thomas Mitchell	Samuel Gray
Caspar Henry	Content Nicholson
James Haze	Jonathan Norton
Caspar Gasner	Enoch Flower
John Barron	Edward Lewis
Thomas Middleton	Hezekiah Kimble
John Beals	William Williams
James Ennis	Lydia Bittle
Edward Wright	James Adams
Mary Clark	Simeon Warner
John George	Robert Coe
Samuel Davis	William Smith
William M <sup>c</sup> Clean	Nathan Trotter
Charles Pateman	Benjamin Betterton
Hugh Gunning	William Betterton
John Heathcott	Samuel Howell
Evan Thomas	John Doyle
John Mathers	Paul Isaac Votts
Richard Ferguson	James Lloyd
Peter Jones	John Shippey
John Nerry	Richard Humphries
John Linnard	Peter Sutor
Plunkett Fleeson	Christian Grassholt
Benjamin Kendal	Humphrey Class
Peter Howard	John Cresson
George Plim	Joshua Pearson
Thomas Kite	

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER-BOOK OF SAMUEL  
RHOADS, JR., OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY HENRY D. BIDDLE.

“PHILADELPHIA June 5<sup>th</sup> 1762.

“FRIEND CHARLES FORD

“I am a young man just entering into Business—have occasion for such Goods as were formerly ship’d by thee to my late master Francis Rawle, & being inform’d of thy inclination to continue a correspondence with such as may succeed him in the Business have therefore made free to inclose a small order for sundry Goods which I desire may be ship’d as soon as possible—getting them insured. I hope the correspondence will be maintain’d to mutual advantage, as I hope to be served as my late master was, & shall allways endeavour to make my remittance in season—shall send thee a Bill in part by the next opp<sup>ty</sup> &

“Remain thy Frd.

“S. RHOADS JUN<sup>R</sup>.”<sup>1</sup>

“PHILAD<sup>A</sup> Octob<sup>r</sup> 6. 1763.

“RESPECTED FRIEND

“RICH<sup>D</sup> NEAVE

“Above is a copy of my last  $\text{p}$ . packet since w<sup>ch</sup> I recd thy Favour dated June 3<sup>rd</sup> acquainting me with an omission of a parcel of Shalloous. . . .

“As I am about closing my accounts with several with

<sup>1</sup>The writer of these letters, Samuel Rhoads, usually styled “the younger,” was the son of Samuel Rhoads, who was mayor of Philadelphia in 1774. They are extracted from his first Letter-Book. He was born in 1740, and married, June 27, 1765, Sarah, daughter of Israel Pemberton. His children were Mary, died unmarried October 25, 1788; Elizabeth, who married Samuel W. Fisher, and died February 22, 1796, leaving four children; and Samuel, who married Mary Drinker, and died June 8, 1810, also leaving four children. He died December 14, 1784, and letters testamentary on his estate were granted to his widow, Sarah, and brother-in-law, Thomas Franklin, December 31, 1784.



whom I have dealt with, and Intend to confine myself more with thee, must desire thy quickest Disptch, as I am a young man, & have not as yet settled so large a Trade. My Business will pretty much depend on having my Goods in season; good patterns and good Quality, which will I hope enable me to make good pay.

“I have desired David Potts, a young man of my acquaintance in this city to settle an account with Charles Ford of Manchester, with whom I used to deal, & to whom I have remitted as much as I think will discharge my Debt, but in case it should not be quite sufficient, I have desired him to call on thee for the Remainder w<sup>ch</sup> I hope thou will pay & Excuse this Freedom as it would be almost Impossible for me to get a Bill for the exact Ballance.

“David Potts is esteemed among us as a very worthy young man, of a Family of great Fortune, if he should have occasion for any services of thine, I hope thou will kindly render 'em which will further oblige & be deem'd as confer'd on thy Frd. . . .

“I am w<sup>th</sup> great Respect thy Frd.

“S. RHOADS JUN<sup>R</sup>.”

“PHILAD<sup>A</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> May 1764.

“ESTEEMED FRIENDS

“NEATE PIGOU & BOOTH

“My last was dated 11<sup>th</sup> April covering Bills for £450 ₤. packet, since which none of your Favours. . . .

“The scarcity of Money added to the Probability of having no more Paper Currency made here, Renders Trade very dull as well as very precarious. Have therefore contracted my Fall order, which I have enclos'd, & have to desire you'd send 'em by the first vessel giving the Preference to the Hanover Packet should she sail first but not otherways.

“If Jemmy Logan should call on you for a small Ballance, please to pay him.

“I am with great Respect your Frd

“SAMUEL RHOADS JUN<sup>R</sup>.”

“ PHILAD<sup>A</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1764.

“ ESTEEMED FRDS

“ NEATE PIGOU & BOOTH

“ . . . In sending the Goods contain'd in my last order for the Fall, & a small order now enclos'd, I Request, (if my little Business is at all worth your Notice), that I may be able to sell 'em on the same Terms as others do, who I know makes but the same kind of pay with myself. I need not say much of future Dealings, because I fear that all our Trade with you must come to an End, for nothing can be more certain than its Intirely ceasing if your Legislature will carry into Execution those Resolves formed by the Committee of the whole House of Commons. If you will deprive us of all Medium of Trade among ourselves, we shall not be able to export Provisions &c. in the same Degree as formerly, & if we are not on any Terms allow'd a Trade to get Money from abroad, we shall have none to pay you for Goods, & then unless you will send them Gratis our Dealings must end. . . .

“ I conclude your Friend

“ SAMUEL RHOADS, JUN<sup>R</sup>.”

“ PHILADELPHIA, 20<sup>th</sup> Octob<sup>r</sup> 1764.

“ ESTEEMED FRDS

“ NEATE PIGOU & BOOTH

“ Since my last I am favour'd with yours ꝯ the King of Prussia & Hanover Packet covering Invoices for sundry Goods which are come safe to hand, & your Dispatch in sending them so quick is hereby acknowledged w<sup>th</sup> Gratitude.

“ Shou'd have been glad if this Remittance had been larger, but must assure you, that the late Acts of Parliament for restraining our Trade, & the Medium of it—our Paper Currency, & the Prospect of further Impositions damps the Spirits of our Customers—that they now handle English Goods with fearful apprehensions, least the Means of making Paying shou'd be utterly out of their Power.

“ Our Mother Country has long rec<sup>d</sup> in Trade the whole sum of our Cash, & if she should Persist in the Scheme of

Taxes, we hope her Merchants will satisfy the authors of that Scheme that besides the Inglorious act of enslaving us they will ruin the English Trade in America. I am,

“ With respect &c

“ SAMUEL RHOADS JUN<sup>R</sup>.”

“ PHILAD<sup>A</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> October 1765.

“ ESTEEMED FRDS

“ NEATE PIGOU & BOOTH

“ This serves to Inclose you John Powell’s Draft on M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Law, Merch<sup>t</sup> in London, for £140 St<sup>g</sup>, as likewise Elias Bland’s Draft on Tho<sup>s</sup> Mann in London for £60 St<sup>g</sup>, and Brian Philpot’s Draft on Messrs. Mildred & Roberts in London for £22.10 St<sup>g</sup>, which I hope will be duly honoured. . . .

“ We have recd the Chaise & Return you many Thanks for your Care, have not yet had time to examine it, but make no doubt we shall fault nothing but the great Price—shall when examined let you know if anything be wanting.

“ Please to observe that Elias Bland’s Draft is intended to discharge the account of the Chaise, which with the money paid you by my Frd Franklin,<sup>1</sup> will be I believe more than sufficient. I am with Respect your assured Frd

“ SAM<sup>L</sup> RHOADS, JR.”

<sup>1</sup> This “ Friend Franklin” may mean Benjamin Franklin, who was an intimate friend and correspondent of his father, but more probably refers to his brother-in-law, Thomas Franklin, who was the son of Thomas and Mary (Pearsall) Franklin, of New York, and was born March 22, 1734. He married, February 15, 1764, Mary, daughter of Samuel Rhoads the elder. Their children were,—

1. Ann Paschall F., born 1769, who married Israel Pemberton Pleasants, and left numerous descendants.

2. Walter F., born in New York in 1773. During his minority his father removed to Philadelphia. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in April, 1794. In 1809 he was appointed attorney-general of Pennsylvania; in 1811 appointed president judge of the Courts of Common Pleas of the second judicial district of Pennsylvania, which then comprised the counties of Lancaster, York, and Dauphin. He married first, in 1797, Sarah Howell, of Tacony, who died in 1798, and second, July 13, 1802, Anne, daughter of James Emlen. He removed to Lan-



“PHILAD<sup>A</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> March 1766.

“ESTEEMED FRDS

“RICHEAD NEAVE & SON

“I was in hopes by this Oppertunity of Remitting you something handsome, but such is the Confusion of the Times owing to the Stamp Act, & other Restrictions, as to render it impossible, must therefore beg Indulgence for a little longer time, hoping a Repeal or Suspension of the Stamp Act will give a more favourable turn to our affairs, for in our present Situation we can recover no outstanding Debts by a course of Law, neither can we obtain any satisfactory Security, but hope very shortly to Remit to your full satisfaction.

“I am with esteem your Friend

“SAM<sup>L</sup> RHOADS JUN<sup>R</sup>.”

“PHILAD<sup>A</sup> June 15<sup>th</sup> 1770.

“ESTEEMED FRDS

“DAVID & JOHN BARCLAY

“I Rec<sup>d</sup> your fav<sup>r</sup> of 6<sup>th</sup> of March acquainting me of the late Impositions on Trade being in part removed, which would have been matter of sincere joy to me, as well as to my fellow-citizens had the Repeal been total.

