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The
Pennsylvania
Magazine

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XXII.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLICATION FUND OF
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.
No. 1300 LOCUST STREET.
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THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
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VOL. XXII.

1898.

No. 1.

In Memoriam.

WILLIAM SPOHN BAKER.

WILLIAM SPOHN BAKER, a Vice-President and member of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, was born in Philadelphia, April 17, 1824, and died at his residence on Arch Street, September 8, 1897.

Mr. Baker's father, George Nice Baker, born January 8, 1788, and died in 1859, was prominently connected with the municipal affairs of this city, and his mother, Ann Keyser, born October 28, 1792, and died in 1867, was a great-great-granddaughter of Dirk Keyser, who settled in Germantown in 1688. His great-grandfather, Michael Baker, who became a resident of this city in 1740, and his grandfather, Michael Baker, Jr., served during our war for independence, the former as a private and the latter as a

lieutenant in the artillery battalion commanded by Colonel Jehu Eyre. His great-grandfather, Captain George Nice, also commanded a company of the Second Battalion Philadelphia Artillery Militia.

After being educated in the private schools of this city, Mr. Baker entered the office of Andrew D. Cash, Esq., with whom he studied conveyancing. He practised his profession for some years, and then turned his attention to literary pursuits and historical research, particularly in all matters relating to Washingtoniana, of which he was recognized the foremost authority in the United States. He was elected a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania April 28, 1878, and of its Council in 1885, and since 1892 one of its Vice-Presidents. Ardent and unselfish in his devotion to the interests of the Society and sound in his business advice, he made himself an agreeable and helpful associate. His colleagues have recorded their estimation of his personal qualifications and worth in the following minute:

“That by the death of William Spohn Baker the Council and the Historical Society have lost a most active and zealous co-laborer in their work. He was the warm friend and promoter of all plans designed to extend and widen the influence of the Society. Feeling the importance of a more general knowledge of American history in the community, he spared no labor, and made use of a critical and discriminating judgment in gathering material to illustrate the course of events. With this material, carefully used, he formed a collection of great value, enabling him to speak

with authority in his own work on the Revolution, and especially on the career of Washington, and finally enabling him, by his munificent bequest of this collection to the Society, to aid students of American history who might come after him."

Second only to Mr. Baker's interest in and devotion to the Historical Society were his active and valuable services to the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution, of which he was a member of its Board of Managers and chairman of the important "Committee on Memorials." His discovery of the camp-site of Washington's army at the "Falls of Schuylkill," just before and after the battle of Brandywine,—a location which our historians had been at a loss to satisfactorily account for,—and his researches relating to the camp at the Gulph Mill testify to the interest he took in the objects of the Society. It was largely through his individual efforts that memorial stones mark their sites. Among the other societies with which he was connected may be mentioned the American Philosophical Society, in which he filled the office of Curator for several years; the American Historical Association; the American Numismatic and Archæological Society of New York; the New Jersey Historical Society; the Society of the War of 1812; the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, of which he was a member of the Board of Managers; the German Society; and the Netherland Society, serving one term as President. He was also a director of the School of Design for Women from 1877 to 1881; in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts he was a director from 1876 to 1890, and Vice-

President from 1885 to 1890; a director of the Athenæum of Philadelphia from 1888 to his death; and a director of the Commercial National Bank.

Mr. Baker's first literary inclinations were towards the art of engraving and not on the line of historical research, and his early published works are on the origin and antiquity of engraving and American engravers and their work. Although not an artist in the accepted sense of the word, he was thoroughly familiar with the history and artistic value of the majority of rare prints, either American or foreign, and some of the treasures which he gathered are of the finest character. When he turned his attention to Washingtoniana, he began the collection of books, prints, and medals in order to acquire the knowledge which he considered necessary for the production of the standard works which have emanated from his pen. His Washington library, which is composed of about five hundred volumes and pamphlets, contains many rare works, among them a copy of every edition of Mason L. Weems's "Life of Washington." The most important among his pamphlets are those from which he compiled his "Early Sketches of Washington." Many of these were printed in English and French magazines during the period of Washington's lifetime, and have been lost sight of by the average biographer. Copies of the unpublished diaries of Washington are also a noteworthy feature of his collection. Although a lover of books, Mr. Baker can in no wise be classed with the ordinary book-collectors who take a more or less selfish pleasure in gratifying their hobby, and who seldom do any real liter-

ary work or consider the pleasure that might be derived by the general public from the treasures of their collections. He viewed the subject in a very different light.

Equally valuable is his collection of Washington prints, about eleven hundred in number. The most remarkable of these is a mezzotinto engraving from the military portrait of Washington, executed from life by Charles Willson Peale, by the order of Congress. The original painting hung in the State-House, but on the night of September 12, 1781, it was totally defaced by some vandals. A year before, Mr. Peale had fortunately executed a mezzotinto engraving of this painting, but as only a limited number of impressions were taken, the engraving is among the rarest of Washington prints. Mr. Baker's "Engraved Portraits of Washington" is virtually a catalogue of his collection to the year 1880, but since that date he has made many additions. His collection of medals, coins, and tokens numbers upwards of eleven hundred pieces. In bequeathing all his treasures to the Historical Society, he knew that they would always be appreciated and receive the care and attention he had bestowed on them, and that they would be made accessible to the historical student. Mr. Baker's contributions to the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*, and all his historical works, are noted for their thoroughness, for he always verified every statement by the most methodical and painstaking research. Thoroughness was a habit of his life. His judgment was sound, and having adopted an opinion, he was zealous, though conciliatory, in enforcing it. The activity of his mind remained undiminished to the day of his death, and particu-

larly during the cooler months of the year he was constantly occupied in his favorite study at his home and at the rooms of the Historical Society.

Mr. Baker was rather cautious in his attachments, but when his friendship was obtained, it was enduring. He was always gratified with the society of his friends, in his conversation was genial, interesting, and instructive, and he entertained them with unaffected hospitality.

Mr. Baker was married May 12, 1853, to Eliza Downing, daughter of Richard and Jane Bartleson Rowley, and is survived by a daughter, Laura, wife of Henry Whelen, Jr., of this city.

THE WORKS

OF

WILLIAM SPOHN BAKER.

The Origin and Antiquity of Engraving: with some Remarks on the Utility and Pleasures of Prints. *Spero meliora*. 8vo, pp. 62. Philadelphia, 1872. (Dedication signed W. S. B.)

The Origin and Antiquity of Engraving: with some Remarks on the Utility and Pleasures of Prints. By W. S. Baker. With heliotype illustrations. 4to, pp. 62. Boston, 1875.

William Sharp, Engraver: with a Descriptive Catalogue of his Works. By W. S. Baker. Small 8vo, pp. 121. Philadelphia, 1875.

American Engravers and their Works. By W. S. Baker. *Collige et inscribe*. Small 8vo, pp. 184. Philadelphia, 1875. (Large paper edition of the same.)

The Engraved Portraits of Washington. With Notices of the Originals and Brief Biographical Sketches of the Painters. By W. S. Baker. 4to, pp. 212. Philadelphia, 1880.

Medallic Portraits of Washington. With Historical and Critical Notes, and a Descriptive Catalogue of the Coins, Medals, Tokens, and Cards. By W. S. Baker. 4to, pp. 252. Philadelphia, 1885.

Character Portraits of Washington as delineated by Historians, Orators, and Divines, selected and arranged in Chronological Order, with Biographical Notes and References. By W. S. Baker. Small 4to, pp. 851. Frontispiece. Philadelphia, 1887.

Bibliotheca Washingtoniana: a Descriptive List of the Biographies and Biographical Sketches of George Washington. By William S. Baker. Pp. 179. Frontispiece. Philadelphia, 1889.

Itinerary of General Washington from June 15, 1775, to December 23, 1783. By William S. Baker. 8vo, pp. 334. Frontispiece. Philadelphia, 1892.

The Camp by the Old Gulph Mill. An address delivered before the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution, June 19, 1893, on the occasion of dedicating the memorial stone marking the site of the encampment of the Continental army at the Old Gulph Mill in December, 1777. By William Spohn Baker. 8vo, pp. 12. Frontispiece. Philadelphia, 1893.

Early Sketches of George Washington, reprinted with Biographical and Bibliographical Notes. By William S. Baker. Pp. 150. Frontispiece. Philadelphia, 1894.

Remarks made June 18, 1894, by William Spohn Baker, Esq., in response to the toast "The Day we Celebrate," on the occasion of the visit to Fort Mifflin and the site of Fort Mercer, on the Delaware, by the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution. 8vo, pp. 5. Philadelphia, 1894.

Address of William Spohn Baker, Esq., delivered November 9, 1895, on the occasion of dedicating the memorial stone erected by the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution at Queen and Thirty-first Streets, Philadelphia, marking the site of the encampment of the Continental army in August and September, 1777. 8vo, pp. 9. Frontispiece. Philadelphia, 1896.

Washington after the Revolution, 1784-1799. By William Spohn Baker. 8vo, pp. 416. Philadelphia, 1898.

Washington in Philadelphia, 1790-1797. By William S. Baker. Philadelphia, 1898. [In press.]

JOURNAL OF MAJOR HENRY LIVINGSTON, OF THE
THIRD NEW YORK CONTINENTAL LINE, AUGUST
TO DECEMBER, 1775.

BY GAILLARD HUNT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

[Robert Livingston, son of the Rev. John Livingston, of Scotland, came to America in 1673, and later received a patent for a tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land on Hudson River. He had three sons, Philip, Robert, and Gilbert. Gilbert Livingston's eldest son, Henry, married Susanna Conklin, and Major Henry Livingston was their son. He was born on the family estate at Poughkeepsie October 13, 1748, and died there February 29, 1828. Major Livingston was thus twenty-seven years of age when he was commissioned major of the Third New York Continental Line, Colonel James Clinton, and when his regiment was ordered to join the Canada expedition under General Richard Montgomery, who had married his great-aunt Janet Livingston. Subsequent to the date of this journal his career was uneventful, for, beyond serving as a Judge of Dutchess County, he preferred the life of a country gentleman. Unlike his kinsman of Clermont, he was a staunch Federalist after the Revolution. The journal came into my hands as Historian of the Society of the Sons of the Revolution in the District of Columbia, and is the property of Henry Livingston Thomas, a member of the Society.—G. H.]

1775, August 25.—Embark'd on board Cap't Jacksons sloop at 5 oclock in the afternoon (who had on board Col'o [James] Clinton, Mr. Drake sutler & Cap't [John] Nicholson with his company. We sail'd in company with Cap't [Benjamin] North, [Anthony] Van Shaack, & [John] Gale each with men on board. In the evening Van Shaack & Gale got aground on Esopus meadows.

August 27.—Our sloop arriv'd at Kingston landing ab't 6 oclock in the morning of the 26th. The Coll'o & a few more went on shore. Breakfasted, got on board & with a fair wind hoisted anchor at 9 oclock on our way to Albany, arriv'd at that city at 5 oclock in the afternoon.

August 28, Sunday.—Heard Mr. Kirkland preach Indian & Interpret it in English. Cap't [Lewis] Dubois arrived

just before breakfast. Sent a letter to my wife by Mr. G. Duychinck. Saw part of the transactions between the Commissioners from the Congress & the Six Nations sachems held in the meeting house. They gave several belts to the Indians, one whereof cost 60 dollars.¹

August 29.—Rainy. Captain [Daniel] Denton arrived with his company—sent a letter by an express from Col'o Van Shaack to P. B. Livingston, Mr. Curtenius & Doct'r Cooke.

September 2.—The commissioners ended the business with the 6 nations and gave them presents to the value of £1800 or £2000.

September 3, Sunday.—Doctor [Samuel] Cooke & Lt. [John] Langdon arrived.

September 4.—Received letters from my wife my Father & Doct. Welles.

September 6.—Coll'o Cortlandt & myself hir'd a chaise & took a ride to Cohoes, Nestiguine & Schenectady & return'd at noon next day. From Albany to the first branch of the Mohawk river abt 6 miles the road is very good & for the first 4 miles it runs thro low land—in general the low land extends abt half a mile back from the river. Leaving Hudsons and coursing up the south branch of Mohawk we find the land poor & the roads bad, a strong gravelly soil in general abt 4 miles from Hudsons river is Cohoes fall, the river there is abt 3 or 400 yards wide, the banks very high and rocky on each side at the falls & more or less so all the way down. The fall is abt 60 or 70 feet high & almost perpendicular, from Cohoes its little more than 2 miles to Half Moon. The several branches of the Mohawk run with considerable rapidity till they discharge themselves in Hudsons river. From One Fondas² abt a mile beyond Cohoes its abt 6 miles to Nestiguine (altho a near bad road makes

¹ Cf. Sparks's "Correspondence of the Revolution," Vol. I. pp. 15, 22.

² Probably the same Fonda who, as an active patriot, was imprisoned by the Tory sheriff of Tryon County, Alexander White, and afterwards forcibly released by a band of his friends.—*Lossing's Schuyler*, Vol. I. pp. 390, 391.

it 4). The land all the way high & stony & few inhabitants. At Nestiguine the soil is excellent, the very best of low land and lying on Mohawk river abt 3/4 mile broad from the river. The river itself is generally abt 40 yards wide. From here to Schenectady is one continued pine Barren as it is from Schenectady to Albany. The former town is beautifully situated on the banks of the M. river & low land stretching all around it on the E. & W. sides. It contains abt 2 or 300 Houses many of which are elegant. It has 3 Churches—a Dutch, presbyterian & Episcopalian.

September 9.—To day marched Cap't Dubois, [Andrew] Billings & [John] Johnson of our Reg't. Cap't [William] Goforth of 1st Batt: & Cap't Lamb of the Artillery. The 3 first named companys got each man a months pay this morning. Twas delivered to their respective captains yesterday—sent letters home by Phill. Cooper.

September 12.—At 2 oclock Cap't [Rufus] Herrick marched of Coll'o [James] Holmes's regiment.

September 15.—This morning set of for Redhook arrived there in the evening & next day went to Poughkeepsie, left that place on Monday morning & got here at Albany again on Tuesday evening, was out 5 days.

September 21.—This afternoon Cap't Rosekrans arrived of the 4th Battalion. Received written orders from Col'o Van Shaack to march the 23d with the Companies of Cap's Johnson, [Daniel] Mills & [Jonathan] Platt.

September 22.—Gave written orders to the above Captain to march Tomorrow morning.

September 23.—Set of from Albany with part of the Com: of Cap't Johnson at 4 oclock aft'n, marched up abt 5 miles to one Minneways & there joined Cap't Mills & Platt, cross'd Hudsons river that evening & lodg'd in the New City. The 24th (Sunday) in the morning cross'd the river again at Half Moon¹ & got that day abt 20 miles at Stillwater, Next day the 25th reach'd within abt 5 miles of Fort Edward. The 26th got as far as One Abraham Wings abt 6 miles beyond the fort, arrived at the Lake George, the 27th at 12 oclock.

¹ Now Waterford.

The land for 2 miles north and south of the New City is but thin & stony. At the Half Moon which is 14 miles from Albany the soil is good chiefly lowland. Between the last place & Stillwater the ground appears good & is well settled, not much low land but a loamy [?] soil seems to prevail; Hudsons river at Half Moon is abt 400 yards wide & from there up to Stillwater is in some places pretty rapid. From Stillwater up to Saratoga (14 or 15 miles) the land at each side of the river is excellent, altho the low land does not extend above half a mile or a quarter from the river the timber is very large & mix'd with white pine a great deal—immediately next the low land both on the E. & W. sides the ground is high & clayey of a whitish colour.

Saratoga seems to be a well settled lively place & the lands around it good. From there to Fort Edward the soil is rather clayey & cold, near the fort are some clever meadows, but the plains adjoining are not very rich altho good. Leaving the Fort we rise a hill abt half a mile Distance & then an extensive plain begins which continues for 10 miles or more. The first 2 miles of the way the land is undesirable being mostly timbered with pitch pines. Then there is abt 2 miles where are some farms, the soil clayey & Timber white pine, at 5 miles distance from the fort lives one Abraham Wing, within 600 yards of Hudsons river, where He has a Grist & Saw Mill on a Fall of Water that is quite considerable. The whole height being perhaps 30 or 40 feet, and the rocks projecting out in such a manner as to bear very much the appearance of a regular fortification. Abt 3 miles below this is another fall on which stands a saw mill.

There is but 1 house between Wings & Fort George. The soil most part of the way very poor & cover'd with Pitch pines, till we come within 3 miles of the Lake where High hills prevail & rocky cover'd with white oak & Chestnut Trees. Fort George is built on an Eminence 300 yards south of Lake George, is much out of repair altho still defensible, being built mostly of stone. It lies near a quarter of a mile E. from the ruins of Fort William Henry.

There is near 3 or 400 acres of cleared land abt the fort & a few wretched Hovels that were formerly used as Barracks.

September 28.—At 4 in the afternoon I set of from Fort George with Cap't Johnson Lt. [Philip Dubois] Bevier & 22 of his men on board a petteaugre & crossing Lake George arrived the next day abt 2 oclock at the landing on the north part of the Lake & got up to Ticonderoga Fortress abt an hours sun.

Lake George is near 40 miles in length and 2 miles in breadth upon an average, with a considerable depth of water, generally upwards of 20 fathoms, there are a number of small islands in it particularly towards the southern part, & all of them rough & rocky altho cover'd with Timber. The mountains stretching all along and bordering directly on the Lake are pretty high & steep & very rocky & much covered with Trees. The sail up the lake very much resembles a voyage thro the Highlands.

On Sabbathday point 12 miles from the N. End are 2 or 3 small tenements & they are the only Houses we see during the whole length of the Lake. From the landing to Ticonderoga is by land 3 short miles. The course by water is abt the like distance altho Battoes go up of that distance more than a mile.

The land between the Lakes George & Champlain is clayey & fine for pasture.

Ticonderoga Fort is built on an Eminence on a point of land near the Lake & is now much out of repair altho the works are many of them still excellent. There is a stone redoubt 2 or 2 1/2 00 yards east from the Fort in tolerable bad repair. The famous Breastwork that prov'd so fatal to our Troops last war is near half a mile west of the fort & by its remains tis evident that its strength was once very great. There is also a stone breastwork runs East & West to the north of the fort more than 1/4 of a mile. The clear'd land abt it is abt 300 acres of a rich clay & very fit for pasture. The lake opposite to it is half a mile wide & the land over against it rich & good.

October 4.—At 4 in the afternoon set of from Ticonderoga

with Coll'o Clinton, Cap't Nicholson, Billings & Johnson & 165 men in 14 battoes. That evening reach'd Crownpoint. Left that place next morning & got as far as one Night's 27 miles from Crownpoint in Company with 2 Battoes besides my own. The rest went forward 2 miles. The next evening my battoe reach'd a point of land opposite the southern part of Grand Isle; at which Island the rest of the boats all stay'd. We kept on the point till 10 in the evening & then with a small breeze stood down the Lake & went slowly on till 8 in the morning when we touch'd on shore & rested in the boat till day light & again stood down the Lake, went on shore at the Isle of Mott & at 12 stop'd at a house of Col'o Cristie's till the rest of the boats came up which they did in 2 hours time. From there we all set of together & at evening landed on the east side of the Lake at 7 miles distance to S. of Isle Aux Noix—pitch'd our tents on the sand, & early next morning set of again in a violent rain which lasted without any Interruption till we arrived at Isle Aux Noix where we came abt noon. Next morning got on board again & arrived safely at the Camp abt a mile $\frac{1}{4}$ above St. Johns at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th inst.

October 9.—Lake Champlain from Ticonderoga to Split rock which is a course of abt 30 or 35 miles is between a mile & mile & half wide with deep water & good landings. At Split rock it widens considerably all at once and soon grows to be 10 15 & 20 miles wide. The widest part of all I imagine to be 25 miles.

The four Brothers are small islands of abt an acre each and lye near in the middle of the Lake pretty near one another.

Grand Isle—Long Island & Isle of Mott lye in a row & extend to a length of 30 or 40 miles. The boats allways should keep pretty near the west shore.

Immediately below Col'o Cristie's house at point Auferre the Lake grows quite narrow & soon comes to be less than a Quarter of a mile wide—which is the width more or less till 2 miles below Isle Aux Noix when till we come near St. Johns half a mile is its breadth. By trailing I caught a

fine pike 2 feet long & a clever Bass with which kind of fish & yellow perch & sunfish the Lake abounds.

The land between Crownpoint & Ticonderoga is by the looks of it & common report very excellent fit for wheat as well as grass & something hilly. From Crownpoint to Split rock its mountainous on the west side but on the east is level and fine as far as the eye can reach. One Mr. Gilliland has a tract of land that begins at Split rock and extends northward 35 miles & is 4 or 5 miles in breadth—its upon the whole a most excellent tract of ground, low at the lakes edge and gently rising back from it. The timber chiefly hickory a few oaks & white birch's & Curl'd maple. That on the east side looks very similar altho something lower & has settlements more or less for 30 miles north of Split rock: on the west side there is only a few people that live on Gilliland's estate.

The land is very good & feasible till point Aufere But from there in to St. Johns on both sides of the Lake the soil is much too wet & low to render Dwellings on it agreeable. It being one entire swamp almost.

The Islands that are large in the Lake look as low & rich as the main land & have all of them very rocky shores. The smaller Islands are all craggy & bad to land at. At Cumberland head abt 10 miles below Point Aufere, the shore is covered with the finest stones imaginable for building. They are as square as if made so by art,—near this place a large stream comes from the westward.

On the Isle of Mott we observ'd a Lime kiln whether there is stone fit for lime on the main land we did not observe.

We arrived at Gen. Montgomerys camp near noon, the weather very fine—got our Tents pitch'd and every thing settled that afternoon. All I heard of war this day was a few shells thrown in the evening, for every one we threw, Our Enemys generally return'd us 4.

October 10.—A Quiet day. At 9 in the evening there was an Alarm given by one of our advanced guards that the Garrison had taken to their boats & were coming down upon us.

was intended for a sloop. She carried a 24 pounder of Brass in her Bow & on each side 1, 4 pounder, besides swivels—& conveniences for 16 oars to row on a side.

October 15, Sunday.—This morning we fired several Red-hot shot at the Schooner, but happily for us [her?] they went with such force that they flew quite thro her & lodg'd in the opposite bank—

In the afternoon getting a supply of powder we fired on the Enemy briskly till evening & which they return'd chiefly with shells—Late in the night a Batteau was sent past the fort & down the falls, with a double fortified 9 pounder on board, to go to Chamblee which Fortress our people were then beseiging.

The General neglecting to give Coll'o Bedle (who lay 1 1/2 miles north of St. John) notice of her going down, she received 10 or 12 shot from his guards before they could make themselves known as friends. But no hurt was received.

October 16.—The firing this day was not very brisk. The enemys was remarkably faint & Ill serv'd.

This evening another Cannon was sent down to Chamblee, & we repair'd our Battery.

October 18.—I Received orders from the General to march with 100 men of our Regiment to Caghnawaga to protect that nation from any Insults Carleton might offer them, & there were now 2 expresses in Camp who said that a considerable number of Regulars & Canadians (5 or 600) were on their march to the Caghnawaga Castle—To support the troops I took with me, He gave me £160 in Half Joes.

Col'o Clinton gave me leave to choose any 2 companies to accompany me, that I could confide in most out of his Regiment & I pitch'd upon those of Cap't Nicolson & Dubois, all of us together made 108 men.

This evening I set of with Lt. [Matthew] Van Bunschoten & my waiter thro a small rain & excessive dark, and after walking 2 miles down the Lake in as bad a path as can be imagined we ferried across to Col'o Bedles encampment who I went to see & desired to have provisions got ready

in the morning for our people against they came over—Van Bunschoten & myself lodged in a poor Frenchmans house hard by.

October 19.—This morning heard of the surrender of Chamblee, which was reduced the day before. We set of on our march from Col'o Bedles abt 8 OClock in the morning, Officers & soldiers carrying every one his Baggage.

Mine being stowed in a large portmanteau was very heavy. After walking 7 miles we procured a Cart to convey our packs. Just as it drew towards evening we came in sight of Lapraire & from a small elevation we were then on had a fine view of the river St. Lawrence, Montreal, Lonquieu & a large extent of Country every way. After my arrival at Lapraire it took me till dark in procuring houses for our soldiers to lodge in. The Officers & myself stay'd at the Captain of the Militias one Messr. Biscome.

The road from the falls half a mile below St. Johns to Lapraire is as strait as a line can be possibly drawn, and made at a very great expense thro a wet moorish & miry soil. It was thrown up by the French Regulars last war. For the first 7 miles after leaving the Lake there is not one house, The land sunken, low & wet, the timber chiefly white Birch, poplars, & such other wood as indicate a cold forbidden soil. There are but 7 or 8 houses between St. Johns & Lapraire & by what I could observe the Inhabitants were strangers to many of the necessarys & all the elegancies of highly civilized life.

The Village of Lapraire contains abt 30 houses small and great. The former by far the most numerous, and here as in every other part of Canada that ever I saw (even in Montreal itself) every house is white, being rough cast with Lime & sand whether built of wood or stone. Lapraire stands on the banks of the River St. Lawrence and is the miryest place besides Montreal I ever saw. The Church in it is pretty large altho far from being Hansome. The Chancel is highly finish'd. The Architecture truly grand; every part of it was brought in pieces from France many years ago. They

have two excellent pictures in it one of the Virgin Mary presenting a rosary to St. Francis—& the other the same St. Francis preaching to the Japanese. The main body of the Church occupied by the Audience is as rudely finished as even a Rude Canadian could wish.

The town is badly supplied with fuel. Firewood is as dear here as in New York, and the wood they have is bad being chiefly poplar. Mills are scarce in this part of the Country. Besides an old crazy windmill in Town there are but 2 in 10 miles round. The best of those belong to the Caghnawaga Indians & is 6 miles from Lapraire. They use no bolts in their mills. The people making use of seives. As no winter wheat is raised in this Country their bread made of Summer wheat is not so white as ours but full as well tasted. Of Indian Corn they raise none the land being too low & Cold. At Caghnawaga only a little is planted. The Canadians in General have good kitchen gardens; as their chief diet is soup its necessary they should take particular care of them; Their Onions and Cabbages are especially large & fine, more so in gardens that lie on the banks of St. Lawrence where the soil is richer than farther back.

The farmers about Lapraire raise considerable quantities of pease and potatoes, & some Turneps. They plow their fields for Summer wheat but once and that is pretty late in the fall, throwing the soil up in ridges & letting it lie still all winter, as soon as the weather will permit in the spring sow the wheat & harrow it in & in general have good crops. Their fences are very trifling and slight. For a mile and a half abt Lapraire they have no fencing at all—East & South of the Town the lands belong to the Nunnery there perhaps not less than 2 or 3000 acres & is one extensive field of pasture without a bush growing on it. The land in general seems much fitter for pasturage & meadow than Tillage. I never saw such a fine grass country in my life, the very wheat stubbles are better pasture than our best inclosed grass plots—and in consequence of this luxuriance of grass their milk is the best I ever tasted. The Horned Cattle are small. Milk cows abt as large as our 2 years old Heifers

with very short horns—Their Oxen are proportionably small and draw by their horns.

By the small quantities of hay I saw the farmers provide for winter I imagine their Horses and Cattle get their living in winter chiefly by pawing away the snow and getting at the grass under it, as I observ'd the grass was high & green when the snows fell.

They raise near as many sheep as we do among us and full as good or better—and much more poultry of all kinds particularly Turkeys.

The urbanity of the peasants is very singular. The meanest of our soldiers that enter'd one of their houses was instantly regal'd with a large bowl of Bread & Milk or any other eatables their Houses afforded; and altho our soldiery seldom made them any gratuities their kindness was still unremitted. But altho their hearts are good their Oeconomy is by no means so. After a peasants house is once built and the rain shut out, no more water ever touches their floors save a little holy water every morning which follows a partial sweeping. A broad hoe supplies the place of a scrubbing. No house has more than one fire place which is only for cooking. In the room where the family resides, a stove in the centre of the room keeps them even in the coldest weather as warm as they wish.

Just by the Bedside of each master of a Family is placed a crucifix, generally a foot or foot & a half long, some very coarse & Ill made, others gilt & pretty. I never saw a Bad bed in Canada. It seems as if they were resolv'd to lie well if they liv'd poor—many of them have 2 feather beds on each other. Their other furniture but so so—every thing that is made among them very bungling and coarse indeed. Their Carpenters are far from being Sir Christopher Wrens. They carry on but very little manufactures among themselves, even the simple art of knitting not a woman in 20 understands. In general I found the men and women much more dilatory and Idle than the people among us; to attain a bare subsistence seem'd to be the height of their wishes.

A land of slaves will ever be a land of poverty Ignorance & Idleness!

Among the common people all the learning is confin'd to the women, who are sent to school when young, which the men seldom or never are—not one in 20 of the latter can read.

All their religion consists in going very regularly to Church every Sunday and as regularly Horseracing Boxing wrestling & gaming between services; Sunday with them is the merriest day in the week. Sincere piety and rational devotion is but too little known among them. Yet I never saw people so generally old & young, attend divine service, or more solemnly go thro the round of follies their absurd religion calls upon them to attend. I enquired if there was not some protestants in this part of the country but could not hear of a single family. There liv'd at Lapraire Two Ministers. One an old Jesuit & Rector of the parish, an Arch Villain & a Tory. The other a fat Jolly thing of a Curate who did all the preaching and praying, and a thorough Whig.

As to politics I found the Country people extremely ignorant about it. They had heard a little about the Congress & knew that the province of Massachusetts bay had taken up arms, but I question whether they knew that any other Colony had done the same as they called all our Troops without any distinction Bostoneers.

They were very much averse to the Act of parliament enforcing the French laws—and hated Governor Carleton with perfect hatred—It appeared amazing to me how He would have the Effrontry to tell the Ministry or their Master that he could arm & bring into the field 10000 Canadians when at the same time he must have been sensible He could not Arm & produce 10 *willing* men in all Canada.

Some considerable time before our Troops invested St. Johns Mr. Carleton endeavored to assemble the militia companys about in the Country, and altho he gave a Dollar gratuity to each man who appeared in Arms—very few came indeed; in the large district of Lapraire not one man would appear. At Longuiel but 7 or 8 came & so more or less in

the rest of the parishes. As during the whole stay of our Troops among them they were regularly paid for every article they furnished us with, and had a good deal of attention shewn them. It was visible our conduct had a good effect—for whenever our officers required a supply of Carts, etc. they were always ready at the smallest notice to oblige us. But when carts were wanting to Convey the Regular prisoners Baggage from Lapraire to St. Johns, They produced them with great reluctance.

The Regular officers seeing their backwardness advis'd us to Cuff and kick them well about, & they would be much more oblidging. From that I concluded it was no uncommon thing for the poor Canadians to suffer abuses from the Regulars. Nor any wonder that they so heartily joined us against those Tyrannical slaves to Tyrants.

October 21, Lapraire.—This afternoon One Doctor Robinson (lately made Captain of Volunteers) and 2 Canadians Inhabitants of Lapraire deserters from St. Johns, came & surrendered themselves prisoners to me; It seems they expected to find the River less strictly guarded than it was & to get a Canoe & escape to Montreal. But finding it impracticable to put their design in Execution & too far advanc'd to return with safety they came in to us.

Had the honor of dining with the chiefs of the Caghna-waga nation, 6 in number, and 20 others but whether they were people in office cannot tell, rather think they were not. I had an elegant Dinner provided for them at one Mr. Kil-lips a Tavernkeeper in Town. I had sent for them as soon as I came in Town, to know whether they wanted us at their Castles or not. The chiefs told me that General Montgomery had been imposed on by some of their meaner people who had been frightened at nothing. That they feared no invasion from Mr. Carleton at all, & that if he did attack them they thought themselves able without assistance from abroad to defeat him, or at least hinder him from landing. That however they were highly oblidg'd to the General for his readiness to assist them; & faithfully promis'd to

transmit to me all the Intelligence they could get of the motions & designs of our Enemies.¹

In compliance with their custom I opened my business with them in a set formal speech, which was interpreted by a One ey'd Chief who understood English very well—& they answered me with all that deliberation, firmness & seriousness peculiar to the Indians.

All this was done before dinner & it was well it happend so—for after drinking 18 bottles of Claret I question whether they would have talked as rationally as they did.

I cannot help doing justice to the keenness of the Caghnawaga Gentrys stomachs. I took especial care that each one had a full plate continually—Soup—Beef—Turkey—Beans, potatoes—no matter how heterogeneous the mixture it was equal to them & all went down.

They seem'd highly pleased, and told me that Mr. Carleton had often sent them belts and made speeches to them—But had never din'd with them. The General had given me directions to treat the Indians with much attention—& They took good care all the while I was at Lapraire to freshen up my memory in regard to the Generals instructions. Almost every hour in the day I had one or other of them in my room—Generally to tell me some scrap of news or other in order to get rewarded with a dram. But these were always of the lowest of the people. The Chiefs or Captains never came without they had some business of consequence.

By all the observations I could make I have reason to believe that the Caghnawaga's were sincere in their professions of Friendship.

I am told that they have a fine Church at their village—& I took notice myself that they were good Catholics by their frequent crossings and short prayers at particular times of the day.

The Indians have generally horses to ride about on, & what I could not help noticing was that they all had saddles,

¹ A portion of this paragraph is quoted in Lossing's "Schuyler."

whereas not one Canadian farmer in 30 has any at all, but do all their riding on a Bearskin girted on.

The Indians frequently brought me down Cows for sale but they were almost always so poor that the soldiers would not eat them—from thence I concluded pasturage is not so good with them as abt Lapraire and Longueuil.

Their Castle lies 9 miles west of Lapraire, the road runing all along upon the banks of St. Lawrence is exceeding pleasant.

The Chiefs told me that they could muster 300 fighting men.

October 22.—Sent the 2 Canadian prisoners with Lt. [James] Gregg to the General, & 2 days after Cap't Robinson with Cap't Jn^e Nicolson.

October 26.—Before day an express arrived from Col'o Warner who lay with his Regiment of Green Mountain Boys in number abt 300 & 4 or 5 companies of the 2d Battalion at Lonquiel, that a large body of Regulars & Canadians were marching towards his post from Sorrell, & desiring me to send him all the assistance I could. Early in the morning Cap't Dubois with his company, Cap't McCracken of 2d Battn & his Company & one Lt. Barnum of Col'o Warners Reg't making in all 92 privates besides officers marched to Longieuil. But when they came there they found that Col'o Warner had been imposed upon & that there was not any truth in the whole affair. Cap't Dubois return'd but the others all stay'd at Lonquiel.

October 30.—Sent Cap't Nicolson with his company to the assistance of Col'o Warner, but they came to late to be of any great service to him.

About noon Gen'l Carleton with near 150 Regulars and as many Canadians and Canisadaga Indians as made in all a body of 800 men, set of from Montreal in between 30 & 40 Battoes to force a landing at Longueuil which is abt 2 miles distant. But Col'o Warner luckily getting a 4 pounder the very evening before made so good use of it that, (added to the gallantry of his men) Mr. Carleton was repuls'd with disgrace. The General in this action prov'd himself a

Coward as he kept with his Regulars during the whole time of action the farthest distant from danger of any of the boats—8 dead Indians were found, 2 wounded taken prisoners, & 2 or 3 Canadians made prisoners.

November 1.—Another express arriv'd from Col^o Warner intimating that He was in fear of another attack from Carleton—sent him Lt. E. V. Bunschoten with 40 men—But the Colonel was mistaken in his surmises—Carleton never appeared, & our Lt. returned.

November 2.—In evening we had the agreeable neues brought us that St. Johns surrendered this day, after a most tedious seige of 45 days.

November 3.—The Town crowded all day with carts on their way to St. Johns to convey the Baggage of our army to this place.

In the evening arrived here & supped with me on their way to Montreal on parole, Cap't Williams of the Artillery Cap^t Gordon & Hesketh of 26th & Lt. Thompson of Do.

November 4.—One of our Centinels being intoxicated gave an alarm at 9 in the evening that several Battoes with Regulars were landing just below us. Our small army of something less than 100 men were instantly in motion and paraded Just out of Town when we found that what the Centinel heard was nothing more than several Carts coming into Town on their way to St. Johns.

*November 6.*¹—General Montgomery arrived in Town at 2 OClock, & at different times of the day the 1st & our Battalion.

November 7.—General Wooster & Col^o Waterbury with their Regiments & part of the 4th Battalion came in Town this afternoon & encamped in the fields abt 1/4 of mile from Town.

November 9.—Cap't Lamb & his company came in with 6 Field pieces (Brass) taken from the Enemy at St. Johns.

November 10.—13 Battoes were convey'd from Chamblee almost all the way by land to a stream of water 2 miles east

¹ The entries from November 6 to 11 are quoted in Lossing's "Schuyler."

of Lapraire & from thence brot to the landing by the Town.

November 11.—At 9 this morning the General, Coll^o Waterburys Reg't some of the 3d Batt'n & a few of 4th Battalion & Gen'l Woosters Reg't in all abt 500 men with 6 field pieces cross'd the river St. Lawrence & landed on Isle St. Paul directly opposite Lapraire & 1 1/2 mile from Montreal. As soon as Governor Carleton saw our people embark, He ordered all his regulars on board the vessells he had lying at Montreal, & fled down the river.

November 12, Sunday.—This morning John McDougal 1st Lt. to Cap't Wesenfells of 1st Battalion died of a Bilious Colic and was buried in the afternoon with all the military shew our forces in Lapraire could make.

November 13.—This day at 10 O Clock General Montgomery marched into Montreal.

November 14.—This morning I set of from Lapraire and arrived in Montreal at 11 O Clock.

November 15.—A Council of War held by the General at the India House.

November 17.—Left Montreal on my return home in Company with Coll^o Waterbury & best part of his Regiment (Coll^o Wynkoop & those of our Battalion who returned not being to set of in some days). At noon I set out in a Battoe from town and got to Lapraire 8 miles distant a little after sunset.

The city of Montreal lies with its eastern side just on the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and has a wall around it tho it is not very defensible: It seems to be principally design'd for small arms as I saw no embrasures for Cannon. Its built of stone and is abt 14 feet high, and all of it rough cast with lime and sand, as every other wall & building is in Canada.

The Citadel is built at the north part of the Town on a small eminence and mounts abt 14 or 15 Guns: There was a clever Guard house in it before we came, but Gov. Carleton had just before he left it almost ruin'd it lest it should be of service to us.

The city contains within the walls near 600 houses, and its two suburbs, that of Recollet on the south & St. Lawrence on the north of it, full as many more, altho much inferiour. The houses are mostly 2 stories high and built of stone, very strong but not elegant.

There are 2 principal streets which run North and south and these are cross'd abt every 30 or 40 yards by less considerable ones. The Eastern or main street is inhabited by a great many English Traders above 40 in number, & one hears almost as much English spoken in this street as in the streets of Albany.

The town is not paved: & if it was not for a narrow walk of stones projecting out about 2 feet from the houses the streets would be impassable in the spring & fall—While I was there the mud in the streets was full half leg deep. In Montreal happy is that man who can keep the wall.

Fryday is their market day & provision then of almost any kind (fish excepted) is to be had cheap and in great plenty. The market place has no roof to it—consisting only of a floor & Butchers blocks. It stands in the middle of a square & on market day the street all around is crowded with hucksters of one kind or another—St. Luke La Carnes house (the best in town) fronts the market.

There is a High hill or rather mountain lies abt a mile & half S. West from the City and which is cultivated almost to its very summit. The soil on its sides sandy & kind.

The Friars have a very elegant garden on the side of this Hill and inclosed by a high stone wall.

There is a considerable Nunnery in the suburbs of Recollet, but I had not leisure to go & see it.

Near one sixth part of the City of Montreal is taken up with Churches & their Court yards, some of their Churches have near a quarter of an acre (perhaps more) of land adjoining it. There is but 2 Churches that stand open in the street & in full view; the rest (7 or 8) are all hid from sight (except the roof) by a high wall next the street. There is an old Church in the S. W. corner of the Town

that bears a resemblance to St. Pauls in New York—& has an Image of St. Paul on its top next the street, exactly in the attitude of that in N. York.

Hard by this Church is a large cross erected and a painted Cock on its top—& near that the bust of George III^d neatly executed. Its of white marble and as large as the life. It was erected by the Citizens as a gratefull return for the donation his Majesty made them after the great fire that happened there some years ago.

The river St. Lawrence at Montreal is two miles wide and exceedingly rapid—vessells of burden can come up till opposite the south gate but not a foot farther. The water immediately becoming shallow & the Current almost too great for Battoes to stem, and this continues so till the point of Isle St. Paul a mile & half from Town. At Lapraire the River is more than 6 miles wide. The current strong, but not by any means so great as opposite Montreal. Caghna-waga falls are abt 7 miles south of Montreal.

The River wherever I have cross'd or seen it is very unsafe to navigate. The rocks often projecting just out of the water above a mile from either shore & some but a few Inches under the surface & very dangerous for Battoes or Canoes to strike on.

The Colour of the water very red & after a high wind, foul. A westerly wind driving the water out of Lake Ontario soon raises the River a foot or two, which falls again as soon as the wind subsides.

November 18.—Set of from Lapraire 1/2 after 12 O Clock & with Major Dimon on foot & got to St. Johns at daylight.

November 21.—Col'o Waterbury, Col'o Hobby, Major Dimon 3 or 4 Captains and myself—on board the sloop. The subalterns of Col. Waterbury's Regiment in the Row Galley—& Col'o Ward of Gen'l Woosters Regiment on board the Enemys schooner & each vessell full of soldiers, set of from St. Johns with a small northerly gale & sleet, & arrived at Isle Au Noix just before dark.

The Fortress of St. Johns lies near 130 miles North from

Ticonderoga on the brink of Lake Champlain & abt a quarter of a mile from the first rapid. It consists of 2 forts or redoubts near 100 yards asunder. The southern one rather the largest. In this is a Brick house containing 2 clever rooms & Lintels back of them—& a small potash house near it.

In the north redoubt is a very large white stone house 2 stories high but unfinished within, and now almost shattered to pieces—almost too much so, ever to be repaired. The forts are abt 100 feet wide each way in the inside; & mounted between them, upwards of 30 Iron Cannon besides Brass field pieces (6 pounders) & several mortars.

The Wall is compos'd altogether of Earth, and neatly sodded without, looking as green as the field around it.

The whole surrounded with a ditch of 7 feet deep & 8 or 9 feet wide—picketed on the Interior side with timbers projecting from under the wall & over the Ditch, & a little elevated, with their points made very sharp.

Between the 2 forts there was a line of pickets placed (or posts) 10 feet high and close together.

I imagine this was done to hinder the soldiers, who generally did their cooking beyond them, from being seen from the east Battery; and to secure their Bark Canoes from Grape Shot as they lay also right behind them.

A Ditch was also dug deep enough for men to pass unseen thro from one fort to the other, & between the pickets & the Lake. Both the pickets & ditch were constructed after we built our Eastern Battery.

In each Redoubt the Enemy kept a union display'd.

Its 2 or 300 yards from the Forts to the nearest woods or bushes. In general its 5 or 600 to the woods—a low plain wet, & covered with excellent grass surrounds the Fortress. If there is any elevation of the earth at all, it is where the forts stand.

The wilderness west of St. Johns is an impassable Quagmire—Low, wet & covered with Timber & brush—& for 7 or 8 miles north of the fort we meet with but one sorry log tenement which stood in our Grand camp.

Opposite the Forts on the east of the Lake The soil is also very wet & low ; a perfect howling swamp. There are a considerable number of large Hemloc trees grow on this side and plenty of the Balm of Gilead Firs. North east of St. Johns at the distance of abt a mile stands a large elegant house belonging to one Cap't Hasen with a considerable quantity of clear'd ground around it. The Captain has a saw mill standing on the Rapids which are just by his house. These Rapids are not so great but what rafts of boards & timber can at any time go down them & so into the River St. Lawrence. Our people frequently sent Battoes down with Cannon in them—& empty ones can be drawn up against the Current.

The fall is perhaps 100 yards in length. The breadth of the Lake here as at St. Johns between 3 & 400 yards.

On the west side the lake, from St. Johns Northward there are settlements all the way to Chamblee; a house or two being in sight of the Fort.

From St. Johns to Chamblee is 10 miles—To Lapraire 18 —& to Isle Au Noix 15.

November 22.—A small breeze at S. W. all day and sleet—made but 2 miles.

November 23.—A very still day—Heard the news of the capture of Carletons fleet & all on board except Carleton himself and the few men who man'd the boat he ran away in—made this day but 4 miles.

November 24.—Very calm—made but a mile to day.

November 25.—Made the Isle of Mott, and anchored near the S. part of it & near the shore. In the night a snow storm came on, the wind N. E.

November 26, Sunday.—As soon as daylight appeared we weighed anchor, and under a very heavy Gale & but a rag of the Mainsail hoisted stood up the Lake, snowing very fast all the time, we no sooner lost sight of the Isle of Mott but we were lost, and not a man on board knew where we was till 3 in the afternoon when we were just by the 4 Brothers 30 miles perhaps from where we set of. In runing this distance we were often in great danger, runing often but a few

rods from the rocky shores of Islands we never saw before to remember again. Once between a couple of those Islands we sounded and found the depth of water but 2 1/2 fathom. As our vessel ran very fast and the sea went high, if we had struck a rock, or even sand, our old crazy sloop must have gone to pieces.

Abt half after 3 the weather cleared off a little, when we espied the schooner just behind us. A little before Dark we both of us dropt anchor quietly under the lee of Crownpoint. The Row Galley had been there awaiting for us 2 days.

We ran this day abt 70 miles.

November 27.—This morning we hoisted & stood up towards Ticonderoga That fortress being 15 miles from Crownpoint—It being calm we row'd the vessells up. At 3 in the afternoon we arriv'd under the Fort & saluted it with 13 guns—landed & waited on General Schuyler.

November 28.—Col'o Waterburys men carried over by land two large Battoes from the bridge to Ticonderoga landing, abt 2 miles—we lodg'd at Cap' Johnsons Quarters at the landing—This evening I was seiz'd with a high fever.

November 29.—Early in the morning we set out in 3 Battoes on lake George on our way to the Fort of that name. The wind being fresh at south we could get no farther than Sabbathday point 12 miles from where we set out where we spent the afternoon and night. The common soldiers under trees and the Officers in a small log house.

At this place there are near 90 acres of land cleared; and I believe the soil is good, as I observ'd the grass about the house to be rank and good. One Richardson liv'd here, till last spring when for fear of the Indians he mov'd down to Fort George.

This is the only settlement between Ticonderoga landing & Fort George.

November 30.—Set out early in the morning from Sabbathday point, and row'd the whole day against a brisk southerly wind; but by keeping amongst the Islands we evaded the force of it much. Just before sunset landed at Fort George.

I was very sick all day & lying out in an open boat heightened my disorder.

December 1.—This morning we set out from Fort George 3 Ox teams carrying our Baggage. On one of them I rode. 4 miles on the north of Fort Edward I b't a horse, being too sick to ride on a Cart which the Teamster told me he would be forc'd to use a few miles below Fort Edward for want of snow for the sleds. Put up at Fort Edward at one Pat Smiths, Col^o Waterbury and his party went forward 5 miles, & I never overtook them again. They had all my Baggage with them.

December 2.—I was very Ill when I set out from Smiths, and riding on a Bearskin without any stirrups, thro a small snow too, did not contribute to alleviate my distemper. I got as far as Saratoga & lodg'd at the Generals, Mrs. Schuyler & her daughter being there.

December 3.—Travel'd down as far as Stillwater to Parson Grahams where I stay'd a fortnight being too unwell to proceed any Farther.

December 17, Sunday.—By proper attendance & the use of the Bark I was well enough to set of from there the 17th Sunday. I got as far as the new City that day.

December 18.—Arrived in Albany at noon, & lodg'd at my friend Mr. Jacob Rosabooms.

December 19.—Ferry'd across the river & got as far as Kinderhook a little before sunset.

December 20.—Altho the weather was excessive cold & the riding worse than I ever knew it, I reach'd Bests at Kingsbridge before night, where I lodg'd.

December 21.—Rode down as far as Doct'r Bards where I lodg'd. It being just sunset when I got there.

December 22.—A little after noon I arrived in safety at my house. The God of all mercy be adored for his goodness to an unworthy sinner!

CAPTAIN WILLIAM CRISPIN, PROPRIETARY'S COM-
MISSIONER FOR SETTLING THE COLONY IN
PENNSYLVANIA.

BY OLIVER HOUGH.

Although Captain William Crispin never arrived in Pennsylvania, the importance of the office in that Province to which he was appointed, and others which he was intended to fill, as well as his relationship to the Proprietary, make his career a matter of interest in early colonial history; and the part he took in affairs abroad during the time of England's Commonwealth, and in the events which led to the Restoration of King Charles II., also make him a person of some mark among the characters of that period.

An account of the Crispin family, written in 1792 by William Crispin, of Philadelphia (Commissary-General in the American army during the Revolution), a great-grandson of Captain William Crispin, says that the latter was one of Cromwell's train band, and afterwards captain of his guard, but that, finding that Cromwell deviated from his promises, he left him and went to sea with Admiral Penn. As this account has been found unreliable in several points which were not within the personal knowledge of the writer, we may presume it to be faulty in this particular also, for we have evidence that William Crispin had been following the sea for many years before he became an officer in the Commonwealth's navy. The same account states that he was descended from one of the two lords de Crispin who came to England with William the Conqueror; but though this is possible, as the name is uncommon, and evidently of Norman origin, the line of descent has never been traced, for even the names of William Crispin's parents were unknown to his great-grandson, and remain so to later generations. There were several families of the name among the landed gentry of some of the lower counties of England in his day, and he may have belonged to one of

them, for he lived in a time when a great many masters of merchant-ships were men of good birth but small fortune, seeking a life of adventure combined with profit, which was always to be found at sea, but could not be had on land except in time of war.

William Crispin appears to have been born about 1610, though the place and exact date of his birth are uncertain. The first mention of the name found in published public documents is in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*; on March 3, 1634/5, the officers of customs at Kingston-upon-Hull advised the governor and others of the Company of Merchant Adventurers that the "Adventure," William Crispin, master, was lading in their port with woollen cloths for Amsterdam, contrary to the late proclamation, but these documents throw no light on any further happenings in the matter.¹ For fourteen years after this the name does not occur in the *Calendar*, and then there is a warrant from Colonels Deane and Blake to the Navy Commissioners, dated April 3, 1649, for William Crispin, late purser on the "Recovery," to be entered on the "True-love." On August 6, 1650, the Admiralty Commissioners wrote to Colonel Deane that six new frigates were to be supplied with officers, and sent the petition and certificates of William Crispin for a purser's place in one of them; they instructed Deane, that if he found the papers correct, to return Crispin as fit to be employed, but to remember that they thought Thomas Phillips should be purser of the first of the frigates.²

¹ The *Calendar* has an abstract of a letter, dated Holborn, September 2, 1635, from John Crispin to Secretary Edward Nicholas, in which he expresses hope that Nicholas's respects towards the late affair concerning Kingston-upon-Hull will not be forgotten, and says that because of hurting his mare, and for various causes, he could not prosecute the delinquents, and entreats Nicholas to be his mediator; but there is nothing to show whether or not this letter has any connection with the advice of the customs officers of March 3, as the name Crispin and place Kingston-upon-Hull may be only a coincidence.

² It is not entirely certain that this William Crispin the purser was the same as the captain of the "Adventure;" having already been

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In 1652 William Crispin commanded the "Hope" in the service of the Commonwealth. At that time there were very few regular naval officers or regular naval vessels; when occasion arose to form a naval force, merchant-ships were impressed and equipped as men-of-war; army officers were generally assigned to them as admirals, captains, and lieutenants in command of the soldiers who fought the ships, the navigation and command of the crew being in the hands of the master. On the other hand, it sometimes happened that, as many of these merchant-ships were already well armed and had a master and crew capable of fighting as well as handling the ship, the master was made captain, retaining full command of both fighting and navigation. William Crispin's captaincy was one of this latter kind. The *Calendar* has one letter written by William Crispin while in command of the "Hope" to J. Turner, November 19, 1652, saying that he mustered Captain Lawson's men on the "Fairfax," and found more landsmen and boys than upon any of the state's ships for the last ten years; that he discharged eighteen and signed their tickets, and sent down one hundred and eighty men to the "Fairfax" in the "Hope," but when they arrived and saw the landsmen, one hundred would not go, but went to other ships. This letter shows that Crispin and the other naval officers were preparing for the more important events of the following year; it also implies that Crispin had been in the service of the state for at least ten years before this date.

In May, 1653, an expedition was sent against the Dutch, under Colonel Richard Deane and Colonel George Monk, generals and admirals of the Parliament. The fleet in this expedition consisted of three squadrons,—the first, or squadron of the red flag, contained thirty-eight ships, under the direct command of Deane and Monk; the second, or white,

master of a merchant-ship, he should have been able to obtain a higher office in the naval service, especially if there is any truth in the story that he had been in the army. But his circumstances at the time, of which we are ignorant, might have induced him to accept the post of purser.

thirty-three ships, under Vice-Admiral William Penn; and the third, or blue squadron, thirty-four ships, under Rear-Admiral John Lawson. Captain Crispin commanded the "Assistance" frigate, one hundred and eighty men and forty guns, in Penn's squadron. This fleet, on the 2d and 3d of June, 1653, took or destroyed between twenty and thirty Dutch ships of war, took thirteen hundred and fifty prisoners, and pursued the Dutch to their own harbors.

After this engagement the "Assistance" spent the rest of the year cruising, convoying merchantmen, and preying on the Dutch commerce, as evidenced by the following abstracts of letters in the *Calendar*:

"Aug. 9th, 1653, William Crispin, 'Assistance' between the shore and the 'Whittaker' to the Navy Commissioners. Being ordered by the General to bring his ship to Deptford for repairs, he asks orders for masts and other stores.

"Sept. 2, 1653, Captain William Crispin, 'Assistance,' Hole Haven to Admiralty Commissioners. Has received the remainder of his victuals and stores, and will sail to-night for the Downs; the 'Sapphire' and 'Hector' sail to-morrow.

"Oct. 5, 1653, Capt. William Crispin, 'Assistance,' off Plymouth, to Admiralty Commissioners. Sailed from Isle of Wight with the 'Hector,' 'Nightingale' and sixty-five merchant vessels, and meeting the 'Pearl,' sent her with orders to Captain Sparling [of the "President"] and the captain of the 'Hopewell,' pink, to join him, but they declined, being bound for Guernsey and Jersey with some money, then to carry defective guns to Portsmouth or the Thames, and then for St. Malo. Parted with the fleet off Ushant, and took a ship of Middleburg, with hoops from Newhaven bound to Nantes, and the 'Nightingale' took her consort; a pink belonging to Delft has come in with the prizes and to get a supply of men and provisions, when he will put to sea again.

"Oct. 12, 1653, Captain John Humphery, 'Nightingale,' to Admiralty Commissioners. Has been cruising at sea with Captain Crispin of the 'Assistance.' Took a prize from Rotterdam, and had a dispute with some men-of-war from Brest for two hours, but as there were fourteen or fifteen of them, sailed towards Falmouth for assistance; intends to follow them, and then go for Ireland.

"Oct. 22, 1653, Captain William Crispin, 'Assistance,' Falmouth, to Robert Blackborne. Victualled and tallowed his ship for five months, and has been plying eastward by order of the Generals. Put into Falmouth and received some more men; hearing there are some Dutch men-of-war about the Land's End, intends plying that way. Of the

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forty men pressed by Capt. Mills, all but four are landsmen, and taken from their callings in the field, to the prejudice of the country. He suffers the seamen to be cleared on feeing the constables. Has sent Captains Humphreys and Sparling their instructions for sailing to Ireland."

The next year Oliver Cromwell, who was then Protector, decided to send an expedition against the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, which was despatched secretly because England was at peace with Spain. A fleet of thirty-eight ships was sent out under Admiral Penn, with General Venables in command of the soldiers. The fleet was divided into three squadrons,—one directly under Penn, one under Vice-Admiral Goodson, and one under Rear-Admiral Dakins. Captain William Crispin commanded the "Laurel," one hundred and sixty seamen, thirty soldiers, and forty guns, which belonged to Penn's squadron. On Wednesday, December 20, 1654, fifteen ships, some from each squadron, under Rear-Admiral Dakins, sailed from Spithead. The "Laurel" probably was one of these, for the *Calendar* has a letter from Captain Crispin, dated on the "Laurel," off the Lizard, December 26, 1654, to the Admiralty Commissioners, saying that he was ordered by Rear-Admiral Dakins to lie out, so as to speak with any ship homeward bound, and informing them that the major-general and all the rest on board the squadron were well, and only wanted the "Indian," which had not yet joined. The rest of the fleet sailed on the 26th. The expedition arrived in sight of Barbadoes January 29, 1654/5, and having put in there, made their plans and preparations; the leaders decided to first attack Hispaniola, and the fleet sailed from Barbadoes March 31, 1655; they sighted the port of St. Domingo April 13, and landed the soldiers the same day. Captain Crispin sailed along the shore to make observations. The journal of the expedition, on April 24, says, "Letters, at eleven o'clock at night, came from General Venables and the rear-admiral [on shore, the latter in command of a party of sailors on land service]. The general intimated that the army was just on the point to march, and that they intended that evening, or next morning betimes,

to be at the landing place discovered by Captain Crispin, to the northward of the Fort Jeronimo, in a little sandy bay." Some days of fighting resulted in failure, and it was then determined to try Jamaica. The fleet sailed for that island Friday, May 4, 1655, and on the 10th anchored in Jamaica harbor, except Captain Crispin's ship, the "Laurel," which again cruised about outside. The same day the attack was made; the Spaniards made little opposition, and on the 17th formally surrendered.¹ A few days later it was decided that, on account of the scarcity of provisions, part of the fleet should return to England, three ships go to New England to procure supplies, and fifteen stay at Jamaica. On Monday, June 25, the ships selected to go home set sail, Penn's being one of them. Penn went with her, leaving Vice-Admiral Goodson in command at Jamaica. The "Laurel" was one of those that remained, and, although Crispin and some of the other captains expressed a desire to leave, Crispin appears to have stayed with his ship.² Captain William Crispin, Richard Wadeson, and Thomas Broughton, who were appointed to take charge of supplying the English forces in the island, were called by the home authorities the "Commissioners for supplying Jamaica." Crispin returned to England early in the spring, for the *Calendar* has a letter dated London, April 24, 1656, from him to Colonel John Clerke and Mr. Hopkins, about some

¹ The account of Captain Crispin by his great-grandson, already mentioned, gives a story of this engagement which appears to be entirely without foundation. It is to the effect that, the fleet having arrived before St. Jago, the then capital of Jamaica, William Crispin fired the first and third shots, the latter striking the flag-staff and felling it, whereupon the Spaniards surrendered; and that on the return of the expedition to England, its commander, Admiral Penn, was granted an addition of three balls to his coat of arms, in recognition of the three shots.

² It has been stated that the rear-admiral then acted in Goodson's place as vice-admiral, and that Captain Crispin became acting rear-admiral. The journal of the expedition (as quoted by Granville Penn in his "Memoirs of Admiral Penn"), at this point, says, "Some of the captains expressed their desire to go home, notwithstanding their vessels remained, viz: rear admiral Captain Crispin (of the *Laurel*), C. Newbery and C. Story."

Jamaica hides to be disposed of for the use of General (Admiral) Penn.

Penn and that part of the fleet that returned had arrived at Spithead August 31, 1655, and soon afterwards he and Venables were committed to the Tower, the reason given being that they had disobeyed orders by returning, but in reality because Cromwell knew that they favored the Prince of Wales. Penn was soon released, but was dismissed from the service of the Protector, and retired to his Irish estates.¹ About this time many of the principal men in the navy and their adherents found much cause for dissatisfaction in Cromwell's conduct, especially in the ascendancy of the army over the navy which he fostered. For a number of years they had borne the brunt of foreign wars and successfully carried out expeditions of conquest; in return for which, instead of being given higher commands or other suitable rewards, they were either dismissed the service or required to serve under Cromwell's land officers, whom he made admirals and generals-at-sea over the heads of tried and experienced naval officers. During the internal troubles most of the leading naval officers had had little to do with party strife at home, being at sea engaged in fighting the common enemies of the whole English nation, consequently they had not much sympathy with Cromwell and his party; some of them, indeed, were royalists by birth and education, and had been in the navy before the struggle between King and Parliament began. Penn was one of these, and, as we have seen, he had been dismissed by the Protector. Crispin was retained longer; but when the naval party began to plan opposition to the Protector's government and adherence to the King, he was among the leaders of the movement. Granville Penn in his "*Memoirs of Admiral Penn*" has shown that the naval party laid the foundation for the Res-

¹ In the autumn of 1657 he was living on his estate of Macrump in County Cork; this was the confiscated estate of Lord Muskerry; after the Restoration it was restored to the latter (then Earl of Clanricarde), and, in compensation, Penn was given the estate of Shannagarry, in the same county.

toration, which was afterwards accomplished by General Monk. This naval party had been gradually forming for some time, and circumstances contributed to increase its following. Hume in his "History of England" says that many of the inferiors, as well as the leaders of the West Indies expedition, were inclined to the King; and that, when Spain declared war against England on account of the violation of treaty by the sending out of this same expedition, several sea officers, entertaining scruples against this war, threw up their commissions. Crispin was undoubtedly one of the latter; and they, with the officers dismissed by Cromwell and their friends still in the service, formed the nucleus of the naval party which took part in the succeeding events.

In 1656 the fifth-monarchy men began to hold secret meetings and prepare for an outbreak; at the end of the year the naval party and some of the royalists hearing of it, attempted to turn it to their own account, and in the beginning of the next year (March, 1657) had come to terms with them and were prepared for a rising against Cromwell. Secretary Thurloe made a report of the discovery and frustration of this scheme, which is published in his collection of State Papers (Vol. VI. pp. 184-186).¹ After describing the actions of the fifth-monarchy men, Thurloe's report says,—

"Things being thus settled amongst the men of these principles, those, who were all this while behind the curtain, and thought themselves as well of their own judgement as some of others, began to thinke, that these men might be made good use of; and in order thereto, the first step must be to reconcile the fifth monarchy and the common wealth partye. And to this end a meetinge was betweene them, which they agreed should consist of twelve. The persons who met, were vice-ad. Lawson, col. Okey, capt. Lyons, capt. Crispin, capt. Dekins, one Portman, Venner, mr. Squib, and some others. Four of these were officers at sea, and three deserted the fleet, when it went upon the coast of Spayne."

¹ In the index to this volume Crispin is described as a fifth-monarchy man, but, as Granville Penn points out, the report to which the index refers shows him to have been one of those Thurloe calls "behind the curtain."

Cromwell had dismissed Lawson in the summer of 1656, and the three who, Thurloe says, deserted the fleet, but had, in fact, thrown up their commissions, as mentioned above, were Lyons, Crispin and Dakins (the latter the rear-admiral in the West Indies expedition). Venner, who was the leader of the fifth-monarchy men, was a wine-cooper, and Thurloe calls him a person of very mean quality. The report continues,—

“These twelve being met together, engaged solemnly to each other to secrecy, and not to disclose to any creature, that there was any such meetinge, save that a liberty was given to communicate all to ma. g. Harrison and col. Rich, both of whom had beene sounded. . . . One party was for actinge under a visible authority; and for that purpose propounded, that forty of the longe parliament should be convened in some fitting place, for they would not have all of them neither, under whom they would act.”

This was probably the naval men and royalists, while what follows accords better with the fifth-monarchy ideas.

“The other were neither carefull for any authority to act under, nor that any way of government should be propounded beforehand; but were for action with such members as they could get, and wait for such issue as the providence of God should bring things to. Thus the difference stood betweene them, and many meetings there were upon it. . . . These meetings continued thus, till it was resolved by his highness [Cromwell] that a parliament should be called, and some of the chief of this meeting were apprehended and secured.”

The report does not name those taken, and we do not know whether Crispin was among them. Venner escaped, and he and his fifth-monarchy partisans resolved to take up arms at the first opportunity; but early in April several of their meeting places were broken up, their arms seized, and twenty of them captured. This conspiracy came to naught, but the naval party continued their secret activity in conjunction with the other royalists. If Crispin participated in any of the later conspiracies, there is nothing at present known in evidence of it. After the last attempt he may have gone at once to Kinsale, in Ireland, where he is found soon after the Restoration. His former commander (and

connection by marriage), Admiral Penn, was living at that time on his estates in County Cork, which were not far from Kinsale, and this probably drew Crispin to that place.¹ In 1660, after the Restoration, Penn, who took an important part in the final acts of that event, was knighted and made Commissioner of the Admiralty and Governor of the town and fort of Kinsale. Crispin probably assisted Penn at this time, and no doubt came in for a share of the royal favor; he may have obtained a magistracy or judicial office of some kind in County Cork, as the Admiral's son afterwards wrote that Crispin was skilled in court-keeping. He lived in Kinsale about twenty years, but left very little of record there that has survived. The Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale (from 1652 to 1800)² mentions the reading at the meeting of July 18, 1662, of a letter of protection from arrest granted to William Crispin by Thomas Amery, dated June 20, 1662. In the Marquis of Ormonde's papers (catalogued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission) is a letter from William Crispin, dated at Kinsale, December 12, 1665, the last record of him here until his appointment to Pennsylvania. If he ever joined the Society of Friends he may have done so while at Kinsale, for the Friends were quite numerous in County Cork, and many of the Commonwealth soldiers there had adopted their tenets. It is supposed, however, that he was not a Friend.

In 1681 William Penn, son of the Admiral, having obtained the grant of Pennsylvania, proceeded to plant a colony there. He first sent his cousin, William Markham, as Deputy-Governor, to receive the government from the Duke of York's representatives at New York. In September he appointed three Commissioners for settling the

¹ It has been stated that Cromwell gave Crispin a forfeited estate near the Shannon, not far from Limerick, but no evidence in support of the statement has been found after considerable search; there is no proof that Crispin was ever in that vicinity. His name may have been confused with that of Sir Nicholas Crispe, one of the London adventurers, who had an estate in the locality mentioned.

² Edited by Richard Caulfield, LL.D., F.S.A., printed at Guildford, Surrey, 1879.

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colony, with authority to purchase land from the Indians, select the site for a city, etc. In his letter of instructions to them, dated September 30, 1681, he calls them "My Commissioners for the Settleing of the present Collony this year transported into y^e said Province."¹ These Commissioners were William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen. The next month he gave them further instructions, and added another Commissioner, William Haigue. The commission to the four is dated October 25, 1681, and refers to instructions of October 14.² This may have been the first commission issued, as no other is known to exist at the present day, nor have the instructions of October 14 been found. These Commissioners sailed for Pennsylvania soon afterwards, but not all in the same ship. There were three ships that sailed from England for Pennsylvania in the year 1681,—the "John and Sarah," the "Bristol Factor," and the "Amity." Allen sailed in the "John and Sarah" the first that arrived in Pennsylvania, and Bezar probably in the same. Crispin went in one of them, and the facts point to the "Amity," of London, Richard Dimond, master, as the one. The historians Proud, Gordon, and Clarkson all say that the "Amity" was one of the three that sailed this year, that she was delayed by contrary winds and did not arrive till spring of the following year. Hazard says that the "Amity" was said to have been blown off the coast to the West Indies and did not arrive till spring, but remarks that we have proof that she did not sail till April of the next year; and later historians follow Hazard's statement. But we only have proof that she did sail from the Downs April 23, 1682; none that she had not sailed before and returned without reaching Pennsylvania. By all accounts the ship Crispin sailed in was blown off after nearly reaching the capes of Delaware, and put into Barbadoes, and there we lose sight of her. The similarity of the accounts shows

¹ The original, in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has often been published and need not be given here.

² This commission has been published in the appendix to Hazard's "Annals of Pennsylvania."

that Crispin's ship was the "Amity," and that the earlier historians were correct, as far as they went, while Hazard is mistaken in placing her first voyage in April, 1682, as she no doubt returned from Barbadoes to England, and made a new start in that month. William Crispin died in Barbadoes, when the ship put in there, and the news of his death was probably taken back to England by the "Amity," for Thomas Holme, Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania, who is said to have succeeded Crispin as Commissioner, came out in her next voyage. Crispin is also said to have been the first appointed Surveyor-General, but no proof of this has been found. Silas Crispin, son of William, came out with Holme. He had probably first sailed with his father and returned to England in the "Amity," as no doubt many of the other passengers did, to get another chance to reach Pennsylvania.

Penn also intended Captain Crispin to be Chief-Justice, as evidenced by the following extract from a letter to Markham :

" LONDON, 18th 8th mo. 1681.

" COSEN MARKHAM :

" . . . I have sent my Cosen, William Crispin, to be thy Assistant, as by Commission will appear. His Skill, Experience, Industry & Integrity are well known to me, & perticularly in court-keeping &c ; so that it is my will & pleasure that he be as Chief Justice, to keep the Seal, the Courts & Sessions ; & he shall be accountable to me for it. The proffits redounding are to his proper behoof. He will show thee my Instructions, which will guide you all in the business. The rest is left to your discretion ; that is, to thee, thy two Assistants & the Counsel. . . .

" Pray be very respectfull to my Cosen Crispin. He is a man my father had great confidence in and value for. . . .

" WILLIAM PENN." ¹

William Crispin was one of the "First Purchasers" of land in the Province ; but his purchase of five thousand acres

¹ This letter is in the Ferdinand J. Dreer Collection. Some persons have taken this "cosen" William Crispin to be a son of Captain William Crispin, but other documents make it pretty certain that the captain had no son named William, while the latter part of this letter could only be applicable to Captain Crispin himself ; the term *cousin* in his time was used indiscriminately for *uncle*, *nephew*, etc.

was never laid out to him. After his death this amount was confirmed to his children, in separate portions, by the Proprietary's patents, in which it is stated to be of the latter's "free gift." William Penn granted five hundred acres to his son Ralph, one thousand acres to his daughter Rachel, and three thousand acres to his seven younger children, and his son Silas in 1692 obtained a patent for five hundred acres, stated to be in right of a purchase of five thousand acres (presumably his father's).

William Crispin's city lots are shown on Holme's "Portraiture," or plan of the city. They were: No. 48, on the south side of Vine Street, running from Delaware Front to Second Street; and No. 74, half on the southeast and half on the northeast corners of Eighth and High Streets, each sixty-six feet on High and three hundred and six feet on Eighth Street. These lots were never patented to him, but Silas Crispin obtained patents to some other city lots, presumably in place of these.

Captain William Crispin married 1st, about 1650, Anne Jasper, daughter of John Jasper, a merchant of Rotterdam, Holland, who was a sister of Margaret Jasper, wife of Admiral Sir William Penn, and mother of William Penn, Proprietary of Pennsylvania. Some authorities state that John Jasper was a native of Rotterdam, others that he was an Englishman by birth. Samuel Pepys in his Diary describes John Jasper's daughter, Lady Penn, as a "well-looking, fat, short old Dutchwoman," but her appearance might have been inherited from a Dutch mother, even though her father had been English. Howard M. Jenkins in "The Family of William Penn" (*PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. XX.) remarks, "By one authority he is named a burgomaster, and the editor of Lord Braybrooke's edition of Pepys calls him Sir John." It has also been said that his name was Petre, translated Jasper in Dutch.

William and Anne (Jasper) Crispin had issue:

1. SILAS, *b.* —; *d.* May 31, 1711; *m.* 1st, —, 1683, Esther Holme; *m.* 2d, —, Mary (Stockton) Shinn. See below.

2. REBECCA, *b.* — ; *d.* — ; *m.* 1st, August 24, 1688, at Ifield Friends' Meeting, in Sussex, Edward Blackfan, son of John Blackfan, of Stenning, County of Sussex, England.¹ Her cousin, William Penn, Proprietary of Pennsylvania, and some of his family attended the wedding. Edward Blackfan was a member of the Society of Friends, and came in for a share of the ill treatment accorded that Society. In 1681 he was indicted, with others, at Horsham Assizes, for absence from the national worship, and in 1684 for being present at some Quaker meetings at Stenning, and according to Besse, he "was fined £7, 18s, which, at the Persuasion of some Justices and others, he paid in order to an Appeal, but when the Sessions came on, he found so little Encouragement in prosecuting the same, that he chose rather to lose his Money, than to be put to farther Charge."

Edward Blackfan intended to go to Pennsylvania, but was prevented by death. He is spoken of in Penn's letters in 1689 as being about to take official documents to the Council, and was on the point of sailing when he died in 1690.

His widow, with their son William, afterwards went to Pennsylvania, in the same ship with Thomas Chalkley and other Friends, about 1700. She was a member of the Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania. On her arrival, her relatives, the Penns, sent her to take charge of their manor of Pennsbury, in Bucks County, where she lived a number of years.

Edward and Rebecca (Crispin) Blackfan had one child :

William Blackfan, b. — ; *d.* — . He married at Friends' Meeting, 2d mo. 20, 1721, Eleanor Wood, of Philadelphia. From them descend the Blackfan family of Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

Rebecca (Crispin) Blackfan *m.* 2d, in 1725, Nehemiah Allen, of Philadelphia, son of Nathaniel Allen, one of the Proprietary's Commissioners for Settling the Colony in 1681 (of whom her

¹ John Blackfan, of Stenning, father of Edward, appears to have been a man of some position in his locality. He early joined the Society of Friends, and suffered much persecution for his religion. Besse, in his "Sufferings," reports several instances. In 1659 John Blackfan was prosecuted in the Exchequer for twenty pounds for tithes of eight and a half acres, when all the corn that grew on his land was scarce worth half that amount. In 1662 he was committed to Horsham Gaol on a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, after prosecution in the Ecclesiastical Court for refusing to pay towards the repairs to the Steeple House. In 1663 he and others were prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Court for being absent from public worship, and he was excommunicated and some of the others imprisoned.

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father, Captain William Crispin, had been one). She is not known to have had any issue by Allen.

3. RALPH, *b.* —; *d.* —. He remained in Ireland, and may have continued to live at Kinsale, for in the assignment of his land in Pennsylvania, dated 1690, he is styled "Ralph Crispin of Cork in the Kingdom of Ireland, gentleman," which probably meant the County of Cork, and not the city. By patent of July 25, 1688, William Penn granted of his "free gift" to his "loving cousin Ralph Crispin," son of Captain William Crispin, late of the Kingdom of Ireland, deceased, five hundred acres of land in Pennsylvania. This was his share of his father's five thousand acres. Ralph Crispin assigned this patent to Ebenezer Pike, May 24, 1690, the land not having then been laid out. Nothing further is known of his life at present.
4. RACHEL, *b.* —; *d.* —; *m.*, —, Thomas Armstrong. William Penn granted her one thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania; he re-granted this to her husband, by a deed dated 11th mo. 2, 1694, in which he acknowledged having some years before granted the same to Rachel Armstrong, by the name of Rachel Crispin "(which grant is mentioned to be lost in the Wars of Ireland)," and therefore repeated it to Thomas Armstrong; five hundred acres to be disposed of for the support of him, his wife Rachel, and their child born, or children to be born, and the other five hundred acres to Silas Crispin, Samuel Carpenter, and Lasse Cock, in trust for Rachel Armstrong, her child, etc. At the meeting of the Board of Property held 6th mo. 1, 1783, Samuel Mickle, of Philadelphia, requested a warrant for this one thousand acres, which was granted him, as it was shown that Rachel and her heirs had sold to Henricus Chapman, of London, who sold to Mickle.¹

¹ Thomas Armstrong and Rachel his wife, Robert Swiney and Jane his wife (one of the daughters of said Thomas and Rachel), by deed dated May 15, 1724, for forty pounds granted the said one thousand acres to Henricus Chapman, of London, who, together with George Armstrong, son and heir of Thomas and Rachel Armstrong, by deeds of lease and release dated July 6 and 7, 1781, granted the said one thousand acres to Samuel Mickle, of Philadelphia.

At the meeting of the Board of Property held 4th mo. 15, 1786, a patent was signed to Samuel Mickle for two hundred and fifty acres on a branch of the "Parkeawining," in right of Rachel Armstrong, formerly Crispin. On 8th mo. 2, 1781, James Buckley requested a grant of about two hundred acres on the branches of the Octoraro, to build a mill. This was afterwards confirmed to him in right of Samuel Mickle's purchase, "made of the children of Capt. Crispin" the minutes of the Board have it, but Mickle's purchase was from only one child of Crispin's.

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Thomas and Rachel (Crispin) Armstrong had issue:

Jane Armstrong, b. —; d. —; m. Robert Swiney (probably *Sweeney*).

George Armstrong, "son and heir," b. —; d. —.

Another child, or children (at least one daughter), name or names unknown.

Captain William Crispin m. 2d, —, Jane —. Nothing is known of her family. For at least seventeen years after Captain Crispin's death, however, his widow and younger children lived at Kinsale. William Penn granted of his "free gift" to James, Joseph, Benjamin, Jane, Ellinor, Elizabeth, and Amy Crispin, children of William Crispin by his second marriage, three thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania; as they were all minors at the date of this grant, August 8, 1687, he named Thomas Chudleigh, Martin Perse, and John Watts, of Kinsale, as trustees. One thousand five hundred acres of this were to be sold by the trustees for the children's education, support, and settlement in life; of the other one thousand five hundred acres the portion of any child dying under seventeen years of age was to return to the Proprietary. As no return of the laying out of this land was sent to the trustees, they did not sell any of it; and William Penn, by deed of November 22, 1698, in consideration of Jane Crispin, though left in poor circumstances by her husband, having paid for the education and support of her children (and, as stated in the deed, Ellinor and Joseph having died after reaching seventeen years, Jane, Elizabeth, and James having married very well, and Benjamin and Amy being capable of supporting themselves), granted to her, "Jane Crispin, of Kinsale, widow," half of the three thousand acres. This was afterwards inherited by her surviving children.

William and Jane (—) Crispin had issue:

5. JAMES, b. —; d. —; m. (between 1687 and 1698) — —.

He removed from Kinsale to the island of St. Christopher in the West Indies. He appears to have eventually obtained the whole of the three thousand acres mentioned above; by the law

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of Pennsylvania he was entitled as eldest brother to two shares of it, each of his brothers and sisters having one share. In an account of the disposition of this land among the Penn Papers in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, it is stated that his surviving brother and sisters, Benjamin, Jane, Elizabeth, and Amy, by deed of May 10, 1702, sold their rights to James, who died intestate, seized of the three thousand acres, leaving issue. James Crispin's children were clearly considered the heirs to the whole three thousand acres, for about 1781 they all sold their shares, aggregating this amount, to persons living in Pennsylvania, and their right was unquestioned until 1752, when a controversy arose about one of these sales, during which Thomas Penn wrote that he had in his possession the deed of 1698, which had on the back a conveyance, dated July 30, 1702, from Benjamin, Jane, Elizabeth, and Amy to Captain Arthur Smith, and that this appeared to be the original conveyance, and they therefore had not conveyed to their brother James. But if, as is surmised, James Crispin had married a daughter (and possibly heiress) of Captain Arthur Smith, his possession of his brother's and sisters' rights would be thus explained.¹

James Crispin had issue:

Arthur Smith, *b.* —; *d.* —.

Prudence, *b.* —; *d.* —; *m.* — Smith; living in St. Christopher in 1752.

James, *b.* —; drowned off St. Christopher in a hurricane, 1781; died intestate, under twenty-one years, probably unmarried.

Richard, *b.* —; *d.* —; living in 1783.

Elizabeth, *b.* —; *d.* —; *m.* — Harris; living in St. Christopher in 1752.

Joseph, *b.* —; *d.* —; lived in St. Christopher; was in Philadelphia in 1752.

Michael, *b.* —; *d.* —; living in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1751.

6. JOSEPH, *b.* —; *d.* unmarried between 1687 and 1698, between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one years.

7. BENJAMIN, *b.* —; *d.* —; *m.* (between 1698 and 1702) Alice —.

8. JANE, *b.* —; *d.* —; *m.* (between 1687 and 1698) Greenalaid Lucomb.

¹ The deed of November 22, 1698, with the conveyance of 1702 on the back, is now in possession of Mr. Daniel Sutter, of Mount Holly, New Jersey.

A number of papers relating to this matter are in the Penn MSS., volume of land grants (1681-1806), pages 217, 218, 219, 221, 223, 227, and 281, in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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9. ELEANOR, *b.* —; *d.* unmarried between 1687 and 1698, aged between seventeen and twenty-one years.
10. ELIZABETH, *b.* —; *d.* —; *m.* (between 1687 and 1698) — Hilliard; he died before 1702.
11. AMY, *b.* —; *d.* —; *m.* (between 1698 and 1702) Daniel Johnson.

SILAS, son of Captain William and Anne (Jasper) Crispin, probably accompanied his father in the unfortunate voyage which ended at Barbadoes. He first arrived in Pennsylvania with Captain Thomas Holme, the Surveyor-General, in the ship "Amity," of London. On his arrival, he no doubt lived with Captain Holme's family at Shackamaxon; within a year he married the latter's daughter, Esther, and in 1684 they went to live on his plantation on the Pennepack Creek, in the upper part of Dublin Township. There is a tradition that their first child was born here in the wigwam of an Indian chief. He soon had a house built on the plantation, and lived there the rest of his life. In deeds, etc., he is styled "Silas Crispin of Dublin township, gentleman." He was a member of the Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania. He was executor of the will of his father-in-law, Captain Thomas Holme, and spent a great deal of time in caring for the large interest in lands left by the latter; obtaining warrants for laying out lands not taken up at Holme's death, selling some of the tracts, etc.

Silas Crispin died May 31, 1711. By his will, dated May 5, 1711, he made his wife Mary executrix, left her his negroes, household goods, etc., and directed her to sell one hundred acres which he bought from Robert Grismall, adjoining the north end of his plantation, to pay debts and legacies. To his son Thomas he left a mare and colt and some small articles. To his granddaughter Sarah Loftus and his sister Rebecca Blackfan he left sums of money.¹ His landed estate is not mentioned in his will, his own plantation

¹ The witnesses were Margaret Ashton, William Blackfan, and Robert Ashton. Mary Crispin renounced her executorship July 5, 1711, and letters of administration *cum testamento annexo* were granted Thomas Crispin April 19, 1714.

going by the law of the time to his son Thomas, while the other children by his first wife were heirs, through their mother, to Captain Thomas Holme's large domains. His children by his second wife were quite young, and he probably expected them to be provided for by their mother, whose family was wealthy. After her husband's death Mary Crispin, with her children, returned to Burlington, New Jersey, where she had lived before her marriage.

In the list of "First Purchasers" the names of William Crispin and Silas Crispin are bracketed as purchasers of five thousand acres; William was doubtless the purchaser of the whole, Silas being his heir in Pennsylvania after his death; but Silas did not inherit all of this, as it reverted to the Proprietary, who then gave to the children of William Crispin lands equalling the same amount. Silas was given five hundred acres in Hilltown Township, Philadelphia County, forty acres in the "liberties of Philadelphia," and three lots in the city. The liberty land was just half, and the area of the city lots approximately half, of what was due under a purchase of five thousand acres, yet Silas appears to have been the only one of the children who had either, as the others all sold their rights before any land was actually laid out to them. The patents to all these are made out to "Silas Crispin, Purchaser," which would seem to be an error, as they were given him as part of his father's purchase. He had in addition a plantation of five hundred acres, on which he resided, no patent for which has been found on record. It is said to have been given him by Penn; if so, it was in excess of his father's purchase.

The five hundred acres in his father's right were in Hilltown Township, Philadelphia County (now Abington Township, Montgomery County), about eight miles back from the Delaware River in a straight line along the hypothetical Susquehanna Road; the tract was rectangular, bounded northeast by Moreland, southeast by Ph. Th. Lehnmann's land, southwest by the Susquehanna Road, and northwest by land Captain Thomas Holme had taken up in right of Samuel Clarridge. It is shown on Holme's map. Between

1686 and 1698 Silas Crispin sold this, in separate portions, to Cornelius Sturgis, John Meredith, and Thomas Hood.

The forty acres of liberty land was a rectangular tract a short distance northeast of Germantown Road, beyond Isaac Norris's "Fairhill" plantation. He sold this to Nicholas Rideout in 1695, who sold it to Nicholas Waln. Silas Crispin's city lots, as already mentioned, were not the same as those allotted to his father on the original city plan; a number of alterations had been made in the plan before the lots were surveyed. One was on the west side of Delaware Front Street, one hundred and sixty-two feet south of Walnut Street; it was forty-two feet on Front Street, running back one hundred and fifty-five feet on the north line and two hundred and one feet on the south line, bounded on the west by a marsh. In 1684 he sold this to William Frampton. Another of his lots was on the southwest corner of High Street and Strawberry Alley, forty feet (afterwards found to be forty-one) on High Street and eighty feet on the alley; he sold this about 1692 to Joseph Farrington. The other of Silas Crispin's lots was on the southeast corner of Sixth and High Streets, sixty-six feet on High and three hundred and six feet on Sixth Street; this was patented to him in 1688, and the same year he sold it to Patrick Robinson.¹

Silas Crispin's plantation, on which he went to live shortly after his marriage, remaining there the rest of his life, was about five hundred acres in the upper part of Dublin (afterwards Lower Dublin) Township, Philadelphia County, on

¹ Patrick Robinson exchanged thirty-nine and a half feet in breadth of this with Robert Greenway for the same amount adjoining the lot he (Patrick Robinson) had purchased from Crispin, as Holme's executor, farther east in the same square, the latter being twenty-six and a half feet (originally intended for twenty-six); these combined lots, sixty-six feet front, he sold to Lionel Britain. This exchange has made a good deal of confusion in the attempt to locate the lots from the records, some giving it as "Robert Greenaway's exchanged with Silas Crispin," while the deed shows Crispin to have sold the corner lot intact to Robinson, and the minutes of the Board of Property say that Robinson made the exchange with Greenway.

the line of the present Abington Township, Montgomery County, now in the Thirty-fifth Ward of the city; it was rectangular, bounded northeast by Moreland, southeast by John Mason's land, southwest by the line of the Susquehanna Road, and northwest (across the present Abington line) by William Stanley's land; it is shown on Holme's map. This is the plantation mentioned in his will, though not devised by that instrument, his son Thomas inheriting it by the laws of primogeniture then in force.

On 6th mo. 28, 1689, the Council appointed Robert Turner, Benjamin Chambers, Joseph Fisher, Silas Crispin, Thomas Fairman, and Robert Adams, with a surveyor, to lay out a cart road according to statute, they having petitioned to have a road laid out from Philadelphia to Bucks County; this was no doubt the present Bristol Pike, and they probably followed to a great extent the rather indefinite trail previously known as the "King's Path."

Silas Crispin *m.* 1st, —, 1683, Esther Holme (*b.* —; *d.* April 17, 1696), daughter of Captain Thomas Holme, Provincial Councillor and Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania (for account of whom see PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIX., No. 4, and Vol. XX., Nos. 1 and 2). They had issue:

Sarah, *b.* March 31, 1684; *m.* —, Leeson Loftus, of the city of Philadelphia.

Rebecca, *b.* May 6, 1685; *m.* —, Joseph Finney.¹

Marie (or *Maria*), *b.* August —, 1686; *m.* —, John Collet.²

Eleanor, *b.* July 11, 1687; *m.* November 23, 1708, John Hart, Jr.³

William, *b.* July 3, 1689; *d.* young.

Esther, *b.* October 29, 1691; *m.* —, Thomas Rush.³

¹ Son of Samuel Finney, Provincial Councillor and Provincial Judge, and brother of Captain John Finney, Provincial Councillor and High Sheriff of Philadelphia County, of the family of Finney, of Fulshaw Hall, Cheshire, England.

² John Collet was son of Richard and Elizabeth (Rush) Collet; John Hart, Jr., was High Sheriff of Bucks County, and also coroner and a justice in the same county, son of John Hart, member of Assembly, by his wife, Susanna Rush; Thomas Rush was son of John Rush. All three were grandsons of Captain John Rush, formerly of the Parliamentary army in England, who came to Pennsylvania in 1683, and had a plantation in Byberry (for account of whom see PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVII., No. 3).

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Thomas, b. June 22, 1694; *m.* —, Jane Ashton.¹ Lived on his father's plantation in Lower Dublin Township.

Susanna, b. April 14, 1696; *d.* young.

The above children inherited, through their mother, Captain Thomas Holme's Well-Spring Plantation and his smaller tract adjoining it, amounting in all to over two thousand one hundred acres; they made a division of this in 1723, reserving the family burying-ground laid out by Holme for their use in common. As the daughters all removed from the immediate vicinity, the descendants of Thomas Crispin only continued to use it, and it has long been known as the "Old Crispin Burying-Ground;" it is now under the care of a board of trustees, in which other branches of the descendants of Holme are represented.

Silas Crispin *m.* 2d, —, 1697, Mary, daughter of Richard and Abigail Stockton, of Springfield Township, Burlington County, West New Jersey, and widow of Thomas Shinn, of the same county and province. Her father, Richard Stockton, was an Englishman of good birth and some fortune who settled in Flushing, Long Island, where he was lieutenant of a troop of horse in 1665, and afterwards joined the Society of Friends and removed to Burlington County, New Jersey; he was the ancestor of the celebrated Stockton family of New Jersey. Her first husband, Thomas Shinn, belonged to a well-known West Jersey family; she had two sons by him, Thomas and Samuel, who both settled near Mount Holly and left descendants.²

Silas and Mary (Stockton) Crispin had issue:

Joseph, b. October 7, 1698; *m.* —, Sarah Barratt. Removed to Delaware.

Benjamin, b. September 1, 1699; *m.* August 21, 1722, at Springfield Meeting, Margaret Owen, daughter of Joshua and Martha Owen, of Springfield Township.

¹ Daughter of Joseph Ashton, Esq., of Lower Dublin Township, a justice of the peace and of the county courts of Philadelphia County.

² Thomas Shinn and Mary Stockton were married 1st mo. 6, 1693; he died 9th mo. 15, 1695.

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Abigail, b. January 20, 1701; m. —, John Wright, of Springfield Township.

Silas, b. March 19, 1702; d. November —, 1749; m. November 9, 1724, Mary Wetherill, daughter of Thomas and Ann (Fearon) Wetherill, of Burlington, and granddaughter of Christopher Wetherill, ancestor of the Wetherill family of New Jersey and Philadelphia.

Mary, b. May 12, 1705; m. November 6, 1727, Thomas Earl, of Burlington County, son of William Earl, of New England, ancestor of the Earl family of New Jersey.

John, b. December 11, 1707.

After Silas Crispin's death, his widow, Mary (Stockton), m. 3d, September 11, 1714, at Springfield Meeting-House, Richard Ridgway, Jr., of Springfield Township; she had no issue by him.¹

¹ Richard Ridgway, Jr., had married 1st, Mary Willett; he was son of Richard Ridgway, Sen., of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, who removed to Burlington County, West Jersey, and married for his second wife Abigail Stockton, sister to Mary Stockton, Richard Ridgway, Jr.'s, second wife.

ORDERLY-BOOK OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE
REGIMENT OF FOOT, MAY 10 TO AUGUST 16, 1777.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

[The Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot was formed largely from the remains of the Rifle Battalion of Colonel Samuel Miles and the Musketry Battalion of Colonel Samuel J. Atlee, and on May 2, 1777, John Bull was commissioned its colonel. His appointment was, however, unsatisfactory to the officers, who threatened to resign unless he was removed; accordingly on June 17 he was appointed Adjutant-General of the State, and Colonel Walter Stewart given the command of the regiment. The details of this movement are given in the "Diary of Lieutenant James McMichael," PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVI. pp. 129 *et seq.* In July the regiment was designated the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Line, and in November, by resolution of Congress, was placed on the Continental Establishment. When Colonel Stewart took command of the regiment it mustered eleven companies, fifty-two field- and staff-officers, seventy-nine non-commissioned officers, and four hundred and seventy-seven privates fit for duty. The Orderly-Book is in a fairly good condition, and many of the entries are in the handwriting of Hugh McGough, who was a sergeant in the company of Captain John Clark. On the inside of the cover is the following: "May 15, 1777. Crossed ye River to Liberty Island from Red Bank. Four of the enemies ships came into the River and our Gallies bore down to meet them. On that night the enemy landed at New Castle and carried a number of live stock on board their ships, after cutting down ye Liberty Pole and taking away ye Alarm gun. The day following they stood for the Capes." On the same date Lieutenant McMichael in his diary records, "At noon the alarm guns down the river were fired and flags all hoisted. We were paraded and awaited the attack, which proved a false alarm." The fly-leaf has also the following entries relating to two privates of Captain John Clark's company:

"William Jefferies, 5 ft. 6 in. high; pale complexion, long black hair, med. large grey eyes, a well made Irishman, received his furlough Aug. 21 for 30 Days."

"William Elliot, from Londonderry, Lancaster county Pa., short dark curly hair, fair complexion, about 5 feet 7 or 8 in. high, has furlough from Dec. 16 1777 to March 1 1778."

"December 30, 1777, Lieut. Joseph Finley [of second company] being promoted to Captain, is to take the command of the company formerly Captain Patrick Anderson's." Captain Anderson had been elected a member of the Assembly.]

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HEAD QUARTERS RED BANK May y^e 10th 1777.

Quartermaster to collect all Liquors belonging to any of ye Soldiers and their Wives exceeding 1 Quart each at Red Bank & order it on Board ye first Shalop or flat & suffer Women whose property it is to go on board with it to Philadelphia; y^e Regt to leave if fit this evening and y^e officers to see that all the men have themselves and arms clean by tomorrow morning and be on the parade at 8 of clock [torn] Every Sunday as usual and not appear upon the parade at any time without being Shaved and their hair Combed.

The Capt. or Comanding officer of companys to give in a return of Arms and Acutremments and other Necessaries to compleat their Companys.

HEAD QUARTERS FORT MERCER May 24th 1777.

The Reg^t to be paraded at 6 o'Clock in ye morning & 5 in y^e afternoon with arms & acutremments to exercise y^e Serg^{ts} to take in Rotation, to be orderly & keep an exact Roster of ye Companys, ye officers to attend ye parade as many as are present and when the men go to work at least one officer of each Company to attend to see y^t y^e men as many as are able, to turn out. Ye Captain of ye Day is to Inspect ye tents and order ye men to mend those that are tore and if any should be Tore in Future by Neglect to Report ye perpetrators. Regular Division of Tents to be made according to ye number of men in each Company—one tent for six men or 5 men and one woman, ye Serg^{ts} to be punctual in Delivery of their Reports precisely at 6 o'Clock in ye morning. Any Neglect to be taken in Notice.

FORT MERCER May the 26th 1777.

The Quartermaster is to order the Camp Colormen to Dig two Necessaries, one at each wing of the Camp and when full to cover them well over—the Camp to be kept Clean. Any man found to . . . about the Camp shall be put in the Guard house—Orders issued before to be strictly observed both by Officers & Soldiers—the Serg^{ts} to shew the orders as soon as they get them from the Adjutant to their Officers.

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HEAD QUARTERS FORT MERCER May 28th 1777.

It is with the utmost Concern ye Colonel observes so great a backwardness of duty, therefore hopes y^e Officers will exert themselves in future to see y^t the men do their duty punctually—all Neglect will be taken Notice of without distinction. Ye Quartermaster to Issue Rum for none but for those on duty, the Women to draw none. Ye officers are to be particular in their provision Returns and to mention at the Bottom of them the Quantity of Rum due to their men.