“The Harmony which ought to subsist between the Colonys & Mother country will not be perfectly restored till there is such a Repeal. From the late Resolves of our merchants, I find we shall have no Goods this season, and it is uncertain when. Have notwithstanding, Inclosed my order, again requesting that shou’d the Acts be repealed, that they may be shipp’d agreeable to the Inclosed, in doing which you will oblige

“Your Friend,

“SAM<sup>L</sup> RHOADS JUN<sup>R</sup>.”

caster, and died about the year 1836. He was the grandfather of our present townsman, Dr. Walter F. Atlee.

3. Samuel F., born in 1776, who married, in 1796, Sarah Symonds, and was the grandfather of Major-General William Buel Franklin, of Hartford, Conn., and of Rear-Admiral Samuel Rhoads Franklin, of Washington, D.C.

“ PHILAD<sup>A</sup> October 11<sup>th</sup> 1770.

“ ESTEEMED FRIENDS

“ DAVID & JOHN BARCLAY

“ As our People are now disposed to Indulge us in Importing for the Spring, (the Impositions on Trade being in part removed), have inclosed you my order, requesting the favour of having them ship'd by the first Oppt<sup>y</sup>, fully Insured, hoping the Duty on Tea will be taken off this Winter, & Harmony restored between the mother Country & her Colonys, that Trade may be revived to our mutual Benefit,

“ Subscribe myself Your Friend

“ SAMUEL RHOADS JUN<sup>R</sup>.”

“ PHILAD<sup>A</sup> April 30<sup>th</sup> 1772.

“ ESTEEMED FRIENDS

“ DAVID & JOHN BARCLAY

“ This may serve to inform you that the Goods shipp'd on my acc<sup>t</sup> to my Father Pemberton, I have rec<sup>d</sup>, & expect he will fully satisfy you for the delivery thereof. A Remittance was intended to have accompany'd this Letter, but the disagreeable News of the Death of his son Charles was rec<sup>d</sup> this morning from the Island of Barbadoes, where he had gone for the recovery of his health, which prevents his or my attending to it, but rest assured, by Falconer or Young, who sails shortly, shall write more fully.

“ I am, with Esteem

“ Your Friend

“ SAM<sup>L</sup> RHOADS JUN<sup>R</sup>.”

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.  
BAPTISMS, 1709-1760.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from Vol. XIII. page 241.)

- 1737 Feb. 17 Bond Thomas s. Thomas and Sarah 3 weeks  
1744 June 8 Thomas s. Thomas and Sarah Aug. 10 1743  
1745 Sept. 18 Elizabeth d. Dr. Thomas Bond July 26 1736  
Sept. 18 Sarah d. Dr. Thomas Bond Jan. 13 1744  
1749 Feb. 26 Phœbe d. Thomas and Sarah Nov. 9 1748  
July 24 Phineas s. Phineas and Wilhelmina July 15 1749  
1752 Jan. 5 Robert s. Thomas and Sarah Nov. 18 1750  
1753 Mch. 4 Wilhelmina d. Phineas and Wilhelmina Feb. 27 1753  
1755 July 20 Venables s. Thomas and Sarah Feb. 4 1754  
1758 April 19 Ann d. Phineas and Wilhelmina Aug. 5 1757  
1744 May 24 Bonham Jane d. Ephraim and Jane 7 mo. 8 days  
1745 Mch. 7 William s. Ephraim and Susannah Feb. 1744  
1748 May 22 Susannah d. Ephraim and Sarah Dec. 4 1746  
Dec. 24 John s. Ephraim and Susannah Nov. 27 1748  
1750 Oct. 25 William s. Ephraim and Susannah Oct. 1 1750  
1752 Nov. 19 Ephraim s. Ephraim and Susannah Feb. 22 1752  
1755 May 13 Mary d. Ephraim and Susannah Jan. 25 1754  
May 13 Humphrey Murrey s. Ephraim and Susannah April 28  
1755  
1756 July 17 Sarah d. Ephraim and Susannah June 21 1756  
1757 Sept. 7 Rebecca d. Ephraim and Susannah Aug. 8 1757  
1759 Jan. 30 Susannah d. Ephraim and Susannah Dec. 30 1758  
1760 Aug. 1 Mary d. Ephraim and Sarah June 18 1760  
1710 Jan. 11 Bonium Martha d. Isaac and Margaret 5 mo.  
1736 Dec. 28 Bonnet Philip s. John and Mary 4 yrs. 8 mo.  
Dec. 28 Martha d. John and Mary 3 yrs. 4 mo.  
1743 Sept. 18 Bood Margaret d. John and Gertrude 1 mo. 1 day  
1744 Oct. 7 Rebecca d. John and Gertrude 1 mo. 11 days  
1746 Jan. 5 Joseph s. John and Gertrude Oct. 1 1745  
1712 Nov. 30 Boon Joseph s. Joseph and Elizabeth 1 week 3 days  
Feb. 21 Boone Thomas s. Joseph and Elizabeth  
1755 May 31 Boore David s. David and Priscilla July 30 1754  
1758 Jan. 15 Mary d. David and Priscilla Oct. 10 1757  
1759 Mch. 19 Hilton s. Daniel and Priscilla Feb. 24 1759



- 1758 July 3 Booth George s. George and Mary May 16 1758  
 1739 Dec. 13 Boardman William s. George and Mary 6 months  
 1760 April 8 Boroden Thomas s. Thomas and Hannah Jan. 20 1760  
 1734 Jan. 1 Bosstrom Mary d. Hans and Mary 7 weeks  
 1749 Dec. 2 Bottom George s. Thomas and Catharine Nov. 9 1749  
 1722 Jan. 22 Botton Robert s. Robert and Ann Jan. 9  
 1710 Nov. 19 Boude Henesila d. Grimston and Mary  
 1729 May 28 Ann d. Thomas and Sarah 5 mo. 5 days  
 1731 Mch. 19 Thomas s. Thomas and Sarah 5 mo.  
 1732 Feb. 10 Henrietta d. Samuel and Deborah 3 weeks  
       June 21 Sarah d. Thomas and Sarah 18 days  
 1735 Mch. 4 Mary d. Thomas and Sarah 18 days  
 1739 Mch. 25 Jane d. Thomas and Sarah 2 weeks  
 1740 Dec. 29 Joseph s. Thomas and Sarah 2 weeks 2 days  
 1738 Sept. 23 Boudinot Mary Catherinc d. Elias and Catherine 10 days  
 1737 Feb. 5 Boudinott Annis d. Elias and Catherine 7 months  
 1729 Dec. 22 Boulton Rebecca d. Robert and Ann 4 days  
 1749 Jan. 10 Boun Obediah s. Cornelius and Sarah Aug. 12 1748  
 1714 Sept. 30 Bowell Anne d. William and Elizabeth 3 weeks  
 1758 Aug. 12 Bowen Joseph s. Benjamin and Hannah Mch. 28 1755  
       Aug. 12 Elizabeth d. Benjamin and Hannah Oct. 21 1757  
 1734 Dec. 26 Bower Mary d. Thomas and Sarah 3 mo.  
 1742 Mch. 31 Martha d. Thomas and Sarah 5 mo. 3 weeks  
 1750 Sept. 9 Bowers Evc d. Peter and Angel Aug. 31 1750  
 1737 Jan. 24 Bowler Mary d. Daniel and Susannah 17 months  
 1732 July 16 Bowling Thomas s. Thomas and Lucy [Dorothy] 1 mo.  
 1729 Dec. 17 Bown Thomas s. Thomas and Sarah 1 month  
 1734 April 25 Bowmer Thomas 40 years  
 1745 July 11 Bown Sarah d. Cornelius and Sarah Nov. 18 1744  
 1746 May 11 Mary d. Cornelius and Sarah Aug. 16 1738  
       May 11 Elizabeth d. Cornelius and Sarah Jan. 11 1740  
       May 11 James s. Cornelius and Sarah Feb. 16 1745  
 1751 July 31 Thomas s. Cornelius and Sarah Jan. 19 1751  
 1710 Jan. 15 Bowyer Hannah d. John and Rebecca  
 1735 Jan. 6 James s. James and Dorothy [Boyer] 5 mo.  
 1742 May 16 Boy Casper s. Philip Jacob and Barbara 2 weeks  
 1736 Feb. 2 Boyd Janc d. Parks and Mary 21 months  
       Feb. 2 Mary d. Parks and Mary 6 weeks  
 1760 Nov. 12 Elizabeth d. Robert and Sarah Oct. 18 1760  
 1748 Feb. 14 Boyde John s. James and Comfort Jan. 25 1747  
 1734 Jan. 3 Boyer William s. James and Dorothy 6 mo.  
 1740 June 3 Susannah d. James and Dorothy 11 weeks  
 1760 July 28 Sarah d. William and Mary Nov. 9 1759  
       July 28 Dorothy d. William and Mary July 5 1760  
 1743 Dec. 29 Boyle Ann d. William and Hannah 5 mo. 4 days

- 1736 June 13 Boys Robert s. Joseph and Elizabeth 2 years  
1711 Dec. 9 Boyte John s. William and Lucy 7 weeks  
1715 April 20 William s. William and Lucy 1 day  
1734 Nov. 24 Mary d. John and Hannah 2 weeks  
1737 Dec. 24 Hannah d. John and Hannah 1 month  
1741 Dec. 10 Lucy d. William and Hannah 5 mo. 11 days  
1742 April 21 Sarah d. Philip and Sarah 2 yrs. 3 mo. 3 days  
1743 Oct. 29 William s. John and Hannah 12 days  
1745 April 22 Joseph s. William and Hannah Feb. 3 1744  
April 22 John s. Philip and Hester Sept. 26 1744  
1746 Mch. 9 Hannah d. John and Hannah Feb. 9 1745  
June 15 Thomas s. Philip and Hester Feb. 15 1745  
Aug. 31 Hannah d. William and Hannah July 5 1746  
1748 Jan. 23 Christian s. William and Hannah Dec. 5 1747  
Jan. 23 Anne d. Philip and Hester July 20 1747  
1751 May 22 Hester d. Philip and Hester Jan. 17 1750  
1754 Mch. 27 Bradford William s. Cornelius and Hester Mch. 2 1754  
1756 June 7 Hester d. Cornelius and Hester Feb. 15 1756  
1757 July 6 Esther d. Cornelius and Hester May 27 1757  
1760 Feb. 10 James s. Cornelius and Esther Dec. 6 1759  
1720 Feb. 28 Bradley Joseph s. Edward and Elizabeth Feb. 12  
1730 July 22 Bradshaw Margaret d. John and Elinor  
1731 Mch. 2 Seth s. John and Elinor 4 months  
1736 Sept. 12 Susannah d. John and Elizabeth 6 mo.  
1737 Oct. 10 John s. George and Anne 2 weeks  
1740 Mch. 7 Anne d. John and Elinor 4 weeks  
1760 July 30 Branner Isabella d. John and Catherine May 20 1760  
1736 Mch. 26 Breadyn James s. Hugh and Jane 2 days  
1716 Oct. 14 Brendsly Margaret d. James and Mary 6 weeks  
1734 Dec. 11 Brickhill Sarah d. Richard and Mary 2 weeks  
1738 Nov. 24 John s. Richard and Mary, 8 mo.  
1739 Aug. 27 Bridge John s. Richard and Mary Fortune [Fortune  
bridge] 9 mo.  
1740 Jan. 2 Bridges Robert s. Edward and Cornelia 6 weeks  
1710 Mch. 5 Briggs James 19 years  
1742 June 24 Richard s. William and Sarah 3 weeks 4 days  
1732 Sept. 14 Bright Elizabeth d. John and Mary 21 months  
1734 Mch. 15 Thomas s. Anthony and Mary 1 mo.  
1740 April 24 Anthony s. Anthony and Mary 1 mo.  
1742 July 21 Jane d. Anthony and Mary 4 weeks 3 days  
1749 Dec. 26 Edward s. Edward and Margaret Nov. 1 1749  
1736 Aug. 30 Brightwell Benjamin s. Jonathan and Joanna 2 yrs. 2 mo.  
1727 Jan. 25 Bringham Susannah d. James and Anne 14 days  
1732 Nov. 17 Brintall George Arthur s. Joseph and Hester 6 mo.  
1716 Oct. 14 Brintley Margaret d. James and Mary 6 weeks

- 1726 Oct. 19 Britt Thomas s. James and Ann July 31  
 1740 Mch. 30 Broadwater Hannah d. George and Mary 2 weeks  
 1721 Jan. 23 Brockden Letitia d. Richard and Ann Dec. 27 1720  
 1726 July 7 Brockenbury Charles s. John and Susannah 3 mo.  
 1759 Feb. 12 Brodbury Archibald s. Archibald [a soldier] and Catherine Jan. 10 1759  
 1743 Sept. 29 Bromwich Ann d. William and Ann 3 weeks  
 1756 July 23 Bronson Amelia d. Day and Christiana July 2 1756  
 1714 May 23 Brook Mary d. Charles and Anne 6 weeks  
     July 15 Sarah d. Charles and Elizabeth  
 1760 May 21 Martha d. Alexander and Scaris April 13 1760  
 1709 Oct. 19 Brooks John s. Samuel and Mary 6 weeks  
 1713 Mch. 15 Ann d. Charles and Ann 2 mo.  
 1716 July 10 Anne d. Charles and Sarah 11 days  
 1720 Feb. 21 Ann d. Matthew and Olivia  
 1722 Nov. 9 Jane, adult  
 1731 Dec. 18 Eleanora d. John and Mary 3 mo.  
 1740 Aug. 9 Elizabeth d. Charles and Anne 9 yrs. 3 mo.  
     Aug. 9 Thomas s. Charles and Anne 6 yrs. 6 mo.  
     Aug. 9 Amos s. Charles and Anne 3 yrs. 4 mo.  
     Aug. 9 Charles s. Charles and Anne 3 mo.  
 1731 Mch. 6 Broom Mary d. Thomas and Elizabeth 7 yrs. 10 mo.  
 1739 Aug. 19 William s. William and Phoebe 1 mo.  
 1746 June 2 Thomas s. Thomas and Grace Feb. 10 1741  
     June 2 John s. Thomas and Grace Jan. 14 1743  
 1747 Sept. 8 Broomage Elizabeth d. William and Anne Aug. 14 1747  
 1714 Dec. 30 Broome Thomas s. Thomas and Elizabeth 4 mo.  
 1748 May 21 Brotherton Anne Elizabeth d. Peter and Anne April 19, 1748  
 1717 June 4 Browing John s. Joseph and Elizabeth 9 mo.  
 1713 Feb. 6 Brown Margaret d. William and Mary 2 mo. 2 weeks  
 1722 June 29 Ann gent. 20 years  
 1723 Aug. 25 Elizabeth  
 1727 Jan. 11 Anna Maria d. Roger and Elizabeth 1 mo.  
 1731 April 23 Elizabeth d. William and Mary 1 yr. 2 mo.  
 1733 Aug. 26 Mary d. Richard and Mary 20 years  
 1737 Mch. 22 Joseph s. John and Jane 3 weeks  
 1742 Mch. 14 Isabella Mary d. Godfrey and Mary 3 days  
 1746 Nov. 23 Joseph s. Philip and Mary Oct. 10 1746  
 1748 May 15 Sarah d. Joseph and Anne April 18 1748  
 1750 Nov. 12 Mary d. Joseph and Anne Aug. 13 1750  
 1753 Mch. 4 William s. John and Mary Jan. 27 1753  
 1754 April 4 John s. Joseph and Mary Feb. 26 1754  
 1757 Jan. 6 Thomas s. Peter and Sarah Oct. 29 1756  
 1756 Sept. 27 Browning Joseph s. William and Abigail Nov. 27 1752



- 1714 June 6 Bruck Charles s. Charles Bruck 6 years  
Aug. 8 Charles s. Charles and Elizabeth
- 1736 June 15 Brumwell Charles s. Thomas and Elizabeth 2 weeks
- 1738 Dec. 31 Bruno Francis s. John and Susannah 9 days
- 1743 Aug. 14 John s. John and Susannah 3 mo. 19 days
- 1721 Dec. 3 Bryan John s. William and Sarah 21 years
- 1748 Feb. 12 Thomas s. Thomas and Elizabeth Jan. 22 1747
- 1746 May 2 Bryerly Luke s. Robert and Elizabeth May 1 1746  
May 2 Elizabeth d. Robert and Elizabeth Aug. 1 1744
- 1732 Oct. 11 Buckell Alice d. Richard and Mary 20 months
- 1737 Nov. 13 Buckhill Alice d. Richard and Mary 4 years
- 1738 Nov. 9 Buckingham Lewis s. Elias and Ann 1 day
- 1759 Dec. 3 Hannah d. John and Jane Dec. 29 1757
- 1726 Dec. 11 Bud John s. Thomas and Mary
- 1728 June 19 Budd James s. Thomas and Mary 2 mo.
- 1729 Nov. 26 Mary d. Thomas and Mary 3 mo. 2 weeks
- 1732 Oct. 7 Whelly s. Thomas and Mary 5 mo.
- 1733 Aug. 23 Charles s. Thomas and Mary 1 mo.
- 1740 Sept. 7 Budden Richard s. Richard and Susannah 4 yrs. 6 mo.
- 1740 Sept. 7 Hannah d. Richard and Susannah 10 weeks
- 1742 May 20 Richard s. Richard and Susannah 3 weeks
- 1750 April 4 Susannah d. Richard and Susannah Nov. 19 1748  
April 4 Mary d. Richard and Susannah Mch. 6 1749
- 1745 Oct. 13 Budding James s. Richard and Susannah Aug. 27 1744  
Oct. 13 Richard s. Richard and Susannah Aug. 29 1745
- 1752 Mch. 15 Elizabeth d. Richard and Susannah Feb. 11 1752
- 1729 Aug. 6 Bulley Hester d. William and Sarah 3 weeks
- 1730 Oct. 2 Elizabeth d. William and Sarah 1 mo.
- 1732 June 18 Sarah d. William and Sarah 3 weeks
- 1717 Jan. 6 Bullock John s. Thomas and Mary 2 weeks
- 1718 Jan. 26 Thomas s. Thomas 3 weeks
- 1720 Nov. 27 William s. Thomas and Mary Nov. 6
- 1739 Dec. 9 Richard s. Thomas and Elizabeth 3 weeks
- 1740 May 11 Thomas s. John and Rebecca 3 years  
May 11 Margaret d. John and Rebecca 4 years
- 1728 April 30 Bully John Jennings s. William and Sarah 1 mo.  
Nov. 8 Burch Mary d. David and Susannah 9 mo.
- 1729 Aug. 24 Sarah d. David and Susannah 1 mo.
- 1730 June 3 Mary Anne d. Benjamin and Anne
- 1731 Mch. 12 John s. John and Elizabeth 3 yrs. 5 mo.  
Mch. 12 Sarah d. John and Elizabeth 4 mo. 3 weeks
- 1736 Dec. 19 Anne Catherine d. John and Elizabeth 11 months  
Dec. 19 Dehaes s. John and Elizabeth 3 yrs. 9 mo.
- 1740 Aug. 3 Susannah d. John and Elizabeth 17 mo.  
Sept. 25 Margaret d. John and Sarah 2 weeks