HEAD-QUARTERS FORT MERCER May y^e 30th 1777.

All the Rifles private property belonging to Soldiers of y^e Pennsylvania State Reg^t who chuse to dispose of them are to Deliver with their Names written on paper pasted on the butts in order they may be appraised.

HEAD QUARTERS FORT MERCER June y^e 6th 1777.

STANDING ORDER.

Every Soldier before ye hour to Parade shall be properly Equipped and Dressed, arms and Linnen clean, Shaved and hair Dressed so as to appear on Field Days & when on Guard decent and Soldiery like. Ye Quartermaster to divide ye Cloaths between ye Comp^y according to their several Necessities taking Rec^d for y^e same—the Capt^{ns} who are to keep Acct how y^e are Disposed of Ye Guard not to be Relieved on Field Days until on 6 o'Clock when the Adjutant will order y^e old Guard to Dress and prepare immediately to fall in Battalion by three o'Clock in y^e afternoon in order they may not be Deprived of y^e Benefit of their Duty.

HEAD QUARTERS FORT MERCER June y^e 8th 1777.

Altho' frequent orders have been given against selling any Spirituous Liquors, yet some has been Brought into Camp. Ye Coloⁿ is Determined that any person found guilty of Bringing & Selling such Liquors he shall be put in the Guard house and severely punished for Disobedience of Orders and never in ye Future allowed to sell, and the Liquor so brought shall be taken from them. The Men

must be careful not to hurt the Fruit trees in the Camp, nor to burn any of the Rails or destroy them.

HEAD QUARTERS FORT MERCER, June 18th 1777.

Captain of the Day, tomorrow,—Capt. Clark. Officers to command the Working Parties, Lieut. Van Pelt, Ensign Boyle, Ensign Gregg.¹

HEAD QUARTERS FORT MERCER, June 14th 1777.

Officer for the Day tomorrow, Capt. Gray; officers to attend the Working Parties, Ensign Dugan, Ensign Vanwinkle, Ensign Colier.²

HEAD QUARTERS FORT MERCER, June ye 14th 1777.

The Troops to be ready tomorrow morning by 10 o'clock with arms, ammunition, and accoutrements in good order to march to Gloucester as soon as possible and as ye Quartermaster is absent, one Commissioned officer of each Regt to use his best Endeavours to provide a wagon for their respective Com. Baggage and one for ye Field Officers.

HEAD QUARTERS FORT MERCER, June 15th 1777.

The Command to be left at Fort Mercer to consist of one Capt., one Lieut., one Ensign, three Serg^t, a Drum and Fife & fifty Privates, viz. Capt. Carnahan, Lieut. Gregg, Ensign Bickham, a Serg^t from Capt. Gray, Robb and Carnahan, the Drum Major, and small Drum & fife, five Privates from each Company.³

HEAD QUARTERS PHILADELPHIA June 15th 1777.

A Detachment consisting of one Capt. two Subalterns, four Sergeants, four Corporals & fifty Men must be Paraded

¹ Captain John Clark, of the seventh company; Second Lieutenant James Van Pelt, of the sixth company; Ensign Peter Boyle, of the third company; and Ensign Robert Gregg, of the fourth company.

² Captain Robert Gray, of the eighth company; Ensign James Dugan, of the tenth company; Ensign John Van Winkle, of the second company; Ensign Joseph Collier, of the seventh company.

³ Captain James Carnahan, of the tenth company; Second Lieutenant John Gregg, of the fifth company; Ensign James Bickham, of the sixth company; Captain John Robb, of the ninth company; Drum-Major Isaac Holloway.

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by seven o'clock at the Barracks to escort Powder to the Camp—they must be all properly Equipt with every Requisite as they do not return again until the Regm joins them. The Regt to be Paraded at the same time or rather sooner, when they must all receive their Clothing from the Quarter Master to prepare them for Marching to Head Quarters when ordered. The officers ordered to go are Capt. Anderson, Lieut. Crane, and Ensign Fullerton.¹

HEAD QUARTERS PHILADELPHIA June the 18 1777.

A Corporal and six Men to parade immediately and March to General Mifflin's Quarters, in order to escort his Baggage to Camp.

LEWIS NICOLA,
Town Major.

To COL. STEWART
or Officer Commanding his Regt.

HEAD QUARTERS PHILADELPHIA June the 18th 1777.

Allow me to Assure you Gentlemen that it was with the greatest Pleasure I accepted of the command of a Reg^t whose officers stood so High in the Esteem of the publick both in respect of their abilities and their Ability & Activity. It is with no less pleasure I observe the Ardent Desire each Officer sustains to have his Men comfortably and completely equipt before the march to Camp, and its I think a Duty encumbant upon me to use every endeavour in my Power to procure them what Necessaries they may want. I must desire the Quarter Master will immediately Clothe the Reg^t as far as the things now in his possession will go, and deliver me a Return of what remains still wanting.

The Captains will immediately be pleased to make Returns to the Adju^t of their Companies, not the Names of those Men not yet Exchanged as I am informed there are a number of Deserters from the Reg^t and many Recruits would be willing to join the Reg^t. Every Officer ought to

¹ Captain Patrick Anderson, Second Lieutenant Ambrose Crain, and Ensign Patrick Fullerton, all of the first company.

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pick them up. The following Gentlemen will hold themselves in immediate readiness to go on that Service.

The Pay Master¹ having received the Money for the purpose, will as Expeditionously as possible settle with the Men to the first of June or as late as the Money will allow of.

WALTER STEWART

Colonel P. S. R.

HEAD QUARTERS PHILADELPHIA June 18, 1777.

Two Guards each consisting of 1 Subalteran, 1 Serg^t, 1 Corporal, 1 Drum & 20 Men, must be ready in the State House yard at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning to escort some Wagons to Camp. The Officer will receive his Instructions from Capt. Watkins.

LEWIS NICOLA,

T. M.

To COL. WALTER STEWART,
or Senior Officer with his Regt.

HEAD QUARTERS PHILADELPHIA June y^e 19th 1777.

Ensign Bemper,² & Ensign Fullerton will proceed on y^e above command & when ye have executed this order from Capt. Watkins they immediately proceed with their parties to Correll's Ferry there to join ye rest. Ye Regt. will be paraded tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock when they are to be properly equipt, to proceed to Camp. It is absolutely necessary yt each Capt. immediately delivers Returns mentioned in yesterdays Orders, and Col. Stewart flatters himself as the time fixed for leaving the City is so near at hand, that all will exert themselves in getting the men in proper order.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS June the 20th 1777.

The Captains are desired in the most possitive manner to get the Pay Rolls for the Back Pay due the Men immediately finished as I shall be under the Necessity of delivering to the Board of War a return of those Companies which have not been settled with this afternoon. If the Pay

¹ Captain Jacob Laverswyler.

² Ensign Abraham Boemper, of the ninth company.

Master has not Money sufficient for this purpose the Board of War will supply him with more. Those Men who have not received all their Clothing must have it this afternoon. The Roll to be called at six this afternoon and six tomorrow morning.

WALTER STEWART,
Colonel P. S. R.

BOUND BROOK June the 26th 1777.

The Regt. to be drawn up on the hill near the three gun battery to the northward of the Meeting-house, at seven o'clock this evening, when a guard will be fixed at said place consisting of one Capt., two Subalt's, four Serg^{ts}, and fifty rank and file. One Serg^t and twelve men on the Quibbletown road, one Sergt and twelve men on the road to Corell's Ferry, one Lieut. and two Sergts. on this side the Bridge. At Tattoo the loose boards on the Bridge are to be brought to this side, and in case of an alarm in the night, the men are to parade on the same ground the Roll was called near the three gun battery. The wagons to be paraded on the hill at Roll call, where the wagons will have orders.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS June the 27th 1777.

The Regt. to be paraded tomorrow morning at four o'clock, when they are to manouver to seven; the Roll to be called at six, and manouver to eight o'clock. The Capt's of the different companies to see that their men come clean on the parade, and order that they have their dirty linen washed.

The Quarter Master will see that the Men, according to a Standing General Order always have three days provisions before hand; after having it, have it cooked as soon as possible.

As I find there is a great number of Men in Camp [torn] their Corps which belong to this Regt., the Officers will be very industrious to find them out, and give a return of their names and companies to me.

WALTER STEWART, *Colonel.*

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REGIMENTAL ORDERS July y^e 1 1777.

The different Capts will make a return to the Adjutant of the Sergt's already appointed in the different companies, & what vacancies there now are, & he will take care for the future not to attempt Breaking or Nominating a Sergt. without my permission, as it is impossible for the Adjt to know the Sergts. of the Regt. when they are so frequently changed.

A General Return of the Regt. to be made to the Adjt by tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock. It is desired that each Capt. will be particularly careful in making their Returns out exact.

An Officer for the week to be appointed in each Company to superintend the Cooking of the victuals, to whom I shall look, if there is any irregularity, & he may depend upon being punished if found Negligent.

An Officer of the week likewise to attend the Surgeon in visiting the sick.

The Capts must appoint good, sober, diligent men immediately as Corporals. The Quarter Master to make a return of the Tents, Camp Kettles, Wagons & all the Camp Equipage now with the Regt. by 8 o'clock tomorrow morning.

WALTER STEWART, *Colonel.*

MIDDLE BROOK July 1st. 1777.

GENERAL ORDERS.

A General Court Martial to sit tomorrow at 9 o'clock at ye usual place for ye Trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them. Col. Walter Stewart is appointed to preside & all witnesses to attend. The late Court Martial whereof Col. Stephan was president is dissolved. A pay roll for ye month of May to be made immediately and delivered to ye Pay Master General for examination. The several Troops and detachments of Col. Bland's Light Horse are to assemble forthwith at ye Colonel's Quarters; ye Quarter Master General of Forage will assign a place where they may get Forage to recruit their horses.

A Return of the Sick in Camp of ye different Regts. to be

made to ye Surgeon General of the Army every Tuesday and Friday at 9 o'clock in ye morning specifying ye mens names, their diseases and ye Company they belong to; these returns to be signed by the Surgeon of the Regt.

Jno. Mifflin, Henry Emanuel and Luther Leh Esq^r are appointed D. Q. M. Gen^l for this Army and are to be respected and obeyed as such. Clement Biddle Esq^r is appointed Commissary of Forage for this Army.

Notwithstanding ye Order of the 3rd of June, the General is informed that many Officers are turning their horses into fields of grain and grass, and giving assurances to the proprietors of them, that the damages done shall be paid for by ye Q. M. Gen^l [torn] ye Orders already given, and considers ye [torn] y^t distress under which the inhabitants of New Jersey still are and still groan, the General is astonished to find that neither duty, honor, nor humanity can restrain Officers from so cruel and unlawful practice, he once more, therefore, in ye most pointed and possitive terms forbids it and orders that no horse be turned into any field whatsoever without License for it signed from the Qr. Mr. Genl. or some person acting by his authority. After this second notice, any Officers offending, upon complaint being made, may rest assured that they shall not only be answerable for the Damage done, but brought before a Court Martial and tried for disobedience of orders.

Detail for the Court Martial ordered yesterday: 1 Field Officer, 2 Capts.; for the Court Martial whereof Colonel Stewart is President; 1 Capt. 2 Subaltn's.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The whole Army is to get ready to march tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock; ¹ ye Tents & Baggage all put up properly into ye wagons. If it should rain ye Tents not to be struck. The two Regts. ordered to be detached from Lord Stirling's Division, towards the Sound is not included but

¹ The army marched from Middle Brook to Morristown July 8, where head-quarters were established.

are to wait till further orders. The Honb'l Congress having been pleased to order and direct a Deputy Qr. Mr. Genl should be appointed to each Division of the Army, and an Assistant to each Brigade, left the said appointments to ye Qr. Mr. Genl. with the approbation of the Comm. in Chief he requests ye Major Generals and Brigadiers of each Division to recommend a proper person to discharge ye duty of Deputy Qr. Mr. Genl in their respective Divisions and ye Brigadier and commanding officers of each Brigade to recommend an Assistant in their Brigade. In doing this proper care and circumspection it is hoped will be used, as the comfort and good order of each Division and Brigade will in a great measure depend upon ye knowledge and activity and care of ye persons they make choice of.

HEAD QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN July 4th 1777.

As it is impossible to tell now with certainty how soon or how suddenly ye army may be called upon to march, as it is an event dependant entirely upon ye enemies movements, ye General orders that no Officer or soldier shall be absent from Camp; that every thing be had in perfect readiness except striking of Tents. As no opportunity can be more favorable than ye present to get rid of all heavy baggage, the General once more strongly urges the Officers to store what they can possibly spare at Morristown. If after this second notice they fill the Lumber Wagons with old Tables, Chests and Chairs &c., they are not to be surprised if they are left in the Field. This must be the inevitable consequence of a scarcity of teams. No fences are to be destroyed, nor horses to be turned into fields of grain or grass before they are appropriated by the Qr. Mr. Genl., who will direct where wood is to be had, that some of the wagons of each Brigade may be employed in hauling it to their Encampment. After orders will issue at 4 o'clock this afternoon for the better regulation of ye Troop's Wagons and C^a upon a march, at which time all the Brigade Majors will attend the Adj. Genl. Observed yesterday that Wagons were very irregularly loaded; the Wagon Masters have

now an opportunity of attending to that matter; for the future they are to see that the loads are properly distributed.

HEAD QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, July 5th 1777.

GENERAL ORDERS.

When the order is given to march, and the men are paraded for that purpose the Rolls are to be called and the commanding Officers of each Corps is to see that his men are all present or know with certainty where they are. When they are told off in Subdivisions or platoons and Officers assigned to each such officers are to abide constantly with them and upon a March to see that No man is suffered to Quit his Ranks upon any occasion, without a Non Commissioned officer, who is to bring him to his place again. Whenever a halt is made and ye Ranks are suffered to be Broke, in order for the men to Rest and Refresh themselves, ye officers Comm'g Divisions as above, is so soon as they are ordered to Arms again to see that they have every man in his Division in his place. If either of ye Maj. Genls. in their respective [torn] should see any apparent cause for a halt before the time & place Designed to send a A. D. C. to ye Comm'g officer with his Reasons for it, who, if he Judges it expedient will order it accordingly. When a march is begun after a halt ye Drummers are to be ye first Division of ye foot, march to be taken from Front to Rear & upon ye last flank of ye first Division being struck the whole are to move.

If any man falls Sick or Lame and is thereby unable to walk, ye officer Comm'g ye Sub Division or platoon in which he is, immediately to send Notice thereof to his Br. G. or officer Comm'g ye Brigade to provide a Berth for him in some Wagon under his care. As it is Impossible that good Government & Order can be preserved until every officer will take his share of Duty and be attentive to ye Discharge of it, the Commander in Chief directs upon a March—that Maj. Genls. do not quit their Divisions; Br. G. their Brigades; Col^s their Regts. nor other officers their respective Divisions unless it be in case of an Absolute

Necessity, by order or with leave, each watching with a careful eye ye Conduct of all those under his Command. It is unreasonable to expect Regularity & Good Order in ye Common Soldiers if ye example is not set by ye Officers. Nor can ye officers with propriety punish a Soldier for a Disregard of orders which he Dispenses with himself. It would be a happy Prize and a most Laudible ambition to see ye Company officers of each Com^y veying with each other in *Discipline and good behaviour*.

As much irregularity in many instances was observed in ye march yesterday, particularly with respect to ye Guards, Women and Wagons, the General further orders that the following Regulations be observed—

First, that when ye Baggage will accompany ye army & form of ye time of march, No Regt. do allow more than 2 men as a Guard to each Wagon; that these men must be under the care of a Subalt^a or Non Commissioned officer as ye Corp^l or Comp^y officer of ye Regt may chuse as ye case may require. That each Brigade to furnish a Capt^a to superintend those and when the Baggage of ye whole move together each Division as aforesaid officers.

Second, that the 2 men assigned to each wagon shall march on ye side, but as far back as ye Fall of each Wagon, that if anything falls out, to be discovered and put it up again. The Subalterans or Non Commissioned officers is to be about the Centre of his Reg^{al} wagons, ye Capt^m about the same place of those of the Brigade and ye field officer in that of ye Division.

Third, that no woman shall be permitted to ride in any wagon, without leave in writing from their Brigadier to whose Brigade they belong, and ye Brigadiers are requested to be cautious in giving Leave to those who are able to walk. Any woman found in a Wagon contrary to this Regulation is to turn back, and be immediately turned out by ye Qr. Mr. Gen^l or W. M. G., or any of their Assistants in ye Division or Brigade to which the wagons appertain; as also by any one of the officers who command ye Baggage Guard. If any interruption is given to the Executioner of this Order

ye Names & Reg^t of the prisoner is to be reported to ye General.

Fourth, None but spare arms & such as belong to Sick & Lame men shall be suffered to go in wagons, as they are almost certain of Receiving some injury ; or if any Drummer or Soldier presumes to put his Drum or arms into a wagon, unless under similar circumstances that Soldier or Drummer so offending shall be immediately flogged by ye officer of ye company of ye Baggage Guard of such Wagons.

Fifth. To prevent ye enormous abuse and loss of Kettles by slinging them to the wagons, from which numbers fall, ye General orders that each Mess in turn carries their own Kettles, as is usual in all Armies, and can be little burdensome. In this the Wagon Master Gen^l is to be furnished with a Copy of ye Orders of the March, or at least so much of it as pertains to his Department by the Qr. Mr. Gen^l, and in common would do well not to quit the Encampment from where the Army is moving till he sees the Wagons in motion and W. M. assigned to the different Brigades of Wagons. On the march the D. W. Mrs. are, when they have got their wagons on ye move, to see that the heads of each wagon are close to the tail of another & that no stops are made that can be possibly avoided, even to water horses, unless at a general halt. They are not to stir from their Brigade ; they are also to prevent Women from getting into wagons, unless by license, as before mentioned ; nor are to suffer idle and lazy men to do so, or others without orders from ye officers Commd^g ye Brigade to which they are annexed, as before mentioned.

In all marches they are to restrain ye Wagoners from destroying fences, grain or grass, unless that appropriated by ye Quarter M. Gen^l or his Deputy under whom they act, that restitution may be made to the owners. No officer or soldier on any pretence whatever, to impress either horse or wagon, but by ye order of ye Qr. Master Gen^l or one of his Deputys, or his Brigadier, unless he happens to be on a separate Command, where such application cannot be made

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and ye Service must suffer without. In this case a Certificate must be given specifying ye Service &c. Any impressment contrary to this mode will bring Officers into a disagreeable situation, and severe punishment to the soldier.

That these Orders may be well known & duly attended to the General directs that every officer & other persons concerned provide themselves with copys of them as the plea of ignorance will be altogether inadmissable.

(To be continued.)

chairs. I saw my Papa and Mama, last Saturday, who were very well, as is

"Honoured Sir

"Your most dutiful Niece

"HANNAH PENN."

Hannah married James Clayton, and died in Cavendish Square, London, without issue. She was buried at Stoke Poges, October 2, 1791, where her husband also had been buried January 23, 1790. Her will was proved October 21, 1791, leaving her estate to her brothers John and Richard Penn and the children of the latter.

3. Richard, who became Governor of Pennsylvania. See below.

4. William. His birth is alluded to in Bishop Vickris's letter, above, in 1747. He died in childhood, February 4, 1760. In a letter to Governor James Hamilton, at Philadelphia, February 8, 1760, Thomas Penn says, "Our family is now under great affliction, my Brother's in particular, his youngest son and your God Son dyed last Monday of a lingering fever." One of the codicils to Richard Penn's will says William was buried in Penn Church, Bucks.¹

Richard Penn died February 4, 1771, and was buried at Stoke Poges. His will, made in 1750, and the four codicils, 1756, 1760, 1763, 1768, convey considerable family information. The will is dated March 21, 1750, and was proved March 4, 1771. The testator describes himself as "of Stanwell, in the county of Middlesex, Esquire." He appoints William Vigor, Esq., of Taplow, Bucks, and Joseph Freame, of London, banker, his executors (but as they both died before he did, a codicil later appoints his wife Hannah in their stead), they to act as to all his personal estate in Great Britain or elsewhere, except America. For America he appoints Lynford Lardner, Richard Peters, and Richard Hockley. He says in the will proper (1750), after speaking of his eldest son, John Penn, "I have at present only three younger children, a daughter, Hannah Penn, and two sons,

¹ See letter, previously cited, from the Vicar of Penn, 1896, Rev. J. Grainger, M.A., describing the Penn coffins in the vault of that church.

land Boundary case, "Mr. Richard Penn being then married was the reason why the legal estate was not vested in him, only the Trust thereof."¹

Richard Penn married Hannah Lardner. She was the daughter of Dr. John Lardner, a physician of Gracechurch Street, London, and Woodford, Epping Forest, Sussex, her mother, the wife of Dr. Lardner, being a Winstanley.²

July 11, 1729, writing to his brother John, Richard says, "My wife joyns with service to you." This was but a few days before the birth of their first child, John, who was afterwards Governor of Pennsylvania. The following letter to his uncle John ("the American") is among the Penn papers :

"LONDON, July 15, 1729.

"Dear John I hope you got well home—I got well to Town. Last night about Eleven o'clock Mrs. Penn was happily delivered of a fine Boy. He is to be named after your honour and I'm to have y^e pleasure to stand Godfather. Your last Civillitys have put me so far in y^e debt that I fear [I] shall never have opportunity enough to return them, but pray believe me, dear sir, your most obedient [etc.]

"GEO: STAINFORTH.

"To JOHN PENN, Esq., at Fein's,
"near Maidenhead, Berks."

It may safely be assumed that Richard's marriage was regarded by his two elder and bachelor brothers as an "early" and not prudent one. Richard's correspondence with them in the years following discloses that John, partly, no doubt, from his larger portion, and Thomas, from his superior business sense and greater personal force, dominated the youngest member of the trio. A letter to Thomas in Pennsylvania, undated, but evidently in 1732 or 1733 (well written for that day, in a good hand, and fairly spelled), refers to the landed interests, expresses regret for taking Thomas's time, and proceeds, "but I am sure you'd excuse

¹ Presumably John and Thomas must later have conveyed his share to Richard in fee.

² Hannah's brother, Lynford Lardner, born 1715, came to Pennsylvania in 1740, was in the Proprietary Land Office, represented the Penns, was Receiver-General, Keeper of the Great Seal, etc., and died 1774.

The course adopted with John was to send him off to Geneva, to pursue his studies in care of a tutor. The record of this exile in the Penn manuscripts of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is quite complete. Thomas Penn, August 6, 1747, made an agreement with one Robert Dunant to take John to Geneva, teach him, direct his conduct, etc. A little later they set off, Thomas Penn accompanying them to the Continent. John writes to his uncle, October 2, 1747, from Basel, "After we parted, we went on," etc., and adds a postscript: "I hope you will excuse writing, as I cannot get any pen fit to write with, having left the writing box behind, it being put into your chaise, out of a mistake." Dunant and John reached Geneva October 10, and December 1 John acknowledges letters from Thomas, written at Frankfort and Rotterdam, on his return, and London after his arrival home.

The stay at Geneva continued about three years, until the autumn of 1751. The preserved letters passing between uncle and nephew are quite numerous, and it would appear that Thomas did not spare reproofs, while John at times pleads so abjectly for pardon for faults committed, especially in London,¹ as to awaken our concern as to his entire sincerity, and to show, certainly, that he very much wished the continuance of his uncle's favor. There is also a letter, without date, from James Cox to Thomas Penn, reciting John's marriage to his daughter, and pressing the inquiry, since John has now finished his studies, what is proposed to be done. It is a straightforward letter, couched in sensible language, and, so far as it goes, gives no unfavorable impression of the Cox side of the case. August 26, 1750, William Lowther² writes to Thomas Penn from Geneva, saying he had found John Penn there, doing well, had received many civilities from him, etc. A year later

¹ The manner of his allusions seems to suggest something more than a reckless marriage.

² This was probably Sir William Lowther, the last of the baronets in the line of Anthony Lowther and Margaret Penn,—the great-grandson of that couple. He died 1756.

Hannah (Penn) Freame, in June, 1736, from Philadelphia, to John Penn, in England, says, "He [Thomas] much wonders at my brother Richard's declining to come over."

By the betterment of the Pennsylvania estate Richard and his family benefited of course, and probably from about 1740 they felt themselves comfortably off. But there are traces in the letters of Richard's consciousness of his subordination to his brothers. In an earnest letter to John in January, 1745/6, a few months before the latter's death, he complains of John's having treated him like a child in regard to financial matters, etc. Other family affairs are suggested in other letters. In one from Thomas Penn, in London, to Richard Hockley, April 16, 1741, the former says,—

"My Brother Richard and Sister are gone to Bath, where she has been dangerously ill, but is recovered; her illness so discomposed my Brother that he has not taken regularly to the waters, so that he can give me no account of the Effect they have upon him."

Bishop Vickris, writing from Bristol, July 3, 1747, to Thomas Penn, says,—

". . . I congratulate your Bro and Sister Penn upon their having another Son, and if he bears the Name of his Good and Honourable Grandfather I hope he will inherit his virtues, which will make him truly Rich and Great."

Richard and Hannah Penn had four children:

1. John, Governor of Pennsylvania. We shall speak at some length of him below. He was twice married, but left no issue.

2. Hannah, who is referred to above in the letter to John, in 1732 (or 1733), as "my little girl," not old enough to send her duty message to her uncle. There is among the Penn letters one from her to her uncle John, written in a very formal, childish hand (though she must have been some twelve or thirteen years old), as follows:

"HONOURED SIR

"TWICKENHAM, 4th Ap. 1745.

"I have done according to your Desire in consulting with Mrs. Delafosse what Work I should do, and she advises me to do Cross Stitch

Esq., Proprietary of Pennsylvania, came passenger with Capt. Bryant, and is since set out on his Way for Pennsylvania."

And the same journal, December 7, adds,—

"Friday last John Penn, Esq., (son of the Honourable Richard Penn, Esq., one of our Proprietaries), arrived here from London."

Shortly after his arrival, John Penn was made a member of the Provincial Council. The minutes, Tuesday, February 6, 1753, state,—

"The Governor [James Hamilton] proposed to introduce Mr. John Penn, the Eldest son of Proprietor Richard Penn, lately arrived here, into the Council, and left it to the consideration of the Board what Place they would be pleased to offer him; Whereupon the Council, taking the Governor's Proposition into their Consideration, unanimously agreed, as he stood in so near a Relation to the Proprietaries, and was himself perfectly agreeable to them, to place him at their Head, and that when he shall have taken the legal Qualification he should be considered as the first named or Eldest Counsellor on the Death or Absence of the Governor or Lieutenant Governor."

The minutes show him to have been moderately attentive to the Council meetings; his presence is noted after August (1753) at eight of them within six months. In 1754 he was one of the Commissioners sent to represent Pennsylvania in the conference with the Indians at Albany, New York. April 6 of that year Governor Hamilton informed the Council that he intended to appoint John Penn and Richard Peters, of the Council, and Isaac Norris and Benjamin Franklin, of the Assembly, "as Commissioners for this Province to the treaty in Albany in June next."

John's conduct here, however, did not please his uncle. Letters from the latter to Richard Peters refer to him in terms of sharp dissatisfaction. These letters especially belong to the year 1755. February 21 of that year Thomas Penn writes to Peters,—

"I write you this line to tell you in confidence that my nephew's demands have been so much more than they should be on Mr. Hockley that he is ordered not to take any more than the amount of his bills. [Some bills, he complains, have been drawn by J. P. on parties in London who did not even know him, and have gone back unaccepted.] I

Richard Penn and William Penn." In the codicil, March 13, 1760, he says, "My younger son William Penn is lately dead." He directs that a family vault be made "in the body of Stoke Church, in the county of Bucks," fourteen or sixteen feet long, seven feet broad, seven feet high. He says (1750), "I am possessed of an house called Batavia House, in the parish of Sunbury, in the County of Middlesex, with the garden [etc.]. I have purchased two individual sixth parts thereof." Later in a codicil he says he has bought two-sixths more. He leaves a house in Cavendish Square to his wife.

Hannah Lardner Penn, wife of Richard, survived her husband over fourteen years. Her death is noted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Vol. LV., Part I., p. 326) as of date April 20, 1785:

"At Laleham, Middlesex, Mrs. Penn, widow of the late Hon. Richard Penn, formerly proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania, in North America."

John Penn, eldest child of Richard Penn and Hannah Lardner, became, in 1763, just when the Colonial wars closed and the Revolutionary ferment began, Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania for his father and uncle, and he has the distinction of being the last Proprietary Governor. His life from 1752 to his death in 1795 was mostly spent in Pennsylvania, and at his death he seems to have left behind a good repute, thus fairly preserving, if he did not increase, the family name in the Founder's Colony.

His early life, however, had upon it a serious cloud. He married "while a school-boy," as the accounts phrase it, a wife whom his family, and perhaps more particularly his uncle Thomas, compelled him to repudiate. The right and wrong of this transaction appear to me very uncertain, but the data available are too meagre to permit intelligent discussion of it. The wife was, it seems, the daughter of James Cox, of London,—whether the silversmith who made Thomas Penn's wedding presents for Lady Juliana, I do not know. Probably the marriage occurred as early as 1747, in which year John would have been eighteen years old.

In the Council, at Philadelphia, October 31, the commission of John Penn, signed by Thomas Penn and Richard Penn on the 18th of June, and with the royal approval August 31, was produced and read, and he took "the usual oaths." Then "the Governor, attended by the Council, Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council, and preceded by the Sheriff and his officers, went to the Court House, where his commission was published with due solemnity in the presence of a very great concourse of people. Immediately afterwards the Battery Guns fired a Royal Salute, and the bells of Christ Church [were] rung in compliment to him."

The next day "the Governor, accompanied by the Earl of Stirling, Lynford Lardner, and Richard Penn, Esq's., and several other gentlemen, went to New Castle," where the commission was publicly read, etc., with due ceremony.¹

The commission given John, it seemed, was for three years only, and was to expire December 1, 1766; accordingly the Council minutes show that in 1766 a new commission was sent over, extending to 1769, and in 1769 another for three years more. But in 1771, upon the death of his father, John again went back to England. In the Council, Monday, May 6, 1771, the president, James Hamilton, announced that John Penn had embarked for Great Britain on the previous Saturday. Richard Penn, his brother, produced in October following (16th) a commission as Lieutenant-Governor, and served as such until August, 1773, when John returned. On Monday, the 30th of that month, John Penn appeared in the Council and produced a revocation of Richard's commission, dated April 30, and his own commission of the same date.

The public service of John Penn, beginning in 1763 and closing thirteen years later with the final collapse of the

¹ In a letter from George Roberts, Philadelphia, to Samuel Powel (afterwards mayor of the city), then in London, dated November 5, 1763, the writer says, "Last week we had the pleasure of hearing our new appointed Governor's proclamation read. The usual cavalcade attended. . . . His honor Penn is a little gentleman, though he may govern equal to one seven foot high."

Thomas Penn was arranging for John to travel, and provided funds for him through Thomas Hyam & Son, London, merchants and bankers. In September or October, 1751, John set off; he writes from Turin October 18, from Milan six days later, from Florence November 6, and from Rome the 11th of December. Precisely how or when the tour concluded does not appear, but the time must have been not much later. In the summer following he came to Pennsylvania. Writing from Hitcham, England, August 26, 1752, to Richard Peters at Philadelphia, Thomas Penn says,—

“I wrote you a few lines by my nephew from Deal, who arrived just in time to take Mr. Morris’s passage off his hands, as we thought it best for him to stay a little longer.”¹

The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 30, 1752, contains advices from New York, November 27:

“Last Monday there arrived here Capts. Bryant and Garrison from London. John Penn, Esq., a Grand Son of the late William Penn,

¹ A further passage in this letter is of interest in connection with Thomas’s expectation, at this time, of revisiting Pennsylvania. He says, “I have recommended to my Nephew to give some orders for the cleaning of my House, & desire you will give him any assistance you can in it. I desire the painting may be immediately done, that the smell may be gone before the time I can possibly be there, and the papering in the spring, as I hope to embark in April or May [1753] at farthest.”

Mr. Keith says (“Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania,” p. 309), “The father-in-law [Cox] wrote to him [John Penn] in 1751, after he had been away four years, to induce him to cut loose from the Penn family, as he was of age, and his uncle’s recent marriage rendered it unlikely that he should be his heir; but John Penn, after a trip to Italy, where he spent more money than his uncle thought proper, cheerfully submitted to his uncle and father, who did not scruple at sending him permanently from his wife. Lieut. Gov. Hamilton, to whom the story was confided, offered him a home in Pennsylvania. In order to see his father before crossing the Atlantic, he came as privately as possible to England. His return being discovered, he hastily withdrew to Lille, and waited until an opportunity offered to go to America. He then recrossed the Channel, took ship, and, after various delays and a voyage of seven weeks and three days, arrived in New York, Nov. 21, 1752. He reached Philadelphia on December 1st, and became the guest of [James] Hamilton at Bush Hill.”

drew Allen, were active and prominent men, the last named for some time Attorney-General of the Province.

The displacement of his brother Richard by John in 1773 seems to have been somewhat abrupt; it caused a serious breach between them. The diary of Mrs. Penn's brother, James Allen,¹ contains these allusions to the matter:

"August 28 [1773]. The 20th of this Month, Mr. John Penn, my Sister, & Brother John [Allen] arrived at New York in the *Grovenor* Mast Ship, & are daily expected here. He comes to assume the Government & to supersede his Brother; to his [Richard's] great dissatisfaction. This step, tho' highly approved by Mr. John Penn's friends, it is thought will lay the foundation of a lasting animosity between the brothers. Mr. John Penn's reasons for this measure are that his Brother has set up a claim to the Proprietary Estate in reserved Lots & Manors, & immediately on his coming to the Government entered a Caveat in the Proprietary Offices, declaratory of his right, which he still reserves, notwithstanding his signing Patents as Governor.

"Sept. 8, 1773. Last night at Club the Governor and his brother met for the first time since his arrival, but they took no Notice of each other, Mr. Penn never having visited his Brother, and being determined to continue at variance."

A letter from Judge Yeates to Colonel Burd, October 6, 1773, says,—

"The accounts from Philadelphia tell us there is no connection between the present and later Governors, though they have dined together twice in public. Mr. Richard Penn takes no notice of his brother, nor even speaks to him."

And a letter the following day from Edward Shippen to Colonel Burd says,—

"Mr. Bob. Morris, the head man at the Merchant's feast, placed Governor Penn on his right hand, and his brother, the later Governor, on the left; but not a word passed between the two brothers."

This estrangement continued for some time, but appears to have been healed within a twelvemonth; a letter from Lady Juliana Penn to John Penn, at the end of 1774, expresses her satisfaction in learning from his letters of an

¹ PENNA. MAG., Vol. IX. p. 181.

think he had better return to Europe, and begin to fear he wants to settle in England."

Again, August 15, Thomas Penn wrote to Peters, and after further complaints of John, said,—

"Your letter . . . shows me plainly that I must never expect any assistance from him. . . . I receive great pain to find after all my expense he will remain so useless a branch of my family. I could not have thought it possible that any young man would have said he could not do business, and hated a place belonging to his Family, where any man might live with the greatest satisfaction, and that he lives in a sort of exile in the place where he could live with honour, and where he would have been sent had he married the first Duke's daughter in the kingdom. . . . I have nothing to do now but to throw him off my mind, as much as possible, and hope for a more useful member of society in my own offspring. . . . I think it better he should return."

Following these instructions, no doubt, in the autumn of 1755, about three years from the time of his arrival, John Penn returned to England. His last attendance at the Governor's Council is recorded on September 24 of that year. What occurred in England in the following eight years to improve the relations between himself and his uncle must be left to surmise, but in 1763 he returned to Pennsylvania, commissioned by his uncle and his father as their Lieutenant-Governor. Thomas Penn writes to Richard Peters, from London, August 31, 1763, thanking him for remaining in Philadelphia till his nephew, by whom this letter is sent, should arrive, and adds, "We are very sensible Mr. John Penn will arrive at a time of great difficulty. . . . I make no doubt all those we have experienced the friendship of will assist him. . . . My nephew Richard Penn accompanies his brother, to see the country. I must desire your friendly offices to him." In the "Colonial Records" (Vol. IX. p. 71), a memorandum, at New Castle, on Saturday, October 29, says,—

"The Assembly sent a Verbal Message to the Governor by three Members that the House, having understood that His Honour intended to set off To-morrow morning for Philadelphia in order to meet the Hon'ble John Penn, Esquire, lately appointed his Successor in the Government, and this day arrived in the river from England, proposed to adjourn, [etc]."

In the Council, at Philadelphia, October 31, the commission of John Penn, signed by Thomas Penn and Richard Penn on the 18th of June, and with the royal approval August 31, was produced and read, and he took "the usual oaths." Then "the Governor, attended by the Council, Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council, and preceded by the Sheriff and his officers, went to the Court House, where his commission was published with due solemnity in the presence of a very great concourse of people. Immediately afterwards the Battery Guns fired a Royal Salute, and the bells of Christ Church [were] rung in compliment to him."

The next day "the Governor, accompanied by the Earl of Stirling, Lynford Lardner, and Richard Penn, Esq's., and several other gentlemen, went to New Castle," where the commission was publicly read, etc., with due ceremony.¹

The commission given John, it seemed, was for three years only, and was to expire December 1, 1766; accordingly the Council minutes show that in 1766 a new commission was sent over, extending to 1769, and in 1769 another for three years more. But in 1771, upon the death of his father, John again went back to England. In the Council, Monday, May 6, 1771, the president, James Hamilton, announced that John Penn had embarked for Great Britain on the previous Saturday. Richard Penn, his brother, produced in October following (16th) a commission as Lieutenant-Governor, and served as such until August, 1773, when John returned. On Monday, the 30th of that month, John Penn appeared in the Council and produced a revocation of Richard's commission, dated April 30, and his own commission of the same date.

The public service of John Penn, beginning in 1763 and closing thirteen years later with the final collapse of the

¹ In a letter from George Roberts, Philadelphia, to Samuel Powel (afterwards mayor of the city), then in London, dated November 5, 1763, the writer says, "Last week we had the pleasure of hearing our new appointed Governor's proclamation read. The usual cavalcade attended. . . . His honor Penn is a little gentleman, though he may govern equal to one seven foot high."

ity of Watson, who says¹ that he died "in Bucks county," and that, after interment "in Christ Church ground," his remains were "taken up and carried to England." As to the latter statement, Mr. Thomas H. Montgomery² says that the records of the church afford no evidence of such removal. The diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer records: "February 12, 1795. Mr. John Penn, formerly Governor, when this State was a province of Great Britain, was buried from his house on Pine street, in Christ Church yard."³

Ann Penn survived her husband, and was made by his will, dated January 2, 1795, his residuary legatee, and co-executor with John F. Mifflin. John Penn had had, after his father's death in 1771, the life use of that one-fourth of the Pennsylvania Proprietary right which had come to this branch of the family in 1729. A decision by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in 1800, in the suit of Richard Penn against his brother John's executors, reviewed the subject of their property relations, including an agreement which the two brothers had made in 1787 respecting the division of the moneys received from the estates. The decision of the Court was for the defendants.⁴

Richard Penn, brother of Governor John Penn and second son of Richard the Proprietary, was born, as his obituary implies, in the year 1735. He was thus six years younger than John. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge, but quitted without a degree. By the will of his uncle, John Penn, he received a small allowance, about eighty pounds a year, but this he found quite inadequate to support his mode of life. Letters from him to his uncle Thomas, asking assistance, and the latter's somewhat sharp replies, are among the Penn papers. His arrival in Pennsylvania with John, in October, 1763, has been noted. John, as Governor, appointed him to a place in the Council, and he qualified January 12, 1764. He was the first president of the Jockey Club of Philadelphia, formed in November, 1766,

¹ "Annals," Vol. I. p. 125.

² PENNA. MAG., Vol. VII. p. 476.

³ Ibid., Vol. XVI. p. 418.

⁴ Reported in 2 Yeates, Penna. Supreme Court Reports, p. 550.

and so continued until 1769, in the beginning of which year he returned to England. He there remained until after the death of his father, in February, 1771. He was then appointed Lieutenant-Governor by his uncle Thomas and his brother John, and came again to Pennsylvania, arriving here October 16, 1771. He served a little less than two years in the place to which he had been appointed, and was superseded, as already mentioned, by John in August, 1773. Contemporary accounts generally represent him as more popular at that time than John. The journal of Miss Sarah Eve says,—¹

"August 30th.—This morning . . . hearing that Mr. John Penn was to be proclaimed Governor, curiosity led Deby Mitchel and I to go to see him. For my part I had rather be his brother than he, the one possesses the hearts of the people, the other the Government. Yesterday he made a public entry into Town with a large train."

The estrangement of the brothers was apparently not of John's choice,² and he made overtures to Richard, intended to heal the breach. An offer from John of an allowance of five hundred pounds a year, while the latter remained Governor, Richard declined, but upon the death of Richard Hockley, John appointed him naval officer at Philadelphia, and he accepted the place with appropriate acknowledgments.

Richard married at Christ Church, May 21, 1772, during his service as Governor, Mary, the daughter of William and Mary Masters.³ This marriage has a romantic interest, for thus it came about that the daughter of Letitia Penn's unsuccessful suitor of 1701 now became the wife of Letitia's nephew.⁴ William Masters had married in 1754, many

¹ PENNA. MAG., Vol. V. p. 197.

² Though an expression in James Allen's journal seems to suggest this.

³ Jacob Hiltzheimer's journal, May 22, 1772: "Richard Penn, Governor of this Province, was married to Miss Polly Masters last night. . . ."

⁴ This statement is in accord with that of other authorities, yet I cannot forbear mentioning the element of doubt that appears in it. The William Masters of 1701 could hardly have been under eighteen (though

years after his failure with "Tishe," Mary, the daughter of Thomas Lawrence, sometime mayor of the city, and had died in 1760, leaving two daughters, Mary and Sarah, aged respectively four and two years. It was the elder of these whom Richard Penn now married, and the disparity of the ages of the two may be noted. Richard was then thirty-seven years old, and his wife, born March 3, 1756, was a little past sixteen.

Thomas Masters, grandfather of the young bride, had had, early in the eighteenth century, a large holding of ground in the "Northern Liberties" of Philadelphia, and this, inherited by William Masters, passed to his widow and little girls.¹ The widow Masters also received from her father, Thomas Lawrence, in 1761, a large lot on the south side of Market Street, between Fifth and Sixth, and erected there soon after a handsome house, one of the finest in Philadelphia, which became later an "historic mansion" of the city.² Here Logan, in the letter cited, calls him "young William Masters") to have been a suitor of Letitia Penn (who was twenty-three), and if so, he would have been a man of seventy-one in 1754, when the person of his name married Mary Lawrence. Facts known concerning Mary's husband, however, indicate that he was not young in 1754, but "well on in years." Thompson Westcott, perceiving the apparent difficulty of the matter ("Historic Mansions"), makes an effort to solve it: "And so Richard, perhaps in ignorance that Mary's grandfather had nearly three-quarters of a century previous been a suitor for the hand of his great-aunt," etc. This is only adding error to doubt. Letitia was Richard's own aunt (of half blood), not his great-aunt, and, as already stated, the William Masters of 1701 is said to have been the father, not grandfather, of Mary Penn.

¹ Sarah, the second daughter, married Turner Camac. Cf. Keith's "Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania."

² The house is described by Richard Rush as quite superior; "few, if any equal to it are at present in Philadelphia," he says in his *Recollections of 1790-1800*. It was the residence of General Howe during the British occupancy of the city, 1777-78, and again was selected by General Benedict Arnold when Howe departed. After Arnold, Holker, the French consul, occupied it, and subsequently Robert Morris bought it and lived there. General Washington stayed in it with Morris during the sitting of the Constitutional Convention, 1787, and in 1790, when the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia, he occupied it as the Presidential residence for the next seven years.

she was living with her two daughters at the time of Mary's marriage to Richard Penn, and a conveyance was made to the bride, by the widow, two days before the wedding, of her interest in the property, "in consideration of natural love and affection," it being obviously a wedding present.

The Market Street house became known as "Richard Penn's," though as a matter of fact his ownership in it was only through the interest of his wife, and their married life in it extended but little beyond three years. The house was burned January 2, 1780, while in their ownership. Jacob Hiltzheimer's diary, that date, says,—

"Early this morning a fire broke out in Mr. Penn's house on Market street, occupied by Mr. Holker, the French consul, which destroyed all but the first floor."

And Elizabeth Drinker in her journal records,—

"1780, January 2, Richard Penn's large house, up Market St., took fire last night, and this morning is consumed all but y^e lower story. A most violent snowstorm this afternoon and all night."¹

Richard Penn bought, in April, 1775, of Andrew Doz, the "Peel Hall" estate, forty-five acres, on which Girard College now stands, and it was during his ownership, November, 1777 (he being then in England), that the British engineer officers burned the house, with many others, along the north side of the then city, as a supposedly necessary feature of their defensive operations. "Peel Hall" was sold February 15, 1779, by Tench Francis, attorney for Richard Penn, to Owen Biddle, and the description in the conveyance shows its condition :

"... with the outhouses, improvements, and gardens, being now torn down, burnt, and almost destroyed, and the tract or piece of land belonging thereto being laid waste, and opened to commons, the Fences which enclosed the same being taken away and destroyed."

¹ The house was subsequently rebuilt by Robert Morris.

In the summer of 1775 Richard Penn, with his family, went to England.¹ He had been solicited by the Continental Congress, then sitting at Philadelphia, to take to London the second petition of the Congress, the Address to the King, called the "Olive Branch," which John Dickinson had drawn up. Penn and Arthur Lee, agent in London for the Massachusetts Colony, presented it to the Earl of Dartmouth September 1, 1775, and in November, the petition being under consideration in the House of Lords, Richard Penn was interrogated, on motion of the Duke of Richmond, as to the condition of the American Colonies. His replies were intelligent and judicious; he had had, no doubt, a sympathy with the Colonial claims, and was well qualified to give information as to the circumstances out of which they arose.

Following upon this return to England, Richard Penn spent there practically the whole of his remaining years. During the continuance of the Revolution, the receipt of funds from Pennsylvania being probably mostly cut off, he appears to have been in severe financial straits. A letter (1780) says, "My friend Richard Penn's distresses have almost drove him to distraction. I understand from Mrs. Penn they are now kept from starving by the bounty of Mr. Barclay.² For aught I know Mr. Penn might long ago have

¹ The following letter is among the Penn papers in the Pennsylvania Historical Society's collection:

"DEAR MADAM:

"I have just now received your letter of the 22^d of March informing me of the Melancholly Event of my Uncle's Death. . . . God be prais'd! the happy & advantageous Marriage I have contracted in this Country enables me to live like a Gentleman in England for which place I intend to Embark this Summer, where I hope to find you and your family in good health.

"I am, dear Madam,

"Your Most Obedient Servant

"RICH^d PENN.

"PHILADELPHIA, May 10 [1775]."

² Barclay, no doubt, of the London firm of merchants and bankers, Friends, descendants of Robert Barclay the Apologist.

been in the Fleet Prison, had not Mr. Barclay stepped forth to his relief."

With the termination of the war his own and his wife's circumstances no doubt improved. In 1785 the Masters family, Richard Penn joining, sold the Market Street house and grounds to Robert Morris. In 1787 his brother John agreed with Richard to pay him one-fourth of the sums received by him (John) as his share of the one hundred and thirty thousand pounds voted by the State of Pennsylvania as compensation under the Divesting Act, and one-third of the returns from sales of the reserved property made after the act was passed. Upon the death of John, Richard succeeded to the life-right which John had enjoyed in the Proprietary estate.

For many years Richard Penn was a member of Parliament. He was elected to the House of Commons April 9, 1784, for the borough of Appleby, Westmoreland, and represented it until December 20, 1790, when he was returned for Haslemere, Surrey. From 1796 to 1802 he sat for the borough of Lancaster, and in 1806 was again chosen for Haslemere. His residence is named as Queen Anne Street West, County Middlesex. In 1808, or earlier, he came to Philadelphia with other members of his family, and his residence appears in the Directory of that year as at 210 Chestnut Street, between Eighth and Ninth. This visit is commonly spoken of as not continuing more than about a year. He returned, and died in England. The *Gentleman's Magazine* says,—

"May 27, 1811. At Richmond [Surrey] in his 76th year, R. Penn Esq., grandson of W. P., one of the Proprietaries, and formerly Governor of Pennsylvania."

Mary Penn survived her husband eighteen years. The *Gentleman's Magazine* records,—

"Aug. 16, 1829. At the house of her younger son, Richard Penn, Esq., in Great George street, aged 73, Mary, relict of the Hon. Richard Penn, one of the Hereditary Lords of Pennsylvania."

Richard Penn is spoken of as an attractive and genial man. Thompson Westcott says¹ he "possessed a fine person, elegant manners, was of a social disposition, and a *bon vivant*. He was the most popular member of his family who visited Pennsylvania after the death of the Founder."

Of the four children of Richard and Hannah Lardner Penn, only Richard, as has already appeared, had issue. His children by Mary Masters Penn were:

1. William, of whom an account will be given below.
2. A daughter, mentioned but not named in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, who died June 17, 1790. (The notice simply says, "June 17, 1790: The youngest daughter of Richard Penn, Esq.") She was probably an infant.
3. Hannah, who died unmarried at Richmond, Surrey, England, July 16, 1856. She accompanied her father and brother William to Philadelphia in the visit of 1808.
4. Richard. See below.
5. Mary, born April 11, 1785; married 1821 (being second wife of) Samuel Paynter, Esq., of Richmond, Surrey, J. P. for Surrey and Middlesex, High Sheriff of Surrey in 1838. Her husband died July 24, 1844. She died without issue March 26, 1863.

Our consideration of the line descended from William Penn the Founder, through his son Richard, is thus narrowed to the two sons of Richard, 2d, and Mary Masters. These sons, William and Richard, 3d, left no issue, and the line thus ends. It only remains, therefore, to speak appropriately of them. The two brothers were both notable men, having remarkable talents, but William's ability was offset by serious defects and weaknesses. They have each the distinction of receiving in the *Gentleman's Magazine* an extended and appreciative obituary notice, from which we shall quote below.

William Penn was born in England, June 23, 1776. He was entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, but did not take his degree. While there he produced (1794) a

¹ "Historic Mansions," p. 253.

pamphlet "which attracted the particular notice of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wyndham and the Government generally," its title being *Vindiciæ Britannicæ*. It was a reply to a pamphlet which had been published by Gilbert Wakefield, of Jesus College, Cambridge, entitled "The Spirit of Christianity compared with the Spirit of the Times in Great Britain." The pamphlet was criticised by the *Analytical Review*, and Penn rejoined with such effect that, had his habits and disposition favored, "a path was opened for him to any advancement he could possibly desire." Unfortunately, "he was too fond of that species of festive companionship in vogue at that period, and which precluded a man from standing in any other sphere."¹

William was for a time a captain in the Surrey militia. He came to Philadelphia with his father and sister Hannah in 1808, and appears to have remained in Pennsylvania for at least four years. Letters written by him in 1810 are dated in Dauphin County, and in 1812 he signs legal papers as of Northampton County. The most notable event of his visit here, if not of his life, was his marriage. This was the occasion of much sharp comment and of some warm discussion. His wife was named Catharine Julia (or Juliana Catharine) Balabrega, her parents being Jacob and Mary, of Philadelphia. She was born March 13, 1785, and was baptized in Christ Church. What her relations to William Penn may have been is not disclosed, but his appearance at the house of Rev. Dr. James Abercrombie, rector of Christ Church, on the evening of August 7, 1809, to say that within an hour he would return with Miss Balabrega to be married, threw that worthy clergyman into extreme distress, and when at the end of the time Penn appeared with her and her sister, Dr. Abercrombie and an intimate friend of Penn, who had been hurriedly summoned, earnestly endeavored to dissuade him from the step. Penn insisted, however, that he was determined upon it, and declared that if the rector refused to officiate, he would go to an alderman near

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, obituary notice.

by—naming him—at once, “and enter into a civil contract of marriage,” upon which Dr. Abercrombie yielded and married them. Later, having been much criticised, Dr. Abercrombie published a pamphlet,¹ in which he presented two letters from William Penn, describing the marriage (as here stated), an extended letter from Bishop White, and a still longer opinion of a lawyer, justifying him (Dr. Abercrombie) in performing the marriage.

The objection to the bride is suggested, but not positively stated. Bishop White develops his opinion of the case by means of a supposititious example, in which one of the couple proposing to be married “labours under the apparently just imputation of very faulty conduct.” William appears to have been sincerely attached to his wife at least as late as August 11, 1812. On that date he wrote from Easton, Pennsylvania, to John Penn, of Stoke Poges, proposing to sell to him all his interest in Pennsylvania, with the avails of which he wished to purchase an annuity.² Having explained and urged the proposal,—which apparently was not accepted,—he says,—

“I do not think I am likely to last very long, which Idea renders me doubly solicitous to place beyond the reach of Inconvenience a most deserving Wife, who is indeed my only Friend on this side of the Atlantic. I shall certainly never visit the other, and am grown so misanthropic that I protest I see no difference between the old, and the new World, except [etc.]” He subscribes himself “your faithful, affectionate, and much obliged kinsman.”³

He returned to England later, however, and lived there until his death. Of his wife there is no further definite information. They are said to have been childless. In 1817 he is styled “of St. John st., Adelphi, Co. Middlesex.” Much of his time he spent in or near the debtors’ prison in London.

¹ “Documents Relative to the Celebration of a Late Marriage.” Printed by Smith & Maxwell, Philadelphia, 1809. Pp. 47.

² He had then, by the death of his father, come into the one-fourth of the Pennsylvania rights belonging in this line of the family.

³ MS. letters in collection Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

He wrote for sundry periodicals, his contributions to the *Gentleman's Magazine* being usually over the signature of "the Rajah of Vaneplysia," the last word being an anagram of Pennsylvania, omitting the second *n*. His learning was quite extensive, and indeed pedantic, as an example of his letters in the magazine mentioned sufficiently shows.

He died in Nelson Square, Southwark (London), September 17, 1845. "Pursuant to his own desire," says the notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "the remains of Mr. Penn were deposited in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, by those of his illustrious ancestor, Admiral Sir William Penn." We cite in conclusion as to him a further paragraph from the same obituary :

"Extravagance and heedlessness brought him into debt, and he passed so much of his time within certain confines in Southwark, that he afterwards, when free from such restraint, declined to quit that neighborhood, and ended his days there. He was a kind, good-hearted man, and according to a common remark might truly be said to have been an enemy to no one but himself. More than this he was a man of transcendent abilities, an excellent classical scholar, and possessed of a wonderful memory, which he displayed by an extraordinary power of quotation in conversation. His talents, however, were rendered unavailable, from a recklessness and indifference to his position in society, and a turn for conviviality, which was towards the end of the last century very much in fashion. When he chose he could transfix the minds of those he associated with by the depth of his research and splendid talents. We have heard it asserted, that after a midnight excess, and being completely oppressed with wine, instead of retiring to rest, he would wrap a wet napkin round his head, and write a powerful paper for the *Anti-Jacobin*. He mixed with the highest ranks in society, and was courted in every company; and it was of him George the Fourth (then Prince of Wales) said, 'He was a Pen often *cut* (drunk, a term now obsolete, as well as the custom, in a great degree), but never mended.' Had he improved the opportunities which came in his way towards the end of last century and beginning of this, there was probably no elevation attainable which he might not have reached."

Richard Penn, the younger brother, remained a bachelor, and appears to have been a man of estimable character. It was at his house in Great George Street, as already men-

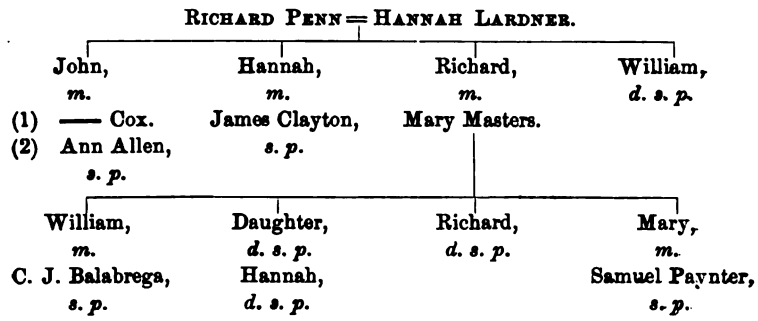
tioned, that his mother died in 1817. He was for many years a trusted and useful official of the Colonial Department of the English government. He devised a cipher code for use in despatches, published 1829, with the title "On a New Mode of Secret Writing." He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society November 18, 1824. His portrait, by E. W. Eddis, was engraved (1834) by M. Ganci. The obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says,—

"Mr. Richard Penn, jun., entered the Colonial Department, at the beginning of the present century, in which he remained many years successively under Lord Hobart, Viscount Castlereagh, and Earls Camden and Bathurst. He had talents admirably suited for official duties, added to a *bonhomie* and agreeable address which gained him the esteem of everyone. He had also a very profound acquaintance with the French language, and was well versed in all its difficulties of grammatical construction. Possessed of a competent fortune, he dispensed it in a manner suitable to a gentleman. His benevolence and charity were of the most extensive nature, and to be in distress was at all times a sufficient recommendation to his bounty; but his feeling for the orphan was particularly strong. Mr. Penn possessed a rich vein of humor, with much good sense and good nature, all of which are fully evinced in a little book which he wrote, under the title of 'Maxims and Hints on Angling, Chess, Shooting, and other Matters; also Miseries of Fishing; by Richard Penn, Esq., F.R.S.' (London, Murray, 12mo, 1842).¹ There are very many neat woodcuts interspersed in the work, from designs by his friend Sir Francis Chantrey, and other eminent artists."

Richard Penn died at his house at Richmond, Surrey, April 21, 1863, "aged 79." He had enjoyed after the death of his elder brother (1845) the life use of the Richard Penn fourth of the Pennsylvania rights, and upon his death they vested in his second cousin, Granville John Penn, in accordance with the limitations of the family entail, heretofore mentioned. He survived his sister, Mrs. Paynter, it will be observed, only about a month, and with his decease this line from William Penn the Founder closed.

¹ The edition here mentioned is evidently only one of several. The book on Angling, with "Maxims and Hints for a Chess Player" added, was published in 1833, with an enlarged edition in 1839, and an edition of "Maxims and Hints on Shooting" in 1855.

RICHARD PENN, PROPRIETARY, AND HIS DESCENDANTS.



(To be continued.)

A LIST OF THOSE WHO GOVERNED MARYLAND
BEFORE IT WAS MADE A ROYAL PROVINCE.

BY BERNARD C. STEINER, LIBRARIAN ENOCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY,
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

1. *William Claiborne*, under a trading commission dated May 16, 1631 (Council, i. 20), settled at Kent Island August 17, 1631 (Council, i. 32), and governed it under the authority of Virginia.

2. *Leonard Calvert*, commissioned by his brother, Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore and first Lord Proprietary of Maryland, —, 1633; given instructions as "Deputy Governor" November 13, 1633 (Calvert Papers, i. 131); arrived in Maryland with colonists March 27, 1634; recommissioned April 15, 1637 (Council, i. 49), as "Lieutenant General, Admiral, Chief Captain and Commander," September 4, 1642 (Council, i. 109), and September 6, 1644 (Council, i. 152); deposed in February, 1645. During absences from the Province he left the following persons in charge of the government: April 1, 1638 (he went to Virginia for a short time), *Mr. John Lewger*, the Secretary (Council, i. 71); May 27, 1638, to —, 1638, *Captain Thomas Cornwallleys* (Council, i. 74); May 8, 1641, to July (?), 1641 (he went to Virginia), *Captain Thomas Cornwallleys* (Council, i. 98); April 11, 1643, to September, 1644 (he went to England), *Captain Giles Brent* (Council, i. 130). [This appointment was ratified by the Proprietary July 14, 1643 (Council, i. 135). Brent's powers were extended on November 16, 1643 (Council, i. 139)]; September 30, 1644, for a short time his "well beloved cosin" *William Brainthwayt*, (Council, i. 160).

3. *Edward Ingle* usurped the government in February, 1645, and ruled for some months.

4. *Anarchy* from middle of 1645 to July, 1646. During this period the Council chose *Captain Edward Hill* as Governor.

5. *Captain Edward Hill*, appointed by Calvert in Virginia, whither he had fled, July 30, 1646 (Council, i. 172).

6. *Leonard Calvert*, restored in fall of 1646 (Assembly, i. 210), died July 10, 1647, naming his successor by word of mouth.

7. *Thomas Greene*, named by Leonard Calvert June 9, 1647 (Council, i. 187). Captain Hill protests, claiming that when the Governor was out of the Province he had been named Governor by the Council (Council, i. 188). Apparently Greene was not commissioned by the Proprietary.

8. *William Stone*, commissioned by the Proprietary August 6, 1648 (Council, i. 205). Possibly he did not assume the governorship until early in 1649. Formerly of Northumberland County, Virginia, he was made Governor partly because he promised to bring over five hundred colonists. On his temporary departures from the Province he named the following men to act as Governor: May 2 (Council, i. 231) and September 20, 1649 (Council, i. 242), *Thomas Greene*, and, in case of his refusal, *Thomas Hatton*; May 22, 1650 (Council, i. 255), *Thomas Hatton*.

9. *Richard Bennett*, *Edmund Curtis*, and *William Claiborne*, Parliamentary Commissioners, took possession of the government March 29, 1652 (Council, i. 272). Robert Brooke was President of the Council.

10. *William Stone*, restored by the Parliamentary Commissioners June 28, 1652 (Council, i. 276), and ordered to issue writs in the name of the "Keepers of the Liberties of England." He ordered writs to run in the Proprietary's name on March 2, 1653/4 (Council, i. 300), and was deposed by the Commissioners.

11. *Captain William Fuller*, *Richard Preston*, *William Durand*, *Edward Lloyd*, *John Smith*, *Leonard Strong*, — *Lawson*, *John Hatch*, *Richard Wells*, and *Richard Ewen*, Commissioners appointed by the Parliamentary Commissioners July 22, 1654 (Council, i. 313).

12. *Josias Fendall*, commissioned by the Proprietary July 10, 1656 (Council, i. 323), probably came over early in 1657. Fuller and the other Commissioners formally surrendered the government to him March 24, 1657/8 (Council, i. 340). While absent from the Province, June 18, 1657, to February 26, 1657/8, Fendall appointed *Luke Barber* to administer the government (Council, i. 332).

13. *Philip Calvert*, brother of the Proprietary, commissioned by him June 24, 1660. He was administering the government as early as October, 1660 (Council, i. 392).

14. *Charles Calvert*, son and heir of the Proprietary, commissioned by him September 14, 1661 (Council, i. 439), was exercising authority before the end of November (Council, i. 441), was recommissioned February 16, 1665/6 (Council, i. 543 and iii. 1), and succeeded his father as third Lord Baltimore and second Lord Proprietary on November 30, 1675 (Council, ii. 243). He left the Province probably in May, 1669, and returned before November 7, 1670. At his departure he left his uncle, *Philip Calvert*, the Chancellor in charge of the Province, probably without a commission (Council, ii. 49-56). On July 20, 1670, he appointed *Philip Calvert*, *William Calvert*, *Jerome White*, and *Baker Brooke* "Deputies and Commissioners" in charge of the Province (Council, ii. 66).

15. *Cecilius Calvert*, infant son and heir of the Proprietary, commissioned June 16, 1676 (Council, iii. 105); left as nominal Governor by Charles, third Lord Baltimore, on his departure from the Province in June, 1676 (Council, iii. 92-94). The government was actually carried on by *Jesse Wharton*, Deputy Governor, until his death in July, 1676 (Council, iii. 118), and by *Thomas Notley*, Deputy Governor, after that event. Notley was named by Wharton as his successor on July 27, 1676 (Council, iii. 112).

16. *Thomas Notley*, commissioned by the Proprietary October 14, 1676, died before 1681 (Council, ii. 281, iii. 133).

17. *Charles Calvert*, third Lord Baltimore and second Lord Proprietary, governed in person from 1679 (he was in

Maryland as early as January 8,—Council, iii. 211) until May, 1684 (Council, ii. 405–407).

18. *Benedict Leonard Calvert*, infant son and heir of the Proprietary, left as nominal Governor, 1684 (Council, ii. 406). The power was in the hands of the Council: *Vincent Lowe*, *Henry Darnall*, *William Digges*, *William Burgess*, *Nicholas Sewall*, *Edward Pye*, *Clement Hill*, *Henry Coursey*, and *Henry Lowe* (Council, ii. 457).

19. *William Joseph*, commissioned by the Proprietary President of the Council July 23, 1688 (Council, v. 42); took charge of government October 3, 1688 (Council, v. 41); surrendered to the revolutionists August 1, 1689 (Council, v. 108).

20. *John Coode*, *Henry Jowles*, *Kenelm Cheseldyne*, *John Kurling* or *Purling* or *Turling*, *John Campbell*, *Ninian Beall*, *Humphrey Warren*, Committee of the Protestant Freemen, seized the government August 1, 1689.

21. *Convention of the Freemen* of Maryland August 22 to September 4, 1689 (Assembly, iv. 241).

22. *Anarchy* for a short time after the adjournment of the Convention, as it provided for no central power (Council, v. 111).

23. *John Coode* signs himself Commander-in-Chief September 22, 1689, by what authority is unknown (Council, v. 89, 123), and acts as Governor until April, 1690.

24. *Provincial Convention*, April, 1690.

25. *John Coode* and a committee of two from each county appointed by the Convention (Council, v. 191) April, 1690, to August, 1690.

26. *Nehemiah Blakistone* left by Coode as his successor August, 1690, while Coode goes to England (Council, v. 206).

27. *Sir Lionel Copley*, commissioned by William and Mary as Royal Governor March 12, 1690/1 (Council, v. 235), arrived in Maryland and assumed authority April 6, 1692 (Council, v. 306).

NOTE.—The references to Council and Assembly are to volumes of Maryland Archives.

HARMANUS ALRICKS of St George's w Grace Alricks—rest to fruit of her womb that she pregnant with—then to bro Peter Alrichs & John Alrichs, to bro Wessell. Ex w Grace.
Sept. 26 1779 Oct. 25 1779.

SIGFRIDUS ALRICKS of hund & co of N. C., debts due to mother, bros Benj, Jos & Jonas—to w. Rachel—till s. David be 21.—8 ch—s Isaac (par. to my bro Lucas' land) not 21—s Jacob when 25—Ex w. & bro Lucas Alricks & bro-in-l Jacob Colesbery.
May 20 1780. Sept. 5 1780.

EDMUND CANTWELL of New Castle—Ex & heirs w. Mary & 3 ch. Rich. Cantwell, Joannah Cantwell, & Eliz. Cantwell of all lands on Del River, New York Maryland or other place—until ch. come of age. Ex ffriends Mr J De Haes Mr Peter Allricks Mr Ephraim Herman & Mr John Williams Neering—my bro Johannes Dehaes & myself, my brother-in-law Mr Johanes De Haes—my silver handle rapier.
Oct. 28, 1679
Letters to Mary Cantwell wid of Edmund dec'd Jan. 18 1685.

RICHARD CANTWELL of Apoquenemink in Co of New Castle gent. 1/3 to w. Mary Cantwell—1/3 to s Rich Cantwell 1/3 to d. Mary Cantwell—to Rich. the Hook plantation bet Hangmans & Blackbirds Creek i.e. 800 acres—to Mary 900 acres north of Hangmans Creek—250 a. land pur. by my father Edmond Cantwell of R. Morton wh. prop. belongeth to my s. Rich during minorities of my ch; if either die under age, after wife's death to sister Elizabeth Garretson's 3 ch Edm. Garretson, Cantwell Garretson & Mary Garretson. Ex w. Mary Cantwell
Oct. 17 1715 March 18 1716.

RICHARD HALLIWELL of Co of New Castle merch—Emmanuel Church standing on the green in New Castle £60 & 67 acres to the minister—Richard & Mary Cantwell, s & d of R. Cantwell of Apoquinimink in New Castle gent. all

money due me—3 eldest ss of Henry Garretson of Apoq. gent. dec'd. viz. Rich. Edm. & Cant. Garretson, & to Mary Garretson the d. of said Henry Garretson—Halliwell Garretson & Bridget Garretson, another s & d of Henry Gar. until 21—4 god children Jasper Yeates Junior, W^m Bedford, John Ross & Priscilla Robinson—bro Thos Halliwell & to his s. Thos Halliwell, if nephew Thos. should have a son called Rich. H. then to R. H.—nieces Bridget & Mary d. of my bro. Thos. H.—to Elizabeth Garretson widow. Ex John Moore & Rev Mr Ross

Dec. 17 1714

Dec. 4 1716.

ROBERT FFRENCH of New Castle mer. being this 28 Jany 1712—to w Mary ffrench—to my only dear & well beloved son David ffrench my dwelling h. in New Castle, a lot & 27, 212, 800 next to C Offreys, a tract of 1800 in Kent, in forest of Jones' 500, 300, 500, all books exc one bible that has no annotations in it, if he die before 21—to my eldest d. Katharine ffrench—to my d. Ann ffrench—to d. Elizabeth ffrench,—to d. Mary ffrench, if without heirs to heirs male of my bro. Thos. ffrench of Kent Co—to Mary d. of said Tho^s ffrench & heirs of her body—want of such to heirs male of Collonel John ffrench of New Castle—want of this to the poor of said respective county where lands lie for a school for teaching poor children—dear little d Mary ffrench to d. Kath a cow wh proceeded as of the gift of her unkle Yeats—a pearl necklace & gold locket I had of And^r Peterson—Isabella Trent (now Herman)—Eleanor Trent (in lieu of all claimed or promissed by me made to her mother) when 21—my kinsman Coll John ffrench of New Castle—whereas my son is at school in Chester let him be kept at school until he attain what grammaticall this government can aford him, if incl. to learn, sent to the University of Glasgow in North Brittain & he be kept there for 4 yrs. acad learn & he is fit for a divine or phys.—that my daus about 12 yrs old—to my friend & countryman Andrew Hamilton on Chester river in Maryland gent. Ex w & s David.

Oct. 21 1713.

JOHANNES DEHAES of New Castle, to eld. s. Rowlif DeHaes
—to s. Johannes DeHaes my gold seal—to w. Elizabeth
DeHaes remainder of est. After her death divided among
my child.

Nov. 4, 1694

July 1, 1695.

JOHANNES DEHAES late of New Castle, mer., lately died
intest.—to Roeloffe Dehaes, Apr. 26, 1706.

ROELOFF DEHAES of New Castle mer.—to d. Elizabeth
Dehaes—to d. Catharine Dehaes—to d. Mary Dehaes—to d.
Joanna Dehaes—to d. Sarah Dehaes. Ex friends R. Halli-
well, Coll. John ffrench & Rowland FfitzGerald.

Jan. 4 1716

Ffeb 23 1716.

Nuncupative will of William Welch of New Castle—to d.
Susannah Welch lands in West Jersey & in this county—
after the decease of her, unto Sarah Welch the wid & relict.

March 7 1686/7.

LETTERS TO WILLIAM HENRY, OF LANCASTER,
PENNSYLVANIA, 1777-1783.

[The following letters have been selected from the voluminous unpublished correspondence of William Henry, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, covering the period of the Revolution.]

" PHILADELPHIA,
" IN COUNCIL, July 31st 1777.

" GENTLEMEN :

" I have received certain intelligence that the Enemy's ships to the number of two hundred and twenty sail, was seen within a few Leagues of the light House yesterday about ten o'clock, and it was expected they would get into the Cape in the afternoon. Since that time the wind has been very favorable for them. It becomes now absolutely necessary for us to be on our guard, and to do all we can not only to oppose the Enemy, but put it out of their power to distress the good people of this State. I therefore request that you will immediately order 600 Waggon's out of your County to repair to this City, for the purpose of removing Stores, Provisions &c. &c. As you value the Interest happiness and peace of your Country, I intreat you to exert yourselves in this matter, and forward them as fast as possible without waiting for any particular number to come together.

" I am with respect

" Gentlemen

" your very Hum. Servant

" THOS WHARTON JUN. Pres.

" WILLIAM HENRY Esq

" and others the Magistrates

" of Lancaster County."

" IN COUNCIL.
" PHILADELPHIA August 7 1777.

" GENTLEMEN :

" The Fleet of the enemy not having made its appearance at our Capes since thursday evening last, it is doubtful whether the waggon's ordered from your County will be wanted, and as the expense will be enormous, you are therefore hereby directed to stop the waggon's from coming down until further orders. You will please to give notice to the several Waggon Masters in your County (by express if necessary), of this order, that it may be effectually complied with.

" I am with respect

" Gentmⁿ

" Your very Hum. Serv^t

" THOS WHARTON JUN Pres.

" To WILLIAM HENRY Esq

" and others Justices of the

" County of Lancaster."

Letters to William Henry, of Lancaster, Pa., 1777-1783. 111

ments and attestations, from the soldiers. The Receipts to be filled up, agreeable to the fourth Article of Instructions.

"The Council purpose to recommend to the Assembly, to make a generous allowance for your service, and we request your care, that every Attestation be duly returned to the Board, that this important service may be conducted with fairness to the Soldiers, and a due regard to the Interests of the State.

"I am Sir,

"Your obedient and very

"humble Servant

"JOS. REED

"*President.*

"TO WILLIAM HENRY ESQUIRE
"Lancaster."

"LANCASTER 16 May 1781

"DEAR SIR :

"Your known attachment to the American cause, and the readiness with which you have on all occasions exerted yourself to promote the true interests of our Country, leaves no room to doubt but that every thing in your power will be done for the immediate equipment of the dragoons belonging to this State.

"I have, therefore, called for the enclosed return of necessaries actually wanting for fitting out sixty Horse of Colo. Moylan's regiment whose services to the Southward is of the last importance.

"I wish to have the Cavalry in readiness to take up their line of march in the course of two weeks if possible.

"Interim I am your

"Most ob^t hum. Serv^t

"ANTHONY WAYNE."

"IN COUNCIL,
"PHILADELPHIA May 21st 1781.

"SIR :

"General Wayne has transmitted to us and the Board of War a copy of your letter to him of sixteenth instant wherein you observe that if Council will give orders for equipping the Sixty dragoons you will provide them in two weeks. You must be sensible that this mode of turning over the money from State to Congress is not perfectly agreeable to us, and we wish to avoid it as much as possible, but in the present case we are so anxious to do everything in our power, that we consent to it upon the following terms, which your known punctuallity in business assures us you will comply with, viz. That you furnish the Board of War immediately with a return of the money expended, and if there are any former monies under the same predicament to include them, and at the same time forward an order on the Board in favor of Mr. Rittenhouse which being negotiated with the Treasurer of the United States it may enable us to take credit in his books for the sum, and you at the same have credit with Mr. Rittenhouse.

"General Greene has received a small Check at Camden in consequence of a sally made by Lord Rawdon, but it is not of much consequence, as he

nishing them in preference to any other order from any other person whatever.

"I communicated the contents of Col. Bayard's letter this morning to His Excellency who expressed just surprise at the order not being complied with and ordered me to Request you to forward those articles together with the Espontoons with all possible Dispatch. Col. Bayard will present you with another order from the Adj^t General for an additional number of articles which I wish you to furnish the Soonest possible as we have numbers of men that can't take the field without them.

"Interim I am Dear Sir

"Your Most Obt

"Hum. St.

"ANTY. WAYNE B. G.

"WM HENRY Esq

"Lancaster."

"WAR OFFICE,

"May 17th 1778.

"SIR:

"You will please to deliver to the Order of the Hon. Council of Pennsylvania one hundred *common* Rifles (without Bayonets) if you have or can procure that Number Speedily. A light corps from Camp is expected at Lancaster & you will keep in view the providing them with what they want for Frontier Business. We mention this as we have to the Council, lest your Stock should be exhausted by this order.

"By Order of the Board

"RICHARD PETERS.

"WILLIAM HENRY Esq

"Superintendent of

"Arms & Military Accoutrements

"Lancaster."

"CHARLESTOWN, July 8th 78

"DE SIR:

"I am exceedingly anxious to join the Army. We wait for nothing but Carbines. Be pleased to send per bearer such as may be ready & expedite the completion of the number engaged.

"I have the honor to be Sr.

"with highest esteem your

"Most obedient & Most humble

"Servant

"HENRY LEE."

"CARLISLE, 31st July, 1778

"SIR:

"As Genl. McIntosh wants in his Army six hundred muskets with their Bayonets, and as I judge impracticable that such a number can be put in order at the time of our departure, I pray you to send at Lancaster to Mr. Henry's store for to have immediately 8 hundred muskets ready, which number fail us. Perhaps you know of some other places not far off Carlisle where it is possible to find some muskets ready if Mr. Henry cannot supply

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with this number. I hope you will please to do your Endeavour for to find or expedient; it would be necessary the muskets be here on next Tuesday or Wednesday.

"I have the honor to be Sir

"Yr most Obed^t most hble Ser^t

"LE CHEVE DE CAMBRAY.

"MAJOR LUKENS."

[P. S. by Major Lukens.]

"Col. de Cambray is to have the direction of the Artillery on the Western expedition, he is left here by Gen. McIntosh to get all things forward that is necessary for the Campaign.

"CHAS LUKENS.

"W. HENRY Esq."

"WAR OFFICE

"May 24 1779

"SIR:

"There being a pressing Demand for Arms in Maryland we are obliged to order the three hundred Muskets without Bayonets to the Head of Elk directed to the care of Col. Henry Hollingsworth or if you can, & we should prefer your doing it, to Baltimore directly to the care of Jas. Calhoun Esq D. Q. M. there. Either of these Gentlemen to inform Gov^r Johnson of their receiving the Arms which are to be subject to his disposition. Use every degree of Expedition as the arms are wanted for the Maryland Militia for the immediate defense of the State.

"Your obt Servants

"RICHARD PETERS

"By Order

"WILLIAM HENRY Esq

"Lancaster.

"We are pressed on every side for Arms. Do exert yourself to get as many as possible fit for service. If you have Cartouch Boxes of the old construction that will any wise answer the present Emergency send them with the Arms, to Gov^r Johnson & inform us how many you send. He wants Six hundred.

"9 o'clock at night

"We have considered further & you are to send the Arms to Elk to the care of Col. Hollingsworth. Let him know he is to inform Gov^r Johnson of the Receipt of them."

"IN COUNCIL.

"PHILADA. September 22^d 1780.

"SIR:

"The Assembly having in their present Session taken into mature deliberation the state of this Commonwealth, and being apprehensive that difficulties and obstructions in the execution of some of the most necessary and important Laws have occurred, and perhaps real grievances exist, which with due attention and care may be removed have nominated the Hon. Mr. Bayard, the Speaker of the House, and Mr. Rittenhouse, the Treasurer of the State, to accompany the President of the State, into your County, with

SESSIONS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS HELD
IN THE COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA IN JULY,
1778.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

[From the correspondence of Josiah Bartlett, delegate to Congress from New Hampshire, the interesting fact is ascertained that the Congress, on its return to Philadelphia from York, after the British army had evacuated the city, was prevented from meeting in the State-House owing to the dilapidated condition in which it had been left, and that its sessions were held in "the College Hall" until repairs were made. Furthermore, the ceremonial reception of the French minister, Monsieur Gérard, which was to have been held in the State-House, had to be deferred for the same cause.]

"PHILADELPHIA, July 13th 1778.

"DEAR SIR.

"The Removal of Congress to this City has greatly retarded Business, we have not yet procured proper offices for our several Boards and Committees; hope in a few days we shall be better accommodated and attend with more alacrity to business.

"The Congress meets in the College Hall, as the State House was left by the enemy in a most filthy & sordid situation, as were many of the public and private Buildings in the City. Some of the genteel Houses were used for Stables and Holes cut in the Parlor floors & their Dung shoveled into the Cellars. The Country Northward of the City for several Miles is one common waste. The Houses burnt, the Fruit Trees & others cut down & carried off, fences carried away, Gardens and Orchards destroyed, Mr. Dickinson & Morris's fine seats all Demolished. In short, I could hardly find the great Road that used to pass that way. The enemy built a strong abbattee with the Fruit and other trees from the Delaware to Schuylkill & at about 40 or 50 Rods Distance along the abbattee a Quadrangular Fort for Cannon & a number of redoubts for small arms, the same on the several eminences along the Schuylkill against the City.

"JOSIAH BARTLETT.

"COL. LANGDON."

"PHILADELPHIA, July 20th 1778.

"MY DEAR SIR—

"Since I wrote to you last week nothing very material has happened. Mons^r Gerard has informed Congress that the King his master has left it to Congress to Receive him as Minister Plenipetentuary or as a simple

Resident: that he had two Commissions and would produce that which would be most agreeable. That it was expected that our Ministers at their Court would be invested with the same Commission we should choose to Receive Mr. Gerard in. Signifying at the same time that it was the wish of the French Court he should be received as Minister Plenipotentiary as it would be doing more honor to these States, and would be trusted with greater powers which would be a great advantage at the distance the two States were from each other, and he likewise requested a Publick audience as soon as possible convenient. The Congress have agreed to receive him as Minister Plen., but the adjusting the Ceremonial has taken some time & is not yet agreed upon nor the Day appointed. Beside he will be received in the State House which was left by the enemy in a most filthy condition & the inside torn much to pieces and is now Cleansing & repairing for the purpose. Mons. Gerard is appointed Consul General for the United States with power to appoint others under him at the several respective Ports. The Conduce [?] of the French Court at this time, the several letters of the French King to Congress & the behavior of Mons. Gerard seems to indicate a greater degree of sincerity in that nation than my Prejudices formerly allowed them.

• • • • •
"HON. WM WHIPPLE."

• • • • •
"JOSIAH BARTLETT."

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immediately reinvested the place—his loss is one hundred and three killed, wounded and missing—the Enemy lost Sixty Prisoners, other losses not known. General Marion surprised a Post of one hundred Men (Seventy three British troops), a few days before. General Greene seems assured of final success at Camden which we hope a few days will realize.

"I am Sir

"Your obedient and very

"humble Servant

"JOS REED,

"President.

"TO WILLIAM HENRY Esq

"at Lancaster."

"PHILADA July 8 1783

"DEAR SIR:

"Inclosed you will receive an attachment against certain Goods in the possession of John Musser in Lancaster, supposed to be British. Information has been lodged with Council that this man carries on a clandestine & dishonorable trade with the British Store & that at this time there is a large quantity of Goods packed up in flour Casks in his house or possession. I have to request that you will immediately upon the receipt of the enclosed, send for the Sheriff or one of the most active of his officers, and give him directions for executing the Attachment with all possible Expedition & Secrecy. I am clearly of opinion that he has a right to break open outer or inner doors, if necessary for the Execution of the writ; and that if any opposition be made he ought to raise the posse comitatus & force obedience from those who attempt to oppose him.

"Every endeavor ought to be used to stop this ruinous trade, and Council have desired me to ask your assistance in this business as a person on whom they can fully rely.

"I am Sir

"Your most obedient

"& very humble Serv.

"WM BRADFORD JUN.

"WILLIAM HENRY Esq.

"P. S. If the Sheriff should be fortunate enough to seize the goods before they are removed, he must store them in some *safe & secure* place (as he will be answerable for them), make an inventory, & return the inventory & his answer to the writ on the 24th Day of next September."

"POMPTON

"23^d Feby 1783

"DEAR SIR.

"Before this will reach you I judge you will be in possession of the Money I left you a power to receive, in which case I beg you to remit the Ballance, over what may be due to you to Col. Clement Biddle at Philada. or his order.

"I do most sincerely congratulate you and my friends at Lancaster on the present flattering prospects of peace. The conduct of the State of

"My best compliments to Matt and his dear wife; they are both doing well, I hope.

"Yours sincerely,
"JOHN ROSE.

"ALEXANDER FULLERTON, Merch't.
"Philadelphia."

Mrs. Hettie F. Milliken, in presenting to her son, Edward F. Milliken, the gift of Baron de Rosenthal, writes, "Mr. Lütgers disregarded the form and bought a vase with little bells around it. As it was simply an ornament, not in the shape desired by Mr. Rose, and had never been even seen by him, my grandparents had it melted and with the addition of sixty Mexican dollars, put into its present shape"—a coffee-pot.

PROSE AND POETRY.—The following letter of a Quaker girl who was visiting friends residing on the Susquehanna River, in old Lancaster County, to her sister at home in Philadelphia, although nearly a century and a half old, cannot be devoid of interest to her descendants, many of whom are readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE.

"SUSQUEHANNA October 1757.

"MY DEAREST SIS^r

"I this moment rec^d thy obliging long letter & could with the greatest pleasure spend all this evening in writing to thee, but my kind friends are so fond of me they will hardly let me be a moment from their sight, & as I'm forced to write by halves, thee must forgive me my dear, if I don't always send thee long letters in return for thine, which are ten times more acceptable than all the rest put together.

"But why will thee my dear creature, insist so much on my telling thee that trifling conversation which pass'd the other night,—indeed it is not worth repeating—however, to let thee see I can refuse thee nothing I'll copy it off just as it is, but first let me make a sort of a preface, or I'm sure thee'll not understand a word of it.

"Well then, thee must know we were all in a state of sleep-headedness-come-downedness, or whatever else you'l please to call it, one long, rainy, tedious evening. We had sat I believe for a q' of an hour without speaking a word, the candles were brought in, & as there was pen, ink & paper on the table I began to scratch some faces, which Jemmy Wright seeing, insisted upon it that I was drawing my Spark's picture, & said he had heard I had several 'sweet hearts' & did not doubt but I should be run off with in a little time for J. Fox had told him a long rig-marole about Jack &c. tho' without the least foundation. From plain words we got to rhymes and that the rest of the company might not hear what we said, we agreed to write off hand what ever came uppermost. All I could say in rhyme or prose could not convince him I was not in love—but hold—if I go on with my preface I shall not have time for the play.—

"*She.* I'd have you to know that Cupid with his bow
Has nothing to do with your Sall,
But if I live half a year, as sure as we're here
I'm fully determin'd he shall.
The Swains in the city so handsome & witty
Will persuade me poor girl! to relent,
And to one that's right good (I shall do as I should)
To be a kind bride give consent.

Good humour & gay will last the first day
 But then I'll begin for to pout,
 To find at my board I've got a new lord
 To govern me in doors & out.
 I shall surely rebel, & it will be well
 If I don't get master at last,
 For women by wiles, by anger or smiles
 Will hold their prerogative fast.

"*He.* Prerogative deary—my precious—but hear ye—
 It is but in vain to loosen the chain,
 Your struggling but makes it more fast,
 Thy duty my bride both by night & by day
 Is to hear my commands & implicit obey,
 For your lord & your master I'm determin'd to be
 Tho' you bellow & roar as loud as the sea.

"*She.* I'll not bellow nor roar, you unmannerly man!
 But yet play my part as well as I can;
 I'll talk like an orator while I have breath
 And either submit—or I'll talk you to death!
 The tongue of a woman more keen than a dart,
 Will be-moider your head or bewilder your heart.

"*He.* Consider my dear—can you live in the smoke—
 To be tied up the chimney you'll find is no joke;
 It has cured as loud scolding as ever was heard
 And I'll put you to silence I am not afraid—

"*She.* I'll try for a moment my wrath to forego,
 You barbarous man can you threaten me so—
 Your Goddess I was but a little while past,
 And do all your submissions turn out thus at last?
 I fear not your threat'nings of chimney & smoke
 Whatever you think on't I think it a joke,
 No man of good nature would threaten his wife
 But submit to her will all the days of his life,
 As you, my good master, must do I declare
 So sit yourself easily down in your chair
 I'll be a good wife but I will have my way
 I sometimes shall govern and sometimes obey
 So make no more words, let's buss & be friends
 And here if you please our contention ends—

"The good man in his chair sat quietly down
 Content to let spouse have a will of her own
 For he was good natur'd & she was a good body
 And so they liv'd on like Jemmy & Rhoda.
 And they live as happy as happy can be
 If you wont believe it, you may come & see!

"And so—here's an end of the evening's—extemp' between uncle
 Jemmy & your most ob' Humble Serv'. And now Pats my honey—I
 desire you'l not expose this nonsense to any living creature—I mean
 out of the house. Farewell my dear, I shall think it long till I hear
 from thee. S. H."

WILLIAM H. LAMBERT (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXI., No. 4, p. 515).—Members of the Council; for James H. Lambert read William H. Lambert.

MACPHERSON.—The following advertisement appears in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of February 13, 1781:

"If the Gentleman who called at my house, near Octoraro, in the year 1778 and gave a particular account of my Son's fall at Quebec, and what became of his property there, will be so good as to favour me with a line and inform me where he now resides, he will much oblige his most humble Servant

"JOHN MACPHERSON.

"Direct for me in Spruce Street, Philadelphia."

UNIFORMS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.—In the many Revolutionary stories now publishing there is shown with apparent detail the uniforms of the Continental army. In the hope that those responsible for the anachronisms will at least read the orders given the army, I submit the following.

JOHN P. NICHOLSON.

"As the Continental Army have unfortunately no uniforms, and consequently many inconveniences must arise from not being able always to distinguish the commissioned Officers from the non-commissioned, and the non-commissioned from the privates, it is desired that some badges of distinction may be immediately provided; for instance, that the field Officers may have red or pink colored cockades in their hats; the Captains yellow or buff, and the subalterns green.

"The sergeants may be distinguished by an epaulette or stripe of red cloth sewed upon their right shoulder; the Corporals by one of green.

"(G. O. H. Q. CAMBRIDGE, 28 July, 1776.)"

"As it is at all times of great importance both for the sake of appearance and for the regularities of service that the different military ranks should be distinguished from each other, and more especially at present.

"The Commander in Chief has thought proper to establish the following distinctions and strongly recommends it to all the Officers to endeavor to conform to them as speedily as possible.

"The Major Generals to wear a blue coat with buff facings, yellow buttons, white or buff underclothes, two epaulettes, with two stars upon each and a black-and-white feather in the hat.

"The Brigadier Generals the same uniform as the Major Generals with the difference of one star instead of two and a white feather.

"The Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, and Majors, the uniform of their regiments, and two epaulettes.

"The Captains, the uniforms of their regiments and an epaulette on the right shoulder.

"The subalterns, the uniform of their regiment and an epaulette on the left shoulder.

"The Aides de Camp, the uniforms of their ranks and Corps, or if they belong to no Corps, of their General Officers.

"Those of the Major Generals and Brigadier Generals to have a green feather in their hat. Those of the Commander in Chief a white and green.

"The Inspectors as well Sub as Brigade, the uniform of their ranks and corps, with a blue feather in the hat.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

LETTER OF BARON GUSTAVUS H. DE ROSENTHAL.—In the *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 129 *et seq.*, was printed the "Journal of a Volunteer Expedition to Sandusky, from May 24 to June 18, 1782," by Baron de Rosenthal, contributed by his grandson, Baron George Pilar von Pilchau, St. Petersburg, Russia. Through the courtesy of Edward F. Milliken, Esq., of New York, we print an interesting letter of Baron de Rosenthal, addressed to his friend Alexander Fullerton, of this city, the great-grandfather of Mr. Milliken. To the day of his death Baron de Rosenthal always expressed the sincerest attachment for the friends he made in the Continental army and during his residence in America.

"JEDDIFER NEAR REYALL IN LIVONIA,
"April the 24th, 1794.

"DEAR ELLIC:

"Mr. Lütgers, my correspondent and friend at Hamburgh will deliver you this letter. I wish I could do it myself personally, and talk and walk the old ground over again—a thought, I cannot conceive without agitation. Not long ago I wrote you; I expected your answer before Mr. Lütgers would be setting off. But he hastens his departure for the sake of arriving in America in a proper season, to look around him for to fix upon a proper place. He was in a very easy way of life in Hamburgh, which he quits at present, being a great sectarian for equal liberty and freedom, to enjoy its full blessings under your Government. His strong attachment to my American country man will undoubtedly secure him a good reception, and I do recommend him to your protection and guidance in particular, knowing your rectitude, and having myself received the highest proofs of kindness by you and your good wife, Mrs. Fullerton, which I shall always gratefully acknowledge. He being an utter stranger, no ways acquainted with the people, manners and customs of the place, do assist him, dear Ellic, with your good advices, and procure him somewhere private lodgings, as he takes his family, and, I believe, some people along. I look upon him as my forerunner, and entertain still the happy conceit of removing myself and family across the Atlantic, as soon as I can disengage myself of every encumbrance which chains me here, and get my lands sold to advantage. Anyhow, I hope to be among ye before I die, but before this can happen, you will favor me pretty often with news concerning you and your family. My best compliments to Mrs. Fullerton, and if Mr. Lütgers is not in too great a hurry to set off, when he receives my letters, he has charge to get a silver tea or coffee pot made in Hamburgh, (with a handle to it to be sure) and deliver it to her.

"I have given Mr. Lütgers introductory letters to Mr. Muhlenberg, for the sake of talking a mouthfull of Dutch—to Col. Francis Johnston, he being Receiver Gen'l of the Land Office when I left America, and thereby enabled to give him intelligence about the Back Country, and a letter to Thomas Erwin, who knows best where to find Gen'l Irvine.—

"My best compliments to Matt and his dear wife; they are both doing well, I hope.

"Yours sincerely,
"JOHN ROSE.

"ALEXANDER FULLERTON, Merch't.
"Philadelphia."

Mrs. Hettie F. Milliken, in presenting to her son, Edward F. Milliken, the gift of Baron de Rosenthal, writes, "Mr. Lütgers disregarded the form and bought a vase with little bells around it. As it was simply an ornament, not in the shape desired by Mr. Rose, and had never been even seen by him, my grandparents had it melted and with the addition of sixty Mexican dollars, put into its present shape"—a coffee-pot.

PROSE AND POETRY.—The following letter of a Quaker girl who was visiting friends residing on the Susquehanna River, in old Lancaster County, to her sister at home in Philadelphia, although nearly a century and a half old, cannot be devoid of interest to her descendants, many of whom are readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE.

"SUSQUEHANNA October 1757.

"MY DEAREST SIS^r

"I this moment rec^d thy obliging long letter & could with the greatest pleasure spend all this evening in writing to thee, but my kind friends are so fond of me they will hardly let me be a moment from their sight, & as I'm forced to write by halves, thee must forgive me my dear, if I don't always send thee long letters in return for thine, which are ten times more acceptable than all the rest put together.

"But why will thee my dear creature, insist so much on my telling thee that trifling conversation which pass'd the other night,—indeed it is not worth repeating—however, to let thee see I can refuse thee nothing I'll copy it off just as it is, but first let me make a sort of a preface, or I'm sure thee'll not understand a word of it.

"Well then, thee must know we were all in a state of sleep-headedness—come-downedness, or whatever else you'l please to call it, one long, rainy, tedious evening. We had sat I believe for a q^r of an hour without speaking a word, the candles were brought in, & as there was pen, ink & paper on the table I began to scratch some faces, which Jemmy Wright seeing, insisted upon it that I was drawing my Spark's picture, & said he had heard I had several 'sweet hearts' & did not doubt but I should be run off with in a little time for J. Fox had told him a long rig-marole about Jack &c. tho' without the least foundation. From plain words we got to rhymes and that the rest of the company might not hear what we said, we agreed to write off hand what ever came up—permost. All I could say in rhyme or prose could not convince him I was not in love—but hold—if I go on with my preface I shall not have time for the play.—

"*She.* I'd have you to know that Cupid with his bow
Has nothing to do with your Sall,
But if I live half a year, as sure as we're here
I'm fully determin'd he shall.
The Swains in the city so handsome & witty
Will persuade me poor girl! to relent,
And to one that's right good (I shall do as I should)
To be a kind bride give consent.