- 1757 Aug. 3 Calvert Elizabeth d. Thomas and Mary Mch. 6 1757  
1758 Nov. 12 Mary d. Thomas and Mary Oct. 4 1758  
1760 Oct. 23 Sarah d. Thomas and Mary Aug. 21 1760  
1745 Sept. 1 Cameron Jeremiah s. Daniel and Martha Jan. 14 1744  
1746 Nov. 30 Deborah d. Daniel and Martha  
1750 June 18 Abraham s. Daniel and Martha Aug. 1749  
1751 Dec. 28 Mary, wife John Cameron (adult)  
Dec. 28 George s. John and Mary Feb. 7 1751  
1731 June 16 Campbel James s. John and Mary 1 mo.  
1743 May 18 Campbell Mary d. Stanley and Catherine 17 mo.  
1744 April 29 Annamora d. James and Sarah 3 mo. 4 days  
1746 May 18 John s. James and Sarah Feb. 13 1745  
1748 Jan. 31 Charles s. James and Sarah Nov. 14 1747  
1750 June 12 Sarah d. Thomas and Elizabeth Jan. 29, 1749  
April 23 John s. Thomas and Elizabeth Mch. 17 1750  
1755 Feb. 14 Peter s. Thomas and Elizabeth Jan. 17 1755  
1715 Aug. 30 Canada — s. Thomas and Elizabeth  
1729 July 11 Cane Abel s. Abel and Ann 2 weeks 3 days  
1738 Dec. 31 Mary d. William and Rebecca 13 months  
1740 Jan. 7 Mary d. William and Rebecca 3 mo.  
1750 Jan. 26 Mary d. Roger and Margaret Jan. 6 1749  
1758 Dec. 8 Cannon Mary d. James and Eleanor Dec. 6 1757  
1744 June 29 Canthorn Martha d. Edward and Mary July 10 1743  
1741 Aug. 31 Cantorn Isaac s. Edward and Mary 6 mo. 1 wk. 2 days

(To be continued.)



## AN ACCOUNT OF THE ASSAULT ON QUEBEC, 1775.

[The following account of the assault on Quebec by the American army under Montgomery and Arnold, on the morning of the last day of the year 1775, is taken from a scarce work in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, entitled: "An | interesting | Journal | of occurrences during the | expedition to Quebec | conducted by the celebrated Arnold | at the commencement | of the | American Revolution, | giving a particular account of the unparalleled | sufferings sustained by that detachment in | passing through the Wilderness, | together with a description | of the | Battle of Quebec, | kept by George Morison, a volunteer in | the company of Riflemen commanded by | Capt. Hendricks who was slain | at the attack upon Quebec." Printed at Hagerstown, Maryland, in 1803. George Morison was a resident of Shearman's Valley, in Cumberland County, when he enlisted as a private in Captain William Hendricks's company of riflemen, attached to Colonel William Thompson's battalion. After he was exchanged, he re-entered the army, and while acting in the capacity of a quartermaster, one day, had a dispute with a colonel of the Maryland line. The colonel drew his sword upon him, when Morison jumped behind a hogshead and seized a spade, with which he broke his assailant's sword-arm. A court-martial sentenced him to receive one thousand lashes, but the magnanimity of the colonel prevented the sentence from being executed. He was released, but the injustice of the sentence induced him to leave the army, whereupon he destroyed that part of his journal falling between 1776 and 1777. The portion of the journal preserved, although not so full in detail as that of Judge Henry, is nevertheless valuable and interesting. Captain Hendricks's company left Carlisle for the camp before Boston on 13th July, 1775, their route being *via* Reading, Bethlehem, Easton (where they were joined by Captain Miller's riflemen), Sussex Court-House (where Captain Daniel Morgan's company was met), to Litchfield, Connecticut (where they tarred and feathered a Tory who had violently and clamorously derided the cause of liberty and all those who espoused it), and on 9th August reached Cambridge. Here Arnold's expedition was organized, and in the selection of the three companies of riflemen who were to accompany it, the journalist records that lots were cast by the commanding officers of the eleven companies in camp, which resulted in the choice of those of Captains Daniel Morgan, Matthew Smith, and William Hendricks. After describing the march through the wilderness of Maine, "which will forever remain a monument of American valor,"

and comparing it with the march of Hannibal over the Alps, the journal concludes with the preparations for and the assault on Quebec and the capture of the journalist.]

The scaling ladders that had been left at the other side of the river were brought over. Our arms were examined and put in the best order. On the evening of December 25th, we paraded at Captain Morgan's quarters, where we were addressed in a handsome manner by General Montgomery on the subject of the intended attack. He pointed out the necessity of it, and the certainty of its success. He observed that nothing was wanting to insure victory, but the exercise of that valor we so triumphantly displayed under the most unparalleled sufferings. He concluded that, if we succeeded, we would rescue a province from the British yoke, win it for our country, and obtain for ourselves immortal honor. The address was sensible and concise; and the engaging oratory of the general highly enraptured us. We answered him with a cheer, declaring that whatever his excellency was pleased to command we were ready to obey. On the 27th, in the evening, the whole army capable of bearing arms assembled according to orders, and were on the point of marching to battle; but the orders were countermanded. This night two men deserted to the enemy, which put them on their guard. To this infernal act of treachery the failure of the enterprise may, in a great degree, be attributed. On the 30th, orders were issued to parade at 2 o'clock the next morning. Accordingly, on the 31st, we were under arms at the time appointed. The plan of the attack is as follows: The general to attack by Cape Diamond at the south end of the town, at the head of two hundred men. Colonel Arnold to attack through the suburbs of St. Roe, at the head of three hundred and sixty men, including the riflemen commanded by Captains Morgan, Hendricks, and Smith; together with a piece of artillery. Colonel Livingston and Major Brown at the head of one hundred and sixty Canadians and Massachusetts troops to make a false attack near to St. John's gate. This

was the central division; and were to let off the rockets, as signals for the general attack.

All things being in readiness, each division moves on towards the town, impatient to commence the assault. The morning is very stormy, which hinders the enemy from seeing our movements. The snow is very deep, which increases momentarily by the snow that is falling. The piece of artillery, on a sled, cannot be got along, and is left behind. All eyes are now directed to the place from whence the rockets are to ascend, they are let off precisely at 5 o'clock,—instantly the enemy beat to arms; for when they saw the signals, they conjectured that ill was intended them. Our advance party, consisting of thirty men, impetuously rush on and attack a battery on a wharf. Captain Morgan being in front, advances to their aid, followed by Captain Hendricks. We fire into the port-holes with our rifles with such effect, that the enemy cannot discharge a single cannon,—save one on our approach that did us no damage. Perhaps there is no similar instance in modern warfare of a battery being silenced by a few riflemen. Several discharges of musketry are now made upon us from houses and other unexpected places; Colonel Arnold receives a bad wound in his leg, and is carried to the hospital. We now scale the battery with our ladders led on by the intrepid Morgan and our brave captain. This bold act so confounds the guards that thirty of them instantly surrender, and are immediately secured. This affair occupies us but about twenty minutes,—one killed and six or seven wounded. During this combat, the main body now commanded by Major Meigs, approaches, being much interrupted by the deepness of the snow and an incessant fire of the enemy from the walls and houses, which killed and wounded several, without our people being able to annoy them in the least. They enter the town at our right, just as we had finished our task,—we give them a cheer, and they returned it. We are reinforced with a small party, then push on through alleys to the next battery, rush close up to it unobserved, fire in at the port-holes, wound some of the guard, and deter them from using their cannon.



By keeping close to the battery, we not only stop the mouths of the artillery, but prevent the musketry from injuring us, a considerable body of whom we now perceive behind the battery ready to salute us as we mount the wall. Our officers deem it proper to suspend scaling the wall until the main body come up, at whose delay we are astonished; in the mean time we challenge the enemy to come out into open space and fight us, which however they do not choose to accept. Some cowards fire upon us from the windows of houses, which only serves to make us laugh. They point out the muzzles of their guns, skreening themselves behind the window-frames, and fire at random; the bullet seldom coming within some perches of us,—some of us amuse ourselves by emptying our rifles in at these windows. We have heard for some time heavy discharges of musketry and artillery in different parts of the town: we are elated with this music and shout “Quebec is ours;” we again invite the enemy to come out from behind their covert, and try our rifles; which we offer them for sale at low rate. They however decline the offer, observing that they shortly expect them for nothing. Our main body now appears, having taken a wrong route through narrow and crooked streets, exposed to a cowardly fire from houses. We heartily cheer each other, and now prepare to storm the battery,—the ladders are laid on the wall,—our gallant officers are mounting, followed by several men, when a furious discharge of musketry is let loose upon us from behind houses; in an instant we are assailed from different quarters with a deadly fire. We now find it impossible to force the battery or guard the port-holes any longer. We rush on to every part, rouse the enemy from their coverts, and force a body of them to an open fight; some of our riflemen take to houses, and do considerable execution. We are now attacked by thrice our number; the battle becomes hot, and is much scattered; but we distinguish each other by hemlock sprigs previously placed in our hats. All our officers act most gallantly. Betwixt every peal the awful voice of Morgan is heard, whose gigantic stature and terrible appearance car-

ries dismay among the foe wherever he comes. My brave captain is sublimated with the most exalted courage; he seems to be all soul; and moves as if he did not touch the earth. But whilst he is most heroically animating us with his voice and example, a ball flies into his breast and lays him dead upon the spot. We have no time to weep,—we are attacked in our rear,—the enemy increase momentarily,—they call out to us to surrender; but we surrender them our bullets, and retreat to the first battery; here we maintain ourselves until 10 o'clock, when surrounded on every side, many of our officers and men slain, and no hope of escape, we are reluctantly compelled to surrender ourselves prisoners of war, after having fought manfully for more than three hours.

The division under the general was also unsuccessful. He together with several officers and eleven men were killed in the beginning of the attack, and the rest retreated. He was interred with military honors by the order of General Carleton. It was in consequence of the failure of this division that the enemy turned their whole force upon us. There were about one hundred killed and wounded; and nearly four hundred taken prisoners.

After we were taken prisoners, we were taken to an old French college, our officers were taken out from amongst us. Some rum and a biscuit a piece were given to us. We were kindly treated both by General Carleton and the people of the town, until one Deway was placed over us, who sold the provisions allowed us for his own profit. But the Lord of Hosts soon delivered us out of his hands; for he was taken with the small-pox, which swept him from off the face of the earth. On the 31st of March, a plot was laid amongst us to free ourselves. The plan was as follows: We made officers of our sergeants, and formed ourselves into three divisions. The first division was to take the guard that stood over us. The second was to secure the guard at St. John's gate. The third, among whom was the artillery men, was to seize the cannon and turn them upon the town. Then we procured a person to go over to the

army under Colonel Arnold, now blockading the place, and notify the colonel of the plot, and signals to be used; but a scoundrel that knew of it informed the barrack-master. The consequence was that the sergeants were all put in irons, seven in a bolt; and the privates hand-cuffed two and two together. Here we lay wretched, ragged, and covered with vermin, until the 8th of May, when Colonel Arnold retreated up the river. Then General Carleton ordered our irons to be knocked off; and on the 6th of June his excellency came into the jail, and observed to us, that if he could depend upon our words and honors to behave peaceably and not to take up arms in future against his majesty, he would engage to send us home. He then presented a paper purporting his request, which we all signed. This humane gentleman was much moved at our miserable situation; for, in addition to our rags, we were all badly affected with the scurvy, and some of us past a cure. There was a number also disabled by their wounds. His excellency directly caused relief to be given, and sent each of us a shirt. He informed us that we should embark in ten days or less. Accordingly on the 7th of August, 1776, we were put on board four transports, and after a boisterous passage, were landed at the point of Elizabethtown, on the 24th of September, having been prisoners nearly nine months. We marched immediately for Philadelphia, where we received money and clothing from the public agents.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

"ITINERARY OF GENERAL WASHINGTON" (PENNA. MAGAZINE, Vol. XIV. p. 272).—The following copy of a letter, the original of which is before me (found among General Potter's papers), will supplement the "Itinerary of General Washington," Oct. 18, 1777.

According to Theodore D. Bean, Esq., "History of Montgomery County," p. 1185, Peter Wentz's house was near Wentz's Reformed Church, which is situated on Skippack road, nearly a mile above Centre Point, in Worcester Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. For a sketch of Brigadier-General Potter, see Vol. I., PENNA. MAGAZINE, p. 326; General Potter's brigade of Pennsylvania militia had been sent into Chester (now Delaware) County "to annoy the enemies small parties." Province Island is described as a low mud-bank, nearly covered at high water, on the west side of the Schuylkill River, at its mouth; separated from Mud Island by a narrow channel. The British had possession of Province Island, and erected a battery upon it to cover the bridge leading to Philadelphia.

General Putnam's letter announcing the capitulation of General Burgoyne is dated at Kingston, New York, 15th October, 1777, 10 o'clock *Wednesday evening*. It reached head-quarters—Peter Wentz's—on the morning of October 18; General John Armstrong, who commanded the Pennsylvania division of militia, writes from his own "Head Quarters, Worcester" (Montgomery County), October 18, to President Wharton: "I congratulate you of the intelligence *of this morning*, but a little lower than that which is evangelical and from the same source. . . . The intelligence comes from General Clinton to General Putnam and from him to our commander-in-chief. The general has just now asked me to repair to you to concert measures to draw out the strength of the State to aid him in suppressing the arch tyrants in Philadelphia, I cannot refuse the journey, &c."

It is worthy of note, as evincing the efficiency of General Washington's arrangements for news, that the horse express, or relays, must have accomplished a distance of some two hundred miles from Wednesday night at ten o'clock until Saturday morning, with days' length of eleven hours only.

Bellefonte, Pa.

JOHN BLAIR LINN.

"HEAD QUARTERS PETER WENTZ'S  
"18th October, 1777.

"SIR.

"I congratulate you upon the glorious successes of our Arms in the North an account of which is enclosed. This singular favour of Providence is to be received with thankfulness and the happy moment which Heaven has pointed out for the firm establishment of American Liberty ought to be embraced with becoming spirit—it is incumbent upon every man of influence in his country to prevail upon the militia to take the field with that energy which the present crisis evidently demands. I

have no doubt of your exerting yourself in this way—In the post which you now occupy you may render the most important services by cutting off the enemies convoys and communications with their Fleet, for this purpose you shall strain every nerve—there is another thing which I would suggest and leave you to judge of the practicability of it—I think that you might harrass the parties of the enemy on Province Island in such a manner as to produce a great Diversion in favour of Fort Mifflin. Let me again entreat you and through your means every one of any influence among the Militia, to exert it to the utmost in exciting them to the field where by seasonable Reinforcements the glorious work we have in hand will be completed.

“ I am

“ Your most h'ble Serv<sup>t</sup>

“ G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“ BRIGADIER GENL. POTTER.”

BAPTIST CEMETERY, CAPE MAY COURT-HOUSE, NEW JERSEY.—The following are the oldest inscriptions to be found on the gravestones in the Baptist Cemetery at Cape May Court-House, New Jersey, and comprise names well known in that section of the State:

In Memory of Margaret wife of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Peter Peter Son Vanhorn who Departed this Life March the 8th 1775 in the 52 year of her age.

In Memory of Hannah Wife of y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> David Smith who died y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1782 in y<sup>e</sup> 48 year of her age.

In Memory of the Rev. David Smith who first preached in publick April 1773 was ordained March 1776 and Died Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1784 aged 54 years.

His work is done and here he's laid

Till the last Trump awakes the dead.

In Memory of Dr. John Dickinson who departed this life Sept. 16, 1834 Aged 75 years 11 mos. & 5 days.

In Memory of Thomas Gandy who departed this life March 4, 1814 in the 78<sup>th</sup> year of his age.

In Memory of M<sup>r</sup> Daniel Smith, Deacon, who Died Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1786 aged 66 years.

In Memory of Martha Smith widow of Daniel Smith who died March 9<sup>th</sup> 1774 in the 69<sup>th</sup> year of her age.

In Memory of M<sup>r</sup> Jonathan Hildreth, Deacon, who died Oct. 1787 aged 47 years.

Here lieth the Body of Martha wife of Jeremiah Ludlam who departed this life December 15, 1773 in the 63<sup>d</sup> year of her age.

In Memory of M<sup>rs</sup> Rachel Smith who departed this Life August 7<sup>th</sup> 1773 Aged 68 years.

In Memory of Priscilla only child of John Cresse who died Dec<sup>r</sup> 1774 in her 7<sup>th</sup> year.

In Memory of Jaramiah Ludlam who departed this Life the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 1777 aged 68 years.

In Memory of Phebe Young wife of Henry Young Esq<sup>r</sup> who Departed this Life y<sup>e</sup> 23<sup>th</sup> of August 1776 and in the 57<sup>th</sup> year of her age.

In Memory of Lydia the Wife of James Hildreth who died May the 25<sup>th</sup> 1767 Aged 36 years.

Here lieth the Body of James Hildreth who departed this Life Nov<sup>r</sup> 13 1776 aged 38 years.

In Memory of Sarah Wife of Elihu Smith who died March 11, 1769 aged 29 years.

In Memory of James Savage, Son of Joseph and Martha Savage who departed this Life Nov<sup>r</sup> 7, 1773 In the 19<sup>th</sup> year of his age.

**MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF FRANCIS RAWLE AND MARTHA TURNER, 1689.**—Whereas Franc<sup>s</sup> Rawle of Philadelphia Mreht. and Martha Turner of the same Place Spinster have declared their Intentions of Taking eache Other in Marriage before severall Publick meetings of the People of God called Quakers in Philadelphia in the Province of Pensilvania in America according to the Good order vset amongst them whose proceedings, therein, after a deliberate Consideration thereof, were approved by the said Meeting; they appearing cleare of all others and having consent of parties & Relations concerned.—Now These are to Certifie all whome it may concerne, That for the full accomplishing of their said Intentions this Eighteenth day of the eighth month called October in the Year One Thousand six hundred Eighty nine.—The s<sup>d</sup> Franc<sup>s</sup> Rawle and Martha Turner appeared in a Publick Assembly of the afores<sup>d</sup> People & others mett together for that end & purpose in their Publick Meeting House at Philadelphia and (according to the Example of Holy men of God recorded in scriptures of truth) in a solemn maner hee the s<sup>d</sup> Franc<sup>s</sup> Rawle taking the said Martha Turner by the hand did openly declare as followeth, friends I doe call this whole assembly to witness, that I doe declare, that in the feare of the Lord I doe take this my dear friend—Martha Turner to bee my wife, And doe solemnly Promise through the Assistance of the Almighty to bee a constant faithfull & Loving Husband vntill death us depart; And then & there in the said Assembly the s<sup>d</sup> Martha Turner did in Like maner declare as followeth. friends I doe accordingly in the feare of God take this my friend Francis Rawle to bee my Husband Promising to bee to him a faithfull and Loving wife untill death us separate.—And the s<sup>d</sup> Franc<sup>s</sup> Rawle and Martha Turner as a further confirmation thereof did then and there to these sents sett their hands And wee whose names are hereunto subscribed being sents amongst others at the solemnizing of their s<sup>d</sup> marriage & subscripōn in maner afores<sup>d</sup> as witnesses thereunto have alsoe to these sents subscribed our names the day and yeare a bove written