Good humour & gay will last the first day
 But then I'll begin for to pout,
 To find at my board I've got a new lord
 To govern me in doors & out.
 I shall surely rebel, & it will be well
 If I don't get master at last,
 For women by wiles, by anger or smiles
 Will hold their prerogative fast.

"*He.* Prerogative deary—my precious—but hear ye—
 It is but in vain to loosen the chain,
 Your struggling but makes it more fast,
 Thy duty my bride both by night & by day
 Is to hear my commands & implicit obey,
 For your lord & your master I'm determin'd to be
 Tho' you bellow & roar as loud as the sea.

"*She.* I'll not bellow nor roar, you unmannerly man!
 But yet play my part as well as I can;
 I'll talk like an orator while I have breath
 And either submit—or I'll talk you to death!
 The tongue of a woman more keen than a dart,
 Will be-moider your head or bewilder your heart.

"*He.* Consider my dear—can you live in the smoke—
 To be tied up the chimney you'll find is no joke;
 It has cured as loud scolding as ever was heard
 And I'll put you to silence I am not afeard—

"*She.* I'll try for a moment my wrath to forego,
 You barbarous man can you threaten me so—
 Your Goddess I was but a little while past,
 And do all your submissions turn out thus at last?
 I fear not your threat'nings of chimney & smoke
 Whatever you think on't I think it a joke,
 No man of good nature would threaten his wife
 But submit to her will all the days of his life,
 As you, my good master, must do I declare
 So sit yourself easily down in your chair
 I'll be a good wife but I will have my way
 I sometimes shall govern and sometimes obey
 So make no more words, let's buss & be friends
 And here if you please our contention ends—

"The good man in his chair sat quietly down
 Content to let spouse have a will of her own
 For he was good natur'd & she was a good body
 And so they liv'd on like Jemmy & Rhoda.
 And they live as happy as happy can be
 If you wont believe it, you may come & see!

"And so—here's an end of the evening's—extemp' between uncle
 Jemmy & your most ob' Humble Serv'. And now Pats my honey—I
 desire you'll not expose this nonsense to any living creature—I mean
 out of the house. Farewell my dear, I shall think it long till I hear
 from thee. S. H."

died during the march of the regiment from Accomack to the main army under Washington. On his death Lieutenant-Colonel Mathews was entitled by seniority to be promoted to colonel. This left a vacancy for major of the Ninth Regiment, and Captains Cropper, Joynes, and Snead all had commissions bearing date on the same day, and each one was a candidate for the vacant majority and each one had a party of friends in the regiment endeavoring to promote his success. The rule of promotion adopted was, that an officer must rise to the grade of captain in his own regiment, and above that grade they were to be promoted according to seniority in any regiment in which a vacancy might occur in the *line of the State* to which they belonged.

When the Ninth Regiment reached head-quarters there were vacancies in the office of major in the Fifth, Seventh, and Ninth Regiments of the Virginia line, and Captains Cropper, Joynes, and Snead were the three senior captains in the whole Virginia Line, and consequently they were all entitled to promotion. General Washington decided that as amongst themselves these captains should take precedence according to the times when their respective companies were first mustered into service, and that they should be appointed to the majorities in the respective regiments in the order in which these vacancies occurred. According to these rules, Cropper was appointed major of the Fifth, Joynes of the Ninth, and Snead of the Seventh Regiment.

The Ninth Regiment marched from Accomack to the north late in the autumn of 1776, and joined the main army under General Washington at Morristown, New Jersey. It was engaged in the disastrous battle of Brandywine in September, 1777, and in the battle of Germantown on the 4th of October, 1777. The Ninth Regiment was in the hottest of the fight, and nearly one-half of the whole regiment was killed and wounded. It drove every portion of the British army with which it came in contact before it, and I was told by one of the officers that, in the excitement of the moment supposing every part of the American army had been as successful as themselves, they had no doubt of reaching Philadelphia, the head-quarters of General Howe. When the retreat of the American army was ordered, the Ninth Regiment was so far in advance of the rest of the army that before they could join the main body they were surrounded and made prisoners. When surrounded they had made more prisoners than the whole number of the regiment. For the bravery displayed in this battle, and for its imprudence in pushing so far ahead of the rest of the army, it was called the "*Brave and Rash Ninth*." On the morning after the battle of Germantown the prisoners were marched to Philadelphia and locked up in what was then called the "New Jail," but afterwards the "Walnut Street Prison." Here they were confined until the British army evacuated Philadelphia in the end of June, 1778. They were then marched to New York, and the officers were confined on Long Island and the men in the "Old Sugar House" and in the Jersey prison ship, where many of them died. I do not know with certainty when all the officers were exchanged, but I know from the public records that my father and a number of others were not exchanged until December of 1780, three years and two months after they were taken prisoners. Of all the officers appointed on the Eastern Shore, only seven survived to the end of the war,—viz., Colonel Joynes, Majors Snead and Poulson, Captain Parker, and Lieutenants Stockly, Darby, and Scarburgh. I have heard many anecdotes connected with the imprisonment of the Ninth Regiment which might, perhaps, interest a son of one of the sufferers, and would probably be of little interest to any other persons, and

"The Corps of Engineers and that of Sappers and Miners, a blue coat with buff facings, red lining, buff undercloaths, and the epaulettes of their respective ranks.

"Such of the Staff as have Military rank, to wear the uniform of their ranks and the Corps to which they belong in the line. Such as have no military rank to wear plain coats, with a cockade and sword.

"All officers as well warrant as commissioned to wear a cockade and side arms either a sword or genteel bayonet.

"H. Q. SHORT HILLS, Sunday June 18, 1780."

STACY—WITHERIDGE.—In a book in the library of Swarthmore College called "The Memorable | Works | of a SON of | Thunder | and | Consolation: | Namely, | That True Prophet, and Faithful Servant of God | and Sufferer for the Testimony of Jesus, | Edward Burroughs," printed in 1672, is written the following memoranda:

"Rachel Stacy | Her Book | August the 15 Day 1697."

"Rachel W[itheridge] Departed this Life [torn.]"

"Edward Witheridge | My Father Departed this Life | May the 23d. 1797 aged 80 yea[rs] | and 10 months."

"Edward Witheridge | His Booke 1684."

ALBERT COOK MYERS.

LETTER TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR DE LANCY, OF NEW YORK, FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF PLANTATION AND TRADE, LONDON.—

"The Draught of a Letter to Mr. Delancy, Lieut. Governor of New York, and of one to Mr. Pownall, Secretary of the late Governor having been transcribed pursuant to the Minutes of the 18th inst. were signed." *Board of Trade Journals*, Vol. LXII., Library Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The following is a copy of the letter:

"WHITEHALL Feb^y 28th 1754.

"SIR,

"We have received your Letters to Us dated the 15th. October and 2 of November last, containing an Account of the Melancholy Death of Sir Danvers Osborn, and of your having taken upon You the administration of the Government, in virtue of a Commission of Lieu^t Governor delivered you by Mr. Clinton before his departure. We have likewise received your Letter of the 29 of November, acquainting us with your Proceedings in consequence of Lord Holdernessee's Letter to you, dated the 28th of August last. The conciliating the unhappy Differences which have so long subsisted amongst the Different Branches of the Legislature, restoring the Authority of the Crown, which has been greatly affected by them, reforming the Abuses which have been introduced into the Management of Indian Affairs, and the establishing a firm Peace and friendship with them, are Points of very serious Consideration; and We hope a proper Attention will be given to them. The previous Measure of sending up Col^o Johnson to the Six Nations, to obviate the Mischief which might have attended the Disgust given to the Mohawks, and to prepare them for a general Meeting, was right and proper; and We think it our Duty to recommend to you in the most earnest Manner to hold the intended Interview as early as possible, and strictly to follow the Directions contained in Our Letter to S^r Danvers Osborn upon that Subject.

"Inclosed We send you a Copy of the Invoice of the Presents directed by His Majesty to be given to the Indians, which We are glad to find from the Agent, employed by S^r Danvers Osborn in this Service, are arrived, except some Guns, which could not be gott ready in time, but

in such Case made & provided, hereof fail Not, and make due return according to Law. Dated in Norwich this 26th day of may 1760.

"ISAAC HUNTINGTON Justice of y^e Peace.

"Norwich June 11th Day 1760 By virtue of y^e within Warran I have arested y^e Body of y^e within named Benydick Arnold and have him Brought Before the authority within mentined on s^d Day at the place within mentened.

"JOSEPH TRACY Jud Constable

£0 = 1 = 4
Court fees—0 = 1 = 0
officer fees—0 = 1 = 9
0 = 4 = 1

"Constable Tracy is paid £ 0.1.9."

LETTER OF GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, announcing the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown; the original is in the collection of Thomas H. Montgomery, Esq.—

"HEADQUARTERS, October 19th. 1781.

"DEAR SIR:—

"I have just time to inform you that the business with Lord Cornwallis is over. He proposed to capitulate on the 17th,—and the articles are now ready to be signed, and are sufficiently humiliating. I think a little too much so. For the particulars I beg leave to refer you to Colonel Tilghman, who carries them to Congress. I was lucky enough to get up in time to take my command, which is no less than the whole American troops, and to have been in the trenches during the operations. I most heartily congratulate you upon this event which cannot fail to have the most beneficial consequences, and reflects great lustre upon our arms; the siege having been pushed with such vigor that though the trenches have been open ten days only, the approaches were advanced to within 200 yards of the enemy's works and an army reduced to ask for terms with very little loss on our side.

"Present my compliments to Mrs. Wilson and to Mrs. Smith and believe me with the greatest esteem

"Dear Sir

"Your very humble servant,

"AR. ST. CLAIR.

"They march out today at noon.

"JAMES WILSON, ESQR.

"Phil^{da}.

"BY COL. TILGHMAN."

BARTOW.—Thomas Bartow, Jr., was born in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, in 1737; died in Philadelphia, January 26, 1793. He was a son of Thomas Bartow, Sen., born October 22, 1709, in Westchester County, New York; died in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, December 5, 1782. He filled many civil offices under the Colonial government. Thomas Bartow, Jr., married, June 23, 1768, Sarah, daughter of Daniel and Elizabeth (North) Benezet, born in Philadelphia, February 23, 1746, and died July 14, 1818. Their children were:

Elizabeth, born March 24, 1769; married Christian Reich. *Mary*, born June 16, 1770; married George Peter. *Thomas*, born July 4, 1771. *Sarah*, born July 1, 1773; married William Geddes Latimer. *Susanna*, born July 10, 1775; married John David. *Daniel*, born July 16, 1777. *Anna*, born May 14, 1779; married Joseph Drinker. *Helena*, born —, 1783; married John Sergeant. *John Benezet*, born August 16, 1787. *Benjamin*, born April 23, 1789; died November 9, 1790.

two brothers, the sons of the said Howell, the elder brother was the progenitor of the Park line.

I may have more manuscript matter to add to that already contained in Volume II., "Miscellaneous Manuscripts," Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

P. S. P. CONNER.

Octorara, Rowlandsville, Maryland, March 14, 1898.

ROSTER OF OFFICERS OF THE NINTH VIRGINIA CONTINENTAL LINE, with some memorandums by Thomas R., a son of Major Levin Joynes, of the regiment.

A Roster of the officers of the Ninth Virginia Regiment on Continental Establishment in the Revolutionary War, copied from a "Roster" in the handwriting of Colonel Levin Joynes, who was then major of the said regiment.

(Endorsed, January, 1777.)

Col: George Mathews	<i>Lieutenants</i>	Thomas Martin
Lieut. Col. John Seayers	Arthur Teackle	John Hughston
Major Levin Joynes	Thomas Parker	Charles Stockly
<i>Captains</i>	Custis Kendale	Nathaniel Darby
Samuel Woodson	Robert Woodson	Mathew Clay
John Hayes	James Culbertson	<i>Ensigns</i>
John Poulson	Nath ^l Wilkins	Thomas Comly
George Gilchrist	Charles Snead	Joseph Payne
Thomas Parramore	Levin Teackle	John Robbins
Smith Snead	Thomas Custis	John Scarbrugh
W ^m Henderson	Hudson Martin	John Hale
Nath ^l G. Morris	Samuel Waples	Alexander B. Lee
Andrew Moore	Thomas Overton	<i>Adjutant</i>
George Oldham	John Lewis	W ^m Robertson
	Thomas Payne	
	Archibald Armstrong	

MEMORANDA.

In June, 1775, Lord Dunmore fled from Williamsburg, the seat of government of Virginia; and from that time until the adoption of the first constitution of Virginia, in June, 1776, there was no regularly organized government in the State.

The members of the Assembly, then called the "House of Burgesses," after the abdication of the Royal Governor, met in convention, appointed a "Committee of Safety," by which the executive powers of government were exercised, and made arrangements for raising nine regiments of regular troops. The people of the several counties also appointed "Committees of Safety." These county committees recommended to the general committee the officers of the respective regiments, and if approved, the regiments were organized and commissions were finally issued by Congress. Five companies of the Ninth Regiment were raised in Accomack and two in Northampton, and three were sent from the Western Shore to complete the number of ten companies to a regiment. The first commissions issued to the officers of the Ninth Regiment were issued in January, 1776. It will be perceived that the names of John Cropper and Thomas Snead do not appear in the Roster, although they were two of the first captains appointed. The reason was this. The first colonel of the Ninth Regiment was Thomas Fleming, who

John Lukens, Strawb ^y Alley	Dietrick Rees, Second St.
Abraham Lefever, Second St.	Jacob Row (left off), Third Street
Bernard Lawerswyler, Do.	John Reser, Do.
James Lowther, Straw ^b All.	Thomas Robinson, Fifth St.
John Little	Mary Roberts, Walnut St.
Thomas Mullan, Water Street	Peter Robinson, Third Street
Leonard Melchior, Second St.	Mary Stonemetz, Do.
Jane Miller (gone), Walnut St.	Catherine Snowden, Second St.
Daniel Mackinett, Corner of Race & Second Sts.	Peter Sutter, Strawberry Alley
Anne Marshall, Water St.	Mary Sherer, Fifth St.
Allan Moore, Do.	William Sheed, Chestnut St.
Samuel Minshall (removed), Pew-ter Platter Alley	John Spence, Front Street
Elizabeth Mercer, Water Street	Sarah Spence, Market St.
Frederick Mouse, Second St.	Catharine Smith, Chestnut St.
William Moore, Chestnut St.	Ludwig Singhise, Race Str ^t
William Morris, Corner of 2 ^d & Lombard Sts.	David Sickle, Arch St.
James Murray, Spruce St.	Jacob Smith, Chestnut St.
Robert Masterson, Water Street	James Trueman, Elbow Lane
Alice M'Cally, Front St.	Rebecca Severy, Crooked Billet Wharf
William Maulsby, Church Alley	John Thompson, Front St.
Sarah Noblitt (husband negro rejected), Chestnut St.	Margaret Trotter, Chestnut St.
Thomas Nevill, Fourth St.	Robert Turner, Market St.
Joseph Ogden, Corner of 3 rd & Chestnut Sts.	Joseph Vandegrist, Blk. Horse All.
George Plimm, Chestnut St.	William Whitebread, Second St.
Peter Paris, Corner of Race & Second Streets	Mary Williams (married), Corner of front & Lomb. Streets
Mathew Potter, Market St.	Jane White (q if not dead), Front Street
William Peters, Corner of front & Chesnut Sts.	Frederick Wycherly, Third St.
James Plunkett, Front Street	Abraham Wayne
Sarah Reynolds, Do.	Elijah Weed, Corner of 4 th & Arch Sts.
Henry Rhinehart, Race Street	William Wills, Water St.
Tobias Rudolph, Market St.	Peter Wiltberger, Market St.
Elizabeth Robinson, Pine St.	Gurney Wall, Chestnut St.
	Mary Yates, Chestnut St.
	John Zeller, Race Street
	George Zeller, Third Street

publick Housekeepers reccom^d on their Pet^{ns} July 1771.

John Anderson, Walnut Street	Israel Jacobs, Third Street
Margaret Bridges, Corner of Race & Water Streets	John King, Water St.
Hannah Boulton, Pemberton Street	Martin Kryder, Third St.
Jacob Cumres, Second St.	Thos. Lemon, Pewter Platter Alley
Jonathan Cowpland, Elbow Lane	Thos. Nelson, Corner of front & Lomb ^d St ^s
Thomas Cash, Second Street	Christopher Stevens, Corner of fourth & Spruce Sts.
John Chandler, Corner of fourth & Chesnut Sts.	William Sims, Prune St.
Tho ^s Craig, Front Street	John Wall, Walnut Street
William Falconer, Market St.	Jane M ^c Killup, Walnut St.
George Hawkins, Walnut St.	

THE RESULT OF A "BATTALION DAY" FIGHT, 1792.—Among the concomitants of "Battalion Day" in the interior counties of this State

I will run the risk of tiring you by relating one of them. Quakers, you know, were non-combatants. During the confinement of the Ninth Regiment in the New Jail a very benevolent Quaker was in the habit of visiting the prisoners by permission of the British commander every day, for the purpose of doing various acts of kindness in laying out to the best advantage the little sums of money which the friends of the prisoners might send them, and in any other way in which he could serve them. One day he went into the jail, which in consequence of its crowded condition was pretty warm, and pulled off his hat and coat and with his cane laid them on the table, and was engaged walking about among the prisoners to learn their wants. Lieutenant Waples, of Accomack, who was very fond of mischief and fun, put on the Quaker's hat and coat and took his cane in his hand unperceived by the British sentinel at the door, and said to his friends, "Boys, what sort of Quaker would I make?" Lieutenant Parker, of Accomack, who was equally fond of fun and mischief, gave Waples a sign to try to pass the sentinel at the door. Waples instantly determined to make the attempt. He passed five sentinels, and got safely into the street, and from there to a house where he was acquainted, where the landlady concealed him for several weeks, until finally, in the garb of a servant-boy going to mill with his mistress, by permission of the British commander, he passed the British lines and got safely to the American army, then near Philadelphia.

Waples was the last survivor of all the Eastern Shore Revolutionary officers. Not long before his death I invited him to spend a day with me in talk about the Revolution. He came with his wife early in the day and spent a long summer's day with me, and told me many things interesting to me, as the son of one of his companions in arms. When he was about to go home, I told my daughter, who was playing on the piano, to "play Washington's March!" As soon as he heard the well-remembered tune his eyes immediately moistened, and he marched out of the room with the measured tread of a soldier.

THOS: R. JOYNES.

July 30, 1858.

AN INTERESTING DOCUMENT.—Among the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is the following interesting document:

"To the Sheriff of y^e County of New London his Deputy, or to Either of y^e Constables of y^e Town of Norwich within said County, Greeting;
 "Whereas, one of his Majesty's Grand jurors hath upon Oath Presented to me the Subscriber one of his Majesty's Justices of y^e Peace for New London County, and Informs That Benedict Arnold of s^d Norwich was Drunken in said Norwich, so that he was Disabled in y^e use of his understanding and Reason, appearing in his Speech Jesture & Behaviour, which is against the peace of our Lord y^e King and y^e Laws of this Colony—These are therefore in his Majesty's name to Command you the said Officers, forthwith to arest y^e body of the said Benedict Arnold and him Bring before me at my Dwelling house in Norwich afores^d, to answer the Premises, and to be Delt with as to Law and Justice shall be found to appertain.—and you are Likewise Commanded to summons Thomas Leffingwell John Bliss, George Dennis & Elizabeth Reynolds, all of s^d Norwich, to make their Perearances and be present Before me at y^e Time and Place with the said Benedict Arnold To Testifie their Knowledge in y^e Premises, and you are to make them to Know that they may not fail, as they will answer their Neglect at y^e Perill of y^e Law

and Scots enough there to make two considerable Churches; and by consequence other Nations may have the same of Natives of their own. Quakers they are not without, no more than we; which I had occasion more than ordinary to observe, seeing and hearing one there, the most Eminent of ours here, so noted both for Parts and Politicks, that I need not name him, preach a good Ingenious English Sermon, to his Dutch Congregation; which at first seem'd to me a little surprising, and almost as preposterous as Prayers in Public in an unknown Tongue. But the dexterity of his Interpreter was such, who being elevated with him, and standing by his side, by Paragraph translated his English to his Dutch Auditors, without the least hesitation: Some seriously look'd upon the Preacher to come to propagate the Gospel that was here planted among that odd sort of Christians: Other Wags more witty, thought his coming was only to get some more Proselytes or Planters for his large Plantations in America."

W. K.

ABSTRACT OF A LETTER OF REV. HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG, the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, on the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania, 1776.—

"REV. SIR, BELOVED BROTHER,

"... In all the present disturbances of war, I have had the confidence that the Redeemer, who sits at the rudder and possesses all power in Heaven and on earth, would so effect matters that in America the Father's name and direction should be recognized, acknowledged and revered in spirit and in truth, the devil's kingdom destroyed, the kingdom of grace enlarged, and His holiest and best will accomplished. But when I saw in the new plan that a people so numerous, and Christian, at least in name, are to be governed by such persons, who, in extreme need, still acknowledge with the mouth a Supreme Being, my courage deserted me and I lamented that, among so many learned professors of religion, understanding the English language, no one had placed himself in the gap and pointed out the sling to the scoffing Goliath.

"... Monday, Sept. 16. The Provost of the College came to me unexpectedly and said that the condition of the Christian religion seemed in danger after independence had been declared and a new form of government was in process of formation; that no care at all had been taken to acquire even the outer ramparts and he showed me a paragraph which should be added to the 47th section. The paragraph pleased me well, but what can despised preachers effect with a Rump Parliament? He asked me to come at noon; I went and found there, besides the Provost, Rev. Dr. A., Presbyt, and Rector D. of the Episcopal church. I said that it now seems as if a Christian people were ruled by Jews, Turks, Spinozists, Deists, perverted naturalists. They were learned pillars and would have much to answer for if they were now silent. Rev. Dr. A. said it was of no consequence and it would be sufficient if the officials would only give testimony to the Supreme Being as creator and preserver of all things. Rev. R. D. quoted the saying: He who denies me. I said it would indeed be conformable to the exalted taste of the present time, for in this way the devils could enter along with them into the government, because they, too, believe in a God and tremble, indeed even the oxen and the asses, for they know their Lord and the manglers of their Lord. It was finally decided that we should meet together again to-morrow morning and should also invite more Protestant preachers. I was to invite the Swedish Provost and Rev. P. Weyberg,

many years ago were the "rough-and-tumble" fights of the local bullies, in which the "rules of the ring" did not prevail. The following release is evidently based on the idea that it was all right to have a fight, and it was rather praiseworthy that it was "a Smart Battle." The only thing to be regretted was that after Andrew and William "began to bite one another," that Andrew should have bitten off a piece of William's ear. The element of damages did not trouble William very much, for he was willing to settle for the costs; his only concern was that it "might perhaps appear in some other parts of the Countrie wheresoever he might go . . . to have Offended . . . and therefore Cropt," and besides, he was anxious not to be esteemed a "Rough." Cropping of the ears and other old punishments called "infamous" were abolished by the Act of April, 1795, and were therefore in force at the date of this release.

The release is recorded in Book A, Vol. II. p. 316, Northampton County Deeds, at Easton, Pennsylvania:

"To all People to whom these presents shall come—Andrew Raugh of Heidelberg Township in the County of Northampton and State of Pennsylvania, single-man, Sends Greeting: Whereas the said Andrew Raugh and William Meyer Junior, of Penn township, County and State aforesaid, Yeomen, on a Battalion day sometime last November in the year of our lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety Two at the house of John Lewis Lukes, in Heidelberg township aforesaid, did fight, having had a Smart Battle, and Whereas it happened that the said Andrew Raugh and William Meyer began to bite one another and the said Andrew Raugh bit off a Piece of William Meyer's ear which is now healed but disfigured, which might perhaps appear in some other parts of the Countrie wheresoever he might go too by some people to have Offended in some respects and therefore Cropt which might put him out of credit and dishonor disgrace and bad Caractor by those not knowing him from his Youth. And whereas the said William Meyer having suid the said Andrew Raugh with a writ concerning the same for biting off a piece of his Ear for Damage, and whereas the said William Meyer and Andrew Raugh having now settled the Matter and agreed together in manner as follows viz' Andrew Raugh promises to pay all the Costs whatever now is made and all costs accruing on account of the said suit in Court and all writings drawn and to be drawn touching and concerning the same; and the said Andrew Raugh doth further acknowledge that he did bite a piece off the s^d William Meyer's Ear and therefore is willing to give the present writing in Evidence to whom it may concern, to clear the said William Meyer of not being Cropt for Felony, as people might think, and suspect him to be or had been a *Rough*—But that it happened as above mentioned.

"In witness whereof the said Andrew Raugh by these presents have set his hand and seal this fifth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Ninety three.

"ANDREW RAUGH [SEAL]"

WILLIAM PENN'S SERMON AT ROTTERDAM, 1686.—Dr. John Northleigh, of England, while on a visit to the Netherlands in 1686, gives the following account of a sermon preached by William Penn at Rotterdam:

"The Toleration and Liberty of Religion in Rotterdam is as open as their Ports; tho' an Amsterdam of Religion has been used proverbially by way of Reproach: But I cannot see how 'tis possible for such a Trading People to support their Traffick, unless they grant the same Freedoms in Opinion, that they do in their Trade. We have English

men who sit in conventions and the like (assemblies) may indeed be good fathers, citizens, mechanics, and even Christians but there are always among them cunning heads and perverse hearts, who, by false speech and art of disputing, outwit and entrap the simple-hearted ones, and it may be noted from this small attempt that a hateful beast is at the bottom of it which shows its horns already and will act worse than the Babylonish woman upon the waters. . . . 'Up, up, you protestant congregations, strive, give up life and all else to retain the priceless freedom of conscience and you shall hereafter enjoy as a reward the freedom of conscience that you need believe in no Redeemer, no Spirit, no Word of God. If you only acknowledge a Superior Being with the mouth, you may assist in the government, moreover, you may deride, calumniate the enthusiasm and the old fashioned ideas concerning the Bible, a Savior of the world, the Spirit, and because the printing presses are to be free, place them on public exhibition and lead them in triumph. The law will protect you if you but acknowledge a Superior Being. Where the Lord does not build the house, where the Lord does not watch over the city, if such incarnate spirits of elevated taste should succeed, there would very soon arise such grand, politic, free republics as flourished before the Flood, in Sodom, and before the destruction of Jerusalem. . . .' What wonder if the masses of the Americans should not conquer, if N. Y. and the like desert and we be punished by that wherewith we have sinned. I am certain that the all-powerful, all-wise and all-good regent who sits at the rudder will make everything right and will overlook nothing. . . . With hearty greeting and kiss from us two useless old folks to the dear children and grandchildren, I remain yours in the Lord,

"HENRY MUHLENBERG.

"PROVIDENCE, October 2, 1776."

THE SERVICES OF JOHN CLUTCH, OF THE NEW JERSEY MILITIA, DURING THE REVOLUTION.—I have before me a copy of the affidavit of John Clutch, who in 1832 applied for and was granted a pension of \$33.33 per annum for his services during the Revolution. The original was made in the Pension Office, Washington, D. C., by the applicant himself.

"I John Clutch was born May 3, 1758, in Nottingham (now Mercer County) New Jersey, about half way between Trenton and Allentown, where I resided during the war of the Revolution. In 1790 I removed to Allentown, and in 1829 finally settled in West Windsor, Mercer County. In May, 1776, I volunteered for one month in Captain John Quick's Company, and marched to Little Egg Harbor, and was on duty another month at Perth Amboy. After the British occupied the city of New York and Staten Island, the coast of New Jersey was greatly exposed to their foraging parties. To repel these parties and to protect the inhabitants and their cattle, the militia companies were divided into classes for alternate monthly duty in the forts; to guard the lines; to prevent the Tories and others from trading with the enemy; to capture active Tories, and to turn out on all alarms.

"Just before the battle of Trenton, I was out under Captain Robert Quigley; joined the army of General Washington in their retreat through New Jersey, after the capture of Fort Mifflin and the evacuation of Fort Mifflin, and after the battle of Red Bank went into Pennsylvania. I next served one month under Captain Anderson at Elizabethtown and another month at Princeton, while the British occupied New Brunswick. During the last duty the Tories Robert Stockton and

which I did. Rev. Weyberg thought it necessary and wished to confer on the subject with his reverend elder and principal; Rev. Provost Gorison approved of it.

"Tuesday, Sept. 17. By questioning, I learned from Rev. Weyberg, that they deemed it good, but because he is not thoroughly conversant with the English language, we should include them. At 9 A.M. there came together, a., the provost and vice provost of the College; b., Rev. D. and W. from the English Episcopal church; c., Rev. Provost G. from the Swedish church; d., Dr. H. from the English Presbyterian church; e., and I myself, as an addition. It was decided to request the National Convention to annex our paragraph to the 47th section. One of us was appointed to go to Mr. Franklin, President, for the time being, of the Convention, to ask permission to wait upon him. He condescendingly sent word to us that he would come to us, and he came. We showed him the paragraph, and he promised to present our wish in the Convention.

"In the afternoon, we, on our part, held a church council, and there, among other things, I laid this point before them and explained the paragraph. They agreed with it unanimously and desired that I should form it after the [torn] to a petition, which read thus:

"To the Honorable Convention of the State of Pennsylvania the
Petition of the incorporated German protestant commonly called
Lutheran and Calvinist Congregations in and about Philadelphia

"humbly sheweth
that, observing a new Frame of Government for the State of Pennsylvania published for Consideration and in the 47th Section thus set forth
"Laws for the Encouragement of Virtue and Prevention of Vice and
"Immorality shall be made and constantly kept in Force, and Provision
"shall be made for their due Execution."

"And conscious that your Petitioners have been induced to concur in Struggling for the common cause of civil and religious Liberty, and may do the same yet, in certain Hopes, not to diminish nor loose, but to preserve and keep fast the sacred religious Privileges and Immunities heretofore possessed and enjoyed.

"We seriously ask and beg therefore, wether it may please our Representatives the Hon^{ble} Convention to annect or add unto the 47th Section of the proposed Plan the following Words viz: "and all religious
"Societies and Bodies of Men heretofore united and incorporated for
"the Advancement of Virtue and Learning and for other pious and
"charitable Purposes, shall be encouraged and protected in the Enjoyment of the Privileges, Immunities and Estate, which they were accustomed to enjoy and might or could of Right have enjoyed under
"the Laws and former Constitution of this State."

"A Serious Attention to, and condescending Compliance with our humble Petition will rendre great Satisfaction, Security and Ease to all regular christian Societies and Denominations in this State and especially to your humble Petitioners Henry Muhlenberg p. & Senior Minister of the united German Lutheran Congregations in the
State of Pennsylvania, by Request and in Behalf of the said Congregations.

"L. Weyberg P. of the Reformed Congregation, in
Behalf of the said Congregation."

"The foregoing was presented, but as I returned to Providence, I have not heard whether it was consented to or not. The good, honest

¹ This petition was presented on September 26, 1776, to the Convention, was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

ROBERTS.—Sarah Roberts, born Eighth month 14, 1716; married Joseph Jeanes, Eighth month 19, 1738, at Friends' Meeting-House, Abington, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. I would like to obtain full names of her father and mother, and dates of their birth, marriage, and death. Also names of her grandfather and grandmother, and dates of their birth, marriage, and death.

A. I. T. H.

DANIEL THOMAS.—I would like to learn full name of his wife, and dates of their birth, marriage, and death. Also full names of Daniel Thomas's father and mother. His son, Benjamin Thomas, died before Fourth month 12, 1763. (Abington Meetings Records, page 101.)

A. I. T. H.

ABIGAIL HICKS.—She was the wife of James Talman, of Long Island, New York, who removed to Monmouth County, New Jersey; died in 1737. Who were her parents? She was of Flushing, and I am informed that her marriage record (27 of 8th [October], 1712) is still extant in the register of the Rev. Thomas Poyer, rector of the Parish of Jamaica, Long Island.

P. S. P. CONNER.

Rowlandsville, Maryland.

RHOADS.—John Rhoads and his wife Hannah Willcox had a son named Barnabas. The latter's wife was named Mary (married in or about 1730). Who were her parents?

S

Replies.

TAN-G6-RU-A.—The author of "Tan-g6-ru-a: An Historical Drama, in Prose," is supposed to be Henry Clay Moorhead.

L. P.

Book Notices.

ANCESTORS AND DESCENDANTS OF ANDREW MOORE, 1612-1897. By John Andrew Moore Passmore. Philadelphia, 1897. 2 vols. 8vo, 1599 pages. Illustrated.

These volumes present the results of many years of research and patient labor, and no expense or pains have been spared to make them of interest and helpful to all the descendants of Andrew Moore, who came to Pennsylvania and settled in Sadsbury Township, Chester County, in 1724. And as a contribution to Pennsylvania genealogy they are particularly acceptable. Good type, good paper, a liberal number of illustrations, and, what is most important, a very full index add to the attractiveness and value of the work.

STORIES OF PENNSYLVANIA; OR, SCHOOL READINGS FROM PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY. By Joseph Walton, Ph.D., and Martin G. Brumbaugh, A.M., Ph.D. American Book Company, 1897. 300 pages. Illustrated.

The series of sketches which comprise this work are taken chiefly from the unwritten history of the Commonwealth, and typify almost every important phase of its growth. There were three classes of people who helped to build up the Commonwealth,—William Penn and his Quakers; the Germans, who, attracted by the peace principles of the

Woodward were captured and confined in the College buildings for several days.

"While the British occupied Philadelphia, the militia located near the Delaware were employed to repel foraging parties. I was under Captain Robert Quigley here one month, and another month at Bordentown (during the latter period the British burned the house of Colonel Kingley, on the Pennsylvania shore), and another month at Burlington and Haddonfield. The Delaware was frozen over. At these named places troops were detached to protect the sessions of the Courts and guard the Jails. Captain John Borden with his troop of Light Horse was present, and also Colonel Shreve, of the militia.

"I was at the battle of Monmouth, an exceedingly hot day. I served one month under Captain Carlisle; marched to Springfield, and arrived there just after it was burned, June 23, 1780; next to Sorrell Mountains and then to Steel's Gap, and on the following day was the battle of Short Hills. Our company was near the scene of conflict, but not in it. Ephraim Anderson, a captain of the Regular army, was killed.

"I was also out under Captain George Anderson, marched to Middlebrook in Somerset County, but the British had left when we arrived. Our time of enlistment having expired we returned home." J.

Queries.

JEANES—BREWER.—William Jeanes, who died Fourth month 10, 1747, married Esther Brewer, who died First month 22, 1737. Date of marriage and dates of birth requested. The names of Esther Brewer's parents and the dates of their marriage and birth are also wanted.

THOMAS—JEANES.—Nathan Thomas married Esther, daughter of Joseph Jeanes. She was born Tenth month 26, 1743. Nathan died Fourth month 21, 1819, and was buried in Friends' Ground at Abington, Pennsylvania. Information is desired as to date of birth and place, and of marriage of Nathan Thomas, and likewise of his parents.

When was Joseph, a son of Nathan and Esther Thomas, born, and when did he marry Eleanor —, and what was her full name? The names of her parents and the dates of their birth, marriage, and death are also requested.

Mrs. JAMES HICKS.

Piqua, Ohio.

DELAPLAIN—MARSHALL.—Married at "Old Swedes," Philadelphia, October 14, 1755, Nehemiah Delaplaine and Mary Marshall. Can any one inform the undersigned who "Mary Marshall" was? The couple settled in Newport, Delaware, died, and were buried there.

Any information in reference to the Delaplaine family, of Germantown, Pennsylvania, New York, or Delaware, thankfully received by
FRANK D. GREEN.

1415 Vine Street, Philadelphia.

LESTER.—What was the connection between John, of Pennsylvania, 1711, whose wife was Mary, and John Lester, member of Friends' Society, Amesbury, Massachusetts, 1709? Where did Peter Luyster, of Long Island, settle in Pennsylvania? GEORGE V. LEICESTER.

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Founder, founded homes in a land of civil and religious liberty; and the Scotch-Irish, earnest and aggressive, who pushed to the frontiers with farm, school, and church. The authors, who are well known in educational circles, have with good judgment selected their incidents from these diverse elements which possess romance, daring, and bravery, and which will not only appeal to and interest school-children, but also the general reader. Covering mainly the Colonial and Revolutionary period, it was not an inappropriate conclusion to introduce incidents connected with the battle of Gettysburg, which was fought on Pennsylvania soil by a Pennsylvania general. The work should be placed in the hands of every child in the Commonwealth.

THE ST. LOUIS MERCANTILE LIBRARY, of St. Louis, Missouri, in February published a neatly printed Reference List of Missouri and Illinois newspapers, 1808-1897, chronologically arranged, and manuscripts relating to Louisiana Territory and Missouri.

SOME COLONIAL MANSIONS AND THOSE WHO LIVED IN THEM, WITH GENEALOGIES OF THE VARIOUS FAMILIES MENTIONED. By Thomas Allen Glenn. Henry T. Coates & Co., Philadelphia, 1898. Vol. I. 459 pp.

Mr. Glenn in the preface of his book under notice well says, "If the history of a people is to be studied, it must be by going into their homes and looking up their family records." This is what he and the writers of the various articles in the work have done, and the result is a series of sketches describing the social life, architecture, art, dress, and letters of some of the prominent families of this country and the homes they and their descendants have occupied generation after generation. One valuable feature of these sketches is the genealogical tables which have been added, but in such a way as not to embarrass the text. Westover and the Byrd family, Morven and the Stocktons, Cedar Grove and the Coates-Paschall-Morris families, Bohemia Manor and the Herrmans, the Patronship of the Van Rensselaers, Rosewell and the Page family, the Carters of Virginia, Clermont and the Livingstons; Doughoregan Manor and the Carrolls of Maryland, Graeme Park and the Keith and Graeme families, Brandon, on the lower James, and the Harrison family, and the Randolphs, comprise the contents of this volume,—the second volume is now going through the press. Another attractive feature of the book is the illustrations, upwards of one hundred and sixty in number,—photogravure portraits and interior and exterior views of the old mansions,—the portraits in most cases being taken from the original paintings yet hanging on the walls. Printed on excellent paper, with special type and broad margins, a rubricated title-page and neat binding, the book is highly creditable to the taste and liberality of its publishers.

NOTES AND QUERIES, HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND GENEALOGICAL, RELATING CHIEFLY TO INTERIOR PENNSYLVANIA. Edited by William Henry Egle, M.D., M.A. Harrisburg, 1898. 8vo, 238 pp.

We are indebted to the courtesy of the editor of *Notes and Queries* for a copy of his last annual issue. It represents his usual careful selection of historical, biographical, and genealogical contributions. Dr. Egle's knowledge and experience have equipped him with singular completeness for the compilation of these annals, and his clientage, which is a large one, will be gratified to learn that his last issue is on our shelves.

A | FORM OF PRAYER | ISSUED | BY SPECIAL COMMAND OF HIS MAJESTY | GEORGE III | London | 1776 | Imploring Divine assistance against the King's | unhappy deluded Subjects in America now in | open rebellion against the Crown.

A copy of this "Form of Prayer," recently found in the collection of the American Philosophical Society of this city, of great interest to churchmen and others, has been reproduced in *fac-simile* by photo-mechanical process by Julius F. Sachse, printed on fine hand-made, deckel-edge paper, and neatly bound in art canvas with gilt top and uncut edges. The edition is limited to one hundred and fifty copies, and will be sold by subscription only. Price, \$2 per copy, post-paid. Address 4428 Pine Street, Philadelphia.

LIFE OF CHARLES JARED INGERSOLL. By William M. Meigs. Large 12mo, bound in cloth, gilt top, illustrated. J. B. Lippincott Company, publishers.

This contribution of Mr. Meigs to American biography and history is most timely in these days when we hear so much of the Monroe Doctrine, for Mr. Ingersoll was one of the strongest advocates of American rights upon this continent. He was an earnest supporter of the declaration of war in 1812, and a member of Congress from 1813 to 1815, as well as from 1841 to 1849. The historian of that war and the author of numerous political pamphlets, he was intimately associated with all matters of public history and men of the first half of the present century. Price, \$1.50.

PUSEY'S "PROTEUS ECCLESIASTICUS." A copy of this rare little book has recently been acquired by the Lenox Library of New York City. It was published at Philadelphia by Reynier Jansen in 1703, the full title of which may be found in Hildeburn's "Issues of the Pennsylvania Press." The only other copy of the rarity heretofore found in American libraries is the one in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

GENEALOGY OF THE HORD FAMILY. By Rev. Arnold Harris Hord. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1898. 8vo, 199 pp. Price, \$3.

The Hord family traces its ancestry back to the year 1215. It is Scandinavian in origin, and its settlement in England probably took place at the time of the incursions of the Norsemen into that country. Descendants resided in the counties of Salop, Oxford, and Surrey, where for centuries they held distinguished rank. John Hord, the first ancestor of the family who came to America, in 1685 settled in Caroline County, Virginia, where he purchased a large estate and named it "Shady Grove." In the compilation of this branch of the family, the Rev. Dr. Hord was fortunate in having access to a manuscript genealogy prepared by Robert Hord in the year 1838, which he has enlarged. The book is well printed, liberally illustrated, and contains a full index of names.

THE RECORDS OF NEW AMSTERDAM FROM 1653 TO 1674 ANNO DOMINI.

Edited by Berthold Fernow. New York, 1897. 8vo. Six volumes.

The city of New York, under the above title, has recently issued in six octavo volumes the "Court Minutes of New Amsterdam." This mine of historical, genealogical, and biographical information has lain unworked and practically unknown until, by the laborious skill of its editor and translator, it is now made free to all. Mr. Fernow has ren-

THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL STUDY ENCOURAGEMENT FUND.

This Fund was established under a resolution of Council of December 28, 1899, its object being "to promote and assist the editing and publication of books relating to the history of Pennsylvania, or connected therewith, outside the purview of 'The Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.'"

For its foundation the Council resolved that the proceeds arising from the sale of the following works, of which the Society owns a number of copies, should be paid to the trustees, to be used for the objects of the fund.

Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution, 1787-1788.

Edited by JOHN BACH MCMASTER and FREDERICK D. STOKES. Philadelphia, 1888. 8vo. 800 pp. Copiously illustrated. Price, \$5.

The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773.

Translated from the original Swedish by HORACE BORN, with an abstract of the English records from 1774 to 1810. 8vo. 112 pp. Illustrated. Price, \$2.

A Lenape-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 SEAGER SMITH, A. M. Philadelphia, 1888. Square 8vo. 236 pp. Price, \$2.

Southern Quakers and Slavery.

A Study in Institutional History. By STEPHEN B. WELLS, Ph.D. Baltimore, Md., 1896. 8vo. 400 pp. Price, \$2.

Early History of the University of Pennsylvania from its Origin to the Year 1827.

By GEORGE B. WOOD, M.D., with supplementary chapters by FREDERICK D. STOKES, Litt.D. Philadelphia, 1896. 16mo. 275 pp. Copiously illustrated. Price, \$1.12.

History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania.

By WILLIAM R. STUBBS, Ph.D. New York, 1896. 8vo. 601 pp. Price, \$4.50.

These volumes were acquired by the Society in the following way:

"Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution" was published by subscription, and the profit arising therefrom was in part used to assist the Historical Society of Delaware in issuing the Records of Old Swedes Church at Wilmington, by subscribing for a number of copies. The proceeds arising from these two works was in turn used, in a like manner, in assisting in the publication of "Southern Quakers and Slavery" and "History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania." The entire edition of the Lenape-English Dictionary was presented to the Society by its late President, Brinton Cox, and members of his family, and the edition of "Early History of the University of Pennsylvania" was presented by Charles Hurd Hatchinson, Jun.

The objects and the proposed working of the Fund now established are best shown by the use made of the profit arising from "Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution," which has materially assisted in the publication of three books of great historical value that could hardly have appeared but with some such assistance; books that had been prepared without the least idea of money-making, and had entailed a vast amount of work in original sources.

If you are willing to assist in the objects for which this Fund is established, as shown in the above statement, you can do so by subscribing for any of the works mentioned at the prices named.

For Sale at 1300 Locust St., Phila. Price, 75 cts. per
Number, or \$3 per year.

No. 36.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA
MAGAZINE

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY.

No. 2 of Vol. XXII.

July, 1898.

"I entertain an high idea of the utility of periodical publications; inasmuch
that I could heartily desire copies of the *Museum and Magazine*, as well as
common *Gazettes*, might be spread through every city, town, and village in
America. I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge, more happily circulated
than any other to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry, and improve the
morals of an enlightened and free people!"—*Washington to Matthew Carey*,
June 25, 1783.

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The Trustees of the Publication Fund desire it to be understood that they are not answerable for the opinions or observations that may be expressed in articles under the names or initials of the contributors.

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MAGAZINE.

Copies of all the volumes of this MAGAZINE can be obtained at the Hall of the Historical Society, bound by Messrs. Pawson and Nicholson, in the very best manner, in the style known as Roxburgh, half cloth, uncut edges, gilt top, for \$3.75 each and the postage. They will be furnished to subscribers in exchange for unbound numbers, in good condition, on the receipt of 75 cents per volume and the postage.



John Brown

MY MAGAZINE

GEOGRAPHY.

5-12

1. Name the continents.
2. Name the oceans.

3. Name the countries of North America.
4. Name the countries of South America.
5. Name the countries of Europe.
6. Name the countries of Asia.
7. Name the countries of Africa.
8. Name the countries of Australia.

9. Name the islands of the Pacific.
10. Name the islands of the Atlantic.
11. Name the islands of the Indian Ocean.
12. Name the islands of the Arctic Ocean.
13. Name the islands of the Antarctic Ocean.

14. Name the mountains of the world.
15. Name the rivers of the world.
16. Name the lakes of the world.
17. Name the seas of the world.

18. Name the straits of the world.

“For the first you must assume two Rebellions proper. The former was fomenting fifty years ago. It was the result of a state projected upon false principles, whose citizens consisted of seemingly hypocritical pious impostors, and downright cheats. These hypocrites are the Quakers. I cannot tell you all of the infamy I hold these people capable of; for I can think of nothing more abominable, than to practise, under the guise of Religion,—malice, envy, yea even ambition, (thirst of power). In Pennsylvania they are the first, the most respected. They know the origin of the Colonies, and knew how to centralize the power in themselves by degrees. By means of such cabals these manifest cheats contrived to attract the Germans who have settled here; they deceived the Germans by means of a paper printed in Germantown, whose editor was paid by them. They were the first to institute a light company; they let the Germans go in first, afterwards they extricated themselves, and left their dupes in the muddle; they bought houses and lands with Congress money and afterwards called themselves friends of the King and said their religion forbade them to fight.

“The second rebellion is that which originated amongst the rebels during the past campaign, namely that for Independence. Since then the remaining righteous ones, who were partly infatuated by the heat of their imagination, partly educated in wrong principles, and in part possibly may have been partially right in their opinion, these have left the scene of action since then, and just as Congress consists of Scoundrels, so the Army consists of people, warmed up in part by the war party, also their only support is in the war, and who are unwilling to exchange sword for last and needle, or who may fear that their former masters, whose serfs they are, would harness them to the yoke, as soon as they surrendered their Captain and Subaltern patents. This is the army proper of the enemy, numbering about 12,000 men. The remainder substitutes and Militia, of whom ten or twenty thousand are mobile at times; these fight only for the Province in which they

dwell, and have been unable to resolve joining the Army and go into another province.

“These do most harm, as when we are present, they are the worst, and most dangerous spies, they betray and frustrate the actions of our spies, they attack our patrols and detachments, they keep our outposts in constant alarm, and when we are gone, they harass and cruelly maltreat their neighbours, who are Loyalists.

“Nor is their standing army to be despised; as there are many Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen and others in their service, and are per se a brave nation, which bravery is surprisingly enhanced by the enthusiasm engendered by falsehood and vagaries, which are drilled into them, so that it but requires time and good leadership to make them formidable; but the great thing wanting with them is subordination; for their very spirit of independence is detrimental to them; as Hans cannot concede that Peter, who is his neighbour should command him.

“One of the most important things they lack besides salt is Medicine. A surprisingly large number of sick are always in their army.

“They have neither shoes nor stockings; for the shoemaker is either a soldier, or he is a Loyalist, in the former case, he is unwilling to work, and in the latter, he cannot, because he has been robbed and plundered. Their miserable paper-money, which none are willing to take, even among themselves is no longer any incentive even if they were able to work.

“This is about a fair picture of the present situation: The enemy is encamped in huts in Wilmington and Valley Forge, and Washington and Stirling have wagered as to who had the best huts erected. Last year we lay in them, and our army x. y. z. strong lies in Philadelphia which is fortified by eleven redoubts and one outpost, we are supplied with all that is necessary and superfluous. Assemblies, Concerts, Comedies, Clubs and the like make us forget there is any war, save that it is a capital joke.

“Lord Howe went with a part of his fleet into winter

quarters at Rhode Island some weeks ago. Fresh victuals, vegetables, and poultry are furnished from the opposite shore of Jersey and Chester County by means of a smuggling trade up the Delaware in small boats; which are covered by a small Galley on our side.

"Whether we shall have peace? I hardly think we will before next winter. We may be mistaken, as General Lee is going about in New York on parole."

"THE NECK, NEAR PHILADELPHIA, March 21, 1778.

"TO THE HONORABLE COUNSELLOR OF THE COURT, H.

". . . It seems as though General Howe is satisfied with the services rendered by the Hessian Jägers, during these eighteen months past, as he has assigned to us the best, most comfortable and quiet winter-quarters. Perhaps we shall have to pay for this during the next summer, but that is the reason for which we are here. I should like to talk some politics, but this is x? y? z? But this historic observation I will make:—When at the close of the third Punic war, Rome deliberated, what was to be done with Carthage, and all voted to destroy it, as Rome would never be at peace so long as Carthage existed, there arose a wise man among them and advised against such a measure 'For,' said he 'this is the only thing that upholds you, and keeps our rabble, the Plebeians somewhat in check.'

"How proudly have not these lowly ones since the . . . law (here my memory fails) raised their heads? (I mean the law which was framed after the people had left the city and would not return, until after the law had been enacted by which the Tribunes of the people were instituted).

"These people, who at that time received a franchise, presently desire being esteemed equals, and if the dread of Carthage should cease, that last external enemy, this same populace will nevermore recognize your power and authority, inasmuch as they do not need your protection. But the natural inborn, inherited hatred between Rome and Carthage, caused this wise admonition to be slighted.

"Now my dear friend, if you will but assume instead of

the Roman Senate—England. In place of Carthage—The French possessions in North America, and in place of the Plebeians—the populace inhabiting America, I believe the story will hold good in our case also. The sequel in Rome, horrid mutiny, tumult civil war and treason; and which ceased not until the Plebeians with their boorish pride fell under the iron scepter of an Emperor,—a Monarch.

“And thrice happy are the Americans under the consequences of this war, which may be and will be, that they come under the mild, golden scepter of George III; indeed, more happily than they deserve. I am busy now with a little essay, which is to contain the parts most necessary to the conduct of a war in one’s own country, as applied to America. To wit:—(1) Men, (2) Money, (3) Provisions, (4) Ammunition, (5) Arms, (6) Apparatus, (7) Clothing, (8) Artisans, (9) Experts, (10) Medicines, etc. in which essay I am going to show what part thereof America can draw from out herself, and what must be drawn from abroad; and the conclusion will, of course be ridiculous for the Americans, who reckoned without their host, who began the war without sufficient subsidies. As soon as this essay is finished I shall undertake the characteristics of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and send the same to you or to Professor Schlözer of Göttingen, at the end of winterquarters. Certain it is that there is no nation living in this good world, embracing such a hodge-podge of civilization and semi-barbarism and where therein is found side by side such learning and stupidity, virtue and vice, shortcomings and accomplishments as are to be found among the Pennsylvanians.

“But I hope and flatter myself to be able to reduce them to several general principles, just as last year I treated of the good Yorkers and Jerseyites.

“That, at least I may tell you in advance, they will appear in great contrast with their neighbors, and I can assure you that Burnaby and his predecessors and successors have all lied. I believe these writers have judged the inhabitants of this country as they would wish them to be or should be. . . .”

"THE NECK, NEAR PHILADELPHIA, April 14, 1778.

"MY DEAR BROTHER.

"I have been unable to ascertain anything in regard to the —— family; but I have resolved to advertise in the Philadelphia and New York papers, both in behalf of this family and of —— and —— this practice is customary both here and in England, in order to see whether they may be located. You see how deeply I am interested in your friends. So much in answer. We still remain quietly in Philadelphia. General Howe has assigned to our Jägers the best quarters, and I may say that I have seen no other enemies this year save deserters. We have nothing to complain of, except that things are frightfully dear, almost incredibly so, but seeing such is the case, and knowing why, it is quite natural. I do not think that a single one of the officers has been able to live within his stipend.

"Of our political situation you will, without fail, be able to judge better than we ourselves. But we may predict with assurance that this will be a decisive year for America and England. It must be so, and will and shall be! Washington with his army are located near Valley Creek, and General Smallwood with 1000 men holds Wilmington. In the rear however, Washington is unprotected. He draws supplies and provisions from Lancaster, and his munitions all come from the Southern provinces, and in a measure from the Chesapeake Bay. At Egg Harbor General Wayne with his small flying camp holds New Jersey, in order to intercept any supplies that the inhabitants may desire to bring to us.

"Upon the other hand we have caused Billingsport, in New Jersey, to be re-built by the Jersey fugitives, who call themselves 'Refugees.' Under cover of this fort and some boats from Jersey and Chester by water, and by land from Chester county, Germantown, Oxford, and Frankford we receive fresh victuals, by means of a system of smuggling, covered by us by means of roaming detachments and patrols.

"A Commission from both parties has been in session these six weeks. They first met at Germantown, now they

meet at Duckstown [?]. An exchange of prisoners is rumored. So much is certain, that General Lee has come over from the Jerseys to Philadelphia on parole, and is now gone to join General Washington on parole, just as General Prescott is gone to New York on Parole.

"I don't believe that the enemies army is in so very poor a condition as is noised abroad, but, at the same time, they cannot be in the best condition. Indeed they lack men. A proof hereof, is that, in consequence of an act of Congress, every man be he who he may, must take up arms; for hitherto one could buy exemption from military service by furnishing a substitute, or by means of money. Hence the enemy have many soldiers pressed into the service against their own free will, and many deserters, and to us there have come a host of 'Refugees.'

"During the course of this winter we have organized two regiments of Foot, one of which is wholly made up of Roman Catholics; and two squadrons of Light Dragoons; the latter have been gotten up by the Quakers at their own expense, and they earn much applause for themselves.

"Lord Howe arrived here last week and within eight days was followed by about eighty ships with provisions."

"ON THE NECK, NEAR PHILADELPHIA,
" June 5th, 1778.

"MY DEAR BROTHER.

"Not a line from Germany since yours, containing an enclosure from Dr. F. . . . This is surprising, disquieting, incomprehensible; and had I not received with the last Packet from Cassel, my Captain's patent in the Jäger Corps, I verily should have surmised that a second false list reporting my death were circulating in Germany.

"To-morrow morning early the packet boat sets sail, and at two o'clock to night I have orders to go with two hundred Jägers over the Schuylkill to Derby, whither we usually go twice a week, therefore I can drop you but a few lines.

"Do not inquire as to our present condition here; partly I can, and partly I dare not write, with this exception;—(1)

General Clinton is now commanding here, an excellent man, who is ready to answer with Cæsar's dictum whenever any one would enquire as to his projects:—'Did I but believe that my shirt knew it, I should burn it.' This secrecy is of paramount importance here.

"(2) Our army is x, y, z, strong, and fully clothed, and in excellent condition, full of courage and beautifully drilled, capable of looking into the white of the eye of Washington and all of his tatterdemalions.

"(3) There is an abundance of victuals, clothing, of that which there is any necessity and that which is a luxury,—Only horribly dear!

"(4) The courage of the enemies army has revived in consequence of our proclamations, offers of peace, etc., but even the cleverest of their officers confess, that they could not stand their ground, still less whip us. But whether we, on that account can bring the war to a close by force, whether they are not manœuvring so long, fitting out new armies; through length of time will they not be able to exhaust our ability to re-inforce and to furnish money? whether in England herself, Rebels are not at the helm, who partly controvert the good, partly have but one-half thereof exerted in our behalf etc. These are matters which I as an officer on the outpost cannot understand. What the military operations for the year are to be I do not know. Whether we shall go north, south or east, to our dear, dear Fatherland again, and soon leave this accursed, but formerly blessed land, I do not know. I wish and yearn for the latter.

"I would fain write you more from here, but of the war I do not like to write, and of the country . . . well, I have sent away all my manuscripts, with the baggage, which has been put aboard of the ships this fortnight. By the way, I have lately met with a great loss, by my baggage being lost last winter (1) A lot of birds, artistically and scientifically preserved, which I had done in Jersey at great expense. (2) An Indian bow, arrows, a net for catching birds, scalp dagger, knife, etc. and other curiosities have been stolen from me. That I was exceedingly displeased with this

mishap, you may easily imagine, because I intended enriching the Cabinet of our celebrated Dr. Dolten with my acquisitions. Still a few curiosities remain to me.

"Since December 11, I have received no letter from Europe. The firm of John Marston Esq. in Wall street New York, is very good and secure, it is strong in Sterling, and is safe upon all sides. I have written to S. . . . , in G. . . . , Counsellor of the Court, on June 1st, and handed the letter to Lieutenant von Westernhagen, who has been recalled, for delivery. Colonel Coyler is said to have arrived in New York, others say that it is Admiral Gambier.

"Here in Philadelphia there are about one thousand royally inclined families, who are willing to leave hearth and home and with their chattels go with the army. Hence this gives rise to the rumor that we are going to leave Philadelphia altogether, and in addition to this, the report is as though the same were being done in New York; therefore it is concluded, that we, or rather Great Britain, is going to abandon the cause and return to Europe. Other politicians again say, that all the German troops and the English Guard alone were going to return; the remaining English regiments would occupy New York, Quebec, Halifax. I am unwilling to meddle in these matters, and repeat it:—nescio!—for I don't want to know of anything! That Lieutenant-colonel von Wurmb, Captain von Wreden, and Captain Ewald have received decorations, you will probably be aware of. I am rejoiced at this from my inmost soul, and am convinced they deserve their distinction, having always fought at their side, and being the best witness of their valor and skill."

"ON THE NECK, [PHILADELPHIA] June 14, 1778.

"TO HERR H. . . . COUNSELLOR OF THE COURT.

"... After half a year's silence, my heart craved but a few lines and here I receive sixteen letters all at once. I can assure you that I was pretty busy, tearing and cutting open the letters, and highly pleased when two or three enclosures

dropped out, and a gold medal from my dear mother. But the supposition of yours, that we would go in last year's fleet to the Spanish and French possessions in the West Indies, was incorrect, yet I cannot help assuring you, that it was not improbable, and even a part of the fleet believed so. I for my part should have thought it quite proper to catch the Frenchman at his Toupet last year, for if it should so happen that we fail in America, is the sole cause of our failure.

"The policy of France is known to every one, but that England's policy was so flat, always to be satisfied with the empty assurances of the amity of France, as to allow her four years' time to arm and equip. . . . And this England did believe, although upwards of forty French officers, Generals and Colonels included, fought here against us daily, and of every three cannons captured, two always were from the French Artillery park. England's relations to France appear to me to be about like those of old Shandy and uncle Toby. But I believe a great part of the present situation is attributable to the fact that in old England, even in Parliament and at the Court, there are more and greater rebels than in America.

"As regards your second letter, my dear friend, it contains so many and varied, important and critical questions, that I can hardly venture to answering them. But in order to give a clue, I shall take the reasons singly, which you adduce as a proof, that Howe is no great general, in your eyes. To avoid any unnecessary repetition, I shall quote your sentences, in the order that the events took place:—

"(1) *The Evacuation of Boston.*—That Howe was quite blameless, is a matter of fact, for he could not by himself maintain his army there; nor was he to blame that the equipment of the Army was so poor, he (Howe) having just arrived. To be sure the evacuation of Boston gave the first impulse for the taking up of the Enemies cause. But the primary cause is the confounded pride and arrogant bearing of the English, who treat every one that was not born upon their ragamuffin Island with contempt. They

imagined that the rebels would all run away before their one and a-half regiments in America. Those who thought so were the friends of the King. The rebels proper, however, in Old England were those who had themselves once lived in America, and had friends, relatives, and possessions there. These of course knew better, but they were unwilling to give good advice, the others were unable.

“(2) With rebels, no campaign ought to be made. This was the principle of the late Colonel Donop, and it is a correct one. We could have settled matters in the campaign of '76.

“(a) *On Long Island.*—A singular incident saved the enemy. After the affair at Flatbush, we held them locked up in their excellent works at Brooklyn. We could have taken these by storm, but we thought we might get them with less loss of life, if some war-ships were stationed in their rear, between Long-Island and New York city. We chose this course, and for three days we had contrary winds, no ships could get up, we hoped every moment that the wind would veer, until the morning of the third day, when the enemy had withdrawn, leaving behind immense magazines of stores and seven cannon. Whose fault was that?

“(b) After the occupation of New York, it was impossible to take Fort Knyphausen [Washington] from the flank, and we could hardly attack it with any possibility of success, until the army was divided. Howe here showed that he understood his business in America at least, he never having served in Europe. He deployed his troops from New York towards Fort Washington, made a landing in two columns, and a forced march to the Point of Connecticut, this caused the enemy to defile and divide his force, and set out towards White Plains. We marched after them, and Washington keeping his eye fixed on us alone drew off 3000 men from the garrison of Fort Knyphausen to aid him. General Knyphausen, thereupon landed at West Chester, and marched against Fort Independence which the enemy were forced to evacuate. He took posses-

sion of this; two days after this event, he posted a part of his column over King's Bridge, i.e. on Manhattan Island, and so our bird was caught, for now no man could get to Fort Knyphausen, unless by water, where two war-ships were doing duty.

"(c) Meanwhile the battle of White Plains was fought, in the course of which many noteworthy blunders were made, which I can never commit to writing; I may whisper them in your ear when I see you again.

"(d) But now when Fort Washington had been captured, where was the enemys army? In the fort we had taken but 2600 prisoners; where were the rest? You will hear of nothing accomplished by Washington, until the surprise of Trenton, and that was three months later.

"Here is concealed one of the finest Cabinet manœuvres of Howe, who gave such orders and made such arrangements, dispositions, marches, etc. that Washington, notwithstanding all his excellent spies, of whom he then had a legion could not discover Howe's plans in their entirety, and failed to learn whether we were going up the North River, or land at Staten Island (for this we were forced to occupy as it contains the best ports for a smuggling trade), whether we were going to Boston, or to New Jersey or to remain encamped here. As the sequel proved, Washington was forced to take the defensive, and occupy the forts along the North River, the boundary of New England and, to station an observation army in New Jersey, (which, in time became the principal army). Gates on the North River, Arnold in New England, himself and Lee in New Jersey; for the southern parts were their special concern; partly because Congress was there, partly for the sake of their magazines, manufactories, mills which flourish nowhere better than in Pennsylvania on the Schuylkill and the Susquehanna. Rhode Island was occupied from the water-side. We crossed with a corps of 8000 men to New Jersey, under the command of my Lord Cornwallis, who had orders to capture Fort Lee, and to take up his winter quarters in that part of the Jerseys situated between Eliza-

bethtown and Amboy, thus having the North River with our ships in his rear (for that reason also, our baggage and tents were brought to Staten Island, when we crossed into Jersey)—at the same time Cornwallis had orders to follow the enemy, until they should make a stand, when he was to retire and not molest them, except in so far as the above districts were concerned.

“We landed in Jersey, when the enemy retreated in two columns under Washington and Lee. The latter falling back to the hills of Newark and Morristown, the former to Brunswick. We pursued the latter. Near Brunswick an affair took place. Our lack of spies prevented us from knocking him out *Carte-blanche*, otherwise no cannon, or baggage would have been saved; as two miles from Brunswick, we could have waded through the Raritan and could have come upon his rear, on his retreat to Princeton. The enemy the next morning made a forced march, and crossed the Delaware near Trenton.

“Thus virtually ended the plan of the first Campaign of General Howe.”

“NEW YORK, July 10 1778.

“MY DEAR BROTHER.

“Would briefly inform you, that I received your favors, with the enclosures. This pleasure fell on the 11th of June, but this was soon to be succeeded by a day of distress for me, for on the 14 of June I was seized with the most violent and dangerous of all American diseases,—Dysentery, and was obliged, sick as I was, to march hither from Philadelphia, in the most scorching heat—consequently I was forced to tussle for a fortnight with the man with the scythe, until he was finally driven off for the present. I shall never forget those days; they will be ever memorable to me, for upon the one hand they initiated me into that which is most terrible in warfare: viz. being sick on the march. Upon the other hand, however, I experienced the boon of being commiserated by our commanding general, and was aided and provided for. When the opportunity offers I will describe this entire pilgrimage;—now I am

obliged to break off every quarter of an hour, as my head is still too weak."

"NEW YORK, August 16, 1778.

"TO MY BROTHER IN LAW, HERR L. . . . IN G. . . .

". . . On the day following, I was seized with a serious illness, bilious fever, dysentery, and inflammation; I suffered terribly, fought against death, conquered and am now on a sure road to recovery!

"That I should now leave the army is impossible. (1) Gratitude towards my master obliges me to stay. (2) It were frivolity, since I have chosen this my calling, and besides have been so fortunate, that in less than two years I have been promoted to captain. I have now but two superiors in the regiment; and since Captain von Wreden has actually asked for his discharge, and expects it daily, there will be but one who is my superior,—hence it would be exceedingly impolitic. Moreover (3) A French war is brewing now, in which experienced officers of Light troops will be wanted, and then; (4) Circumstances in America are of such a nature, that I know of no civil employment which I might choose, unless I became a Rebel. Even though such were possible, I could not resolve leaving the army. In consequence of these commotions all is in such a chaotic condition, that an agreeable life can not be thought of before the expiration of at least twenty years. The richest Loyalist runs the risk of becoming a beggar in case of a disastrous issue. Unless something extraordinary should come to pass, I shall assuredly not attempt it."

"IN THE CAMP NEAR 'SPIT OF THE DEVIL,'

"August 29, 1778.¹

"Thus far I had progressed in answering your letter, when I was seized with a most insidious sickness, which has left me but a few days ago. I had purposed chatting a good deal more about the following campaign, but now it is impossible for me to do so. This only:—Not a soul in

¹ This is a continuation of the letter dated Philadelphia, June 14, 1778.

Germany knows why Rall, why Donop were lost! I readily concede, that Howe is no Cæsar, and is not the greatest General of his time, but for an American war, he is a good enough General. Our present situation is a peculiar one. All eyes are centered upon Rhode Island, possibly the issue of this matter may be described as decided before the departure of the packet, so I will not write anything thereof at present.—Howe and D'Estaing are both here with their fleets.—Apropos of the French fleet.—Where will it go into winter-quarters, I am curious to know? As no vessel of three decks, or of two decks carrying 64 guns or over, can run into any harbor, excepting Halifax and Rhode Island. The English want Howe to completely destroy the latter harbor. I don't believe it, however, till it's done, and therefore locate the winter-quarters of the fleet in the West Indian waters. On account of our holding Halifax we can keep the heaviest vessels with us. Therefore Halifax is of the greatest importance to us, and for this reason America with all her independence will never be the peer of Great Britain so long as they have not got this port. For they cannot build vessels of over 64 Guns, nor dock them unless they hold Halifax. Is there not room for political conjectures upon a large scale afforded by this fact? Are not the manœuvres of the French and Americans in America aiming at something of this sort?

“Another advantage of the English vessels over the French is (apart from the superior power of the English, and their greater numbers and skill) that a French man-of-war of 64 guns draws twenty-seven feet of water, an English man-of-war but twenty-two feet. Now assuming they should cope with one another on the American coast, the nearest Rebel or Royal port affords but twenty-four feet of water (New York near Sandy Hook has but twenty four feet in the channel, and that during high tide), thus the case of the Frenchmen is irretrievably lost in case that they come out second best, while the English can run into port and save themselves.

“September 3.—We still keep our attention fixed on Rhode

Island. Clinton himself has gone thither with 4000 men, so that all in all there are 9000 men there, all active troops. Twenty thousand of the enemy are there as well as both fleets.—Six ships of Byron's fleet have arrived, one has lost a mast in taking a French frigate and returned to Halifax. Byron personally is still continuing his cruise with three vessels.

"But what do you think? The two persons whom d'Estaing secretly took on board of his vessel are said to be a Praetendent and a Papal Nuncio. Both are said to be in Philadelphia now, and chapels are already being designed there and in Boston. This is rather a peculiar condition, affording much material for gossip, but I cannot vouch for the rumor, owing to lack of time, and the doubtful authenticity of the report.

"I am in camp again these few days past, stationed at the outpost near King's Bridge which consists of the Jäger Corps under Lieut.-Col. Emmerich; the Queen's Rangers and Cathcart's Legion. Yesterday the enemy's light troops were welcomed in an ambuscade, that according to the statement of an officer of the enemy who came with a flag of truce; of their patrol 600 strong but five returned. Twenty seven Indians with their captain were cut down with the sabre, two Indians were taken prisoner as well as the white men.

"Ere I close I must briefly tell you my belief:—I believe we shall soon have peace here!"

" WINTER-QUARTERS FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND,
" February 1st, 1779.

"To HERR H. . . . , COUNSELLOR OF THE COURT.

"Yes, we are now just where we were when we began a year ago; *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum*. But notwithstanding all this, I would give a great deal to know what the Europeans have been gossiping about us since August '78. Many splendid comments no doubt! That we have fared ill, aye, very much so, alas is true. But it is more than probable that the news of our discomfiture

that reached you was unduly exaggerated. Please do not expect me to write politics; the subject indeed is very ample, but the oat-meal and groats we have been obliged to eat, bread being scarce, have made me so stiff, so doltish, that I have no mind left to reflect, much less to act!

"Allow me therefore merely to chat with you. That which vexes me most is the lax, indifferent, and fretful spirit which now prevails throughout the entire army. This is a natural outcome of the great scarcity of money, which is caused again in turn by the enormously high prices of all commodities. Of course it is vexatious to consider, that a soldier can hardly take his meals in summer for want of time, and then again in Winter he has not money enough to buy bread. . . .

"The chief happenings since my last letter are;—1st. The French fleet;—2nd. The evacuation of Philadelphia;—3rd. The commissioners of Peace;—4th. Abandonment of the Convention of Saratoga;—5th. Our Expedition to the West Indies under General Grant, and to Carolina under Col. Campbell.

"First;—The French fleet would never have come, if that miserable bragadocio B[urgoyne] had not lost the game on the North river, as France really was beginning to grow tired of her new alliance, since her allies knew not how to obtain the wherewithal to pay a debt of eighty million Thalers. Had this fleet not arrived, the enemy would have been obliged to accept the offers of the Commissioners. This forced France to send the fleet, and they did us great damage, much more than the English are willing to admit. It cost us eight frigates, two men-of-war, and sixteen transports off Rhode Island, one frigate in the Delaware, and what is more they were the cause of our being forced to leave Philadelphia. Not to mention how much blood was shed during the entire campaign of 1777.—

"All of this however was nothing in comparison with which the courage, enthusiasm and power of the enemy increased. The most important matter however, is that we

furnished the enemy through our evacuation, with linen, cloth, salt, liquor, what they most needed, all in all to the value of more than £100,000 Sterling. It will not be necessary for me to state that the enemy stood in great need of these commodities. This happened as follows; The secret rebels who lived in town, chiefly Quakers, when they heard that the city was going to be evacuated, bought up slyly, everything. I know of a merchant, a Mr. C——, who within thirteen days, sold cloth and linen to the value of 10,000 Guineas. Thus we furnished goods, (which would last them at least a year and a-half), to the enemy, who were beginning to suffer dire want for such stores.

“(8) Commissioners of Peace.—Although I shall never consider the English as shrewd politicians;—indeed I consider them the most shallow politicians in the world, since the dethronement of Caroline Matilda,—yet I must confess, that they could not have acted more wisely,—although almost every one hereabout derides their fruitless expedition.—Yet in my heart I never believed that England supposed that she could accomplish anything, since France aided the enemy. That they sent them for all that, had two important consequences.

“(First) In England, where every enthusiastic Englishman now began to perceive, that the entire (American) Congress was composed of a pack of scamps, who sought not the liberty of their country,—who had not at heart the welfare of their fellow-citizens;—but who strove more to amass wealth for themselves, at the cost of their brethren. Since the day of these Commissioners, England stands united more firmly, and therefore, she is more powerful, stronger and a match for the Americans, who could never have withstood her for three years, if a parliamentary majority in England had not stood by them.

“The other consequence is to be found upon American soil.—The blinded populace, who had been supported all along in their belief, that we had been sent here to enslave them, have had their eyes opened, insomuch that Congress is now afraid to permit the holding of Town-meetings, and

employs every means to postpone them. The same is true even in New England, to such a degree, that their eligible voters were not summoned to a session since the last proclamation was issued in that locality (i.e. no town-meeting was held) but the Provincial Congress of that place exercises the entire jurisdiction. How long this will continue, how strong an influence we shall exercise during the course of a future campaign, are matters of conjecture.

"My own opinion is:—We shall have a bloody and stubborn, but a very glorious campaign during the ensuing year.

"Fourth—The abandonment of the Convention at Saratoga.—This will mark as important an epoch in the present campaign, as the abandonment of the Convention of Gloucester, and that for the following reasons:—During the last campaign we had men enough to occupy New York, Rhode Island and Halifax, and could spare others for marching and manœuvring and fighting. But now we are forced to dispatch General Grant with ten battalions to the West Indies, and in order to make up the full number we have to foist in two battalions, hence we really lose twelve battalions. Therefore we retain about 7000 men in New York and are hence incapacitated from essaying anything grand before fresh troops arrive from Europe. But if the Convention had been held, and had Burgoyne's army been exchanged we should have sent these to the West Indies and our army would have remained intact!

"(Fifth)—as regards this expedition to the West Indies and Carolina we are still in the dark.—That of Campbell I hold as the most important, as I think that Grant will only act upon the defensive in the West Indies, apart from the fact that Campbell is quite an excellent officer. He has with him the 71st Regiment, consisting of . . . Battalions of Scotch Highlanders (whom he commands in person) the Hessian Regiment 'Rall' (now Trimbach), Wissenbach and the first Brigade of Provincials of General Delancey's New York troops, together with the two companies Light Infantry of the 71st Regiment."

“FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND,
April 10, 1779.

“TO HERR H. . . . COUNSELLOR OF THE COURT.

“You will probably have in hand my letters of June 14, 1778 and February 1, 1779. In the former there were some comments concerning Howe as a General, and in the latter I closed with the expedition to the West Indies and Georgia. Since then you will probably have read the reports from the West Indies and Georgia in the English Court Gazette, so I will not entertain you with any repetition of the same. Most likely everybody in London will now assure you that D’Estaing is locked in and being starved out. Do not believe this. D’Estaing is not locked in so easily as the Coffee-house politicians may imagine. I tremble for the West Indies, unless our navy save the honor of the Nation, for it seems to me as if the secret compact between France and America is to keep the English so employed in the West Indies that they cannot use their power with any great degree of strength in America. France for this purpose has therefore sent thither her oldest and best Regiments, the Grenadiers de France, Regiment Normandie, Artois, Bretagne, etc. all old home regiments. Our expedition down south has been successful, having captured the entire Georgias. There was however but little art in this, as the enemy there consisted of nought but Militia, gathered up in a hurry, while on our side brave officers and smart regiments made up the expedition. But, whither now extend our conquests? Will they be continued? This is the great question, for an answer to which, another previous question must be answered:—Is England able, and will she send troops to America this spring? every one says Yes; assures you as to how many troops have already received orders; how many transports have been chartered etc. I will not gainsay, as I am unacquainted with the real, inner strength and resources of England, with the true projects of the ministry, or whether they have been bribed or not. But I regard nothing as certain, unless I see the troops landed here. France has at present

20,000 men in the West Indies to our 6000 men. Our best troops, I believe must probably go thither, especially when I consider that we can end the war here without even a regular campaign. I still apprehend that we shall be relieved by some newly recruited regiments, and that we shall have to wander towards the Equator, as we are rightly supposed to be inured to the climate, and rain of lead, I will go along! But granting that troops, say 15000 men depart, whither shall we turn in the Spring? Most of the men believe towards New England, not so I. All the way up and down the North River the [torn] are to be attacked, New England the soul of the American Rebellion cut off, and then operate southward. But if we decide to continue the Georgia expedition, we must send troops to the Chesapeake so as to prevent Washington's forces from reinforcing the southern forces. This he could not risk doing since we would be in his rear. But still I do not think that the Georgians will attempt any resistance during the summer, this would cost many lives, as the climate is so hot that on January 16 the officers had to sit in cellars to protect themselves from the heat!

"The conquest of Georgia was worth a great deal to us, even in case we would have to evacuate it, as during winter and summer there could be no exports from that locality. The larger part of the products of this Province was hitherto shipped to Charleston and thence to Europe, where they were exchanged for materials necessary for the conduct of the War.

"The Savannah river was an excellent rendezvous for the Carolina privateers as they could easily arm there, and in a few hours be upon the high seas. Now the Carolina people lose a large number of their departing and arriving vessels through the activity of our privateers, who are able to run into one of the Georgia ports. I suppose that you have a good map of Georgia, but do not be misled to believe that the plantations are all located along the Savannah river, hence capable of being protected by our Naval forces alone. . . . Of course you will now ask what we are about

to do with the troops, victories and marches in the fourth year, since we were not able to accomplish anything during the first three years?—whether we are now more hopeful, since the French have come out against us openly than we were before, while they were secret foes?—This brings me to a general synopsis of the inner condition of the Rebels, their army, commerce, interior form of government, resources, etc.

“Just as the sending of the Commissioners has rendered England more united, so their abortive negotiation has rendered the Americans so much more at variance with one another. All along there have been factions and parties amongst them (as always is the case amongst a party of rascals, where one wants to steal more than the other). This has now caused public discord. The removal of Gen. Lee, the dispensation from two years’ service of General Arnold, the litigations of Quarter-master Mifflin, and the envy existing from the beginning between the Southern provinces and New England, and hence the opposition upon the part of New England against Washington, all this has caused a state of universal fermentation. But that which chiefly endangers the cause of the rebels, is their paper money. The traffic of those sitting at the helm is really unheard of. You can easily comprehend this by merely bearing in mind the following facts:—The American money is value in the future; *pretium eminus*, and is issued by the Congress. For this the farmer gives his products, he must take it, but will he;—will he?—These products are sent to France, *volens nolens*, the money therefor is attached by agents there, and the necessities of war are purchased on the credit of the nation. What will this come to? If aside from these facts, those at the helm are a pack of scoundrels;—Other scoundrels counterfeit said paper-money to an amazing degree.—The husbandman is discouraged, ceases from his toil;—products grow dearer, the volume of paper-money is increased, and becomes so worthless that an Officer cannot eat his fill on his stipend, and the common soldier cannot buy a pair of shoes for his

monthly pay. This is getting worse and worse from day to day.

"In addition to this every farmer is impressed into service at present, whereas formerly he could hire a substitute, whereby the tyranny is enhanced still more, and the American farmer, who is used to comfort and luxury will soon grow disgusted, in fact he is so already; therefore, I declare that we can terminate the war here, even without an army. Only we ought to be smart enough to bribe some of these scoundrels to betray their comrades, for the latter cannot conclude a peace, as when matters shall have been settled, their conscience will tell them, that, after their management of affairs shall have been investigated, they would be strung up by their own countrymen.

"Therefore no ordinary method of peace-making is here to be thought of. Now, I have given you a pointer whereby you may judge of the American Gentleman."

"FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND,

"April 28th, 1779.

"MY DEAR BROTHER—

"Yesterday, my dear brother, I received after a year of silence, several letters from home. And now for an answer to your letters that have arrived.

"Firstly:—I am at the present moment in good health, in good spirits, beloved and honored I Hope! I am leading a quiet lonely life, my Lieut. Colonel being a most obliging gentleman, and who questions me punctiliously upon everything, since he knows that I devote my time to the Muses and the Graces, and furnish him with samples of my work.

"I have just finished a treatise, which I shall send with this packet, either to Professor S. . . . in G. . . . or to General Schlusen. It treats upon the present state of learning in America, categorically and systematically correct. I cannot help remarking here, that I have to smile whenever I hear that any persons, be they ever so skilful, publish histories, descriptions and the like of America, and

publish them as truth, confidently;—People who have never seen America do this! All the books that have been written hitherto upon this subject, are superficial, erroneous, dreams!—The one repeats the other one's song, few have seen the shell, none the kernel! Are not these wiseacres afraid to see their author's faith doubted if after some years men should cross over to their side and tell to them and the world, that they have judged as the man who was born blind did of Raphael's raiment? Or do these men believe, that amongst the many thousands, whom this war has brought to America, there should be none to refute their testimony?

"I have another treatise, half finished, which is to consist of four parts, and will treat of the origin and progress of the war (it will be a good idea).

"A third treatise is an investigation of the question 'What Resources has America for the continuation of the War.'—This work is almost finished and according to its contents, it is both political and military.

"During my leisure hours, I have composed quite a number of pieces;—English airs, Marches and Recitatives. This is my favorite recreation and I succeed fairly well therein. I now have a handsome Piano.

"Secondly:—I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your warm congratulations, as I know that they have come from your inmost heart, and to conclude this matter, I cannot tell you more, than that I employ all honest means to smite the iron while it is hot.

"3d, . . . 4th, . . . 5th, . . . 6th, . . . 7th, . . .

"Eighth,—There is neither an armistice, much less peace;—In fact we think that we shall have a glorious tussle—The Rebels are aggressive, and our battalions certainly will not run away;—moreover Clinton is such a hot-spur;—so there will undoubtedly be a large number of bloody heads.

" . . . I am still in good health, and unless bullet or sword should rob me thereof, I shall certainly return sound.—If upon the other hand I should fall, or be maimed,—well brother you know, as well as I, that it was God's will.

This is my experience, amidst showers of thousands of bullets.

"The retreat of General Clinton was good, but Admiral Howe's withdrawal of all his ships stationed along the entire southern coast of America, prior to the arrival of D'Estaing, and that after a . . . was a master stroke! A Great Man!

"Major Holland has gone to Gen. Haldimand at Quebec, who is in command, and there at present. If I had not been in the Hessian service, or had I had leave of absence, I would have stood a fair chance of going along, as the Major had orders from Haldimand to bring with him two officers, who were Engineers.—But when Holland proposed to me, the answer naturally was:—'Monsieur, je suis Hessois,—c'est assez.'"

"FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND, May 1, 1779.

"MY DEAR BROTHER.

"Do not send any letters by way of Cassel, unless you can induce Counsellor Gschwind to enclose them in the military packet, which is sealed at Court and forwarded to General von Knyphausen. For as all letters must be pre-paid as far as Helsingfors, two-thirds of the letters are spirited away and the money is pocketed. Though I do not receive letters any sooner via London, in consequence of the great number of ships to England, I am sure to receive them.

"Captain von Wreden, who received his leave on the arrival of the last packet-boat, (for which discharge he had been negotiating for some considerable time), will take this letter along, and I flatter myself, that, should he ever come to Hamburg he may be received as a worthy and deserving man. It is almost impossible for me to describe the emotion I experienced yesterday, when he bade solemn farewell to his company; and my parting from him personally is still greater. It is now the sixth year that I have known him, and for three years we have been sharing joy and sorrow, have gone through innumerable dangers, fatigues, and earning honors and laurels. His company has been transferred

to Captain of Horse von Rau, who was the senior Captain in the corps, and who was naturally in the line of promotion. By this means I have advanced one step further towards the head, being now second or in command of the left wing, belonging to Major von Wurmb.

"There is a rumor abroad, that Captain Loray, a man who has seen thirty years' service, will soon ask for his retirement, and then I am the senior. This has been quick work, but what pleases me most is, that it has not been gained through the disadvantage, death or accident to my comrades, but to their own advantage.

"The large number of plans I am now drawing for Captain von Wreden, my removal from my old quarters to my new company, the inspections and getting the company into shape, all prevent me from writing to any extent, so I hope my friends will pardon this shortcoming. Suffice it to say, I am well and in good spirits, and enjoy the esteem of my superiors, the favor of my master, the confidence and friendship of my comrades, the love and obedience of my inferiors, and the tranquility of a good conscience.

"May God graciously preserve me in the possession of all these things and vouchsafe that I may once more see my dear parents,¹ brothers, sisters and friends."

"FLUSHING, MAY 11, 1779.

"MY DEAR BROTHER—

". . . I hope to embrace you next year. I would almost speak of this as of a certainty, for I believe the war is drawing to its close, because America is on the brink of starvation. I have given you the assurance, that I would never make my home in America. Though a world of bliss were here, yet I would not exchange therefor the converse of my dear friends in Europe.

"As a soldier I am bound not to break my plighted word. But should I leave the Hessian service for some reason or other, I have such testimonials as will readily procure me employment everywhere. I hope such will never be the

¹ His father died on April 21 of apoplexy.—ED.

case, as it would be unjust on my part to forsake my Master, who hath dealt with me so equitably, so gracious.

"They are expecting troops here from England daily, I wont believe it until I see them.—General Matthew embarked a few days ago, with 2000 men on fifty transport vessels, upon a secret expedition.—No one knows whither.—In case the troops arrive, the war will be continued on the offensive,—hence this expedition is merely for the purpose of procuring horses, whereof we stand greatly in need. Captain Wreden will not go to Germany, but will remain in America as a volunteer during the present campaign. General Grant has lost 2000 privates and 23 Officers through illness in the West Indies; It is rumored that he is about to return to us with his troops.—Washington has desisted from recruiting; but has instructed the militia in every province to be ready to assemble at any moment on the shortest notice.

"General Sir William Erskine is going to England. The following regiments are with General Matthew:—the 42d regiment, Scotchmen; the Hessian Regiment 'Prince Carl'; Lord Rawdon's Irish Volunteers; and four companies of the Guard."

"OUTPOST ON 'SPEAKING DEVIL HILL.'

"August 28, 1779.

"MY DEAR BROTHER.

"With the first division of the English fleet, which consisted of 89 sail, and which brought a contingent of Englishmen and recruits from Anspach, I received a short letter from you. This fleet arrived two days ago. As I do not carry my port-folio about with me, I am unable to tell you from memory just the number of the letter received prior to this one. Some must have been lost, especially, as the rebels captured the June packet-boat, called the 'Dashwood' which was recaptured, but the letters were gone. I hope that I shall receive several letters with the second division of the fleet, on board of which the Hessians are said to be. This is the first letter I have received since December 1778.

"We are stationed at present, partly on Manhattan,

Staten,—and Long Island;—partly in Georgia, Rhode Island, Penobscot, and Quebec.

“In all probability we have not gained anything in the West Indies, and here, according to my opinion, we shall accomplish nothing effectual, or decisive unless at least, France be defeated twice upon the sea. Yet, though we but stand and wait, we will harm the foe. For it is their paper-money that will accomplish this, as I predicted three years ago. The ragged currency of the rebel leaders, the situation and regulations of the country, with our inactivity, produce the same effect as if we employed as many as 80—40,000 men. It is expected that an expedition of from six to eight regiments, on board of vessels will leave in a few days;—presumably to reinforce Georgia.

“This spring we took from the enemy Stony and West Point, strongholds on the North River, by which we made it difficult for them to obtain provisions, and secured for ourselves quiet out-posts at Kings-Bridge, as the enemy in his condition could not occupy White Plains. In consequence of the negligence of Lieut. Colonel Johnson General Wayne re-took Stony Point, making 400 prisoners. He however abandoned the place upon our approach, and now we are again in possession of the post.

“A few days ago the enemy attempted a surprise upon Paulus Hook, and made prisoners of all, save twenty-five Hessians, under the command of Captain von Schallern, who answered every summons to surrender with a volley of bullets. Whether Ireland will remain so quiet? and whether we Hessians are not more needed there than here?

“I have had to perform some extraordinary duty for Gen. Erskine this spring, prior to his return to England. But now I have some time for myself, and will send you my campaign Journal for 1779 as soon as I have the opportunity.”

“‘SPEAKING DEVIL HILL’

“October 29, 1779.

“MY DEAR BROTHER.

“... A few weeks ago I had to cross the enemy’s line with dispatches, where I was obliged to spend the night at

Colonel Armand's (a French Major of Dragoons and commander of a battalion of Rebel volunteers), where I found two men from Hamburg. As I take great pains to perform what I have been commissioned by my friends, I inquired of the enemy concerning J. B. . . . and learned from the Viscount de Lomayne, and the Marquis de Brijous, the former Major, the latter a volunteer in his corps, that D. . . . was still in Quebec, and I wrote to him at once, and Colonel Armand assured me that the letter would be forwarded.

"There is a rumor current that the French under D'Estaing and the Rebels have regained possession of Georgia, and that our troops were made prisoners, after having made a stubborn resistance and sustained heavy losses. It is asserted with certainty, that the Spaniards have taken Pensacola, and made prisoners of the garrison (among whom is the Waldeck Regiment). Certain it is, that Sir James Wallace proceeded against d'Estaing with his entire fleet, and was defeated by d'Estaing, that the Rebels have concentrated during this month, 12,000 men, who are to serve until December 26, 1779. They have advanced their brigades to Croton River, Bedford, and Marmaro Creek, at which latter place 500 men are daily employed at making fascines; 200 boats have been sent to the Sound by them. Orders were sent to the troops in Rhode Island to demolish the works, to evacuate and retire to Long Island. But it was found that a ship was sent up the Sound with counter orders, to stay there. This ship the rebels seized. The Rhode Island troops have arrived. The rebels are probably in possession of Rhode Island, now, whether our troops will return thither or not, I cannot tell. Colonel Loose sailed last month with the 44th Losberg and the Knyphausen Regiments to Halifax. The fleet was scattered in consequence of a storm, some of the ships foundered, some returned, others were seized by the rebels, and but two arrived at Halifax.

"Colonel Simcoe, who went on an expedition to New Brunswick, N. J. to destroy the magazines there, has fallen

into the hands of the enemy and is either dead or seriously wounded.

"During the late storm off the coast of Florida, twelve ships of the line of d'Estaing were dismasted. These are a few hints, the most part rests with the future, upon which the development of our destiny depends;—whether we shall see our Fatherland again, bearing laurels, or as beggars bearing barren branches,—or not at all! But be thou assured that neither stubbornness of the Rebels, of the Minister nor Gallic finesse, shall be able to make a Hessian, a descendant of the Catti, commit an action unworthy of his people.—Farewell.

"P.S.—Captain von Wreden has gone to Europe with the packet which left before the last. If he should come to Hamburg, try to make his stay as pleasant as possible. St. Martin has gone with him. All came to pass in such a hurry, and I was so busy that I could not hand him a letter to take along.

"VICTORY! The French and the Rebels have been defeated in Georgia! Pulaski is dead, d'Estaing wounded. 1500 French dead, 72 rebels dead! That was splendid! Now the south is ours again! Splendid!"

"NORTH EDISTO, SOUTH CAROLINA,
"February 10, 1780.

"TO HERR H. . . . COUNSELLOR OF THE COURT.

"We are going to Charleston with 7000 men! to take it. Since December 19 we are aboard ship, much to our discomfort. Six ships have foundered, ten are scattered, and half the remainder have sprung a-leak, are dismasted or are minus their boats. We experienced a storm lasting fifteen days. We arrived at Savannah where d'Estaing was so gloriously defeated. Now, however, we have run up the North Edisto river, and I think we are going to John's Island. Charleston is well fortified. Shall write to you, when we have returned hale and sound to New York, if not sooner. Divine Providence, which hath given me thousands and thousands of proofs of its power and goodness,

will and can preserve me;—and if I shall die, and my bullet is already moulded; May God grant that I die a Christian and a Hero!

“My letter is a short one. If possible conceal from my parents the fact that I am now serving in front of Charleston, until you hear of its capture, for there will be some stubborn fighting. There are 5000 men in the town and 18 ships. Fort Johnson and Sullivan’s Island are both occupied.—Lincoln is in command there.—Adieu!”

“CHARLESTON NECK IN SOUTH CAROLINA,
“IN THE TRENCHES BEFORE THE CITY, April 27, 1780.

“MY DEAR BROTHER.

“The other day while reporting to General Clinton of a patrol, Capt. von Meyern gave me your letter of July 27, and to day a light Infantry officer handed me yours of October 30, 1779. That I should answer each and every letter in the midst of an active siege, where we Jägers are needed so much,—no one will expect, and if any one were to demand it, let him demand! I cannot help it! All that we have had to undergo in America hitherto is nothing in comparison with the present.—Bombs and Twenty-four Pounders, Rifles, and two-pronged Mattocks,—Bullets are whizzing around us thicker every day, thicker than the powder and puff balls do around a coquette when at her toilette while preparing herself for fresh conquests! I have just received word that a Jäger of my division has been killed by a cannon ball.”

“MY DEAR BROTHER. “PHILIPSHILL, July 4th, 1780.

“... Since that time Charleston is ours, and we have returned to New York, crowned with Victory and Honor. My wish has been granted!

“Clinton’s entire army to the very last man has comprehended that it was the Jägers alone who humbled the foe, that their intrepid courage, their indefatigable energy alone was able to silence 80 cannon of from 24 to 32 pounders, and with imminent jeopardy to bring into their works 600 of the enemy.

"God was with us, and preserved us, so that out of a million of bullets few did strike. Laughing eyes now beam upon us, and an incessant cheer is our reward, whenever a Briton sees the Greencoats. The General has thanked us publicly, and our General von Knyphausen received us with the warmest joy when we returned. O how joyous the thought; to have fulfilled one's duty wholly, and not from selfish motives!—How gratifying are the expressions of gratitude when we feel that we have deserved them!—Exact service, incessant labor, both mental and physical;—add to these the varied and oftentimes insalubrious climate;—no wonder that I am tired out, and can allow myself as yet no relaxation, much less give any detailed account of my adventures. Enough that I am alive and feel conscious of being loved and honored."

"PHILIPSBOROUGH, July 6, 1780.

"TO HERR H. . . . COUNSELLOR OF THE COURT.

"Aha! Were not the Frenchmen and Arch-rebels nicely gulled! But it cost some sweat!—None, save Clinton, would have dared to weather the sea during so dangerous a season: We endured for twenty-five days without intermission a storm raged, and storms in December and January on the coast of Carolina,—well they are terrible!—Here a ship sank,—there another was dismasted,—a third was in tow,—a fourth had neither sails nor rudder. It seemed as if more billows plunged over us than went underneath. Sometimes we had to lay-to for five and six days at a time; it was jolly, but it is now over! We got there anyhow! But there you should have seen the dance of a six weeks' cannonade, and we were short of ordnance too, the artillery ship having foundered, and then the Jägers had to silence the 24 pounders of a fort with their rifles. That was headwork, and a work of art. The English now praise us and every one shouts hurrah! when they see a Jäger. That was a feat. The enemy had 311 cannon at Charleston with 22 mortars, which struck up a splendid 'allegro' and often so sweeping a 'Presto,' that many a one lost sight and hearing. But to speak in earnest.

How do you like this for a winter's work!—It was terrible, and only well disciplined troops, such as ours were, fit for the work. What would have become of America, if this nucleus of the Army had been lost? I dare not think of it. To give you a minute description of our trials and procedure, is impossible. My head and hands are now too full of work, but as soon as an opportunity presents itself, you shall have an extract of the journals, as I have now engaged two amanuenses.

“Your friend has been honored, I know that you will rejoice thereat, therefore I write to you. The influence that Charleston has upon the commerce of the enemy is evident. Here was the store-house of all their products, by which alone the Americans were able to pay their debts to France.—Hence, Carolina was the cynosure of France, as the cultivation of, and traffic in, Indigo, Rice and Cotton were too lucrative not to make them their own as much as possible.

“Upon our return to New York we found General Knyphausen in the Jerseys. Knyphausen has acquired immortal fame, is adored by all, and is regarded as the most prudent general.—He had yielded to the representations of old Robertson, who assured him, that as soon as our troops would but appear there, half of the enemy's army would come over to our side.—But they came with powder and ball.—Our Jäger Corps lost one officer;—seven officers were wounded. Of Subaltern officers and privates there are about one hundred dead and wounded. That fun cost us dearer than the heavy siege of Charleston. The enemy attacked us with the bayonet more than once, but our Jägers held their own and gained fresh laurels in the Jerseys. General Knyphausen was of the opinion that General Clinton would land in either the Chesapeake or Delaware, and for that reason he was persuaded to make a diversion into the Jerseys. But as soon as he learned that Clinton had arrived, his troops retreated and joined us at Philipshill, where the entire army betook themselves once more to their old camp of last year, and there we are

now quartered. The remnant of the 44th, and of the Losberg Regiment who escaped the storm last year, have gone to Halifax a month ago, and We! . . . are waiting until the burning heat of July and August have passed, then we shall again go aboard of ships and a-filibustering go on the coast of Virginia and Maryland. What do you think of the raving declaration of Russia, of the so-called neutrality? But in the end England must conquer, and Bourbon be humbled, humiliated deep into the dust, Mynheer van Amsterdam must pay the charges and Russia mortified:—for now the English nation is on the brink of ruin, but will be united when compelled by necessity,—and if England is united within herself, who can harm her?”

“PHILIPS-HILL, July 9, 1780.

“MY DEAR BROTHER.

“Merely my dear brother to inform you that I am still alive, and active, I write this little billet. The enemy has made a move with three brigades towards White Plains, and seventy-four French vessels with 10,000 men on board under Rochambeau are said to have entered the Delaware, others again declare that they have seen them off Sandy Hook.—Let them come, and would that they were here.—They would get a sound thrashing and enough of it, and the powdered and perfumed Gaul would be reduced to monads and atoms. But at Halifax and Penobscot, they may be able to engage in an advantageous enterprise, but if they should try New York, they certainly will be whipped.”

THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM PENN.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

(Continued from page 97.)

XII. WILLIAM PENN, THIRD, AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

The several family lines descended from William Penn the Founder have now all been traced except one,—that resulting from the marriage of his grandson, William Penn, 3d, and Christian Forbes. In the present chapter it is proposed to follow this line to existing generations.

William Penn, 3d, son of William Penn, Jr., and his wife, Mary Jones, was born at Worminghurst, March 21, 1702/3. The allusion to his birth, "we are now major, minor, and minimus," in a letter from the Founder to Logan, may be recalled. His childhood and youth were probably passed largely in the care of his mother and of his step-grandmother, Hannah Penn. He was seventeen years old at the death of his father, 1720. When a young man he appears to have spent some time in Ireland.¹ In 1730/1 the death of his elder brother, Springett Penn, unmarried, brought to him the heirship of the remaining estates of the elder line. They included the old estate, "Shangarry," in Ireland, with which he was especially associated during the remaining years of his life, and a place in Sussex, in England, "The Rocks," which I presume to have been a remnant from the inheritance of the Founder's first wife, Gulielma Maria Springett, whose possession descended in the elder line.

Following upon his succession, the first event of impor-

¹ A letter to him from Thomas Penn, in London, March 5, 1729/30, is addressed to "William Penn, Esq., at Thomas Griffith's, Apothecary, on the Blind Key, in Dublin, Ireland." It begins "Dear Will."

tance—and an interesting one—was his marriage, on the 7th of Tenth month (December), 1732, to Christian, daughter of Alexander and Jane Forbes. The certificate follows:

The 7th of the 10 Mo. 1732.

WILLIAM PENN of Kingston Bowrey in the County of Sussex Esq, son of William Penn late of Worminghurst in the said County Esq. Deceased, & Mary his wife him surviving and CHRISTIAN FORBES daughter of Alexander Forbes of London, merchant, & Jane his wife, Having publickly declared their intentions of taking each other in marriage before several meetings of the people of God called Quakers in Wandsworth in the County of Surry according to the good order used amongst them whose proceedings therein after due enquiry and deliberate consideration thereof with regard unto the righteous Law of God were allowed by the said meetings they appearing clear of all others and having consent of Parents & Relations concern'd. NOW THESE ARE TO CERTIFIE all whom it may concern that for the full accomplishing of their s^d marriage this 7th day of the month called December in the year 1732 They the s^d William Penn and Christian Forbes appeared in a publick assembly of the aforesaid people, & others met together for that end in their meeting house near Devonshire Square in London. And in a solemn manner he the said William Penn taking the s^d Christian Forbes by the hand did openly declare as followeth. Friends in the presence of God & this assembly whom I desire to be my witnesses I take this my Dear Friend Christian Forbes to be my wife promising by Divine Assistance to be to her a faithful & loving husband till by death we are separated. And then & there in the said Assembly the said Christian Forbes did in like manner declare as followeth, Friends in the fear of God & presence of this Assembly whom I desire to be my witnesses I take this my Friend William Penn to be my husband & promise by the Lord's Assistance to be unto him a faithful & loving wife till by death we are separated. And the said William Penn & Christian Forbes as a farther confirmation thereof & in testimony thereunto, did then & there to these Presents set their hands.

We whose names are hereunto	{ WILLIAM PENN.
subscribed being present	{ CHRISTIAN FORBES.

Among others at the solemnizing of the above said Marriage & sub-

scription in manner aforesaid as witnesses hereunto have also to these presents subscribed our names the day & year above written.

Ann Forbes	Eliz Knight	Mary Penn
Alex. Forbes Jun.	Martha Stafford	Alexr Forbes
Jo. Coysgarne	Priscilla Barclay	Jane Forbes
Eliz. Coysgarne	James Barclay	Jno. Forbes
Da. Barclay	Martha Moys	Barbara Forbes
Mary Banks	Richd Moys	James Hoskins
Joseph Todd	Wm. Hughes	Jno. Trubshaw
Is. Collinson	Nat Cole	Wm. Howard
Tho. Richardson	Jesse Poole	Tho. Poole
Mary Hodges	Phil. Elliot	Tho. Zachary
Jno. Wilson	Osgood Gee	Eliz. Wells
Rt. Gerard	[and many more]	Eliz. Charter
Mary Falconer		Patience Barclay
Alex. Barclay		Jno. Falkner.
Eliz. Barclay		

[Certified to be an Extract from the Register, numbered Society of Friends 958, and entitled a Register of Marriages formerly kept by the Society of Friends at the Monthly Meeting at Kingston.—From the General Register Office, Somerset House, London.]

This was, it will be seen, strictly a Friends' wedding. The departure from the Society of William Penn, Jr., after his visit to Philadelphia in 1704, had probably influenced his wife and children also, and Gulielma Maria (Fell), as we have seen, was "publicly baptized" in St. Paul, Covent Garden, in 1723 or 1724. In the present case, however, William, deeply in love with "Chrissie" Forbes, returned, for a time at least, to the faith of his great ancestor. A letter from his uncle John Penn to Thomas Penn (then in Pennsylvania), from Feens, 1st October, 1732, makes this announcement:

"My Coz^a Will Penn has cutt of his buttons, Left of his Sword & Ruffles, & appears a plain Quaker, he will Certainly be marry'd very soon at Meeting to Miss Chrissie Forbes."

And a few weeks later we have another letter from John to Thomas, dated at Feens, 28th January, 1732/3, the following passage savoring, one must admit, something of levity:

"I must begin with acquainting you of the Conversion and Marriage of our Nephew Wm Penn, with the daughter of Alexander Forbes,

which was Solemnized on the 7th of Last Month at Devonshire house Meeting before a numerous Assembly to the Consolation of Thousands of the Righteous, who are full of the Prophecy of Robert Haddock the last Yearly Meeting was Twelve Months, which was that in Two years time the Young man should be made a Brave Instrument in the hand of the Lord for the Conversion of many, therefore it is believed that in the next Yearly Meeting he will come forth in a Powerfull manner."

The marriage, indeed, had encountered other impediments than those which could be removed by the laying aside of sword and ruffles. William was not clear of prior engagements of marriage. He had, it seems, entered into a matrimonial contract, more or less formal, in Ireland, with a young lady named Ann Mansell, "and his intended bride had to listen," in the Friends' meeting at Wandsworth (near London), "to the reading of documents connected with his former love affair, including a full release from Ann Mansell and her family, in consideration of William Penn's having paid £1000 in compensation for his breach of promise."¹

The bride, Christian Forbes, is described as a lovely girl of a notably pious character. She was quite young—in her eighteenth year—at the time of her marriage. Her father, Alexander Forbes, was a son of John Forbes, of Aquorthies, near Aberdeen, in Scotland, and her mother, Jean, was a daughter of Robert Barclay, of Ury, author of the famous Quaker book the "Apology." Between these two families, Forbes and Barclay, very intimate relations existed: three sons of John Forbes (Timothy, James, and Alexander) had married three daughters of Robert Barclay (Patience, Catharine, and Jean). Aquorthies and Ury are neighboring estates, and in the Quaker movement in the later half of the seventeenth century both families had earnestly joined.²

¹ Beck and Ball's "London Yearly Meetings," p. 323.

² In the social and ecclesiastical friction that was evolved, members of both families had been imprisoned in the gaol at Aberdeen, and had suffered some losses of property. The Barclays, Robert and his father Colonel David, are well known in many ways; Besse, in his "Sufferings" of the Friends, mentions John Forbes, of Aquorthies, as in prison at Aberdeen, 1677, and as otherwise persecuted.

The young bride was descended through her mother's family, the Barclays, from the royal family of the Stuarts. Robert Barclay's mother, the wife of Colonel David Barclay, of Ury, who served under Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War,¹ was Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon, who was the second son of the Earl of Sutherland, and a cousin to King James VI. of Scotland, who became James I. of the United Kingdom.²

The married life of William Penn, 3d, and his young wife was, however, pathetically brief. She died inside the year (November 1, 1733) of illness following upon the birth of her child, a daughter, on the 22d of October. Her funeral occurred at Jordans ground on the 7th of the month. The journal of Rebekah Butterfield says, "7th of 9th month, 1733. Daniel Bell and John Fallowfield was at Jordans, att y^e burial of William Pen's wife, daughter of Alex. Forbes." The daughter, Christiana Gulielma Penn, survived, and it is through her, subsequently married to Peter Gaskell, that all the Penn descendants of the elder line are derived. There is a sketch of the mother, Christian (Forbes) Penn, in "Piety Promoted," Part X., London (1810), edited by Joseph Gurney Bevan,—a collection of Quaker memorials,—in which her religious character is highly extolled. Her age at her death is stated as eighteen years and a quarter.

Christiana Gulielma Penn, the daughter, was reared in the family of her grandfather Forbes, at Dowgate Hill, the London home, and at Aquorthies. Letters show that for some time, at least, Alexander Forbes took a helpful interest, as his large means enabled him to do, in his son-in-law.

¹ Whittier's poem, "Barclay of Ury," and its lines—

"him who stood
Ankle deep in Lutsen's blood
With the brave Gustavus"—

are familiar.

² Through this marriage of Colonel David Barclay to Lady Catharine Gordon their descendants trace their descent back through all the English kings, beginning with Richard II., to Alfred. (Browning's "Americans of Royal Descent," edition of 1894, p 554.)

John Penn, in the letter to Thomas, January 28, 1782/3, already cited, says,—

"I am very sorry it is not in my Power to Satisfy my Coz^a William Penn, but it is not, without acting very much to my disadvantage, wherefore he must Stay [wait] which I hope he can do, for some time, for he lives now with Alexander Forbes, & is at very little Expence."

In the adjustment of the Proprietary rights in 1731 (after the death of Springett Penn), John, Thomas, and Richard Penn gave William Penn, 3d, five thousand five hundred pounds for his claim, secured by a mortgage on the Pennsylvania proprietorship. On this mortgage Alexander Forbes lent William Penn two thousand five hundred pounds. (The mortgage was finally extinguished by the three Proprietaries, January 29, 1740.¹) In a letter to John Penn, from London, April 20, 1736, asking for interest due "last midsummer," on the mortgage, Alexander Forbes mentions his need for it, as he is helping William Penn to raise some money immediately, his affairs being in such shape "that there is a necessity," etc. Alexander Forbes, it may be added here, died May 25, 1740. The *Gentleman's Magazine* records the death, under that date, of "Mr. Alex. Forbes, London Merchant, of great Worth and Reputation."²

William Penn, 3d, married a second time, Twelfth month (February) 13, 1736/7, Ann Vaux.³ She was the daughter of Isaac Vaux, of London, and granddaughter of George Vaux, of Reigate, mentioned by Besse in his "Sufferings" of the Friends, as fined, etc., in 1683. Ann's uncle, George Vaux, a physician of Reigate, who died 1741, was a distinguished linguist and antiquarian.

This second marriage was marred, as was the first, by

¹ Breviate in the Boundary Case, pp. 447, 448, 462, 504.

² Several of the Forbes family, Mr. Summers says ("Memories of Jordans and the Chalfonts"), lie buried at Jordans.

³ A letter dated a few months earlier, July 20, 1736, at Battersea, from William Penn, 3d, to Thomas Penn, then in Pennsylvania, is published in *The Literary Era*, Philadelphia, May, 1898. It is a well-expressed communication, and refers mainly to the Pennsbury Manor property in Pennsylvania.

unlooked-for circumstances, but of a different sort. William and Ann appear to have removed to Ireland, and they were living in Cork in March, 1738, when a son was born. The Friends' records of Cork contain this entry :

"Springett Penn, son of William Penn, and Anne his wife, was born at their dwelling-house in Ballyphechane, in the South Liberties of the County of this City, between the hours of 8 and 9 in the evening, the first day of the First Month, 1738.

"N. B.—The above memorial was delivered me by the hand of William, the father of the above Springett, and desired it may be registered in this book.—JOSHUA WIGHT."

The matrimonial troubles of William and Ann must have followed soon. Apparently she left him and went to London, and he charged her with one of the gravest of offences. A letter from him, in January, 1741/2, is among the collection preserved by Thomas Penn. It is addressed to Thomas Penn, who was then in Pennsylvania :

"DR UNCLE THOMAS

"I wrote thee two lett^{rs} in answ^r to thine from Plymouth & Philadelphia. I hope thou hast received them both wth I have no acc^t of yet; I hear that thou hast money of mine in thy hands, if so, I desire thee to let me know w^t y^e sum is that I may give thee a proper rec^t for it and have it lodged in y^e hands of Freame & Barclay, in Lombard Street, because it may prevent my remitting money from here in order to carry on a suit I have in Doctors' Commons for a divorce, y^e occasion of w^{ch} I presume thou hast heard of, therefore I begg a speedy answ^r to this, for y^e Term is drawing on apace & I must supply my Proctor by a remittance from hence in case thou had no money due to me, or that should not be sufficient. I am, wth my d^r love to you all,

"Thy very aff^{te} kinsman,

"WM PENN

"DUBLIN, Jany 12th 1741

"I directed my former letters to y^e Pennsylvania coffee house."

William Penn, 3d, continued to live in Ireland until his death. Letters to Thomas Penn, in 1741, are dated at Dublin; they represent his desire to sell his interest in the Pennsbury estate in Pennsylvania (which was not, however, accomplished), and mention "my house at the Rocks,

in Sussex." A note from Thomas Penn, at Kensington, January 5, 1743, addressed "To the Housekeeper at Wm. Penn Esq.'s House at the Rocks," says,—

"I have sent the bearer Danl Chandler down to view the underwood belonging to the Rocks Farm, by order of my Nephew, and send this to desire you will provide for him and his horse at the house while he stays."¹

Further letters from William Penn, 8d, to Thomas Penn disclose facts of interest. April 20, 1746, he writes from Cork, speaking of the death of his aunt Letitia Aubrey, and the provisions of her will; he mention that his own plate is in pawn "with Benn: Pike" for thirty pounds. A few days later, April 29, he again writes from Cork,—

". . . I received yours, with a copy of the Inventory of Aunt Aubrey's Goods. I desire the Beds, Quilts, & Blankets, all of y^e Linen and all of y^e Plate² may be sent hither to me soon as possible. Burches

¹ On the back of this Ann Mercer (the housekeeper, no doubt) notes the receipt of ten shillings "for Danl. Chandler's charges at the Rock Farm."

² The plate belonging to Letitia Aubrey does not appear to have been divided until some time later. The following memorandum is in the Penn papers:

"An account of Plate belonging to y^e Estate of Mrs. Letitia Aubrey, deceased, & divided this seventh day of July, 1749, between William Penn Esq^r deceased and Mrs. Christiana Gulielma Penn, the residuary legatees:

"To Mr. William Penn for his share:

"One Sawspan, a porringer, 2 candle-sticks, snuffers, and stand; a punch ladle, 2 salts, 6 spoons, a punch straner, a purs spring and hook, a milk pott, 23 medals and coins. Weighing one hundred and twenty ounces, at 5s. 8d. £31 10s.

"To Mrs. Christiana Gulielma Penn for her share:

"One coffee pott, 3 castors, a hand candle-stick, a porringer, a soup ladle, a skimmer, 2 wax candlesticks, a tea Canister, a spoon boat, a child's sawspan, 2 salts, 1 Extinguisher, a silver cha. and frame, 1 bobin case and thimble, 1 snuff-box, 8 teaspoons, a tongs, and straner; a nutmeg grater, 2 ink horns, a plain box, 3 small box's, a clasp, a purs spring, a watch hook, a bedkin, a pensil, 14 medals and coins. Weighing one hundred and twenty ounces.

"Gold, viz.: a Gold box, a pincushin, hoop & chaine; 2 morning

will take y^e trouble of getting them shipped & Dispose of y^e rem^{ts} upon as good terms as possible. Y^e money arising thence, as well as y^e ready money left Chrissy [his daughter] and me I desire may be remitted into Ben: Pike's hands. [He concludes] with dear love to all yo^r family as if named, yo^r very aff^o kinsman & sincere friend."

August 5, 1746, he writes to Thomas Penn, asking news of his uncle John Penn (who died October 25 following), for whom he expresses affection; nothing, he says, keeps him from going to see him "but a wicked woman, worse than all earthly things, who stands in the way and hinders me."¹ He asks Thomas to address him "at Shannagarry, near Middleton, as usual." Finally, December 24, 1746, he writes to Thomas Penn, presenting condolences on John's death, and says,—

"It is no time to trouble thee about business, wth I shall omit. I am indeed in a very indifferent state of health myself, a Scorbutick humour attended wth a Dropsical one. I'm heartily concerned at the misfortunes of Aunt Marg^t."

This letter very shortly preceded his own death. The Friends' records at Cork state,—

"William Penn died at his house at Shangarry, about 15 miles from Cork, of a dropsy, 12 month [February] 6, 1746/7."

His will was dated 17th of Tenth month (December), 1743, and appears not to have been proved in England until March 15, 1760, when his son Springett presented it as executor.² The will appoints John Penn and Thomas Penn guardians of the children during the minority of Springett,

rings, 6 pieces of gold coins, a tag and mask bead. Weighing 4 ounces, 4 dwts., at £3 18s. an ounce. Val. £15 6s. 6d.

"6 shell teaspoons garnished with silver—9.

"Weighed and valued by me, Richard Langton."

[A memorandum is appended of some articles purchased by R. L.]

¹ This suggests that in the proceedings between the pair the legal situation made it inexpedient for William to come into England. Whether the strong expression he applies to his wife was justified I do not undertake to say.

² Memorandum on copy of will in Friends' collections at Devonshire House, London.

and he to be executor when he shall attain the age of twenty-one. To the widow William leaves one shilling, and states his reason for this with candor: "Whereas my present wife, Ann Penn, otherwise Vaux, some years ago eloped from me, and hath ever since continued without any reasonable Cause to live separate from me . . . whereby I am advised that she hath forfeited all Right to Dower and Thirds out of my Real & Personal Estate," etc.

Springett Penn, the son of William, 8d, and Ann, then a boy eight years old, appears to have been at school at Lismore, Ireland, at his father's death. Thomas Lowder, the master, wrote, February 23, 1746/7, to Thomas Penn, asking instructions, especially in case the mother should claim the boy. Later other letters and statements of account followed. A letter from Lowder to Thomas Penn, August 17, 1747, says of the lad, "He is indeed a very tractable and hopeful child, with the best capacity. His dutiful respects he desires may be sent to you." June 30, 1748, Thomas Penn sends £29 10s. 3d. to pay Lowder's bill for a year's tuition, board, clothes, etc. Replying to this, Lowder writes, July 7, and says Springett has now been two years under his care; he cannot write much, he says, and this is pretty well evidenced by a letter of duty on the same sheet from Springett,—a very juvenile attempt, in large characters. Later Springett was sent to school to Gilbert Thompson, at "Sankey," and a letter from him, dated there November 15, 1749, is much improved in all respects. He seems, from allusions in a letter of Thompson's to the weakness of his legs, etc., not to have been in vigorous health. In November, 1750, Thompson writes to Thomas Penn that the boy set off in the stage-coach that morning for "home," and "should arrive at the Bell Inn, in Wood street, either on 6th day or 7th at the furthest, being the 23d or 24th inst., as the roads may be."

Thomas Penn no doubt had charge of Springett and of his affairs. Ann Mercer, housekeeper at "The Rocks," sends Thomas an estimate of repairs, January 4, 1749, dated "Rocks House." The brew-house and grainary, she says,

need attention. "The house wants tiling, I am obliged to set many things about to catch the water, it should have been done last summer, but I suppose thee forgot it." In a note from Thomas Hyam & Son, London, November 10, 1751, to Thomas Penn, they notify him that they have bought, "according to thy order," a lottery ticket, No. 14,242, "for which we were obliged to give £12 11s. 'Tis an extravagant price, but they have been at £12 14s. this afternoon; the Eagerness of People after them is quite surprising." On the letter a memorandum in another hand, doubtless that of Thomas Penn, says,—

"This ticket is for the benefit of
Springet Penn
Philadelphia Hannah Freame
William Branson Hockley, &
his sister Mary Hockley."

Whether it drew a prize is not stated; we fear not.

The relations later of Springett Penn and his uncle Thomas were not uniformly cordial. April 25, 1760, Springett writes to Thomas, from Ealing, and after a brief condolence on "your great loss" (Thomas's son William had died only the day before), quickly turns to business, and concludes, "Therefore, sir, must desire that you let me have in three days at the farthest, all my papers without exception, that there may be no more troubles, delays, or mistakes whatsoever." To this Thomas sent an indignant, brief answer, from "Marybone, April 26;" he charges Springett with "ingratitude" and "inhumanity:" "am now," he says, "attending the body of my son, and cannot think of any business of my own till he is interred," nor that of any one. He desires to break off all further communication, and directs Springett to send to Mr. Heaton, his attorney. Later, May 6, Springett writes from "Broad Street Buildings" that his attorney is Mr. Thomas Life, at that address. "I hope," he says, "my Aunt and Cousins are well, and I am y^r dutiful Nephew." To this Thomas replied that he had sent the deeds to Mr. Heaton, "this morning, and have desired he will confer with Mr. Life about your affairs."

Again, May 27, Springett writes from Great Ealing, desiring an interview, and this Thomas writes declining, referring him to his attorney, "as I have met with a Treatment from you I think very improper, and that it is owing to your being under an influence which I think is not for your honour or service."¹

Later correspondence indicates an improvement of relations. A letter from Springett at Dublin, June 16, 1764, speaks of an offer from Thomas for his interest in Pennsbury. Finally, this last male bearing the name of Penn, descended from William Penn and Gulielma Maria

¹ There is a letter from Benjamin Franklin, in London, May 9, 1761, to Edward Penington, Philadelphia, in which the writer—who would have much regretted to overlook any serious defects of Thomas Penn—explains at length the representations made to him by "Mr. Springett Penn," who he says is "a very sensible, discreet young man, with excellent dispositions." The substance of the letter is that Springett believes his uncle Thomas has tried to keep him ignorant of his property rights, in order, he intimates, to defraud him. Springett particularly wants to know about a manor of seventy-five thousand acres on the Susquehanna, said to have been surveyed for his uncle Springett, 2d, by Sir William Keith, and he wishes to know the value of Pennsbury, the full title to which Uncle Thomas is desirous to acquire. The following passage from the letter may be given in full:

"There has by his account been something very mysterious in the conduct of his uncle, Mr. Thomas Penn, towards him. He was his guardian; but instead of endeavoring to educate him at home, under his eye, in a manner becoming the elder branch of their house, has from his infancy been endeavoring to get rid of him. He first proposed sending him to the East Indies. When that was declined he had a scheme of sending him to Russia; but the young gentleman's mother absolutely refusing to let him go out of the kingdom, unless to Pennsylvania, to be educated at the college there, he would by no means hear of his going thither, but bound him an apprentice to a country attorney, in an obscure part of Sussex, which, after two years' stay, finding that he was taught nothing valuable, nor could see any company that might improve him he left, and returned to his mother, with whom he has been ever since, much neglected by his uncle," etc.

These statements bear all the marks of being inspired by Ann Penn. It is very likely that Thomas had suggested plans to get the boy away from her, which she thwarted. That Thomas wished to defraud his ward, I do not suppose. (The letter is in Bigelow's "Franklin," Vol. I. p. 422.—It seems more appropriate for the date to be 1760.)

Springett, died unmarried, at Dublin, in November, 1766. His mother wrote from that city on the 11th of that month to Thomas Penn,—

"SIR :

" I have taken the earliest opportunity my present Indisposition would admitt of acquainting you with the Irreparable loss I have sustained by the Death of my Son. He had for a considerable time a most violent cough, attended with symptoms of a Decay, which ultimately terminated in Consumption that nothing the Physicians of this Kingdom could Prescribe would stop. His Will has been opened, whereby he has left me all his Reall and Personall Fortune in Ireland and America. Nothing could Induce me to write in my Present afflicted Situation but the Respect I shall allways Endeavor to shew to his Relations that is in the power of

"Sir, Y^r Humble Serv^t

"ANN PENN."

Same to same, Dublin, November 29, 1766,—

[She is obliged by his letter of the 20th] "particularly by your prof-fers of information and services respecting affairs in Pennsylvania. I must take y^e liberty of setting you right in regard to Pennsbury, for all remainders to that Estate were barred by my son, by a recovery suffered by him under the directions and conduct of Mr. Life and Mr. Penington; y^e former can give you full satisfaction in those particulars. I lodge at Mrs. Keson's, in York street, where," etc.

Same to same, February 18, 1767, acknowledging one from Thomas Penn of January 31,—

"I always considered Mr. Life as Mr. Penn's adviser in business. [He is the proper person to advise T. P. of the steps taken to cut off the entail of the American estates. Mr. Penington had written (from Pennsylvania) that] every matter was completed. [She will sell her estate in America] for the purpose of discharging a large debt contracted by my son, as well as the heavy one due Mr. Gaskell, with which the Irish estate is encumbered." [She wishes to be on a good footing with her son's family, but complains much of "Mr. Gaskell," and goes at length into details.]

Same to same, Dublin, March 14, 1767,—

"Since my last to you I have been married to Mr. Alexander Durdin, an attorney of this City." [She now does not wish to sell the Pennsylvania property. She had given Mr. Penington power of attorney to sell

it. Mr. Durdin has gone on circuit, and will be back by the middle of April. He is not himself inclined to go to Pennsylvania; he is busy, and his business profitable.]

And this closes Mrs. Vaux-Penn-Durdin's letters. Inside a month she had quitted the scene. Edward Scriven (probably a lawyer) writes from Dublin, April 16, 1767, to Thomas Penn, saying her marriage was unknown in advance to him or others conversant with her son's affairs, and that it was formed with a person she scarcely knew. It occurred "the latter end of February." Then she continued "in a bad state of health," and "as her Physician informed me, Dyed the 13 Instant."

Alexander Durdin was, it is stated, of a family "originally from the county of Norfolk." Ann Vaux Penn was his third wife. In the brief time between her marriage to him and her death, something less than two months, she had made her will in his favor, thus carrying to him that part of the Penn property in Ireland and America which her first husband, William Penn, 3d, had left to their son, Springett, 3d, and which the latter, at his death, had left to her. Her will was dated March 11, 1767, and Alexander Durdin was by it "devisee and residuary legatee." The will also created a trusteeship, the precise nature of which I have not investigated, James Duncan (who died before March 16, 1784) and Joseph Hoare, "of Dublin, Esquire," being trustees.

Mr. Durdin promptly entered into correspondence with Thomas Penn. He writes him from Dublin, August 13, 1767. He has received a letter "from Mr. Ben: Pike in Corke," about the cutting off the entail. Mr. Penington has since sent him a "copy of the Recovery suffered by Mr. Springett Penn." He has consulted counsel, and is informed as to his rights. He will sell the Pennsylvania interest to Thomas Penn sooner than any one else; he will act fairly. His letter reads as though candid and reasonable, though it may have been neither.¹

¹ In 1784 Mr. Durdin gave letters of attorney (in which Hoare, the surviving trustee, joined) to Richard Durdin, "of the city of Dublin,

We need not, however, dwell on this branch of the subject. The second marriage episode of William Penn, 3d, closes here, with the single exception—not an unimportant one to the lawyers—that a lawsuit followed between Alexander Durdin and Christiana Gulielma (Penn) Gaskell, the half-sister of Springett Penn, which lasted out the eighteenth century. “Christiana Gulielma’s fortune was never paid,” Maria Webb says,¹ “and Durdin resisted the claims made upon him to obtain it. The result was a long suit in chancery, which did not terminate till the year 1800, when the Shangarry estate was divided between the heirs-at-law of Peter Gaskell and Alexander Durdin.” Springett’s will, it appears, was executed December 21, 1762, but the “recovery” suffered by him to bar the entail was not completed until April, 1764. An opinion by Henry Wilmot, counsel for Thomas Penn, remaining in the Penn papers, says, therefore, that as to the Pennsbury Manor Springett died intestate. In England, intestate property could not go to heirs of the half-blood,—i.e., the Gaskells; it would go to the Crown first; but Wilmot says he does not know the Pennsylvania law as to this.

We return, now, to pursue the line from Christiana Gulielma Penn, the daughter of William Penn, 3d, by his first wife, Christian Forbes. She was born, as already stated, October 22, 1733. She married Peter Gaskell, of Bath, England. From the similarity of their arms it is inferred that his family was related to the Gaskells of Lancashire, a

gentleman, eldest son of Alexander Durdin,” empowering him to take charge of the property in Pennsylvania and Delaware which had come to Alexander from his wife. One of these letters was dated March 16, 1784, and acknowledged before the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and a subsequent one, September 17, 1784, was acknowledged before the Lord Mayor of Cork. Richard Durdin, no doubt, then came to this country. He was, it is stated, a son of Alexander by his second wife, and married a Miss Esmonde, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Esmonde, of Huntington Castle, near Ferris, Ireland. Members of the Durdin family, Miss Fanny Durdin and her brother, died in Philadelphia 1812 and 1809. (*Cf. PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. V. p. 364.)

¹ “Penns and Peningtons,” p. 437, American edition.

representative of which was the family of that name at Beaumont Hall in that county, and Kiddington Hall, Oxford.¹ The home of some of his immediate ancestors, it has been stated, was Macclesfield, Cheshire.² His marriage to Christiana Gulielma Penn took place in 1761. Thomas Penn, in England, writing to William Peters, at Philadelphia, October 9 of that year, says, "Miss Penn's and Miss Freame's accounts I shall expect soon; the former is married to one Mr. Gaskell; I suppose he and his wife must send over a joint power-of-attorney." And later, December 12, same year, he writes, "Miss Christiana Penn is married to Mr. Gaskel; they send a power-of-attorney by a ship that is expected to go soon for Philadelphia to you and Mr. Hockley, to finish the sale of her land."

Peters and Hockley had been Miss Penn's agents before her marriage; she had given them her letter of attorney, March 5, 1755, some months after she came of age. She describes herself in the letter as "of London, spinster." From her great-aunt, Letitia Aubrey, she had inherited valuable lots and lands in the city of Philadelphia, the old Manor of Mount Joy (Upper Merion Township), and Fagg's Manor.³ These several properties continued to be

¹ Cf. Burke, "County Families," edition of 1868.

² Statement of Peter Penn-Gaskell Hall to the author.—A member of the family, writing late in the last century, describes a visit to the grave of Peter Gaskell's grandfather, at or near Macclesfield.—Martin, "History of Chester (Pennsylvania)," in connection with remarks on the Penn-Gaskells, refers to "the Gaskells of Rolfe's Hold, Bucks."

³ Fagg's Manor was created by William Penn in 1682, being a grant of fifty thousand acres to Sir John Fagg, as trustee for his (W. P.'s) wife and children. It was not laid out until 1700, when Penn was in Pennsylvania the second time, and perhaps not more than thirty thousand acres were located. It included in part several townships of southern Chester County, and extended over the line into Newcastle County, Delaware. Letitia Aubrey's share appears to have been at least seven thousand one hundred and seventy-five acres (Futhey and Cope's "History of Chester County, Pennsylvania"). Peters and Hockley sold in 1758 for C. G. Penn several tracts in this manor, one of which, it is stated,—one hundred and eighty two and a half acres, sold to Thomas Charlton,—remains (1897) partly or entirely in the ownership of his

objects of concern and attention by her several agents from the time stated, 1755, down to her death in 1803. Space cannot be afforded here to go into the subject, but a complete examination of the record offices for Philadelphia and Chester Counties would develop a vast mass of business and legal details of some interest, as showing the connection of the Penn family, in its elder branch, with the soil of Pennsylvania. Besides William Peters and Richard Hockley, other agents were Miers Fisher, Thomas Clifford, and John Abraham de Normandie, who were constituted in 1785, on the death of Peter Gaskell; Edward Edwards, constituted 1794; Israel Morris, of Harford County, Maryland; and Christiana Gulielma's son, Peter Gaskell (afterwards Peter Penn-Gaskell), who came to this country about 1785, probably upon his father's decease.

In 1774 proceedings were begun to effect a "common recovery" of entailed family property in Philadelphia, in which the Gaskells represented a three-fourths interest (derived two-fourths from Christiana Gulielma's uncle Springett and one-fourth from her father), while the other one-fourth was the share of the Fell-Thomas branch, represented at that time by "Charles Hurst and others," with whom a partition was effected in 1775. A suit for damages brought by Hurst and John Barron against Christiana Gulielma Gaskell resulted in a judgment for the plaintiffs, in the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia County, at the June Term, 1786, for four thousand five hundred and thirty-six pounds, with costs, and a number of the defendant's city properties were levied on by the sheriff, and some sold, before a settlement was effected, January 1, 1790.

In 1785 Peter Gaskell died. The children of himself and wife are stated as five in number, as follows: ¹

grandson of the same name. Sir John Fagg was a cousin of William Penn the Founder's first wife; the mother of Mary Proude (Springett-Penington) was Ann Fagg. (*Cf.* brief table, *ante.*)

¹ Browning, "Americans of Royal Descent;" Thomas Gilpin's "Chart of Penn Family;" MS. sketch, by C. R. Hildeburn, in collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. *Cf.* also Burke's "Landed Gentry," edition of 1879.

1. Thomas Penn-Gaskell, who inherited the Irish and other property. He is described as of Shangarry (or Shanagarry), and died at Dublin, Ireland, in 1823, without living issue. A contemporary obituary notice says,—

“Died at his house, in Fitzwilliam-Square, Dublin, on the 19th of October, 1823, aged 61, Thomas Penn Gaskell, of Shanagarry, in the county of Cork, Esq. This gentleman was the heir-general of the celebrated legislator William Penn. . . . His estate in the county of Cork Mr. Gaskell inherited by lineal succession from his illustrious ancestor, Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn. . . . After being engaged forty years in a suit in the Irish Chancery, and expending upward of £20,000, he obtained a decree to possess his estate.¹ He married in the year 1794, a daughter of the Dowager Countess of Glandore, who lived but a few years; they had only one son, who died an infant. After so much affliction he retired from the world and lived a very secluded life.”

His Irish property descended to his brother next named.

2. Peter Penn-Gaskell. See below.

3. Alexander Forbes Gaskell (or Penn-Gaskell), *d. s. p.*

4. William Gaskell (or Penn-Gaskell), of London, who had two children: (1) William Penn-Gaskell, born February 20, 1808; (2) Elizabeth, *d. s. p.* Of these, William married and had ten children, the youngest of whom is George Penn-Gaskell, of (1898) No. 12, Nicoll Road, Willesden, S.W., London.

5. Jane Gaskell (or Penn-Gaskell), *d. s. p.*²

Christiana Gulielma Gaskell survived her husband eighteen years. Her mother's memorial in “Piety Promoted,” already cited, says she “died a widow at Bath, in 1803.” The place named is an error. She continued her residence at Bath for several years after her husband's death, and is so described in legal papers; but in 1795, and perhaps earlier, she is described as “of Thornhaugh street, in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, Eng-

¹ This allusion refers, perhaps, to the litigation between the Gaskells and Alexander Durdin rather than to a lawsuit by Thomas Penn-Gaskell.

² The names of Nos. 3, 4, and 5 are placed according to the order of a MS. pedigree by C. R. Hildeburn; the statement that Nos. 3 and 5 *d. s. p.* is given on the authority of Browning, “Americans of Royal Descent.”

land," and she there died. The *Gentleman's Magazine* contains the following notice :

[March, 1803] "24. At her house in Thornhaugh-street, Bedford-square [London] aged 69, Mrs. Gaskell, relict of Peter G., esq., of the city of Bath, and only daughter of Wm. Penn, esq., late of Shannagarry, co. Cork, Ireland, the grandson and heir of William Penn. . . ."

Peter Penn-Gaskell, son of Peter Gaskell and Christiana Gulielma Penn, came, as stated, to this country about 1785. He married, 1798, Elizabeth, daughter of Nathan Edwards, of Radnor, Delaware County, Pennsylvania. He died July 16, 1831, as stated by the inscription on his tombstone in the Baptist Church of Lower Merion, Pennsylvania, which adds that his age was sixty-eight years, thus fixing his birth as in 1763. He purchased, 1796, three years after his marriage, of John Bewley, a tract of land and residence in Radnor (near the present railway station, Villa Nova), which he called "Ashwood," and which remained in the family possession until 1888. In 1823, upon the decease of his brother Thomas Penn-Gaskell, he came into succession as owner of the Irish property, and he was thereafter known as "of Shangarry." He assumed, "by royal license," May 31, 1824, "in compliance with the testamentary injunction of his brother," the additional surname of Penn,¹ and the family name has since so continued.

Elizabeth (Edwards) Penn-Gaskell, widow of Peter, died July 19, 1834, "aged 62 years." In her will, dated June 21, and proved September 12, 1834, she leaves three thousand dollars for tombstones to be placed over the remains of her husband, herself, and their children, in the Baptist burial-ground at Lower Merion.²

The children of Peter Penn-Gaskell and Elizabeth Edwards were eight in number, as follows :

1. William, born 1794; died unmarried October 12, 1817. Buried at Lower Merion Baptist Church.

¹ Burke's "Landed Gentry," edition of 1879.

² They were so placed, and the inscriptions upon them have been used for this essay.

2. Thomas, whom Burke ("Landed Gentry," edition of 1879) describes "of Ballymaloe, county Cork, Ireland, and Penn Hall, Montgomery county, Pa., born 1796." He was married, December 22, 1825, by Right Rev. Bishop White, to Mary, daughter of George McClenachan. He died at his home, "Penn Cottage," in Lower Merion, near Philadelphia, "at 5 o'clock," on the morning of Sunday, October 18, 1846, "in the 52nd year of his age." He was buried "in his vault," at St. John's R. C. Church, Thirteenth Street, above Chestnut, Philadelphia, on the 20th.¹ His wife Mary died December 21, 1867, "at Penn Cottage, Lower Merion," and was buried on the 24th, in the vault at St. John's, with her husband. They appear to have had no children.

8. Eliza, died unmarried, at "Ashwood," November 23, 1865, "aged 67 years," and was buried at Lower Merion. She had been resident at "Ashwood" all her life, and by her will (1861, codicil 1862) she made elaborate provision designed to preserve the ownership in the family; after partition, however, the last part of it, about fifty acres, was sold, 1888, to Dr. J. M. Da Costa, of Philadelphia.

4. Alexander Forbes, died unmarried, at "Ashwood," September 8, 1829, "aged 27 years," and was buried at Lower Merion.

5. Peter, married Louisa Heath, and had issue. See below.

6. Christiana Gulielma, married William Swabric Hall, and had issue. See below.

7. Jane, died unmarried, July 7, 1852, "aged 24 years," and was buried at Lower Merion.

8. Isaac, died unmarried, without issue, October 24, 1842, "aged 32 years," and was buried at Lower Merion. His will, dated October 23, 1842, was probated May 16, 1843, his brother, Thomas Penn-Gaskell, to whom letters of administration had previously been granted, withdrawing them and consenting to the probate, "though," the record

¹ Funeral notice in *Pennsylvania Inquirer*; "History of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick," etc., Philadelphia, 1892. The latter mentions that Thomas Penn-Gaskell became a member of the Hibernian Society, 1835.

says, "his belief of the mental incapacity of the [deceased] to make a will remains unaltered." Browning ("Americans of Royal Descent") designates Isaac Penn-Gaskell as "Dr.," and adds "of Paris."

Peter Penn-Gaskell, "of Shangarry," second of that name, son of Peter and Elizabeth, was born April 3, 1808, and married, February 15, 1825, Louisa Adelaide, daughter of Charles P. Heath. She was descended through her mother, Esther Keeley, from Captain Anthony Wayne, the grandfather of General Anthony Wayne, her great-grandmother being Esther Wayne, a first cousin of the general. Peter Penn-Gaskell, 2d, died April 6, 1866. He describes himself in his will as "of No. 1618 Chestnut street, in the City of Philadelphia," and "of Shangarry, in the county of Cork, in Ireland." His will is very long. He leaves Shangarry to his son William, and then to Peter, who received it by William's decease.

Louisa, wife of Peter Penn-Gaskell, 2d, survived him. Her will, dated June 29, 1869, was made in London, and describes her as "of Philadelphia, in the United States of America, but now residing at Eastbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, London, widow." It had three codicils added, the latest March 27, 1877, and was proved in Philadelphia July 30, 1878. The last codicil mentions her son Peter as "now living in London."

The children of Peter Penn-Gaskell, 2d, and Louisa Heath were ten in number, as follows:

1. Elizabeth, born 1828; died 1869; married Samuel Ruff Skillern, M.D., of Huntsville, Alabama. By this marriage there were two children. The younger was Louella, who died aged three years; the other was Penn-Gaskell Skillern, M.D., of Philadelphia, born April 28, 1856; married October 17, 1878, Anna Dorsey, and has issue: (1) Violet Skillern, born November 13, 1879; (2) Peter Penn-Gaskell Skillern, Jr., born March 26, 1882.

2. Louisa, married, May 15, 1845, at St. Stephen's P. E. Church, Philadelphia, by Rev. H. W. Ducachet, D.D., William Gerald Fitzgerald, of New York. (Burke's "Landed

Gentry," describes him as "of Waterford.") She died 1853, without issue.

3. Mary Gulielma, died young.

4. Gulielma, died unmarried, 1852. ("A beautiful girl, who died young."—Martin, "History of Chester, Pennsylvania.")

5. Hetty, died unmarried.

6. Mary, married, 1855, Dr. Isaac T. Coates, of Chester, Pennsylvania, and died August 22, 1877. Dr. Coates died June 28, 1883. They had one son, Harold Penn-Gaskell Coates, who married Miss Jarvis, of Philadelphia.

7. William, died unmarried, December 6, 1865, "aged 29 years." He was the oldest son, and would have inherited the family property in Great Britain. He served with credit in the national army in the war for the Union. The record¹ shows him to have been mustered into the United States service, August 9, 1862, at Camp Struthers, Philadelphia, as second lieutenant of the Independent Company of Acting Engineers (authority for recruiting which was given by the Secretary of War June 2, 1862). He was promoted to first lieutenant December 16, 1862; to captain March 30, 1863; and discharged on surgeon's certificate July 5, 1864. His death was caused by consumption, "after a lingering and distressingly painful illness." An extended obituary, signed I. T. C. (Dr. Isaac T. Coates, his brother-in-law, no doubt), published in a New Orleans newspaper, January 13, 1866, mentions the cause of his death, as stated above, and says he "breathed his last in the bosom of his family, and surrounded by every member of it . . . father . . . mother . . . sisters, and . . . brother." The notice speaks highly of his scholarship; "his acquirements for one so young were very great." Science, metaphysics, history, romance, are mentioned as familiar to him. In standard poetry he had read everything "from the Edda of the icy North to the sweet lyrics of sunny Italy." His modest and retiring character is especially dwelt on, "yet when his sweet voice was

¹ Bates's "History of Pennsylvania Volunteers," Vol. V. p. 919.

heard, dignity of speech, good sense, and social eloquence always accompanied it."

8. Jane, who married Washington Irving, U.S.N. (a nephew, it is stated, of the eminent author), and died 1863, without issue.

9. Emily, married, 1864, John Paul Quinn, M.D., surgeon U.S.N., and had one son, Granville Penn-Gaskell Quinn, who died 1893, aged twenty-two.

10. Peter, born October 24, 1843, who succeeded to the family property on the death of his father, 1866, and has since resided abroad, mostly in London. He served with distinction on the national side in the American civil war. He was commissioned second lieutenant in the First Regiment New Jersey Cavalry April 7, 1862, and first lieutenant November 7, 1862; was promoted to captain October 28, 1863, and resigned February 3, 1864, to become major of the Second Louisiana Cavalry, in which position he served until September 7, 1864. He married, July 6, 1869, Mary Kathleen, eldest daughter of Charles Edward Stubbs, Esq., of Sussex Square, Hyde Park, London, formerly of Lima, Peru. Some time after his marriage Mr. Penn-Gaskell visited this country. The portrait of William Penn (following the painting in armor), engraved by W. G. Armstrong, and placed as the frontispiece to the first volume of the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*, was inscribed to him, 1877, by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Accompanying this engraving are the arms of Penn-Gaskell of Shangarry. As described by Burke they are:

"Quarterly: 1st and 4th, or, three bars engrailed vert, in chief a rose gu. barbed and seeded ppr., between two trefoils slipped of the second, for GASKELL; 2d and 3d the arms of PENN, viz., arg., on a fess sa. three plates a canton, gu., thereon a crown, ppr., representing the royal crown of King Charles II. Crests for *Gaskell*: A sinister arm embowed with an anchor erect with cable sa. *Motto* over, 'Spes.' Of *Penn*: a demi-lion arg., gorged with a collar sa., charged with three plates. *Motto* over, 'Pennsylvania.'"

The children of Peter and Mary Kathleen Penn-Gaskell are three in number: William, Winifred, Percy.

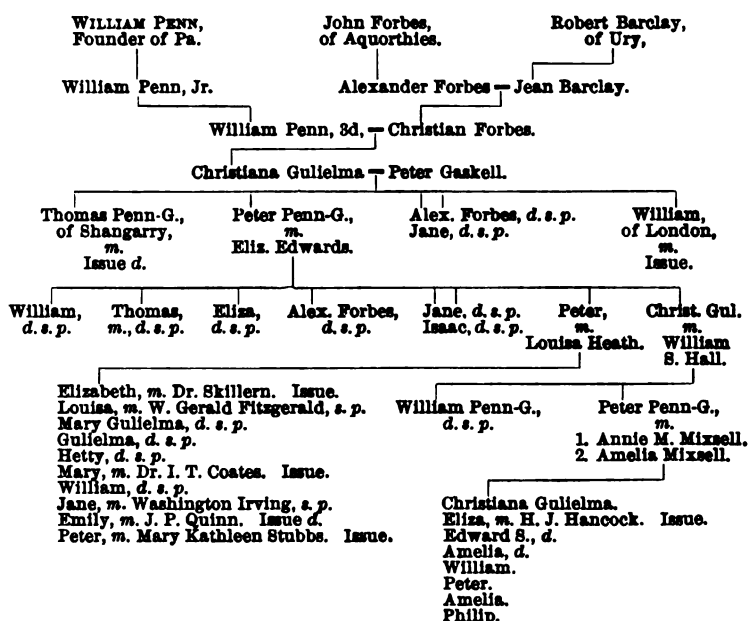
Christiana Gulielma Penn-Gaskell, daughter of Peter Penn-Gaskell and Elizabeth Edwards, married, January 2, 1827, William Swabric Hall, and died March 29, 1830, "aged 24 years;" she was buried in the Baptist church-yard at Lower Merion. William Swabric Hall, born in England, near Liverpool, 1799, came to Philadelphia about 1825. He died September 26, 1862, "aged 63 years," and was buried at Lower Merion. They had two children: William Penn-Gaskell Hall, who died unmarried, May 2, 1862, aged thirty-five years, and was buried at Lower Merion, and Peter Penn-Gaskell Hall, of Philadelphia, of whom below.

Peter Penn-Gaskell Hall, second son of William S. Hall and Christiana Gulielma Penn-Gaskell, is a graduate of Princeton College (now University), New Jersey, and studied law and was admitted to the bar of Philadelphia. At the outbreak of the war against the Union, 1861, he entered the national service. He was commissioned second lieutenant of the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania Infantry May 31, 1861, and first lieutenant August 25, 1861; was honorably mustered out February 16, 1863; and was appointed additional paymaster, with the rank of major, November 6, 1863. On November 15, 1865, he was honorably mustered out. January 17, 1867, he was commissioned paymaster of the regular army of the United States, with the rank of major, and continued in that position until July 2, 1891, when he was honorably retired, having served over twenty years. He is President of the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania. He married, December 24, 1861, Annie M. Mixsell, daughter of Philip Mixsell, of Easton, Pennsylvania; she died at Vicksburg, Mississippi, February 14, 1869, and was buried at the Baptist Church, Lower Merion. Secondly, he married, at San Antonio, Texas, November, 1871, Amelia Mixsell. Issue by both marriages, eight children, as below:

1. Christiana Gulielma, born at "Ashwood" April 19, 1863.
2. Eliza, born at Baltimore, Maryland, February 1, 1865; married, July 1, 1892, Henry J. Hancock, member of the

3. Edward Swabric, born at "Ashwood" January, 1867; died at Vicksburg, Mississippi, January, 1869.
4. Amelia, born at Vicksburg, Mississippi, January, 1869; died at Holly Springs, Mississippi, May, 1869.
5. William, born at San Antonio, Texas, January 16, 1873.
6. Peter, born at New York City March 14, 1875.
7. Amelia, born at New York City February 9, 1877.
8. Philip, born at "Ashwood" September 10, 1878.

TABLE: LINE OF WILLIAM PENN. THIRD.



(To be continued.)

ORDERLY-BOOK OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE
REGIMENT OF FOOT, MAY 10 TO AUGUST 16, 1777.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Continued from page 70.)

HEAD QUARTERS July 6 1777.

Major General,—Stirling. Brigadier,—Woodford.
Field Officers, Colonel Stephens and Major Davis.

A Court of Inquiry to sit tomorrow morning at a certain place near the Park of Artillery to inquire into the conduct of the Artillery Officers whose Field pieces were lost in the action of the 26th of June last. The Court is to consist of five members, Colonel Brodhead, president—the Court is appointed at the request of the officers.

The Commander in Chief has observed with concern, notwithstanding the Order of June 1st last, requiring all Officers of Corps not sick or on other duty, to attend the Parade daily at the time of exercise to learn and perform their Duty—yet there is very great neglect—he wishes it to be impressed on the minds of every Officer that nothing may be more hurtful to the Service than the neglect of Discipline, for that Discipline more than numbers gives one Army the superiority of another, he therefore requires in the most positive manner all Officers to attend Parades and Exercises agreeable to the orders, and the Commanding Officers of Corps put under arrest who fails of an exact observance of them. Whenever Corps and Brigades assemble for Exercise every Officer is to take and keep his proper post; such as have command directing those men only who are under their immediate care and that in such a manner as not to interfere with the orders of the Exercising Officer. Those men who appear to be least acquainted with exercise, are daily when off duty to be sent

to the Drill and particular care taken to instruct them and effectually promote Military Discipline in the Army. The Officers must set the example to the close attention to that point, assembling frequently each Corps by themselves and learning with diligence the Manual Exercise and the most useful manœuvres, together with the Guest Salute, already directed in General Orders. Such a practice cannot fail of producing the best effects and nothing can do the Officers more honour; they will know their own duty and what they have a right to expect from all who are under their command; and the men excited by their example will eagerly embrace every opportunity to improve.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS July 7, 1777.

Major General tomorrow, Lincoln; Brigadier, Maxwell.

Field Officers, Colonel Martin Hall, Brig. Major, Wither-
spoon.

The General expects the strictest attention will be paid to the order of the 20th of last month, for sizeing the men and placing the shortest in the front. Unless this is done the whole fire of the rear rank will most assuredly be lost, especially if the files should happen, as is too often the case, to be crowded together.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court Martial, held on 6th inst. of which Colonel Walter Stewart was president—Jn^o Halfpenny of 10th Virginia Regt., charged with getting drunk, raising a riot, and abusing his Officers. Two evidences appearing before the Court, ordered him to be released from confinement.

It being injurious to the health of the Soldiers, on account of the foulness of the waters, and inconsistent with decency, for them to bathe in the mill pond by Howell's Mill, near the highway leading from Head Quarters to the Court House, that practice is forbidden, and the guard and sentries posted near there are to arrest and confine all offenders. The pay rolls of the several regiments and Corps for the month of June to be made out immediately and lodged with the Paymaster General.

ADVERTISEMENT.

A case of pocket Surgical ware was lost the day the Army marched from Middle Brook to Morristown. The finder of them is desired to return them to the Surgeon of the Second Virginia, and he shall be duly rewarded for his trouble.

A servant boy about ten years old with a leathern cap, Swan skin vest, a drab coloured Coat turned up with blue, Oznabrig trousers, has been missing for some days. His name is Jacob Cook; he is supposed to be lurking about the Camp. It is requested when found he may be sent to Mr. Mackey's in Morristown.

Colonel Morgan's Corps of Riflemen not being annexed to any particular Brigade, are to draw provisions from the Commissary, who may be nearest the place where they may be stationed.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

Officers commanding regiments are requested to have all their men fit for duty under arms every morning for exercise in going through their different manœuvres. Particular attention should be paid to their manner of Wheeling and Marching. All wheels should be performed complete and with life, and instead of the short step which the Troops in general practice, they should be taught to throw their feet well before them, which may be done with as much ease and in as good time with the Musick, as the other method is more graceful and gains ground faster.

The Officers should make themselves acquainted with the Salutes as pointed out in General Orders of 16th of June last.

It is strongly recommended to the soldiery of General Weedon's Brigade to have all their hair cut short by trimming it close before thinning and cutting it behind so as to leave it in a short curl or bob; it prevents vermin, keeps their heads cool, and is much more convenient in rainy

weather ; it is also dressed with ease and looks more soldier-like.

There being a great difference between the Regimental returns of this and last week, has rendered it necessary to give the Brigade Major possitive orders to receive no returns for the differences arising between them, and the former are not particularly accounted for ; and as the Adjutant pleads in their excuse that the Officers do not account for any differences arising in their companies returns ; ordered that they may expect of no returns from the companies not corresponding with the directions. Detail for Guard. C. S. S. C. P. F. D.

0, 0, 1, 1, 15, 1, 1.

Adjutant for the day, Ruth.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS July 8, 1777.

Major General tomorrow, Greene ; Brigadier, Muhlenberg.

Field Officers Major Weltner and Colonel Lewis ; Brig. Major, Swain.

The Court of which Colonel Brodhead was president, appointed to inquire into the conduct of the Artillery Officers, viz. Captain Eustis and his officers, and Captain Archibald, whose pieces were lost the 26th of last month, report that having examined divers officers, whose names they mention, relative thereto, they are of opinion that Captain Huston and his officers behaved with becoming bravery and good conduct during the whole action, and that the loss of the field pieces was unavoidable, they being left in the rear, unsupported ; also that Captain Gibbs Jones and the officers under his command behaved with becoming bravery and good conduct during the whole action, and that the loss of the piece commanded by Captain-Lieutenant Archibald was inevitable, it being left in the rear unsupported.

The ground on which part of the Troops are encamped may be less dry and healthy than others in the neighborhood, the Major Generals are desired in such cases to shift the encampments of their Divisions or such parts of them as they shall judge necessary to preserve the health of the

Troops. Dewy and foggy mornings may be less favorable to the health of the Soldiers than other parts of the day; commanding Officers of Corps will in such seasons postpone turning out their men 'till the close or other part of the day as they and their Surgeons shall find most expedient.

Canteens, hammocks and other camp essentials must be very beneficial to the Troops, but unless more care may be taken to preserve it will be impracticable to preserve them. The Quarter Master General, therefore, in issuing those articles will charge them to the respective Quarter Masters of Regiments and Corps; these Quarter Masters to the Captains or officer commanding companies, and they to their men, each to account with the other in the order preceding.

Captains and officers commanding companies are every Saturday to examine the Clothes, Arms, Accoutrements, Ammunition and Camp utensils of their men, that if any are missing and a good account of them cannot be rendered, the person found deficient to be answerable for them.

In vain are orders given and repeated, if after one cursory reading they are thrown aside and neglected—many orders are entered for standing regulations and are of great importance to be known and remembered—the Commander in Chief therefore, in the strongest manner enjoins upon all officers to examine the Orderly Book and frequently review the Standing Orders, and also often cause to be read to the men such as immediately respect them.

A return of tents in each Regiment to be made at four o'clock this day post M. R. to the Quarter Master General such regiments as have not received the horseman's tents to apply to the Quarter Master General.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS July 9, 1777.

Parole—Warwick; Countersign, Warren Warfield.

Major General tomorrow, Stephen; Brigadier, Wayne.

Field Officers, Colonel Hartley, Lieut. Colonel Febiger, Brig. Major, Ryan.

In General Orders of 1st inst. returns of the sick in Camp

to be signed by the Surgeons of each Regiment were directed to be made every Tuesday and Friday at 9 o'clock A.M., to the Surgeon General of the Army, which have not been done, nor have returns of other kinds been regularly made when demanded—such neglects are highly prejudicial to the service. All persons are therefore enjoined to make due returns in future, and who fails may depend on being arrested.

The guards who are relieved daily are to send a Sergeant or Corporal to the Grand Parade at 8 o'clock in the morning to conduct the new Guard to their Posts.

GENERAL AFTER ORDERS July 9, 1777.

A General Court Martial to sit tomorrow at the usual place at 9 o'clock for the trial of such prisoners as shall be brought before it. Colonel Chambers is appointed president of the Court.

HEAD QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, July 10, 1777.

Major General tomorrow, Lord Stirling; Brigadier, Weedon; Brig. Major, Perry.

Every Brigade which has not furnished its quota of Pioneers to the Qr. Mr. General is to do it immediately and have them sent to his quarters. General Wayne's brigade to furnish 10 men, and General deHaes 10 men, such as are fit for the purpose.

The tents of the whole Army are to be struck at gun firing tomorrow morning and packed up ready for marching with the utmost speed. The line of march to begin afterwards as soon as possible. All Baggage Wagons, those with tents excepted, are to move this afternoon towards Bonamtown, to a place appointed by General Mifflin, guards for which are to be supplied in the following manner, viz. each Brigade to furnish 1 Captain, 2 Sub^l and 30 men; each Division a field officer, that from General Greene's to be Colonel Commandant. The women are to march with the baggage. Two days provisions to be cooked and ready this afternoon; canteens to be filled

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with water before the march begins, as no soldier will be allowed to quit the ranks on that account. The three pickets, viz. on the Pompton, Chatham and Middle Brook roads will quit their posts at gun fire tomorrow morning and join their respective Corps without delay. All other guards will attend to their duty in their several departments, where they are placed until relieved, moving with their charges respectively.

BRIGADE ORDERS, MORRISTOWN July 10, 1777.

The sick of each Regiment to be sent to the Hospital tomorrow morning and every necessary preparation made to march tomorrow morning at the allotted time; 1 subaltern officer to be left behind to superintend the sick of their regiments, whose business it will be to bring up as soon as they are able to march and to see that they do not suffer while in the Hospital. Two women of each Regiment to remain with the sick respective Corps as Nurses.

Adjutant for tomorrow, Overton.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS, July 11, 1777.

The Quartermaster to draw three days provisions and the Captains to see that their men immediately dress the same, as there is a prospect of marching in the morning. Those guns which want repairing must go immediately to the Qr. Mr., having an order to get them put in repair.

The men are to be warned for guard in the evening and they are not to turn out in the morning to exercise, but to take care to have their guns in order, themselves well shaved and powdered, otherwise they must be severely punished.

WALTER STEWART, *Colonel.*

HEAD QUARTERS POMPTON PLAINS, July 11, 1777.

The Army to pitch their tents tonight and tomorrow morning at the gun firing, if the weather is good, to stretch them and prepare everything with the greatest dispatch for a march. If it should rain, the tents standing to remain, unless particular orders are given to the contrary. No

kind of baggage to be taken out of the wagons besides the tents. Immediately after firing the morning gun the General to be beaten through the Line instead of the Reveille. Two field pieces firing from the Park of Artillery to be the signal for marching; the same order of march to be in force.

Tomorrow each Division will station necessary guards about their encampments—the separate column of baggage to march under direction.

HEAD QUARTERS POMPTON PLAINS, July 12, 1777.

Major General tomorrow, Stephen; Brigadier, Scott; Field Officers, Scott; Lieut. Colonel Nelson; Brig. Major, Johnston.

As the foul weather prevents the marching of the troops today, they are to draw two days provisions and cook them immediately.

Complaints have been made to the Commander in Chief that some soldiers have pulled down the fences to burn and lay open the fields of the inhabitants, he enjoins it upon the officers to use the utmost watchfulness and care to prevent this prejudice, and whoever is found guilty of it shall be severely punished. The same orders that were given last evening are to determine and regulate the march tomorrow.

AFTER ORDERS.

The morning gun will not be fired tomorrow morning. As usual the tents are not to be struck 'till dry. The firing of one field piece to be the signal to march, strike tents and prepare to march; two field pieces fired, to begin the march. When the Army marches the Deputy Qr. Mr. Grl. and his assistant from each Division are to go forward, the Qr. Mr. Genl. to lay out the ground for encampment.

HEAD QUARTERS POMPTON PLAINS, July 13, 1777.

Major General for tomorrow, Stirling; Brigadier, Conway.

Field Officers, Colonel Spotswood and Major Williams.
Brigade Major, Tarling.

being not only unfit for fire, but very rusty, which latter is in the power of every man to prevent, and the neglect of it must arise from an inexcusable inattention of the orders.

The tents are to be struck tomorrow morning at gun fire, which will be at the usual time, and the whole Army to get ready to march at 5 o'clock. One field piece is to be fired and then the march is to begin, and as the baggage of each Brigade will join its Brigade tonight, it is to follow close after it tomorrow. The whole Army to march from the left in half platoons, the Brigades following each other in order observed this day, saving that the baggage, as before directed, will immediately follow the Brigade it belongs to. As the distance is not great, no part of the Army is to halt 'till it arrives at the ground of encamping. If it should rain tomorrow morning the Army is to remain in the present encampment. On a march, neither officers or soldiers are to pay a salute or pull off his hat to the Commander in Chief or any other officer passing by.

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS, THE CLOVE, July 15, 1777.

Major General tomorrow, Stephen; Brigadier, Muhlenberg.

Field Officers, Col. Lawson, Major Murray, and Brigade Major, Swain.

It was yesterday directed in General Orders that neither officers or soldiers should pay a salute or pull off their hats to the Commander in Chief or other officers passing by, and the total disregard of this order is a proof of how little pains officers take to acquaint either themselves or men with the Orders of the Day. Other orders issued this instant respecting the march of the Army are also neglected in instances which came directly under the observation of the Commander in Chief, which cannot be presumed to arise from any other cause than ignorance of these orders. For the future, therefore, all officers are each day to make themselves acquainted with the orders of it, and with respect to the orders of 14th inst., the Commander in Chief directs that the Brigadiers do as soon as possible call to-

gether all the officers commanding Corps in their respective Brigades and read to them those orders; and the commanding officers of Corps are likewise required to assemble all the officers in their respective Corps, and read to them the same orders, and all who are not already provided are forthwith to furnish themselves with copies of them and still more effectually to execute those orders.

Each Brigade is to appoint a field officer to attend his Brigade and particularly of the wagons belonging to it, whose business it shall be to ride backwards and forwards along the line to see the march conducted with propriety and agreeable to orders. Advantages to be taken of the present halt to get the horses shod and the wagons repaired;—no delay is to be made in this matter, as it is very uncertain how soon the Army may move. Again and for the same reason, all officers and soldiers are to keep near their quarters, and on no pretence to ramble about the country without leave—officers from their Brigadiers, soldiers from their Colonels or officers commanding their Regiments. All wagons are to join their respective Brigades, and get proper orders for marching, and when the Army moves again the officers and Wagon Masters are to see that they are more equally loaded than they have been; and when any men fall sick on the march, they are not to be put in the heavily loaded baggage wagons, but left to be taken up by the empty wagons which follow in the rear for that end.

The commanding officers of Corps are immediately to make returns to the Adjutant General of the clothing most wanted in their respective Corps. As the quantity of clothing to be distributed is not great, the Commander in Chief most earnestly desires that officers will make returns for no more than is indispensably necessary for them.

Each Brigade to furnish men for cutting wood, to parade tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock in front of Tavern.

D. O. The Brigades in Gen. Greene's division are to furnish by daily relay 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, 12 privates as guard for the General's baggage, and this guard is expected when circumstances will admit of it, to be regularly

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returned, for a neglect of which no excuse will or can be admitted.

HEAD QUARTERS, July 15, 1777.

After Orders. The Commander in Chief expects that all officers will make it their business to see that the Orders issued respecting the destruction of property of the inhabitants are particularly attended to at all times.

HEAD QUARTERS, July 16, 1777.

Major General tomorrow, Stirling, Brigadier Wayne.

Field Officers, Colonel Spencer, Lieut. Col. Parker of Gen. Weedon's Brigade, and Brig. Major, Ryan.

The General Court Martial whereof Col. Chambers was president is dissolved.

A General Court Martial is to sit at 10 o'clock this forenoon near Gen. Maxwell's quarters for the trial of such prisoners as are brought before it. Col. Shreeve is appointed president of the Court.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS, CLOVE, July 17, 1777.

Major General tomorrow, Greene; Brigadier Weedon.

Field Officers Lieut. Col. Willis, Major Hay, Brig. Major, Piers.

Some disputes having arisen between Col. Hamilton and Col. Johnston respecting seniority, the General Officers are to meet at some place to be appointed by Major Gen. Greene, at 5 o'clock this afternoon, and after hearing the pretensions of both these officers and enquiring minutely into the matter, to report the case and their opinions thereon to the Commander in Chief. The frequent discharging of pieces, in order to clean them and keep them in order, occasions the waste of ammunition—the General orders in very pointed and positive terms, that no musket shall be loaded with cartridges until we are close to the enemy and there is a moral certainty of engaging them. The Quarter Master of each Regiment is to draw a small quantity of powder, ball and wadding to furnish the Guards from his Regiment, who are to load with loose Powder and running ball when they mount guard, and this the officers of those guards are in-

variably to have drawn and return to the Regimental Quarter Master before their dismissal from the parade, after being relieved. The practice of this kind particularly adhered to will not only be a great saving of ammunition, but the means of preserving the arms, for nothing is so hurtful to the barrel as lying loaded, especially in damp weather.

About 80 tents have arrived in Camp and such as are destitute of them may now be supplied therewith. But previous to the delivery of them, returns must be made from the Quarter Masters of each Brigade of the number of men in each Corps belonging to the Brigade and the number of Tents now in their possession.

The Adjutant General in issuing orders for the delivery of clothes is to compare the returns made to the commanding officers of Corps of their wants with their Clothiers accounts, as far as he can come at them, and see to the utmost of their power that equal justice be done in the distribution of them.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Found a Red Morocco Leather Case containing Colonel Hartshorn's Commission and sundry other papers. The owner may have it by applying to Captain Sergeant at the Park of Artillery.

Tomorrow at Troop beating, the Quarter Master General is to have the road through the Clove to New Windsor reconnoitred and all proper places for halting and encamping, with the distances from hence noted, and reported to the Commander in Chief, and to do the like on the road to King's Ferry. A field officer, two captains, 4 sergeants and 100 rank and file to be paraded at daylight tomorrow morning on the Grand Parade, with two days provision in a light wagon. The commanding officer will receive his orders from the Adjutant General.

A subaltern and 12 light horse will parade at the same time and apply to the Adjutant General for orders.

Doctor Cochran is to inspect the state of the sick and their condition, and will give such orders respecting them as shall appear proper.

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Each Brigade to furnish a good Blacksmith to parade tomorrow at 10 o'clock before Lord Stirling's quarters at Suffern's Tavern.

The Quarter Masters of those Regiments for clothing returns have been made, and to apply to the Deputy Clothier General tomorrow at Baldon's mills, about a mile from Head Quarters, on the road to Pompton. The detachment to be commanded by Major Miches.

HEAD QUARTERS, THE CLOVE, July 18, 1777.

Major General tomorrow, Stephen; Brigadier, Woodford. Field Officers, Lieut. Col. Farmer, Major North, and Brig. Major, Day.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court Martial held 16 inst., whereof Col. Shreeve was president, and orders that there be no delay in putting them into execution. Levi Springer of the 4th North Carolina B. T. in Capt. Nelson's company, charged with desertion from the 4th Regiment and enlisting with Capt. Sims of the 10 Regiment—found guilty and sentenced to 50 lashes on his bare back, and to serve out his time with Capt. Nelson, and the bounty he received from Capt. Sims be returned to him.

Joshua Hunter of the 1st Virginia Regiment, charged with desertion, found guilty and sentenced to receive 50 lashes on his bare back.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS, July 18, 1777.

A Regimental Court Martial will sit this morning.

The Officers in the future will when manœuvring pay greater attention to the beats of the drum, and take care that their men do the same. When they are to face to the right, the drum will beat one stroke and a flam; to the left, two strokes and a flam, the right about three strokes and a flam, and the left about four strokes and a flam.

The Regiment is to be paraded every morning at 6 o'clock, and in the evening to manœuvre till further orders.

WALTER STEWART, *Colonel.*

(To be continued.)

LETTERS OF GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE TO
COLONEL JEREMIAH WADSWORTH.

"CAMP April 14th 1779.

"DEAR SIR

"Your letter of the 4th I have received; and that of the 8th also with the enclosed papers; which I have signed and returned.—

"You may remember I wrote you sometime since that I was desirous that this copartnership between Mr Dean, you, and myself, should be kept a secret. I must beg leave to impress this matter upon you again; and to request you to enjoin it upon Mr Dean. The nearest friend I have in the world shall not know it from me; and it is my wish that no mortal should be acquainted with the persons forming the Company except us three. I would not wish Mr Dean even to let his brother know it. Not that I apprehend any injury from him: but he may inadvertently let it out into the broad World; and then I am persuaded it would work us a public injury.

"While we continue in the offices which we hold, I think it is prudent to appear as little in trade as possible. For however just and upright our conduct may be, the World will have suspicions to our disadvantage.—

"By keeping the affair a secret I am confident we shall have it more in our power to serve the commercial connexion than by publishing it.—

"I have wrote to my brother Jacob Greene to pay you £5000 without informing him for what purpose or on what account. If you could advance the other 5000 until you come to Camp; it would be very agreeable to me. If not I must take some other way of sending it.

"General Sullivan arrived in camp a few days since; but has not said a word to your prejudice that I can learn. I believe he is willing to pay [*sic*] childrens play with you, if

you will let him alone, he will you. He dind with me yesterday; and paid great compliments to the Staff at Providence without discriminating. He is to have command of the Indian expedition. I wish he may succeed better than heretofore. For altho he has never met with any signal disgrace; he has not been remarkably fortunate in success. —I am glad your Song did not come out upon the whole; as it would have created a perpetual War. However, I expected something of the kind is which made me write you that I thought he had given a fair opening.

“We expect the Minister of France here to-morrow or next Day, when there is to be great doings. The Cannon is to fire, and the Troops to parade and the General officers are to ride out to meet him; to welcome him to Camp.

“I am afraid we shall make but a skurvy appearance; as our force is but small and those very ragged.

“Mrs Greene is gone to Trenton to a Tea frolick given by Betsy Pettet. Mr Lott, Cornelia, Major Blodget & Burnett are all gone. There is to be a number of Ladys from Philadelphia; and some Members of Congress.—

“Col Cox is very ill. I was to see him about eight or ten days since. He has got a relapse of the same disorder he had in Philadelphia. I am really doubtful of his recovery. It is very unfortunate to me, at this critical season. I must take a ministerial comfort: all things work together for good.

“Col Meade has just returned from Virginia; and says your Letter writing fellow has made rascally work in the Department in Virginia. A prodigious quantity of meat is upon the spoil; and every thing in disorder and confusion. He gives great praises to my agents there.

“I had a Letter from Major Forsyth a few days past. He stands ready to engage with you if you think proper to give him an appointment. But I am afraid you'll find old agents are like chronick diseases difficult to shake off. Major Forsyth I am sure would answer your purpose extremely well providing you was fairly rid of *Aylet*. But I am afraid it will be sometime before you can get rid of him.

"Mr Flint dined with me to day; and is brave and hearty. We wish for another feast of Salmon. When may we expect it. Should they arrive while the Minister is here; they will be doubly welcome; I sent one of the last that came to Mr Jay President of Congress. Mrs Greene sent another to Governor Reads family.

"I am glad to hear your Assembly are entering into spirited measures; in aid of the Commissarys and quarter masters Department.

"Unless the States will give more aid than they have done to these Departments for some time past; I think the Wheels will stop.

"This State grows more and more litigious. The Pettifogging Lawyers, like frogs in the Spring, begin to peep in great plenty. Beside this pest of creatures not less pernicious to the peace and welfare of a State than the Locusts was to the growth of the Herbage in Egypt; There is a great multitude of Justices of the Peace who parade with the constables at their heels and are as formidable in numbers as a Roman Legion.

"This class of men to show their learning and improve their genius swarm about us like Birds of prey seeking whom they may devour.

"You may remember I made an [illegible in manuscript] bearer of one upon my first coming to this ground and I intend to keep them running upon every occasion.

"If they want business they shall have it.

"General Arnold is married. He has lately bought a House and farm near the City of Philadelphia. It belonged to McPherson. It is said he can have 10,000 pounds for his bargain. If so his trade is better than all the commissary and quarter masters profits put together.

"Mrs Biddle has got back to Camp again with a fine son. You have been informed before that Doctor Hutcheson is married to Miss Lydia Biddle. She is coming to Camp soon. Mrs Shippen is already here and the Doctors daughter. I hope you will bring Mrs Wadsworth which will form an agreeable set.

"I believe your patience will be exhausted before you get through this long and disagreeable Letter. Please to present my complements to Mrs Wadsworth and I'll bid you good night.

"Yours sinserely

"N GREENE"

"CAMP April 30th 1779.

"DEAR SIR

"I have received your two last letters with the inclosed alphabet of figures to correspond with. The plan is very agreeable which is proposed. But in addition to it will it not be best to take upon us a fictitious name this will draw another shade of obscurity over the business and render it impossible to find out the connection. The busy world will be prying into the connection and nature of the business; and more especially as a letter of Mr Deane's has lately been intercepted in which it is pretended great things are discovered and dangerous combinations formd. Whether there has been any Letter intercepted and if there has whether it contains anything of the kind that is represented, I am by no means certain. It is said he is forming one of the greatest commercial Houses in the world; and has a plan for Land jobing of equal extent. I know not what it all means; but believe it is the effects of malice and detraction; which I can assure you was never more prevalent. I have just returned from Philadelphia where I have been to settle several matters with Congress respecting my department. The fixing the pay of Waggoners and staff officers.—But my principal business was to lay before the Treasury the impossibility of executing the Generals orders without a more punctual and liberal supply of cash. Former promises have been renewed; but the truth of the affair is, the plan for strikeing money is really incompetent to the demand, with the greatest degree of industry; and there is no great share of that. The great Departments of the army press the Treasury on every side. The South Carolina expedition has created great draffts upon the Board; and embarrasses

their affairs. The Lord knows what will be the consequence.—

“I find that certain members of Congress are endeavoring to spread among the people that the avarice and extravagance of the staff are the principal causes of all the depreciation of the money; and I saw a report of the Treasury Board to the Congress to this amount altho not in the same terms.—

“Inclosed is a Letter I wrote the Congress upon the subject. There was great professions and assurances of the most perfect confidence of Congress in the ability, fidelity, care, attention, and integrity of the principals of each Department but as these were only personal assurances by individual members and not as a body I thought it most prudent to write them the enclosed copy of a Letter.

“I have received no answer to it yet. What it will produce is difficult to conjecture.—

“There is great disputes in Congress; and there has been warm work between them and the State of Pennsylvania respecting the courts of admiralty.

“I shall be happy to see you here as soon as you can render it convenient. I think it will be necessary both for your interests and Reputation. The General enquires after you with great earnestness. Things dont go on well in the preparations for the Indian Expedition upon the Susquehannah.—

“Mrs Greenes and my best respects to Mrs Wadsworth.—

“I am with sinsere

“regard your

“most obedient

“humble servt

“N GREENE.

“COL. JEREMIAH WADSWORTH.”

“MORRISTOWN 11th of April 1780.

“DEAR SIR,

Philadelphia

“I returned to this place last night from 2010. The Congress ^{rascals} 332 are as great a set of 1012 as ever got together. The Board Treasury worse 166 of 1292 are 1404 than the former. One of them I am

216 General Nathanael Greene to Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth.

sure is nothing less than a 1286; he belongs to 332 and is
from N 2013.

“You may depend upon it that your information is good,
and that it is the intention of 1292 not to let any 232 go
through your hands with a view of saving the 292. They
propose the same thing with regard to me; and I believe will
attempt to carry it into execution. You cannot conceive the
781 and the 802 of those two 909s of 931.

“You may depend upon it, that great pains is taking to
240 you and me. The plan is not to attack us personally,
this they know will not answer to; but to accuse the 1232
of each as producing all the consequential we now feel.
The scheme is plausible; and if artfully managed will have
its effect. Truth and righteousness is of no account with
these 931. Any claim of merit for past services is not only
laughed at but the person who should be foolish enough to
make it would be severely *ridiculed*. Be upon the 1367 and
be upon your 718 for depend upon it the hand of Joab is in
all these things.

“I think our affairs are verging to something like 1054.
It is publicly said at 2010 that 332 have no longer the 327
of 931 and that there is nothing else left to save 1192 from
being no more a 875. Take care what you 1411 as every
possible advantage will be made of it. How stands our
298.87 with B. D.? Let me know as particularly as you
can. Send the information in one letter and what you say
upon it in another.

“Yours you Know Who

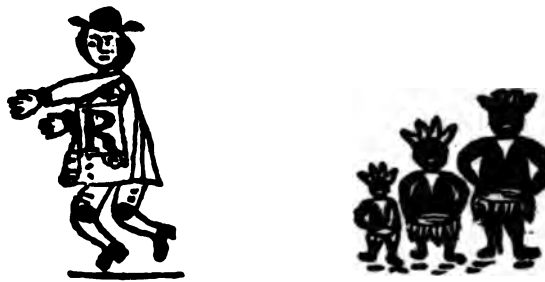
GREENE
“N713”

THE FIRST PHILADELPHIA NEWSPAPER AND ITS
REPUBLICATION BY THE COLONIAL SOCIETY.

For us to congratulate the Colonial Society on the appearance of the first volume of its great undertaking is almost to praise ourselves, for the members of that Society are nearly without exception active members of THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, and owe their interest in such an association to our fostering care to incite a widespread desire for a clearer knowledge of local history and genealogy than we now have. This is the second offshoot of this Society which it has produced of recent years of local use and importance, the Genealogical Society, which has done such great work in the transcribing of church records and in making abstracts and indexes of the wills recorded in this vicinity, being a few years older. The Colonial Society is not yet very strong in numbers, but in the field it has undertaken to cultivate it is full of energy. That the scope of its aims is a wide one is plain enough from the statement of its objects set forth in its neatly gotten-up Year-Book issued two years ago. As there stated, the Society aims "to celebrate anniversaries of events connected with the settlement of Pennsylvania which occurred prior to 1700; to collect, preserve, and publish records and documents, printed or in manuscript, relating to the early history of that colony, and to perpetuate the memory of the early settlers of the American Colonies."

The Society has published a number of addresses delivered before it on various occasions, and proposes from time to time to continue this series of "Bulletins." Of those already issued the more important are Mr. Henry Budd's scholarly address on "Colonial Legislation in Pennsylvania" and Mr. Thomas Allen Glenn's "Account of the Blue Anchor Tavern." These are nicely printed pamphlets presenting in

attractive form the learned performances of their authors, but the Society's *magnum opus*, the first volume of which is now before us, is a work of much wider scope. It is no less an undertaking than the reproduction in *fac-simile* of the whole of *The American Weekly Mercury* from its beginning in 1719 to its suspension in 1752, after an existence of nearly thirty-three years. *The American Weekly Mercury*, the first Pennsylvania newspaper, was begun in 1719 by Andrew Bradford, and after his death was continued by his widow until she too "went the way of all flesh" in 1752. At first it was a single sheet of two pages small folio, its contents being mainly European news, supplemented by lists of arriving and departing vessels. In the course of time it grew to be a regular four-page weekly, and sometimes, when required, was expanded to twice this number of pages. It maintained a uniform size of page from the beginning, and although there are some slight changes in its headings in the way of atro-



ciously inartistic cuts of "Mercury," a "Post-Rider," and what may have been intended as a view of Philadelphia from the Delaware, it did not, like Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, take on half a dozen different sizes of sheet during its career. We have not reproduced either of these, but content ourselves with copying a couple of the oft-repeated illustrations to advertisements of runaway servants and freshly imported slaves offered for sale.

Typographically the *Mercury* was not a thing of beauty, the reprint looking better in this respect and being much more legible than the original; but such as it was—it is,

except that time has somewhat dimmed it by yellowing its pages. We should be grateful to the Colonial Society for making it accessible to the searcher after the kind of facts which have hitherto lain buried in its columns. Only a single copy of the earlier years is known to have been preserved. This was once the property of Judge Thomas Hopkinson, and became, by the gift of his more famous son Francis, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the property of the Library Company of Philadelphia, where it now forms a brilliant gem in its collection of American *incunabulæ*. It is from this copy, by the kind permission of the directors of the library, that the *fac-simile* is being made. The *fac-simile* is an admirable piece of work in every respect, while the index which has been added by the Colonial Society is thoroughly exhaustive and will be an invaluable and indispensable aid to future historians and genealogists. There is no field in either of these departments of research on which the *Mercury* will not throw some new light or add some new facts of importance.

One other item is of unusual interest in connection with Mr. Jenkins's article on "The Family of William Penn" which has been appearing in *THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE* for some time past; it is in the number of the *Mercury* for September 1, 1720, and announces the death of the eldest son of the founder of Pennsylvania. We quote it in full:

"William Penn Esq Proprietor and Governour of the Province of Pennsilvania [*sic*] in North America died lately at Liege, of a Consumption and Imposthume in his Lungs, after six months sickness. He was a Grandson of Admiral Penn, and son of William Penn, Esq." It is worthy of remark that the president of the Colonial Society is the lineal representative of the gentleman whose demise is alluded to in this announcement.

Many other items of interest might be quoted, but we shall do no more than call attention to the announcement in No. 94 of the arrival of a ship-load of Palatines, which has hitherto escaped notice.

The *fac-simile* has been made in the best possible manner

220 *The First Philadelphia Newspaper and its Republication.*

by our fellow-member Mr. Julius F. Sachse; it has been printed on very handsome paper and is neatly bound in cloth, with the Society's seal surrounded by a neat blind-tooled border, which, by the way, is copied directly from a fine specimen of Andrew Bradford's binding done about 1728. The edition is limited to two hundred and fifty copies, most of which have been subscribed for in advance of publication. The price is \$5.00 a volume.

We wish the Colonial Society may meet with hearty support and speedily find imitators here and elsewhere. Nothing in print is rarer to-day than a file of an American newspaper published one hundred and fifty years ago, unless it be a file of last week's dailies. Ill-printed on bad paper and charged with false reports, nobody thinks them fit for a repository other than the ash-bin or the waste-paper basket.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF GOVERNOR RICHARD
HOWELL, OF NEW JERSEY.

BY HON. DANIEL AGNEW.

Richard Howell, son of Ebenezer Howell, was born in the year 1754, at Newark, Delaware, and educated there. He moved with his parents to Cumberland County, New Jersey, where he studied law; but, preferring to defend his own against what were deemed the wrongs of the mother country, he entered the revolutionary army in 1775. Previously he had evinced the ardor of his patriotism by joining in the destruction of the tea imported in the "Greyhound." A brief memorandum of this transaction is found among the writings of a daughter.

It states that the cargo of tea was discharged by the East India Company at Greenwich, after the destruction of the tea at Boston, and was deposited in a cellar on the evening of Thursday, November 22, 1774; it was subsequently taken by forty men disguised as Indians (among them her father), who piled it in an adjoining field and burned it in one general conflagration. An account of this affair was given by Governor Parker, of New Jersey, in an interesting address at a Centennial Tea Party, delivered at Trenton in 1874. "Among the brave young men," he says, "who burned the tea at Greenwich were Dr. Ebenezer Elmer, Timothy Elmer, Richard Howell, afterwards Governor of New Jersey, Rev. Andrew Hunter, and James Ewing, father of Chief-Justice Ewing."

In 1775 Richard Howell was made captain of the Fifth Company of the Second Battalion in the first establishment of the "Jersey Line" of Continental troops. In November of that year the First and Second Battalions were ordered to garrison in the Highlands on the Hudson River, and in the following year were directed to join the expedition to

222 *Sketch of Governor Richard Howell, of New Jersey.*

Canada. In the active operations of this campaign Captain Howell took a conspicuous part, and was made brigade major in September, 1776. The following letter, written on the march, gives an inner view of his character. Its date is March 4, 1776 :

"DEAR FATHER:—I am now in Albany after a long and tedious march. One moment must be devoted to your service, tho' hitherto I have neglected you. But ceremonies do not pronounce affection—though I wrote not, you were not forgotten. I have struggled through the difficulties of my office with a patience that I did not think myself possessed of, and am now able to await whatever may succeed. I expect to assist at the siege of Quebec, and I shall not dishonor my connections. Be you and my ever patient mother content with what may happen me, as I am resigned to my fortune. Do not be distressed if any accident reach my brother. We fight a battle urged by nature's oldest laws—the preservation of ourselves, our parents, and our Country. I am short—be always happy.

"Your Son,

"RICHARD HOWELL.

"TO EBENEZER HOWELL, Cross Roads."

The return from this unfortunate expedition, through a wild and rugged country, was marked by terrible hardships. An account of these sufferings was given in one of the lost letters of Major Howell, once read by the writer, in which it was stated that the men were so pinched by famine that some of them attempted to eat the leather of their boots.

The following is a copy of the only other preserved letter written by Major Howell during the Quebec expedition. It is given because of its interesting particulars and as another indication of his character and feelings. It is dated at Trois Rivières, May 20, 1776 :

"MY DEAR FATHER:—I have a moment to write to you ; if my letter may reach you I shall be very happy, but that is *extreamly* uncertain. I am now in a town called the Three Rivers, and in circumstances not very eligible, but as happy as possible in adversity. We retreated from before Quebec (as you, I doubt not, have heard) with precipitation, and that three days after our arrival. To be obliged to retreat so soon was discouraging to new troops ; and a number of our men who were dispersed at several posts and on fatigue, who were unacquainted with our route, are lost in the country, or taken prisoners in town. Provision is become

scarce, even not to be procured, and those, who otherwise had the virtue to stay with their officers, deserted for want of food. Distressing, indeed, are these circumstances, yet all may be surmounted by a constant mind. To be taken prisoner is death to a man accustomed to freedom, but I am equal to either fortune. In the affair before Quebec, I was the only officer who was much exposed to either, and happily both were evaded. I was that day reconnoitering the town from the advanced posts, to inform myself of its situation, as every measure seemed to indicate an approaching retreat. The walls were crowded with men, and they fired incessantly on every object, even at me, a single person. I heard an English voice commanding in the town, the bells rang and drums beat, which induced me to go still further, if possible, to discover their movements, and I went on until I discovered a party of light infantry who were endeavoring to surround and take me prisoner. I then retreated to the centinel, who motioned me to come that way. I desired him to fire, if they approached, and retreat, then returned to get a party to bring him off, but as soon as they saw I had got beyond them, they poured a platoon about my ears as I retreated. When I came to the guard I asked a party to support the centinel, and with three divisions, of ten men each, marched off to the ground. I ordered two divisions to the several posts, and with my own advanced to the pass the enemy would approach by, but did not then observe them. I then changed my course, and discovered the infantry scouting near the centinel. We advanced and they halted, acting as if our friends, by pointing and skulking towards their main body . . . deceived by their dress, and advanced as if deceived, until within shot, when we gave them our compliments and retired. I shot first at the officer, who fell, by the assertion of many—the others, in turn, with good aim, and they say three of the enemy fell. The infantry gave us one fire, the main body another, and the field pieces remembered us a good while with their grapes. Providence protected us from danger, and we returned to join our main line; but when we had reached headquarters, who was there! about one hundred and fifty Jersey Blues, and the enemy just by. The *Yankoes* were run away, and we all ran away. The Blues offered again to fight and were forming, the General *bade* us go on, the *Yankoes* were gone on, and we marched quick time again. Well we went then to Jacartie. The enemy's ships followed, and were landing. We formed to fight, they retired, but the *Yankoes* ran away. At Point De Chambeau we marched to fight them, they retired abroad, but the *Yankoes* did not come up. In short, I am tired of recollecting what is past. Give my respect to my friends, show them, if you please, my letter, and

"Am yours,

"RICHARD HOWELL.

"To EBENEZER HOWELL, Cumberland County.

"To the care of THOS. MCKEAN, Esq.,

"Member of Congress, . . . West New Jersey."

In September, 1776, Congress made provision for the second establishment of troops, the quota of New Jersey being four battalions or regiments. Richard Howell was commissioned major of the Second. In May, 1777, his battalion was brigaded with the other New Jersey troops, under Brigadier-General Maxwell. This brigade was in the division of the Continental army commanded by Major-General Stephen, of North Carolina, and took part in the battles of Brandywine, September 11, and Germantown, October 4, 1777. The New Jersey troops distinguished themselves in these engagements, Major Howell bearing himself bravely. Copies of several letters referring to his soldierly conduct are still preserved, written by his twin-brother, Dr. Lewis Howell, surgeon of one of the battalions. The following letter of the 13th of September, 1777, written two days after the battle of Brandywine, gives an interesting account of some of its incidents :

"DEAR FATHER :—I am happy in being able to inform you that I still exist, and am not a prisoner—a state I thought from my situation unavoidable. On Thursday, 11th September, we were alarmed by three guns, and every man stood to his post; about thirty minutes afterwards a firing of small arms was heard, which proved to be a party of light troops under General Maxwell, who repulsed the advanced party in three several attempts, killing many, with little loss. Captain Cummins in this action distinguished himself. After this there was a continual cannonade, from a battery erected by us to defend the ford over the Brandywine, 'till near four o'clock, when Lord Sterling's division was ordered about two miles to the right from the first situation, to oppose Lord Cornwallis, who had crossed about that distance higher up. We had been there but a short time when they appeared, and the heaviest firing I ever heard began, continuing a long time, every inch of ground being disputed. Our people at last gave way, not being supported, with the loss of very few—wounded and killed not exceeding twelve. At the same time we were attacked on the right, another attack was made on the left, where our people fought them, retreating in good order. Colonel Shreve in that action was wounded in the thigh, but not mortally. Captain Stout was killed, and one sergeant. These are the only killed in our regiment. I shall inform you of my escape from the enemy, after having been among them, with the loss of my mare, saddle and bridle, and great coat and hat. With all my misfortunes I think myself happy, not to be taken prisoner. Richard is hearty and safe, though in the midst of danger.

"LEWIS HOWELL."

Shortly after the battle of Germantown, in which Major Howell participated, he had a severe fall from his horse, which disabled him for a while, but he soon rejoined his regiment, and spent the greater part of the winter of 1777-78 with the army at Valley Forge, the New Jersey troops suffering greatly from a want of clothing. On the 28th of June, 1778, Major Howell was in the battle of Monmouth, the New Jersey Line being in the left wing of the army.

An event occurred on that day which caused great sadness to Major Howell, but which displayed his high tone and soldierly character. Dr. Lewis Howell, the twin-brother above alluded to, was lying at the point of death at the Black Horse Tavern, between Trenton and Bordentown, and Major Howell received intelligence that unless he came that day he would not see him alive. He obtained leave of absence, and his place was supplied. The young officer appointed remarked that "Howell was very willing to get leave of absence, for he well knew there would be hot work that day." The major, hearing of the remark and believing it to be a reflection on his courage, threw himself into the ranks as a private, and fought gallantly throughout the battle, nor did he ever afterwards see his much-loved brother. Washington, hearing of the circumstance, sent for him, and on inquiry, the account being confirmed by Major Howell, Washington rebuked him gently and said, "Howell, I admire your bravery, but it was your duty to go to your brother."

In May, 1779, in consequence of the "Massacre of Wyoming," Maxwell's New Jersey Brigade was ordered to march up the Susquehanna. It returned to New Jersey in the following October. On the 28d of June, 1780, this brigade took a prominent part in the fight at Springfield. A reorganization of the New Jersey Continental Line took place in 1780, under resolutions of Congress and an Act of the New Jersey Legislature. Major Howell became major of the Second Regiment. He had, however, in the autumn or winter before resigned his commission at the instance of Washington, in order to execute the delicate and dangerous

mission of visiting New York as a private citizen, to purchase clothing for the troops; this duty he performed with great fidelity and at his own expense, never having been refunded the large sum expended.

The secret mission to New York was the occasion, shortly afterwards, of an interesting event in Major Howell's life, an account of which had the benefit of the testimony of several witnesses, preserving it so late as 1851, when the memorial to Congress was framed.