FRANC<sup>s</sup> RAWLE JUN  
MARTHA TURNER

Robert Turner

John Blackwell Gov<sup>r</sup>  
Joseph ffisher  
Griffith Jones  
George Keith  
John Holme  
Jacob Telner  
Barnabas Willcox  
W<sup>m</sup> Markham  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Eckley  
John Goodson  
Thomas Fitzwater  
Alex Beardsley  
John Whitpaine  
Sam: Carpenter  
Jo: Thomas  
Will<sup>m</sup> Hudson  
Nich: Pearse  
Richard Goue  
Anthony Taylor  
Ralph Ward  
Tho<sup>s</sup> Tresse  
W<sup>m</sup> Bradford

Susana Turner  
Jane Rawle  
Sarah Welch  
Mary Turner  
Joanna Markham  
Isabell ffisher  
Elizabeth Keith  
Jane Jones  
Sarah Goodson  
Ellis. Thomas  
Ellisabeth Fox  
Susana Telner  
Mary Holme  
Sarah Eckley  
Hafiah Carpenter  
Margarett Beardsley  
Sarah Whitpaine  
Ellisabeth Fitzwater  
Mary Taylor  
Mary Hudson  
Margarett Ward



REVOLUTIONARY SUFFERERS AT THE HANDS OF THE BRITISH AND TORIERS, MIDDLESEX COUNTY, N. J.—In a very interesting article in *Harper's Magazine* for July, 1874, by Charles D. Deshler, "A Glimpse of Seventy-Six," I find reference and quotations from an important manuscript, "Record of the Damages done by the British and their Adherents to the Inhabitants of Middlesex County," New Jersey, which is preserved in the State Library at Trenton. It is a bound volume of between three and four hundred pages, and it contains the inventories rendered by over *six hundred and fifty* persons whose property was plundered or destroyed by the British from 1776 to 1782 inclusive, but mainly during the six and a half months beginning with December 2, 1776, and ending with June 22, 1777. Each inventory is entered in this volume in detail, with the valuation of every article annexed, and is certified to under oath or affirmation by the person damaged or his representative before one of the appraisers appointed by the State for that purpose.

I have made the following index to the names mentioned in the article :

John Dennis, wealthy and patriotic merchant; other names mentioned, Thomas Edgar, Hiram Frazee, Thomas Force, Phineas Randolph, Justus Dunn, Moses Bloomfield, of Woodbridge, private soldier; Cornelius Baker, of the same place; Isaac Cotheal, of Woodbridge; John Chamberlain, "Esquire," of Windsor (a township in which Princeton is situate), private in the militia; "John Conger, Esquire, of Woodbridge," private in the militia; Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Deare [query Dare?], of Princeton, lawyer; Benjamin Dunn, of Piscataway, private in the militia; John Flatt, of Woodbridge; William French, of Piscataway, militiaman; Henry Guest, of New Brunswick, tanner; David Harriot, of the Middlesex militia, private; John Hampton, "ensign in the patriot army;" Colonel Jacob Hyer, of Princeton.

"The Martin family in Piscataway had nineteen of their number in the patriot army, and twenty of that name were more or less severely pillaged. One of these named William was the greatest sufferer, having been visited five times by the enemy between February, 1777, and April, 1781." John Martin is also among the number. John Noe, private in the patriot army, a neighbor of the Martins, was a fellow-sufferer. The widow of Samuel Parker, father of James Parker, printer, of Woodbridge; Thomson Stelle, of Piscataway, captain and paymaster in the Middlesex militia; Samuel Walker, private.

OUR ANCESTORS' SILVER-WARE.—The following items are extracted from the ledger of a silversmith of Philadelphia, between the years 1733 and 1740. In most cases the purchasers furnished the gold and silver. For the former six pounds per ounce and for the latter from eight shillings and sixpence to nine shillings per ounce was allowed :

Clement Plumsted is charged with 1 set of Gold Buttons; George Fitzwater, 6 large spoons for his daughter Hannah; Israel Pember-ton, Jr., 1 Gold girdle buckel, 1 gold Thimble, 6 tea spoons, Tongs and strainer, 12 spoons, 1 pair Salts, 1 set of Castors, 2 Porringers, 1 waiter, and 2 Butter dishes of silver; Isaac Norris, 2 pair of Silver shoe-buckles for Charles and 1 pair of Gold for himself; Lawrence Growden, 1 Arch Moon Clock and Case, 1 Black walnut Table, 1 Rug, 1 doz Ivory handle knives and forks, 1 Gold Girdle; George Emlen, 1 Gold Girdle Buckel, and one set of Gold Buttons, for his daughter, 1 silver waiter, 1 3pt Tankard, 12 table, 12 Custard and 2 Soup Spoons; Anthony Morris, Jr., 1 Gold Girdle Buckel; Joseph Armit, 1 gold Locket; Thomas Hopkinson, 1 Mourning Ring; John Ladd, 1 Silver teapot; and Richard Peters, 6 teaspoons and tongs.

EARTHQUAKE IN PHILADELPHIA ON DECEMBER 7, 1737.—In a letter written by Amos Strettell, of Philadelphia, to his brother, John Strettell, of London, dated 29th of March, 1738, he says: "I suppose the rumour of an Earthquake which happened in these parts on y<sup>e</sup> 7th December about two minutes before eleven at night has ere this reachd your ears; however presuming that an account from one present at that juncture will be agreeable shall relate my own experience thereof. I was scarce lain down in bed when I heard a prodigious rumbling hurly burly which to me in that posture sounded like the noise of a great multitude running violently to and fro in the loft over me. I immediately called out to Jack Savage to know wt was y<sup>e</sup> matter, but by the time y<sup>e</sup> words were out of my mouth, I plainly found it could be no such thing, neither occasioned by any human means, for the whole house shook in a very terrifying manner & continued trembling (according to general computation) for the space of one minute and a half.

"Acct<sup>s</sup> from several parts for 300 miles distant agree pretty exactly with our remarks here as to time and particulars, w<sup>ch</sup> is a strong Argument in fav<sup>r</sup> of those who suppose it to have been a general Earthquake on this continent: whether it was so or not or occasioned by natural means or an immediate interposition of the divine power, I shall at pres<sup>t</sup> submit to y<sup>e</sup> opinion of the learned, only adding that there's great reason to be thankful to that good Providence which prevented any considerable damage from this surprising convulsion of the earth." G.V.

THE LONDON CHRONICLE of August 4-6, 1778, contains the following extracts of letters from Philadelphia: "Upon the 8th Dr. Ferguson (Secretary to the Commissioners), set out in a Phaeton, with a trumpeter and dragoon, for the enemy's camp at Valley Forge, but being met by Colonel Morgau of the light horse, and a company of light horse, was stopt, and his dispatches were to be safely delivered at head quarters; he returned the same day. We are still in suspence as to the issue.

"Last Saturday evening arrived here the ship *La Dedegeaure*, Jean Caree master, of 26 nine-pounders and 140 men from Bourdeaux for Virginia, sent in by his Majesty's frigate *Greyhound*, Archibald Dixon, Esq; commander: She is a fine new ship, and laden with naval stores, bale goods, salt, wine, soldiers cloathing, &c. for the use of the rebels. By her we learn that six others of the same force, lading, &c. were to sail soon after for Virginia.'

"By a letter received from an English gentleman resident in France, we are informed, that Count d'Estaing's Squadron was intended to attack Lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware; and that if the French had got the better of Admiral Keppel's fleet, their design was to have embarked a body of 22,000 men, and have landed them in Ireland. A body of troops was stationed in such a manner for that purpose, as to be collected in a few hours at Dunkirk, where a number of vessels were to receive them.

"When the Trident got to the river Delaware, the Commissioners and Lord Cornwallis went into an armed vessel in order to proceed to Philadelphia. Upon their landing there, and it being known that Lord Cornwallis was with the Commissioners, the utmost joy appeared in the countenances of all the soldiers—their hats were thrown up in the air, and the cry was, 'Cornwallis for ever; we would willingly lose the last drop of our blood fighting under him.'"

RATES OF DISCOUNT ON STATE BANK-NOTES, 1822.—The following rates of discount on notes of State banking institutions is taken from a



circular of a Philadelphia banker issued in April of 1822: *Massachusetts*, Boston, par; country generally, 2 @ 3. *New Hampshire*, generally, 2 @ 3. *Rhode Island*, 1½; *Connecticut*, 2. *New York*, city banks par; Newburg, 1; Bank of Columbia, Hudson, 1¼; Bank of Albany, par; Lansingburg, Orange, Catskill, and Utica banks, 1½; Auburn, Ontario, and Plattsburg banks, 2 @ 2½. *New Jersey*, State banks at Newark, Elizabethtown, Brunswick, and Trenton, par; Camden, Mount Holly, and Cumberland, par. *Pennsylvania*, Germantown, Delaware City, Chester, Farmers' Bank of Lancaster, Easton, Norristown, Farmers' Bank, Bucks County, Harrisburg, New Hope, Reading, par; Lancaster Bank, 1; Swatara, 1½; York, 1½; Gettysburg, 1½; Pittsburgh, 1½ @ 2; Carlisle, 1½ @ 2. *District of Columbia*, ¾; Mechanics' Bank of Alexandria, 5. *Vermont*, State banks, 2. *Ohio*, old bank at Chillicothe, 5. *Virginia*, Farmers' Bank and branches, 2; Bank of Virginia and branches, 1; Bank of the Valley and branches, 1. *Delaware*, Farmers' Bank and branches, par; Delaware, Wilmington, and Brandywine banks, par; Com. Bank of Delaware, 1; Branch of ditto at Milford, 4. *Maryland*, Baltimore, ½; City Bank, 2½; Annapolis and branches, 2; Westminster, 1½; Havre de Grace, 1½; Hagerstown, 1½; Frederick County Bank, 2½; Conococheague, 2½; Caroline Bank at Denton, 12½; Elkton, par. *North Carolina*, State Bank and branches, 2½; Cape Fear, 3; Newbern, 3. *South Carolina*, generally, 1½. *Georgia*, State banks generally, 1½.

BRADFORD'S JOURNAL.—The following letter, addressed to "Messrs William and Thomas Bradford, Printers, in Philadelphia," and "To be delivered by the Lancaster Post who is also to bring the News Papers within subscribed for in the York Packet."

"YORK April the 6th 1775.

"GENTLEMEN.

"In order to assist in supporting so successful a Paper as yours—We the Subscribers do request you to send each of us a News Paper Weekly, and that you inclose the same in a Packet with Messrs Joseph Donaldson, George Irwin, Robert McPherson, Thomas Hartley, William Leas, John Fisher, David Cautler and George Lewis Letters Papers . . . directed to Mr. Rudolph Spangler in York Town. This Packet is to be sent by the Lancaster Post. The Spirit of Liberty which appears in your Publication has gained you many Friends in this County. So that ere long we expect your Subscribers will increase much in this Part of the Province. We are Gentlemen Your

"most humble Serv<sup>ts</sup>

"James Smith,	Stake & Miller,
"Martin Eichelberger,	Mich. Swoope,
"David Grier,	Hahn & Eichelberger,
"Michael Dautel,	Baltzer Spengler,
"John Kean,	Cha <sup>s</sup> Lukens,
"John Houston,	William White."

THE INDIANA COMPANY.—We are indebted to Mr. William Fisher Lewis for the following copy of a call for a special meeting of the Company, addressed to the Vice-President, Thomas Wharton:

"PHILADA. September 1778.

"SIR.

"We conceive it necessary to have as early a Meeting of the Proprietors of Indiana, as their Constitution will admit; to make Choice of a Presi-



dent in Place of Joseph Galloway Esq., & to determine on Matters of the greatest Importance to the Proprietors. We therefore beg the favour of you to call a meeting of the said Proprietors, to be held at the Indian Queen Tavern in the City of Philad<sup>a</sup> on the third day of May next, or as Early as possible.

“ We are with Respect Sir

“ Your most obedient Servants

“ WILLIAM TRENT,

“ THO<sup>s</sup> BOND,

“ JOSEPH SIMON,

“ AND. LEVY,

“ TRENT, FRANKS, SIMON & LEVY

for Philip Boyht,

“ MATTHIAS SLOUGH

on behalf of self and the other Executors of Robert Callendar Dec<sup>d</sup>.”

WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.—Paul Leicester Ford, of 97 Clark Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., being engaged in the preparation of an edition of the writings of Thomas Jefferson, and desiring to make it as complete as possible, requests that any one possessing any of Jefferson's letters or manuscripts will communicate with him. Or if such persons will either loan these to Mr. Ford for a few days, he will guarantee their safe return; or if they will have them copied at his expense, and will enclose a bill, he will most gratefully pay for the copying, and give due credit for such assistance in the work.

A QUIANT RECORD.—“ John Wendel Pretius, husband of the present widow Christine, who on the 2d. June 1774, twelve miles hence, at Flowertown, mounting a wild mare which would return home to her colt, accidentally came under the beast, and very ill and deadly wounded, departed on the 1st Sunday after Trinity, the 5th. of June, about 10 o'clock in the night. The corpse was brought the day following to this town and taken in view by the Coroner and Jury: the 7th of June, and after six o'clock in the afternoon was buried, in the 55th year of his age.”

FRANKLINIANA.—The following is taken from S. P. Moore's Tax List for Philadelphia County, 1765:

“ Benjamin Franklin S<sup>o</sup> side High Street bet 3 & 4<sup>th</sup> £10.” T. S.

### Queries.

VICKLORD OR VICKROY.—Can any one tell me anything concerning an officer of the Revolution by the name of Vicklord or Vickroy? What was his rank, under whom did he serve, and in what battles did he participate?

An ancestor, from Western Pennsylvania, who was at Trenton and Yorktown, served under such an officer.

If something more of his revolutionary record could be learned through that of his colonel, brigade, or corps, it would give great pleasure to those interested.

INQUIRER.

AMERICAN EDITION OF THE SPECTATOR.—When, where, and by whom was the first American edition of *The Spectator* published?

H. E.

SAFFEN.—Rebeckah Saffen, daughter of Thomas and Mary Saffen, was born in Newark, N. J., September 22, 1769, and married November 7, 1790, John J., son of Josiah Crane, of Newark. She died in New York October 26, 1847. John J. Crane was born March 8, 1767, and died in July, 1808.

Persons who can furnish any information with regard to the Saffen family will greatly oblige by communicating with

C. SIDNEY CRANE,  
41 West Forty-fifth Street,  
New York.

### Replies.

THE DOYLESTOWN DEMOCRAT'S MOTTO.—[PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIV. p. 333.]—The author of the motto was Judge Story, and in the first volume of his biography (p. 127) by his son, W. W. Story, will be found the following :

“The motto which the *Salem Register* adopted in the year 1802, and still retains, was also written by my father :

“‘Here shall the Press the People’s right maintain,  
Unawed by influence and unbribed by gain ;  
Here Patriot Truth her glorious precepts draw,  
Pledged to Religion, Liberty, and Law.’”

Judge Story was then a young lawyer, and was living at Salem, where he was a frequent writer for the local Republican paper, and so came to furnish its motto,—which is still kept at the head of the editorial page. It is an excellent one, certainly, and we may not only hope that the *Register* has lived up to it during all these years, but wish also that the press generally might adopt and honor it. The *Doylestown Democrat*, it is to be hoped, did not find it too high a standard, and drop it on that account, after (as stated) a few years’ trial !

H. M. J.

### Book Notices.

THE POLITICAL BEGINNINGS OF KENTUCKY. By John Mason Brown. Louisville: John P. Morton & Co. 4to, 263 pp. Price, \$2.50.

This handsome volume, printed on heavy laid paper, with broad margins, forms No. 6 of the publications of the “Filson Club.” It is the most scholarly and valuable production that the club has issued, and, as we read its interesting pages, we are impressed with the great loss we have suffered in the death of its accomplished author. Colonel Brown fortunately completed his work before his death, and placed the manuscript in the hands of the printers, who, in accordance with his wishes, have published it just as he left it.

The book treats of the Indian title, Henderson’s purchase, and the organization of the Transylvania Company, as well as the efforts that were made to have the district it claimed represented in the Continental Congress in 1775. There is also a full account of the erection of the county of Illinois (now the State of Kentucky) by the Legislature of Virginia, and the efforts that were made for a separate political organization, resulting in the formation of a new State. The alarm that spread over the West and Southwest at the beginning of the present century, when it was feared that a free navigation of the Mississippi River would be denied

the inhabitants of those sections by the Spanish government, is well told; but probably the most interesting and important portion of the work is that which treats of the Spanish, French, and British intrigues, in which attempts were made to separate the Western country from the United States. In writing this portion Colonel Brown enjoyed a special advantage, as he fortunately secured copies from foreign archives of the despatches which the representatives of foreign governments in this country sent home to their authorities. The despatches of Dorchester, Miro, and Gardoqui have thus been laid under contribution, and the revelations they make are interesting in the extreme. The account of the effort made in 1790 to prohibit slavery in Kentucky is also very interesting. The narrative is brought down to 1792, which Colonel Brown says closes the first period of the political beginnings of Kentucky. It is to be regretted that he was not spared to write the second period, for which he had collected considerable material. This would have continued the story to 1807, and would have included such topics as the organization of executive and legislative powers, the mission of Power and other Spanish emissaries, and their attempts upon Sebastian, Nicholas, and Murray, the ferment that grew out of the alien and sedition laws and excise legislation, the excitement fomented by Genêt and other French agents, the remodelling of the Constitution in 1799, the acquisition of Louisiana, and the arrest and trial of Aaron Burr. The subject is a rich one that should tempt some member of the Filson Club to continue the work of Colonel Brown.

MANUSCRIPT HISTORY OF THE CATTELL FAMILY IN ENGLAND.—Prof. W. P. Phillimore, in "A Calendar of Wills relating to the Counties of Northampton and Rutland, Proved in the Court of the Archdeacon of Northampton, 1510 to 1652," gives an account of the late Thomas William Cattell, a native of Coventry, born in June, 1809, and that his ancestors long resided in Northamptonshire. He practised medicine in Liverpool, and later in life turned his attention to genealogical pursuits.

"In the first instance, like most other genealogists, Mr. Cattell first turned his attention to the history of his own name and family, his collections about which are remarkably complete, and are nearly all embodied in some eight or ten manuscript volumes, forming, in fact, an elaborate register of the name. In doing this he not only made exhaustive searches at Northampton Probate Registry, the Record Office, Somerset House, and through innumerable parish registers, but also undertook the very tedious work of extracting all the modern Cattell entries in the Records of the Registrar-General, a task the like of which has seldom, if ever, been done before. Mr. Cattell made abstracts of some hundreds of Northamptonshire wills, chiefly relating to yeoman families in the western half of that county; these, which he indexed very fully, are now in the editor's possession."



MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA, 1890.

There being no quorum present on the evening of January 13, no meeting was held.