A short time after the return of Major Howell from his secret mission to New York, suspicions arising out of his venture, he was forcibly taken from his father's house before a court or judge in Burlington, charged with being inimical to his country. He preserved silence throughout the proceeding until, finding it necessary to protect his honor, indeed his life, he drew from his pocket a paper signed by Washington and handed it to the judge for his private inspection. This gentleman, whose name, unfortunately, is not given in the account, with great feeling and an expression more emphatic than polite, ordered all that had been done to be erased from the minutes, and instantly discharged Major Howell.

At the close of the war Major Howell entered into the practice of his profession, and in course of time was elected Governor of New Jersey, and by virtue of his office Chancellor of the State. He was re-elected eight times consecutively; finally refusing a re-election on account of sickness which after a time resulted in his death. While Governor it became his duty to receive General Washington as President elect, when on his road to New York, in the year 1789. This was the occasion of an interesting incident, when the Father of his Country passed under a triumphal arch wreathed with laurels, evergreens, and flowers, and on which were inscribed the words, "The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters." The arch was erected at a bridge over the Assanpink, at Trenton; some of the remains were in existence as lately as 1868, and in possession of the Armstrong family, at Trenton. Washington

was received by the matrons and daughters and little children, who strewed his pathway with flowers and greeted him with a beautiful song of welcome, written by Governor Howell. Washington's heart was much touched by this display of affection, and before his departure he addressed in writing the "mothers and daughters" who had thus honored him.

In 1794, while Governor, Major Howell obeyed the requisition of President Washington calling into service a quota of the militia of New Jersey to assist in quelling the insurrection in Western Pennsylvania, known as the "Whiskey Insurrection." The Governor, being Commander-in-Chief by virtue of his office, and a soldier, took command in person. The following letter to his mother, dated Womelsdorf, Pennsylvania, September 25, 1794, illustrates his character and his motives :

"MY DEAR MOTHER:—I have been so hurried that I could not write before, but my duty impels me, on the march, to request that you and my brothers and sister would not be troubled with my *again* taking up arms as a duty of my office. You know that the same Providence that so often cared for me in the day of battle can do so again—if I deserve it, and if I do not, I submit. It would ill become an old soldier to sit calmly by and see the ruin of his country; and on that principle I take an active part.

"Thy son,

"RICHARD HOWELL.

"I hope I shall return, but if not, consider this an adieu to thee and all."

The troops broke camp at Trenton, and began their march September 22, 1794, crossing the Delaware and passing through Newtown, Norristown, Reading, Hummelstown, crossing the "Sweet Array" (Swatara), and reaching Harrisburg October 3. President Washington met them here, and accompanied the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops on their march thence, passing through "Carlisle, Shippensburg, and Strasburg, and crossing the Blue or North Mountain, Horse Valley, Cattertona Mountain, Path Valley, and Tuscarora;" thence through "a wilderness called the

Shadows of Death, a deep valley between two mountains, so nearly joining, and so amazing steep and high, that the valley only affords a narrow wagon path between them." They reached the Juniata and came to Bedford October 17, where they encamped until October 23. Leaving that place by slow and toilsome marches, through storm and rain, and mud and mire so deep that they made sometimes only from seven to ten miles a day, they arrived finally, on Sunday, November 15, at Colonel McNair's, within seven miles of Pittsburgh. By this time the flight of Bradford and other leaders of the insurrection and the dispersion of the citizens to their homes ended the campaign. General orders for the return of all the troops were issued, "Pittsburgh Headquarters, November 17, 1794." The New Jersey Line was directed to move on Thursday, November 20, "under the command of His Excellency, Governor Howell, who will be pleased to pursue from Bedford such routes as he may find most convenient." While on the westward march over the mountains to Pittsburgh, after leaving Bedford, an interesting event took place, characteristic of the genius of Governor Howell. On reaching the mountains the Jersey troops began to murmur at the terrible hardships endured, owing to the inclemency of the season and great privation of comfort. Their discontent was fomented by a few designing men, who painted in dark colors the inhumanity of crossing the mountains to fire upon fellow-citizens who, as they alleged, were only defending themselves against an unjust and oppressive tax upon whiskey, the only product of that section which brought them cash. The discontent seemed likely to break out into open insubordination. Governor Howell, being possessed of a poetic vein, and knowing the effect of a sentiment, united with simple melody, to fire the feelings and give impulse to the heart, composed a patriotic song, "Jersey Blues," sung to a popular air. It was set afloat in the camp, and the troops, catching its inspiration, marched forward with renewed life.

Besides the songs mentioned, Governor Howell was the writer of other patriotic songs suited to the popular heart

of the times; but they have suffered the fate of fugitive verse and are beyond recall. After the return of Governor Howell to Trenton, the writer is not informed of any important event occurring before his death, on the 28th of April, 1802, at the rather early age of forty-eight. He was emphatically a soldier and a patriot, as well as a man of culture and elevated character. A leading trait was military precision, a quality seen in his terse style of writing. Kindred to this trait was his abhorrence of any breach of genteel deportment or infraction of etiquette. His traditional habit was to sit upright in his chair, never crossing his limbs, a posture he considered unbecoming.

An obituary notice and sketch of his life is found in the *Federalist and New Jersey Gazette* of May 4, 1802. Its preface is extracted as evidence of the estimation in which he was held, together with a summary of his chief traits.

“Among the many instances of mortality we have occasion to record, none which has lately occurred will excite public sensibility in a higher degree, than that of our beloved Governor, RICHARD HOWELL, who expired on Wednesday morning last in the forty-eighth year of his age. To portray the character of this worthy and useful man would far exceed the limits we are necessarily restricted to.

“With a highly cultivated and improved understanding, Governor Howell displayed a heart of unbounded benevolence, a temper easy and agreeable, and manners polite and engaging. As a soldier and a statesman, if not the first, he bore a part which procured distinction and applause.”

Governor Howell left a widow, Keziah Howell (*née* Burr), who died August 9, 1835, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He left also five sons and three daughters. The sons inherited his military spirit and patriotism, three of them participating in the war of 1812,—viz., Major Richard Howell, Jr., afterwards for a quarter of a century an indispensable officer, throughout different administrations, in the Custom-House at Philadelphia. William Howell was a lieutenant in the command of General Macomb. He with his company, acting as marines, participated in the naval engagement off

230 *Sketch of Governor Richard Howell, of New Jersey.*

Plattsburg. He emigrated to Mississippi soon after the war, married there, and was the father of several sons distinguished in the naval service in the Southern rebellion. His daughter Varina is the widow of Jefferson Davis. Franklin, the youngest son of Governor Howell, was killed at the age of eighteen, on board of the United States frigate "President," in her unfortunate engagement off New York Bay. Sarah Burr, the eldest daughter, married James Agnew, a native of Princeton, and a graduate of the College of New Jersey, in the class of 1795. Beulah, the second daughter, married John L. Glaser, a Hamburg merchant, at one time resident in Philadelphia, afterwards engaged in the iron business in Western Pennsylvania, and then in the commission business in Pittsburgh; in all of which he sunk a large fortune, and finally returned to Hamburg.

EARLY COLONIAL ORGAN-BUILDERS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

The first builder of church organs in America was Gustavus Hesselius, a native of Sweden, but a resident of Philadelphia to his death in May of 1755, whose portrait and that of his wife Lydia were recently presented by Mr. Charles Hare Hutchinson to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Through the investigations of Charles Henry Hart, Esq., it has been discovered that he was also the earliest painter in America and a church and altar decorator of high merit. Hesselius in the early spring of 1746 built for the Moravian congregation at Bethlehem a pipe organ costing upwards of forty pounds. In his employ at that date was John G. Klemm, a native of Dresden, Saxony, who had learned organ-building in Germany, and who continued in the business after the death of his employer. Klemm's assistant was David Tannenberg, who was born March 21, 1728, in Berthelsdorf, Saxony, and immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1749. In 1758 Klemm and Tannenberg built a pipe organ for the chapel in the Manor House at Nazareth, Northampton County. After the death of Klemm, in 1762, Tannenberg continued the business at Lititz, Lancaster County, for about forty years. As far as has been ascertained, he built organs for the following places:

- 1761. Lititz, a chapel organ costing forty pounds.
- 1767. Albany, New York.
- 1768. Maxatawney, Pennsylvania.
- 1769. Goshenhoppen, Pennsylvania.
- 1770. Lancaster, for the Reformed Church. Hebron, near Lebanon; destroyed by fire in 1858.
- 1774. Lancaster, for Trinity Lutheran Church; it had

twenty registers. Lancaster, for St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church.

1776. Easton, Pennsylvania.

1787. Lititz, church organ, three hundred and fifty pounds; Brethren's House, Sisters' House, fifty pounds.

1790. Philadelphia, Zion Lutheran Church, Fourth and Cherry Streets. President Washington and wife, members of Congress and of the Pennsylvania Assembly attended the dedication of this organ January 8, 1791. It was the largest organ in the United States, and was destroyed by fire in 1794. While building the organ Tannenberg wrote to a friend, "On the main manual seven stops are now in place, and the pedals are complete, with the exception of five pipes in the Trombone Bass. The Echo is in place and completed. On the upper manual one stop, the Principal, is finished. When all is drawn out on the lower manual, with Pedal, the church is well filled with the volume of sound."

1793. Nazareth, Pennsylvania, two hundred and seventy-four pounds, for the Moravian Church. It was replaced by a new instrument in the spring of 1898, but all the four hundred and twenty-one pipes of the old are used in the new organ.

1798. Salem, North Carolina, three hundred pounds; Hanover, Pennsylvania; Baltimore, Maryland, three hundred and seventy-five pounds; Macungie (Lehigh County), four hundred pounds; Tohickon, Pennsylvania, two hundred pounds; White Plains Township, two hundred pounds.

1799. Lancaster, Moravian Church, two hundred and sixty pounds.

1801. New Holland, Pennsylvania, Reformed Church, two hundred pounds; Madison, Virginia.

1804. York, Pennsylvania, for Christ Lutheran Church, three hundred and fifty-five pounds. While engaged in tuning this organ, Tannenberg was suddenly stricken with paralysis, and, falling from a bench upon his head, received injuries from which he died a few days later, May 19, 1804. At his funeral services his last organ was played

for the first time. Tannenberg also manufactured pianos, which he sold at twenty-two pounds ten shillings. He was an excellent musician and possessed of a good voice. His son-in-law and partner, John Philip Bachman, succeeded him in the business.

Robert Harttafel, who was a resident of the borough of Lancaster in 1749, was also an organ-builder, but we have failed to locate any of his instruments.

COLONEL ARMAND, OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.¹

One of the brilliant Frenchmen who figured with distinction in our War of Independence was Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie. He raised and commanded a legion which distinguished itself in our service. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of April 15, 1898, is the first part of a sketch of his life, drawn from original and little known printed sources by T. G. Lenotre, and the story, continued in successive numbers for May and June, well deserves to be told in an abridged form, as throwing light on one, at least, of our brave allies. Armand de la Rouerie was the complete personification of a gentleman of the *ancien régime* of the old school of France. He had alike their faults and their virtues,—easy morals, carelessness, bravery, pride, imprudence, chivalric heroism, and an absolute contempt of death. In the French Revolution he showed courage, pride, stoicism, astonishing in a man whose youthful frivolous existence seemed a preparation only for pleasure and idleness, under the training of a dissolute uncle, a Breton gentleman, who, after thirty years with his regiment or in his quiet country home, inherited a fortune and spent it in extravagant living in the fashion of the time. He was the guardian and mentor of his nephew, Charles Armand Tuffin de la Rouerie, flag ensign in the regiment of French Guards. This lad, at seventeen, was brought to Paris and taught the pleasures of life there. With a generous and impressionable heart, a bright face, and an attractive figure, he showed himself an apt pupil. Left by the early death of his father to the care of a young mother, pretty and fond of pleasure, he received a brilliant rather than a solid education, spoke English and German fluently, danced well, and was ready to follow

¹ Translated and abridged by J. G. Rosengarten, Esq., from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

any impulse given him by his elders. He became the leader of the young men of his set, had love affairs and quarrels, in one of his duels severely wounded his own cousin, took opium, but, restored to life, fled to Geneva, resigned from the army, and then, resolved to regain by some bold step the reputation perilled by his mad career, bade good-by to his mother, and with three servants sailed for America, reaching that country in April, 1777. He left in France a natural son, to whom he gave his name, and who later in his life figured in his adventurous career.

The enthusiasm of the French nobility for the cause of American independence was one of the striking incidents in French history. Abandoning their luxurious lives, they seemed to draw fresh and wholesome influence from the plain and sturdy people for whose liberty these soldiers of a king gave their whole strength. It was more of a passionate outbreak than a careful and well-considered adhesion to republican ideas. It soon influenced their countrymen, who took it for a serious conviction of the truths proclaimed by the American patriots. The Marquis de la Rouerie was one of the first to reach America; he got there before Lafayette had left France. He came in search of liberty and adventures, and he found both in abundance. After a passage of two months, his vessel was attacked by an English frigate, which destroyed his ship, but with his three servants he swam ashore, naked, all his supplies of every kind being lost in the wreck. He obtained from Washington permission to raise a legion, but sought in vain for volunteers. The French were not popular; the first comers had offended the Americans by their pretensions and their bad behavior. The cool reception given to Armand might well have sent him home, but he persisted, bought for two thousand four hundred livres a free corps formed by a Swiss major, and was ready to take part in the campaign of 1777. Commanding an irregular body of troops, with absolute liberty to go where he liked, the war of surprises and ruses, nights passed in the open air, the attraction of danger, improvised camps, the life of a partisan, without thought of

the morrow or care for the day, without law, without prejudices, without subjection to authority,—all this suited him so well that he soon gained the reputation of a hero and quite unfitted himself for the narrow course of European life. Colonel Armand, as he called himself, became as popular as Lafayette, and Chastellux, meeting him at dinner at the French minister's (Luzerne) in 1780, spoke of him as celebrated in France for his adventures with an actress, and in America for his courage and capacity. He pleased the Americans by the simplicity with which he adopted republican morals, he won the affection of the French by his bravery and modesty, he gained the admiration of both by his heroic courage and his unconquerable firmness.

The legion which he commanded was destroyed at the battle of Camden in South Carolina. He went to France, bought all that was necessary to arm and equip new partisans, offered them to Congress, reorganized his legion, at Yorktown led an attack on the enemy's works, and Washington rewarded him by giving him the choice of fifty volunteers to reinforce his legion. Everywhere he was at the fore-front, showing himself indifferent to every danger, seeking the most perilous post, and, the war over, remained in America to urge due rewards to his countrymen. The first to come, he was the last to leave, and returning at last to France, found all positions filled, and, tired of solicitation, retired to his estates to complain of ill-treatment from his own country. He brought home from America nothing but the Order of the Cincinnati and fifty thousand francs of debt, an old companion in arms, Major Schaffner,¹ and opinions of the most advanced kind. His only rank was that of brigadier-general of the United States. In 1785 he married a rich woman of rank, who died in 1786.

Tired of his life as a country gentleman, he threw him-

¹ George Schaffner, of Pennsylvania, was commissioned second lieutenant in the "German Regiment," Colonel Nicholas Haussegger, July 12, 1776; transferred to Captain John Paul Schott's company of Count Nicholas von Ottendorf's corps, February 4, 1777; captain in "Armand's Legion" in 1778, and major in 1782.

self into the struggles that preceded and presaged the coming storm of the French Revolution. He was one of a delegation of Breton noblemen sent to Paris in 1788 to offer their services to the King, landed in the Bastille, left it in a blaze of glory, was both revolutionist and royalist, full of activity in pressing his claims, tore down his ancestral home to replace it by a vast castle, still standing unfinished, surrounded it with trees from America, still growing, but finished nothing, and spent most of his time and fortune in Paris on another actress. He threw himself into politics, but could not secure the support of his fellow-noblemen, quarrelled with his brother, and had a curious love affair with his cousin, a young woman who shared his aspirations and the tangled web of royalist conspiracies in which he engaged with characteristic zeal, passion, and want of judgment. He rivalled Lafayette and Lauzun and La Rochejaquelein in public notoriety by his wild career, and won the praise of Chateaubriand and the admiration of the law students of Rennes. His first ally was his old American companion in arms, Major Schaffner, a poorly educated man, who never learned to speak French intelligibly; his only support at first was a half crazy Breton nobleman, whose château was the gathering place of all the discontented royalists. Armand de la Rouerie was at last recognized by Comte d'Artois, brother of the King, then in prison, and visited him at Coblenz, taking along his fair cousin, his valet, his barber, and his body-servant, and set on foot a series of conspiracies against the French government which gave it a great deal of trouble, caused the loss of many valuable lives, and did little real service to the cause of the King. He enlisted one of his old comrades in America, Georges de Fontevreux, nephew of the Dowager Princess of Deux Ponts, who had served with distinction in both France and America, spoke English and German fluently, and was ready for any madcap adventure. Armand, on his return from the exiled court, stayed in Paris long enough to renew his old acquaintances, and with characteristic thoughtlessness revealed his secrets to those among them who were as devoted to the

republic as he was to the crown. Returning to his country home, he became the head of a conspiracy which is still famous in French history. He brought together all who were dissatisfied with the republic,—honest loyalists like himself, men who were outraged by the removal of the faithful old priests so dear to Breton piety,—making each parish the centre of a group sworn to avenge the injury done their pride as royalists or their piety as good and fervent Catholics. He organized local councils and bodies representing them. He gathered around him men of all ages and all types, and asked of them no act of devotion which they were not ready to do at the sacrifice of life, if need be. As chief he showed an utter want of capacity, and this fault was heightened by want of means to arm his forces and to give them the opportunity of living and of executing his wild and fantastic orders. He lived in his castle on a grand scale, with fourteen servants, ten saddle-horses, and an endless succession of peasants, spies, recruits, emissaries (table free to all), and volunteers mounting guard and patrolling his estate. He got money from the exiled court through agents who carelessly revealed his secrets to friends in Paris who were spies for the government, thus putting at risk his life and that of every man sharing in his conspiracy.

Supported by the exiled princes, Armand de la Rouerie was confident of success. He commanded in their name in Brittany, and instead of the legion of adventurers and deserters he had led in America, was at the head of a considerable army of peasants, and his staff was made up of distinguished noblemen. His château was the general head-quarters, his chief of staff his fair, if frail, cousin Thérèse de Moelien, who rode about the country dressed like an Amazon, with gold epaulettes and the Order of the Cincinnati attached to a blue ribbon, and a white plume in her hat. The château was regularly garrisoned, a score of troopers exercised daily on the lawn, sentinels kept guard, the entrances were barricaded, and nightly gatherings filled the house with light and noisy enthusiasm. Besides drawing freely on the royal purse, his well-to-do allies

gave him a year's revenue. Six thousand muskets were secured, four guns were mounted, abundant supplies of ammunition were brought from England, and cartridges were made in a secluded house which served as an arsenal.

Ready by the spring of 1792, General Armand obtained from the royal princes, brothers of the imprisoned King of France, a formal order giving him full power. The royalist army under the Duke of Brunswick was to march from the north, Armand with ten thousand men from the west, and, concentrating at Paris, the King was to be freed, the Assembly dispersed, and the royalists again put in power. On a given Sunday peasants and noblemen crowded the *château*; the former were supplied with food and beer, the latter with champagne, and gaming tables were started for their amusement. At last the Marquis Armand de la Rouerie appeared in full uniform, his commission was read, and he addressed the crowd in energetic phrases. This was the first scene in that royalist enterprise in which for long years life and fortune were wasted by men who underwent every sort of hardship, nights without sleep, winters without shelter, proscribed, in hiding, shot down like wild beasts, and twenty years after even Napoleon spoke with respect of the little band that still fought on; the peasants led by their priests, the noblemen abandoning their homes, a price set on the head of their leader, who was sheltered in one *château* after another by noblemen always ready to protect the representative of the crown and of the church. Among the peasants were men of real genius for the sort of war thus set on foot, and both the wild nature of the country and of its inhabitants enabled them to resist invading armies of the republic far larger in number and far better equipped. Armand was the head of this force, appointing its chiefs, supplying arms and food and money, planning its operations, and responsible alike for its successes and its failures. All this time he was in close contact with men who betrayed his every movement, almost his very thoughts, to the republican leaders in Paris. One of these spies lived in daily intercourse with Armand and his friends, and went

from their intimate meetings to Paris to report everything that was said and done. He even persuaded the royalists that the republican leaders were their friends. Armand sent this chief conspirator to represent him in London, and took him along in his conferences with the leading royalists. From these meetings this clever spy hurried to Paris to make his reports, returning with other confederates to keep alive the intrigues in which Armand and his friends were going deeper and deeper. For three months this able scoundrel lived in daily contact with the royalists in Jersey, Dover, London, and Liège, was presented to the Comte d'Artois and his ministers, pretended to help their plans, and kept up correspondence alike with the royalists, the Breton conspirators, and the republican government. Armand was stirring his peasant soldiers and his noble officers to all sorts of desperate enterprises, often leading them to acts of heroism in open combat, earning the confidence of his fellow-royalists and inspiring them with his own unshaken faith in the triumph of the good cause, when he should enter Paris at the head of an army of peasants, singing their old Breton songs and full of hope for King and Church. Among the warm supporters of Armand was one of the Breton noblemen, who remained in his old château in this eventful month of January, 1793, with wife and daughters and a retinue of servants. There Armand had found shelter repeatedly, and there he came on January 12, 1793, after weeks spent in tireless activity, visiting the chiefs of his local bands, changing his place of refuge every night, sleeping sometimes in the forests, sometimes in hidden huts or caves. His indomitable tenacity of purpose, his success in escaping pursuit, and the romantic circumstances of his tragic death left traditions that are still familiar legends in this part of Brittany. His last visit ended in his death on January 30, 1793, after a desperate illness, in which his faithful friends sought to give him every care; but his horror on suddenly receiving news of the death of the King on January 21 ended in his own. The grief of his faithful friends was heightened by their anxiety, and a last

resting-place was secretly given him in the grounds of the château, while measures were taken to preserve its identity. The certificate of death, hidden at the foot of an oak, was found there in 1835, still legible. His private papers were taken for greater security to the château of another of his faithful allies, and for a few days all passed tranquilly in the house where Armand ended at forty-two his adventurous life. Following closely came the visit of Chévetel, who pretended to be one of the royalist conspirators, while he was actually a spy in the service of the French republic. During Armand's last illness, Chévetel sent a report to him of the visit he had made to the royalists in Belgium, and another to the authorities in Paris with the details learned during his stay with the conspirators. Returning to Brittany with a fellow-spy, armed with authority to use soldiers and police, with powers of life and death, so little confidence had the government in these agents that other secret agents were sent to follow them and report their every action to the central authority in Paris. Even the two spies mistrusted each other, and each tried to have the other arrested and imprisoned. Chévetel maintained the character of being a royalist only to penetrate the secrets of Armand's friends and to reveal them to the government, while he tried hard and successfully to keep up his disguise. Finally both appeared at the château where Armand had died, and there arrested the whole family of his friends and sent them to Paris, where they met death on the scaffold with heroism worthy of a better cause. These spies even unearthed the remains of Armand and made a detailed report of its condition, still preserved in the archives of the government in Paris. The head of Armand was put on a pike and exhibited to the gaping crowd. The château was pillaged, yet it still remains a mute witness of the dreadful scenes of those trying times. Even the room in which Armand died is kept as it was at the time of his death, and his tomb in the woods near the house is a pile of rough stones, surmounted by an iron cross, of which the arms bear the insignia of Brittany and the lilies of France,

and the inscription preserves the legend, "Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, died January 30, 1793: he died of his fidelity to his King." A descendant of his last and faithful friend still lives in the old château, an old woman who for more than eighty years has occupied it, preserving the memory of its hero, whose portrait still hangs on its walls. For him, her memory is full of tender indulgence and admiration, and her fidelity is worthy of her glorious race, of men faithful to their King at every sacrifice and ready to give life and fortune in his behalf. The story of the hardships inflicted on the family that sheltered Armand in life and death is characteristic of the mingled horrors and levity of that awful time. Dragged from one town to another, threatened with death, insulted, robbed, receiving protection from the agents of the government only in the hope of plunder, their fate is part of the history of the period. The agents and spies quarrelled over the division of their spoils, and the government, after using them to bring the poor victims of their loyalty to the scaffold, sent one to Venice to watch their own agent; the other lived to a venerable age, having served in succession every dynasty of France down to his death. The memory of poor Armand passed into oblivion, and only now is restored to the light of day by the faithful chronicler of his sad story.

M. Lenotre has traced, out of forgotten archives, every step of Armand's last days and the fate of his fellow-royalists, conspirators for the cause of the King. Is there any trace of the "Major Schaffner," the American who shared Armand's adventures in both the Old World and the New, or is he, too, a shadow? What Armand and his fellow-Frenchmen did for this country in its time of need may well justify our interest in their subsequent career. The story of our French allies can be finally told only by tracing out their lives after their return home. This it is that M. Lenotre has done for Colonel Armand.

MINUTE OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA ON THE RETIREMENT OF ITS TREASURER, MAJOR J. EDWARD CARPENTER.

At the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania held May 9, 1898, the following minute was unanimously adopted :

"The Society having been informed that its late Treasurer, Major J. Edward Carpenter, has declined, after a continuous service of thirty years, to be a candidate for re-election, desires, on his retirement from that office, to bear testimony to the extraordinary value of his services during that long period; and especially wishing to express its grateful sense of the fidelity, accuracy, and good judgment which have characterized, during his incumbency, the management of the financial affairs of the Society, it adopts the following minute:

" MINUTE.

"The Society points with pride and gratitude to the long career of Major Carpenter as its Treasurer. Under his most zealous and gratuitous care not only have the funds of the Society been carefully invested and constantly guarded from loss, but in the vast changes which have taken place in the financial world since our funds have been in his charge neither principal nor income have suffered loss. Such watchfulness and skill, with such results, involving much time and labor in the performance of the responsible duties of his office, attest the possession by Major Carpenter of the strictest honesty of purpose and absolute devotion to the interests of the Society, and qualities such as these it is our duty to honor and recognize. We should at least preserve the record of this faithful officer's services on our books *in rei perpetuam memoriam*.

"Such an expression of our feelings is due not only to Major Carpenter himself, but it may serve also as a means of testifying to the confidence in his high character with which his long career has inspired us, as well as serve to encourage those who are burdened with the great responsibility of the care of money belonging to others.

"Resolved, That a copy of this minute be sent to Major Carpenter.

[Attest]

"CHARLES J. STILLÉ,

"President."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

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LETTER OF GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.—

"MORRIS TOWN, Jan'y. 7th. 1781.

"SIR

"Mr Donaldson would inform you of the ill success of the Embassy The Marquis & myself were sent upon, and the short Notice we received to leave Prince Town—We thought it prudent to take the Mutineers at their word as there was no Prospect of our being of any Service, and it was not improbable they might think it, upon second Consideration, advisable to detain us; & we have heard that they have since made Genl Wayne Colonells Butler & Stewart Prisoners & admit no Person to see them but thro the Committee—They were impatient to see your Excellency or some of the Council of Pennsylvania, but their Demands are so extravagant, and they got on so smoothly hitherto that I have no hopes of any thing but Force reducing them to Reason.

"The Enemy have made no Movement yet in Consequence of this affair and it may be that they are so much weakened by their late Detachments as not to be able to spare a sufficient Body, but I am persuaded that if they were in Jersey great Numbers would desert to them, as it is certain that british Emmissarys have set this Matter a going, and many of them have confessed to us that it was proposed to them to lead them all there—This however they nobly refused.

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"Your most obedient

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"His Excellency

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"LONDON NEWMAN STREET, Sept. 5, 1810.

"DEAR SIR,

"You will have the goodness to make Mr. Hamilton of Woodlands near Philadelphia when you write him next, acquainted with the following, viz. That I have received his letter of instructions for finishing the picture which contains the Portraits of himself and Niece whole lengths. That I have a pride in rendering the picture as a finished work of art to the utmost of my abilities—and I am therefore repainting it

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"ON GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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Extended Westward to the Evening skies,
Be brought me here by some fair virgin Muse,
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(From the Commonplace Book of Hannah Marshall, 1781.)

JOHN PENN AND JOHN PENN TO BENJAMIN CHEW.—

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"DEAR SIR:

"As you have some papers belonging to us, relative to the title of Springetsbury manor, we are induced by a necessary settlement of our affairs previous to leaving this country, to request that you will be so good as to furnish us with a list of them, and afterwards deliver them to Mr. Tilghman, till the causes in which he is concerned for us are brought to a conclusion. At that time we shall direct Mr. Butler our agent to call for them, to be deposited among our other papers.

[Signed]

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McCULLOCH—ROACH.—John McCulloch, born March 29, 1754, died September 27, 1824, and Mary Roach, born August 15, 1756, were married May 5, 1777. They had issue:

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Elizabeth, born July 8, 1790; died December 16, 1810.
John, born November 15, 1791.

[Inscription on tombstone.]

In Memory of
 JOHN McCULLOCH
 Bookseller,
 A Native of Glasgow.
 Born Mar. 29, 1764,
 Died Sept. 27, 1824.

He was eminently useful as a member of the Associate Presbyterian Church of this City, in which he was an Elder during thirty-eight years.

"The memory of the just is blessed."

GILBERT STUART'S SILVER SNUFF-BOX.—Mr. Garrett C. Neagle has presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a large silver snuff-box, formerly the property of the celebrated artist Gilbert Stuart. It was presented by Mr. Isaac P. Davis, of Boston, to the artist Thomas Sully, of this city, and by the latter bequeathed to Mr. Neagle. In this connection the following letter of Mr. Davis is of interest.

"BOSTON, April 26th 1830.

"MY DEAR SIR—

"The vessel has arrived in the harbour with the pictures—they are not yet landed—I am pleased to receive them in good season—we shall have a good collection this year & am in hopes to meet with our usual encouragement.

"Col. Perkins has just received a beautiful copy of 'Rubens's Descent from the Cross'—I saw it in company with a gentleman who had seen the original. He considers it a very fine copy & gives you a good idea of the original picture. We consider it an acquisition at the present time.

"I regret Mr. Neagle did not send us anything this year—am in hopes he will remember us another season.

"I was much disappointed in not having President Adams—we must keep him for next year—As the Stuarts are in need of funds shall like to have it sent on as soon as conveniently can finish it.

"I have recommended very strongly Mr. Longacre to take a likeness of Mr. Webster for one of our Booksellers, who is now publishing a volume of his writings—I think Mr. Longacre would give a more spirited picture by going to Washington and have two or three sittings from the original—than by making a copy from any painting—I am in hopes he will undertake it—I am sure he will give satisfaction. I have written Mr. Webster on the subject—I am obliged to him for the copy of the President, it is the only good engraving I have seen of him.

"Mrs. Davis will pass a few days in your good city, & expects to have the pleasure of seeing you—I have sent by her the large silver Snuff Box of Stuart's which was almost a part of himself—it was as necessary for

him as the Palette & Brush, & always had its place on the Easel. As it cannot be in possession of any one more deserving, or will more highly value it than yourself, I beg your acceptance of it from me as a small token of my regard & esteem.

"As I have not time before Mrs. Davis leaves us, to have an inscription, will direct such an one as you may think proper—that it may be known as the box of Gilbert Stuart.

"We have a curiosity among our Pictures—a head of Mr. Wendell painted by Sir Thos. Lawrence at the age of 18. I enclose you the inscription on the back which was in his own handwriting.

"We also have the *original head*—painted by Trumbull for his Sortie of Gibraltar.

"Yours Sincerely

"I. P. DAVIS.

"To THOMAS SULLY, Esq."

LETTER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON TO JOSEPH REED, 1777.—

"MORRIS TOWN, Jan'y. 19th, 1777.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your letters of the 16 & 17th inst. are both before me.—I have come to a resolution to recall the Protection given by Genl. Howe, & am now preparing something by way of Proclamation for that purpose in order that the Country may stand upon the same Footing or friends distinguished from foes.—I have also issued something in general orders explaining the former orders relative to the appropriation of Plunder &c. & have sent copies to the different Posts.

"The Morris County light horse have disbanded themselves I believe, for I have seen none of them for sometime. A strict scrutiny will, I hope, be made into the conduct of Col^o Chambers and his officers, & proper examples made.—Genl. Putnam was directed long ago by me to have the arms collected from the Country.—I hope he has done it, I have no objection to his allowing some compensation for the trouble of collecting & bringing them in.—Genl. Grants waggon was really taken with his steward who is now here a Prisoner.

"Would it not be best to order P. Vanhorne to Brunswick—these People in my opinion can do us less injury there than anywhere else—I presume he will plead the difficulty of obtaining Quarters—maintaining himself &c.—but is this sufficient?—

"I have wrote a line of thanks myself to Cap^t Ransom, & when you see Col^o White please to express the sense I entertain of his conduct & those of the other two Gentlemen who were with him on the occasion.—

"I am D^r Sir

"Y^r Most obed^t & aff^t

"G^o WASHINGTON.

"To

"JOSEPH REED Esq^r

"at

"Princeton."

LETTER OF THOMAS COLBY TO JAMES LOGAN.—

"March y^e 8th 1722

"SR

"Your not coming to England as you were pleas'd to write me you had resolv'd, was a most unhappy disappointment to me, since twas one of the chief inducements of my voyage, and designs, to have mett you at London. Upon despair of it, I found out and waited on M^{rs} Penn, but w^{thout} seeing her, till a sick child she was in trouble about, died. I

then was admitted to see her wth a letter Brigadier Hunter favoured me with to her. Having found yours where you so kindly give your judgement of the Equity of the grant, in a few days she gave me this letter to you, wth I hope removes all difficulties about having ye land. I leave it entirely to your disposall, either to your self, or another friend, upon any terms you thinck reasonable; and upon your advice, and orders sent me to y^e New England coffee house shall do all thats necessary to make over my title to it. I shan't return to York this twelvemonth, being engag'd in some experiments on Nature, that I have y^e justest hopes will make me Master, of some of her noblest remedies. If it pleases God to give me success, I should to none dispense 'em wth more delight, than to a man of Mr Logans character, and do every thing in my power to serve him, as a gratefull evidence how much I thinck my self oblig'd to him, wth I shall ever acknowledge as becomes

"Y^r most affection^d friend,

"and humble servant,

"TH. COLBY."

UNIFORMS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXII. p. 119).—To supplement the very important contribution of Colonel Nicholson upon this subject, I send you Washington's earlier order and later supplement in regard to the designation of general officers and aides-de-camp.

CHARLES HENRY HART.

"HEAD QUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE, July 14th 1775.

"Parole—*Halifax*

Countersign, *Inverness*

"The General observing great remissness and neglect in the several guards in and about the camp, orders the Officers commanding any Guard to turn out his Guard, immediately upon the near approach of The Commander in Chief or any of the General Officers and upon passing the Guard; The Commander in Chief is to be received with *rested arms*; the Officer to salute and the Drums to beat a march. The Majors General with *rested Arms*, the Officer to salute and the Drums to beat two Ruffles. The Brigadiers General with *rested Arms*, the Officers to salute and the Drums to beat one Ruffle.—There being something awkward, as well as improper, in the General Officers being stopp'd at the out-posts; ask'd for passes by the Sentries, and obliged often to send for the Officer of the Guard, who it sometimes happens is as much unacquainted with the Persons of the Generals, as the private men, before they can pass in or out: It is recommended to both Officers and Men, to make themselves acquainted with the persons of all the Officers in General Command, and in the mean time to prevent mistakes: The General Officers and their Aids-de-Camp will be distinguished in the following manner. The Commander in Chief by a light blue Ribband, wore across his breast between his coat and Waistcoat.

"The Majors and Brigadiers General by a Pink Ribband wore in like manner.

"The Aids-de-Camp by a green Ribband."

"HEAD QUARTERS CAMBRIDGE July 24, 1775.

"Parole *Salisbury*

Countersign *Cumberland*

"It being thought proper to distinguish the Majors from the Brigadiers General by some particular Mark; for the future the Majors General will wear a broad purple ribband.

"Notwithstanding the General Orders marking the distinctions of General Officers, Aids-de-Camp, &c—the Generals are frequently stopp'd by the centinels, which can only happen from the Captains having neglected to read the Orders to their respective Companies; If any General Officer, Aid-de-Camp or Major of Brigade, is again stopped through the Ignorance of the Centinels; the Captains will be responsible."

ROSTER OF CAPTAIN SOLOMON JENNINGS'S COMPANY OF "SAUCON RANGERS," OF NORTHAMPTON COUNTY.—

Solomon Jennings, *Captain*.

John Jennings, *Lieutenant*.

Daniel Brown, *Ensign*.

John Simpler,	Matthew Forbusch,
George Klein,	Frederick Kratzer,
Jacob Bartholomew,	Benjamin Kratzer,
John Sober,	Philip Trap,
Henry Schoener,	John Conn,
Matthew Krath,	Michael Cougher,
George Plank,	Adam Shons,
Jacob Mullock,	George Brinker,
John Taylor,	Christian Cope,
Jacob Serfin,	John Hause,
George Kersner,	John Schwitzer,
Henry Riche,	George Cridler,
George Weaver,	Anthony Beem,
George Marsteller,	Henry Hummel,
Frederick Marsteller,	Henry Weaver,
Henry Koons,	Philip Flick,
Jacob Ludwig,	Philip Himan,
Andrew Sin,	Peter Bower,
Henry Kramer,	George East,
Philip Kopf,	Elias Hummel,
Frederick Kohler,	Adam Hummel,
Christian Nauman,	Adam Wiser,
Henry Bachman,	Conrad Tinkis,
Jacob Bachman,	Jacob Judy (<i>axe man</i>),
Michael Seyder,	Conrad Hertzal (<i>axe man</i>),
Francis Becker,	Jacob Hertzal (<i>axe man</i>),
George Kroush,	John George Spone.
Adam Master,	

The above men were six days in service.

Lieut. Brown and ten men ranged four days longer than Capt. Jennings.

George Kleine,	Jacob Serfin,
John Sober,	Matthew Crugh,
George Cosner,	Jacob Mullock,
John Simpler,	John Taylor,
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GENEALOGICAL NOTES.—

King, Ann, m. n. Evans, born March 25, 1720, in Langolman, Pembrokehire, Wales, came to Pennsylvania in November of 1720. She married Samuel King August 31, 1739, who died in 1757.

Sturgis, Jane, m. n. Hatfield, born November 25, 1705, in Philadelphia. Married Joseph Sturgis December 29, 1723, who died April 2, 1747.

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 Born Mar. 29, 1764,
 Died Sept. 27, 1824.

He was eminently useful as a member of the Associate Presbyterian Church of this City, in which he was an Elder during thirty-eight years.

"The memory of the just is blessed."

GILBERT STUART'S SILVER SNUFF-BOX.—Mr. Garrett C. Neagle has presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a large silver snuff-box, formerly the property of the celebrated artist Gilbert Stuart. It was presented by Mr. Isaac P. Davis, of Boston, to the artist Thomas Sully, of this city, and by the latter bequeathed to Mr. Neagle. In this connection the following letter of Mr. Davis is of interest.

"BOSTON, April 26th 1830.

"MY DEAR SIR—

"The vessel has arrived in the harbour with the pictures—they are not yet landed—I am pleased to receive them in good season—we shall have a good collection this year & am in hopes to meet with our usual encouragement.

"Col. Perkins has just received a beautiful copy of 'Rubens's Descent from the Cross'—I saw it in company with a gentleman who had seen the original. He considers it a very fine copy & gives you a good idea of the original picture. We consider it an acquisition at the present time.

"I regret Mr. Neagle did not send us anything this year—am in hopes he will remember us another season.

"I was much disappointed in not having President Adams—we must keep him for next year—As the Stuarts are in need of funds shall like to have it sent on as soon as conveniently can finish it.

"I have recommended very strongly Mr. Longacre to take a likeness of Mr. Webster for one of our Booksellers, who is now publishing a volume of his writings—I think Mr. Longacre would give a more spirited picture by going to Washington and have two or three sittings from the original—than by making a copy from any painting—I am in hopes he will undertake it—I am sure he will give satisfaction. I have written Mr. Webster on the subject—I am obliged to him for the copy of the President, it is the only good engraving I have seen of him.

"Mrs. Davis will pass a few days in your good city, & expects to have the pleasure of seeing you—I have sent by her the large silver Snuff Box of Stuart's which was almost a part of himself—it was as necessary for

him as the Palette & Brush, & always had its place on the Easel. As it cannot be in possession of any one more deserving, or will more highly value it than yourself, I beg your acceptance of it from me as a small token of my regard & esteem.

"As I have not time before Mrs. Davis leaves us, to have an inscription, will direct such an one as you may think proper—that it may be known as the box of Gilbert Stuart.

"We have a curiosity among our Pictures—a head of Mr. Wendell painted by Sir Thos. Lawrence at the age of 18. I enclose you the inscription on the back which was in his own handwriting.

"We also have the *original head*—painted by Trumbull for his Sortie of Gibraltar.

"Yours Sincerely

"I. P. DAVIS.

"To THOMAS SULLY, Esq."

LETTER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON TO JOSEPH REED, 1777.—

"MORRIS TOWN, Jany. 19th, 1777.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your letters of the 16 & 17th inst. are both before me.—I have come to a resolution to recall the Protection given by Genl. Howe, & am now preparing something by way of Proclamation for that purpose in order that the Country may stand upon the same Footing or friends distinguished from foes.—I have also issued something in general orders explaining the former orders relative to the appropriation of Plunder &c. & have sent copies to the different Posts.

"The Morris County light horse have disbanded themselves I believe, for I have seen none of them for sometime. A strict scrutiny will, I hope, be made into the conduct of Col^o Chambers and his officers, & proper examples made.—Genl. Putnam was directed long ago by me to have the arms collected from the Country.—I hope he has done it, I have no objection to his allowing some compensation for the trouble of collecting & bringing them in.—Genl. Grants waggon was really taken with his steward who is now here a Prisoner.

"Would it not be best to order P. Vanhorne to Brunswick—these People in my opinion can do us less injury there than anywhere else—I presume he will plead the difficulty of obtaining Quarters—maintaining himself &c.—but is this sufficient?—

"I have wrote a line of thanks myself to Cap^t Ransom, & when you see Col^o White please to express the sense I entertain of his conduct & those of the other two Gentlemen who were with him on the occasion.—

"I am D^r Sir

"Y^r Most obed^t & aff^d

"G^o WASHINGTON.

"To

"JOSEPH REED Esq^r

"at

"Princeton."

LETTER OF THOMAS COLBY TO JAMES LOGAN.—

"SR

"March y^e 8th 1722

"Your not coming to England as you were pleas'd to write me you had resolv'd, was a most unhappy disappointment to me, since twas one of the chief inducements of my voiage, and designs, to have mett you at London. Upon despair of it, I found out and waited on M^{rs} Penn, but w^{thout} seeing her, till a sick child she was in trouble about, died. I

then was admitted to see her wth a letter Brigadier Hunter favoured me with to her. Having found yours where you so kindly give your judgement of the Equity of the grant, in a few days she gave me this letter to you, wth I hope removes all difficulties about having ye land. I leave it entirely to your disposall, either to your self, or another friend, upon any terms you thinck reasonable; and upon your advice, and orders sent me to y^e New England coffee house shall do all thats necessary to make over my title to it. I shan't return to York this twelvemonth, being engag'd in some experiments on Nature, that I have y^e justest hopes will make me Master, of some of her noblest remedies. If it pleases God to give me success, I should to none dispense 'em wth more delight, than to a man of Mr Logans character, and do every thing in my power to serve him, as a gratefull evidence how much I thinck my self oblig'd to him, wth I shall ever acknowledge as becomes

"Y^r most affection^d friend,

"and humble servant,

"TH. COLBY."

UNIFORMS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXII. p. 119).—To supplement the very important contribution of Colonel Nicholson upon this subject, I send you Washington's earlier order and later supplement in regard to the designation of general officers and aides-de-camp.

CHARLES HENRY HART.

"HEAD QUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE, July 14th 1775.

"Parole—*Halifax*

Countersign, *Inverness*

"The General observing great remissness and neglect in the several guards in and about the camp, orders the Officers commanding any Guard to turn out his Guard, immediately upon the near approach of The Commander in Chief or any of the General Officers and upon passing the Guard; The Commander in Chief is to be received with *rested arms*; the Officer to salute and the Drums to beat a march. The Majors General with *rested Arms*, the Officer to salute and the Drums to beat two Ruffles. The Brigadiers General with *rested Arms*, the Officers to salute and the Drums to beat one Ruffle.—There being something awkward, as well as improper, in the General Officers being stopp'd at the out-posts; ask'd for passes by the Sentries, and obliged often to send for the Officer of the Guard, who it sometimes happens is as much unacquainted with the Persons of the Generals, as the private men, before they can pass in or out: It is recommended to both Officers and Men, to make themselves acquainted with the persons of all the Officers in General Command, and in the mean time to prevent mistakes: The General Officers and their Aids-de-Camp will be distinguished in the following manner. The Commander in Chief by a light blue Ribband, wore across his breast between his coat and Waistcoat.

"The Majors and Brigadiers General by a Pink Ribband wore in like manner.

"The Aids-de-Camp by a green Ribband."

"HEAD QUARTERS CAMBRIDGE July 24, 1775.

"Parole *Salisbury*

Countersign *Cumberland*

"It being thought proper to distinguish the Majors from the Brigadiers General by some particular Mark; for the future the Majors General will wear a broad purple ribband.

"Notwithstanding the General Orders marking the distinctions of General Officers, Aids-de-Camp, &c—the Generals are frequently stopp'd by the centinels, which can only happen from the Captains having neglected to read the Orders to their respective Companies; If any General Officer, Aid-de-Camp or Major of Brigade, is again stopped through the Ignorance of the Centinels; the Captains will be responsible."

ROSTER OF CAPTAIN SOLOMON JENNINGS'S COMPANY OF "SAUCON RANGERS," OF NORTHAMPTON COUNTY.—

Solomon Jennings, *Captain*.

John Jennings, *Lieutenant*.

Daniel Brown, *Ensign*.

John Simpler,	Matthew Forbusch,
George Klein,	Frederick Kratzer,
Jacob Bartholomew,	Benjamin Kratzer,
John Sober,	Philip Trap,
Henry Schoener,	John Conn,
Matthew Krath,	Michael Cougher,
George Plank,	Adam Shons,
Jacob Mullock,	George Brinker,
John Taylor,	Christian Cope,
Jacob Serfin,	John Hause,
George Kersner,	John Schwitzer,
Henry Riche,	George Cridler,
George Weaver,	Anthony Beem,
George Marsteller,	Henry Hummel,
Frederick Marsteller,	Henry Weaver,
Henry Koons,	Philip Flick,
Jacob Ludwig,	Philip Himan,
Andrew Sin,	Peter Bower,
Henry Kramer,	George East,
Philip Kopf,	Elias Hummel,
Frederick Kohler,	Adam Hummel,
Christian Nauman,	Adam Wiser,
Henry Bachman,	Conrad Tinkis,
Jacob Bachman,	Jacob Judy (axe man),
Michael Seyder,	Conrad Hertzal (axe man),
Francis Becker,	Jacob Hertzal (axe man),
George Kroush,	John George Spone.
Adam Master,	

The above men were six days in service.

Lieut. Brown and ten men ranged four days longer than Capt. Jennings.

George Kleine,	Jacob Serfin,
John Sober,	Matthew Crugh,
George Cosner,	Jacob Mullock,
John Simpler,	John Taylor,
George Plank,	Henry Schoener.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES.—

King, Ann, m. n. Evans, born March 25, 1720, in Langolman, Pembrokehire, Wales, came to Pennsylvania in November of 1720. She married Samuel King August 31, 1739, who died in 1757.

Sturgis, Jane, m. n. Hatfield, born November 25, 1705, in Philadelphia. Married Joseph Sturgis December 29, 1723, who died April 2, 1747.

Broom, Charles, born February 18, 1739, in Brawton, Somersetshire, England, arrived in Pennsylvania in July of 1758. Married Anna Maria Pfeffer March 16, 1762. She was born February 11, 1743, in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Johnson, Francis, born December, 1707, in Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, England, and came to Pennsylvania in 1733. He married first, August 8, 1740, Anna Catherine Mezin, and second, August 21, 1766, Mary Stutt.

Shepherd, Giles, born 1702 in Bath, Somersetshire, England, and came to Pennsylvania in 1749. He married Rebecca Saunders, born July 17, 1737, in Philadelphia, of Quaker parentage.

Roman, John Cornelius, sugar-refiner, born November 25, 1728, in Durlach, Germany, came to Pennsylvania in June of 1765.

Clark, Thomas, school-master, born January 9, 1719, in Bishop Burton, near Beverly, Yorkshire, England, came to Pennsylvania prior to 1758. He married in 1759 Rachel Starr, who was born January 27, 1718, in Chester County, Pennsylvania, of Quaker parentage.

J. W. J.

CLAYPOOLE, JAMES.—I have recently received from Miss Anne H. Wharton the original of the following curious paper, which, being a bill for trade painting from the first native-born American artist (he was born in Philadelphia January 22, 1720), may be worth publishing.

CHARLES HENRY HART.

1754	Mr Thomas Wharton To James Claypoole Dr	
Novr. 30th.	To 108 Gold Letters on a shew board @	4d £1.16—
	To Putting in 4 sash lights @	4d 1.4
	To 2 Ditto & putting in	2.
	To Painting a Cannister & Sugar Loaf	3.
		£2.24

Receiv'd the Contents in full 18th Decemr. 1754

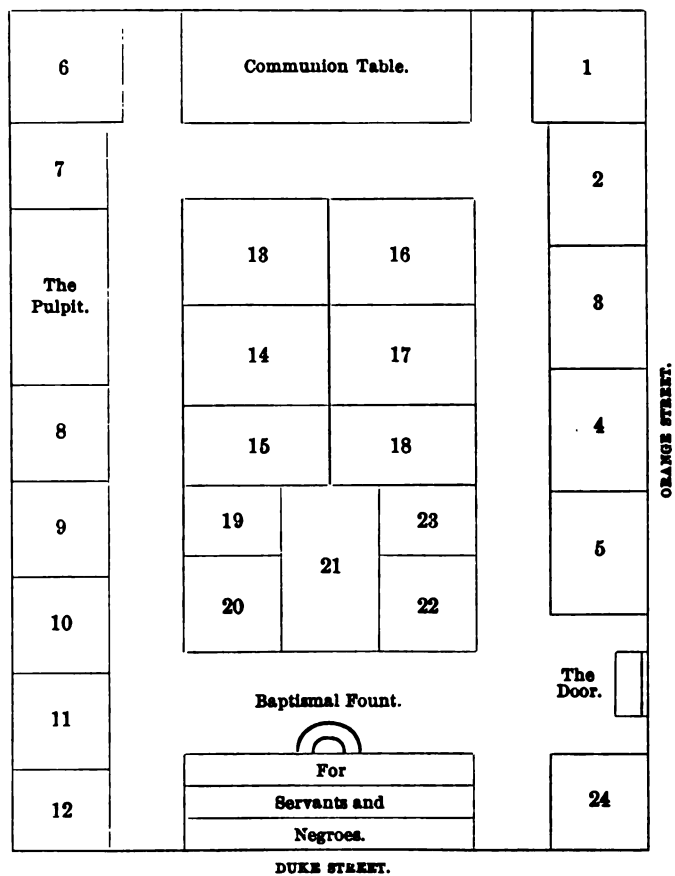
JAMES CLAYPOOLE.

PHILADELPHIANS IN NOVA SCOTIA.—“DEED POLL—Nathan Sheppard of the City of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania by virtue of a Grant of Twenty Thousand acres of Land ‘to myself and associates by Lord William Cambell,’ dated 30th September 1767, and by virtue of a power from Benjamin Armitage, John Lukins for John Jones, William Ball, John Lukins, Joseph Jacobs, William Sitgreaves, David Hall, Samuel Jackson, John Wright, Edward Bonsall, Paul Isaac Voto, Alexander Bartram, Walter Shee, James Loughhead, Hugh Lennox, James Halden and James James, conveys (with Benjamin Davids) in consideration of one shilling, unto the said Benjamin Armitage, Alexander Bartram, Walter Shee and William Ball as tenants in common, a certain Tract of Land in the Township of Philadelphia and Province of Nova Scotia containing 200 acres and a quarter, Reserving to his Majesty the Quitrents. Dated 4th November 1768. Witnessed by Noah Miller, Samuel Knox, Noah Bowen.

“By Deed Poll endorsed, Alexander Bartram and Jane his wife in consideration of £12, lawful money of Pennsylvania, convey to Walter Shee, the said Bartram’s undivided fourth part of said tract and of the Store and buildings thereon erected—Dated 20 Febr. 1769. Witnessed by Barnaby Barnes, Ja^s Delaplain. Acknowledged by Bartram and wife before Isaac Jones, Mayor of Philadelphia.”

T. S.

GROUND-PLAN OF ST. JAMES'S P. E. CHURCH, LANCASTER, PENNA., 1790.



PEW OWNERS:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Jasper Yeates. | 13. John Hubley, Jacob Reigart, Adam Hubley. |
| 2. Edward Hand. | 14. George Ross, James Ross. |
| 3. Matthias Slough. | 15. John Hine. |
| 4. George Moore. | 16. Paul Zantsinger. |
| 5. Not taken. | 17. Robert Coleman, Charles Smith. |
| 6. William Atlee, Thomas Barton. | 18. Frederick Kuhn. |
| 7. Henry Bennett, Thomas Sharp. | 19. Catharine Rutgers. |
| 8. John Jordan. | 20. Robert Reed, John Gillan. |
| 9. Thomas Foster, Richard Gray. | 21. Charles Boyd, John Stern. |
| 10. Catharine Henry, John Jean Sounet, Thomas Turner. | 22. William Montgomery, Thomas Bouds. |
| 11. Thomas Bradley, Jonathan Haywood, John Aymes. | 23. Thomas Roberts. |
| 12. James Watt, William Bolden. | 24. Sexton. |

PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF THE COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA.—

"CONGRESS HALL, PHILADA.

"The Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America send greeting to all members of the National Society in every State and solicit their assistance in the research necessary for the accurate restoration of the Senate Chamber, Congress Hall, Phila.

"The architectural restoration was undertaken and completed by the Committee of Thirteen in the winter of 1895. The original platform on which Washington stood to take the oath of office at the second inauguration, March 4, 1793, was found under the flooring and carefully reproduced under the supervision of Mr. George C. Mason, the architect. The old fireplaces were uncovered, and the gallery put up by order of Congress in 1795 was restored. A letter from Theophilus Bradbury, Representative from Essex County, Mass., to his daughter, December 26, 1795, gives some very interesting details; among others, a description of the portraits of the King and Queen of France, of which we have not found any trace since the burning of the Capitol in 1814, but which we have reason to think are still in existence. As this letter was published in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY in 1889, we are led to hope that other descriptions may be brought to light in unpublished family papers and letters. With this object in view we cordially invite your co-operation and interest. Any information you can furnish will be most gratefully received by the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America.

"ELIZABETH MCCLELLAN,
"Chairman Committee of Thirteen.

"June 7, 1896."

LETTER FROM A NEW YORK BREWER TO A PHILADELPHIA BREWER.—

"NEW YORK 9th M^o 24th 1794.

"ESTEEMED FRIEND,

"... My design in writing to thee is to querie a little relative to the motives which induced thee to relinquish the Brewing Business, at least so far as respected the making of Strong Beer. What has led me more especially to ask this question is in consequence of being told that thy reasons for so doing were founded on religious Scruple.

"Now, as I am concerned in that branch of business, I wish to know wherein thy mind hath been straiten'd, and what parts thou found most uneasy to thee, for I may candidly acknowledge that one principal inducement to my going into that line of business, was from a sense of its utility, and that in proportion as the drinking of Malt Liquors increased, the consumption of ardent spirits would decrease. This consideration, united with a prevailing opinion that the former is far more conducive to health than the latter, which, with the Idea that it encouraged our own Manufactories, all concurred to produce a Conviction in my Mind that it was a laudable undertaking, and calculated to promote a far greater good than Evil.

"I know there is an easy possibility for a Person to drink too much strong Beer, so as to be disguised therewith, so I am equally sensible that the most common, as well as the choicest, blessings of Providence are liable to be abused; but it don't follow from this, that we are either to refrain from making a good thing, or using it in moderation, because there are those who pervert its salutary effects by an intemperate use thereof.

"I have, in the simplicity, suggested these hints, not with any desire

to call in question the rectitude of thy Scruples, for I may honestly confess I have not been without my apprehensions & Fears on the subject, but as they have not, as yet, rose so high as to impress me with any clear convictions that it is wrong for me to pursue the business, so I wish to be open & willing to hear observations thereon."

EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY OF WILLIAM RAWLE, Esq.—

"1786 June 11—Sunday.—Major Jackson by his own invitation breakfasted with me in order to communicate his intended oration.¹ It is not finished—he read part of it, with much emphasis. The style is terribly embellished. Correctness of thought is as frequently *deficit* (to use his own expression) as correctness of expression. He does not seem to have aimed at novelty. Jackson was Secretary to the *embassy*, as it was called, of which John Laurens was the chief. Their object was to urge the French ministry to relieve this country. Laurens was a warm and vehement man and the French ministry little accustomed to similar earnestness knew not how to answer it. 'You have so lately left headquarters,' said Vergennes to Laurens, in the presence of Dr. Franklin and Jackson my narrator, 'that you forget you are not now delivering General Washington's orders.' Laurens felt with proper indignation, a compliment which every American who has travelled has felt the severity of. 'Good Dr. Franklin knows the favors which America has received from the King.' 'Favors! Mons. Le Comte,' replies Laurens impatiently, 'the respect I owe to my country will not admit the application of such a term.' Laurens however succeeded and immediately after his return Franklin resumed the functions of his embassy. Laurens fell almost the last of the heroes. He was destroyed in a petty skirmish in a rice field. Jackson appears to feel sincerely for his loss. Jackson's other friend is Genl. Armstrong of whom he speaks with great warmth of encomium. Armstrong's conversation, he says, is a perpetual antithesis.

"Armstrong wrote the addresses to the army in March 1783. Washington treated them with asperity and insult. Armstrong wrote him a severe and contemptuous letter to which he affixed his name and the next morning waited on him and resigned his commission. 'I am happy sir that you have no farther occasion to exercise your talents,' was Washington's equivocal remark.

* * * * *

"July 4th.—My wife and myself went to hear Jackson, whose energy of delivery rendered a diffuse desultory and inflated discourse much more agreeable than I could have expected it to prove. When he mentioned Laurens he wept, and it was some time before he could go on. It was very injudicious in him to attempt the passage. What could he think required him to dilate the history of his friend in this public manner?

"There Laurens also fell'—To those who knew Laurens and his virtues and the friendship of this Jonathan and David would have been sufficient. And those who knew them not could have felt little affected with the exhibition of emotions for which they could not account.

"The discourse appeared to give pleasure to the multitude.

"Jackson was honored by the attention of many very lovely women—and some distinguished men. Bowie went accidentally with us to the place. When he heard Jackson's elocution he said 'He pronounces English very well. I fancy he is a Scotchman.'"

¹ Fourth of July oration before the Society of the Cincinnati.

GOVERNOR PATRICK GORDON TO TAVERNERS ET AL., 1732.—



"Patrick Gordon Esq' Lieut. Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania &c.

"To all Taverners, Keepers of houses of publick Entertainment & others the Inhabitants of this Province dwelling on or near to the Roads thro' which the Indians of the Six Nations are to pass to Philadelphia.

"Greeting:

"You are hereby desired to furnish the said Indians with what Meat Drink & other Accommodations, & Conveniencies in their Journey towards Philadelphia, the charge whereof will be defray'd by this Government.

"Given under my hand and seal at Philad^a the fourteenth day of August 1732.

"P. GORDON."

A RECORD OF THE RICHARDS FAMILY FROM AN OLD WELSH BIBLE.

—The title-page and that part of Genesis to the beginning of Chapter VI. are missing; the rest appears to be intact and in a good state of preservation.

The title-page to the New Testament part is as follows:

"Testament Newydd ein Harglwydd an Hiachawdwr IESU GRIST. Rhuf. I. 16. Nid oes arnaf gywilydd o Efengyl Grist, oblegid gallu Duw yw hi, er Iechydwriddeth i bob yn a'r sydd yn credu.

"Printiedig yn Llandain gan Charles Bill, a Thomas Newcomb, Printwyr i Ardderchoccaf, Fawrhydi y Brenin ar Frenhines 1690."

On the pages set apart for records of family events there are entries in several different handwritings. Here is a transcript.

"Josuah Richards was born the 20th of December 1720.

"Rowland Richards son of Sam'l and Elizabeth Richards was Born ye 29 of 10th mo'th 1728.

"Catherin Richard her book 1716. Samuel Richard his hand 1716.

"Rowland Richards his Book so saith Sam'l Rich'da.

"Rowland Richards dyed the Eight day of November in ye year 1720, Aged 60 years 6 months & 8 days.

"Abijah Richards son of Row'l'd Richards & Mary his wife was born the 23d of the 5th mo 1753.

"Ebenezer Richards was born the 18th of the 7th mo 1754.

"Abigail Richards daughter of Row'l'd Richards and Lydia his wife was born the 17th of the 10th mo 1764.

"Samuel Richards was born the 27th of the 11th month 1765 & departed this Life the 29th of the 12th mo 1787 aged 22 years 1 month and 2 days.

"Elizabeth Richards was born the 18th of the 11th mo 1767 & departed this Life the 17th of the 2nd mo 1788 aged 20 years 3 months & 4 days.

"Susannah Richards was born the 16th of the 10th mo 1769 and departed this Life the 9th of the 2 month 1788 Aged 18 years 3 months 3 weeks and 3 days.

"Eli Richards was born the 16th of the 9th mo 1771.

"Hannah Richards was born the 30th of the 1st mo 1774.

"Lydia Richards was born the 24th of the 3rd month 1776 and departed this Life the 28th of the 7th month 1777 aged 1 year 4 months and 4 days.

"Townsend Richards was born the 25th of the 3rd mo 1785 and de-

parted this Life the 5th of the 3rd month 1788 Aged 3 years 11 months 1 week 1 day.

"Mary Richards was born the 12th of the 9th mo 1780.

"Lydia Richards was born the 18th of the 10th mo 1782.

"Sarah Richards was born the 24th of the 8th month 1784.

"Catharine Richards was born the 30th of the 7th mo 1786.

"Sitnah Richards was born the 5th of the 1st mo 1789 [Sidney?]

"Ebenezer Richards departed this Life the 9th of the 3rd month 1775 Aged 20 years 7 months 3 weeks.

"Eli Richards departed this Life the 25th of the 8th month 1804 Aged 33 years 11 months 9 days.

"Eli Mullin son of John Mullin & Lydia his wife was born the 19th of the 12th month 1806.

"Roland Richard in his 86 year of his age went up seven stories in the Stone Mill in Cyty of Cincin'ti conducted by Samuel Test and departed this Life at the House of David Holloway in Cincin'ti on the 21 Day of the 5 month 1815 aged 86 years & 6 months & 21 Days.

"Lidia Richard Departed this Life at the House of David Holloway near Richmond in the State of Indiana on 25 Day of 6 month 1835 in the ninety first of her age."

Written on the margin of one of the pages is "Gainor Richards her hand 1720."

On the fly-leaf at the end of the book are the following entries:

"Rowland Richard Died ye Eight day of the 9th month 1720 aged sixty years and six months.

"Catharine Richard his wife Dyed the 20th Day of ye fifth month 1758 aged ninety years one m'th.

"Samuel Richard Dyed the 30th of the seventh m'th 1760 aged 59 and 9 months."

Bound with the Bible are a number of pages of psalms other than those to be found in all Bibles. The title-page to this part of the book reads as follows:

"Llyfer y PSALMAU, wedi Eu Cyfieithu A'i Cyfansoddi Ar Fesur Cerdd, yn Gymraeg. Drwy waith Edmund Prys Archdiacon Merionnydd.

"Printiedig yn Llandain gan Charles Bill, a Thomas Newcomb Printwyr i Ardderchoccaf Fawrhydi y Brenin ar Frenhines 1690."

A few notes respecting the above Richards family may not be out of place here.

Merion Friends' Meeting Book has recorded the births of the following children of Rowland and Catherine Richard: "Rowland, 2nd Mo: 22nd., 1690, Margaret, 8th Mo: 5th., 1692, Gainer, 11th Mo: 13th., 1693, John, 9th Mo: 9th., 1695, Elizabeth, 7th Mo: 22nd., 169-, Samuel, 8th Mo: 7th., 1700." Two daughters not in the above list were Sarah and Ruth. Rowland and Catherine Richard were residents of Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, in 1715. The son Samuel, born in 1700, married Second month 21, 1726, Elizabeth, daughter of Owen Evans, of Gwynedd. From this alliance descends the present owner of the old Bible, Mrs. Thomas Woodnutt, of Philadelphia (formerly Hannah Morgan). Through her kindness this copy has been allowed to be made.

HOWARD WILLIAMS LLOYD.

PENN FAMILY.—Friends' Register at Devonshire House, London. E. C. Bristol Quarterly.

Births.

Have been already printed in the PENNA. MAG.

Marriages.

- Penn, William of Warminghurst, co. Sussex, to Hannah Cal-
lowhill 1695. 1 mo. 5 at Bristol Mo. Meeting. 116. 20
- Penn, William, Jun^r, son of William Penn, to Mary Jones at
Bristol, 1698. 11 mo. 12 at Bristol Mo. Meeting 116. 30

Burials.

- Penn, Hanna of James Parish, Daughter of William Bristol
Mo. Meeting 1707. 12mo. 10. 123. 99
- Penn, John of Philips Out Parish, son of William Bristol
Mo. Meeting 1728. 10 mo. 31 123. 130
- Penn, Mary of Philips Out Parish, dau. of William Bristol
Mo. Meeting 1730. 2 mo. 18. 123. 132

Ditto—Supplementary Vol.

- Penn, Hanna died 1707. 12 mo. 5, aged 5 bur. 1707. 12 mo.
10 Bristol Mo. Meeting. 1520. 98
- Penn, John of Philips out parish, Bristol, son of William
B.M.M. bur. 1728. 11 mo. 1—at Workhouse, Bristol. 1521. 507
- Penn, Mary dau. of William, decd. Bristol Mo. Meeting
bur. 1730. 2mo. 18, at Workhouse, Bristol. 1522. 39

The following records have been recently (December, 1892) received
at Devonshire House in London:

"Ninety entries of Burial &c. (on these three sheets) of Friends in-
terred at the classic Burial Ground at Jordans, Parish of Chalfont (St.)
Giles, co. Buckingham, compiled from a MS written by Rebecca Butter-
feild of Stone Deane, Jordans, & part by her son Princo [*sic*] Butterfeild
—The Original is in possession of Joseph Steevens of High Wycombe
(1892) of the old Bucks. Quaker family of the name. These entries
are not forthcoming in Friend's Bucks. Registers at Devonshire House,
E. C. & are of unusual interest as containing the names of the venerated
families of Penn & Pennington and Barclay.

(Signed)

"JOSEPH J. GREEN

"Hampstead N. W.

"16/ xii/ 1892."

Burials.

Penn, Dennis son of William & Hanh: Penn bur. 1722. 11 mo. 8 at
Jordans.

Penn, Christiana died 1733. 9 mo. 1, aged 18 1/4—an excellent
woman vide a/c of her in "Piety Promoted" x part 1810 pp. 311—13
granddau: of Robert Barclay the apologist, wife of William Penn (N^o
8) dau: to Alexander Forbes—bur. 1733. 9 mo. 7—at Jordans.

Penn, Mary (nee Jones, widow of William Penn (son of William &
Gulielma Maria Penn),) bur. 1733. 10 mo. 5 at Jordans.

Penn, John (Esq., One of the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, eldest son
of Wm: & Hanh: Penn) bur. 1746. 9 mo. 5 at Jordans.

Penn, Thomas (son of Thomas Penn of Stoke Park and the Lady

Juliana, dau. of the Earl of Pomfret, sd: Thomas was 2nd. son of William Penn & Hanh: Callowhill his 2nd. wife) bur. 1759. 12 mo. 6 at [blank].

J. HENRY LEA.

DAVID COOPER'S FUNERAL INSTRUCTIONS.—

"WOODBURY the 30th of 4th mo 1788.

"DEAR CHILDREN.

"I have thought it my Duty while living to shew forth an example of Simplicity and Plainness becoming the religious profession I made, and am desirous this Example may go with me to the Grave. To which end I now direct, that my coffin be made in the manner they constantly were in the Days of Simplicity and Virtue when I was a youth, flat and of Pine or Linne Boards, and the expense this may save, I direct my Executors to give to some poor Person in the Neighbourhood which will do more Good than to moulder in the Earth. For the folly and vanity of Man never appears more idle and inexcusable than in shewing an emulation and fondness for Pomp and Shew at funerals, when the most humbling Object—Mortality and Dissolution is before their eyes, and ought to impress the Survivors with the most solemn and awful Sense of the state of uncertainty in which themselves exist and how fast they are also hastening to the Grave. And if Friends shall have a Meeting at the time of my Burial let this poor Body be first covered in the Earth, as the contrary Practice mostly arises from a foolish Desire in the Relatives to have that mark of Distinction and Respect shewn to the Deceased, and hath many other exceptions in my View.

"DAVID COOPER."

LETTER OF ALEXANDER FULLERTON TO BARON DE ROSENTHAL.—
In the April number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE was printed a letter of Baron de Rosenthal to his friend Alexander Fullerton. The following letter is the reply of Mr. Fullerton.

"PHILADA 4th Sept 1794.

"DEAR ROSE.

"Yours of 24th Nov. 1793 have received and was much surprised to find you had placed me at the head of a Singing academy; it was sometime before I could comprehend your meaning; its true I had subscribed towards maintaining the School and was appointed one of the Managers but it does not imply that I am a Singer. . . . My circumstances are much the same, perhaps better than when you left us—Our Government is very happy and rapidly increasing in Wealth and population beyond comprehension, indeed the whole continent from North to South. This City has increased more than one third within this two years, altho there was so many thousands cut off by the Yellow fever last year. There is no bounds to Interior settlements, population is so rapid; the road through Bedford to Pittsburgh which in your time was a wilderness is now as thickly settled as between Lancaster and Philadelphia. They are not as the former Wilderness when you met the English Ladies walking there to your great surprise and your two dogs with you in the carriage,—it is now a Civilized country and settling fast beyond all comprehension. Col. Johnson, Miles; Major Craig are all well; Thomas Irwin is at New Orleans, Gen^l Irwin is now at Pittsburgh as a commissioner from this City appointed by the Governor to settle a small dispute with some disorderly persons in Fayette, Westmoreland, and Allegany Counties who are opposed to our Excise Laws—The President has called for 12000 men to oppose them and to be in readiness in one month, but from

1861, when it was cracked in ringing. What has become of the two cannon?

S. T. P.

ASHETON—DURANT.—In the "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, Vol. XIX., is the following: Page 541, "The Prop'r having many years ago sent over into this Province one Martha Durant, a relation of his own, with her husband, John Durant, and children, she now by her petition to the Board represents that being left a widow &c., . . . She expresses a great inclin'on to do any manner of business . . . adding that her cousin R. Asheton, was willing to advance something for her if the Proprietor would do the same."

The above is from the "Minutes of the Board of Property," under date of the "31st 10ber, 1712."

Page 351, under date of "The 18th, 11th Month 1702, Martha Durant producing a return out of the office for 402 acres above the Welch (?) Line, in part and pursuance of a Warr't granted for 600 acres, and requests a Patent."

Page 410, date "10ber, 27 1703, Rob't Asheton, producing the Prop'r's deed to his father's children . . . requests Warr'ts to take up 1000 acres more &c. The children are Rob't, Frances, Mary, Rachel and Jno., the last dead."

Page 475, date "3 mo., 18th, 1705, Ord'd Warrants for the Rem'r of the 3000 acres of land granted to William Asheton's children and Robert Asheton's children and Robert Asheton's request &c."

From Keith's "Provincial Councillors" the fact is learned that William Asheton was of Salford (Manchester) in Lancashire, that he was a Deputy Herald at Arms and one of the coroners for the county, and that his wife was named Frances.

What was the maiden name of the said Frances, wife of William Asheton? What was the maiden name of the above-mentioned Martha Durant? How were these people related to the Proprietor? If any of the descendants of Robert Asheton or John Durant have in their possession an old Bible with entries of family events of the period or muniments that would throw light on the matter under investigation, they would confer a favor by communicating with

HOWARD WILLIAMS LLOYD.

1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia.

Book Notices.

RECORDS OF THE RAWLE FAMILY, collected from National Archives, Parish Registers, Wills, and other sources. By Edwin John Rawle, of Chislehurst, Kent, England. Printed for private circulation (seventy-five copies) by The Athenæum Press, Taunton, England, 1898, pp. 336.

This handsomely gotten-up book shows the results of well-directed zeal and industry, sound judgment, and intelligent discrimination on the part of its author, as well as good taste and fine workmanship on that of his publishers. Further, it shows the results of the labors and researches of a truthful and conscientious genealogist, prone to avoid the dangerous yet common practice of jumping to unwarranted conclusions, and of indulging in romantic dreams of descent from illusory ancestors of historical distinction or of royal blood. The book might perhaps, however, have been more correctly entitled "Records of the

Several Families of the Name of Rawle," for though the author has searched the records with great care and untiring energy, he has not been able through the mists of the past to discover the fountain-head from which the different branches have originated, if, indeed, they all came from the same source.

The families of the name of Rawle mentioned in the book are, or were, scattered along the coast of the Bristol Channel, in one of the most beautiful and tourist-travelled sections of England,—from Tintagel and Boscastle in Cornwall, through Clovelly, Ilfracombe, and Lynton in Devonshire, and Oare, Porlock, and Minehead in Somersetshire.

His investigations have led the author to incline to the belief that the name of Rawle is derived from the Norman Radulphus or Ralph, and its diminutive Raoul. In subsidy rolls, parish registers, wills, and other ancient records the name is variously spelled, sometimes in several different ways in the same instrument. The earliest mention of the name which he quotes is that of Rogerdus de Raule in an *inquisition post mortem* dated 51 Henry III. (1267). In 2 Edward I. (1273) that of Henricus de Raule appears. In 18 Henry IV. (1412) John Raule and Simon Rale are returned as holding lands in Somersetshire, as are also John Rawle and John de Raleg in 6 Henry VI. (1428), and there are indications that the last was nearly the original spelling. Evidence is not wanting to prove that the name was originally pronounced in two syllables,—Raw-le,—and even now many, both in England and America, unfamiliar with it owing to its rarity, so pronounce it. As one of many instances the author cites that in 1523 John Rawell was assessed at Selworthy in Somersetshire; in 1546 his widow was assessed as Cecilia Rawle, but in both their wills their surname is spelled Rawlie. He further states that in certain localities where in later years persons of the name of Rawle were and still are living, indeed, sometimes on the very identical estates, centuries ago a family named Raleigh resided. The original seat in Devonshire of that family was named Raleigh, and it possessed as early as 1398 an estate in the neighboring county of Hereford, upon which in 1607 one Henry Rawle resided. At Raleigh, or, as it is now spelled, Rawleigh, Raleigh, Bishop of Winchester, was born in 1244. As early as the reign of Henry II. (1154–1189) the name appears also in Somersetshire in the grant of the manor of Nettlecombe to Hugh de Raleigh.

The first family of which the work treats—naturally so, as the labors of the author entitle it to be—is that of Rawle of Oare, in Somersetshire, where his family resided for many generations. Though there are references to persons of the name of Rawle connected with the parish of Oare as early as the reign of Henry VII. (1485–1509), the records do not enable him to trace the present family back of an ancestress who died in 1632. It is an interesting fact that the neighborhood of the home of the author's family was the scene of that charming romance "Lorna Doone," and that Yenworthy, which, according to one of the legends, was besieged by the band of outlaws to whom the heroine was related, was at the supposed time in possession of the Rawle family of Oare. In his "Annals of the Ancient Forest of Exmoor," published in 1898, Mr. Edwin John Rawle ruthlessly attempts to shake the firm belief of many in the well-credited story of John Ridd and Lorna Doone.

Of other families mentioned, early references to those using the present spelling of the name are to Rawle of Selworthy, Somersetshire, and of Countisbury, Devonshire, in 1523; Rawle of Brendon, Devonshire, in 1543; Rawle of Dunster, Somersetshire, in 1561; Rawle of Minehead, Somersetshire, in 1563; Rawle of Lynton, Devonshire, in 1586; Rawle of Pilton, Devonshire, in 1592; and Rawle of Porlock, Somersetshire,

THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL STUDY ENCOURAGEMENT FUND.

THIS Fund was established under a resolution of Council of December 28, 1896, its object being "to promote and assist the editing and publication of books relating to the history of Pennsylvania, or connected therewith, outside the purview of 'The Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.'"

For its foundation the Council resolved that the proceeds arising from the sale of the following works, of which the Society owns a number of copies, should be paid to the trustees, to be used for the objects of the trust:

Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution, 1787-1788.

Edited by JOHN BACH MCMAYNE and FREDERICK D. STONE. Philadelphia, 1888. 8vo. 805 pp. Copiously illustrated. Price, \$5.

The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773.

Translated from the original Swedish by HORACE BURN, with an abstract of the English records from 1772 to 1810. 8vo. 772 pp. Illustrated. Price, \$2.

A Lenape-English Dictionary.

From an anonymous MS. in the archives of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, Pa. Edited, with additions, by DANIEL G. BUNTON, A.M., M.D., and REV. ALBERT SEGAQUINDA ASTORNY. Philadelphia, 1888. Square 8vo. 286 pp. Price, \$2.

Southern Quakers and Slavery.

A Study in Institutional History. By STEPHEN B. WEEKS, Ph.D. Baltimore, Md., 1896. 8vo. 400 pp. Price, \$2.

Early History of the University of Pennsylvania from its Origin to the Year 1827.

By GEORGE B. WOOD, M.D., with supplementary chapters by FREDERICK D. STONE, Litt.D. Philadelphia, 1896. 16mo. 275 pp. Copiously illustrated. Price, \$1.12.

History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania.

By WILLIAM R. SIKESKIND, Ph.D. New York, 1896. 8vo. 601 pp. Price, \$4.50.

These volumes were acquired by the Society in the following way:

"Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution" was published by subscription, and the profit arising therefrom was in part used to assist the Historical Society of Delaware in issuing the Records of Old Swedes Church at Wilmington, by subscribing for a number of copies. The proceeds arising from these two works was in turn used, in a like manner, in assisting in the publication of "Southern Quakers and Slavery" and "History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania." The entire edition of the Lenape-English Dictionary was presented to the Society by its late President, William Cass, and members of his family, and the edition of "Early History of the University of Pennsylvania" was presented by Charles Hare Hutchinson, Esq.

The objects and the proposed working of the Fund now established are best shown in the use made of the profit arising from "Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution," which has materially assisted in the publication of three books of great historical value that could hardly have appeared but with some such assistance; books that had been prepared without the least idea of money-making, and had entailed a vast amount of work in original sources.

If you are willing to assist in the objects for which this Fund is established, as shown in the above statement, you can do so by subscribing for any of the works mentioned at the prices named.

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"I entertain an high idea of the utility of periodical publications: inasmuch
that I could heartily desire copies of the *Museum and Magazine*, as well as
common *Gazettes*, might be spread through every city, town, and village in
America. I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge more happily circulated
than any other to preserve the history, stimulate the industry, and meliorate the
manners of an enlightened and free people."—*Washington to Watkins Charge*,
June 25, 1788.

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1

1



James Stewart

Portrait of James Stewart by Charles Willson Peale in 1784, now owned by General James Stewart, 1000 Old Country Road, Geneva, New York

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XXII.

1898.

No. 3.

THE COUNCIL OF CENSORS.

BY LEWIS H. MEADER, A.M.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

In 1776 a Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia and framed a constitution for Pennsylvania which contained the following provision for its change or amendment:¹

"Sect. 47. In order that the freedom of the commonwealth may be preserved inviolate forever, there shall be chosen by ballot by the free-men in each city and county respectively, on the second Tuesday in October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, and on the second Tuesday in October in every seventh year thereafter, two persons in each city and county of this state, to be called THE COUNCIL OF CENSORS; who shall meet together on the second Monday of November next ensuing their election; the majority of whom shall be a quorum in every case, except as to calling a convention, in which two thirds of the whole number elected shall agree: And whose duty it shall be to enquire whether the constitution has been preserved inviolate in every part; and whether the legislative and executive branches of government have performed their duty as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves, or exercised other or greater powers than they are intitled to by the constitution: They are also to enquire whether the

¹ Poore, "Charters and Constitutions," Vol. II. p. 1548.

public taxes have been justly laid and collected in all parts of this commonwealth, in what manner the public monies have been disposed of, and whether the laws have been duly executed. For these purposes they shall have power to send for persons, papers, and records; they shall have authority to pass public censures, to order impeachments, and to recommend to the legislature the repealing of such laws as appear to them to have been enacted contrary to the principles of the constitution. These powers they shall continue to have, for and during the space of one year from the day of their election and no longer: The said council of censors shall also have power to call a convention, to meet within two years after their sitting, if there appear to them an absolute necessity of amending any article of the constitution which may be defective, explaining such as may be thought not clearly expressed, and of adding such as are necessary for the preservation of the rights and happiness of the people: But the articles to be amended, and the amendments proposed, and such articles as are proposed to be added or abolished, shall be promulgated at least six months before the day appointed for the election of such convention, for the previous consideration of the people, that they may have an opportunity of instructing their delegates on the subject."¹

This constitution vested the supreme executive power in a president and council, the supreme legislative power in a House of Representatives of the freemen of the Commonwealth or State of Pennsylvania, but it recognized no separate body invested with supreme judicial power.

This so-called Council of Censors constituted the recognized legal check on the executive and legislative branches of the government, and in it alone was vested the means whereby the constitution could be amended or altered.

This council was to be elected once in seven years by the people, each county and city to be represented by two councillors; it was to exist and have power one year from the date of its election, and no longer. It was a feature of the constitution of Pennsylvania from 1776 to 1790, and of that of Vermont from 1777 to 1869.

It is the purpose of this inquiry to trace the growth, in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, of this device for preserving and revising constitutional provisions, and to note the causes

¹ "The Proceedings relative to calling the Conventions of 1776 and 1790, the Minutes of the Convention . . . and of the Council of Censors," Harrisburg, 1825.

which have led to its being superseded and finally driven from the field.

II. CENSORS IN EUROPE.

The name, Council of Censors, leads one to look for a model in the government of Rome, and to examine this to detect points of similarity and contrast; for one might reasonably conjecture that when a people in a given instance were about to frame a constitution over which the people should have control, the most prominent examples of history would be studied to the end that their excellencies might be imitated and their errors and weaknesses avoided. This hypothesis seems the more reasonable when one considers that the models of Greece and Rome, together with those of Rousseau and other theorists, were the only prominent ones, and that these, especially the former, were within reach of scholarly men and men of affairs at the time when the Pennsylvania instrument was framed; and other reasons will manifest themselves as we proceed with this study.

Censors were appointed at Rome after 443 B.C.¹ They were usually (after the Second Punic War) those who had been consuls. They held office for five years, but their active work was done during the first eighteen months of the period for which they were elected. They exercised supervision over certain Roman customs. They could expel a senator, deprive a knight of his horse, regulate the public taxes, inspect the public buildings, and divide the people into their proper centuries and classes. The position of a censor was one of the most honorable and powerful in the Roman republic, and it existed for four centuries, or until, under the empire, the control of that office was assumed by the state.

This institution of censors bore a certain resemblance to an institution connected with the Spartan state, known as

¹ Kennett's "Roman Antiquities," London, 1769, fourteenth edition, pp. 112-114. Kennett's book is quoted as one of those most likely to have been examined by "the fathers."

the ephors. This office was important from early times, and it furnished a check on the active government, representing as it did the community of Sparta. The ephors were five in number, and they held office for one year. It was their duty to superintend public morals and education. They exercised a strong influence on legislation and even checked the action of the executive.¹

Plato evidently has a similar institution in view when he asserts, in his "Laws,"² that guardians should be sought who are incorruptible, "to establish more firmly institutions in the state which are good already, and amend what is deficient." He would have the nocturnal council, composed of men trained by travel and experience, meet daily to consider matters of public importance; and he would regard this as "a guard set according to law for the salvation of the state."

Montesquieu, in his "Spirit of the Laws," draws on the Roman plan of public censors and the Greek ephorate as very useful methods for keeping public officials and laws subservient to the people.³ He recites that the Spartan, conscious of this check, feared the tribunal of public opinion far more than did the Athenian official, who well knew the weakness of his state in passing censure on his public acts.

About 1762 Rousseau's "Contrat Social" appeared, which devoted a chapter to his proposed method by which the sovereign people could hold their magistrates in check. He felt that modern nations had lost that power which was once so salutary,—"*chez les Romains et mieux chez les Lacédémoniens.*"⁴ His theory was, ". . . that the censor may be useful in preserving the customs, but never in re-establishing them. Establish censors while the laws are vigorous; as soon as they become weakened everything is past hope; nothing legitimate has force when the laws have none. The censor maintains the standard of morals by preventing the corruption of opinions, by preserving their rectitude

¹ Bojeson's "Greek and Roman Antiquities," pp. 58, 59.

² Plato's "Dialogues" (Jowett's trans.), Vol. V. Sects. 951, 961, 968.

³ Montesquieu, "Works" (trans., 1777), Vol. I., Chap. VII., pp. 61-63.

⁴ Rousseau, "Œuvres Complètes," Paris, 1793, T. II. pp. 210-213.

through wise applications, sometimes even by fixing them when they are uncertain."

It is evident that Rousseau, having in mind the censors of Rome and the Greek ephors, planned an institution resembling that which we are studying.

The American colonists of the third quarter of the eighteenth century were men who had had occasion to study the nature and limitations of popular government. There were educated men among them, men who had been liberally instructed in American colleges, whose courses of study were principally in the classics. No classical student could fail to know something of the history of Greece and Rome; while to men like the Adamses, Franklin, Dickinson, and many whose names are less widely known, Greek and Roman history would furnish foundation studies in popular government. There were ample sources in English for studies of classic models of government. In 1769 Kennett's "Roman Antiquities" had passed to its fourteenth edition, and was probably accessible to the students in every American college, while similar studies in the antiquities of Greece, one may reasonably infer, would have been equally accessible. Controversial letters in the newspapers abounded with signatures drawn from Greek and Roman classics. "Spartanus," "Cato," and "Cassandra" honored the names of pamphleteers not only in Philadelphian but in other American papers; and many a statesman of antiquity was represented as the responsible person for dissertations on the relation of the people to legitimate government.

It would be presuming contrary to reasonable inference to assume that these men were not acquainted with the views of Montesquieu and Rousseau on popular government. The works of the former had been before the students of statecraft in Europe for a quarter of a century, while Rousseau's "Contrat Social" began its radical mission ten years later.

Rousseau was the apostle of extreme democracy. The leaven of his influence was manifest in Europe during the last quarter of the eighteenth century; and so it came about

that the Council of Censors has a European history, which we proceed first to recount.

At the height of the French Revolution Robespierre, on May 10, 1793, delivered a speech in the National Convention, wherein he says, in the course of a great debate¹ on the proposed Constitution of France, that the executive power is limited by the *Corps Législatif*, and that every public functionary should be amenable for his conduct to a tribunal of the people; that a representative government fails of its legitimate ends that does not obey and cannot be compelled to obey the mandate of the popular will.

We quote these words: "Il est naturel que le corps chargé de faire les lois, surveille ceux qui sont commis pour les faire exécuter. Les membres de l'agence exécutive seront donc tenus de rendre compte de leur gestion au corps législatif. En cas de prévarication, il ne pourra pas les punir, parce qu'il ne faut pas lui laisser ce moyen de s'emparer de la puissance exécutive; mais il les accusera devant un tribunal populaire dont l'unique fonction sera de connaître des prévarications des fonctionnaires publics."²

May 13, 1793, the National Convention adopted a programme by which its deliberations on the new constitution should be governed. The twelfth item in that programme read as follows:

"Chapitre XII. Comment le peuple exerce lui-même sa souveraineté sur les fonctionnaires publics et sur les actes."³

On the 10th of June, 1793, Hérault de Séchelles, representing the Committee of Public Safety, delivered a speech in defence of the project of a constitution which he had brought forward, and in which he recognized the Council of Censors as an essential feature to make the government of France not alone republican, but democratic. Chapter XV. of the proposed French Constitution of 1793 read as follows:

"Du grand juré national, Article Premier:

¹ *Le Moniteur*, Lundi, 13 Mai, 1793, p. 584, second column.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, Lundi, 20 Mai, 1793, p. 608, first column.

I. "Le grand juré est institué pour garantir les citoyens de l'oppression du corps législatif et du conseil. Tout citoyen opprimé par un acte particulière, a droit d'y recourir.

II. "La liste des jurés est composée d'un citoyen, élu dans chaque département par les assemblées primaires. Le grand juré est renouvelé tous les ans avec le corps législatif.

III. "Il n'applique point les peines. Il renvoie devant les tribunaux.

IV. "Les noms des jurés sont déposés dans une urne au sein du corps législatif."¹

In defence of this so-called "national grand jury," or Council of Censors, Hérault used these words: "Nous en avons cherché le remède dans la formation d'un grand juré, destiné à venger le citoyen opprimé dans sa personne, des vexations (s'il pouvait en survenir)—du corps législatif et du conseil: tribunal imposant et consolateur, créé par le peuple, à la même heure, et dans les mêmes formes qu'il créé ses représentans; auguste asyle de la liberté, où nulle vexation ne serait pardonnée, et où le mandataire coupable n'échapperait pas plus à la justice qu'à l'opinion."²

Hérault de Séchelles's "Rapport"³ is full of enthusiasm for the Council of Censors. He advocates its adoption and defends its good features with more emphasis than one finds in Rousseau's chapter on "The Censors" in his "Contrat Social."

In the French Constitution as adopted in 1795 this provision was omitted. The excesses of the French democracy following the Convention of 1793 caused those in authority to be unwilling to place so much power in the hands of the people as the plan of Hérault de Séchelles contemplated. The next attempt in Europe to make use of this instrument of popular government occurred when Maria Pagano drew

¹ *Le Moniteur*, 19 Juin, 1793, p. 732, second and third columns.

² *Ibid.*, Jeudi, 13 Juin, 1793, p. 707, second column.

³ Kindly lent by the library of Cornell University.

up a constitution for the Neapolitan republic in 1799.¹ This was modelled on the French Constitution of 1798. For the directory it substituted a system of archons, who could hold office only two years. In matters of appeal, one section of one tribunal might appeal to another section; or one section of one department could appeal to another department. This was especially accomplished by an ephorate and by a tribunal of censure, which was a distinguishing feature of the Neapolitan constitution. The ephorate was a sort of conservative senate, and its duty was to keep the desires of the different branches within reasonable limits and to place a check on usurpations. The tribunal of censure was an imitation of the domestic censure which, according to Montesquieu, assisted in a remarkable manner in the preservation of the customs of the ancient republic of Rome.

This constitution, like that of 1798 in France, was never tested by use. French reverses in the north of Italy had their consequences in Naples. Pagano gave up the pen for the sword, and with other members of his provisional government fell into the hands of the enemy. He perished on the scaffold October 6, 1800.

At the close of the eighteenth century, in Europe, the method of regulating governments by a tribunal created and controlled by the people had no abiding place on the Continent. Montesquieu and Rousseau had drawn on the Greek ephors and the Roman censors for a popular plan for regulating government officials; but it was only a theory, and the excesses of the French Revolution prevented its having a fair trial in practice.

III. PRELIMINARIES IN AMERICA.

In America the political doctrines of Rousseau took root and bore fruit; but they were modified by the more conservative views of Locke. Traces of Rousseau's views may

¹ "Biographie Universelle," Paris, 1844, T. LXXXVI., LXXXVII. Among his works is mentioned "VII. Projet de constitution pour a république Napolitaine, 1799."

perhaps be seen in the opening paragraphs of Paine's "Common Sense;" and Paine's connection with the Pennsylvania radicals who made the constitution of 1776 is well known. There had long been a feeling of unrest in the colonies, a feeling that the people should control their political affairs; that the governed should of right command their servants or governors. It was in the air. There were conservatives who sought only to modify the policy of the crown in certain details. They had no desire to break up the foundations of the government and build on a new foundation. The radical party would break with the mother country; it would go back to first principles; it would stand by the rights of man. Of the former party John Dickinson was a type; of the latter were Paine, Franklin, and Jefferson. In 1776 the radical party had succeeded in securing the independence of the colonies.

Before passing to consider at length the relation of the Council of Censors to the constitutions of Pennsylvania and Vermont, a slight digression may throw a side-light on the views which prevailed with reference to popular government in the country at large.

In 1776 a pamphlet was published with the title, "The People the Best Governors."¹ It took the ground that sovereignty lies with the people; that the Legislature has no right to appoint agents to restrain governmental action, because this appointing power lies with the people in virtue of sovereignty, and sovereignty cannot be delegated. It suggested a senate or council, to be elected by the people, to check legislation, resembling what is now known as a State Senate, but with a partial resemblance also to a Council of Censors. The foregoing statement of the need of popular checks on representative government is followed by a statement of the specific method to be employed:

"4thly, That the people chuse annually by ballot in their town meetings, a council, consisting of twelve persons, through the government at large, whose business shall be to help in preparing matters for the con-

¹ Text in Chase's "History of Dartmouth College," Appendix D.

sideration of the assembly, to assist them with their advice. And, lastly, it shall be their duty to inquire into every essential defect in the regulations of government, and to give the people seasonable notice in a public way, with their opinion respecting the matter."

The view of the pamphleteer seems to have been that the people are the best, the real governors, and that a limited number of men, duly elected, may constitute a regulative board. The Rousseau idea is evidently involved in the suggestion, even though the Latin name of "Censors" is absent, and a permanent upper House is contemplated.

Only two American States have employed the Council of Censors in their fundamental law,—Pennsylvania from 1776 to 1790, and Vermont from 1777 to 1869—almost a century. To these two examples most of the further consideration of this subject will be devoted.

In the constitution which Rev. Samuel Houston drew up for the State of Frankland in 1785 there was a provision for a Council of Safety to be elected once in five years. Its general features were quite like those of the Council of Censors. This constitution failed of ratification, and when a constitution was made later for Tennessee this radical feature did not appear.¹

IV. PENNSYLVANIA: THE CONSTITUTION OF 1776.

On May 15, 1776, the Continental Congress voted that the colonies be requested "to adopt such government as shall in the opinion of the representatives of the people best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and Americans in general."² Acting on this request, the citizens of Pennsylvania elected delegates to a Constitutional Convention which met July 5, 1776, and continued its sittings to September 28 of the same year.

The framing of a new constitution for the province of Pennsylvania involved many interests. It lined up the two

¹ Ramsay's "History of Tennessee," pp. 282 *et passim*; *American Historical Magazine*, 1896. The New York Tammany Society, as is shown by its manuscript records, had in its early days officials called censors.

² "Journals of Congress," Vol. II. p. 166.

parties, or political interests, of Pennsylvania on the same principles that had divided them ten years earlier. Those who opposed the continuance of the proprietary government in 1764 favored the plan for a new constitution, favored the extension of the suffrage, favored severing the ties which had existed between the colony and Great Britain. In this party were the radicals of Philadelphia and of the more thickly populated sections of the adjacent counties, and with them consorted the Scotch-Irish and Presbyterians, and the inhabitants of the remoter sections, who felt that they had grievances against the proprietary government. The Quaker and German elements were conservative. They had stood for the retention of the proprietary government; they stood for good order, for keeping political power in the hands of those who were known to be safe. They distrusted the people whom a fifty-pound requirement in property disfranchised. Opposed to the unjust efforts for taxation on the part of the crown in 1764, they now opposed independence and rendered only a lukewarm assistance to those who were struggling against Great Britain.

On June 18, 1776, a Provincial Conference, with Thomas McKean as president, assembled at Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia and continued its sittings until June 25, when it adjourned. This conference consisted of ninety-seven delegates representing the people of the various counties of the province.¹ They decided that in considering all questions each county should have one vote; that they approved the resolution of Congress calling for a new constitution for Pennsylvania; that "every associator" in the province should be entitled to vote for members of the convention, provided he were twenty-one years of age and had resided one year in the province; provided also that he had paid taxes, and should take oath that he did not owe allegiance to Great Britain. They recommended that the proposed convention should consist of eight delegates from each county, Philadelphia City and County being counted

¹ "Proceedings and Minutes," pp. 85-45.

separately, that each member of the convention should be a qualified voter, and that he should be required to renounce allegiance to the crown and assert belief in the Holy Trinity and the inspiration of the Scriptures. After issuing an appeal to the people of the province, and setting July 8 as the day for the new election, the conference adjourned.

Such was the authority for calling the convention. It represented the will of the people expressed in a way for which the proprietary government of Pennsylvania had not provided, but one as legitimate as that by which the Declaration of Independence had been adopted.

Constitution-making was new work for the American colonists, and they felt their way slowly. But the air was full of suggestions. It was proposed that the Assembly choose from its number twenty members to be a legislative council, this being preferable to a council chosen by the people; that no alteration should be made in the "Charter" "without the consent of two-thirds of the people testified by voting by ballot." It was further suggested¹ that the members form a plan of government, submit it to the people by printing it in the newspapers, and then adjourn; that the people should choose a new convention which should have power to make alterations in the new constitution or confirm it. Another writer appeals to the people on the necessity of framing a new constitution, cites the governments of Greece and Rome as examples, says that this province is worse off than the other colonies in that the "House of Assembly is a part of that power from which we are trying to break away," and that it is disqualified for business. Daniel Roberdeau added the protests, for similar reasons, of the "inhabitants of the city and liberties of Philadelphia."² In Philadelphia and adjacent counties, however, a remonstrance against a new government was framed, and signed by six thousand names.³ "A Freeman"

¹ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, No. 232, July 16, 1776.

² *Ibid.*, No. 208, May 21, 1776.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 216, June 8, 1776.

in a later paper¹ asserts that the remonstrance does not represent the people of the province, and that the protesters have no desire to disturb the power of the Assembly, but to frame a constitution, a work which the Assembly could not do.

Suggestions were made not only as to framing a plan of government, but as to keeping it in order. There seemed to be a desire to adopt a plan whereby the people should not only make a constitution, but to them should be confided² the power to alter and amend the same. John Adams's suggestion³ was that the Legislature devise the methods of electing representatives "as in Connecticut," or that it might enlarge the period for which they should be chosen "to seven years, or three years, or for life, or may make any other alterations which the society shall find productive of its ease, its safety, its freedom, or in one word its happiness."

Another writer under the *nom de guerre* of Demophilus may perhaps be fairly regarded as having made the direct preliminary suggestion for the Council of Censors. He wrote as follows:⁴

"Probably a decennial meeting of delegates to examine the state of the constitution and conduct of the government would not be an imprudent provision for keeping the constitution in health and vigor, by having an opportunity to see that it did not depart from its first principles. This would be effectually holding the supreme power in its *only* safe repository, the *hands of the people*."

The election of delegates took place July 8. The conservatives took little or no part in this election, and the

¹ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, No. 217, June 11, 1776.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Thoughts on Government, Applicable to the Present State of the American Colonies, Philadelphia, 1776: Printed by John Dunlap." John Adams's "Works," Vol. IV. p. 197.

⁴ "The Genuine Principles of the Ancient Saxon and English Constitution, Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Robert Bell, in Third Street, MDCCLXXVI," p. 88.

result was that the party in favor of a more democratic government were in a large majority.¹

On July 16 the delegates met, organized, and made the required profession of political faith,² renouncing all allegiance to the British crown, declaring faith in the Holy Trinity, and pledging themselves "to establish and support a government in this province on the authority of the people only."³ Benjamin Franklin was elected president, and after electing the other necessary officers and clerks the convention was ready for business.

On July 18 a committee was appointed to bring in "an essay" for a frame of government; an addition to it was made July 25, when it stood as follows: Owen Biddle, Colonel Bull, Reverend William Van Horne, John Jacobs, Colonel Ross, Colonel James Smith, Jonathan Hoge, Jacob Morgan, Colonel Stroud, Colonel Thomas Smith, Robert Martin, Colonel Timothy Matlack, James Cannon, Colonel Potter, David Rittenhouse, Robert Whitehill, and Bertram Galbreath.⁴ On July 25 the convention endorsed the Declaration of Independence and pledged themselves to "support and maintain the freedom and independence of this and the other United States of America at the utmost risk of" their lives and fortunes.⁵

On September 28 the frame of government was confirmed and ratified by the convention in a declaration in which were these words:⁶

"We the representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania, in general convention met for the express purpose of framing such a government . . . do, by virtue of the authority vested in us by our constituents, ordain, declare and establish the following declaration of rights and frame of government, to be the constitution of this commonwealth and to remain in force therein forever unaltered, except in such articles as shall hereafter, on experience, be found to require improvements, and which shall by the same authority of the people, fairly delegated, as this frame of government directs, be amended or improved for the more effectual ob-

¹ Marshall's "Diary," p. 83. Attention is called to this passage by Mr. P. L. Ford in the "Political Science Quarterly," Vol. X., 1895.

² "Proceedings and Minutes," p. 46.

³ Ibid., p. 39. ⁴ Ibid., pp. 48, 49. ⁵ Ibid., p. 49. ⁶ Ibid., p. 55.

taining and securing the great end and design of all government herein before mentioned."

The constitution contained several curious provisions. It provided for a unicameral Legislature, and vested the executive power in a president and council. It provided for amending the constitution and keeping the government under the control of the people by a Council of Censors. To this council was committed the initiative in setting on foot reforms in the fundamental law and certain inquisitorial powers as to the manner in which public officials did their duties. The council was also to see that taxes and general expenditures were justly levied and discharged. The provisions respecting it were those which have been quoted on the first page of this article (Section 47 of the constitution).

Who drew up this frame of government, and to whom are we indebted for Section 47 of the constitution, the clause treating of the Council of Censors? The minutes and proceedings of the convention throw little light on this question, since they do not contain the debates nor a full record of the proceedings.

The committee for bringing in a frame of government contained some eminent men, men of high repute; but it is probable that these had less to do with the actual work of making the frame of government than some who were less widely and favorably known, belonging to the extremely radical wing of the popular party.

It is reasonably certain that David Rittenhouse had little or no part in it,¹ and the same authority attributes but little of the work to Benjamin Franklin, although Timothy Matlack assured Richard Bache that his "venerable father-in-law was one" to whom the "Convention paid the highest respect" in providing for a Legislature of a single branch.²

The Council of Censors is attributed to James Cannon

¹ Barton's "Life of David Rittenhouse," p. 336, note.

² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 31, 1779. "A Candid Examination of the Report of the Minority," pp. 51, 52.

and George Bryan;¹ George Bryan was not a member of the convention, however; hence the fact that he is charged with its authorship in connection with James Cannon shows the influences that worked together for providing this radical feature of the Pennsylvania constitution. As each of these men is charged with being the author² of the constitution, one may reasonably infer that it grew out of the combined views of the radical wing of the people's party, in which were Timothy Matlack, James Cannon, George Bryan, Dr. Thomas Young, and Thomas Paine.³ Two, Matlack and Cannon, were members of the convention and of the committee for drawing up a frame of government; and the fact that George Bryan, an outsider, is associated with it leads one to infer that the views of the entire group found expression, in a measure, in the frame of government.

James Cannon was a Scotchman, came to Philadelphia in 1765, was a tutor, and later a professor of mathematics, in the College of Philadelphia, was active in the "Associates of Philadelphia," author of the "Cassandra" letters, and secretary of the "American Manufactory." He died in 1782.⁴ One contemporary writer calls him "a fanatical

¹ Graydon's "Memoirs," pp. 285-288.

² "Remarks on the Powers of the Council of Censors in Pennsylvania," Philadelphia, 1784, pp. 13, a pamphlet in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. "It was composed in a hurry, I am told, by a fanatical school-master while the wisest and best men in the state were in the field."

³ Marshall's "Remembrancer," p. 71, March 15, 1776, "Past five went to James Cannon's. Drank coffee with Timothy Matlack;" p. 83, May 25, "Thence to James Cannon's who was gone out with Timothy Matlack to meet sundry county members at Norrington;" *ibid.*, May 30, "Dr. Young came there [Cannon's] to see me;" p. 84, May 31, "Went from there to James Cannon's, found a select company of friends of the liberties of America;" p. 91, July 3, "Near nine [P.M.] went to meet the Committee of Privates with others at Thorne's School Room where three speakers; viz., James Cannon, Timothy Matlack [and] Dr. Young flourished on the necessity of choosing eight persons to be proposed to the people for our Representatives in Convention."

⁴ PENNA. MAG., Vol. III. p. 198. Graydon's "Memoirs," pp. 285-287.

school-master," and another distinguishes him thus: "Of his colleague, Mr. Cannon, it may not be uncharitable to presume, that having little knowledge of men, and that scholastic predilection for the antique in liberty, which generally falls to the lot of a pedagogue, he acted accordingly."¹ This certainly gives color to the view that Mr. Cannon may have had in mind the Council of Ephors of the Greeks and the censors of the Roman constitution. But the coterie to which he belonged may have been familiar with Rousseau's views and he may have taken the idea from "The Social Contract."²

George Bryan was an Irishman,³ a great reader, fluent talker, intensely opposed "to whatever was English," and an ardent democrat. His interests were with the popular party, for with them lay his only chances for a public career, since by birth, training, and the lack of property he was unacceptable to the conservative party. Seven years later, when elected a member of the Council of Censors, he was attacked and derided in the public prints of Philadelphia, called "Censor-General of Pennsylvania," and "*spem gregis*."⁴ "Z" in an open letter to a newspaper exclaims, "Judge Bryan for the city of Philadelphia! *Hinc illæ lachrymæ*." He is charged with being poor, with being actuated by the sentiments of neither morals nor religion, and with violating the very laws he has taken oath to support.⁵

Timothy Matlack was a Quaker and a native of New Jersey. He was a member of the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776, and of the Constitutional Convention; secretary of state most of the time till March 25, 1783, and member of the Council of Safety from July, 1776, to March,

¹ "Remarks on the Powers of the Council of Censors" (Philadelphia, 1784), p. 13; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 2802, February 25, 1784; Marshall's "Diary" and "Remembrancer."

² Loc. cit.

³ Graydon's "Memoirs," pp. 287, 288.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 2829, August 25, 1784.

⁵ Ibid., No. 2782, October 8, 1783.

1777. He was a fighting Quaker, and was disowned by the Society for the part he took in the Revolution.¹

Dr. Young had lived in Boston and in Albany, was appointed a surgeon in the army, and the following year, 1776, urged Vermont to adopt the Pennsylvania constitution. Of Thomas Paine, whose letters, subscribed "Common Sense," appeared frequently in the Pennsylvania papers, it seems unnecessary to speak.

The framers of the constitution evidently intended to build principally upon new lines and avoid all features of the proprietary government that had proved objectionable.² They retained the unicameral Legislature and annual elections, but provided for manhood suffrage based on the payment of taxes and one year's residence.³ The executive power was vested not in a single person, but in a president and Executive Council; all bills were to be printed before they passed to a third reading, for the consideration of the people, and then they were to go to the next session of the Legislature for passage. Naturalization was made easy, one year's residence being required for the privilege of voting and two for holding office.

The provision for amending the constitution early gave rise to criticism. Benjamin Rush in a letter to General Wayne (September 24, 1776) expressed the feeling that the constitution had many weaknesses, and complained that the governor and council had no veto power, but hoped the Council of Censors would remedy this in seven years.⁴ Even one year later Joseph Reed in a letter to the General Council of Pennsylvania lamented "that the constitution has not provided a more adequate and earlier mode of improving what is right, and amending what is wrong."⁵

¹ PENNA. MAG., Vol. IV. p. 92, Vol. XVI. p. 315.

² Letter of Thomas Smith to Arthur St. Clair, "St. Clair Papers," Vol. I. p. 222.

³ "Proceedings and Minutes," pp. 54-66; "St. Clair Papers," Vol. I. p. 272.

⁴ Stillé's "Major-General Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line," p. 40.

⁵ "Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed," Vol. I. p. 302.

He regarded this as a weakness, thought seven years too long to wait for needed changes, and that the result would be either "spiritless languor" or "convulsion."

On September 28 the convention completed its labors and disbanded.¹ The constitution was not ratified by the people. Fears were entertained of Howe's invasion, and hence it was next to impossible to place the instrument in proper form before the people for their consideration.

V. PENNSYLVANIA: THE INAUGURATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

On October 17 a caucus was held² for the purpose of "devising methods for setting aside sundry improper and unconstitutional rules laid down by the late convention in what they call their Plan or Frame of Government." After some deliberation, and agreeing to suggest some changes and present them in print for the consideration of the people of the State, it was decided to hold a general meeting in the State-House yard the following Monday afternoon, October 21. About fifteen hundred persons were present, Colonel Bayard presiding. The speakers opposed to the late convention were Colonel McKean and John Dickinson; in its favor, James Cannon, Timothy Matlack, Dr. Young, and Colonel Smith, of York County.³ An adjournment was taken at night to the following day. At this adjourned meeting the resolves for changing the new government were carried by a large majority.

The result of this meeting was the formulation of twenty-nine specific objections to the frame of government. "It is the sense of this meeting that the people are generally and greatly dissatisfied with the said constitution." Four specific resolutions were made with reference to the matter of amending the constitution. In effect they were that the amending of the constitution was committed to a Council of Censors, and that it required a two-thirds vote of that body to effect a change in the constitution; that seven years must

¹ "Proceedings and Minutes."

² Marshall's "Diary," p. 97.

³ *Ibid.*

elapse before such amendments could be made, and that this was a violation of the rights of the freemen of the State; that it is the sense of the meeting that the people are greatly dissatisfied with the constitution; that the Assembly ought to have full power to make needed changes in the constitution; and that these changes should be submitted to the people for their consideration before they are finally passed upon.¹

Efforts were made to reach the people of the different counties² to secure their concurrence in the proceedings which resulted in the condemnation of so many features of the constitution. At the election the conservatives took little or no part, and the friends of the constitution thereby had a majority.³ But when the Legislature assembled (November 28) it was found that the minority opposed to the constitution was large enough to prevent the transaction of business; and matters were at a stand-still when Congress, fearing the appearance of the British in Pennsylvania, threatened to assume the reins of government for Pennsylvania if the Assembly did not proceed with business.

At this point John Dickinson, member from Philadelphia, proposed to assist in organizing the government and doing business, provided that the Assembly would agree to a measure seeking to call a convention to revise the objectionable features of the constitution. His proposition was not accepted and he resigned.⁴ The Assembly adjourned December 14 and did not come together until January 13; but no business could be done. The new government was not organized until March 4, when Thomas Wharton, Jr., was elected president and George Bryan vice-president of the Supreme Executive Council. The inauguration ceremonies took place March 5, and then the government of Pennsylvania under the new constitution was ready for business.⁵

¹ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, No. 274, October 22, 1776.

² Marshall's "Diary," p. 99.

³ Stillé's "John Dickinson," Vol. I. p. 208; Marshall's "Diary," p. 103.

⁴ "Thomas Wharton, Jr.," by Anne H. Wharton, *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. V.

⁵ *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. V. pp. 437-439.

Mr. Wharton, the president of the Supreme Executive Council, felt that the constitution was not all that it should be; but he thought it wiser to proceed with it, and do the best he could, rather than leave Pennsylvania with no government when she was so hard pressed by an enemy in an adjoining State and by dissension among her own people.¹

VI. PENNSYLVANIA: THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND ITS
ADMINISTRATION, 1776-1783.

The constitution of Pennsylvania was launched upon a stormy sea. Howe and his army threatened to invade the State, and the political dissension added to the confusion. The political factions seemed to subdivide on religious lines.² The Whigs divided: some wanted to revise the constitution, while others wanted it kept as it was framed.³ The laws were disregarded. The trouble "brought the dregs to the top."

The influence of Cannon, Matlack, and Dr. Young was still felt. In the opinion of their opponents, they held "back the strength of the State by urging the execution of their rascally Government in preference to supporting measures for repelling the common enemy."⁴

The two chief points of attack in the constitution were the Legislature, with its single House, and the method of amending. The new Legislature was called a "mob government;" it was believed to appeal to the passions and interests of its supporters.⁵ Joseph Reed, president of the Supreme Executive Council in 1778, felt that the method of amending was a weakness of the constitution, and particularly because of the seven-year time limit.⁶

¹ He was elected councillor by only fourteen votes out of six thousand voters. "Remarks on Powers of Council of Censors," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 2802, February 25, 1784.

² James Allen's "Diary," February 17, 1777; *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. IX. p. 279.

³ *Ibid.*, June 6, 1777; *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. IX. pp. 282, 283.

⁴ Stillé's "Wayne," p. 68; letter of Dr. B. Rush to General Wayne.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁶ "Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed," Vol. I. p. 302.

Richard Bache, Benjamin Franklin's son-in-law, presented two petitions for having the constitution amended. The first he offered in June, 1777, in his capacity of chairman of the Board of War,¹ and the second was addressed to the citizens of Pennsylvania, and purported to come from the members of the Republican Society, Richard Bache, chairman. Among the eighty-five signatures were those of George Clymer, Benjamin Rush, Robert Morris, and Ephraim Blaine. Their petition specified, as among the objectionable features, the single Legislature and the Council of Censors, suggested a second legislative House, denied that it was a "House of Lords," because it would be elected by the people, and set forth that a Legislature of two Houses would not be composed of two orders of men, as the Roman government was. Their views of the censors may be best expressed by quoting their language :

"What shall we say of the Council of Censors? Here indeed is a novelty of the most dangerous and alarming kind.

"Our constitution-makers, not satisfied with the habitual despotism of a single and uncontrouled Legislature, have appointed stated seasons for extraordinary efforts of lawless power.

"They have instituted a jubilee of tyranny to be celebrated at the end of every seven years. Glorious period! When the foundations of government shall be torn up! When anarchy and licentiousness and force shall roam unawed and unrestrained! When there shall be no fixed laws to which you can appeal for the justification of your conduct! When there shall be no courts to which you can have recourse for protection! When trials by jury, those odious obstructions that lie in the way of tyrants, shall be happily removed!

"Are you pleased with the prospect? If you wish not to feel it realized by direful experience, lay hold eagerly upon the present opportunity which is offered you of preventing it, by voting for a new constitution to abolish this part of the constitution."²

The Legislature so far yielded to the demands of the petitioners that, on June 17, 1777, it voted to ascertain the wishes of the people as to calling a new convention.³ This measure failed, however, in consequence of Howe's invasion.

¹ "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. I. p. 54.

² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 2545, March 24, 1779.

³ "Proceedings and Minutes," p. 111.

On November 28, 1778, a resolution passed the Legislature which gave the people an opportunity of voting, on March 25 of the following year, for or against a convention; and it specified the points which would come before such a convention, among them the abolition of the Council of Censors.¹ Following this movement came petitions in opposition from thirteen thousand inhabitants, and February 27, 1779, the resolution of November 28, 1778, was rescinded by a vote of forty-seven to seven.

From this time to the meeting of the Council of Censors in 1783 nothing outside of newspaper criticism was done in the direction of changing the constitution of Pennsylvania.²

VII. PENNSYLVANIA: THE COUNCIL OF CENSORS AND ITS WORK.

On November 13, 1783, the Council of Censors provided for in Section 47 of the constitution met in Philadelphia, and organized with Frederick A. Muhlenberg as president.³ On November 19 a committee, consisting of Fitzsimmons, Smiley, Irvine, and Reed, was appointed to consider and report as to whether the constitution had been kept inviolate in every part. On Thursday, December 4, the council resolved that on Monday, the 15th, it would, in committee of the whole, consider whether there were any need of amending any article of the constitution.⁴ On December 17 it was ordered that the committee appointed to see whether the constitution had been kept inviolate should inquire as to whether the executive and legislative branches of the government had gone beyond the powers assigned to them under the constitution. On January 1, 1784, the council, in committee of the whole, Richard McAllister in the chair, considered the defects of the constitution and as to whether amendments were needed. On January 2 the report of the committee of the whole was

¹ "Proceedings and Minutes," p. 111.

² *Ibid.*, p. 112; "Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed," Vol. I. pp. 46, 47.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*

read to the House, and it was resolved that some articles of the constitution were defective and absolutely needed alteration and amendment. At this time a committee, consisting of Miles, Fitzsimmons, St. Clair, Hartley, and Arndt, was appointed to report on the defective articles of the constitution. On January 3 the committee was instructed to report the alterations and amendments that were needed in the constitution.

Two committees reported in part on January 17, and their reports were ordered to lie on the table,—the committee appointed to consider whether the constitution had been preserved inviolate and the committee appointed to propose needed amendments.¹ On January 19 the council considered the report of the committee on the defects and alterations of the constitution. This report "was read a second time by paragraphs, considered, amended, and adopted."

Among the defects suggested were these: the Legislature with one House, the executive power vested in a president and council, the dependence of the judiciary upon the Legislature, frequent rotation in office, and unequal representation. Among the changes or amendments proposed were these: that the Legislature consist of a House of Representatives and a legislative council; that the executive power be vested in a governor, who should have a veto power; that the Assembly should be limited to one hundred members and the legislative council to twenty-nine members; that judges should be appointed by the governor to serve during good behavior, with fixed salaries, and that Section 47, dealing with the Council of Censors, should be omitted. Each amendment proposed by the committee was passed by the council by a vote of twelve favoring and nine opposing.

At this point a controversy arose on the construction to be placed on the report of the committee on amendments.² The minority stoutly maintained that it involved the idea of calling a convention to consider the amendments pro-

¹ "Proceedings and Minutes."

² *Ibid.*, pp. 77-82.

posed; and that, having failed to obtain a two-thirds vote of the Council of Censors, no appeal could be made to the people to elect delegates to a Constitutional Convention.

In their dissentient report they maintained that no appeal could be made to the people without violating Section 47 of the constitution, reciting the history of the action of the committee on amendments from its appointment on January 2 to the adoption of its report on January 19; that changes should not be lightly made; that at the end of every seven years such changes could be made, and that this council had now decided that no change at present is necessary; that if Section 47 is now violated, other dangerous innovations may be made; that the present constitution was made in great harmony; that it had been the means of carrying the State through great crises, and if it should be changed now the responsibility must rest with the majority; that the constitution had well stood the test of trial; that the proposed changes would make the government expensive; that if Section 47 were abolished, no method of changing the constitution, except revolution, would be left to the people.

On January 21, by a vote of thirteen to nine, the council resolved, "That the council did not then nor at any time since acquiesce or agree in the opinion that the vote of January 2 determined the question as to calling a convention."¹ The majority at this point framed and adopted an appeal to the citizens of Pennsylvania, and adjourned to meet June 5.

The appeal of the majority set forth that the greatest question before the council was the constitution itself; that it was faulty as compared with the constitutions of other States; that a majority of this council, but not two-thirds, desire to change certain parts of it as dangerous to the liberties of the people; that no reasonable motive for the opposition to these measures can be assigned; that the constitution was framed in the heat of party passions, when a foreign foe menaced the State, and when many of the citizens were absent on military service; that many citizens

¹ "Proceedings and Minutes," p. 80.

opposed to it at the outset submitted to it only on the understanding that it should be amended; that seven years had elapsed and a minority that does not represent one-third of the people binds the majority, as if afraid to trust the people to frame a government for themselves; that the sovereign people of the State could decide whether the present constitution was agreeable to them; that the changes proposed were not experiments, but had been well tried in sister States; that as the amending of the constitution was the most important matter for the council to consider, and as the minority were not likely to yield, an adjournment should be taken to June 1.

This was followed by the appeal of the minority to the people of the State, setting forth that the majority of the Council of Censors had appointed a committee of their own to prepare and bring in a new frame of government; that time had been wasted and needless expense involved by the obstinacy of the small majority in trying to have a new constitution made instead of considering the infractions of the old one; that the single executive or governor would be dangerous; that the minority was manfully struggling to preserve the present constitution; that the proposed second branch of the Legislature was in effect a House of Lords, and that the governor's powers should not be extended as proposed.¹

On February 11 followed "A Candid Examination of the Address of the Minority by One of the Majority," wherein it was declared that because ten thought one way and twelve thought another way, and a two-thirds vote is necessary for calling a convention, therefore the minority felt that the question of calling a convention could not longer be an object of deliberation,—the question of calling a convention never really came before the council; it was agreed generally that the constitution was defective, and the committee was appointed to suggest alterations and changes that were needed; it was denied that time had been wasted; much

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No 2798, January 28, 1784, "Address of the Minority of the Council of Censors to the Citizens of Pennsylvania."

laborious work had been done, and in regard to adjournment, the majority wished to make the time to March 1, but as people in the back counties wanted to be at home in planting time, the limit was set for June 1; as to the charge that a "king" or "governor" was proposed, the idea was advanced to intrust the executive with power and then hold him responsible for it; as to the self-assumed high moral stand taken by the minority, it was a fact that six of the council sat in judgment on their own acts; the charge of the minority that the proposed second House of the Legislature would be a House of Lords had no foundation; the people were to choose a legislative council from the same people that were represented in the lower House, and these members were to be elected by the same voters; the minority wilfully misrepresented the purpose of the majority; the minority offered the plan of electing the governor by the people; there could certainly be no objection to intrusting the election of the chief magistrate to voters of the State. The "*Candid Examination*" goes on to defend the ideas of the majority respecting the veto power, the appointing power, the election of justices of the peace, etc.

The present government of Pennsylvania, it declares, is very expensive and inefficient. By adopting the bicameral plan the interests of the State may be as fairly attended to and with far greater economy than is possible at present. The alterations proposed by the majority are designed to make the constitution of Pennsylvania like those of our neighboring States. They have a governor and a legislative branch of two Houses; but none of them contains a "king" or a "House of Lords." It is a matter of the utmost importance that a convention be called to consider the amending of the constitution.¹

This "*Candid Examination*" was followed by "*Remarks on the Powers of the Council of Censors*,"² setting forth that the council did not equitably represent the State, and that, as constituted, one-fifth of the State might really bind

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 2800, February 11, 1784.

² *Ibid.*, No. 2802, February 25, 1784.

four-fifths; that the matter of inquiring as to the collection of taxes and the best use of public money should really be done by the Executive Council or by a standing committee of the General Assembly; that seven years is too long to wait, as defaulters might escape; that the council is powerless to compel the General Assembly to repeal unjust laws; the council has no power to inflict punishment commensurate with crimes committed; with so long a time (seven years) between sessions, persons censured may be dead, or may have run away; the requirement of a two-thirds vote of the council to call a convention to amend the constitution is absurd and tyrannical, for one-eighth of the State as represented might bind seven-eighths; that it is difficult to get at the collective opinions of a community so represented; the censors usurp a right contrary to the ninth article of the Bill of Rights, by confining periods for amending the constitution to any one term; reviewing the constitution once in seven years tends to create a septennial convulsion—stability would thus be lost; if the people are happy, they ought not to be disturbed every seven years; if unhappy, they ought not to wait so long; that the Council of Censors is absurd, dangerous, tyrannical, and unnecessary; it is too expensive; other States have no such provision, and Pennsylvania's position among them is lowered by this provision.

When the Council of Censors resumed its duties after the adjournment, it proceeded (August 16) to take up the report of the committee appointed to consider whether the constitution had been preserved inviolate in every part, a report which had been laid on the table on January 17.¹

The report set forth that in view of the insidious attacks made upon the constitution it was the belief of the committee that the instrument in question is clear in its principles, accurate in its forms, consistent in its several parts, and worthy the veneration of the people of Pennsylvania. The committee then proceeded to consider infractions of the constitution in detail, and finally resolved, September 16, "that there does not appear to this council an absolute

¹ "Proceedings," pp. 83, 84.

necessity to call a convention to alter or explain or amend the constitution."¹ The report was adopted by a vote of fourteen to eight, showing that the radical party was now in the majority.

That this vote was somewhat indicative of the sentiment of the State on this question one may judge from the facts that a petition of eighteen thousand citizens had been sent to the Council of Censors requesting them not to change the constitution,² and that in the bye-election held in Philadelphia City to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Miles, a conservative, George Bryan, a notorious radical, had been elected.

The shifting of the majority vote during the adjournment of the Council of Censors from the conservative to the radical wing presents several interesting features. Both parties had issued addresses; the adherents of each did not lack opportunity for knowing what was at stake. It was really the continuation of a contest which had been going on for many years. The conservatives had a majority—but not two-thirds—prior to adjournment; but at this time the council lacked five to complete its quota. After the adjournment the friends of the constitution, the radical party, polled fourteen votes as their maximum strength, a majority of the board. In the mean time the conservatives had lost Irvine, Hartley, and Miles; while the radicals had gained Bryan, Montgomery, Potter, and McLene. Only once in all the proceedings did a member vote otherwise than on strict party lines, and in this instance the constitution was not involved.

Whether the addresses of the majority and the minority had any effect in changing the sentiment of the people would be difficult to determine. It is certain, however, that everything possible was done to arouse public sentiment on both sides. Frederick Muhlenberg, in the early summer of 1784, admitted that his side was beaten, and attributed it to the "blind passion and mad party spirit of the common crowd" in electing George Bryan. He felt that if the people

¹ "Proceedings," p. 124.

² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

of the State had been equitably represented, particularly if the "intelligent part of the people" could have had a voice, their judgment would have favored the amendments.¹

Joseph Reed felt that a mistake was made at the outset by proposing to make too many changes in the constitution. His view was that if only a few changes had been proposed, there might have been some reasonable hope of carrying a proposition for a Constitutional Convention through the Council of Censors by the requisite two-thirds vote. A moderate course would have tended to conciliate, and would have brought some measure of success in remedying some of the defects of the constitution,—for it certainly had defects.² George Bryan came in for a series of attacks in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*,³ in one of which he is characterized as the "*spem gregis*" and "Censor-General of Pennsylvania."⁴

It seems that the cause of the conservative party was really hopeless from the outset, and that it grew more so as the agitation increased. There was no question as to the fact that the constitution was defective, but there was a reluctance to making radical changes; and, moreover, it had not then occurred to the people as a whole how cumbrous their machinery was for changing the fundamental law. Then, too, controversies that dated back to the time when the proprietary government was in power were not entirely healed—all these elements had their influence in keeping the party lines rigid in the Council of Censors.

On September 24 the censors made their address to the people and on the 25th adjourned.⁵ The address to the people set forth that although there doubtless were defects in the constitution, yet it had been decided that there was no absolute necessity for calling a convention, and partly for the reason that the censors could not agree upon the

¹ PENNA. MAG., Vol. XII. p. 199.

² Letter of Joseph Reed to William Bradford, May 2, 1784, "Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed," Vol. II. p. 411.

³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nos. 2829, 2830, 2831, 2833, 2834.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 2829, August 25, 1784.

⁵ "Proceedings," p. 128.

changes needed; that the censors had set forth in detail the infringements upon the constitution which they had observed; that they regretted the lack of unanimity in the council and regarded it as unfortunate that the question of calling a convention should have come before the censors so early in their sessions; and that the censors had not attempted to interpret the constitution further than to explain their view of certain sections to show wherein they had been violated.¹

This address was approved by a vote of twelve to nine, and the work of the Council of Censors of Pennsylvania for 1783-84 was ended.

VIII. PENNSYLVANIA: THE CONVENTION OF 1789-90.

As the Council of Censors was to be elected once in seven years, the second council for Pennsylvania would have been elected in 1790. Following closely upon the heels of the Council of Censors of 1783-84 came the discontent with the old Confederation and the framing and adoption of the Federal Constitution. Pennsylvania ratified this instrument, which provided for amendments in a more equitable manner than by a Council of Censors.

The change in sentiment thus evinced bore fruit in a proposition presented to the Legislature on March 24, 1789, to appeal to the people for their judgment as to calling a Constitutional Convention; if they concurred in this, then a convention was to be chosen. The House passed these resolutions by a vote of forty-one to seventeen.

A dissentient report was made by sixteen members, among whom was that James McLene who had, as a member of the Council of Censors, voted to preserve the integrity of the constitution in 1776. Their main line of argument was that if changes were to be made they should be made by a Council of Censors, for any other way was not in accordance with the constitution and might lead to a revolution; the present form of government was not too expensive,—indeed, not as expensive as those of sister States;

¹ "Proceedings," pp. 127, 128.

and, while it might be shown that there are defects in our constitution, it should be replied that it has stood the test of time; but if it were to be amended it should be done in the way provided by the constitution.¹

On September 15 of the same year the General Assembly in committee of the whole considered the matter of calling a convention to alter and amend the constitution, and reported to the House in favor of the measure. The report set forth that it was believed that the people desired this, "in preference to the mode by the Council of Censors, which was not only unequal and unnecessarily expensive, but too dilatory to produce the speedy and necessary alterations which the late change in the political union and the exigencies of the State required;" that the Bill of Rights recognized the people as possessed of all the necessary powers in the premises; that the members of the Assembly had mixed with the people of the State and found them desirous to have a convention called; that this proceeding was right and necessary. The report recommended that the members of the convention be elected as the members of the Assembly are elected and upon the same day; and the suggestion was added that the convention should meet, propose the needed alterations and amendments, submit them to the people for their consideration, and then adjourn for four months previous to the completion of their work.²

One member objected to the Assembly's going beyond its powers to instruct a convention as to any details of its duties, since this should be done by the people whom it was to represent. The resolution for calling a convention was passed by a vote of thirty-nine to seventeen.

Here, again, came a dissentient report by ten members, setting forth that the Assembly had no right to call a convention; that there was no reason for such a measure; that when a recent attempt was made to ascertain the sense of the people as to such a measure, they were very pronounced in opposing it, because they were satisfied with the present constitution; that the Executive Council had not been

¹ "Proceedings," pp. 181-183.

² *Ibid.*, 184 *et seq.*

properly consulted as to the measures proposed; that too little time was given the people to prepare for such a measure; and that this order partook of the nature of a revolution.

A correspondent of the *Gazette*, in April, declared that the choice of the State was the result of the sentiments of her citizens; that the Council of Censors that met to consider the present constitution was elected under the same vicious principle upon which our constitution was framed, "Each county, great and small, had the same number of voters, each had a vote."¹ The people of Pennsylvania had tested the Council of Censors once and had been disappointed, and for a long time no opportunity had been given the people to express their desire as to the changing of our present constitution.

Benjamin Rush, who had opposed the constitution in 1777, was still hostile to it, and urged Timothy Pickering to accept a place in the new convention. He felt that one of the greatest boons to Pennsylvania would be a convention that should change the State constitution to correspond more fully with "*the new continental wagon*."² Albert Gallatin felt that the constitution ought to be changed, but he wanted it changed in the legal way, through the censors. He became, however, a member of the convention, and in after-years spoke in high terms of the character and ability of the members.³ Charles Biddle's views were quite like those of Mr. Gallatin.⁴ There was evidently a general feeling in the State that the constitution of 1776, framed in the midst of war and confusion, was not adequate to the needs of the State. The political judgment of Pennsylvania had outgrown it.

The convention for revising the constitution met at Philadelphia on November 24, 1789, in accordance with

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 29, 1789.

² Letter of Benjamin Rush, Pickering and Upham's "*Life of Pickering*," Vol. II. p. 428.

³ Adams's "*Life of Gallatin*," pp. 79-81.

⁴ "*Autobiography of Charles Biddle*."

the vote of the General Assembly; but, no quorum being present, it adjourned to the 25th, when it organized, with Thomas Mifflin as president. On December 21 the committee appointed to bring in a draft of a constitution presented a report embracing substantially the points which had been rejected by the Council of Censors in 1783-84. Among these were the bicameral Legislature, a single executive to be elected by the people, and a qualified veto power to be vested in the governor.

Article IX., Section II., contained all that the committee had to offer on the subject of amending the constitution: ¹

"That all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness: For the advancement of these ends, they have, at all times, an unalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish their government, in such manner as they may think proper."

The Council of Censors was ignored, the people having evidently become wearied with so unwieldy a piece of political machinery, and the more so because its weakness became more manifest as the people came to see and appreciate their needs.

The reason why the people of Pennsylvania had borne with the constitution of 1776 and the Council of Censors—indeed, their very origin—lay in the fact that the State had been for years divided into two hostile political camps. The censors and the constitution of 1776 were the means whereby the radical party hoped to keep their own rights from invasion by the conservatives, who had been so powerful in the proprietary colony.

The Revolutionary feelings were still in evidence when the Council of Censors met in 1783-84; but during the next seven years a change had come. The Rousseau views which had evidently prompted Paine, Matlack, and Cannon to their work had quietly yielded to the milder influence of John Locke. The Confederation had proved to be a failure. The thirteen independent States had united to form "a more perfect union."

¹ "Proceedings," p. 303.

The United States had ventured to trust the execution of its laws to a single executive properly checked by the other departments of the government. Philadelphia was the seat of the convention in which this work was done; Pennsylvania was the Keystone State; she felt the changes that had come about in the other commonwealths. In 1789 the people were ready to move forward, and the new constitution was the exponent of this progress. Enough had been done when it was declared that the people were the rightful repositories of the political power of the State, and that they could of right decide the times and the manner of altering or amending their fundamental law.

IX. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COUNCIL OF CENSORS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Pennsylvania enjoyed a unique position among her sister colonies from her geographical position and from the fact that her proprietary government continued down to the Revolution, a fact which contributed not a little to the political bitterness which was manifested so forcibly and frequently while the constitution of 1776 was in force.

This constitution was a step into the darkness of experiment. There were no models of popular government to take pattern by; hence the models of Greece and Rome were studied in the light of Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau.

The fatal stumbling-block seems to have been found in the plan for giving the people supervision over their government and its officials.

The constitution of 1776 seems to have been the advance wave of the levelling influence of the American Revolution. The social and political condition of Pennsylvania was ready for this change, and the commotion which followed the making of the new constitution was simply a preparation for the more stable form which was sure to follow.

The Council of Censors of 1783-84 was elected, and its work was given to the people, but the constitution was continued. Faulty and defective as it was, the people of Pennsylvania were not to be dragooned into more radical changes.

Within the following seven years thirteen independent republics laid aside the treaty or Confederation by which they were loosely held together and merged their sovereignty in a national government.

The fundamental law of this nation provided a means always accessible to the people for altering or amending this great instrument, which was the product of the ablest statesmanship of the States. While the influence of this great work was fresh in the minds of the people of Pennsylvania, and just on the eve of the election of a second Council of Censors, her General Assembly touched the pulse of public sentiment and, finding the people ready for the movement, called a convention which framed a constitution on better lines and with better adjusted political machinery. In the executive, in the Legislature, and in the method of amending the constitution the principal changes were made; and the great principle was laid down, and has ever since been maintained, that it is in the province of the people of the State to decide the time and the method of changing the fundamental law in a popular government.

ORDERLY-BOOK OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE
REGIMENT OF FOOT, MAY 10 TO AUGUST 16, 1777.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Continued from page 210.)

HEAD QUARTERS July 21, 1777.

Major General, Thompson; Brigadier General, Muhlenberg. Brigade Major, Green.

The Wagon Masters are to see that their horses feed as much with grass this day and save what grain they have and Dry Forage. The Wagoners to stay by their wagons and horses to prevent their doing any damage to the corn, flax &c. If such things are damaged by their negligence they will be severely punished. The Quarter Master General is immediately to inspect the oats and take the most effectual measures to prevent their taking any damage. Everything is to be in readiness to march tomorrow morning. The General is informed that some of the Troops are without provisions—they are to draw them today for tomorrow.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS, July 21, 1777.

The Adjutant is to make an immediate return of the Officers present belonging to the Regiment, and a list of those absent, where stationed and on what duty.

It is His Excellency's pleasure that Mr. Thomas Jones formerly a Lieutenant in this Regiment immediately withdraw from Camp, and that he does not in the future look upon himself as an officer belonging to the United States, unless he receives a new commission therefor.

It is my express orders for the future, no Camp kettles are carried in the wagons, and the officers who break through this order may depend upon being taken notice of in a very severe manner. The Officers for the future will take notice that no man must be allowed [torn] on a march

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to be out of the ranks, except the Field Officers and Captain's waiters, and they must turn out every afternoon at roll call the same as the rest. Only two waiters are allowed to each company.

WALTER STEWART, *Col.*

HEAD QUARTERS, THE CLOVE, July 23, 1777.

Major General . . . Brig. General . . .

Field Officers, Lieut. Col. Parker; Brig. Major, Pierce.

The march of the Army, whenever it begins, will be made with the utmost despatch; this renders it indispensably necessary to divest it of as much baggage as possible. Each Brigadier, therefore, immediately to cause certain wagons to be prepared for the tents of his Brigade, and when orders are given to march, they are to suffer nothing to be put in those wagons but the tents, and see that they are not heavy laden even with them. And the more to facilitate the march of the Army, the Commissaries are to leave no means untried to procure a supply of hard Bread to be reserved for the march. And when the Army moves they are to go forward and get the provision ready to be delivered the moment the Army halts. The Quarter Master General will have ready a proper number of empty wagons to follow each Brigade to take up the sick and lame. The rest of the baggage is to be left under the care of small guards, to follow on after the Army accompanied by the women, none of whom are to be suffered to go with the Troops. The Army is to be put and kept in readiness to march on the shortest notice.

RAMAPO, July 24, 1777.

D. O. There are great complaints of the horses of my Division being turned into the inhabitants' meadows without any orders for so doing by the Quarter Master General or any of his deputies, and that the horses are beating down the grass to the injury of the owners of the plantations. All the Artillery horses are to be immediately taken out of the meadows and grass cut for the cattle. The officers are also desired to take their horses out of the meadows, if they

have any out. The Brigadiers are desired to see this order immediately executed, as the complaint comes through His Excellency.

The commanding officers of Regiments in my Division are desired to have vaults dug as soon as possible after encamping, and the Soldiers are strictly forbid going into the fields of grain adjoining the road to do . . . , a stench arises from such places extremely offensive to the Camp and the passengers on those roads. This is to be a Standing Order and to be observed accordingly.

NATHANAEL GREENE, *Major General.*

NEAR CORYELL'S FERRY, July 28, 1777.

Brigade Orders.—The Brigade is to march tomorrow morning at four o'clock. If it should not rain at that time the General to beat at half after three; the Assembly at half an hour after, and the whole to march off in foot march today exactly at the time before mentioned. To prevent any confusion as to the men forming in their Regiments there is no drum to beat but those before mentioned. All the troops will follow on the beating of the Assembly.

CAMP CORYELL'S FERRY, July 29, 1777.

General Orders.—The troops are to put their arms in the best order the nature or situation will admit, and to be ready to march at short notice; to be provided with two days' provisions; such as choose hard bread instead of flour may be furnished by an order of the Commissary for that purpose, who is directed to issue out Salt provisions this drawing and to order up peas for the use of the Brigades. The Regimental Quarter Masters are to see that all men are furnished with clean dry straw for their troops. . . .

G. O.

CAMP NEAR CORYELL'S FERRY, July 29, 1777.

The Commander in Chief has reason to believe that it has been owing to the carelessness and inattention of the Wagon Masters in not seeing that the horses are properly fed and managed that such great numbers have foundered and died—they may be dismissed from the service for this

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neglect of duty, and also merely contenting themselves with directing the wagons.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS, July 30, 1777.

As we have now a good opportunity for washing the dirty clothes belonging to the Regiment, the Colonel expects no time will be lost in doing the same, as an examination of the arms and men will be made with great strictness tomorrow morning at Troop Beating.

The Regiment is to be paraded this afternoon at 5 o'clock to attend Divine service.

The men will be careful not [torn] the heat of the day, as it is productive of Fever and Ague, but defer it until Sundown.

WALTER STEWART, *Colonel.*

D. O.

July 30, 1777.

The commanding Officers of Regiments in General Muhlenberg's and Weedon's Brigades are immediately to examine into the state of their men's arms and ammunition, and have those who are deficient in the latter supplied without delay—the arms to be clean and in good order. It is expected that particular attention will be paid to these orders.

D. O.

July 31, 1777.

Assembly to beat at half after five in the morning—to march exactly at 6 o'clock. Before the march begins the Baggage Guard to parade as small as possible and those that are appointed for that duty must be such soldiers as are unfit for service. Such soldiers as are incapable of marching in the line are to be left under the care of a subaltern officer of the Regiment to which they belong. A Field Officer to be appointed for each Brigade to take charge of the whole. All the invalids to march in the rear of the baggage of the whole Division. Col. Abbot is directed to furnish wagons to take up such as fall sick upon the road. The troops in the line are to march in good order by platoons and none allowed to straggle. The invalids are also to be kept to-

gether and march by files. The order of march as heretofore will take the route to Germantown.

B. O. The officers of Gen. Weedon's Brigade are particularly directed when posted in the different platoons, except in cases of the utmost necessity not to leave them or suffer any soldier to do it.

Lieut. Col. Buford Field Officer for the day; and Field Officer of the day, for tomorrow, Lieut. Col. Kendrick.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS, CROSS ROADS, August 1, 1777.

It is extremely disagreeable for the Colonel to refuse those Officers who desire to absent themselves from the Regiment—he must therefore inform them he has received positive orders not to permit it, and requests that they will not put him to the trouble of refusing them.

The Officers will be very careful not to leave their positions, as they must be confident the soldiers will follow their example, which is attended with the most disagreeable circumstances to the inhabitants.

WALTER STEWART, *Colonel.*

HEAD QUARTERS, August 1, 1777.

By Express from His Excellency received a few hours past, the General is directed to acquaint the officers and soldiers that they are not to go into the City of Philadelphia without a permit from a General Officer. Any officer that disobeys will be arrested, and any soldier that attempts to go without leave will be severely punished. All the General Officers are requested not to grant permission to any person unless it be to execute business of real necessity. The commanding officers of Regiments are directed to make out returns immediately of the arms out of repair in their Regiments and the number wanted to furnish every man fit for duty. The arms in each Regiment in want of repair, to be cleaned and put in the best order for action. None of the arms of the guards to be loaded until further orders. All the arms that are loaded in each Regiment to be drawn at some proper place under the direction of the

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commanding officer of the Regiment or one of the Field Officers, and discharged all at once, and the General desires the officers of each company to see that the men do not load for the sake of firing, such a wanton waste of ammunition cannot be justified.

The Quarter Masters of each Regiment are directed to see that the men are provided with wood for cooking—the Quarter Master General of each Brigade will direct the Regimental Quarter Masters where to cut wood—no fences are to be burned on any account. All the officers of every rank are to protect the inhabitants from personal insults and their property from being plundered.

Field Officer for tomorrow for the Brigade, Major Nichols; Adjutant for the Day, Fowke.

HEAD QUARTERS, GERMANTOWN, August 2, 1777.

Major General Greene orders the troops to be immediately furnished with two days' provisions and hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. The tents to be immediately separated from all other baggage—no officer or soldier to be absent from camp on any account, and the General expects particular attention will be paid to these orders.

The returns called for in yesterday's orders to be made forthwith. The commanding officers of each Regiment to appoint an officer to prepare such clothing as the men are in want of without delay.

NATHANAEL GREENE,
Major General.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS, August 4, 1777.

The Captains are to make out a return of the guns in their different companies, that application be made to the General for them. The Officers will be careful to examine the arms of the men every day when they come on the parade and see that they keep them in exceeding good order.

WALTER STEWART, *Colonel.*

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HEAD QUARTERS, ROXBOROUGH, August 4, 1777.

In the present marching state of the Army every encumbrance proves greatly prejudicial to the service, the multitude of women in particular, especially those who are pregnant or have children are a clog upon every movement. The Commander in Chief therefore, earnestly recommends it to the officers commanding Brigades and Corps to use every reasonable method in their power to get rid of all such as are not absolutely necessary, and the admission or continuance of any who shall or may have come to the Army since its arrival in Pennsylvania is positively forbidden—to which point the officers will give particular attention.

Pay Rolls for the month of July are to be made out immediately and lodged with the Paymaster General for examination. The officers commanding Corps will be answerable for the execution of this order.

A General Court Martial will sit tomorrow at 9 o'clock in the morning near Judge Laurens's Quarters by Schuylkill Falls, for the trial of all such prisoners as shall be brought before them. Col. James Wood is appointed President of this Court.

The Regimental Surgeons are to send all their sick to the General Hospital in Philadelphia.

CAMP AT GERMANTOWN, August 5, 1777.

B. O. Officers commanding companies to have their Muster Rolls ready by tomorrow morning when the Muster Master is to attend to muster the men. A return of arms and accoutrements wanting to complete each Regiment, to be given to the Major of Brigade as soon as possible.

The Troops are not allowed to cut down any wood in the front of the Camp—The Regimental Quarter Masters to see that wood is brought for their men to cook with.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS, August 6, 1777.

The Camp Color men immediately to throw one foot of dirt into the vaults, and to take care that the same is per-

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formed every day, and if any man attempt to . . . in any place about the Camp except at these vaults, on being caught, he will receive immediately twenty lashes.

The Drum Major is to take care of the Drum practice, at least four hours each day, and the Fife Major to observe the same.

The Regiment during our stay here to parade morning and evening at 5 o'clock for exercise.

WALTER STEWART, *Colonel.*

D. O.

GERMANTOWN, August 6, 1777.

A Fatigue Party to be immediately appointed from Gen. Muhlenberg and Gen. Weedon's Brigades, to consist of one Captain, one Subaltern, two Sergeants, two Corporals and forty privates from each Brigade, to be employed in burying all the filth in and around the Encampment. All the Camp Color men in each Brigade to be immediately set to work in filling up the old vaults, and digging new ones. All the filth around the environs . . . to be taken up and buried. The commanding officer of the Fatigue Party is desired to be very faithful in cleaning the Camp. There is such a stench arises from every side of it now as to threaten the passers by with an immediate pestilence.

Gen. Muhlenberg and Gen. Weedon are desired to appoint an officer from each Brigade to examine such provisions as officers refuse to take, that justice may be done to the Continent and to the Soldiers; the names of the persons to be sent to the Commissaries of the Division and inserted in the Brigade Orders, that the officers may know who to apply to when any dispute happens. The General desires the troops may be exercised twice a day, morning and evening, during their stay here.

N. GREENE, *Major General.*

B. O.

August 6, 1777.

Lieut. Stubblefield of the Sixth Regiment is appointed to inspect the quality of such provisions as may be refused by any regiment in Gen. Weedon's Brigade. The Quarter

Master of said regiment is directed to inform the Division and Brigade Commissary of it, to prevent the great irregularity in [torn] the necessary duties of the camp. The Drummers of each Regiment are to meet at the hours appointed for the troop, retreat and tattoo, in those Brigades from which they are struck off, moving to the right and left of the Brigade and then returning to the centre, where they are to dismiss. The Drum and Fife Majors are to take the command of the whole Brigade, by a daily rotation, beginning with those on the right of the line. It being highly improper for any drums to beat after Retreat, that practice is positively forbid. Should any Regiment happen to be exercising after that time, they are to march by the fife only.

Officers commanding the Regiments in the Second Brigade are desired to consider it as a Standing Rule, that whenever the Brigade is to encamp for a longer time than one night the Camp Color men are detailed for the care of the vaults of the encampment, and any soldier who may be found throwing any meat or . . . elsewhere than in those places, is to be immediately punished.

It is with concern the General observes that so little attention is paid to the General Orders issued at Morristown the 6th July, respecting that part of them which particularly relates to soldiers, being read to them. If a soldier is caught destroying the property of the inhabitants he immediately excuses himself by declaring he did not know it was forbidden. As it would give him the utmost pleasure to see the strict observance of duty, and orders from the Line of every officer's conduct in his Brigade—he earnestly requests and recommends to them a particular attention to these points.

HEAD QUARTERS NEAR GERMANTOWN, August 6, 1777.

A Board of General Officers consisting of the Major and Brigadier Generals in Camp is to sit tomorrow at 10 o'clock in the forenoon at General Stephen's Quarters, at Dr. Smith's house near Schuylkill Falls, to make inquiry

why the Pay Abstracts are not regularly made out and lodged with the Paymaster General according to orders. The Pay Abstracts of every Regiment and Corps in the army for the month of July, and any time preceding that month, for which they have not been made out, are to be delivered to the Paymaster General by Monday next. The officers commanding Regiments and Corps will be answerable for the execution of this order; and every officer who does not deliver in his Abstracts punctually by the time assigned, may depend on being arrested and tried for disobedience of orders. Unless there are reasons which may render it impracticable to any to make out and deliver their Abstracts, by that time—in that case they are to appear tomorrow and lay those reasons before the above mentioned Board of General Officers—if they do not, it will be taken for granted that no such reasons exist.

J. Ward Esq., Commissary General of Musters, will attend the same Board to assign the reasons why the Regiments and Corps of the Army have not been now generally mustered. The Regimental Paymasters are immediately to apply for warrants to receive pay for the several Corps for the month of June.

As the time is uncertain when the army will march—it may be very soon and sudden—all officers and soldiers are to keep near their quarters; and such officers as had leave to go to Philadelphia are to return, and none are permitted to go thither but upon real necessity business, which being finished they are immediately to rejoin their respective Corps.

When the army moves it will be possibly necessary that it march with the utmost celerity; the tents therefore, agreeably to former orders are to be lodged in the wagons by themselves and in such manner that they may without difficulty keep up with the troops—for the same reason the officers will take with them only a few articles of clothing, such as shall be indispensable, leaving the bulk of their baggage to be brought after them, and in order to facilitate the march the Quarter Master General is to provide so

many wagons as shall be necessary to carry the men's packs, but those packs are not to be suffered to be loaded with useless trumpery—as from the sizes of many of them there is great reason to suppose is now the case, and the officers are to see that they are not, for which purpose the Commander in Chief most earnestly desires and expects that the officers particularly inspect the packs of their men, and select only such articles as are necessary and useful—all the rest, each man's being rolled by itself, is to be collected by the Quarter Masters of regiments and by them deposited in proper places, to be provided by the Quarter Master General.

Pursuant to the Resolve of Congress of July 16th last, the officers commanding Regiments and Corps are directed that in case they have any Sergeants, Corporals, Drummers or Private Men deemed incapable of doing field duty, such men should be examined by the Doctor General of the Hospital or some other physician or surgeon, and if judged fit for garrison duty they are not to be discharged, but transferred to the Invalid Corps and sent to Philadelphia as soon as possible. Men having only one leg or one arm each, if otherwise capable of doing garrison duty, are to be deemed proper recruits for this Corps.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS, August 7, 1777.

The Wagoners with the heavy baggage of all the Brigades are immediately to proceed to Coryell's Ferry and cross, and wait on the other side for further orders. Each Brigade is to send a small guard with their own wagons under proper officers—the whole to be under the command of a Field Officer.

The wagons are to move in the following order—those of Lord Stirling's Division first, General Lincoln and General Stephen's next; General Greene's last. The Boats are also to move at the same time. The Forage Master General will take care that forage is provided for the horses on the march and at the Ferry.

The troops of the whole line are to be in readiness to be

reviewed tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock, when it is expected that every officer and soldier not on other duty and able will attend. The troops are to be drawn up on their respective Brigade parades.

It is expected that the Wagoners and wagon teams which will remain in camp, will all be in their proper places, that an inspection may be had into their condition—this the Wagon Master General will comply with.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

The usual guards, viz. two men to a wagon from each Regiment to attend their Brigade, Colonel Stewart to furnish one Captain, and Colonel Stephens a Subaltern, to take care of the whole baggage of the Brigade.

G. O.

ROXBOROUGH, August 7, 1777.

At a General Court Martial held the 18th and 19th days of July last the following soldiers were tried and acquitted: William Foster and Adam Brooker of the 10th Virginia Regiment. At the same Court Martial the following soldiers were tried for various crimes and found guilty: James McAllister, James Scott, Daniel McCay, James Montgomery, and John Montgomery of Colonel Stewart's regiment, and many more of different Brigades. The Commander in Chief, grieved at the number of offenders, but ever desirous of showing Mercy, where it is not incompatible with the publick good, and hoping that his clemency will, hereafter, have a happy tendency to reclaim the guilty, is pleased to grant a general pardon, and the offenders convicted as aforesaid are declared hereby to be pardoned.

The following sentences of the same Court are approved by the Commander in Chief: Captain Tresbach of Colonel Armand's Corps charged *first*, with absenting himself without leave; *second*, when being ordered to join his Corps, when under arms, answered he had time enough and declined doing it; *third*, when being put under arrest made

use of bad language and treated his Colonel in a manner unbecoming an officer; *fourth*, when the Corps was ordered to march to Amboy he uttered discontents loudly before the soldiers and wanted to know why they were returning to Amboy. Acquited of the first charge, but found guilty of all the other charges, and sentenced to be reprimanded in General Orders, and to ask pardon of Colonel Armand in the presence of the officers of his Corps. The Commander in Chief wishes all officers to be impressed with this truth, that nothing is more essential than subordination and ready obedience to the commands of superior officers, and that it is this which gives life and vigor to an army; that the contrary conduct must clog and impede every movement and excite a spirit of discontent, disobedience and licentiousness amongst the troops; that in this view Captain Tresbach's conduct must be deemed highly criminal and of a dangerous tendency.

Captain Berry, Lieut. Myres, and Ensign Westfall, of the 9th Virginia Regiment; Captain Brant, and Lieut. Smith, of the 4th Virginia Regiment, charged severally with neglect of duty, in not having their men's arms in good order and with disobedience of orders relating thereto, found guilty.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS, August 7, 1777.

As a General Review is ordered tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock, Colonel Stewart flatters himself his Regiment will acquit themselves with honor to him and pleasure to the General. In order to do this the officers and men must appear clean and decent upon the parade, and he desires each Captain and officers commanding companies to see that all the men fit for duty are turned out on the parade at that hour. We are known to be a strong regiment, and likewise known to have been long in the service, it is therefore, incumbent on the officers to pay particular attention for their own sakes, as well as the Colonel's, to this order.

As the men will be paid off this afternoon, the officers

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will be careful that no quarrels take place between my men and the Virginians who are Brigaded with them. Any man attempting such a thing will be severely punished. We are all brother soldiers in the service, and it is our duty to support each other, not to quarrel among ourselves—they are soldiers who will support us in action, and it is horrid that intestine quarrels should arise between Pennsylvania and them.

As the men are to be paid off this afternoon they are excused from turning out until Retreat beating.

WALTER STEWART, *Colonel.*

ORDERS OF REVIEW.

The men are to parade on the open ground on the left of the Encampment, to front as the tents are now pitched, the Captains and subalterns to dress in a line from right to left, four paces in front of the men; the Colonel on foot advanced six paces in front of the officers; the Lieut. Colonel three paces in the rear of the Colonel and the Majors only on horseback in a line with the Lieut. Colonel.

When the General comes in front of the Brigade the Exercising Officer will give a signal for salutes by dropping his sword, at which time the Drums are to beat, and the Officers as the General passes along towards the right to salute in the manner directed by His Excellency the 16th of June, viz. the Captains and subalterns standing with their Fusees over their left arms, are to bring them to an order and take off their hats, carefully bring their arms down close to their left until the General passes, when they return to their former position. The Field Officers are to salute by dropping the points of their swords, which are to be drawn. All the officers and soldiers are to face as the General goes round the flanks of the Brigades, and when he comes again in the centre of the front, a General Salute is to be performed by a signal as before. The Artillery to be upon the right and left of the Brigades, and the officers to salute in the same manner with the Captains and subalterns of the regiments in the Brigade.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS, August 8, 1777.

The Sergeants of the different companies will take care in the future to assemble their men in the different streets, and the Captains or officers commanding companies will see that their men are all present or be able to account for them when demanded on the regimental parade.

A Regimental Court Martial to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock to try such prisoners as are in the Guard-house.

WALTER STEWART, *Colonel.*

HEAD QUARTERS ROXBOROUGH, August 9, 1777.

The Army is to move slowly to Coryell's Ferry and cross the river, the march to begin tomorrow morning, as soon as possible, if it should not rain. All absent officers not upon actual duty to be ordered to join their respective Corps immediately. The commanding officers of Regiments to give in the names of all such absentees to his Brigadier or officer commanding the Brigade, who is to lose no time in issuing his orders for this purpose. All possible pains are to be taken to get the men of each Regiment to it. The Wagon Master General and all those acting in the Department under him are to govern themselves agreeable to the Rules and Regulations of the Army conformable to all General Orders, Division and Brigade orders, in the Divisions and Brigades to which they belong, and those attached to Brigades to be subject to the verbal orders of the field officers of the Brigade appointed to the charge and direction of the line of march for the day. For every offence they are to be confined to their Quarters and tried by such Court Martials as shall be appointed to hear and determine the same. If any officer in the Department, either on march or in Camp, shall neglect his Duty, complaint is to be made to the Field Officer superintending the line of march for the day or to the Brigadier or Major General of the Brigade or Division, either of whom may order the person to confine himself to his Quarters as above. This provision being made to keep the Wagon Masters to

in our encampment near Schuylkill Falls occasioned it to become a public nuisance and a public reproach, to the great discredit of the Army, which in fact is not less injured in health than in reputation by such uncleanness and offensive smells—these . . . in a single line of encampment always to be dug in the rear and regular, and not at the will and pleasure of any Camp Colorman, many of whom have placed them most indecently—they are also to be covered with bowers and bushes when the places are marked out by the Quarter Masters,—it is expected this order will be invariably adhered to without repetition.

B. O.

A Brigade Guard—a Captain, a Subaltern, a Sergeant, a Corporal and fifty men, to mount in future, wherever the Brigade may be encamped, from which a chain of sentries are to be posted at proper intervals for the security of the Camp. A subaltern is to perform the visiting rounds and the Field Officers of the Brigade. The Grand Rounds are to see the sentries do their duty.

Any officer or soldier absent from camp after Tattoo not being on necessary duty—if an officer to be reported by the officer commanding the Guard in his morning report, and if a soldier, he is to be confined, that the proper notice may be taken in either case.

The Guard when the Brigade is upon a march, is always to compose the Rear Guard and to encamp when the ground will admit of it in the centre of the Brigade in front. The officer commanding it is requested to consider it as a part of his duty in conjunction with the Field officer of the Day, to see that the Camp is kept clean and to confine any offender against the Brigade Order of 6th inst.

REGIMENTAL ORDER.

The Regiment to be paraded this afternoon at 5 o'clock, and to exercise by double companies from that time to gun firing—the Captains to make their men exercise by the beat of the drum.

WALTER STEWART, *Colonel.*

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS CROSS ROADS, August 18, 1777.

Major General, Greene; Brigadier, Muhlenberg.

Field Officers, Col. Patton; Lieut. Col. Butler.

Brigade Major, Swain.

The Officers of the Day will consider the necessary guards to be posted in this place, and attend to the order and discipline of the Camp agreeable to General Orders of June 5th. The General requests the Officers of the Day to dine at Head Quarters as usual.

The Brigadiers or officers commanding Brigades are at orderly time tomorrow to return a list of all absent officers in their respective Corps to the Adjutant General. In doing this the name and rank of all the officers are to be set forth, how long they have been absent; whether they are upon duty and what duty; or on furlough, and the length of time for which it was granted. A strict compliance with this order is expected.

The Quarter Masters and Wagon Masters General are now to arrange all matters in their respective Departments in the best manner possible and be ready to move on the shortest notice whatever route the Army may be called to march.

The Board of General Officers held the 12th inst. to examine the complaints made against Colonel John White and other officers of the Georgia Battalion for enlisting some men out of the Continental Army, who were already enlisted in other regiments, report that upon the fullest enquiry there does not appear the least imputation against Colonel White, or against any of his officers, except in the instance of Captain Lucas, who supposed himself authorized in the matter complained of by a General Order from Major General Gates issued by the Town Major. All officers from whose Corps it is suspected any men have deserted and enlisted into Colonel White's Battalion are instantly to make out lists of their names with proper descriptions of their persons and dress and deliver them to their Brigadiers or officers commanding their Brigades, who will then immediately send a subaltern officer of the

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Brigade to Philadelphia to examine Colonel White's Battalion agreeably to his request; he will deliver up these deserters, if any shall be found in his Corps. These officers will at the same time apply to the officer commanding the Gallies and other vessels of War at Philadelphia and below the city for leave to search their vessels for deserters, and they are desired to permit such searches accordingly.

Two sober, honest lads, who are to talk French, are to be sent to Head Quarters this afternoon at 6 o'clock. General Muhlenberg will send one from his Brigade and General Scott another, if to be found in their Brigades. One orderly sergeant from each Brigade to Head Quarters forthwith.

D. O.

CAMP CROSS ROADS, August 13, 1777.

A Court of Inquiry to sit tomorrow morning whereof Colonel Stephens is President, to examine into a complaint made by Mr. Vanderslice, a Wagon Master, against Lieut. Colonel Davis of the 5th Virginia Regiment, for striking and abusing him; the state of the matter to be reported at large that his Excellency who orders this Court may judge who is the aggressor.

General Muhlenberg is requested to order a Guard over Mr. Miller's oats, to consist of a Sergeant and ten men.

The commanding officers of Regiments to make a return of all the Armourers in their Regiments as soon as possible.

N. GREENE, M. G.

B. O. Field Officers tomorrow, Lieut. Colonel Parker, Lieut. Colonel Buford. Court of Inquiry, Major Nicholas, Major Johnson. Colonel Stewart to parade tomorrow at Troop Beating, one sergeant, one corporal, sixteen privates.

(To be continued.)

"THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER."

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. REBECCA LLOYD SHIPPEN.

[The following extract from a letter of the late Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, narrates the writing, publishing, and setting to music of Francis Scott Key's "The Star-Spangled Banner." The original copy of the verses and also one of the first printed copies are in the possession of our contributor, who is a granddaughter of Judge Joseph Hopper Nicholson and a great-niece of Francis Scott Key. Judge Taney was a brother-in-law of Mr. Key, having married his sister; Mr. Richard West married Miss Lloyd, a sister of Mrs. Key, and Dr. Beanes was a warm personal friend.]

"WASHINGTON, 1856.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"I promised some time ago to give you an account of the incidents in the life of Mr. F. S. Key which led him to write 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' and of the circumstances under which it was written. The song has become a national one, and will, I think, from its great merit, continue to be so, especially in Maryland.

"The scenes he describes, and the warm spirit of patriotism which breathes in the song, were not the offspring of mere fancy, or poetic imagination. He describes what he actually saw; and he tells us what he felt while witnessing the conflict, and what he felt when the battle was over and the victory won by his countrymen. Every word came warm from his heart, and for that reason, even more than from its poetical merit, it never fails to find a response in the hearts of those who listen to it. Mr. F. S. Key was a volunteer in the Light Artillery, commanded by Major Peter, which was composed of citizens of the District of Columbia, who had uniformed themselves, and offered their services to the Government, and had been employed in active service from the time the British fleet appeared in the Patuxent river, preparatory to the movement upon Wash-

ington. On the Evening of the day that the enemy's ships were seen moving down the Potomac river, Mr. Richard West (a brother-in-law of F. S. Key) arrived at Mr. Key's house and told him that after the British army passed through upper Marlbro, on their return to their ships, a detachment was sent back which entered Dr. Beanes' house about midnight, and compelled him to rise from his bed, and hurried him off to the British Camp hardly allowing him time to put his clothes on, that he was treated with great harshness and closely guarded, and that as soon as his friends were apprized of his situation they hastened to the headquarters of the English Army to solicit his release, but it was peremptorily refused, and they were not permitted to see him, and he had been carried a prisoner on board the fleet; his friends had requested Mr. West to see Mr. Key and request him to obtain the sanction of the Government to his going on board the Admiral's Ship under a 'flag of truce,' and endeavor to procure the release of Dr. Beanes before the fleet sailed. Mr. Key readily agreed to undertake the mission, and the President promptly gave his sanction to it. Orders were immediately issued to the vessel usually employed as a cartel, in the communications with the fleet in the Chesapeake Bay, to be made ready without delay; and Mr. John S. Skinner, who was agent for the Government for flags of truce and exchange of prisoners, and who was well known as such to the officers of the fleet, was directed to accompany Mr. Key.

"We heard nothing from them until the enemy had retreated from Baltimore and we were becoming uneasy about them when to our great joy Mr. Key made his appearance at my house on his way to join his family (who resided in Georgetown, D. C.). He told me that he found the British fleet at the mouth of the Potomac preparing for the expedition against Baltimore, he was courteously received by Admiral Cochrane and the officers of the army, as well as the navy; but when he made known his business, his application was received so coldly, that he feared it would fail. General Ross and Admiral Cockburn,

who accompanied the expedition to Washington, particularly the latter, spoke of Dr. Beanes in very harsh terms and seemed at first not disposed to release him, it happened however fortunately that Mr. Skinner carried letters from wounded British officers left at Bladensburg to their friends on board the fleet, and they all spoke of the humanity and kindness with which they had been treated after they had fallen into our hands, and after a good deal of conversation and strong representation from Mr. Key as to the character and standing of Dr. Beanes, etc., General Ross said that he felt himself bound to make a return for the kindness which had been shown to his wounded officers whom he had been compelled to leave at Bladensburg, and upon that ground, and that only, he would release him; at the same time, he informed Mr. Key, that neither he, nor any one else, would be permitted to leave the fleet for some days, and must be detained until the attack on Baltimore, which was then about to be made, was over. They were then put on the frigate 'Surprise,' commanded by Sir Thomas Cochrane—son of Admiral Cochrane—with whom they dined, and who apologized for not accommodating them in his own ship, saying it was crowded already with officers of the army, but they would be well cared for by his son on the 'Surprise.'

"Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner continued on board the 'Surprise,' where they were kindly treated until the fleet reached the Patapsco, Admiral Cochrane then shifted his flag to this frigate, in order that he might be able to move farther up the river and superintend in person the attack by water on the fort, and Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner with Dr. Beanes with a guard of sailors and marines to prevent them from landing, were sent on board their own vessel; and they thought themselves fortunate in being anchored in a position which enabled them to see distinctly the flag at Fort McHenry from the deck of their vessel.

"Mr. Key then proceeded with much animation to describe the scene on the night of the bombardment; he and Mr. Skinner remained on deck during the night, watching every shell from the moment it was fired until it fell, lis-

tening with breathless interest to hear if an explosion followed. While the bombardment continued, it was sufficient proof that the fort had not surrendered, but it suddenly ceased some time before day, and as they had no communication with any of the enemy's ships, they did not know whether the fort had surrendered or the attack upon it been abandoned. They paced the deck for the residue of the night in painful suspense, watching with intense anxiety for the return of day, and looking every few minutes at their watches to see how long they must wait for it. As soon as it dawned and before it was light enough to see objects at a distance their glasses were turned to the fort, uncertain whether they should see there the Stars and Stripes, or the flag of the enemy. At length light came and they saw that 'our flag was still there,' as day advanced they discovered from the movements of the boats between the shore and the fleet that the troops had been roughly handled, and at length he was informed that the attack on Baltimore had failed and the British Army was re-embarking, and as soon as the troops were on board and the fleet ready to sail he and Mr. Skinner and Dr. Beanes would be permitted to leave.

"He then told me, that under the excitement of the time he had written a song and handed me a printed copy of 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' I asked him how he had found time in the scenes he had been passing through to compose a song? He said he commenced it on the deck of their vessel, in the fervor of the moment when he saw the enemy hastily retreating to their ships, and looked at the flag he had watched for so anxiously as the morning opened: that he had written some lines or brief notes that would aid him in calling them to mind upon the back of a letter which he happened to have in his pocket, and for some of the lines as he proceeded he was obliged to rely altogether on his memory, and that he finished it in the boat on his way to the shore and wrote it out as it now stands at the hotel on the night he reached Baltimore, and immediately after he arrived; he said that on the next

morning he took it to Judge Nicholson to ask him what he thought of it, that he was so much pleased with it that he immediately sent it to a printer, and directed copies to be struck off in hand-bill form, and that he—Mr. Key—believed it to have been favorably received by the Baltimore public.¹

"Judge Joseph Hopper Nicholson and Mr. Key were nearly connected by marriage—Mrs. Key and Mrs. Nicholson being sisters [Mary Lloyd and Rebecca Lloyd, daughters of the Hon. Col. Edward Lloyd, 4th, of Wye House, Talbot Co., Maryland].

"The Judge was a man of cultivated taste; had at one time been distinguished among the leading men in Congress, and was at the period of which I am speaking the Chief Justice of Baltimore, and one of the Judges of the Court of Appeals of Maryland. Notwithstanding his judicial character, which exempted him from military service, he accepted the command of a volunteer company of artillery, and when the enemy approached, and an attack on the fort was expected, he and his company offered their services to the Government to assist in its defence, they were accepted and formed part of the garrison during the bombardment. The Judge had been relieved from duty and returned to his family only the night before Mr. Key showed him his song, and you may easily imagine his feelings at such a moment, he read it and gave it to the public, in less than an hour after it was placed in the hands of the printer it was all over town, and hailed with enthusiasm, and took its place at once as a national song.

"Your friend truly,

"R. B. TANNEY."

¹ Judge Nicholson, finding that the words suited the tune "Anacreon in Heaven," wrote this above the verses he had had printed, with a brief statement of the cause that took Mr. Key to the British fleet.

THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM PENN.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

(Continued from page 195.)

XIII. SUPPLEMENTARY AND CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

Though it was my plan to state all the facts suitable for this essay in their appropriate connection, in the development of the family narrative, it has proved that a number of additional data have accumulated, whose interest, if not importance, makes a supplementary chapter appropriate.

ADMIRAL PENN'S TABLET AND ARMS.

The question, if there really was any, as to the wording upon Admiral Penn's memorial tablet in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, at Bristol, is settled by the picture of the tablet (from a photograph) which has been given in connection with this essay. Though, from the gloom of the church and the elevation of the tablet, photography was difficult, the picture obtained shows with sufficient clearness the presence of the words, "and those Penns of Penn, in the county of Bucks," and this record evidence, whatever its value may be, is definitely established.

An article in *Notes and Queries*, London (Fifth Series, Vol. XI. p. 457), describes the Admiral's armor accompanying the tablet. It "consists of the entire suit, with helmet, said to have been worn by the gallant knight, 'admiral and general,' during his last expedition, and it is attached to one of the columns of the church, together with his sword, spurs, gauntlets and pennons, now consisting of a few fragments only."

The same article adds some details of interest in connection with the opening of the Admiral's tomb for the burial of the last William Penn (grandson of Richard) in 1845. It says, "In September, 1845, the family vault was opened

to admit the remains of a descendant, when it was found that the mahogany outer coffin was completely decayed, and the leaden one containing the Admiral had given way at the sides. Upon lifting the lid to have the sides properly secured, the cerecloth covering the body appeared quite perfect; the face and hands, which had become of a brown color, were alone uncovered, and they were well preserved, the pointed Vandyke beard and mustaches remarkably so. The next day, the coffin, having been carefully repaired, was re-deposited in the vault."¹

THE PENN-LOWTHER MARRIAGE.

In the record of the marriage licenses issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury there is this, February 12, 1666/7 :

"Anthony Lowther, of Moske, co. York, Esq., Bach^r, 24, and Margaret Pen, Sp^r, 15, dau of Sir William Pen, K^t, of St. Olave, Hart street, London, who consents; at St. Olave's afd, Barking, co. Essex, or Clapham, co. Surrey."

The marriage took place, as Pepys's Diary has already stated, February 14, two days after the issue of the license. Margaret was, it appears, but fifteen years old, the bridegroom being nine years her senior.

PENN'S IMPRISONMENT IN THE TOWER.

A very intelligent and careful inquiry into the imprisonment of William Penn in the Tower of London in 1668/9 was published in *Archæologia*, London, Vol. XXXV. pp. 72-90, it being a paper read, March 17, 1858, before the Society of Antiquaries, London, by John Bruce, Esq., treasurer of the society. The value of the paper consists chiefly in its clear explanation of the manner of Penn's imprisonment, and its citation of the minutes of several sittings of the Privy Council in which the case was considered.

¹ St. Mary Redcliffe, it may be worth noting, was the church under whose shadow the marvellous boy Chatterton was reared, and in whose "muniment room" he pretended to have found the old chest of manuscripts, "Canynge's Coffin."

Mr. Bruce explains that the printing and publishing of books at the time Penn issued his "Sandy Foundation Shaken" were strictly regulated by the severe statute, 14 Car. II., cap. 33. While it is true that this could not have been very rigidly enforced, since there are many books extant printed in the period after the law was enacted, without the license which it required, it was yet available for use when the authorities might choose to employ it.

The minutes of the Privy Council show that Penn, upon search being made for the printer of his book, John Derby, came forward, avowed himself the author, and surrendered himself to Lord Arlington, principal Secretary of State, who, of his own authority,¹ sent Penn a "close prisoner" to the Tower and Derby to the Gate-House Prison.

At the Council, Whitehall, December 16, 1668, the King present, Lord Arlington reported what he had done; his action was approved, and he was directed to give orders to continue Penn and Derby in confinement. Two days later, at another council, a warrant was issued to the lieutenant of the Tower directing that Penn be kept a "close prisoner" until the King's pleasure should be further signified, the warrant being signed by the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Chamberlain (Earl of Manchester), the Earl of Sandwich, the Earl of Carbery, Lord Ashley, Lord Berkeley, and Sir John Trevor (Secretary of State).

January 29, 1668/9, at a council, the petition of Joane Derby, wife of John Derby, the printer, was presented, asking his release on bail. It was ordered that he might enjoy such liberty of the prison as other prisoners had, but still to be kept in safe custody. May 7, 1669, the Council ordered him released.

March 31, 1669, a petition of Sir William Penn was presented to the Council in behalf of his son, and it was directed that the Bishop of London (Dr. Humphrey Henchman, appointed to that see in 1663) should examine and judge of the heretical views in "The Sandy Foundation

¹ The statute does not seem to have been followed; Mr. Bruce calls the proceedings "Star Chamber" throughout.

Shaken," and Sir John Robinson, the lieutenant of the Tower, should allow citations and processes issued by the Bishop to be served on Penn; also, that he allow Penn, in charge of "a keeper and sufficient guard," to appear in the Bishop's consistory.

The action taken by the Bishop, under this order, Mr. Bruce says, was to send Dr. Stillingfleet (afterwards Bishop) to visit the prisoner.¹ At any rate, at the Council, July 28, 1669, about three months after the previous action, the King being present, his Majesty expressed himself as satisfied by Dr. Stillingfleet's report, and by what Penn "hath since published" (the explanatory pamphlet, "Innocency with her Open Face"), that he was sensible of his former "error." Sir John Robinson was therefore ordered forthwith to set him at liberty and deliver him "to his father, Sir William Pen."²

THE SHANGARRY ESTATE.

If we except Jordans graveyard, no other place seems more identified now with the Penn name than the old Irish estate of Shangarry. And this is in spite of the fact that the Founder, after the days of his youth, and his departure to Oxford, could have been there very little, while his descendants, other than William Penn, 8d, down to Thomas Penn-Gaskell, were hardly resident there at all.

The Shangarry estate, as already mentioned, was divided at the conclusion of the long lawsuit between the heirs of Peter Gaskell and those of Alexander Durdin. The two portions remain in those families, the present Penn owner being Peter Penn-Gaskell. A curious feature of the division is that the old castle from which the estate takes its name is on the Durdin portion. Possibly Admiral Penn, could he be witness to this consequence of the sixty days'

¹ Penn himself says that Stillingfleet came to see him "at the King's command."

² Mr. Bruce's paper is a fair and candid one, apparently with the disposition, if not the purpose, to show that Penn was not persecuted by the Bishop of London.

nominal marriage relation of his great-grandson's widow, would think it an unsatisfactory sequel, after all, to the schemes and ambitions by which Shangarry was acquired as a war grant by the favor of Protector and King.

The Shangarry estates cover an area of about four miles by two miles (English). They lie on the extreme southern coast of Ireland, between Cork and Youghal;¹ so close, indeed, to the Atlantic that a wide estuary in which the ocean tides ebb and flow is but three-fourths of a mile from the castle. The region is substantially a peninsula, the ocean on the south, Cork Harbor on the west, and the estuary already mentioned on the east nearly enclosing it. The place seems secluded and remote; four miles northwest is the town of Cloyne, famous as the home for eighteen years (1734-1752) of Bishop Berkeley,² and about five miles farther northwest is Midleton, a station and post-town on the Great Southern and Western Railway,³ which is the nearest point of access to the great outside world.

The "Castle" (Shangarry = Celtic, old garden) is now a mere heap of ruins. It receives no notice in any of the descriptions—not even the minute studies of Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall—of the picturesque remains of the region, and the name Shangarry will be sought in vain in gazetteers and local guide-books. There is, however, a village of Shangarry,⁴ this being on the Penn-Gaskell portion of the estate, and near by, "on a strip of land" which belongs to

¹ This is the region of Captain William Penn's naval operations, for the Parliament, in 1644 and later.

² The time of the Bishop's residence at Cloyne coincides pretty nearly with the period of William Penn, 8d's, residence at Cork and Shangarry, but I find no trace of their acquaintanceship. One would have thought that at least the invalid of Shangarry might have had the advantage of the Bishop's tar-water remedy, which at that particular period much occupied his attention.

³ The place is the "middle town" on the road from Cork to Youghal. The Post-Office Department spells it with one *d*,—*Midleton*.

⁴ The spelling used locally, and by Mr. Penn-Gaskell and others of my correspondents, is *Shangarry*. I have followed, to avoid change, the spelling which seems to have been used originally, and which was therefore employed in the early part of this essay.

the Durdin owner, the ruins are. Immediately opposite them stands what formerly was Shangarry House,—“the House,”—now altered into stables and offices, while a newer house (“built about 1841”), a “gentleman’s residence” of the present century, has been erected “about five hundred yards farther back from the main road.”¹ This main road leads from Midleton down through Cloyne, past Shangarry, to Ballycotton, on the ocean shore,—a seaside resort of some note.

The old castle had a history beginning at least as early as the time of Elizabeth. In her reign it was successfully defended against her troops by the Earl of Desmond. Walter Raleigh, at Youghal, was doubtless well acquainted with the place. In 1641 it was held by the Irish for Charles, but was taken later by Parliamentary troops, and by Cromwell’s order was dismantled. Maria Webb (“Penns and Peningtons”) describes it (1867) as having then some attractiveness. It is, she says, “an ivy-covered ruin; but its tall tower, rising above the bright green foliage, gives a commanding and picturesque air to the remains.” A photograph of the ruins in 1898 makes this description quite unsuitable. The ruins appear to be of no great size, and to have hardly any architectural form.²

A Roman Catholic chapel, built about 1830, stands near the castle ruins; the Episcopal Protestant Church of Kilmahon, of much older date, is also in the vicinity. About two miles southwest, and on the Shangarry estate, stands an old dwelling-house in tolerable repair, and still occupied as a residence, called “Sunville,” and it was in this, the

¹ “It has always seemed to me a pity that the new House was ever built, the old one being so much more massive and solid, but its close proximity to the high road and the village was no doubt an objection.” —*Letter*, 1898.

² I am indebted for the photograph and for information of value in this connection to the kindness of T. Wilson Strangman, whose house, “Kinoith,” stands on the Penn-Gaskell portion of the Shangarry estate. (Kinoith, which, Celtic, means “The Place of Friendship,” is, he states, “an old name revived, which has been applied to this district probably since the days of William Penn.”)

"old people" of the neighborhood insist, that William Penn lived when at Shangarry.

By the will of Peter Penn-Gaskell, 2d (who died 1866), the Penn-Gaskell portion of the Shangarry estate was charged with payments of annuities, etc., in addition to an encumbrance which already lay upon it. The diminished values of Irish estates in recent years have borne heavily upon Shangarry, and the revenues from it are probably more than absorbed in the charges upon it.

JOHN PENN'S RESIDENCE AT FEENS.

Allusion is made at several places in this essay to the residence of John Penn, "the American," at Feens, near Twyford, in Berks, and in a foot-note to Chapter IX., besides some other details, an extract is given from a letter written by him to his servant, named Thomas Penn,¹ directing him to get Feens ready for occupancy. This letter was dated December 2, 1735, immediately after John's return to England from his Pennsylvania visit. To this, Thomas, who wrote a tolerable letter, though evidently a person of very limited education, replied, his letter undated,—

" . . . I rec'd yours of y^e 2d. I should have wrote sooner, had I any other news but y^e rejoicing of y^e people for your safe landing, and their wishing for you a safe arrival here. . . . Hannah gives her duty, every evening the House hath a spy to watch your coming, for they are resolved to make our church steaple rock for joy."

John, it seems, lost no time in forming plans for spending his Christmas at Feens. Tom writes to him, December 9, thus:²

"Mr. Griffin is com to feens & hath begun packing up this day & sayeth he intends to clear y^e hous y^e latter end of nexte weeke or soonor, if soonor I shall let you know. I have inquired for a man to shave,

¹ This Thomas Penn appears to have been a colored man, and he seems to have been advanced in years. In one of his letters to John Penn, 1735, he says that if his "legs were as good as they once were" he would attend himself to some business that was under consideration.

² The letter is endorsed, "Black Tom's Letters, 1735."

write and waite at table, but can heare of none about. I have set Aran to work for 12d per day, small bear and loging, and finds himself till you com to feens. Hannah hath agreeede with a maide, if you like. I have wrote to [name not plain] about a horse. Hannah sayeth there wants cover sheets, if youle please to send a pece of cloth she could make y^m now shee hath time. please send word what provishhon you would have laid in. I believe I have planted Sallery a nuf. I have not yet seen any wine. . . .

"T P

"please to let me know when a ship sailes, for I muste send sum strawberries and [word torn] roots or Mrs¹ will chide."

Upon the same date as Tom's letter (and apparently in reply to it) John Penn writes to Tom. The letter is addressed to him, "att Feens, near Maidenhead, Berks, pr Maidenhead bagg," and runs thus:

"HONEST TOM

"I have rec'd yours I am sorry the gentleman has not Left the house. I desire you'l Gett 2 Leggs of Pork, & a Bullock or two of Beafe, as Soon as you Can to be Ready against Christmass, also 3 or 4 good hen Turkeys, fowls, & Geese. I should be glad to know what youl want from Town that [I] may Send it Down. we shall want some Good hay & oats which pray gett for Shall have a Good Deal of Company down with me. As you cannot gett the Person that lived with Mr. Griffen, I believe Shall keep Sam, who Seems Better Since he has been on Shore; hope you'll have Somebody in the Garden and stable by Xmass, & as we Shall want some person to go out a Shooting, perhaps Aaron may do, or if T. Skinner Could be gott for a few days. I could not Send wine Last week but Design you some on fryday p^r Waggon, wherefore desire you'l not be out of the Way. a Doz of Wood pidgeons Potted & Some Potted Beafe or Collard would be acceptable, also a hogs head in a Collar. . . ."

Same to same, December 16, 1735:

" . . . I design to send down some Coals p^r Rounds Barge with Several other things. I sent yesterday a hamper of Sugar, Tea, & Coffee, which hope came safe & that you Rec'd last week p^r Waggon a hhead of Red Wine. Youl have a pipe of Madeira Fryday, & a hogshead [of] fine Rum if it can be landed by that time."

¹ "Mrs." was evidently Margaret Freame, then in Pennsylvania. Letters from her, at Philadelphia, to Tom, on garden seeds, etc., are in the Penn collections.

Tom to John Penn, December 19, 1785 :

"HON S^r

"Y^e gentlemen left Feens yesterday. here is only one sarvant, we are washing scrubing and giting Every stoole in its place as you left it y^t Nothing should appeare strange to you att your returne, but feare y^e rooms will scarce be dry and well air'd before Munday. please to send a line what you would please to have got for Supper or Dinner when you come, here will be potted befe, Collared ditto, hoggs hed brand [? brained] wood piggon potted and so forth. People would Meete you on y^e rode to congratulate youre safe returne and conducte you to your old set did they but know ye day and way you would com

"from your humble sv't

"T P

"Feens, Fryday morning"

THE GRAVESTONES OF JORDANS GROUND.

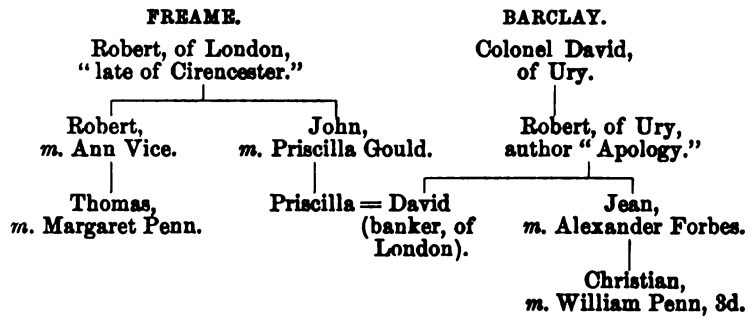
The several reflections upon the errors in the lettering placed upon the gravestones in the Friends' burial-ground at Jordans make it necessary now to state that these errors have been corrected. A letter from Joseph J. Green, the distinguished Quaker antiquarian and genealogist, October 12, 1897, from Tunbridge Wells, England, says, referring first to the grave marked Letitia Penn,—

"The stone is now correct, 'Letitia Aubrey,' as I have drawn the attention of the local monthly-meeting to these defects, and new stones are now put down where errors existed. The stone 'Mary Frame' has been taken up, or altered to 'Margaret Freame,' and I think also 'Thomas Freame;' both are buried in one grave. The stone at John Penn's grave is also correctly marked."

MARGARET FREAME AND HER FAMILY.

A thorough examination of the Penn correspondence would yield much further information concerning Margaret Freame, daughter of the Founder, and her family. Her husband, Thomas Freame, was the son of Robert Freame, of London, "grocer," a Friend, who married Ann Vice, at the Friends' meeting at Bull and Mouth, March 21, 1694/5. This Robert Freame—who was apparently of a Gloucestershire family; his father is described as "late of Cirencester"—had a brother John, "citizen and grocer," of Lom-

bard Street, London, who, August 19, 1697, married, at the Friends' meeting at Devonshire House, Priscilla Gould. Priscilla Freame, daughter of the latter couple, married David Barclay, "citizen and draper," son of Robert Barclay, author of the "Apology," and brother, therefore, to Jean Forbes, the mother of Christian Forbes, who was the first wife of William Penn, 8d. Thus:



John Freame, who was "citizen and grocer" in 1697, formed later, with his son-in-law, David Barclay, the firm of Freame & Barclay, which became a very successful and quite important London banking-house. Numerous allusions have been made to them and to "Mr. Barclay" in the correspondence cited in this essay. David Barclay was a rich, respected, and influential citizen of London. His house "enjoyed a larger share of the confidence and trade of the mercantile community of Philadelphia, during the middle of the last century, than any other firm in London."¹ The name of Freame appeared at the head of the firm until 1771; in 1775 that of Barclay was placed first, and has so remained. (The house has been made, within a few years, a company, under the name of Barclay & Company, Limited.²)

¹ Dr. G. B. Keen in *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. V. p. 96.

² Not unnaturally, the Friends gave a large patronage to Freame & Barclay. From at least as early as 1741—probably earlier—the "stock" account of London Yearly Meeting (*i.e.*, the general fund, contributed by the membership and sent up by the subordinate meetings) was banked with this house, and it so continues to be, 1898, a persistency of

Thomas Freame, the husband of Margaret Penn, was thus the cousin of Priscilla Barclay. The date of his marriage to Margaret Penn is definitely given in the Friends' records at London. It is thus, in brief:

"Thomas Freame, citizen and grocer, of London, son of Robert, to Margaret Penn, dau. of William and Hannah, late of Ruscombe, county of Berks, at Hammersmith, 6th of 5th month [July], 1727."

Thomas Freame came to Pennsylvania in advance of his wife. A letter from her brother, John Penn, dated at Feens, October 1, 1732, and addressed to his brother Thomas in Pennsylvania, says,—

"My sister Freame & her little Boy are perfectly well, & Desire to be p'ticularly Remembered to you & my Brother Freame, whose letter She rec'd yesterday with great Pleasure. . . . I desire to be Remembered to my Bro Freame, who I hope will be able to settle his affairs on Such a foot that he will be with us in the Spring."

Thomas Freame probably did not, as here suggested by John Penn, return to England in the spring of 1733; he stayed for several years in Pennsylvania. His wife and the "little Boy," Thomas, Jr., came over with John Penn to Philadelphia in 1734, and remained here until 1741, when they accompanied Thomas Penn on his return to England. Thomas Penn's letter (already cited) to Richard Hockley, written upon landing in England, speaks of "my sister and her children" as then with him,—the term "children" being explained by the birth in Philadelphia, in 1740, of her daughter, Philadelphia Hannah Freame, afterwards Lady Cremorne.

After John had returned to England, in 1735, Margaret wrote numerous letters to him. One or two of these have been cited. Letters also from her husband, from the little boy, and from Thomas Penn, referring to the Freames,—all addressed to John,—are preserved. They throw light on

business relations certainly not often occurring. "As early as 1736," says my valued friend, Isaac Sharp, of London, "I find mention of a loan from Freame & Barclay," for Friends' account.

the family relations, and are of interest besides. I cite some below.

One from Thomas Freame to John Penn, from Philadelphia, October 6, 1735 :

" . . . My fever continued a week after you went, wthout the Doctors being able to Turn it. at Last he got it to intermit, & then plyed me Close wth y^e Bark w^{ch} has quite conquered the distemper. I want nothing now but to gain Strength w^{ch} will come by degrees. Yesterday I went out wth Peggy & Little Tom in y^e Chariot. I was glad to hear you got to Sea so soon, we were afraid you wo^d have been windbound a week longer."

Margaret Freame to John Penn, from Philadelphia, November 20, 1735 :

"The Governour [Gordon] is but Very poorly, and in my Opinion is not likely to hold it Long. the rest of our Acquaintance are Pretty Well, as We all are here, tho its cold Weather & We begin to freeze by the fireside. I forgot to tell you we have Lost Poor Miss Betty Gordon, who was Ship't of for Scotland about 3 weeks ago attended by only a little Black Girl and no womenkind besides themselves on bord, I think to the shame of the Governour's Family. Since your departure I have been Very little abroad, Except in the garden, which is my Chief amusement. What there I view I am sure is Natural and Sincere. . . .