A special meeting was held on Monday evening, February 3, Brinton Coxe, Esq., presiding, to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the organization of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Chairman introduced Hampton L. Carson, Esq., who read a paper giving a graphic description of the opening of the first session of the court in New York; a brief history of several important cases; and concluded with interesting accounts of the more distinguished justices who had presided over or assisted at the sittings of the court during the past century.

On motion of John K. Valentine, Esq., a vote of thanks was tendered.

A stated meeting of the Society was held March 10, Vice-President Samuel W. Pennypacker in the chair.

A valuable statistical and historical paper was read by Francis N. Thorpe, Ph.D., on "Recent Constitution-making in the United States."

On motion, a vote of thanks was tendered.

Nominations for officers to be voted for at the next stated meeting being in order, J. Granville Leach, Esq., nominated the following:

*President.*

Brinton Coxe.

*Honorary Vice-Presidents.*

Aubrey H. Smith,                      Craig Biddle,  
Ferdinand J. Dreer.

*Vice-President (to serve three years).*

Isaac Craig, of Alleghany, Penna.

*Corresponding Secretary.*

Gregory B. Keen.

*Recording Secretary.*

William Brooke Rawle.

*Treasurer.*

J. Edward Carpenter.

*Council (to serve four years).*

Edwin T. Eisenbrey,                      George Harrison Fisher,  
Charles Roberts.

*Trustee of the Publication and Binding Fund* (to serve six years).  
Charles Hare Hutchinson.

No other nominations being made, the chairman appointed tellers to conduct the election on May 5.

The announcement was made by the chairman that the superb collection of laws and books relating to the early history of America, known as the "Charlemagne Tower Collection," had been presented to the Society, and the correspondence connected therewith was read by the Secretary.

Vice-President Charles J. Stillé moved, "That the action of the Council in reference to the munificent gift of Mrs. Charlemagne Tower be ratified and confirmed by the Society," and in doing so spoke of the great value of the books.

The meeting then adjourned.

A special meeting was held April 28, in memory of the late John Jordan, Jr., a Vice-President of the Society, President Brinton Coxe in the chair. A large and sympathetic audience was in attendance. Addresses were made by President Coxe, Dr. James J. Levick, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, Right Rev. J. Mortimer Levering, and Dr. Charles J. Stillé. The Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker read the minute on behalf of the Council.

After a vote of thanks to Dr. Levick, who read the memoir, and a resolution that a portrait in oil of Mr. Jordan be secured by the Council, the meeting adjourned.

The annual meeting of the Society was held May 5, the President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

Minutes of the last meeting read and approved.

The tellers appointed to conduct the annual election reported that the gentlemen nominated at the last stated meeting had been unanimously elected.

Dr. Charles J. Stillé nominated Henry Charles Lea for Vice-President, and Frederick D. Stone nominated Brinton Coxe for Trustee of the Publication and Binding Fund, to succeed John Jordan, Jr., deceased, who were unanimously elected.

Hampton L. Carson, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Dreer Collection of Manuscripts, formally presented the collection to the Society, on whose behalf it was received by President Coxe. Professor G. B. Keen then read a detailed sketch of the collection.

On motion of Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, it was

"*Resolved*, That Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, in directing the Trustees of 'The Dreer Collection of Manuscripts' to deposit in the fire-proof rooms of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania the extraordinarily valuable collection of autographs and rare historical documents which it has been the work of his life to gather and preserve, and in showing his generous

regard for the interests of literature by making these valuable treasures accessible to historical students, is entitled to the earnest thanks of the members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, of scholars everywhere, and of this community, whose literature and history they enrich and elucidate."

The Secretary announced that Miss Elizabeth Nixon had presented to the Society portraits of Robert Morris, father of the financier; Robert Morris, the financier; Robert Morris, son of the latter; Bishop White; a miniature of Colonel John Nixon; a brass-bound box belonging to Robert Morris; a gold and enamelled breastpin with hair of George and Martha Washington; and a tea set of royal Dresden china, presented to Mrs. Morris by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French Minister to the United States.

On motion of Mr. Frederick D. Stone, it was

"*Resolved*, That the Historical Society of Pennsylvania highly appreciates the motives which prompted Miss Elizabeth Nixon to present to it the interesting relics of her honored ancestor, Robert Morris, as specified in her letter of 2d inst., and accepts the gift with gratitude, pledging itself to faithfully carry out the wishes of Miss Nixon regarding their preservation.

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary be instructed to furnish Miss Nixon with a copy of these resolutions, and to express to her the thanks of the Society for having added to its collections such valuable memorials, the contemplation of which will keep in grateful remembrance the patriotism and devotion of one of the most distinguished servants of his country."

The Secretary also announced that Mrs. Chapman Biddle had presented a collection of papers and letters belonging to her late husband, among which were thirty-four letters written and signed and thirty-two written by his secretary but signed by Washington; five notes of Mrs. Washington; fifty letters written by Tobias Lear, the secretary of Washington; three letters of Alexander Hamilton; and a number of others from distinguished individuals.

On motion of Charles J. Stillé, Esq., the following minute was thereupon unanimously adopted:

"The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, having received from Mrs. Chapman Biddle a numerous collection of letters formerly in the possession of the late Colonel Chapman Biddle, written by men conspicuous during the Revolution as soldiers or as statesmen, desires to express to Mrs. Biddle its deep sense of the value of these precious memorials, and its sincere appreciation of the confidence which has been shown in the Society by making it their custodian and guardian.

"The Society begs also to assure Mrs. Biddle that in the estimation of its members the value of the gift is greatly enhanced by its coming from the family of one who was himself one of the heroes of that remarkable period. The Society further pledges itself to guard these most important contributions to the history of the Revolution with jealous care,



not only from respect to the memory of the illustrious dead, but from a desire to keep alive the honor and reverence which is due them."

The meeting then adjourned.

A stated meeting of the Society was held November 10, President Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

The Librarian, Mr. Frederick D. Stone, announced the following gifts of paintings, valuable documents, and relics: From Mrs. John W. Field, portraits of William Peters and wife, of Belmont; Rev. Richard Peters; Hon. Richard Peters; General Baron von Steuben; and a large collection of letters and documents. From Dr. Charles R. King, journals and documents of Congress, originally the property of Hon. Rufus King, United States Senator from New York. From Mrs. Albina N. Roberts, an old chair with an interesting history. There were also presented to the Society some water-color paintings representing old Fairmount and Port Richmond, painted over half a century ago.

The President introduced Captain Richard S. Collum, U.S.M.C., who read a paper on "The Services of the American Marines during the War of the Revolution."

On motion, a vote of thanks was tendered to him.

The meeting then adjourned.

A special meeting of the Society was held December 8, the President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

The Rev. S. D. McConnell, D.D., was introduced, and delivered an address on the late S. Austin Allibone, LL.D.

A vote of thanks was passed, after which the meeting adjourned.

OFFICERS  
OF  
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

---

PRESIDENT.

BRINTON COXE.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

CRAIG BIDDLE,                      AUBREY H. SMITH,  
FERDINAND J. DREER.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

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JOHN B. GEST,	CHARLES J. STILLÉ.





EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

Statement of Finances, December 31, 1889.

DR.

The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following :

To Real Estate . . . . .	\$131,520 48
“ Investments . . . . .	79,663 67
“ Cash . . . . .	5,988 27

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 . . . . .	532 93
Binding Fund, Capital Invested . . . . .	5,300 00
“ “ Interest Account . . . . .	315 14
Library Fund, Capital Invested . . . . .	16,000 00
“ “ Interest Account . . . . .	86 60
Publication Fund, Capital Invested . . . . .	32,111 78
“ “ “ Uninvested . . . . .	1,117 97
“ “ Interest Account . . . . .	2,457 45
Endowment Fund, Capital Invested . . . . .	20,751 89
“ “ “ Uninvested with Trustees . . . . .	693 71
“ “ Interest Account with Treasurer . . . . .	150 00
Balance Donation for Harleian Publications . . . . .	58 00
Investments of Real Estate . . . . .	126,020 48
Balance in hands of Treasurer . . . . .	180 93
Sundries . . . . .	395 54
	<hr/>
	\$217,172 42 \$217,172 42

Publication Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1889 . . . . .	\$1,617 85
Interest, Dividends, and Rents . . . . .	2,097 69
Subscriptions to Magazine, etc. . . . .	1,026 22
	<hr/>
	\$4,741 76
Disbursements for 1889 . . . . .	2,284 31
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	\$2,457 45

*General Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1889 . . . . .	\$547 81
Annual Dues, 1889 . . . . .	5,315 00
Donations . . . . .	355 81
Interest and Dividends . . . . .	460 85
" Trustees Endowment Fund . . . . .	945 00
	<hr/>
	\$7,624 47
Disbursements: General Expenses, Taxes, and Sundries for 1889 . . . . .	7,091 54
Balance in hands of Treasurer . . . . .	<hr/>
	\$532 93

*Binding Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1889 . . . . .	\$234 24
Interest and Dividends . . . . .	332 00
	<hr/>
	\$566 24
Disbursements for Binding, 1889 . . . . .	251 10
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	<hr/>
	\$315 14

*Library Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1889 . . . . .	\$270 08
Interest on Investments . . . . .	699 37
Sales of Duplicates . . . . .	104 25
	<hr/>
	\$1,073 70
Disbursements: Books purchased in 1889 . . . . .	987 10
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	<hr/>
	\$86 60

*Endowment Fund.*

Receipts: Interest and Dividends . . . . .	\$945 00
Disbursements: Paid to Treasurer General Fund . . . . .	945 00

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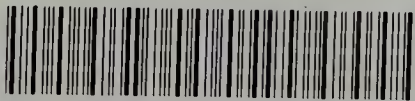




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