"Mr. Freame is not yet well enough to go up and dispose of his land, but hope he will soon; as to the Brewhouse I believe it would turn out Very well, yet Mr. Norris is so much in the Country my Brother has advis'd my Husband, if he could part with it on good terms to do it . . . little Tom is very Well, has rode as far as Cousin Ashton's today, Since which he has wrot you a letter, Without any help, and I hope he will come to write pretty well. he is often setting out to Feen's, and desires his love to Black Tom and Hannah, Farmer Dell, and all the Neighbors, to whom mine also. if att any time you should send anything from Feen's here pray don't forget a few Horse beans. I should be glad to know if your Limes kept over good & if the Cranberrys I sent Sisters Aubrey and Jackson, or which was best, one being Se [torn] in water and one without. I have sent you a few Water Mellon seeds, which if not good to eat will make fine Mangos, also some Indian corn that will be ripe in three months. Hope you will have some good roasting ears. . . ."

The letter from the little boy, Thomas Freame, Jr., to his uncle, John Penn, alluded to in the letter above as pre-

pared "without any help," is in a childish hand, and runs as follows:

"DEAR UNCLE

"I think in Duty I ought to wait on you wth my first Letter, which I hope will plead excuse for all faults. I remember what you told me, and write or go to school every day. I am very much obliged to you for your kind present of tickets, and hope I shall have good success. Pray give my duty to Uncle and Aunt Penn, and all my cousins. My love to Mr. Philops, Mr. Service, and Farmer Dell, with all my friends. So conclude, Dear uncle

"Your affect^d nep

"THOMAS FREAME

"PHIL No^r 21 1735"

A few days later, December 8, 1735, Thomas Freame wrote John Penn, a passage in the letter being as follows:

"We have no material news worth Sending unless of y^e melancholly state the Governour [Gordon] is in. His distemper at times seizes him in such a manner that it is my opinion He cannot get over it. He is reduced very much and is exceeding weak, Tho' still heart whole, and at times very cheerfull."

Margaret Freame to John Penn, from Philadelphia, March 21, 1735/6:

"... The Governour, who was so bad when I last Wrot I thought he could not Live one week is now as Well as ever he was. what cur'd him of his Lax was so fine a Receipt I think for the good of Mankind it should be known.—take a handfull of the Raspings of Logwood, and Poure Boiling water on it, let it infuse by the fire till it Look of a deep Red, Drink a teacup of this two or three times a day, and att night going to bed.—

"We have had a very hard Winter, no appearance of Spring yet, but Cold hard frosts so that little busness could be done. Mr. Freame talks of going into the country next week."

Several letters from Thomas Freame to John Penn, from Philadelphia, in 1736, disclose that the latter thought the little boy should be sent back to England, in order to be suitably educated, but that his parents felt unwilling to part with him. His father earnestly assured John of the suf-

ficiency of the educational opportunities in Philadelphia, and of the boy's studious efforts.¹

Other letters from Margaret to John discuss the propriety of appointing Thomas Penn to be Governor on Major Gordon's death, and the appointment of Thomas Freame to be naval officer. Margaret seemed to think that John did not fairly weigh the propriety of Thomas's elevation. Other letters, some of which are cited below, refer to domestic and other matters.

Margaret Freame to John Penn, from Philadelphia, December 10, 1736 :

" . . . [I] find Bro: Tom sent you word of our att last consenting to have him [Thomas Freame, Jr.] inoculated. The small-pox has and doth rage Very much in this Citty, Numbers of Persons Dying of it. at last seeing it Prove so fatal in the Common way, that by a computation one dy'd in four, and not one in fifty by inoculation, Mr. Till concluded to have his wife and his 2 children, Mr. Taylor his little Boy, and divers others that has succeeded very well. Poor Tom had it full, but is now, I thank God Bravely recover'd, they are all turn'd, and most shell'd off. he begins to call for a Cook instead of a Doctor. he bore it all with much Patience. Doctor Dover's Regimen is drink coole tankard and small beer, but no Gascoin's powders or Slops. Loyd Zaccary was his Doctor, who if he was his own child could not have more tenderly attended him. . . . Poor Mr. Allen has lost his only Son in this fatal Distemper, and too many in this Citty are under the same Affliction; the Church bell is not suffer'd to ring but once for six [deaths] and it has rung twice a day sometimes. I hope the Cold Weather will Put a Stop to this Contagion."

Margaret Freame to John Penn, from Philadelphia, April 18, 1737 :

"Mr. fishborn's Son, who came from London by way of Maryland arriv'd here yesterday, having a Passage of thirty Days, brings little news (and no letters) but that Cousin Will^m Penn is married to Doct^r Vaux's Daughter. Could I wonder at his Conduct in anything I should that his Pride should stoop so low."

The service of Thomas Freame as captain of one of the companies raised at Philadelphia in 1740 for the expedi-

¹ Some interesting details are given in the letters of the system of education in that day.

time under Admiral Vernon, which made a futile attack on Carthage in 1741, has been mentioned. In a letter, September 16, 1746, from Thomas Penn at Philadelphia to Ferdinand John Paris (legal adviser of the Penns) at London, this passage occurs :

"You will find the scheme for raising men in America has had a very good effect, and I believe about 4000 will be carried from these Colonys; and though this Province cannot furnish the number my Lord Macclesfield proposed, yet the eight companies are a considerable number, and are now complete. Mr. Fremme has turned soldier and has the command of one. We have eight ships ready for their embarkation, and they are to go on Board in a few days."

WORMINGHURST.

The derivation and disposition of the Worminghurst estate have been variously alluded to in different works relating to Penn. His own letters, already cited, show that it was sold in the autumn of 1707, and that William Penn, Jr., was a party to the sale. The purchaser was a Squire Butler, and the property remained in his family until 1789, when it was allotted to Ann Jemima Clough,¹ wife of Roger Clough, and by her it was sold in 1805 to Charles, Duke of Norfolk.

The house in which William Penn lived appears to have been torn down by Squire Butler. (The tradition is that he "expressed the determination not to leave a trace of the old Quaker.") He built on its site, it is said, not long after his purchase, a large brick mansion, "and enclosed a considerable part of the parish in a deer park." But this mansion was itself pulled down by the Duke of Norfolk, "the lake dried up, the timber leveled, and the park converted into a farm. A Spanish chestnut tree of great magnitude, the last remains of the former grandeur of the place, was grubbed up in the year 1825; it measured, six feet from the ground, twenty-nine feet in circumference."²

¹ She is called the "eldest daughter" of Butler, but with the separation of eighty-two years this appears rather unlikely.

² Paragraphs cited in Marsh's "Early Friends in Surrey and Sussex."

Worminghurst stood in view of "the South Downs." It was four miles south of the Friends' meeting-house in Thakeham Parish, and five and a half miles northwest of the meeting-house at Steyning."¹

WILLIAM PENN, JR.'S, MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT.

The marriage settlement made upon the occasion of William Penn, Jr.'s, marriage in 1698 was deposited later, apparently, with Messrs. Freame and Barclay, and in July last (1898), a little more than two centuries after its making, the document was handed over by the representatives of the late Joseph Gurney Barclay, of London, to be deposited in the Penn Papers Collection of the Friends at Devonshire House. It is an "indenture quadripartite," and endorsed: "Mr. Penn, his settlement on his son's intermarriage with Mrs. Mary Jones." The signers are William Penn, Laetitia Penn, William Penn, Jr., Mary Jones, Charles Jones, Jr., and Nathaniel Wade.

PENN MARRIAGES IN HORSHAM RECORDS.

The proceedings in the Friends' meeting prior to Penn's marriage with Hannah Callowhill are partly recorded in the minutes of Horsham Monthly Meeting, in Sussex. These show, January, 1695/6, that "William Penn, of Worminghurst, Sussex, did the first time Declare his Intentions of taking Hannah Callowhill, of the City of Bristol, to be his wife," and that Thomas Wright and five others were appointed "to enquire concerning his Clearness on the Account of Marriage." Next month these Friends "Did signifie that they find nothing but that he is very cleare in that matter, soe this meeting hath ordred a Certificate to be sent to the Friends of the City of Bristol to which the said Hannah Callowhill doth belong."

At Horsham Monthly Meeting also, in July, 1702, "William Aubrey, of White Lyon Courte, in Cornhill, London, Marchant, and Leatitia Penn, of Wormenghurst, in Sussex,

¹ Marsh's "Early Friends in Surrey and Sussex."

Did the first time Declare their Intentions of taking each other to be husband and wife. The said William brought a Certificate from his father, giving his free Consent under his hand, and the said Leatitia's father being present gave his free Consent. Also the said William Aubry produced a Certificat from the Two weeks meeting in London, signifying his Clearnes from all others relateing to marriage, also Leatitia produced a Certificat from Friends in Pensilvania Signifying her Clearnes on that Accounte."¹

THE FELL BRANCH.

The mention in Chapter VIII. of Gulielma Maria Penn, daughter of William Penn, Jr., who became the wife of Aubrey (Awbrey?) Thomas, and of Charles Fell, is inadequate and not strictly accurate. By her first marriage she had one son, William Penn Thomas, who survived her, and died unmarried about 1742. The following family record, furnished by Gilbert Cope, is derived (he thinks) from a certified copy of a parish register :

"Gulielma Maria Fell, d. 17 Jan., 1739/40.

"Charles Fell, her (2nd) husband, d. 1 Oct., 1748.

[Children of the above:]

"Mary Margaretta, bapt. 23 Aug., 1724.

"Gulielma Maria Frances, bapt. 10 Aug., 1725.

"Robert Edward, bapt. 29 Nov., 1726."

There are numerous deeds, etc., made by and on behalf of these children of Charles and Gulielma Maria (Penn) Fell on record, which clearly explain many points in the family account. In 1770 Robert Edward Fell was in Philadelphia attending to their interests and engaged in the sale of their real property. In a deed, May 10, 1770, by him to Timothy Hurst, of New York, merchant, for a lot on South Street, Philadelphia, for fifty-four pounds purchase-money, a power of attorney to him (Fell), dated in March, 1769,

¹ Entries cited in "Some Records of the Early Friends in Surrey and Sussex," by Thomas W. and Anne W. Marsh. London, 1886.

from his sister, Gulielma Maria Frances Newcomb, "of Shrewsbury, co. Salop, Great Britain, widow," is recited, she being "one of the daughters of Gulielma Maria Fell, deceased, who was the daughter of William Penn, Jr., deceased." The deed is "by Robert Edward Fell, now residing in the City of Philadelphia, Esquire." Another deed, May 10, 1770, same to same, for one-eighth interest in a lot on South Street, price three thousand pounds, describes R. E. Fell as the "eldest son" of Gulielma Maria Fell, deceased.¹

A Pennsylvania land warrant, dated October 21, 1774, signed by (Governor) John Penn, in favor of Timothy Hurst, of New York, merchant, and John Barron and Israel Morris, of Philadelphia, for twelve hundred and fifty acres of land in any part of the Province, states in its extended recitals much of the family record of the Fell branch, the essential facts of which have been given. The origin of the title to the twelve hundred and fifty acres lay in the trust grant (lease and release) made by William Penn to Sir John Fagg, September 4 and 5, 1682, for fifty thousand acres, one-half being for the use of William Penn, Jr.² By a lease and release in 1731, Thomas and Richard Penn confirmed unto William Penn, 3d, five thousand acres, part of the fifty thousand; and this tract William

¹ He was her eldest son, but her third child.

² Concerning this grant, and "Fagg's Manor," Gilbert Cope writes me,—

"WEST CHESTER, PA., 7, 20, 1898.

"While the subject is fresh, I will remark that the foot-note [p. 186, Chapter XII.] does not present the subject of 'Fagg's Manor' in the best light.

"In right of the deed of trust to Sir John Fagg a survey was made on about 30,000 acres, including all of the present township of New Garden and most of Kennett, with much land in New Castle County. This was divided between William and Letitia, and formed the two manors of Stening (or Stansing, as given in Letitia's patent). Two other tracts were surveyed to the westward of these, one for William and one for Letitia, and it was to the latter that the distinctive term, Fagg's Manor, was applied. That of William, Jr., was called Penn's Manor to some extent.

"G. C."

Penn, 3d, sold in 1742 to William Allen, of Philadelphia. The recital proceeds that one-fourth of the five thousand acres belonged to the sister of William Penn, 3d, Gulielma Maria Fell, who afterwards died intestate in the lifetime of her husband, leaving issue by her first husband, Aubrey Thomas, one son, William Penn Thomas, and by her second husband, Charles Fell, three children, Robert Edward, Mary Margaretta (Barron), and Gulielma Maria Frances (Newcomb). It is further particularly mentioned that William Penn Thomas died intestate without issue in the lifetime of Charles Fell.

A lease and release, February, 1768, the parties being John Barron, of "York Buildings, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman," and Mary Margaretta, his wife, of one part, and Robert Crispin, "of Chancery Lane, in said county, gentleman," of the other, recites that Mary Margaretta is one of the surviving children of Charles Fell and Gulielma Maria Penn. A deed of later date is by Barron, then "of Philadelphia," to Charles Hurst, of the same city, gentleman, and recites that Barron, "in company with" Hurst, "is entitled to sundry lands, warrants, and rights in Pennsylvania, and especially to certain 5,000 acres in right of William and Gulielma Maria Penn, . . . under which last they have located and caused to be surveyed several tracts of land." Barron conveys all his interest in the five thousand acres to Hurst for five hundred pounds.

A letter in the Penn collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, from Charles Fell to John Penn, is dated January 8, 1739/40. The writer speaks of his wife as then very ill. She is in care of Dr. Dover, and can only take "thin candle through the spout of a teapot." The letter gives no place of address, but appears from later allusions to have been written from Westminster. Other letters immediately following disclose a pathetic story.

Same to same, Thursday, January 17, 1739/40:

"This morning at one o'clock my Dearest Guly left me for ever. . . .
begg the continuance of yo^r Friendship to me and her Children."

Same to same, January 22, 1789/40 :

"My poor Dear Guly is this night to be buried in a private but as decent a manner as I am able in a Vault in Saint Margaret's Church, Westminster."

Same to same, January 29, 1789/40 :

" . . . I am most unhappy, left greatly in debt, and am oblig'd to dispose of all my Goods, w^{ch} will be sold next Thursday, to satisfy as many as the poor amount of them will come to, but what to do afterwards God only knows. My poor Dear Girls are gone this day w^{ch} their Grandmother¹ to Hampton Court, in order to have their Cloaths a little righted up before they go to a School w^{ch} she has recommended. [The little boy, he adds, is taken by one of the ushers of Westminster School to board with him. The writer himself has taken a sleeping-room at the coffee-house; he is very anxious for some employment.]"

A Fell pedigree is given in *Quakeriana* (London), June, 1895. It describes Charles Fell as "an officer in the army," and says he died, 1748, "at Windsor." It gives some further data concerning his (and Gulielma Maria Penn's) children, adding the name of a fourth, who "died young."

1. Mary Margaretta, married John Barron, of Leeds, co. York, afterwards of Philadelphia, and died 1769.

2. Gulielma Maria Frances, married John Newcombe, of Leir, co. Leicester, and had issue: Gulielma Maria, Susanna Margaretta, Philadelphia (married Thomas Brookholding), John Springett, William Hawkins.

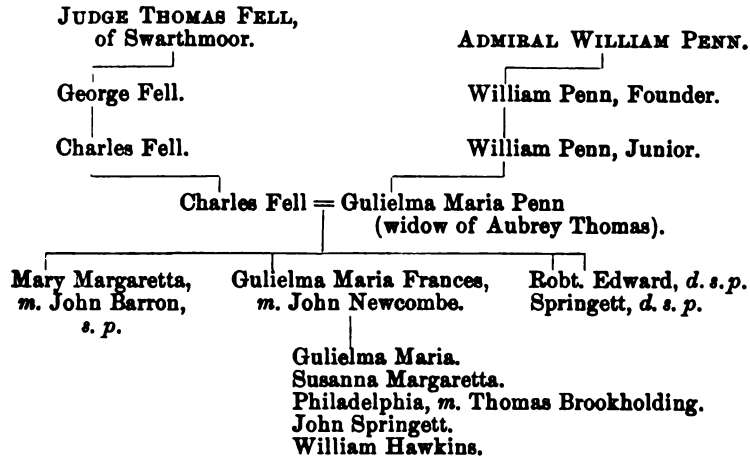
3. Robert Edward, a lieutenant-colonel in the army.

4. Springett, died young.

The assumption that this line of descent from William Penn is extinct has been mentioned; if there are any descendants living, they appear to be from John Newcombe and his wife.

¹ This must have been Charles Fell's mother, as Mary Penn, widow of William Penn, Jr., and mother of Gulielma Maria Fell, had died in 1733.

TABLE: FELL BRANCH PENN FAMILY.



MAJOR STUART, OF TEMPSFORD HALL.

Major William Dugald Stuart, now the representative of his line of the family descended from the Founder's second marriage, visited Pennsylvania in 1898. Some further facts concerning him should be added. Though educated at Eton, he did not go (as stated in Chapter X.) to St. John's College, Cambridge, nor is he a barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple.

He entered the British army as second lieutenant in the King's Royal Rifles, June 23, 1880. He was promoted to lieutenant July 1, 1881, and captain November 13, 1889. In 1891 he served with the Manipore expedition in Burmah against the Dacoits (for which he received a medal and clasp), and subsequently in the expedition against the Chins and Lushais, in Upper Burmah. He continued serving in India until 1893, when he was placed on the Reserve of Officers. He is now (1898) major in the Third (Militia) Battalion of the Bedfordshire Regiment. He married Millicent Helen Olivia Hughes, and has issue one son, William Esme Montague.

At Tempsford Hall, among the "interesting family relics"

alluded to in Chapter X., Major Stuart has the gold chain and medal of Admiral Penn, voted him by the Naval Council in August, 1653. He also has the walking-staff which King Charles I. carried to the scaffold, and handed, just before his execution, to Bishop Juxon, who accompanied him. The Bishop presented the staff afterwards to William Penn the Founder, and it has thus descended to Major Stuart.

OTHER FAMILIES NAMED PENN.

There are evidently a number of persons in the United States and elsewhere, named Penn, who believe themselves connected with the family of William Penn the Founder, if not directly descended from him. So far as the record evidence goes, his living descendants appear to be in the three lines stated in the preceding chapters of this essay:

1. The line from Peter Gaskell and Christiana Gulielma Penn, daughter of William Penn, 3d.

2. The line from Archbishop William Stuart and Sophia Penn, daughter of Thomas Penn, represented by Major William Dugald Stuart.

3. The line from the same parentage as No. 2, represented by the Earl of Ranfurly.

Except through the adoption of the additional name Penn by the Gaskell branch, no living person named Penn, so far as appears, is a descendant of William Penn the Founder.

An example of many curious and also interesting inquiries made by persons who believe themselves descended from William Penn or his father is afforded by the following letter, addressed "To the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania":

"VIRGIN ISLANDS, TORTOLA, April 11, 1871.

"HONORABLE SIR,

"I herewith respectfully beg your kind attention to the following facts, hoping you will not consider it taking too great liberty &c. that you will do me the favor of causing an answer to be sent to me.

"I am a native of these Islands and a descendant of the brother of the celebrated William Penn of Pennsylvania, which brother settled in these Islands some time in the eighteenth century. I cannot be certain as to the exact date by reason of the frequent hurricanes in these Islands, as all old papers have been destroyed.

"My object for writing to you sir, is to request that you will cause inquiry to be made as to one Richard Penn who is stated to have died last year, & who was the last descendant of the celebrated Quaker, & that he also left large property, both in specie & land, & that in the event of no descendant of the Penn family such property will revert to the Government of the United States, & if such is the case I will most respectfully request that you will communicate with me and I will be ready to pay any expenses attendant thereon as also to prove my descent before the proper authorities in these islands.

"I have the honor to be

"Honble Sir

"Your most obdt. Servt,

"WM. BENJAMIN PENN."

This letter was delivered to Justice James Thompson, then Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, who forwarded it to William Henry Rawle, of Philadelphia, who was counsel for the Penn heirs. May 1, 1871, Mr. Rawle wrote William Benjamin Penn, stating the facts of the case, explaining the devolution of the estate, and the vesting of it in William Stuart, then owner, and nothing further appears to have been heard from the writer of the letter.

SUNDRY NOTES.

The old farm-house, King's Farm, Chorley Wood, where William Penn and Gulielma Maria Springett were married, is still standing, 1898.

It is the tradition, Joseph J. Green says, that Gulielma Maria Penn, wife of the Founder, died at Rawdon House, at Hoddesdon, Herts. This was the seat of Marmaduke Rawdon, Esquire. The old mansion is still standing. That she died at Hoddesdon has been already definitely stated, and it may have been at Rawdon House.

Referring to Dennis Penn's birth at Ealing, J. J. Green thinks it probable that this event occurred at the Manor House, Ealing, the then residence of John Wilmer, a Friend. John Wilmer's daughter Grizel married Jonathan Gurnell, William Penn being present at the marriage. (Jonathan Gurnell is repeatedly referred to in the chapter on the family life at Ruscombe during the closing years of William Penn's life.)

An obituary notice from a periodical of the time gives the death of the widow of Governor John Penn, Ann Masters :

“ July 4, 1830, in Upper George Street [London] Anne, relict of John Penn, formerly Governor of Pennsylvania.”

Richard Dawson, Earl of Dartrey, great-nephew of Baron Cremorne, who married Philadelphia Hannah Freame, died 1897, aged eighty years. He was succeeded in the peerage by his son, Lord Cremorne, who was formerly an officer of the Coldstream Guards, and sat as a Liberal in Parliament for Monaghan, 1865–68. “ The family,” a newspaper paragraph says, “ is one of the great landlords of the United Kingdom, owning about 30,000 acres.”

CHILDREN OF WILLIAM PENN THE FOUNDER.

BY FIRST WIFE, GULIELMA MARIA SPRINGETT.

	BORN.	DIED.	BURIED.	MARRIED.
1. Gulielma Maria.	Jan. 23, 1672/3.	Mar. 17, 1672/3.	Jordans.	D. unmarried.
2. William.	Feb. 23, 1673/4.	May 15, 1674.	Jordans.	D. unmarried.
3. Mary (? Margaret).	Feb. 23, 1673/4.	Feb. 24, 1674/5.	Jordans.	D. unmarried.
4. Springett.	Jan. 25, 1675.	April 10, 1696.	Jordans.	D. unmarried.
5. Letitia, m. William Aubrey, s. p.	Mar. 6, 1678.	April —, 1746.	Jordans.	Aug. 20, 1702.
6. William, Jr., m. Mary Jones (issue, three children).	Mar. 14, 1680.	June 23, 1720.	? Liège.	Jan. 12, 1698/9.
7. Gulielma Maria.	Nov. 17, 1685.	Nov. 20, 1689.	Jordans.	D. unmarried.

BY SECOND WIFE, HANNAH CALLOWHILL.

8. John.	Jan. 29, 1699/1700.	Oct. 25, 1746.	Jordans.	D. unmarried.
9. Thomas, m. Lady J. Fermor (issue, eight children).	Mar. 9, 1701/2.	Mar. 21, 1775.	Stoke.	Aug. 22, 1751.
10. Hannah Margarita.	July 30, 1708.	Feb. —, 1707/8.	?	D. unmarried.
11. Margaret, m. Thomas Freame (issue, two children).	Nov. 7, 1704.	Feb. —, 1750/1.	Jordans.	July 6, 1727.
12. Richard, m. Hannah Lardner (issue, four children).	Jan. 17, 1705/6.	Feb. 4, 1771.	Stoke.	—, 1728.
13. Dennia.	Feb. 26, 1706/7.	Feb. (?) 6, 1722/3.	Jordans.	D. unmarried.
14. Hannah.	Sept. 5, 1708.	Jan. 24, 1708/9.	Jordans.	D. unmarried.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF SAMUEL
PRESTON, SURVEYOR, 1787.

[The following extracts have been selected from the "Journal to the Frontiers of Northampton County, for Henry Drinker," kept by Samuel Preston, who was engaged to locate and survey the lands of Henry Drinker and Abel James, merchants of Philadelphia, located in what is now Pike County, Pennsylvania.]

"*June 12, 1787.*—After endeavouring to hire William or Joseph Walton to accompany me (to no purpose), I sat out on my journey about eight o'clock in the morning. Traveled up Durham Road to the sign of the Harrow, where I fed and eat dinner; from thence by Bursons and Brackinridges to Valentine Opp's tavern, where I fed and rested about two hours. From thence through the Saucon settlement, and over the Salisbury Hills to Allentown, which I reached about dusk and put up at the large tavern.

"*June 13.*—This morning I set out and rode to Michael Snyder's tavern to breakfast. As to the entertainment in Allentown, 'tis rather indifferent than midling. At Snyder's I met William Edwards who lives near the land on Lizzard Creek. I treated him to his breakfast and a bottle of rum to accompany me back to the land, find pasture for my mare and assist in survey. We set out together. There is some little good land on Jordan's Creek by Snyder's, but the most of the land from Allentown to the mountain is barren; some settlements, the grain poor, and not much water, and very little timber either for fences or buildings. We traveled on together about six miles to Andrew Feller's, where, as we had an opportunity, we fed again, after which we started to cross the mountain, the foot of which being about six miles distant and nine to Lizzard Creek.

"As I was riding along I met a Dutchman on a very poor horse, riding fast. I gave him what of the road I could,

yet he rode so nigh that his horse's high hip bone struck me under the cap of the knee and lamed me so much that I found it difficult in walking up the mountain. About half way up is a fine spring of water, the head of the Jordan—arrived on the top I had a fine prospect of the country on both sides to the S. E., and could see all the houses and plantations between the mountain and Saucon or Lehigh Hills, which intercepts the prospect of any thing further.

"I then proceeded with William Edwards and viewed on horseback both the tracts on Lizzard Creek, between Josiah Thomases and Michael Oalds. From Lizzard Creek I proceeded on to Isaac Longstreth's (at the place where Benjamin Gilbert formerly lived). I found myself too lame to walk much, and my knee pain'd me at such a rate I wished the Dutchman had rode a better horse. I reached Longstreth's in the evening, where I eat supper, having eat nothing on this side the mountain except strawberries, which grow in great plenty and perfection even in the woods where it has been burned. I bathed my knee with warm vinegar which relieved the pain so that I slept tolerable well.

"*June 14.*—This morning my knee was much better and the swelling gone down considerably—I walked out and viewed the place, after which we had a fine breakfast of trout, of which they catch plenty in Mahony Creek.

"Longstreth accompanied me to Gnadenhuetten, the old Moravian town (formerly burned by the Indians), which stands on Mahony Creek about half a mile above the Lehigh, and contains seven poor old wooden houses. At the mouth of the Mahony they have a grist and saw mill, but for the want of more fall they are worth little.

"We also rode over the Lehigh to Col. Weiss', whose house stands on or very near the spot where Fort Allen formerly stood. The Lehigh makes a strange turn here round a point and Weiss has dug a race across the point and set up a saw mill with two frames and carriages.

"Here I parted with Isaac Longstreth, and started for George Hoods. I proceeded over the Barrens along up the N. W. side of Head's Creek about seven miles, where I

crossed it just below a saw mill. They raft 6 and 7000 feet of boards at a time down from this mill. I then kept up the Barren Hill, on the S. E. side of the creek, and passed a few little houses. The land is exceeding poor and I could obtain no provisions for myself or creature until I reached the place where Fort Norris formerly stood, where I got a cup of milk and bread and let my mare bate in the meadow. Here lives an old woman, the widow Serfass, who entertain'd me with an historical account of her family first migrating over the mountain, being the first settlers, the hardships they underwent for three or four years, and having no neighbours nearer than fifteen or twenty miles. In about five or six years they began to raise plenty of hay and grain, and had a good house and barn and plenty of cattle. The first Indian war broke out and they saw some few Indians but received no damage, until the soldiers came there to build a fort. The Commissary was scant of provision and took all they had for the soldiers, and sent them off empty handed to seek their fortunes. They were gone eight years, during which time all their buildings were burned as well as fences, and the fields and meadows overgrown with bush, and as hard to clear as at first. Since then they were driven off by the Indians three times and met with like losses. She gave me this account part in Dutch and part in English, and I believe told the truth. Her husband had been dead about one year, and they had lived together fifty-five years, and raised a large family. She was about seventy-five years old.

"From here I kept up the creek to the forks, where the good level land begins, called Peters's Flat, for Richard Peters owns a fine tract of land here. I went about four miles to one Jacob Everarts, a Dutchman who has some fine meadows on Head's Creek, where I put up for all night and they were very civil people. His son caught me a mess of trout for supper.

"*June 15.*—This morning I accompanied my young Dutchman to catch trout, at a large pond covering about two acres and very deep, out of which issues a large stream called

Wire Creek, that turns Head's mill. He had a little raft on which he went out and caught the trout as fast as he could throw his hook into the water. After catching about two and a half dozen large fish we returned to the house to have them cooked for breakfast.

"After breakfast my fisherman accompanied me to George Hood's, who is removed from the place he rented of Stroud. He left his plow and rode with us to the land, but we could find neither line trees nor corners—and the neighbours say, there never was any marks made, and that no survey of the land was made.

"From every thing I could discover, I apprehend the people told me very near the truth, for they appeared too simple and honest to have any designs, and say if they loose the Land they shall be greatly wronged, yet I believe will not contend.

"We eat dinner (such as she had) at the old widow Hood's, who pretends to claim the tract of meadows, and from every circumstance I believe in justice and equity it is or ought to have been her right, for she has an old warrant which her husband took out soon after his arrival in Pennsylvania, and was kill'd by the Indians before he had it executed in any legal way, and his heirs have never since done any thing therein.

"For the afternoon I started for Jacob Stroud's and proceeded along the Summer Hills from which I had a prospect of some fine level country on the head of Head's Creek (opposite the Wind Gap), where there is some few large well improved farms.

"A few miles past the Wind Gap the high barren Summer Hills and also the Second Mountain begins to sink and scatter. About the division of the waters of the Lehigh and Delaware, where for about twelve miles there is a reasonable quantity of very good land, good improvements and fine large meadows, on the several branches of Pokono Creek, which turns Stroud's grist and saw mill, just before it meets Broadhead's Creek. The Pokono is about the size of the Saucon Creek, and Broadhead's Creek is as large as the

Little Lehigh. I arrived at Stroud's about sunset; he keeps store, tavern, merchant and grist mill and saw mill, besides a large farm—has between two and three hundred acres of wheat now growing and keeps several boats—and he has the most hands I ever saw at one place. They treated me very kindly and I put up for all night.

“*June 16.*—This morning I sent for John Fish to accompany me to view the land up Jones's and Broadhead's Creeks. He came and as it sat in for rain, we gave over the journey. About 10 o'clock I started to see John Hilborn seven miles up Broadhead's Creek, reached there about noon and was very kindly received by him and his brother. They are worthy characters, have a plantation and saw mill, where they have sawed pine, hauled it to the river seven or eight miles and rafted it, but on account of the low price of boards have declined that business at present and follow farming. In the afternoon it cleared up, and as John Fish had told me the 86 Acre Tract lay in the bend of the West Branch of Broadhead's Creek, John Hilborn being well acquainted with it agreed to accompany me there that afternoon. We took some fishing tackle along and set out about 2 o'clock, and had to wade the creek many times. As we passed by the uppermost improvement on that branch where the people were killed and taken by the Indians, at the time he was taken prisoner, he for the first time gave me a very intelligent narrative of his captivity, which was nearly in substance as follows.

“Early in the summer before Gilbert's family were taken, they apprehended some danger from the Indians being set on by the British at Quebec and they and John Price an acquaintance who lived seven miles above on the North Branch of the creek, came to this mutual conclusion, that if either heard of any disturbance by the Indians they were immediately to inform the other of it. One morning an old woman came running down the creek and told him her son's family were all killed and taken by the Indians that morning, and as she was very ancient they had let her escape. Remembering his promise to John Price, he

alarmed his brother and family to immediately march off and started to inform Price. On his way from the top of a hill he saw the house all in flames; which struck him with horror and fully confirmed the account the old woman had given; as he was well acquainted with the woods he believed he could go with safety to Price's and perform his promise, but alas the Indians unhappily taught him the contrary. About one mile from the burnt house there was a high knob of a hill and he concluded to ascend to the top of it and take a view if he could see the Indians. As he neared the top five Indians, all painted, jumped up within gun shot and presented their guns and told him unless he submitted they would shoot him. He saw no possibility of escape and therefore gave up, after which they informed him (for they spoke good English), that unless he would promise solemnly not to run away they would kill him, and he made them a strong promise. They then bound a burthen on his back and ordered him to march, and he soon discovered they had all the families which they had taken in company with them, except one little boy (which he understood made a great noise and therefore they kill'd and scalped him near the house). They marched very hard all the way to the Susquehanna River, which they crossed at the mouth of Tioga; made their prisoners wade all the creeks, which was many times very hard for the women, which, unless he had exerted himself almost beyond his ability to assist two of the girls they had certainly been drowned. After they had crossed the Susquehanna the Indians deemed themselves out of danger of being pursued, and their marches were much easier. They had a little girl in the party whom the Indians treated with all the kindness their then present situation would possibly admit of, promising her plenty of milk and victuals when they arrived at Shanango, yet they sometimes shewed her her little brother's scalp, which almost drove her distracted. Before they marched far they came to their canoes and placed him to set one of them up the river to their town under a Guard, but as they were not in a great hurry he was allowed to go on shore. One time,

in particular, the old Indian, their Captain went out a hunting and kill'd a large buck, after which he came in and sent two young Indians and himself to skin and bring it in—one was a large rough Delaware Indian and the other a genteel young Mohawk, who had before shown him some kindness. The Delaware was always very cross, and ordered him to skin the deer which he undertook, but being very weak he could not strip the neck. The Mohawk and Delaware began to talk loud in Indian, flew at one another scuffled and fought and the Mohawk altho the least proved the conqueror and made the Delaware finish skinning the deer.

“There is another circumstance I ought to have mentioned in its proper place. Soon after he was taken prisoner, they pass'd in sight of John Price's houses, and the Indians closely questioned him who lived there, what sort of a man he was, whether he kept a gun or was rich. This he said was the most trying time he had, and he told them the plain truth, that John Price was a poor inoffensive man, had nothing to do with the war, and that as he lived in the woods he was obliged to keep a gun to support his family in meat. They then held a Council whether to go and kill them or not, and after a considerable debate they concluded as he was poor and quiet, they would let him live a while longer—which was a great satisfaction and joy to him to hear, for John Price was a neighbour he loved as well as a relation. He always told the Indians the plain, honest truth, and on most occasions they seemed to put great confidence in his word.

“When they arrived at Shanaugo, as he had born an unproportionable share of the hardships in their journey by endeavoring to relieve the sufferings of his fellow-prisoners, he was extreemly weak. They had to run what is call'd the gauntlet on entering the town in which they were very much abused by being severely whipped. He could not run fast, and before he had run far, the young Mohawk I have mentioned before had that regard and friendship for him to run in his stead, for which he received a severe whipping

from the other Indians, for what they deemed his folly, which he bore with all the patience of a philosopher. While he remained in Shanango the Indians received intelligence of General Sullivan's intention of coming up and destroying their town and crops, which greatly enraged them (for he said they had the finest land and Indian corn he has ever seen). They held a Council to go out upon another Expedition to the settlements on the Western Branch of Susquehanna, to be commanded by Capt. Montour (who took Benjamin's Gilbert's family) and their famous Captain Brant. He was informed of this result by his young Mohawk friend who was privy thereto, and much alarmed at it, expecting if they had had success they would treat their prisoners the worse of it. He used all the arguments he could with the old Captain that took him prisoner, in order to gain a release, but in vain—in which he paid the strictest attention to the plain honest truth, for he said t'was impossible to have deceived them had he been so disposed. He told them he was a Quaker, that he had nothing to do with the war, it was against his religious principles to fight, and they replied, that might be, but all the Yankees told them so. Yet they treated him with some respect, and his business was to tend Indian corn, of which they had large crops and the finest land he ever saw. Finding he could not procure his release by intreaties, he laid a plan to make his escape in the night by taking a canoe and pushing down the Susquehanna until morning, and then hiding his canoe in some creek's mouth and watching from the top of some high hill if any Indians pursued him, if they did to take his chances by land, and if not to make the best of his way the next night in the canoe. This brought a great exercise over his mind—for notwithstanding the solemn promises the Indians extorted from him, yet when he came to the trial he could not find freedom to disregard them, or falsify his word by making his escape in this manner.

“As he remained in this condition Captain Brant, the famous Indian commander came to Shanango preparatory to their intended Expedition against the settlements on the

Western Branch, and as he understood that Brant had been educated in the College of Cambridge, in New England, and since been in London with Guy Johnston, and held a commission under the crown, he waited on him one morning in his hut, where he found him writing. He plead his cause as well as he could, and Captain Brant who behaved like an English gentleman and was dressed in a callico coat and jacket, seemed to pity his case, but told him that as he was a prisoner amongst the Delawares, it were not of his Nation—for he was a Mohawk—yet he believed he might be of some service. When the Indians were about starting on the expedition, it was ordered that he should be sent to Niagara and delivered to the English there, which accordingly was done, where he was ordered on board a vessel and sent with all expedition to Quebec. He arrived at Quebec in just two months after he was taken prisoner, hungry, moneyless and almost naked. Here he applied to an Irish colonel in the British service to afford him some assistance or relief in his pitifull situation. The colonel believed the story and loaned him a sufficiency of money to purchase a suit of tolerable decent clothes.

“But now another difficulty arose how to support himself and to find means to repay the money. Hearing that the colonel had a mill across the river, he informed him that he was a miller, upon which the colonel employ'd him to work in the mill upon trial, by which means he ingratiated himself much into the colonel's favour by putting the mill in better order than it had been before, (understanding how to dress the stones and other things), and the colonel was so much pleased therewith, that he made him superintendent of the whole business of buying, selling, and grinding. He was very careful and industrious in discharging his duty, and used to go every week to Quebec to sell a load of flour for which he generally received £100 sterling. The colonel was so well pleased with his faithfull service that he offered him any wages he would wish if he would stay,—but he was anxiously concerned to return home, and the colonel promised to assist him. There being a transport about to sail

for New York, the colonel engaged him a passage, and upon their settling there was £9 due to him for which the colonel voluntarily gave him 10 guineas. He sail'd by the Newfoundland Fishery, where their captain received information of a French fleet being off the coast, for which reason he put into Halifax and gave up the voyage.

"He remained in Nova Scotia a considerable time, and finally reached Amboy, from which he walked home to his father's in Makefield, who had never heard any account of what was his fate since he went to warn John Price, now about two years. . . .

"We fished along down the creek and waded it many times. It is customary hereaway for men, women and children to wade the creeks Winter and Summer—John caught a fine mess of trout, but I only two. We reached home in the evening and while I dried myself, John went out with a bob and caught a large quantity of Eels in a little time—these Settlers in general prefer Eels to any other kind of fish, and I believe was it not for such means many of the inhabitants would be pinched for provision.

"*June 17.*—This being my birthday I stayed at Hilborn's until evening & used my endeavours to persuade John to accompany me to Sheholy. He gave me encouragement of meeting me there, but he would take his gun and travel through the woods to try & kill some venison for the expedition. I set out in the evening for Stroud's and on my way met Mary Wilkinson going to Hilborn's. I went on to Stroud's and put up for the night.

"*June 18.*—This morning I sent for John Fish and we set out to view the Pokono Tract. Went by James Morgan's saw mill and took David Brewster along—he had before the first Indian War cleared land on this tract. We traveled up Sullivan's Road about 10 miles to Jn^o Learn's Tavern, adjoining the Land. The road was very stony and in some places muddy, yet with labour might be made tolerably good. We walked all over the tract and found it is exceeding valuable, being situate in the Pokono Gap of the Second Mountain—is almost all low bottom on the

Pokono Creek and the branches thereof. Sullivan's Road, now used to go to Wyoming, runs through it all the length, and is the only pass through the Second Mountain, which renders it a very valuable stand for a tavern—I think this tract must be worth 40s P^r Acre & if it was improved by building a house for a tavern and clearing meadows, it would be worth more. We stayed at Jn^o Learn's all night—but very poor accommodations.

"*June 19.*—This morning after breakfast and purchasing some bread at a dear rate, we started to view the tract on Broadhead's Creek about four miles distant from Jn^o Learn's, which is the highest house except Jn^o Price's on the north branch of the Creek. David Brewster having formerly made two little improvements on this tract, and being well acquainted with the woods was our guide. We traveled along the ridge of the Second Mountain which is not very high between Pokono Knob, and the west branch of Broadhead's Creek—the land we passed through was chiefly very stony barrens, but not as poor as the barrens between the Wind Gap and Lehigh, affording some good feeding places for cattle. We traced along to the Spruce and Laurel Swamp on the Creek, which was so thick we could not possibly pass through it—I believe it is of considerable width and very rich. As I was riding through the weeds, I heard a rattlesnake which I saw under my mares feet, but it did not incline to bite—as this was the first one I had ever seen, I lit from my creature and took a fair view of it—t'was about three feet long and a thick snake of the length, beautifully clouded with brown and yellow. I poked it about the head with the iron of my Surveying Staff and it did not incline to bite, but stuck up its tail and made a constant whipping or rattle, nearly resembling the noise of a locust. By this time David Brewster, who has a great antipathy against snakes came up and killed it by first bruising and then cutting off the head, after which I punched it with my staff and it would strike the staff with the stump of its bloody neck nearly as quick and straight as it could have done, if it had not been hurt—which made me think they were very handy

at biteing if so inclined. It had seven rattles, which I cut off and put in my pocket.

"After viewing the land, we started for home over a very rough stony country of hills and barrens, and on our way saw a deer. We reached Stroud's about sun set, where we had dinner, I paid and discharged the hands, and went to bed.

"*June 20.*—This forenoon I was employed in preparing for my journey to Sheholy and loaded a wagon with provision and necessary implements for the Expedition. I was desirous of seeing Abel James or Henry Drinker before I started from Jacob Stroud's, which is a very large house and stands in the very spot where Fort Penn formerly stood. About 2 o'clock P. M., the wagon started and I concluded to stay until morning and then start with the hands.

"*June 21.*—This morning I arose very early, mustered my hands and gave them a dram a piece and started nine of them by sun rise—after which I staid untill about seven o'clock, eat my breakfast and as my mare's back was sore, I left her in the care of Col. Stroud and took a little pony of his and rode up to the mouth of Bushkill Creek, where I overtook the hands. As I had traveled twelve miles and it was the last house to Sheholy, we eat some victuals and started over the hills to Sheholy twenty miles. The greater part of the road is tolerable good, only stony, some very rough, but we reached our destination about four o'clock in the afternoon, wet to the skin, the road being grown up with bushes.—I found the present house but small, Epharim Panonnand lived there and kept tavern. There is about 100 acres of meadow & pasture cleared; a large frame house part built and a large new frame barn, a saw mill, &c. We were employd this evening in securing the water from washing round a break in the dam.

"*June 22.*—This morning I began to prepare for an excursion down the Creek by Water, we found one small Flat & with a Hatchet and drawing Knife Jn^r Hepem and myself built another out of boards in three hours by my watch.—We also rafted a quantity of boards from the saw mill to

build a cabin at the Falls. About noon we started with our craft & found great difficulty. The Water in many places was fifteen feet deep, and crooked, in going about three miles down we landed within half a mile of where we started here we found several Beaver dams and the bottom was all overflowed in such a manner that no person could travel through it. We landed in the evening about one mile below the house, walked up & staid all night.

“ *July 9.*—This morning Abel James, Jn^o Hilborn, and myself went down the Creek in a flat to view the work the hands had done, as also what more was wanted. I could perceive that what was done had been of great service, but that more was wanted; on the whole I advised Abel James to give up all the business to the care and conduct of Jn^o Hilborn, expecting that by his acquaintance with the people he could select a good set of hands and do the business at his own time and convenience much cheaper than we had reason to expect from our present system which he inclined to agree to. We then measured some of the swamps after which I settled with and paid Jn^o Hilborn, and he prepared to start before day for home.

“ Thus having nearly concluded my Business at Sheholy it seems right to make some general observations thereon. I believe the Sheholy Bottom contains about 1200 Acres and am fully of oppinion from what we have already done, it may be drained dry enough for Wheat or any other grain. There is in the lower parts of the bottom many clear meadows, one of near 50 acres in a piece—the lower part of the bottom is much the best and easiest cleared, and if there was a sufficiency of land cleard to support hands and teams, if the Falls could be purchased, would be as advantageous a seat for a saw mill as any on the Delaware.—But with mills at or near the Sheholy House, as it is much further to haul the boards and other inconveniences will not at the present price of Lumber answer any good purpose.

“ *July 10.*—This morning I found Jn^o Hilborn was gone, and after breakfast we sent all the other hands to cut out

the road on their way home and Abel James and myself stayed to settle the remains of the business, and to follow them in the morning. In the afternoon there came a man from Philadelphia on his way to C—— to view lands, but fail'd heart on account of the roughness of the roads. There also came Jn^o Dougherty, one of Palmer's Survey, living in Trenton—he was a genteel young man and agreed to accompany us in the morning.

“*July 11.*—This morning we packed up our materials and started. The waiter who had brought my creature from Stroud's was forbid to put a saddle on her, but nevertheless rode her and hurt her back again, and I was obliged to carry a heavy load. On the way we overtook the hands on the road, just before which we found a large bear they had killed and skined. I tried to carry the skin on my mare, but in vain—Dougherty took it along to Consawleys where we stopped and eat dinner. Abel James stopped at William Smith's and remained all night and I proceeded on to Stroud's in company with Jn^o Dougherty. It rained in the Evening and we were very wet.

“*July 12.*—This morning after breakfast Abel James came and we were employed in settling with the hands all the forenoon. I was sorry to find them so adicted to liquor; some that had conducted soberly while at work when they came here drank so that we could not settle with them.

“*July 13.*—This forenoon I was employed in settling with Colonel Stroud and taking a list of the articles I had had of him for Sheholy,—and we agreed with Jn^o Hilborn to undertake to finish the creek and cut the road when he could be supplied with provisions and utensils from Philadelphia. I paid him £9 & took his receipt to enable him to employ good sober industrious hands (as he is acquainted with the people) and I expect by that means the work may be done much cheaper and better than by employing the common labourers in these parts, who are generally a pack of drunken lazy gluttons.

“It is my best advice to James and Drinker to put all their business of improving Sheholy under the care of John

Hilborn, if he will undertake it, as I apprehend he is the most suitable person they can find, and a man in whom they may place confidence.

"After finishing this business we started about half-after twelve, and my mare not being fit to ride, I rode Abel James's and he drove her in the sulky. Colonel Stroud accompanied us about seven miles. It was a very hilly road to the Wind Gap, yet there were many good farms and fine crops of wheat which they were about beginning to cut. The road through the Gap is much the best pass I have seen across the Blue Mountain. We stopped and fed at Heller's Tavern, from thence through a barren country commanding a fine distant prospect of farms on the surrounding hills. Abel James depended on me for a guide and being a stranger to the road I went to Easton instead of Nazareth, which mistake we did not discover until too late. I intending to pass through the town to the tavern on the Dry Lands we were espyed by Lawyer Sitgreaves, who pressed our stay and accordingly we stopped and put up at the Tavern which is a much better house than I expected to find there. I saw that the town was much improved since I first knew it, which is not many years ago. Lawyer Sitgreaves spent the evening with us and gave an entertaining historical account of the characters of Northampton County administration of Justice, the amount of which may be summed up in saying as yet they are too much like Bucks was in time of the war.

"*July 14.*—About sun rise we started through Jn^r Penn's Manor of Dry Lands for Bethlehem, where we breakfasted. I took a walk through the town and contrary to their rules went to the Single Sisters' House without first applying to their Church officers. At the door I asked for the Governess of the Nunnery, and said that I wished to buy a silk purse; she came and knowing my face invited me in very sociably. She is a genteel woman of great address and good sense. I purchased several little articles of them.

"We were detained upon business at Bethlehem five hours. They were about half done with their harvest, and

had a large crop of excellent wheat. We crossed the Ferry (Lehigh was the lowest I ever saw it)—and passing through Saucon saw abundance of fine wheat, and from every appearance in all parts of my travels this is the largest and best harvest ever cut in Pennsylvania. We fed our horses and eat dinner at Valentine Opp's and from thence to George Shaw's, where we fed again and reached William Bennet's in the evening, where we staid all night. I went home in the morning, having been absent one month and three days."

LETTERS OF RICHARD HENRY LEE TO WILLIAM
WHIPPLE, 1778.

"PHILADELPHIA, OCTR. 31, 1778.

"DEAR SIR.

"On principles of old acquaintance and much regard, I should have been well pleased to have had the pleasure of seeing you here before my return to Virginia. It will give me much satisfaction in my retirement to hear from you when your leisure will permit. The long evenings that are coming on will present you with opportunities of informing a friend how things proceed here. Let me know how my friend Mr. Langdon does. As I hope you will be closely employed this winter in forming plans for the increase and regulation of our Navy, it will make me happy to hear that you are proceeding well, and harmoniously in that line. My direction is at Chantilly, to the care of the Post Master at Leeds Town in Westmoreland County Virginia.

"I am dear sir

"Sincerely yours,

"RICHARD HENRY LEE.

"GENERAL WHIPPLE."

"CHANTILLY, NOV. 29, 1778.

"MY DEAR SIR.

"I thank you sincerely for your obliging favor of 8th instant which I received a few days past. Nothing can be more pleasing to me in my retirement than to hear from my friends, and the pleasure will be increased when they inform me that the Vessel of State is well steered and likely to be conveyed safely and happily in port. My clear opinion is, that this good work must be chiefly done by the Eastern Pilots.

"They first taught us to dread the rock of despotism, and I rest with confidence on their skill in the future operations. I venerate Liberty Hall, and if I could envy its present inhabitants anything it would be the sensible sociable evenings they pass there. I have not yet been able to quit the entertainment of my prattling fireside; when I have heard every little story and settled all points, I shall pay a visit to Williamsburg where our Assembly is now sitting. Mrs. Lee remembers her friends from the East with great respect, and returns you thanks for the kind interest you are pleased to take in her.

"Before this reaches you, I hope your labors in the Hall will have put the finishing hand to our important business of finance. If our money matters were once in a good way, we should have the consent of our wise and cautious friend Mr. Sherman to the pushing forward with zeal the Navy of the United States—an object in my opinion of great mag-

nitude. I may be mistaken but I have thought our sensible friend rather too cautious upon this head. A well managed force at sea would not only make us very respectable, but presently repay its cost with interest. We shall surely err by reasoning from what has happened to what will happen, because we have till now singly opposed our feeble force on the sea to the overgrown power of Great Britain. But now, our Marine force, under the supporting wing of our great and good Ally will thrive I hope, and grow strong upon the spoils of our common foe. I wish the Marine Committee may stoutly contend against all opposition and vigorously increase the Navy, In favor of this system we may say that the wealth and glory of many States have been obtained by their Fleets, but none have immediately lost their liberty thereby. Let the man be produced who can truly say as much of Standing Armies. I left my worthy Colleague of the Marine Committee well disposed to relieve us this Winter from the depredations of Guttridge's fleet of Pirates, which infest the Coast extremely from New York to Cape Fear. They not only injure our Commerce greatly in these middle States, but they prevent in great measure the water communication between us and our Eastern friends. This fleet consists of one brig of 16 guns, a schooner of the same force, a sloop of 12 guns, and the best of little strength. Whilst your Northern Seas are too tempestuous for cruising, this Southern Coast supplied with such convenient Harbors, may be visited by the Continental Frigates making Chesapeak Bay their place of Rendezvous, to the extirpation of these Sea Banditti that disturb us so much at present. A stroke of this sort would do credit to our Committee, and serve the common cause. If the Frigates came 3 or 4 together, they would be ready for any small British force that might accompany the Guttridges. The fortifications of Portsmouth, Hampton and York, will afford them a sure asylum against any superior force.

"Remember me with affection to the Society at Liberty Hall, to my friends of Connecticut, R. Island, Jersey, Pensylv'a and Delaware. I fancy this is as far as I can safely go, unless I were to admit the good old President.

"I sincerely wish you happy.

"RICHARD HENRY LEE.

"HON. GENERAL WHIPPLE,

"Member of Congress,

"Philadelphia."

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WHIPPLE, 1778.

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"I sincerely wish you happy.

"RICHARD HENRY LEE.

"HON. GENERAL WHIPPLE,

"Member of Congress,

"Philadelphia."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

REGISTER OF MARRIAGES, BAPTISMS, AND DEATHS OF THE PARISH CHURCH AT BRAMHAM, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND, 1586-1685, OF ALL PERSONS BEARING THE NAME OF SMITH.—

Marriages.

- 1586, 12^o die Junii Willus Smith de pochia de Wakefield et Maria Powel, de Bramham.
 1586, 22^o die Januarii Jacobus Beall et Agnes Smith.
 1592, 4^o die februarii Willus Smith et Elizabeth Powell.
 1603, 28^o die Maii Crofer Smith et Bridgett Troutbeck.
 1620, Thomas Warde de Clifforth et Anna Smith, de eadem nupti fuerunt septun de Novembris Anno Dom. ut supra.
 1627, Gulielmus Whitton junior et Alicia Smith pochia de Bramham nupti fuerunt undecimo die februarii 1627.
 1631, Johannes Cowper de Haslewood et Elizabeth Smith de eadem nupt. fuerunt eadem die et anno—vicesimo primo die Novembris anno regni Regis Caroli Septimo 1631.
 1638, Christopherus Bustard de Bramham et Eleonora Smith de eadem nupti fuerunt decimo die februari anno Dom. ut supra.
 1642, Willmus Grosland alis Pawson de Bramham et Elizabetha Smith de eadem nupti fuerunt decimo Septimo die Julii anno Dom. 1642.
 1642, Laurentius Sayner de pochia de Bramham et Isabella Smith de eadem nupti fuerunt vicesimo die Novembris 1642.
 1648, Gulielmus Smith de Pochia de Thorner et Isabella Collett de pochia de Bramham nupti fuerunt vicesimo octavo die februarii 1648.
 1648, Johannes ffairebarne de Bramham et Anna Smith de eadem nupti fuerunt decimo quinto die mensis Novembris.
 1653, Richard Smith of Bramham and Anne Beales of the pisha of Tadcaster hadd their intended Marriage published in our pisha church the 5th of february the 12th & the 19th of the said month, 1653, & they were marryed before me Paule Beale of the Cittie of Yorke Alderman.
 (Signed) PAULE BEALE.
 1660, John Spencer of the pishe of Boulton Pearcie and Cicilia Smith of the pishe of Bramham were marryed the 28th day of November 1660 as above written by Mr. Browne Minister at Weatherlie.
 1671, Richard Clough and Mary Smith both of Bramham, marrydd ye twenty fifth day of June 1671.
 1674, John Hardinge and Ann Smith marryed ye second day of february.
 1684, Anno Domini, John Walker and Elizabeth Smith were marrid February ye ninth.

A Register of such as were baptized since the yeare of the raigne of our Sovreigne Lady Queene Elizabeth: 28

- 1593, 18^o die Maii Richus Smyth filius Willmi Smith baptizat.
 1594, 9^o die februar Thomas Smith filius Willmi baptizat.
 1596, 17^o die Aprilis Alicia Smyth filia Willmi Smith baptizat.
 1599, 4^o die Novembr Robtus Smith filius Willmi Smith baptizat.
 1602, 29^o die Augusti Helena Smith filia Willmi Smith de Bramham baptizat.
 1621, Elizabetha Smith filia Richardi Smith de Bram. baptizata fuit vicesimo secundo die Aprilis ut supra.
 1623, Anna Smithe filia Richardi Smithe de Bramham baptizt fuit decimo nono die Julii anno dom. ut supra.
 1626, Richardus Smithe filius Richardi Smithe de Bramham baptizatus fuit decimo quinto die Octobris anno dom. ut supra.
 1629, Maria Smith filia Richardi Smith de Bramham baptizat fuit vicesimo tertio die Augusti 1629.
 1632, Willmus Smith filius Rici Smith de Bramham baptizat fuit decimo tertio die Maii.
 1634, Isabella Smith filia Johannis Smith de Bramham baptizat fuit septimo die Aprilis anno dom. 1634.
 1635, Johannes Smith filius Johannis Smith de Bramham baptizat fuit vicesimo quarto die Maii 1635 ut.
 1636, ffaith Smith filia Richardi Smith de Bramham baptizat fuit primo die Januarii 1636.
 1637, Jana Smith filia Johannis Smith de Bramham baptizat fuit sexto die Augusti anno dom. ut supra.
 1639, Gulielmus Smith filius Johannis Smith de Bram. baptizatus fuit decimo quinto die Decembris 1639 ut supra.
 1642, Bartholomæus Smith filius Johannis Smith de Bram. baptizatus fuit vicesimo octavo die mensis Augusti anno dom. 1642.
 1646, Maria Smith filia Johannis Smith de Bram. baptizat. fuit vicesimo sexto die mensis Julii anno dom. 1646.
 1648, Abram et Rebecah Smith filii Johannis Smith de Bram. baptizat. fuerunt decimo septimo die Decembris 1648.
 1652, Joseph Smith sonne to John Smith of Bramham was baptized the third daie of October 1652.
 1652, Richard Smith sonne to William Smith younger of Bramham was baptized the vith of March.
 1654, Hannah Smith, daughter to Richard Smith of Bramham, her birthday was the 20th day of November in the year abovesaid.
 1655, Marie Smith daughter to Richard Smith of Bram. her birthday was the eighth of December.
 1657, John Smith sonne to Richard Smith of Bramham his birthday was the 27th of March and he was baptized the third day of April 1657.
 1666, Ellianor Smith daughter to John Smith the younger of Bramham was baptized the twelft day of September.
 1668, Isabella Smith baptized the 19th day of January 1668.
 1671, William, sonn of Will. Smith of Bramham baptized 21 of May.
 1673, Mary daughter of John Smith Jun. baptiz'd ye 27th of June.
 1674, Christopher sonn of William Smith baptiz'd y^e 23 of Aug.
 1676, Walter son of John Smith baptiz'd June 11th.
 1677, Ann daughter of John Smith baptized y^e twenty first of March.
 1680, Elizabeth daughter of John Smith baptized ye twenty fourth day of December.

A Register of all such persons as have been buried within the pishce of Bramham since the first day of September 1586.

- 1602, 3^o die Maii Johes Smith de Bram.
 1606, Margret Smyth filia W^m Smyth, 25^o die Januarii.
 1614, Agneta Smith uxon Johannis Smith de Bramham octavo die Augusti.
 1620, Elizabetha Smithe filia Johannis Smith de Bram. decimo quarto die Aprilis ut.
 1620, Infans Richardi Smithe de Bram. now baptizat. sepult. fuit quinto die Maii ut supra script est.
 1634, Isabella Smith filia Johannis Smith de Bramham, sepult fuit decimo tertio die Julii 1634.
 1635, Gulielmus Smith filius Ricardi Smith sepultus fuit quinto die Maii ut.
 1641, Edwardus Smith peregrina sepultus fuit vicessimo quinto die Octobris anno regni Regis Caroli decimo septimo.
 1642, Johannes Smith sonne de Bram. sepultus fuit vicessimo septimo die Julii anno Dom. 1642 ut supra est.
 1646, ffaith Smith filia Ricardi Smith die Bram. sepulta fuit decimo nono die februarii.
 1646, Thomas Smith de Bram. quinto die Marchii.
 1647, Elizabetha Smith uxon Willmi Smith de Bramham quarto die mensis Septembris.
 1647, Richardus Smith de Bram. sepultus fuit decimo nono die mensis Novembris anno dom. ut supra script est.
 1653, William Smith the eldest of that name was buried the twentieth daye of January as above said.
 1654, Jane Smith daughter of John Smith of the towne of Bramham was buried the fifth day of Maye in the yeare of our Lord God 1654.
 1655, Marie Smith, daughter to Richard Smith of Bramham.
 1655, Joseph Smith sonne to John Smith of Bramham was buried the twentieth day of februarii in the year above written.
 1655, Richard Smith sonne to William Smith the younger of Bramham was buried the fifteenth day of March.
 1656, Anne Smith wife to Richard Smith of Bramham deceased was buried the 19th day of Julie.
 1657, William Smith of Bramham was buried the sixt daye of Januarie.
 1658, An infant borne unto Richard Smith of Bramham the 10th of february and buried the 11th day of the say^d month.
 1662, William Smith sonne to John Smith of Bram. was buried the sixt day of Januarie.
 1663, Rebekca Smith daughter to John Smith of Bramham was buried the third daie of June.
 1664, An infant borne unto Richard Smith of Bramham was buried the first day of October in the year above sayd.
 1671, Sarah daughter of Robert Knapton Smith buried 14th of March.
 1672, William sonn of John Smith Jun. buried y^e 4th of July.
 1685, John and Anne children of John Smith were buried December y^e 3rd.

The foregoing extracts from the parish registers have been certified to by the Vicar William Salmon Mare, under date of January 20, 1890, to our contributor.

CAPTAIN JOHANN HEINRICHS AND THE UNFORTUNATE WEST INDIA WIDOW.—In several of the letters of Captain Johann Heinrichs, printed in the July issue of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, he mentions being

ill at the time the British army was evacuating Philadelphia, and of his sufferings on the retreat through the Jerseys. During his convalescence in New York he wrote to his sister describing his quarters and landlady, from which the following extract is taken :

"When I came to New York from the Jerseys, the Barrack-master assigned me quarters in Gold Street ; a small house in which I found a room, kitchen and servant's chamber, beside another room tenanted by a widow. She was a woman in declining years, and so far as beauty is concerned, I believe that she could never have laid claim to any great share of it. I succeeded in making an arrangement with her, by which she was to do my cooking, and receive her meals as pay, at my expense. She accepted my offer, and for the first three weeks, which on account of my sickness, precluded my taking meals at a tavern, we abode in the best of concord. As my health improved, and getting tired of eating my meals alone, I dined at a tavern in company with friends. Eight days passed without noticing any change in my surroundings, except that my servant told me, when I inquired after my hostess, that she was indisposed. On the morning of the ninth day when I asked for hot water for my tea, as was my habit, my servant answered that the wood was all gone. Angered at his negligence, I administered a rebuke, and being out of humor I told him to tell the woman, that I did not at all like the idea of buying wood for her for the sake of a little cup of hot water for my tea, as she had to use wood daily for the preparation of her own meals, and that I was so disgusted with this gross attempt at extortion, that I would rather take my breakfast at the Coffee-house every day, than to do her the favor of stocking her kitchen with wood.

"Three or four days passed, during which I took my breakfast elsewhere, paying three times as much as I should have paid, if I had bought the wood,—merely to humor my whim. Upon the fourth day or thereabout, in the morning while dressing myself, and with a smile thinking of my caprice, and the discomfiture of the widow (as I imagined) I recollected that I had not seen any wood or fire in the kitchen for several days. I asked my valet, what the woman ate. 'Good God,' he replied, 'what should she eat since you take your meals away from the house; I have not seen her partake of anything save a few cups of tea, and a part of my rations, which I gave her, but now the wood being gone, I am unable to cook my rations, and for the last five days all that she had was some biscuit and tea.' How can I describe my feelings? I was simply dumbfounded, I dressed hastily and walked up and down the room to collect my thoughts, for I knew not what course to pursue. At one moment I wanted to hurry down the stairs, and inquire about the woman's circumstances, and offer her my assistance, but at the same time, a sense of bashfulness, and fear that I might hurt her feelings prevented me. One thing was certain, she was to be helped, and I naturally was the one to do so. But what perplexed me most was, how I could inform her of my intentions. Her demeanour, dress, and manner of living indicated that she must once have been a lady of wealth, however, her present precarious circumstances outweighed all other considerations. So I went to her. She lay in bed, having been an invalid these few days. The shutters were bowed and the room was dark. I said to her, 'My valet told me that you were ill, can I be of any service to you in any manner?' 'O! Sir,' and tears prevented her from uttering more. 'Speak freely Madam, do you wish me to send our surgeon to you? Indeed he is a skillful man, and you may well entrust yourself to his care.' 'I thank you very much,' she replied; 'O! you are so kind! dear, dear sir. There have been times in which I have lived better, nor

did I ever know what want was until now;—forsaken by all the world, even by my female slave,—I had raised her in the West Indies;—even she has gone off,—but that is no wonder, since my relations—and she wept more bitterly. ‘I was born and married in the West Indies, and always lived in affluence. My husband died when these disturbances broke out; his relatives were in New York; I sold my estates, and sent away my fortune; the English captured the ship and my fortune. I took passage in another vessel. The rebels still held the city, and my husband’s relatives were rebels. They took my only child from me and placed it under guardians, and spurned me from their doors’ (here she wept more piteously)—‘now it is two years, that I am living thus,—my female slave left me a year ago, running away to New Jersey. All is gone!’ She could say no more. ‘Take heart,’ I said, ‘all may not yet be lost, who knows but that a change may yet come.’ ‘Oh!’ replied she, ‘what have I to hope for? My friends and relatives have left me long ago, who would care for me now?’ I then said, ‘In the first place permit me to recompense you for all the care and attention you bestowed upon me during my sickness. Allow me to replenish your kitchen and larder. My servant, Charles, is as you know, a good cook, and our doctor shall visit you.’ She wanted to say something but could not, and I was so much moved myself that I had to leave.

“I sent our doctor to her and had him prescribe, and provided wood and provisions. The day following I visited her again; her condition was slightly improved, but she was still in bed. I sat down by the bed-side when she said, ‘What a good man you are, how have I merited all this?’ ‘Say not a word Madam,’ I replied, ‘I beg of you; if you but knew what pleasure it was for me to do you a service,—but how fares it with your health, are you any better?’

“I had purposed giving her some money to-day and had put into my pocket what I thought I could spare; now I held it in my hand;—half an hour elapsed, and still I could not resolve to take my hand out of my pocket, though the room was dark, as I feared to hurt the Lady’s feelings. ‘Would you permit me to lend you some money?’ ‘Oh! where-with could I ever repay you? I have nothing,—nothing in this world’—the most just claim I thought upon the purse of every righteous man. Several times I wanted to offer her the money; but was unable to overcome my timidity. Finally I arose bade her adieu and pressed the money in her hand, and slipped out of the door, as if guilty of a dishonorable action. The widow continued to improve, and I had the pleasure of seeing her prior to my departure, taking a promenade and attired neatly with some of the little insignificant vanities of her sex.”

WILTS FRIENDS’ RECORDS.—“An intention of Marriage between William Havin of felledelfia in penselvenia the sonn of George hevener of morton in Rodborn pish belonging to purton meeting, and Ruth Skeath Daughter of John Skeath of foxham belonging to Charlcute meeting proposed the first time.

“From a Monthly Meeting held at Thomas Sager’s at ffordham the 3 day of the 6 mo. 1685.”

LETTER OF WILLIAM DUNLAP, PRINTER.—

“SIR.

“As it is but a very short Time since I came to settle here, and the publication of the Lancaster Gazette having been dropt some Time before, I have printed 150 of your Advertisements in Dutch & English single, besides those enclosed, which I have been careful to distribute

through this Town, and all the parts adjacent, which, (as I doubt not but you'll be ready enough to favour me with your own Custom, and procure that of others) shall cost you nothing. As I have got all Materials ready for the carrying on a Weekly Newspaper, and a pretty large Number of Subscribers engaged, intend to publish one in a short Time, and shall not fail to insert your Advertisement, at a very reasonable Rate; and if at any Time you should incline to have single Adverts^d done in Dutch & English, I will do them for a Pistole per Thousand. You have no postage to pay for Letters from hence.

"I am Sir,

"your very H^{ble} Serv^t

"W. DUNLAP."

MASON.—The following family record is from an old Bible in possession of the undersigned, printed in London in 1755 :

"Joseph Mason and Mary Hewlett was married in Aldergate Church, October 19, 1758.

"Susannah, Daughter of Joseph & Mary Mason was Born on Sunday the 29 of July 1759, between 4 & 5 o'clock in the morning. And she died the 7 of September, 1759.

"Mary, Daughter of Joseph Mason & Mary Mason was Born on Sunday the 7 of September 1760, between 4 and five in the evening. She died 27 of September 1760.

"William, Son of Joseph & Mary Mason was Born on Sunday the 1st of November 1761 between 11 & 12 in the morning.

"Thomas, Son of Jos. & Mary Mason Born on Sunday ye 26 of february 1764 between 1 & 2 in the Day, & Died March ye 10, 1764. Interred in St. James, Dublin.

"Jo, son of Jo and Mary Mason was born Jun 1."

The above-mentioned couple, Joseph and Mary (Hewlett) Mason, must have had another child, as a daughter (Anne?) married in Ireland — McFaden, and was the mother of William McFaden, who immigrated to Philadelphia about the middle of the last century, and was in his day one of its prominent citizens, a member of Common Council, 1805, etc., and resided on Chestnut Street where the *German Demokrat* office now stands. He commanded several privateers during the Revolutionary War for John Maxwell Nesbitt & Co., of Philadelphia. I have his letter of marque, spy-glass, chronometer, etc. The mother immigrated to America a number of years later and brought with her the Bible from which the above is copied.

FRANK D. GREEN.

DRINKER GENEALOGICAL NOTES.—The marriage certificate of Henry S. and Hannah (Smith) Drinker contains the following endorsements on the same :

"Henry S. Drinker of the City of Phila son of Henry Drinker of same place—Merchant, & Elizabeth his wife—

to

Hannah Smith d^r of James Smith J^r of s^d city Merchant & Esther his wife—11th of 12^{mo} 1794—at Philad—

"The within named Henry S. Drinker was born at Philadelphia on the 30th day of October 1770.

"Hannah Smith was born on the 26th of the 11th month 1773 at 40 minutes after 10 o'clock P.M. at Houghton in Springfield, New Jersey.

"William Drinker was born at Clearfield in Bristol Township in the

County of Philad^a on the 14th day of the 10th month 1795 at one o'clock P.M.

"Henry S. Drinker J^r was born at North Bank in Falls Township Bucks County on the 15th day of the 7th month 1797 at 11 o'clock P.M. and died at y^e same place January 4th 1798.

"Eather Drinker was born at North Bank on the first of November 1798 at () o'clock in the evening.

"James Drinker was born at Philadelphia (his mother being there on a visit) on the first day of April 1800. He died at North Bank on the 1st day of November 1801.

"Elizabeth Drinker was born at North Bank on the 11th day of December 1801 at 11 o'clock P.M.

"Sarah Drinker was born at North Bank on the 9 day of May 1803, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 o'clock A.M.

"Henry & Hannah Drinker (Twins) were born at North Bank on the 11th day of August 1804 at 5 o'clock A.M.—Henry came first.

"Henry Drinker died at his residence in Montrose, February 5th 1868.

"Hannah Drinker died at 1224 Spruce St. April 11th 1869, Phil^a.

"Elizabeth Drinker Paxson died at the house of her son in law Wm. H. Cooper in Montrose Susquehanna Co. Penn^a on the 11 day of July 1874."

A COMBINATION LOTTERY.—

"Whereas a certain Lottery, called the WILMINGTON LOTTERY in two Classes is set on foot for raising Two Thousand four Hundred and Eighty four Pounds, Pennsylvania Money in which Richard McWilliam Esq^r and Mess^{rs} Jonas Stedham George Evans and Joseph Stedham of Newcastle County are Managers, and it is declared in the Scheme of the said Lottery that the money to be raised thereby is to be divided as follows viz Five Sixths of the neat Profits towards the Building and finishing St John's Church in the Northern Liberties of the City of Philadelphia, & the remaining Sixth part for public Uses within the County of Newcastle under the Direction of the said Managers, and of Rev^d D^r Richard Peters, Rev^d D^r William Smith and Rev^d M^r Jacob Duche of Philadelphia, and Rev^d M^r Laurence Gireluis of Wilmington; Now that there may be no future misunderstanding relative to the Disposition of the said Sixth part, which if the Lottery is successful may clear about four Hundred Pounds; it is agreed that Seventy Pounds of the same be applied by us towards the Use of Trinity Church in the Borough of Wilmington, and the Remainder towards the public School now erecting in the Borough of Wilmington, or in that Proportion if the said Sixth part should prove more or less than as above estimated. Witness our Hands this 11th Day of June 1772—

"RICHARD PETERS
"WILLIAM SMITH
"LAWRENCE GIRELUIS

R^{IP} MCWILLIAM
JONAS STEDHAM
GEO: EVANS
"JOS: STEDHAM

"Jan^y 20th, 1787. Gave D^r Smith a Receipt for the above Instrument of writing to be returned to Him at the Town of Newcastle.

"JA BOOTH"

(Endorsed on the back): "Articles [illegible] the Wilmington Lottery James Gibbons Jos. Shallcross Isaac Hendrickson Tho^s May—Vincent Bonsal."

"NEW-YORK, May 2, 1775.

"To the FRIENDS of FREEDOM in the City of
"NEW-YORK, &c.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I THINK it my indispensable Duty, when PUBLIC LIBERTY is invaded and in Danger, to hold up to your View as vile an Incendiary and Conspirator against the Happiness of this much injured insulted Country, as ever was transported from Britain—This Character may be found in the Person of a certain JOHN FOXCROFT, formerly an upper Servant to a Gentleman in Virginia, by whose Recommendation, being willing to provide for a needy Domestic, added to that of a Brother, who derived his Influence from administering to the Follies, the Vices and Necessities of his Superiors, who frequented a Gambling-House to which he was Groom-Porter, this Servant was drawn from his humble Apartment in his Master's Hotel, at Williamsburgh, and created *Master of the Posts in North America*; but agreeable to the old Adage, 'set a Beggar on Horseback and he'll ride to the Devil,' he became intoxicated with his Elevation, and let loose the Reins of arbitrary Power, guided by his own superlative Ignorance, Impudence and Caprice; insomuch that the Liberty of the Press, the Palladium of all our Rights, was essentially abridg'd thro' his *Connivance*. Besides this, if any Thing else need be added, the most detestable Publications of Ministerial Prostitutes, against the Honour and Interest of all America, particularly the most illiberal and atrocious Reflections on the Honourable *Continental Congress*, and other watchful Guardians of our common Freedom were insolently and triumphantly circulated from the *Post-Office at Philadelphia*, under his Patronage and Protection.—These Particulars I now flatter myself will be the Means of silencing the slavish *Music of his Horns*, unhorsing his *Riders*, laying his *Generalship* prostrate at the Feet of AMERICAN FREEDOM, and preventing the future Collection of a *Parliamentary internal Tax* in the very Heart of the Colonies; Events that must inevitably take Place, if *Consistency* and *Firmness* mark the Councils of my native Country, which I hope may meet with Success, at this grand Crisis, equal to the Justice and Dignity of her Cause,—to this my small abilities shall be contributed (like the Widow's Mite) while I exist in the Shape of

"WILLIAM GODDARD.

"Notwithstanding the just Contempt in which I hold the servile Tools of a venal and profligate Administration, who are acting the Part of *Sturdy Beggars* in this once happy Land, especially the *Mushroom Gentleman* abovementioned, yet if he chooses an *Explanation*, he shall, most certainly, be *gratified*, on a public or private Application.—Thus much I think necessary to add, as the *General of the Post-Office*, like the renowned GAGE, keeps himself encag'd.

W. G."

VOLUNTEER LIBRARIANS OF THE FRIENDS' LIBRARY, 1809, 1810.—The following gentlemen volunteered their services as librarians in the Friends' Library in the years 1809, 1810: John Paul, William Evans, Reuben Haines, William Wharton, James P. Parke, Charles C. French, Charles Allen, Isaac Davis, Daniel Elliott, Josiah Dawson, John Hutchinson, Jr., Clement Biddle, Jr.

Two members of this committee were to attend at a time, and each for two seventh days successively, the senior member going off duty each week, when the next but one on the list to take his place, who was always to be informed of his approaching duty by the remaining member.

A WONDERFUL ESCAPE FROM DEATH.—

"GERMANTOWN 6 mo. 8, 1820.

" . . . Some days since a party of ladies and gentlemen in two carriages went to visit Flat Rock; on their return passed a spot known by the name of Breakneck Rock . . . some one looking out of the carriage saw their companions' carriage winging its way down a precipice of sixty feet, (the ladies in the carriage that went down were Hannah Howell and Hannah Perot—the gentlemen Sansom Perot and I believe George Vaux's son). They were all thrown into the Schuylkill . . . but neither men, women, nor driver, horses and carriage were in the least degree injured . . . a remarkable preservation . . . almost incredible when we consider the amazing height from which they fell. It is the town talk."

INCIDENTS OF LIFE IN WASHINGTON, D. C., extracted from letters of a Pennsylvania lady to her sister, who was visiting relatives at the capital in the autumn of 1810 and 1814:

"GEORGETOWN, D. C.,
"November 17, 1810.

" . . . Last Monday I received an invitation from the President and his lady to dine with them on Thursday. I was not well, curiosity mastered sickness, tho', and I went. We were invited at 4 o'clock, dinner was served at 5 o'clock, and a most superb one it was. I suppose its splendor was owing to, or in honor of, the Russian Ambassador and his brother Count Theodore, as they made part of the company. The dining room and drawing room were lighted by splendid chandeliers suspended from the ceiling, and antique lamps placed on brackets around the sides of the apartments; the company consisted of about thirty ladies and gentlemen.

"Our *Friend*, the lady President, to the honor of *our* Society be it spoken, performed the rites of hospitality in a manner of dignified affability that few could equal. She was habited in a white muslin thickly spangled with gold, a lace handkerchief thrown over the back of her neck, bordered and spangled like her dress, another finished with tassels to suit, the cap of white satin embroidered in crape, white satin shoes spangled to correspond with the rest. . . . We *Friends* do not wear trains now,—just short round—thou wilt have to curtail thine. . . . It was a day of considerable amusement to me and would have been still more pleasing had my sister N . . . been in a situation to have gone with me, but languor of sickness still oppresses her, tho' the danger is past. The widow, Mrs. Washington, is now at the palace; you know that she was a Miss Lucy Paine, but she has not been able to show herself this long ten days past in consequence of an attack of jaundice. Ah! that a belle should be subject to such rude seizures; she stands no chance of leading the fashion, as she had every right to expect, 'till your true orange tawny complexion takes. Doctor Bull told her the other day, that it was a disorder that generally originated in strong passions, and as a lady could be suspected of but one, he presumed she was in love. She begged him not to circulate so scandalous an opinion—this accounts for the golden tint on Mr. L——'s visage."

"CITY OF WASHINGTON,
"November 23, 1814.

" . . . We had a visit from Mrs. Barlow, (widow of the author of the *Columbiad*), she looks wonderfully well. I should be almost tempted to make a voyage to France myself, if I thought I should experience the

SOME GENEALOGICAL DATA RELATING TO THE HADDOCKS OF IRELAND AND BUCKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.—In His Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland:

"Susanna Haddock wife of John Haddock, the younger, and Charity Burrows wife of Thomas Burrows all daughters and coheirresses of John Haddock late of Ballenderry deceased vs. William Penrose Executor of Walter Haddock late of Richland township in the county of Bucks and State of Pennsylvania deceased. The above named Susannah Haddock of Culcush, Elizabeth Haddock of Derrycrewey, both in the county of Tyrone and parish of Clonfule and Charity Burrows of Ballykelly, parish of Ballenderry in the county of Antrim . . . all of the people called Quakers . . . are all daughters of John Haddock late of Wallinderry in the county of Antrim . . . which said John Haddock was full and only brother of and to Walter Haddock, formerly of Ballenderry . . . who afterwards went to America and lived in the township of Richland, county of Bucks, and State of Pennsylvania, now one of the Thirteen United States of America and died there . . . there is one Sarah Reed, daughter or reputed daughter of Sarah Haddock otherwise Reed deceased, an old woman upwards of fifty years of age, which Sarah Haddock was sister of the John Haddock and also of the said Walter Haddock deceased, and who has been upwards of these thirty years and is now a member of the Society of People called Moravians entirely separate and distinct from the people called Quakers, and has been separate from the Society to which these affirmants belong during all that period of time . . . the said Sarah Reed is a single woman and never was married and lives in and with the said Society of Moravians . . . there is not any lawful issue of the said Walter Haddock deceased or of John Haddock his brother deceased now living in this or any other Kingdom or State . . . save these affirmants and the said Sarah Reed . . . Susanna, who is the eldest daughter of the said John Haddock . . . hath now living four sons and two daughters . . . Elizabeth saith she has no children living, . . . and Charity saith she has now living one son and two daughters . . . the said Walter Haddock is dead and by his last will and testament appointed William Penrose his Executor, and that he wrote a letter to Thirston Haddock to that purpose which Thirston Haddock is now dead.

"Affirmed at Moy, Co. Tyrone 8th March 1788 before

"WILL. RICHARDSON."

MARRIAGE OF ELIZABETH M. MORRIS.—

"PHILADELPHIA 6 mo. 18 1823.

"Yesterday morning Elizabeth M. Morris was married at the North Meeting . . . The bride was dressed in white satin covered with tulle, and had what I believe you call a *skeleton bonnet* . . . two sermons from O. Alsop and a woman named Leeds, both in a gloomy and foreboding style. The thermometer being at 98! and the house hemmed in on all sides . . . the bride spoke so very low at meeting that no one I have inquired of heard a syllable. Having had the honor of an invitation, found a company of about sixty-four, chiefly employed in seeking the coolest situations. The supper table at a little after nine was elegantly furnished—tea and coffee, cakes, blancmange, calvesfoot jellies, oranges, pineapples, raisins and sugared-almonds, strawberries and cream, strawberry and lemon ice creams and large pound cakes.

"Yesterday William Baker was married to Rebecca R. Daves."

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"GERMANTOWN 6 mo. 8, 1820.

" . . . Some days since a party of ladies and gentlemen in two carriages went to visit Flat Rock; on their return passed a spot known by the name of Breakneck Rock . . . some one looking out of the carriage saw their companions' carriage winging its way down a precipice of sixty feet, (the ladies in the carriage that went down were Hannah Howell and Hannah Perot—the gentlemen Sansom Perot and I believe George Vaux's son). They were all thrown into the Schuylkill . . . but neither men, women, nor driver, horses and carriage were in the least degree injured . . . a remarkable preservation . . . almost incredible when we consider the amazing height from which they fell. It is the town talk."

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" . . . We had a visit from Mrs. Barlow, (widow of the author of the *Columbiad*), she looks wonderfully well. I should be almost tempted to make a voyage to France myself, if I thought I should experience the

same benefit. When I saw her here last she had been for years, and was then, a languid invalid, one who could scarce take a morning's airing, or pay a visit, unprotected by a 'bit of broad cloth.' Now she has grown a portly person, animated in manner and almost robust in health, and quite the fearless traveler. She came from Boston hither unattended, except by her coachman, and means to visit Pittsburg this winter in her carriage, without any other protector. . . .

"The city is uncommonly dull and the frequent attempts to move the Seat of Government keep the inhabitants in a continuous state of alarm. General Armstrong has completely destroyed his popularity in this part of the world. . . . To him they attribute and justly too, the misfortunes of the District. . . .

"I have become acquainted with a female fellow-citizen of yours, a Mrs. Jones, lady to the Secretary of the Navy; she is our next door neighbour and I like her very much, and am sorry her husband is preparing to resign his office."

"JOHN CHRISTOPHER MENG, born 22d September, 1697, in Mannheim, Germany, married Anna Dorothea Baumann (born Baroness von Ebsten, 29th June, 1723, died 17th October, 1785). Came to Philadelphia and settled in Germantown, Pa., and 24th August, 1728, took the oath of allegiance."—*Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, Vol. III. p. 346.

The Records of the German Reformed Church, Germantown, Pennsylvania, contain the following certificate:

[Translation.]

"MANHEIM, 3d May, 1723.

"*This witnesses*, That JOHN CHRISTOPHER MENG, Burgher and Master Mason of this place, and ANNA DOROTHEA (born Baumann), his honourable housewife, intend to journey from this place to New England, and desire for their journeyings a trust-worthy certificate of their belief and precepts of life, also have I been willing to witness that these married people have acted according to God's Word of the Reformed Religion, and so through diligent attention to his honoured word, also, in the use of the Holy Sacrament of the Last Supper, together with an honourable conduct to this day do Certify.

"SAMUEL MICHAEL DORGAHF, [SEAL.]

"*Preacher of the Reformation,*
"*District Alda.*"

COLONEL ARMAND (PENNA. MAG., p. 234).—The following letter of Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, in behalf of his companion in arms and friend, Major Schaffner, is in the collection of Mr. Charles Roberts, of this city:

"PHILADELPHIA 12th June 1784.

"SIR—

"had I not been prevented by my bad health I would have had the honor to wait on your Excellency & request your patronage for M^r Schaffner Major of the first partisan legion which I commanded & a citizen of the state over whom you preside—that gentleman is going with me to live in France, through his great merit & long service he may expect to be one day employed in the army of that country—

"I inclose here the h^{is} testimonials he has received of his services & take the liberty to request your Excellency would add to their importance the expression of your own ideas of them as well as those that may concern his family & private character—Colonel Attely member of

"Walter their fourth child was born in London July the 6th 1787. Christened by the Rev'd —.

"Henry their fifth child was born December 27th 1788, at 6 o'clock P.M. Christened by the Rev'd Doctor White.

"Mary Ann their sixth child was born March the 3rd 1791. Christened by the Rev'd Doctor White.

"Caroline their seventh child was born May the 5th 1794. Christened by the Rev'd Doctor White, departed this life Dec'r 4th 1795 of a Dropsy on her brain. Was interred in St. Paul's Church Burial Ground Dec'r 5th. Service read by Bishop White.

"Washington their eighth child was born August 24th 1796, at 2 o'clock A.M., two months and ten days after his Father's decease.

"The Father of the above children departed this life June 14th 1796 of a billious fever, was interred in St. Paul's Burial Ground, June 16th 1796. Service was read by Bishop White."

From a Memorandum-Book.

"Married Deborah McClenachan, Oldest daughter of Blair McClenachan & Ann Darrach of Germantown, Pa. on April 11th 1781.

"Deborah McClenachan was born on June 4th 1763.

"Their Family consisted of

"1 William Stewart born Dec. 27, 1781. Lost at sea summer of 1808.

"2 Robert " " Feb. 14, 1784. Died Apr. 19th 1806 at Canton, China.

"3 Anne " " July 22, 1786. Married Philip Church.

"4 Walter " " July 6, 1787. Died 1807 at Port Alajon near Gibraltar.

"5 Henry " " Dec. 27, 1788. Died spring of 1823 in Mexico.

"6 Mary Ann " " Mar. 8, 1791. Died Aug. 25, 1844 in Philadelphia.

"7 Caroline " " May 5, 1794. Died Dec. 4th 1794.

"8 Washington " " Aug. 24, 1796. Died April 1826 at Coquimbo, S. Am."

CHRISTIAN CHARLES.—The following memorandum is from the Onondaga County (New York) clerk's official transcript of early county realty records. The transcript is at Syracuse, while the original is at Auburn, New York:

"Inquire for Christen Charles in between Artbuckel Street and Wine Street and in Seckond Street Philadelphia. The Expence of the Trunk is Coming from Est Hampton to New York is £0.17.9 The carting in New York is 0.2.0 Crosing the ferry 0.1.0 for caring the trunk Home is £0.4.0 and 1 pint of Rum 0.1.9 £1.6.6 Andrew Charles at the corner of fourth & Taise Streets at Mathew Keely's Store."

The memorandum is undated, but seems to be of 1784 or soon after. Charles was a soldier of the Revolution and served in the First New York Regiment.

L. D. S.

Baldwinsville, New York.

PENN FAMILY RECORDS.—The Penn entries given by Mr. Lea from the Friends' Register at Devonshire House, London, in the last Magazine, have all been used in my series of articles on the Penn Family, with the exception of four (really two), and these, I think, do not belong to that family. The four referred to are the entries of burials relating

ffaieth—the ffirst at the City aforesd a Certain Challenge in Writing to one Francis Phillips of the same City Clerk [torn] send to fight him the sd Peter Evans at Sword Did send agt an Act of Gen'all Assembly of this Government in that Case & provided as also agt the Peace of the sd Lord ye King his Crown & Dignity &c.

“ASSHETON.

“We of the Jury do find that Peter Evans in the Indictment mentioned did send a Letter in Writing to Francis Phillips containing these words

“Sir

“You have basely Scandalized a Gentlewoman that I have a profound respect for. And for my part shall give you a fair opportunity to defend yourself tomorrow morning on the West side of Jos^a Carpenters Garden betwixt Seven & 8, where I shall expect to meet you gladio cinctus, in failure whereof depend upon the usage you deserve from

“Yr

“PET. EVANS.

“Jany 21 1714

“I am at ye pewter platter.”¹

“If upon the whole the Court do Judge the words contained in the said Letter to be a Challenge, Then we do find the said Peter Evans Guilty. But if the Court do Judge the words contained in the said letter are no Challenge—Then we do find the sd Peter Evans not Guilty.

“Test. pr ffancis Phillips.

“William Jones,
“Jas. Woodward,
“Tho. Mame [?],

Margt. Styler,
Margt. Bristol,
Jno. Read,
“Mary May.”

Billa Vera.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES OF GENERAL WALTER STEWART AND HIS CHILDREN.—We are indebted to Miss Mary Trumbull Morse, of New York City, for the following genealogical notes of General Walter Stewart and his children:

From the Stewart Family Bible.

“Deborah McClenachan and Walter Stewart were married the 11th of April 1781 by the Reverend Doctor White.

“Their eldest son William was born the 27th Decemb’r 1781 at 7 o’clock in the morning, was christened by the Rev’d Doctor White: His Godfathers were General Washington and J. M. Nesbitt Esqr: His Godmother Mrs Hayfield Conyngham.

“Robert their second son was born Saturday 14th February 1784 at 2 o’clock A.M. His Godfathers were his Uncle Adam Stewart & Alexander Nesbitt, his Godmother Miss Patty McClenachan; Christened by the Rev’d Doctor White.

“Anne their third child was born in London-Derry, Ireland. July the 22nd 1786. Christened by the Rev’d Doctor Graham.

¹ The original manuscript of Sheriff Evans’s challenge is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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"Washington their eighth child was born August 24th 1796, at 2 o'clock A.M., two months and ten days after his Father's decease.

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From a Memorandum-Book.

"Married Deborah McClenachan, Oldest daughter of Blair McClenachan & Ann Darrach of Germantown, Pa. on April 11th 1781.

"Deborah McClenachan was born on June 4th 1763.

"Their Family consisted of

"1 William Stewart born Dec. 27, 1781. Lost at sea summer of 1808.

"2 Robert " " Feb. 14, 1784. Died Apr. 19th 1806 at Canton, China.

"3 Anne " " July 22, 1786. Married Philip Church.

"4 Walter " " July 6, 1787. Died 1807 at Port Alajon near Gibraltar.

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CHRISTIAN CHARLES.—The following memorandum is from the Onondaga County (New York) clerk's official transcript of early county realty records. The transcript is at Syracuse, while the original is at Auburn, New York:

"Inquire for Chriesten Charles in between Artbuckel Street and Wine Street and in Seckond Street Philadelphia. The Expence of the Trunk is Coming from Est Hampton to New York is £0.17.9 The carting in New York is 0.2.0 Crosing the ferry 0.1.0 for caring the trunk Home is £0.4.0 and 1 pint of Rum 0.1.9 £1.6.6 Andrew Charles at the corner of fourth & Taise Streets at Mathew Keely's Store."

The memorandum is undated, but seems to be of 1784 or soon after. Charles was a soldier of the Revolution and served in the First New York Regiment.

Baldwinsville, New York.

L. D. S.

PENN FAMILY RECORDS.—The Penn entries given by Mr. Lea from the Friends' Register at Devonshire House, London, in the last Magazine, have all been used in my series of articles on the Penn Family, with the exception of four (really two), and these, I think, do not belong to that family. The four referred to are the entries of burials relating

to John and Mary Penn, "of Philips Out Parish," Bristol. These are in reality but two, the entries taken from a "Supplementary Volume" being, as will be seen on inspection, duplicates of the others.

This John and Mary Penn were, of course, not children of William the Founder, and they were not, I think, children of his son, William Penn, 2d; if not, they do not belong to the Founder's family. (It may be noted that the entries from the "Supplementary Volume" suggest that William Penn the parent was living in 1728 and was dead in 1730. These facts, if the inference be correct, would not apply to William Penn, Jr., who died in 1720.)

The number of persons in England named Penn, in the period of William Penn, and his known ancestors and descendants, is, as Mr. Lea's and others' researches in the records have shown, quite extensive.

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A LIST OF THOSE WHO GOVERNED MARYLAND BEFORE IT WAS MADE A ROYAL PROVINCE (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXII. p. 98).—My attention has been called to the fact that in my "List of those who governed Maryland before it was made a Royal Province" I had overlooked the fact that the Commissioners appointed by the Parliamentary Commissioners on July 22, 1654, claimed the right to add to their numbers. Shortly after their appointment they added Captain Robert Slye to the list; on June 26, 1655, they increased it by the names of Thomas Meeres and Thomas Marsh; on August 18, 1655, they further added Michael Brooke, Robert Pott, Sampson Waring, and Woodman Stockley; before March 12, 1656/7, they had added William Parker and William Parratt, and Philip Thomas and Samuel Withers were probably chosen members at some time before March 16, 1657/8.—"Council Proceedings," Vol. I. pp. 815, 816, 817, 818, 835.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

LETTER OF JAMES LOVELL TO WILLIAM WHIPPLE.—

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 17, 1777.

"MY DEAR SIR.

"That same 'military Check' will justly rank for its Consequences with the most capital blows given to the enemy this War, which in Circumstances of Bravery it not only exceeds them but the action of any modern Campaign. It has been improved as a Stimulus in General Orders to the Continental Army in this quarter. As to the affair at Brandywine, last Thursday, I doubt whether you will ever accurately know whether Fortune alone is to be blamed, or whether Sullivan and the Chief should not share with her in the Slandering murmurs. Knowledge of the Enemy's intentions on the Right Wing of our Army was certainly wanting. Genl. Washington and some good military men, especially the highest officers, do not charge the want to Sullivan. But as he was under the Order of Congress for a Court of Enquiry as to Staten Island, the Maryland officers in his Division, the Delegates of that State, the great Burk, the Friend of St. Clair, and the connexion of Schuyler accomplished to cast such Reflections upon his want of capacity to direct a Wing of our Army in this critical Day, that a Majority after demolishing old DeBowe, effected the Resolve to recall Sullivan till his Conduct should be enquired as per former orders. Agreeable to the Prophecy of the minority, the Commander in Chief has written in the most pressing manner for a suspension of the Order of Recall which being carried, Ch——e moved that a Direction might go to put

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the Maryland Troops under some other M. Gl. which would have been in effect throwing out S——n, for the soldiers of other Divisions would be unwilling to serve under a Man discarded by the Marylanders if the Generals would consent to exchange. R——d joined & had the Delaware inserted with Maryland. But those States were the only yeas, which agreeable to modern petty Practice were booked with the Nays by the request of M——d. The foreign officers showed themselves to great advantage in the Battle. Brevets are given to Du Coudray & all his officers. He having modestly, for once, asked a Captain for himself & Lieutenants for his attendants. In crossing the Schuylkill his horse leaped out of the Boat with him, who was foolishly in the saddle, and so was drowned yesterday. Count Pulaski, who headed the Polanders, is now Commander of our Cavalry, having first signalized himself greatly in the Battle of Brandywine. Baron de Kalb, who speaks English well, and has been in Pennsylvania formerly, and who in manners and looks resembles our Chief is made a Maj. General, but I am not certain he will return having left this City on Monday for Sth. Carolina—tho' I imagine he is still at Bristol. The intention of the enemy is to gain upon our Right Wing, but, I think we are so posted as to render it impossible. The Lancaster Road must be a perfect Clay Pit, that no cannon can move in it for some days after the present heavy rain. Phil. Dickinson Gen'l of the Jersey Militia writes that 4000 of the Enemy have visited them, McDougal must join him very shortly as our Order went last Thursday. I doubt not they too will give Courland Skinner and the Tory Levies a full beating, for there cannot be above 1200 British, if there is no mistake as to 4000. We heard of only 2000 at first. Howe's whole command in America is said to be ye

16 th & 17 th Regts of Light Dragoons,	}	British.
1 Brigade of Guards,		
5 Companies of Artillery,		
9 Regt's of Foot,		
2 Battalions of Marines,		
2 Companies of Chasseurs,	}	Hessians.
18 Regt's Foot,		
1 " Artillery,		
Ships.		
50 to 28 Guns,	.	84
20 to 10 " "	.	22
Bombs	.	2
Armed vessels.	.	10

With this trifling force and some Tories he is plaguing several States. Oh Shame! But, he will not long continue to do it. I think our affairs are very favourable; among other things a fine Continental cargo from Bilboa at Boston.

“Yr affectionately,
“J. L.”

[Upon a comparison with the excessively rare British Army Lists, printed in New York and Philadelphia, three of which are in the Collection of this Society, we find this reported summary of the forces sent to quell the rebellion in America to be very nearly correct.]

HORNOR GENEALOGICAL NOTES.—Copied from an old Bible in the possession of Miss Ida McCall, Wilmington, Delaware.

Children of Isaac and Elizabeth Hornor.

Rachel	born 4 mo. 21st, 1710
Elizabeth	" 8 " 20th, 1712

Children of Isaac and Eleanor Hornor.

Samuel	born 1 mo. 3rd, 1724
Elizabeth	" 1 " 20, 1729
Benjamin and Amy (twins)	" 8 " 3rd, 1737
John	" 5 " 7th, 1718
Mary	" 10 " 26, 1724
Joseph	" 3 " 6th, 1726
Elizabeth	" 1 " 18, 1729
Isaac	" 2 " 1st, 1732
Pacilly	" 4 " 2nd, 1736
Samuel, son of Isaac (Jr?) and Mary	" 9 " 27, 1758

Mary Bryan, daughter of Andrew Bryan and Amy (Hornor?), was born March 27th, 1773, and died Aug. 28th, 1774.

Mary Sarah Catherine Bryan, daughter of same, was born Feby. 21st, 1775, and died Nov. 15th, 1776.

Elizabeth Ferris, wife of Zachariah Ferris, died 10 mo. 14th, 1784, aged 74 years and 4 mos.

LETTER OF JAMES LOGAN TO ISAAC TAYLOR, 1714/15.—

" PHILADELPHIA 18th 12mo 1714

" LOVING FRD^d IS. TAYLOR

" Upon the earnest application of Robert Hodson & James Hendricks for a Grant of Land at Conestogoe We have agreed with them for 3500 Acres in two Tracts but J Steel committed a mistake in mentioning the Indian Fields in the Warr^t for 1500 Acres when it should have been in y^e greater and accordingly it is to be survey'd. But as to those fields being all of us very unwillingly prevailed on to make the Grant. We have positively Agreed as follows viz That if the Indians are not freely willing that they shall seat on those old fields on the Creek (w^{ch} are y^e only that y^e Warr^t reaches to & neither those on y^e River nor y^e new ones wher^e the Indians are last Seated even tho' they should be willing to leave them) that part of the Warr^t is to be void, and if they please the whole It is intended also that none of P. Bizaillons Improvem^t shall be Included without his Consent to obtain w^{ch} they agree that he shall hold them if he please as many Years as may be necessary for him in that place according to his Agreem^t with me, which is assumed cannot be long. It is also Agreed that they Shall seed in the Indians corn for them without charging anything for it. All this thou art to observe when thou goes up thither & if Harry y^e Interpreter can be had I wish he could be there at y^e time. Amos Nichols has been making some Proposals to be admitted to Survey in those parts being he says well acquainted there but I would not say anything to encourage it without thy opinion of it and intire Approbation. I only told him that as thou was our fixed Surveyor we would not employ any other but if thou thought fitt thyself to lett him make any Surveys which thou wouldst own & return in thy name we might I supposed have little ag^t it w^{ch} is intirely left to thyself, for without further good reasons for it than can be yet alledged we shall not readily Grant any Commission I believe. I should

before now have taken Notice to thee that our last Law of Property being repealed the Grant of Six Acres to each hundred is void. However it must be allow'd that 'tis highly reasonable some such allowance should be made when y^e Chain is carried sharp. I always thought well of five to y^e Hundred that being the Rule in Jersey & some other places. Therefore if thou give that Measure it should have my approbation. I have never lookt into yo^r Method but think the best would be to account the Perches that make the allowance for Instance if 100 acres were to be laid out on a head line of 160 Pches y^e side Lines should be called 105 Pches cont 100 acres beside Allowance &c. This is the needful at present Save to hint that thou 'rt very sweet—drawn to Philad^a (Also y^e next honest Scott thou meets to explain y^e word) from

“Thy real well wishing fr^d
“JAMES LOGAN.”

CHESTER COUNTY POLITICS IN 1743.—

“FRIEND HUMPHREY

“I Received your Letter wherein you desired me to give you my Sentiments of the Ensuing Election, etc. I must own to you that I am more perplexed on this Occasion than I have been for Several Years past Some of our Zealous friends whose advice and Interest have been too much Observed Appear to me in different Colours from what they have Usually done in respect of Elections. To be plain with you it is intended by them to continue the Majority of the present representatives But to oppose with all their might the Election of M^r John Owen for Sheriff and to bring in one K—lin a Glazier who keeps a little Shop at Markus-hook to be—Elected for that post.

“Most Certain the Buisy friends are determined to Choose a person for Sheriff that is (or soon will be) a true Son of the C—h, who has but little regard for the Governour and who may Shew a good inclination to Select a few persons that can Oppose a Certain Interest if Occasion shall require.

“This M^r K—lin keeps Close to friends meetings and affects to be thought a Zealous Quaker and it is Suggested that when he becomes Capable of fixing his principles with relation to Religion that they will turn out on the High C—h side. He is a young man of a Small Stature and mean appearance and has no Sort of Litterature nor understanding in publik affairs. Some Gentlemen have told me that his Circumstances are bad Occasioned by an Ill Course of Shopkeeping which they Apprehend has Scarcely Supported his Table and that his relations and friends have fallen upon the expedient of making him Sheriff in hopes that by the Benefitt accruing from the Sines and misfortunes of the People he may be Capable (in the end) of doing Justice to his Creditors. Besides the Interest of those cutt and dryed friends he depends upon M^r C—d and M^r H. P—e who are men of Veracity and good parts but for Some Years past have not been distinguished at Elections for anything remarkable and upon his fr^d W. P—s who is esteemed a buisy Conceited man and regarded by but few, So that if he gains his point he may thank Some other Interests and his Stars for it.

“A Vast Number of the more Modern and Sensible Quakers as well as others seem to agree with those friends as to the greatest part of the present Assembly but to fix upon John Owen for Sheriff¹ who they say was heretofore a good officer and has Merritted much by his Constant adhering to the true Interest of the People during our late Contests and

¹ He was elected sheriff of the county October 4, 1743.

being master of a plentiful Estate is well defended against the many Temptations which poor M^r K—lin may be Lyable to. Some People also talk of M^r Joseph Bonsall for Sheriff but as that is but newly broached amongst us I cannot form a judgment of it. Good Sir this is the best general account I can give you of the present posture of our Election affairs, and as to my Self I Should incline to promote the four of the present Assembly which we mentioned when Last at Clubb with four other good honest farmers and M^r Owen and M^r Bonsall for Sheriffs, from the Small acquaintance I have had with M^r Bonsall I take him to be a Gentleman of parts and good sence and I am informed that upon the whole that he has been a good Magistrate having been only misled in a few particulars, but we must make allowance for mistakes in Judgment as well as for the Influence of great men.

"If you dislike those Sheriffs please to name some other persons who are men of good Capacity and Circumstances and I shall heartily joine you.

"But I conceive it would be a Severe reflection upon and the highest Injustice to many Gentlemen of Probity and Approved fidelity in this County (the descendants of the ancient Settlers who merritted much in their time) to be rejected and not Suffered to Serve their Countrey in a post which they are So Very Capable of Serving and to have a young raw lad Set up over them whose personal merrit (if any) has hitherto remained Incognito and who has no Claim to Such an Advancement from the merritts of his Progenitors. I Shall meet you According to appointment and am.

"UPPER DARBY
"Sep^r 20th 1743."

"Sir your very Humble

"Servant

"C. G—.

"FRIEND JOHN [TAYLOR].

"I Received Your Letter wherein you Desire me to give you my Sentiments of the Ensuing Election, &c. I must own to you that I am more perplexed on this occasion than I have been the Two preceding Years. Our Friends at the River whose advice & Intrest We have followed appear To me in a different light from what they have done during the debates with the Governour. I shall be brief and plain with You. Its intended by them to oppose with all their might the Election of T. L—y One of the present Members who has been warmly recommended to us by themselves at former Elections and now to be Turned out for no other reason but that his Intrest in the House of Assembly in a particular Instance has appeared greater than theirs and he has Obtained the vote for Trustee of the Loan Office in opposition to them. But as the Bill appointing new Trustees is not yet passed into a Law there is some hopes left for them yet, that if he can be kept out of the House the Ensuing Year upon a Bill to be brought in by the New Assembly (the Bar to their Designs being removed) they must Necessarily Succeed. As no generall opposition is Expected from the G—rs friends and the People seem easy and Settled an Attempt is to be made to bring R. B—r the Commissioner who goes out this Year into the Assembly but as that name is not yet wore smooth Enough to go down in a General way its to be used Sparingly in discourse and pushed Strongly at a proper juncture. In Short Our Don is determined to take no Company into the House with him but such as will Suit him and be Subject to his Directions and at the same Time That he's advising the People to be upon their guard against the designs of an Arbitrary Governour he's artfully drawing them into the most abject Slavery to himself and imposeth on their Understandings so as with their Own Consent to make

Them Instruments of his resentment in personal matters. But this so barefaced an Imposition on the people and the publick Intrest thereby Sacrificed to private Ambition & Avarice that it must necessarily open the eyes of the People and put them upon guarding against so dangerous a man. I cannot but look upon him in this light and Could wish that we cou'd agree upon a set of men of good plain Sense & Integrity untinged with party debates to Represent us and that We would always keep that Freedom and Right of Election which We have by Our Constitution from the Infringement or Violation of Ambitious designing men.

"Yours &c.

"R. G——.

"HEMFIELD 1st September, 1743."

MEAD.—Among the genealogies on the shelves of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania there is a pamphlet on the Meade family. This gives an account of the ancestry of Gen. George Gordon Meade. A Robert Mead or Meade, who was in Barbadoes about the year 1750, appears to have been the earliest of whom there is any positive record. Recently while Mr. Malcolm Lloyd, Jr., was in England, looking up some other matters, he came on the following bit of information. At the Registry Office, London, in "Commission and Warrant Book, No. 12," he found a Commission to Robert Mead to be third lieutenant of the galley "Mary." This was to confirm one given at Jamaica, April 5, 1729. The above book, No. 12, covers the period from 1728 to 1735. A later commission was discovered, dated November 8, 1738, for Robert Mead, who was made commander of the "Princess of Wales." This may or may not have been the same Robert Mead who was in Jamaica in 1750. At any rate it is an interesting coincidence, Barbadoes and Jamaica both being in the British West Indies, and not so many miles apart.

HOWARD WILLIAMS LLOYD.

NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, WILLS.—Mr. John Eyer-
man, of Easton, Pennsylvania, has recently presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a quarto volume of abstracts of Northampton County Wills, 1752-1802, upwards of nine hundred in number. It has been prepared with great care, is fully indexed as to names, and handsomely bound in red morocco. Perhaps the most valuable part of the collection are the eighty-six unrecorded wills, which were found in other county offices. The Society has now abstracts of wills recorded in Philadelphia County, 1682-1802; Lancaster County, 1721-1820; York County, 1749-1820; and Northampton County, 1752-1802.

TANNENBERG ORGANS.—A correspondent writes, "The Tannenberg organ built in 1801 for the Reformed Church at New Holland is still in use, and the organ built in 1769 for the Goshenhoppen Church was sold two years ago to a church in Ohio, and is still doing service."

ROBERT CHARLES, CLERK OF THE COUNCIL, TO JOHN TAYLOR, SHERIFF OF CHESTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.—

"PHILADELPHIA 8th May 1728.

"By the Governours Order I have sent the Bearer Express to you, with the inclosed Writt for Summoning the Representatives of your County to meet in Assembly at Philadelphia the 14th curr^d you are to take Notice that the Person elected in the Room of Daniel Williamson be summoned with the others, if that Election is over pray let me know who is the Person.

"The Badness of the Weather prevented me from finding any Opportunity of conveying this quickly to your hands so that I was obliged to hire this Express with whom I have agreed for ten shillings, w^{ch} you'l please pay & charge to the County as is usual in the like Cases, and acknowledge the Receipt hereof from

"Sr

"Your very humble Servant

"ROBT CHARLES.

"Sherif of Chester."

GOVERNOR SIR WILLIAM KEITH TO THE ASSEMBLY, 1724.—

"MR SPEAKER & GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY

"After the Inquiries which I have lately made, there is no Scruple remains with me ab^t the Circular Line which you insist upon for the Limits of Chester County. Wherefore in all future orders from me it shall be observed as your Boundary, and I will likewise give proper Directions as soon as I goe down to New Castle, to stop the Process complain'd of there according to your Desire.

"W. KEITH.

"Aug^m 12th 1724."

CAPTURE OF STONY POINT.—

"PHILADELPHIA 26th July 1779.

"The enclosed papers will give you the particulars of our success on Hudson's River. Gen. Wayne has gained immortal Honor by the enterprize which is by far the most Brilliant of anything of the kind that has happened this war. Perhaps History will produce very few instances like it. I observe that one of the acct^s. says that Gen. Wayne had 1200 men, but I understand from better authority that his number did not rise to 1000.

"W. WHIPPLE."

Queries.

WARNICK — GREGORY — BUCK. — George Gregory, of Gloucester County, New Jersey, was a first cousin to the following-named brothers and sisters: Rebecca, born 1787; Albert; Ann, born January 8, 1793; Francis, born March 22, 1800; and Charles Ward *Warnick*, born March 1, 1803. George Gregory and his wife were both killed in a railroad accident in New Jersey in the seventies. I would like to know the dates of their birth, marriage, and death, the maiden name of his wife, and information regarding him and his parents, with dates of their birth, marriage, and death. When the British took possession of New York, during the Revolution, the father of Mary Ann Buck, who owned a home on Bowery Lane, was obliged to leave the city. He then settled in Philadelphia. His family consisted of two boys and five girls. I desire to know his full name, the maiden name of his wife, dates of their birth, marriage, and death, the reason why he was obliged to leave New York, and any information concerning him and his parents. I would also like copies of family records of all Warnick, Gregory, and Buck families; also biographies, obituaries, narratives, and incidents that would be of interest to future generations of the family.

ALLEN R. WARNICK.

1720 Susquehanna Avenue, Philadelphia.

THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM PENN.—I desire to announce that the series of papers under this title which have been appearing in the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE* since April, 1896, and which are concluded in the present issue, will be collected as soon as possible in a volume, with the illustrations which have accompanied them in the Magazine, and others. A limited edition only is printed from the type, and it is unlikely that the work will ever be reproduced. Orders are solicited.

HOWARD M. JENKINS.

Gwynedd, Pennsylvania.

GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORIALS OF THE READING, HOWELL, YERKES, WATTS, LATHAM, AND ELKINS FAMILIES. By Josiah Granville Leach, LL.B. Philadelphia, 1898. 4to, 286 pp.

The handsome volume of memorials before us is the outgrowth of the interest of Mr. William L. Elkins, of this city, in matters of historical research and the preservation of family records, and the genealogical data which have been gathered together with so much industry, with the carefully compiled biographical sketches, are arranged with the skill for which Colonel Leach, as a genealogist, enjoys so high a reputation. Parts I. and II. of the work contain two complete genealogical records of the families of Colonel John Reading and Thomas Howell, the American founders of the family surnames, who settled in West Jersey between 1682 and 1684. Both gentlemen filled important offices of honor and trust in the Province, as have likewise many of their descendants. Next follows the memorials of the family of Anthony Yerkes, who emigrated from Germany about the year 1700, and first settled in Germantown, where he was elected a burgess of the town. A few years later the family removed to the Manor of Moreland. The Rev. Stephen Yerkes, D.D., the eminent divine and professor of Hebrew and Oriental languages; Rear-Admiral Frederick Vallette McNair, U.S.N.; and the Hon. Harman Yerkes, of the Bucks County courts, are among his descendants. Part IV. is devoted to the Rev. John Watts, second pastor of the Pennepek or Lower Dublin Baptist Church, who immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1686, and some of his descendants. Several lines of descendants of Lewis Latham, of County Bedford, England, Sergeant Falconer to Charles I., and the ancestor of many American families, are given in Part V., notably the Dungan family; the Rev. Thomas Dungan being the first Baptist minister to labor in Pennsylvania, where he died in 1688. Part VI. comprises the memorial of the Elkins family. William Elkins, the first member of the family to become a resident of Philadelphia, was born in Virginia in 1751, where his ancestor settled in 1661. In 1774 he was married, and shortly after, with his wife, became connected with the parish of Christ Church, in which his grandson William Lukens Elkins is a pew-holder. The volume is a handsome specimen of typographic art, and the illuminated title-page and the head- and tail-pieces were especially designed for it. Forty-six illustrations, comprising emblazoned coats of arms, seals, charts, portraits, *fac-similes* of important letters, family seats, and commissions, and an index carefully prepared, form a great addition to the work. A word, too, must be said in commendation of the notes that are appended to the text, for they contain full references to the original sources of information.

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SMITH'S (WINDMILL) ISLAND, 1857.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XXII.

1898.

No. 4.

THE LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA AS
EXHIBITED IN THE STATUTES-AT-LARGE.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN, CLERK OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR
THEIR PUBLICATION.

[The following article is the preface to the first volume of the Statutes-at-Large of Pennsylvania, and is here reprinted from advance sheets furnished by the courtesy of the clerk of the Commission. This great work is, from its technical nature, not likely to be referred to by the students of general history or compilers of genealogies; yet both will find in its pages a mine of useful information. It contains numerous Acts naturalizing emigrants, and granting peculiar powers to individuals, besides those general provisions usually found in such works.]

The present volume of the Statutes-at-Large of Pennsylvania, although in accordance with chronological accuracy called the first, is more than likely to be the last of the series. It was always intended that it should be so, but the causes which now produce the result were not within the purview of the Commissioners when they decided upon this course. That it should be the final volume is due simply to the failure of the Legislature to provide the funds necessary to go on with the work, the magnitude of which has far exceeded the expectations of the Commissioners. The delay

in its publication arises from two causes. First, the Commissioners were not until quite recently able to discover the text of certain temporary acts passed during the transition period of 1699–1700, which were essential to the completeness of the work, although no pains were spared in searching their natural depositories.¹ Secondly, because the general survey of the whole work, which the Commissioners deemed it their duty to prefix to it, could not be written with the requisite exactitude until, by means of their annotations to each Act as it came under their notice in its chronological sequence, they were enabled to trace as a whole the course of our legislation from its birth to its death, or to the modified form in which it still survives. The missing Acts were only recently and most unexpectedly found among the manuscripts of the American Philosophical Society, and by this discovery the Commissioners are enabled to present a complete text of our legislative enactments from the foundation of Pennsylvania by William Penn in 1682 to the rising of the Legislature in 1801, to which period the scope of their work is, by law, limited. At the same time they feel that they have just cause to call special attention to this vindication of their course in delaying the appearance of the first volume, which would otherwise have been imperfect so far as the Acts just recovered are concerned, and they also claim credit for the elaborate and exhaustive notes which have been appended to every Act as it passed under their notice. The contents of this volume being, with the exception of the Constitution of the Commonwealth now in force, purely historical and illustrative of existing legislation, it was felt by the Commissioners that no material harm could be done by suspending its publication until every chance of completing it had vanished, or all the rest of their work was done.

The legislative history of Pennsylvania presents as many and as varied phases as does the origin of her people or

¹ The Archives of the State at Harrisburg, the Penn Papers and other manuscripts in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Public Record Office in London.

their numerous forms of religious worship, and may be divided under five heads, viz. :

1. The sentimental,
2. The practical,
3. The restrictive,
4. The revolutionary, and
5. The existing.

In the first class are comprised the "Laws agreed upon in England"; in the second, the enactments made between 1683 and 1717; in the third, the laws passed from 1718 to 1775; in the fourth, those passed between 1775 and 1785; while the fifth class comprises the laws made from the last-mentioned date down to the present time, with a few survivors of the preceding classes. All these *genera* have their various species, each exhibiting different phases of development of thought and civilization. To a proper understanding of the sources of our early legislation due consideration must now be paid, not only to the environment of the people, the complexity of their origin, languages, and religious training, but to the very perceptible influence of the enactments of the older British Colonies in North America, as well as to the modifying pressure in many directions exercised by the Home Government. It may be also that some traces of Roman Law are to be found in the legislation of the first half of the present century, imported by the preponderating electoral influence of the inhabitants of German origin.

These sources of our legislation may be divided into three classes, viz. :

- I. Those conferred by the charter,
- II. Those "imported" by the first settlers,¹
- III. Those assumed as inherent.

¹ "It is the true principle of colonization that immigrants from the mother country carry with them such laws as are useful in their new situation and none other."—Roberts's *Digest*, second edition, p. xvi.

Their legislative product may be subdivided thus :

I. The statute and common law of England, so far as then existing, imported by the colonists or first settlers, together with such Acts of Parliament as might, under the royal charter, apply to Penn and his heirs.

II. The laws "imported" may be further divided thus :

- (a) The charter from the Crown,
- (b) The statute and common law as enacted and determined up to 1681,
- (c) The statute law of England, passed subsequently, which by express mention applied to Pennsylvania or to all the American dependencies of Great Britain.

III. The laws enacted by the colonists with the approval of the Proprietor or Proprietors.

- (a) The laws agreed upon in England, which seem never to have been actually in force and are supplied by
- (b) The laws made subsequently to the arrival of Penn in 1682 and prior to 1777, in which year the Assembly chosen under the provincial enactments adjourned for the last time.

IV. The laws enacted by the representatives of the people.

- (a) The ordinances of the Constitutional Convention of 1776,
- (b) The enactments made under the constitution of 1776,
- (c) The enactments made under the constitution of 1791,
- (d) The enactments made under the constitution of 1836,
- (e) The enactments made under the constitution of 1872.¹

Originally intended by its promoter as a kind of Quaker Utopia, Pennsylvania soon found the impracticability of a government by an avowedly non-combatant, but certainly not entitled to be called a non-contentious sect, and its failure should have been a foregone conclusion. To plant a numerous people in a wilderness of uncertain boundaries,

¹ This Commission is not charged with any duties as to the last two, except so far as they may affect the Acts passed prior to 1801.

whose neighbors (except on the east) were as unfriendly as differences in nationality, religion, and polity could make them, was the undertaking of a visionary more entranced than Beauchamp Plantagenet, and only escaped an equally dismal failure by reason of the inevitable growth and marvellous assimilative powers of the Anglo-Saxon race. The strip of land on the west bank of the Delaware, which for fifty years constituted the nucleus of this great Commonwealth, but for the natural advantages of its watershed and the fertility of the lands drained by it, would not more probably have afforded a permanent foothold to a community founded on the principle of non-resistance than had the opposite bank of the Delaware given to the Knights of New Albion. But the little colony, by copious draughts of blood alike alien to its founders in nationality and religion, survived, grew strong, and waxed mighty in the course of years. Theoretical, impractical, and needful of support, full of the vagaries of Locke, Harrington, Hobbes, and George Fox,—a strange blending of fanaticism and philosophy,—the Founder had sought to erect an asylum for the sect he had joined, and at the same time retrieve his own embarrassed fortune.

Before leaving his native land Penn joined in adopting the "Laws agreed upon in England," thirty-three in all, of which one was not then made public.¹ This code was more in the nature of an agreement between Penn and the first purchasers as to what laws should be enacted, than as a body of law to be immediately put in force. Most of its sections were amplified and enacted into laws known as the "great body of laws" at the first Provincial General Assembly.

The legislative process in Pennsylvania differed from that of every other American colony of Great Britain. Upon a freedom in legislative enactment, restrained only by the Governor's or Deputy Governor's negative,² was imposed

¹ This was the thirty-third section. The text of it will be found in full in this volume, where it is believed it is now for the first time printed.

² Cite the Acts of 1728 and 1767.

an absolute veto by the Crown-in-Council. Penn at one time claimed to hold a veto power over the approval of laws by his Deputy Governors, but if he ever attempted to exercise such a power it has not come under our notice, and it was certainly abandoned at a very early time. It might be a king or a queen or the "Lords Justices in Council," but the prerogative of the Crown to approve or disallow the enactments of the Pennsylvania Assembly was a charter provision which was exercised down to the Revolution. The complicated process for successful legislative action in Pennsylvania requires some explanation, and this may be briefly stated thus:

Prior to 1700 all bills were originated in the Council, assented to by the Assembly, approved by the Governor, and then allowed or disallowed by the Crown-in-Council. Under the charter of 1700 this process was so far modified that the bills originated in the Assembly, went through the approvative proceeding as above, and pending the royal action were of full force. Neglect to act by the Crown-in-Council within the period of six months, as limited by the royal charter, made the provincial Act as valid as if it had been approved, and perfectly irrepealable except by the Provincial Assembly with the assent of the Governor for the time being.

The first chapter of the great body of laws is a very liberal but possibly ambiguous declaration of faith,¹ failing as it does to recognize the divinity of Christ, the efficacy of the Holy Ghost, or to make reference of any kind to the Trinity, and placing no other restriction on forms of belief of biblical origin than the observance of Sunday and attendance at some place of religious worship wherever possible. This is followed by four Acts against profanity; then three Acts against adultery and self-pollution; next, one each against rape and bigamy; four against drinking, one of which prohibits the supplying of the Indians with spirituous liquors in trade, or even by gift. Other sumptuary enact-

¹ A declaration of this nature, but of a Trinitarian character, prescribed by Act of Parliament, was then stringently enforced in England.

ments were numerous; what were deemed riotous sports, plays, and games were strictly prohibited, and the routine of daily toil was not to be varied or interrupted except by the elements over which even the "meeting for sufferings" did not *publicly* claim entire control.

Military association, even for defence, was discouraged until the days of the "Old French War of 1745," when the Quakers had lost control of the sentiments, if not of the Legislature, of the Province. Grants for warlike purposes, it is true, were occasionally made, under pressure from the people within, combined with that of the Home Government and the ravages of foreign foes from without; and these, though not illiberal nor infrequent, were qualified by impositions upon the Proprietary estates, which caused endless delays and contentions over the production of legislation.

The Commissioners have avoided any expression of opinion as to the force of Acts not specifically repealed by internal limitation or subsequent legislation. In the notes which they have appended to each Act they have sought only to give a reference to every later Act which in any way modified the one under their consideration,—a task of no mean magnitude, as will be seen by reference to Chapter CCXXXVI., the "Crimes Act" of 1718, the note to which cites over nine hundred and sixty modifying Acts passed down to the present time and required a careful examination of every subsequent enactment, and many other notes not as voluminous, but quite as exhaustive, are not of infrequent occurrence.¹

The Colonial Governors were under heavy bonds, both to the Proprietaries and the Crown, not to assent to bills inimical to royal prerogative or to the Proprietary interests. Money had to be raised to protect the frontier, but the Proprietary estates were not to be included in the general levy. The deadlock resulting was dissolved more than once by a grant of money from the Proprietaries, but the Assembly

¹ See also Chapters CCVIII, CCLXXXIX, CCCI, and CCCVIII.

could find no other way of raising sufficient funds than by the issue of paper money. A direct tax, large enough to meet the exigencies of provincial defence, they would not vote even at the armed invasion of Philadelphia, where the Assembly sat, by the Paxton Boys. The paper-money policy went on from session to session till it culminated during the Revolutionary period in a currency whose value was at a ratio of 1700 (paper) to 1 (gold); and the notes issued under these Acts are more valuable as specimens of Colonial currency than as promises to pay on the part of "Pennsylvania Colony" or "Commonwealth."

The Provincial Assembly practised all the powers and procedure of an English House of Commons. In it alone was vested the right to originate taxation, regulate the election of its own members, and decide disputes relating thereto; it also claimed in the case of Provost Smith *et al.* the Parliamentary power to commit to jail for contempt, but this power was upon appeal denied by the King in Council. By its annual grant of a salary to the Governor it exercised an influence over him (as in the case of Denny, who was not a man of independent means) which was only offset by the penalty imposed on him in his bond to the Proprietors. The Lieutenant-Governor, as he was officially styled, was appointed by the Proprietary or Proprietaries, subject to the approval of the Crown, and was, when not a wealthy resident of the province, like Hamilton, either a broken-down military officer like Markham, Gordon, and Denny, or a soldier of fortune such as Evans and Keith.

The five volumes of the Statutes-at-Large of Pennsylvania issued up to the present time contain the full text of the laws enacted from 1682 to 1759, or from the granting of the charter to William Penn by Charles II. to the accession of George III.; whether in force, obsolete, expired, or repealed, and whether of a public or a private character. To each Act has been appended a note, which, besides giving the date of its enactment, gives also the action taken upon it by the King in Council, and a reference to every subsequent Act and proceeding which in anywise affected

its provisions. These individual notes are supplemented by a series of appendices largely made up of material obtained from the Public Record Office in London, which exhibit the causes and process by which the royal action was arrived at. In a few instances material of local origin has been deemed sufficiently important to be included.

A great difficulty in the preparation of this volume was encountered in the chirography of the principal manuscript authority for the laws from 1693 to 1699. These are preserved in a volume of one hundred and thirty pages wholly in the handwriting of Patrick Robinson the then Secretary of the Province. It is carefully and uniformly written throughout in what is known as "court hand," but time, use, and an unfortunate wetting which the volume seems to have received at some remote period have all combined to render its pages nearly illegible. It was even found necessary to call in the aid of photography in some cases to enlarge the blurred and faded pages of the original before a satisfactory reading could be had. A specimen of the text selected at random has been reproduced in *fac-simile* and is prefixed to this volume. The clerk of this Commission is not the first to find difficulty in this respect. Robinson himself when threatened with impeachment by the Assembly declared that his records were written "in unintelligible characters, which no person could read but himself, no, not an angel from heaven."¹ The clerk of this Commission, however, has done his best without making any pretension to being the latter; although he *may* have approached it, in some respects, in imitating a certain biblical character while on his probation (Job). Still another and more serious difficulty was the disappearance from the Archives of the Commonwealth of all trace of the text of certain Acts passed during the transition period of 1699 and 1700. When the Commonwealth in 1879² attempted to print part but not all of

¹ I. Votes, p. 35.

² "Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania Passed between the Years 1682 and 1700 Preceded by the Duke of York's Laws from the Year 1676 to the Year 1682. With an Appendix

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² "Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania Passed between the Years 1682 and 1700 Preceded by the Duke of York's Laws from the Year 1676 to the Year 1682. With an Appendix

demanding concessions from the Proprietors which made them double-acting in their effect. It was no more unnatural that the Assembly should expect the Proprietors to contribute to the defence of the frontiers than it was *unreasonable* to expect them to do so willingly. So long as the immigrant paid his few shillings an acre for his frontier home, why should his non-resident ground-lord care what became of him or his, particularly if the caring involved an expenditure which would have curtailed the style of living of an English county-family at home? The evenness of the sward at Stoke Pogis was of more consequence than the relief of the beleaguered block-house on the provincial frontier, and the maintenance in good order of the family coach overbalanced the importance of supply-wagons for the troops on the outlying posts.

The cacology of some of the Acts passed prior to 1710 occasionally renders them difficult to transfer from the unpunctuated manuscript rolls into anything like intelligible English sentences. Every possible care has, however, been taken to adhere strictly to the original text, except in the rejection of the archaic forms and vagaries of their orthographical idiosyncrasies, which can only be attributed to the particular clerk to whom their engrossing was intrusted, and are therefore neither necessary nor worthy of being perpetuated in print. There is in this no real departure from the original text, and the desirability of the change becomes manifest upon a comparison of the present work with the early laws of Maryland as printed in the "Archives" of that State. In these last the original text was sought to be reproduced with all the peculiarities of the original manuscript, as to spelling, capitalization, and punctuation (or the lack of it), the result being both unsightly and confusing. The orthography of the present work has been made to conform throughout to the spelling given in the latest edition of "Webster's Dictionary," with a view to give it a uniformity in this respect which it would otherwise have been impossible to have attained. Where any authority, even such a poor one as the contemporaneously printed ses-

sion laws,¹ was accessible, it has been consulted, and wherever found necessary to be used has been as closely followed as in the case of the original rolls, in the transcribing of which even manifest clerical errors have been retained. In the latter case some indication of their being so derived has been inserted. Amongst the very oldest rolls now extant are a few which through frequent handling have become worn and frayed in their folds and edges. Their defects have been supplied from the "Act Books"; these last are a series of large folio volumes begun about 1760, into which were transcribed the Acts passed before and after that date. The necessity of having recourse to them has fortunately been confined to "Book A" and the matter drawn therefrom has been carefully indicated throughout.² The collected editions of the laws issued from time to time under the authority of resolutions of the Assembly³ have not been depended upon as authoritative, as they have been found to err not only by omission, but also by commission.⁴

The printing of the laws was one of the inducements held out by Penn to William Bradford to settle in Pennsylvania and establish a printing-press in the newly founded Colony. Some color is given to this by the fact, as stated by Bradford, that Penn employed him to print the charter, etc., while he was yet at work in Sowle's office in London,⁵ but the prom-

¹ For a bibliographical list of these sessional issues see Appendix A, Section I.

² See Vol. II., Chapters LXXXVII. to CIV., where the portions thus supplied are indicated by being inclosed in brackets.

³ See Appendix, Section II.

⁴ See note to Chapter CXXXVIII. for the interpolation in the printed text of a clause which does not appear in either the original enrolment of this Act nor in the transcript entered in the "Act Book." As to the origin or object of this insertion it is now impossible to make any suggestion.

⁵ See Wallace's Address on the Two Hundredth Birthday of William Bradford, Albany, 1863, p. 50. Bradford, on examination before the Governor and Council on a charge of printing the charter without a license, said, "Printing the laws was one of the chief things Governour Penn proposed to me before I came here, yet I have forborne the same,

ise seems to have been but feebly fulfilled by the Founder's representatives. So far as is now known, Bradford got but little if any work from the provincial authorities, as he seems to have printed but one law made here, and that—the tax bill of 1693¹—not until after his removal to New York. The first attempt at printing the laws of Pennsylvania was made by Reynier Jansen in 1701,² but it was not until 1714³ that the laws were regularly published. From that time they were usually issued soon after the close of each session of the Assembly.⁴

because I have not had particular order, but if I had printed them, I do not know that I had done amiss."

¹ The only known copy is in the Charlemagne Tower Collection of American Colonial Laws, and is fully described in the catalogue, "Privately Printed for The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1890." 4to, pp. 300, which was compiled by Charles R. Hildeburn.

² "An abstract or abridgment of the Laws made and past by William Penn, absolute Proprietary and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Territories thereunto belonging, with the advice and consent of the freemen thereof in General Assembly met at Newcastle the fourteenth day of October and continued by adjournment till the twenty-seventh of November in the year 1700. Printed at Philadelphia by Reynier Jansen, 1701." Sq. 8vo. Title 1 leaf; pp. 42; Table of Contents, pp. (2).

"The only copy I have met with is imperfect, ending with page 40, but the table contains mention of no page beyond 42. It consists of brief summaries of the ninety-one laws enacted during the sitting of the Assembly." Hildeburn, "Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania," No. 79.

³ "The Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania collected into one volume by order of the Governor and Assembly of the said Province. Printed and sold by Andrew Bradford in Philadelphia, 1714." Folio.

"This is the first printed collection of the Laws of Pennsylvania, and was intended to give in full all the laws then in force, with the titles of such as were obsolete, expired, or repealed. Several Acts, and the titles of about a dozen which should have been included, are omitted. The volume is badly printed and full of typographical errors. Mr. Thomas I. Wharton, in November, 1827, bought a copy for fifteen cents, which was sold at auction in November, 1881, for \$200." Hildeburn, "Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania," No. 128.

⁴ For a collation of the sessional issues, or "Pamphlet Laws of Pennsyl-

The law-making process of Colonial times in Pennsylvania differed so materially in its detail from that of the present day as to require some explanation. It was thrice materially changed. During the first of these three periods, which covers the years 1682 to 1693, it was in accordance with the ordinary procedure of an English Parliament of that time,—that is to say, all bills were originated in the Assembly (which in a measure was the House of Commons of the Province) and were then assented to by the Governor in Council, the legislative equivalent of the House of Lords. The final approval of the Crown-in-Council to the perpetual validity of the law being as necessary in the case of an Act of the Assembly of Pennsylvania as it was to an Act of Parliament, but with a seven years' reservation as to the power of the Crown to disallow the Act of the Provincial Legislature. From 1693 to 1696, during the suspension of Penn's governing powers, all bills were originated in the Council and sent to the lower House, as the "promulgated bills" were there approved or rejected as a whole, and were then acted on by the Governor for the time being. Upon the restoration of the Province to Penn in 1697 all bills were originated in the Assembly and approved or vetoed by the Governor acting alone in his executive capacity or upon consultation with the Provincial Council, then a sort of "unportfolioed" cabinet, as the Governor saw fit. The laws of Pennsylvania required a triple action to make them effective, as does our legislation of to-day, and, as then, there still exists a fourth power which differs only in the form that its jurisdiction is appellative and not original.¹

The editors of the various "Digests" of the laws of Pennsylvania differ greatly as to what Acts are now effective, as appears in the comparison given in the appended table of

vania," see Martin's "Bench and Bar," pp. 211-218, and Sabins's "Dictionary of Books Relating to America," Vol. XIV., pp. 331-376, both of which were prepared by Charles R. Hildeburn. A still more complete collation will be found in this volume as Appendix A.

¹ The Supreme Court.

Acts held to be in force,¹ and nothing short of specific decisions by the Supreme Court or a general repealing Act will conclude these variations of opinion. The editor of one "Digest" holds that thirty Acts passed prior to 1781 are in force or partly so, all of which the editors of the other work treat as inoperative; conversely, the editors of the latter work declare that thirteen Acts held to be effective in the other "Digest" are expired, repealed, or supplied, and are conse-

¹ The following number of Acts are in force:

Passed in the Year	Brightly.	Pepper & Lewis.
1700	8	7
1701	2	0
1705	16	15
1713	5	4
1718	7	4
1721	3	6
1722	8	1
1723	0	4
1724	0	1
1725	2	1
1729	1	1
1730	3	4
1731	1	0
1749	1	0
1750	1	2
1751	2	1
1752	1	2
1756	1	0
1760	2	2
1762	2	1
1763	0	1
1764	0	1
1766	1	1
1767	1	1
1770	2	3
1771	1	4
1772	9	9
1774	1	2
1775	3	5
1777	4	4
1778	1	1
1779	2	2
1780	3	2

quently no longer operative. This Commission is not charged with the duty of deciding such points, and has carefully adhered to the citation of expressed repeals, except when the Act under consideration expired by internal limitation.

So long ago as 1742 Chief-Justice Kinsey, in editing that collection of our laws which is now commonly known as "Franklin's Laws,"¹ found it advisable to supplement the text of the enactments then in force with an appendix containing "a collection of divers Acts formerly in force within this Province, but since altered, expired, or repealed. The necessity of preserving them in print will be obvious to any one who will consider, that whatever is done by any law whilst it was in force ought to remain valid, though the law by which it was done after[wards] expires or be repealed." The need of such a collection of obsolete Acts at so early a date shows how rapid was the growth of confusion in our Colonial legislation.

¹ So called from the name of the printer, the editor's name nowhere appearing. This edition was a great improvement over its three predecessors: the "Abridgment" printed by Reynier Jansen in 1701 and the so-called "Bradford Laws" of 1714 and 1728.

(To be continued.)

THE TREASON OF BENEDICT ARNOLD, AS PRESENTED IN LETTERS OF SIR HENRY CLINTON TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

[The following letters are preserved in the State Papers Office, London.—“America and West Indies,” Vol. CXXVI.]

“NEW YORK, October 11th 1780.

“MY LORD,

“About eighteen months since I had some reason to conceive that the American Major General Arnold was desirous of quitting the Rebel Service and joining the cause of Great Britain; a secret Correspondence which I conceived to be from this Officer, which expressed a displeasure at the alliance between America and France, engaged me to pursue every means of ascertaining the Identity of the person who was thus opening himself to me, and from whom I had on every occasion received, during the whole of our Correspondence, most material Intelligence. I was not at first, however, sanguine in my ideas of General Arnold’s consequence, as he was said to be then in a sort of disgrace, had been tried before a General Court Martial, and not likely to be employed, and whatever merit this Officer might have had, his Situation, such as I understood it then to be, made himself an object of attention. I apprehended, that without Employ he might be of more use in Corresponding with me than by joining me. In the course of our communication, information was given me, that he should certainly (the person who was writing) be again employed in the American service, with an offer of surrendering himself under every possible advantage to His Majesty’s Arms. The Correspondence was continued up to July 1780 when Major General Arnold obtained the Command of all the Rebel Forts in the Highlands garrisoned with near 4000 Men, and it seemed to me by the Correspondence in question that it

was certainly that Officer who made the Offers under the description I have given.

“The getting possession of these Posts, with their Garrisons, Cannon, Stores, Vessels, Gun Boats &c &c. appeared to me an object of the highest importance which must be attended with the best consequences to His Majesty’s service, among others, that of opening the Navigation of the North River and the Communication in a certain degree with Albany, as appears by the inclosed Copy of a Letter from General Haldimand to me. The very particular situation of the Campaign at this period will mark of what great import such an event would prove. A French Fleet and a considerable land force had arrived at Rhode Island, Mr. Washington had very much augmented his Army and was drawing additional strength to it daily by every strained exertion upon the Country and the Militia of it—There was great reason from information to suppose that an attempt was intended upon New York, that Mr. Washington with his Army was to have moved upon Kingsbridge and Morristania while a Corps threatened, perhaps attacked, Staten Island, at the same time that the French would have invaded Long Island and have moved upon New York by that Inroad.

“To have pursued these Plans large Magazines of every nature must have been formed by the Rebels, and it is beyond doubt that the Principal Rebel Depot must have been made at West Point & its dependant Forts.

“From this description which I have reason to believe just, will be seen of what great consequence would be the encouraging and closing in with a Plan of such infinite effect, if carried into Execution, towards the success of the Campaign, and that it was to be pursued at every risk and at any expence.

“My Idea of putting into execution this concerted plan with General Arnold with most efficacy was to have deferred it till Mr. Washington, co-operating with the French, moved upon this place to invest it, and that the Rebel Magazines should have been collected and formed in their several De-

poco, particularly that at West Point. General Arnold surrendering himself the Forts and Garrisons at this instant of time would have given every advantage which could have been desired: Mr. Washington must have instantly retired from Kingsbridge, and the French Troops upon Long Island would have been consequently left unsupported, and probably would have fallen into our hands. The consequent advantage of so great an event, I need not explain.

- I had prepared for this serious purpose, and for the movements which would have attended upon it, every thing which my reflection could suggest as necessary upon the occasion, and there were Vessels properly manned and of a particular draught of Water ready to have improved the designed stroke to the utmost.

- The important News from South Carolina of Lord Cornwallis having defeated Mr. Gates's Army arrived here the latter end of August, and I watched the effect it might have upon Mr. Washington's Army, but he did not in the least alter his positions, or send a Man to the Southward; from whence I was led to imagine this place was still his Object, in which, indeed, I was confirmed by Intelligence from Genl. Arnold.

- At this period Sir George Rodney arrived with a Fleet at New York, which made it highly probable that Mr. Washington would lay aside all thoughts against this place: it became therefore proper for me no longer to defer the execution of a project, which, from the situation of the Rebel Army and its Chief (being absent from it) would be derived such considerable advantages, not to lose so fair an opportunity as was presented, and under so good a Mask as an Expedition to the Chesapeake, which every body imagined would of course take place—Under this form, therefore, I prepared for a movement up the North River—I laid my plan before Sir George Rodney and Lieut. Genl. Knyphausen, when Sir George with that Zeal for His Majesty's service which marks his Character, most handsomely promised to give me every Naval assistance in his power.

* It became at this instant necessary that the Secret Cor-

respond'ce under feigned names which had been so long carried on should be rendered into certainty both as to the person being Major Genl. Arnold Commanding at West Point, and, that in the manner in which he was to surrender himself, the Forts, and Troops to me, it should be so conducted under a concerted plan between us as that the King's Troops sent upon this Expedition should be under no risk of surprise or Counter Plot—And I was determined not to make the attempt but under such perfect security.

“I knew the ground on which the Forts were placed, and the contiguous Country tolerably well, having been there in 1777, and had received many hints respecting both from Genl. Arnold, but it was certainly necessary that a meeting should be held with that Officer for settling the whole of the plan: My reasons as I have described will, I take for granted, prove the propriety of such a measure on my part. General Arnold had, also, his reasons which must be so very obvious as to make it unnecessary for me to explain them.

“Many projects for a Meeting were formed and in consequence several appointments made, in all which General Arnold seemed extremely desirous that some person who had my particular confidence might be sent to him, Some Man, as he described in writing, *of his own Mensuration*.

“I had thought of a person under this immediate description who would have chearfully undertaken it, but that his peculiar situation at the time from which I could not then release him, precluded him from engaging in it—General Arnold finally insisted, that the person sent to confer with him should be the Adjutant General Major Andre, who indeed had been the person on my part who managed and carried on the secret Correspondence—A Meeting was proposed to be held at a particular place, and on neutral ground, on a fixed day and hour; the Parties accordingly were on their way to the rendezvous, but an unlucky accident prevented the conference—A Gun Boat which had been up the River falling down to the usual station very near met that in which General Arnold was, who with difficulty escaped

being taken and was in some risk of his life. This necessarily put off the matter for some days, the Correspondence was obliged to be renewed, and another appointment made to meet at the same spot as first proposed; the appointment took place tho' not exactly as intended, as appears by the narrative wch. I have the honor to transmit herewith to Your Lordship, and it proved a most unfortunate one respecting the general Plan, and a most fatal one to the Adjutant General Major Andre, who was taken prisoner, tried by a Board of Rebel General Officers, condemned by their sentence to suffer Death, which sentence was confirmed and ordered to be put into Execution upon this unhappy Gentleman by the Rebel General Washington.

"Major General Arnold received Intelligence of Major Andre's being taken just in time to allow him to make his Escape, which he did with great difficulty and danger, being pursued by land and by water.

"Thus ended this proposed plan of a project, from which I had conceived such great hopes, and from whence I imagined would be derived such great consequences.

"The particulars respecting the ill fated ending of this serious, I may say great affair, shall be detailed in a Narrative—wherein all papers and letters connected with it will be inserted.

"As this very commendable step of General Arnold's is likely to produce great and good consequences, I have thought it right to appoint him Colonel of a Regiment, with the Rank of Brigadier General of Provincial Forces. I must beg leave to refer Your Lordship to him for other particulars & Information.

"I have the honor &c.

"H. CLINTON.

"Right Honorable

"LORD GEORGE GERMAIN."

NARRATIVE.

"After a Correspondence had been maintained for some time between the Commander in Chief and Major General

Arnold, a Meeting was to be held to concert a Plan; and the Adjutant General the person fixed upon by General Arnold to meet him at Dobbs's Ferry on Monday the 11th September under the feigned Name of John Anderson.

"Major Andre, Adjutant Genl. went with a Flag of Truce according to Appointment, accompanied by Colonel Robinson; but was unhappily prevented from the Interview with General Arnold by some of our Gun Boats in the North River firing upon the Boat, in which the General was coming, and from whom he narrowly escaped.

"On Saturday the 16th Colonel Robinson by Order of the Commander in Chief went on board the Vulture Sloop of War, and proceeded up the North River to Tallers Point from whence he sent a Letter to General Putnam inclosed in one to General Arnold.

"1780. September 17. Col. Robinson to Major General Arnold.

[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 525.]

"On Tuesday the 19th a Flag of Truce from General Arnold brought the answer.

"1780. September 18. General Arnold to Col. Robinson.

[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 526.]

"This letter inclosed under Seal another to Col. Robinson, and one directed to Mr. John Anderson, both which are transmitted.

"1780. Sept. 18. General Arnold to Col. Robinson.

[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 526.]

"1780. Sept. 15 & 18. Gustavus (i.e. Genl. Arnold) to Major Andre.

[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. pp. 527, 528.]

"On Receipt of this Letter the Commander in Chief agreed to Major Andre's going to Dobbs's Ferry with a Flag of Truce. For which purpose Major Andre wrote to Capt. Sutherland of the Vulture & Colonel Robinson to fall down the River to that place.

"Thus far the Transaction was carried on with the knowledge of the Commander in Chief; who, before Major Andre's Departure gave him every caution that prudence suggested, not to change his Dress as proposed by General Arnold, but to wear his Uniform, and on no account to take papers.

"On the 21st the Commander in Chief received the two following letters from Major Andre.

"1780. September 21. John Andre to Sir H. Clinton.
[Printed in Sargent's "André," p. 277.]

"1780. September 21. John Andre to Sir H. Clinton.
[Printed in Sargent's "André," p. 278.]

"On the 21st a Flag of Truce from General Arnold arrived at the Vulture. The Flag bearer was Mr. Joshua Smith, who produced two papers signed B. Arnold, one authorizing him to go with a Flag and two Servants for the purpose of forwarding two Letters to New York, and the other to bring up a Mr. John Anderson and a Boy. Mr. Smith delivered at the same time this Letter to Col. Robinson.

"1780. September 21. B. Arnold to Col. Robinson.
[Printed in Sargent's "André," p. 284.]

"Colonel Robinson not being named in the Flag did not attend Major Andre.

"It being determined that Major Andre alone should go with Mr. Smith, and found that there were only two Men to row a very large Boat; it was proposed that one of the Vulture's Boats should go armed to tow them, but this was objected to strongly by Mr. Smith and Major Andre, as not consistent with the Character of a Flag of Truce.

"Major Andre went on Shore without changing his Dress, and he declared to Colonel Robinson & Captain Sutherland, that he dared not do it, as he had received the Commander in Chief's positive Order to the Contrary. It was understood from Mr. Smith that General Arnold would meet the Flag on her return to the landing at Haverstraw with a

spare Horse, & thence to repair to Mr. Smith's house at a few miles from the shore.

"After parting from the Vulture Major Andre met General Arnold, as the sequel will show, who dispatched him back by land under his Pass, and in a Dress assumed by his order. The circumstances of Major Andre's being taken are pointed out in the following letters from Lieut. Col. Jameson to General Arnold & Lieut. Allen.

"1780. September 23. Lt. Col. Jameson to Major Genl. Arnold.

[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 530.]

"1780. September 23. Lt. Col. Jameson to Lt. Allen.

[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 530.]

"On Monday the 25th of September General Arnold arrived on board the Vulture. And Col. Robinson, now become first acquainted with Major Andre's being made a Prisoner, wrote to General Washington demanding him as Adjutant General to the British Forces in America, who had gone under the sanction of a Flag of Truce to General Arnold; to which no answer was returned.

"September 26th General Arnold and Colonel Robinson arrived at New York and reported the circumstances to the Commander in Chief. Sir Henry Clinton immediately wrote to Genl. Washington demanding the Restoration of his Adjutant General & inclosed General Arnold's letter to him upon the subject as follows.

"1780. September 26. N. York, Genl. Arnold to Sir H. Clinton.

[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 534.]

"1780. September 26. H. Clinton to General Washington.

[Printed in Sargent's "André," p. 343.]

"On the 30th of September the Commander in Chief received the following letters from General Washington and Major Andre.

"1780. September 29. Major Andre to Sir H. Clinton.

[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 537.]

"1780. September 30. Genl. Washington to Sir H. Clinton.

[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 538.]

"It appearing from the above letter that the Board of General Officers had not been informed of the whole circumstances necessary to enable them to form a just opinion of Major Andre's conduct; Sir Henry Clinton thought proper to call a Council of General Officers, assisted by several of the Gentlemen of the Council to the Commission, to whose consideration he submitted General Washington's Letter.

"After which he resolved that Lieutenant General Robertson with Mr. Elliot the Lieut. Gov. and Mr. Smith the Chief Justice of New York, should proceed to one of the Enemy's Posts, furnished with the necessary Evidence for ascertaining Major Andre's Innocence of being a Spy, and clearing doubts upon a question, in which humanity appeared to be so much concerned. The intention and Purport of this Deputation was immediately communicated to General Washington by the following Letter, which was dispatched by the Return of the Flag that brought his of the 30th.

"1780. September 30. Sir Henry Clinton to Genl. Washington.

[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 539.]

"Accordingly Those Gentlemen attended by Colonel Robinson & the proofs mentioned were off Dobbs's Ferry, within four Miles of the Rebel Camp, the next day. But General Robertson only was permitted to land there, where he met General Green, who was sent thither for that purpose. The Purport of their conversation is related in the following letter from General Robertson to the Commander in chief.

"1780. October 1. General Robertson to Sir H. Clinton.

[Printed in Sargent's "André," p. 378.]

"The Gentlemen in anxious expectation of a favorable Answer from General Washington, continued off the Ferry until the next day, on the morning of which the following short Note only came from General Green.

"1780. October 2. General Green to General Robertson.
[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 541.]

"Upon Receipt of this, General Robertson dispatched a full state of the Case immediately to General Washington; & inclosed a Letter to him from Genl. Arnold, justifying the whole of Major Andre's Proceedings, as originating entirely from himself, whilst he commanded in the District where he landed.

"1780. October 2. General Robertson to Genl. Washington.
[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 541.]

"1780. October 1. General Arnold to Genl. Washington.
[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 541.]

"After dispatching these to Mr. Washington, General Robertson left the Ferry about noon, and returned to N. York.

"The Commander in Chief being uneasy at not receiving any answer from Genl. Washington to General Robertson's last Letter, prepared the following one, which was to be accompanied with Captain Sutherland's Narrative of what he knew of the transaction.

"1780. October 4. H. Clinton to Genl. Washington.
[Printed in Sargent's "André," p. 385.]

"1780. October 5. A. Sutherland to Sir Henry Clinton.
[Printed in Sargent's "André," p. 387.]

"But the forwarding these Letters was stopt by the arrival of Major Andre's servant and Baggage, with the News of his Master's having been executed in the Midst of the Rebel Army at Tappaan on the 2d October at Noon. In

consequence of which the Commander in Chief issued the following Orders to the Army.

"1780. October 8.

[Printed in Sargent's "André," p. 404.]

"On the evening of the 8th of October the following letter was received from General Washington which was answered by the Commander in Chief the next day.

"1780. October 6. General Washington to Sir Henry Clinton.

[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 234.]

"1780. October 9. Sir Henry Clinton to General Washington.

[Printed in Sparks's "Washington," Vol. VII. p. 552.]

"NEW YORK, 12th October, 1780.

"MY LORD,

"The unexpected and melancholly Turn which my Negotiation with General Arnold took with respect to my Adjutant General, has filled my mind with the deepest concern. He was an active, intelligent, and useful Officer, and a young Gentleman of the most promising Hopes. Therefore, as he has unfortunately fallen a Sacrifice to his great Zeal for the King's Service, I judged it right to consent to his Wish, intimated in his Letter to me of the 29th September, of which I have the Honor to inclose your Lordship a Copy, that his Company which he purchased, may be sold for the Benefit of his Mother and Sisters.

"But I trust, my Lord, that your Lordship will think Major Andre's Misfortune still calls for some further support to his Family. And I beg leave to make it my humble Request, that you will have the Goodness to recommend them in the strongest Manner to the King for some beneficial and distinguishing Mark of his Maj'ty's Favor. I have the honor &c.

"H. CLINTON.

"Right Honorable

"LORD GEORGE GERMAIN."

"NEW YORK, October 12th 1780.

"MY LORD,

"In my separate Letter of yesterday's date I had the honor of informing your Lordship, that the American Major General Arnold had quitted the Rebel service and joined the King's standard; and I at the same time gave your Lordship a Circumstantial detail of the reasons that induced him to take this step, as well as of the unfortunate failure of a Plan which I had the most sanguine hopes, if carried into execution, would have been productive of the greatest good consequences to His Majesty's Service, but which terminated most fatally for Major Andre, my Adjutant General, who being taken Prisoner, was tried by a Board of Rebel General Officers, and condemned by their Sentence to suffer Death, which Sentence was ordered by the Rebel General Washington to be carried into Execution upon this unhappy Gentleman on the 2d Instant. I sincerely lament the melancholy fate of this Officer, who was a very valuable assistant to me, and promised to be an honor to his Country, as well as an ornament to his profession.

"I had the honor to transmit to Your Lordship in my Dispatch, marked 104, a Copy of the Instructions I proposed giving to Major General Leslie, whom I had appointed to Command the Expedition to Chesapeak, in order that your Lordship might be informed as to the principal objects of it.

"This Expedition will certainly sail the first favorable Wind, the Troops having been embarked for some days, and every necessary arrangement made for that purpose.

"Your Lordship will receive herewith a State of the Troops under my Command of the 1st Instant, together with a Distribution of the same as they stood on the 6th of that Month.

"I have the honor &c.

"H. CLINTON.

"Right Honorable

"LORD GEORGE GERMAIN."

" Secret.

" NEW YORK, October 30th 1780.

" MY LORD,

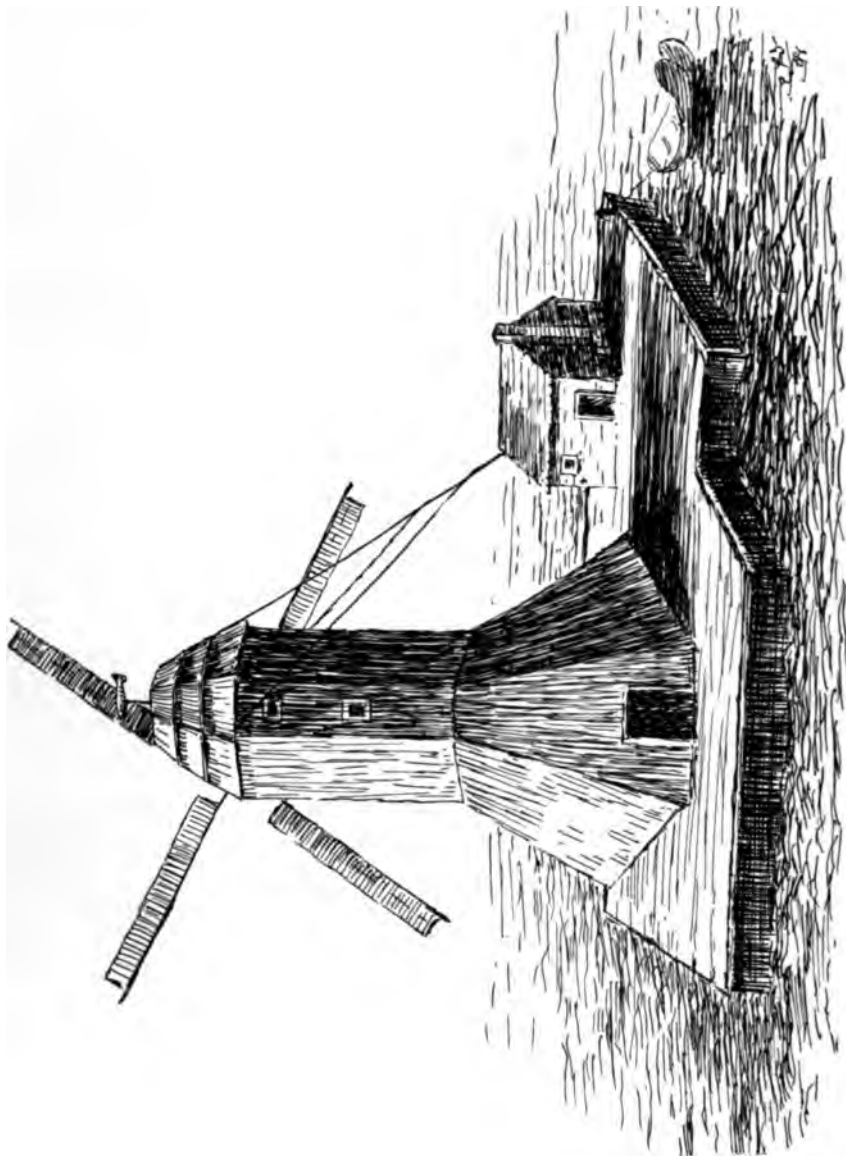
" My separate Letter of the 11th Instant will have informed your Lordship of my Treaty with Maj. General Arnold. We have not, I confess, derived from it the very great advantages I expected. The Plan unfortunately miscarried, and I have paid to that officer the sum of £6,315 Ster., as a Compensation for the losses he informs me he has sustained by coming over to us, which may in consequence appear large, but your Lordship having intimated to me, in your secret letter of the 27th September 1779, that the gaining over some of the most respectable Members of the Congress, or Officers of Influence and Reputation among their troops, would, next to the destruction of Washington's army, be the speediest means of subduing the rebellion and restoring the Tranquility of America, I was encouraged to make the attempt, and I make no doubt, that this Expense, as Your Lordship has been pleased to observe, will be cheerfully submitted to.

" I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

" Your Lordship's most obedient and

" most humble Servant

" H. CLINTON."



HARDING AND SON'S MILL, WINDMILL ISLAND.
FROM HEAP & SOULL'S EAST PROSPECT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1794.

BRIEF OF TITLE TO WINDMILL OR SMITH'S
ISLAND IN THE RIVER DELAWARE.

BY R. RUNDLE SMITH, ESQ.

[To carry out the recent improvements to the harbor of Philadelphia it became necessary to remove that ancient landmark in the Delaware River opposite to the city, Windmill, or more popularly known in later years, Smith's Island. On Holmes's map of 1682 its site is marked as a shoal, but in the course of two centuries, by the accumulation of sand, silt, and refuse, it had grown to be an island, enclosed with bulkheads.

In 1746 Harding & Son built a wharf and erected a windmill and a small house. The mill was hexagonal in shape, much larger at the base and gradually sloping smaller to the middle of its height, and then rising straight above, to the curious hexagonal cap of three tiers and an ornamental top-piece. The mill and building occupied the whole of the small island and was stayed by ropes to the wharf. For some years grain was carried to the mill on horseback, at low tide, by following the sand-bar which had formed between Cooper's Ferry and the north end of the island. The enterprise was an unfortunate one for the Hardings, for the father soon died and the son sold their interest to George Allen, a shipwright, and he sold to William Brown, who purchased a lease on the island in 1759 from the Proprietaries for ninety-nine years, at one shilling sterling per annum, which was confirmed to him in 1761 by Governor James Hamilton. A ferry was maintained for some time with the city, and in 1826 the northern part of the island was used as a bathing resort, kept by one Coglan, but the tenure of the Smith family was the longest in its history. In 1838 a canal was cut through the island to shorten the route for the transit of ferry-boats running between Philadelphia and Camden. In addition to the island being used for milling purposes and as a bathing and amusement resort, it has been the place of execution of some convicted pirates and murderers. The Brief of Title to the island which follows was prepared some years ago by Mr. Smith, and we believe the present time to be especially propitious for its publication.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

Letters Patent.—Charles Second to his brother ^{1663, March 12.}
James, Duke of York, grants in fee all that part
of the main land of New England, beginning

424 *Brief of Title to Windmill or Smith's Island.*

Leaming & Spicer's Laws of New Jersey, pp. 8 to 8, &c. at St. Croix, &c. Also Matowacks, or Long Island, together also with Hudson's river, and all the lands from the west side of the Connecticut to the east side of Delaware bay, with all the islands, rivers, waters, fishings, and all other royalties to the said islands, lands and premises belonging.

Breviate, p. 37.

1664, June 23 and 24. *Deed.*—James, Duke of York, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, recites the previous grant, and conveys to them the territory now known as New Jersey—bounded on the east partly by the main sea, and partly by Hudson's river; and hath upon the west Delaware bay or river, with all rivers, fishings, and all other royalties, &c., thereto belonging as fully as the Duke himself had them.

Laws of New Jersey, pp. 8 to 11.

1674, June 29. *Letters Patent.*—Charles Second to James, Duke of York, again grants by the same description as before.

Deed.—The Duke of York to Edward Byllinge, William Penn, G. Lawrie, N. Lucas, John Eldridge and Edward Warner.

Laws of New Jersey, p. 412.

1676, March 1 and 2. *Lease and Release.*—Edward Byllinge and others, Trustees for the Proprietors of New Jersey, convey to William Roydon and Messrs. Ogle & Lax, one propriety to hold equally as tenants in common in fee.

Recorded in Liber M. of Deeds, page 29 to 41.

Recorded in Secretary's office, Trenton.

1678, August 20. *Warrant* from E. Byllinge and William Penn to the Commissioners, to convey to Roydon, Ogle & Lax.

Recorded in Liber B. No. 1 of Deeds, page 14.

Recorded in Secretary's office, Trenton.

Survey to said William Roydon, in pursuance of said grant, of Islands and other lands, containing four hundred and fifty acres. 1681, Sept. 20.
Recorded in Secretary's office, Trenton. Recorded in Revel's book of Surveys, p. 96.

Survey to said William Roydon, in pursuance of said grant, of land and Sedge Island, &c., containing five hundred acres. 1682, Sept. 20.
Recorded in Secretary's office, Trenton. Revel's Surveys, p. 33.

Will of William Roydon devises all his lands in West New Jersey (including said Islands) to his brother, Robert Roydon, and his heirs. 1692, May 20.
Recited hereinafter.

Robert Roydon died intestate and without issue, and the same vested in his brother Lionel Roydon, as heir-at-law. Recited.

Lionel Roydon died intestate, and the same descended to his son Lionel, (second). Recited.

Lionel Roydon (second) died intestate, and the same descended to his son Lionel, (third). Recited.

Will of Lionel Roydon (third) devises the same in general terms to his youngest brother, Daniel Roydon. 1770, June 2.
Recited

Letter of Attorney.—Daniel Roydon to John Lee, authorizing him to sell any of his real estate, &c., and to obtain warrants to locate and settle lands, &c. 1777, May 15.

Acknowledged June 10, 1777.
Recorded in Secretary's office, Trenton. Recorded in Book A. K. of Deeds, p. 482.

Warrant granted to John Lee, under the authority of Daniel Roydon's *Letter of Attorney*, 1778, Nov. 4.
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Recorded in Lib. U., fol. 46. upon his application to the Council of Proprietors of West New Jersey, for resurveying the lands of Daniel Roydon. *In pursuance* whereof, the Windmill Island and Sandbar were resurveyed to said Daniel Roydon, as by *return of survey*, dated March 18, 1779, and the Surveyor General's *certificate* thereof *inspected* and *approved* by the Council of Proprietors, and ordered to be recorded August 3, 1786.

(Exemp. prod.)

Recorded in Surveyor General's office,
Burlington.

Description from Survey, as returned for Roydon's.

" All that Island and Sandbar, situate in the
" river Delaware, opposite to Philadelphia; be-
" ginning at a stake, for a station, standing on
" the sandbar, from whence William Brown's
" old windmill stood, bears a course south two
" degrees, west, distant about five chains, and
" from which station the middle of the Draw-
" bridge, in the city of Philadelphia, bears a
" course north seventy-nine degrees west, and
" from which station the steeple of the Old
" English Church bears a course north thirty-one
" degrees, west, distant about forty-eight chains
" and seventy links, and from which station, the
" south chimney in Joshua Cooper's house bears
" a course south eighty-seven degrees, east, dis-
" tant about fifty-two chains; thence from said
" station, due west, seven chains, into the main
" ship channel, for the beginning corner of this
" resurvey; thence down said channel the several
" courses—the general course being about south
" thirteen degrees fifteen minutes, east seventy-
" nine chains to the lower end of the island,
" eelott and sandbar—thence up the east side of
" the same, bounding by low water-mark nearly
" the following courses, (2d,) north two degrees

“and thirty minutes, west seventy-four chains,
“thence (3d,) north forty-three degrees, west
“four chains and sixty-six links, thence (4th,)
“north twenty-nine degrees, east fifty-seven
“chains, thence (5th,) north eleven degrees
“thirty minutes, east fifteen chains, to a stake
“at low water mark, thence (6th,) north eighty-
“one degrees, east twenty chains to the land of
“Joseph Cooper, thence along the same (7th,)
“north fourteen degrees, east three chains and
“fifty links, thence (8th,) eighty-three degrees,
“west twenty-eight chains to the said main ship
“channel, thence (9th,) bounding down the same
“the several courses, the general course being
“about south twenty-five degrees and fifteen
“minutes, west eighty-three chains to the end
“of the aforesaid west course and place of be-
“ginning; containing one hundred and sixty
“acres of land, beside the usual allowance for
“highways.”

In the Surveyor General's certificate, the foregoing title of Daniel Roydon is deduced from William Roydon, as hereinbefore given; and it is also certified that, as William Roydon had conveyed to Zachariah Whitpain on the twenty-sixth day of fourth month, (June,) 1688, three hundred acres, (part of his survey of four hundred and fifty acres,) being that part that lies on the main land, there remained a balance of that survey of one hundred and *fifty* acres; and as the resurvey to Daniel Roydon contains one hundred and *sixty* acres, and allowance, being an overplus of ten acres in the island, not covered by rights, there was appropriated for securing the ten acres, a like quantity of unlocated lands for the use of the said Daniel Royden, as a part of four hundred and sixteen acres and two-

thirds of an acre, which John Lee held by virtue of a deed from Abraham Hewlings and Thomas Jones, dated May 24th, 1779, and part of fourteen thousand one hundred and forty-two acres that Abraham Hewlings and Thomas Jones became seized of, in right of a deed from William Smith, dated May 22, 1779, being part of William Smith's warrant for the location of thirty-seven thousand five hundred acres, dated November 4, 1788.

1781. Oct. 5th and 6th. *Lease and Release.*—Daniel Roydon by his attorney, John Lee, to John Mason, in fee.

1781. Oct. 10th and 11th. *Lease and Release.*—John Mason to Thomas Proctor, in fee.

1785. Jan. 22d. Recorded in Liber A. S. of Deeds, p. 227, &c. *Release.*—Mary Thompson, (widow,) daughter and heir-at-law, of Daniel Roydon, to John Lee.
Recorded in Secretary's Office, Trenton.

1786. May 25th and 26th. *Lease and Release.*—Thomas Proctor to John Lee.

1765, Oct. 1st. *Warrant.*—Granted by the Council of Proprietors of the western division of New Jersey, to Abraham Hewlings and William Hewlings. *In pursuance* whereof, there was surveyed to them, in equal shares, all those islands, flat, and sandbar, lying in the river Delaware, between the city of Philadelphia and the lands of the Cooper's, as by *return of survey*, dated Oct. 31, 1765, *inspected and approved* by the Council of Proprietors, and ordered to be recorded same day.

Recorded in Lib. N. of Surveys, folio 144, &c.

(Exemp. prod.)

Recorded in Surveyor General's office, Burlington.

Deed.—Abraham Hewlings and William Hewlings to Thomas Rodman, Joseph Hollingshead, Daniel Smith, Jr., John Monroe, John Hinchman, Samuel Clement, Samuel Blackwood and Daniel Offley, convey to each one-tenth of island and sandbar.

1765, Oct. 21st.
Recorded in Lib. U., p. 438.

Acknowledged October 31, 1765.
Recorded in Secretary's office, Trenton.

Will of William Hewlings, wherein he devises his one-tenth of the premises to his son, William Hewlings.

1783, August 10.
Registered in Liber 25 of Wills, folio 66.

Deed.—William Hewlings (the son) to Richard Wells, in fee, conveys his one-tenth of the premises.

1785, April 14.

Acknowledged April 15, 1785.
Proved September 15, 1823.
Recorded September 19, 1827.

Recorded in Deed Book, G. W. R., 16, p. 755.

Will of Samuel Clement, wherein he directs his executors to sell and convey his one-tenth of the premises, &c.

1784, September.

Deed.—Abel Clement and Beulah Clement, executors of Samuel Clement, in pursuance of the will, to John Lee, convey one-tenth of the premises.

1785, June 24.

Proved September 24, 1823.
Recorded September 19, 1827.

Recorded in Deed Book, G. W. R., 16, p. 756.

Deed.—Joseph Hollingshead, to Richard Wells, conveys his one-tenth of the premises, &c.

1783, March 18.

Proved September 15, 1823.
Recorded September 19, 1827.

Recorded in Deed Book, G. W. R., 16, p. 758.

Deed.—John Hinchman, to Richard Wells, conveys his one-tenth of the premises, &c.

1785, May 24.

Proved September 15, 1823.
Recorded September 19, 1827.

Recorded in Deed Book, G. W. R., 16, p. 757.

430 *Brief of Title to Windmill or Smith's Island.*

1785, June 3d. *Deed.*—Thomas Rodman, to John Lee, conveys his one-tenth of the premises, &c.

Recorded in
Deed Book, G.
W. R., 16, p. 762.

Proved September 15, 1823.

Recorded September 19, 1827.

1785, June 3d. *Deed.*—John Monroe, to John Lee, conveys his one-tenth of the premises, &c.

Recorded in
Deed Book, G.
W. R., 16, p. 760.

Proved September 15, 1823.

Recorded September 19, 1827.

1785, June 3d. *Deed.*—Abraham Hewlings, to John Lee, conveys his one-tenth of the premises, &c.

Recorded in
Deed Book, G.
W. R., 16, p. 758.

Proved September 15, 1823.

Recorded September 19, 1827.

Samuel Blackwood having died, his share vested in John Blackwood, his son, and heir-at-law.

1785, June 24. *Deed.*—John Blackwood, son, and heir-at-law of Samuel Blackwood, to John Lee, conveys his one-tenth of the premises, &c.

Recorded in
Deed Book, G.
W. R., 16, p. 764.

Proved September 15, 1823.

Recorded September 19, 1827.

So that *John Lee* thus became entitled to the *whole* of the premises under the survey to William Roydon, and to *five-tenths* of the premises under the survey to Abraham Hewlings and William Hewlings.

Richard Wells was entitled to *three-tenths* of the whole; Daniel Offley to *one-tenth* of the same, and Daniel Smith, Jr., to the remaining *one-tenth* thereof, all under the survey to Abraham and William Hewlings.

1790, July 1st. *Deed.*—John Lee and wife to Richard Wells, Daniel Offley and Miers Fisher, of Philadelphia, and Daniel Smith, of Burlington, convey the

whole of the Island and sandbar in fee, to hold *five-tenths* to Richard Wells, *three-tenths* to Miers Fisher, *one-tenth* to Daniel Offley, and the remaining *one-tenth* to Daniel Smith; reciting Roydon and Hewlings' surveys, &c.

Recorded in
Deed Book, G.
W. R., 16, p. 768.

Acknowledged July 1, 1790.

Recorded September 19, 1827.

Deed.—Richard Wells to Gideon Hill Wells.

Assignment.—Gideon Hill Wells to John Dorsey and Archibald McCall, for the benefit of creditors.

Deed.—John Dorsey and Archibald McCall, Assignees of the estate of Gideon Hill Wells, a bankrupt, to James Stokes, convey five-tenths of the island, &c., reciting survey to Roydon and Hewlings, &c.

1803, May 16.
Recorded in
Deed Book, E.
F., No. 11, p.
768.

Acknowledged May 18, 1803.

Recorded at Philadelphia, May 24, 1803.

Recorded at Burlington, September 28,
1803, in the Clerk's office, in Book M.,
p. 294.

So that the premises now became vested, *five-tenths* in James Stokes, *three-tenths* in Miers Fisher, *one-tenth* in Daniel Offley, and *one-tenth* in Daniel Smith.

Daniel Offley died intestate, leaving a widow, Ann, and four children, David, John B., Rachel and Mary, in whom his *one-tenth* vested.

Will of Daniel Smith, of Burlington, appoints Joshua R. Smith, Daniel Smith, Robert Smith, and John D. Smith, Executors, &c., with power to sell and convey his *one-tenth* of the Island, &c.

1797, Dec. 28.

432 *Brief of Title to Windmill or Smith's Island.*

1817, June 6.

Lease.—James Stokes, of Germantown, Miers Fisher, of Ury, in Philadelphia county, Ann Offley, David Offley, John B. Offley, Josiah Tatum and Rachel his wife, and Mary Offley, the widow and heirs of Daniel Offley, late of
(Produced.) city of Philadelphia, by their attorney, Miers Fisher; Joshua R. Smith, Daniel Smith, Robert Smith, and John D. Smith, Executors, &c., of Daniel Smith, late of Burlington, by their attorney, Miers Fisher, (proprietors of the Islands and Islets in the Delaware, extending from about opposite Spruce street, in the city of Philadelphia, northward and northeastward to the point called Cooper's Point, in New Jersey, opposite to Kensington, heretofore called Windmill Island, and latterly the Sandbar,) to John Smith lets to him part of the Sedge Island, two hundred feet in breadth, &c., for the term of ten years, with a proviso for the purchase of the same at any time during the term, upon three months notice in writing to James Stokes, &c.

Not recorded.

1818, Sept. 11.

Deed.—James Stokes to Edward Sharp, conveys in fee, *five-tenths* of the Island, &c., subject to lease to John Smith, for two hundred feet, &c.

Recorded in
Deed Book, G.
W. R., 16, p. 770.

Acknowledged October 5, 1818.

Recorded September 19, 1827.

1818, Oct. 19.

Deed.—Joshua R. Smith and others, Executors, &c., of Daniel Smith to Edward Sharp, convey *one-tenth* of the premises, &c.

Recorded in
Deed Book, G.
W. R., 16, p. 774.

Acknowledged October 19 and 21, 1818.

Recorded September 19, 1827.

Deed.—Miers Fisher to Edward Sharp, conveys *three-tenths*.

Deed.—Ann Offley, Josiah Tatum, and Rachel, 1818, Sept. 26.
his wife, and Mary Offley, to Edward Sharp,
convey all their interest, &c.

Acknowledged January 26, 1819.

Recorded September 19, 1827.

Recorded in
Deed Book, G.
W. R., 16, p. 772.

Deed.—John A. Offley, to Joseph M. Bispham, 1818, Aug. 17.
conveys *one-fifth* of one-tenth of all those islands
or sandbar, lying and being in the river Dela-
ware, opposite the city and liberties of Phila-
delphia, on the east side of the Pennsylvania
channel, beginning at the north end of Wind-
mill Island, between the lines of Spruce and
Pine streets, in the city, and running north-
wardly, along the east side of said channel, to
Cooper's Point, including all that island, or bar,
on which John Smith has erected a wharf and
sundry other improvements, and also all the
other sandbars extending northwardly along said
channel to Cooper's Point, which may be seen
by sundry surveys.

Recorded in
Deed Book, G.
W. R., 19, p. 7.

Deed.—Joseph M. Bispham and wife, to Edward 1818, Oct. 22.
Sharp, convey his one fifth of one-tenth, &c.

Acknowledged October 22, 1818.

Recorded at Philadelphia, September 19,
1827.

G. W. R., 16, p.
777. Liber C. C.,
folio 362.

Recorded in Surveyor General's office,
Burlington.

Deed Poll.—Thomas Truxton, Sheriff, to Ed- 1819, August 2.
ward Sharp, convey twelve hundred feet in
breadth, and also one hundred feet. By pro-
ceedings in partition among the heirs of George
Goodwyn.

Deed Book C., p.
41, Dist. Court.

Acknowledged November 9, 1819.

Deed.—Edward Sharp and wife, to Jacob 1820, Decem. 14.
Stern Thompson and Elias Deacow Woodruff,

convey the island and sandbar, in the river Delaware, opposite the city and liberties of Philadelphia, called the Windmill Island and sandbar, in trust, to convey, to the Pennsylvania and New Jersey Communication Company, a site for a bridge, and to pay off a promissory note to John McCollister, of Tennessee, &c.

Recorded in
Deed Book, I.
W., No. 5, p.
692.

Acknowledged December 15, 1820.

Recorded at Philadelphia, January 11,
1821.

1823, Dec. 1.

Deed Book D.,
p. 178, District
Court.

Deed Poll.—John Douglass, Sheriff, to Jacob S. Thompson, conveys all the right, title and interest of Edward Sharp in seven equal undivided tenth-parts of island, &c.

1824, June 10.

Deed Book D., p.
278, Dist. Court.

Deed Poll.—John Douglass, Sheriff, to Jacob S. Thompson, conveys

1827. Feb. 19th.

(Produced.)

Notice.—John Smith to James Stokes, according to the proviso in the Lease, that he is ready to pay the purchase money, and requiring a deed.

1827, Sept. 15th.

Recorded in
Deed Book, G.
W. R., No. 16,
p. 750.

Deed.—Jacob S. Thompson, of Sussex county, New Jersey, to John Smith, conveys the premises mentioned in the lease, except *two-fifths* of one-tenth, &c.

Acknowledged September 15, 1827.

(Produced.)

Recorded September 19, 1827, at Philadelphia.

John Smith died intestate, leaving a widow Ann, and six children, to wit, John, Thomas G., Robert W., Ann Jane, Elizabeth M., and James G. Smith, in whom all his estate vested.

1840. April 15.

Deed.—Ann Smith, (widow,) Ann Jane Smith, Joseph McMackin, and Elizabeth M., his wife,

(late Elizabeth M. Smith,) and James G. Smith, a minor, to John Smith, Thomas G. Smith, and Robert W. Smith, convey the premises above described, and all their interest in the whole of the island and flats.

Acknowledged April 15, 1840.

(Produced.)

Deed.—John Smith and Wife to Thomas G. Smith and Robert W. Smith, convey one-third of the premises above described, and also all their interest in the whole of the island and flats.

1846. June 26.

Recorded in
Deed Book, A.
W. M., No. 12,
p. 286.

Acknowledged June 26, 1846.

Recorded June 27, 1846.

(Produced.)

Deed endorsed on second preceding deed.—James G. Smith, having attained full age, to Thomas G. Smith and Robert W. Smith ratifies and confirms the conveyance by his Guardian, made April 15, 1840.

1846. Dec. 21st.

Acknowledged December 21, 1846.

(Produced.)

WASHINGTON AND "CENTINEL X."

BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

[That Washington was in late life sensitive to attacks from anonymous writers in the press is well known, and a rather theatrical account of his rage on one such occasion has come from no less a witness than Jefferson. This sensitiveness was no late development, but is to be met with when Washington was the colonel of the Virginia regiment in 1756. The small body of men then collected for the defence of the colony's frontiers must have been of a stuff to try the temper of the young commander. Enjoying small pay, stationed in a wilderness, expected to cover a territory which could not have been covered by three times their numbers, and subject to little attention from the Governor and Burgesses, it is not strange to find complaints upon the score of discipline as well as on the failure of the troops to do all that was expected of them. Rumors of drunkenness and immorality, of gross neglect of duty, and of a general disregard of military propriety became common, and finally attracted the attention of the Governor. No blame was attached to Washington personally, but he was informed of the rising complaints and admonished. Finally the criticisms culminated in an anonymous communication to the *Virginia Gazette*, signed "Centinel X," and Washington was so touched that he proposed to resign. His leading officers threatened to throw up their commissions, and were only restrained by the soothing promises of the Governor and Burgesses to make a public declaration of confidence in them.

I was unable for many years to discover a copy of "Centinel X," as the *Virginia Gazette* is very rarely found in our collections, and only a few volumes exist in the Virginia State Library. Fortunately, the article was copied into the *Pennsylvania Journal*, and I reproduce it with other and unpublished material bearing upon it. The letter from Richard Bland, though written more than a year before the controversy came to a head, in all probability called out from Washington the statement of facts used in the article attributed to Bland by Washington. I do not know whether this article appeared in any newspaper, and this copy is taken from a manuscript in the Washington Papers. The remonstrance of the officers is obtained from the same source. It is known that Washington sent ten shillings to his brother Augustine, "for publishing an answer to the 10th centinel," but I am unable to trace the answer.]

BLAND TO WASHINGTON.

" WILLIAMSBURG, 7 June, 1755.

" DEAR SIR :

" I have the pleasure of receiving your letter by Mr. Gist; and I assure you I should look upon it as a singular felicity if I could contribute towards perfecting any scheme for the advantage of my country: my endeavors, so far as my influence will reach shall never be wanting. I had the mortification of finding the majority of our House against the most vigorous measures for effectually putting a stop to the French attempts upon our Frontiers: But the numbers carried it against my opinion, I am not yet convinced that an attack upon Fort Du Quesne, or a lodgment near that place, with a sufficient force so as to keep them in perpetual alarm, is impracticable. This is my favorite scheme, and I should be very glad to hear of its having your approbation.

" We have had a dispute with the Council who flung out our first bill of supply by an equal division of 5 on each side, upon the question being put for a third reading. This strange conduct under our present situation gave our House great resentment. They voted a severe resolve against the Council, & immediately ordered the same bill under a different title to be bro't in, which was passed in two days, and sent again to the Council, who gave their concurrence to it upon more mature consideration, so that you are to have this year 1272 men, including non-commissioned officers to compose your regiment; and I do not at all doubt but you will do everything in your power for the advantage of your country that can be done by so small a force; & I must heartily wish you success in all your undertakings.

" Another bill has passed our House for laying out £5000 in a proper cargo of goods to carry on a trade with the Indians for the public benefit under the direction of Col. Peter & Wm. Randolph, Mr. Cary, Mr. Walker & myself. This bill is now before the Council. If it passes into a law, we shall I believe, engage with Mr. Gist, as Factor, to carry it on: Your recommendation of him will have all proper

weight with me, and I am persuaded with the other trustees and directors.

"As I have some tho'ts of writing an account of our transactions which I desire to communicate to public view in order to wipe off all reflections from my country and the several persons concerned in the conduct of our military enterprizes so far as they can be justified, I shall take it as a particular mark of friendship if at your leisure hours, if you have any, you would send me short heads of such things relative to the French invasion with the dates when they happened as you judge most interesting and proper for such a work. I will speak the truth with boldness, and I hope with approbation from every honest and good man, amongst whom I assure you without flattery, I place you in the first rank.

"I am, dear Sir, your most &c.

"RICHARD BLAND.

"If I have the pleasure of hearing from you, please to direct to me at Jordan's, in Prince George County."

"THE VIRGINIA CENTINEL, NO. X.

"*Quis metus, ó nunquam dolituri, ó semper inertes
Tyrheni, quæ tanta animis ignavia venit?—
Quo ferrum? quidve hæc gerimus tela irrita dextris?
At non in Venerem segnes, nocturnaque bella;
Aut, ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi,
Expectare dapes, et plenus pocula mense,
Hic amor, hoc studium——'* VIR.

"The Profession of Soldiers, Especially at such a Time as this, is not only noble, but benevolent; and worthy at once of universal Honour and Gratitude. They are the Guardians of their Country, and all that is inclined [included?] in that important Word. And therefore, their Merit should not be invidiously depreciated; their Foibles maliciously exaggerated; or their Conduct censured by Chimney corner Politicians, who lie sneaking at Home, in inglorious Ease, and know not their Circumstances, or the Reasons upon

which they Act. While their Character is tolerable, and they in any Measure answer the End of their Profession, their Names should be treated with the utmost Tenderness and Respect.

"But Soldiers differ; some will shed their *Blood*.
 And some drink *Bombo* ¹—for their Country's Good,
 Some in the Field will nobly risque their Lives;
 Some Hero like, will *suear*, or play at *Fives*.
 Some shew themselves the genuine Sons of *Mars*;
 Some brave in *Venus*' or in *Bacchus*' Wars
 Can shew their *lecherous* and *drunken* scars.' }

"No Profession in the World can secure from Contempt and Indignation a Character made up of Vice and Debauchery; and no Man is obliged to treat such a Character as sacred. When raw Novices and Rakes, Spendthrifts and Bankrupts, who have never been used to command, or who have been found insufficient for the Management of their own private affairs, are honoured with Commissions in the Army; when Men are advanced according to Seniority, the Interests and influence of Friends, &c. and not according to Merit; when the common Soldiers are abused, in a fit of Humour or Passion, or through an Ostentation of Authority; and in the mean Time, perhaps, tolerated or connived at, in practices really worthy of Correction; when the Militia Men are brow-beat and discouraged in every noble atchievement, as claiming a Share with the Soldiery in their Monopoly of Honour; when the Officers give their Men an Example of all Manner of Debauchery, Vice and Idleness; when they lie sculking in Forts, and there dissolving in Pleasure, till alarmed by the Approach of the Enemy, who could expect to find them no where else; when instead of searching out the Enemy, way laying and surprising them, obstructing their Marches, and preventing their Incursions, they tempt them by their Security and Laziness, to come in quest of them and attack them in their Fortifications—

¹ This word was more frequently written *bumbo*. It was a liquor composed of rum, sugar, water, and nutmeg.

When this is the Case, how wretchedly helpless must a Nation be? What useless Lumber, what an Encumbrance, is the Soldiery;

"*'Conscius ipse de se portat omnia dici.'*

"I would by no Means make the *Event* the Standard by which to judge the Measures taken, though this be undoubtedly the Standard of the Crowd. Successful Rashness will never fail of popular Applause, and unfortunate good Conduct will never escape Censure. But when nothing brave is so much as *attempted*, but very rarely, or by Accident, or for necessary Self defence; when Men whose Profession it is to endure Hardships, and encounter Dangers, cautiously shun them, and suffer their Country to be ravaged in their very Neighbourhood; then, certainly, Censure cannot be silent; nor can the Public receive much Advantage from a Regiment of such dastardly Debauchees.

"*'Shew me one scar character'd on their skin:*

Men's Flesh preserv'd so whole but seldom win.' SHAKES.

"Men of Virtue and true Courage can have no Heart to enlist, and mingle in such a Crowd. And the few of that Character, that may be among them, are in Danger of catching the general Contagion; or of being damped and mortified at the Sight of such Scenes of Vice, Extravagance and Oppression.

"*Horace*, who knew the Estate of the all-conquering *Roman Army*, in the Period of its highest Glory, and most illustrious Victories, will teach us the Discipline proper for Soldiers.

"*'Our hardy Youth should learn to bear
Sharp Want, to win the warlike Steed,
To hurl the well directed Spear,
With pointed Force, and bid the Parthian bleed.
In War's illustrious Dangers bold,
Inur'd to Summer's Heats, and Winter's Cold.'*

"But it seems the Delicacy of modern Soldiers cannot bear such hardy Discipline. Their Ease and Pleasure must

not be disturbed by the Fatigues and Dangers of the Field or Woods.

"'Their Country calls; and see! the Heroes run
To save her—if the Game or Dance is done.'

"Luxury and Sensuality have unmanned many an Army, and enslaved or ruined many flourishing Cities and Kingdoms. Let me enumerate a few Instances, for the Warning of surviving Nations.—The first great Empire of the World, viz. the ASSYRIAN, owed its Destruction entirely to the Luxury of its Prince, SARDANAPALUS: an effeminate Creature, that never went out of his Palace; but spent all his Time in the Company of Women. Feasting, rioting, and all manner of sensual Indulgencies were his daily Employ. At Length his Generals cut him off in the Midst of his Debaucheries, and overturned the Empire.—BABYLON, the strongest City, perhaps, that ever was built upon Earth, was taken in the Night by Surprise, while the King, his Wives and Concubines, with a Thousand of his Lords, were carousing in a Debauch, unapprehensive of Danger.—The Overthrow of the PERSIAN Monarchy, and the vast Army of DARIUS, by an Handful of hardy Veterans under ALEXANDER the Great, is another striking instance of the fatal Effects of Luxury.—But who would have thought that ALEXANDER himself, with such an Example before his Eyes, would have split upon this Rock? Yet we are told by JUSTIN, 'That he degenerated into Luxury and Vice of the PERSIANS, whom, by Means of that very Luxury, he had overcome—that he suffered his Army to Debauch themselves in the same manner—that afterwards he gave himself up to the most unkingly Cruelty against his own Friends, one of whom he murdered for expressing himself a little freely concerning his Faults.'—At Length, degenerating into immoderate Intemperance and Drunkenness, he died suddenly in the Midst of a Debauch. A *timely* Death for the World! For had his Life been prolonged, he would soon have become a mere NERO or CALIGULA. Whether he was poisoned by some of his Nobles, whom he had offended by his Cruel-

ties, as some Writers affirm; or whether his Death was the Effect of Drunkenness, as others assert, comes to the same Purpose; that he fell a Sacrifice to his own Luxury and Vice.—The Ruins of TARENTUM are also a Monument of the same melancholy Truth. Having imprudently entered into a war with the ROMANS, which so effeminate a People knew not how to conduct, they called King PYRRHUS to manage it for them; but they soon began to murmur and exclaim against him, because, in Order to qualify them for War, he had established an exact military Discipline, and driven them from their Carousals, to the Fatigues and Dangers of the Field. Some even quitted the City, thinking it to be an intolerable Restraint not to be permitted to live the same idle and voluptuous Life, while they were engaged in War with a powerful Enemy, as they used to indulge themselves in Times of Peace and Prosperity. The War ended in their total Overthrow, as might be expected. The City of the SYBARITES was so populous, as to be able to raise an Army of 300,000 Men. Their Luxury and Dissolution of Manners arrived at an almost incredible Height. They employed themselves in nothing but Banquets, Games, Parties of Pleasure and Carousals. Publick Rewards were bestowed on those, who gave the most magnificent Entertainments; and even to such *Cooks of Genius*, as were best skilled in the important Arts of making Improvements in the dressing of nice Dishes, and inventing new Refinements to tickle the Palate. They carried their Delicacy to the monstrous Length of sending out of the City all manner of noisy Artificers, as Blacksmiths, Carpenters, &c. and all the Cocks, that their downy Slumbers might not be disturbed by any Noise. This unbounded Luxury crumbled them into Factions; and at Length made them an easy Prey to a small Army of the CROTONIANS.—The Application of these Pieces of History is easy; but

“ ‘ *Periculosa plenum opus aleæ*
Tracto. — — ’

“ L. & V.”

From *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*,
November 4, 1756. (William Bradford.)

"OFFICERS OF THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT TO LIEUT. COL^o STEPHEN,
COMMANDANT AT FORT CUMBERLAND, 6 October, 1756.

"SIR,

"To our no small Astonishment we (last night) perus'd a Paper in the Virg^a Gazette intituled the Centinel N: X. The Contents of which are so scandalous and altogether so unjust, that we think it a Duty incumbent on us who have the least Regard for our Honor or Reputation to resent such base Treatment in the strictest Manner. Therefore (upon mature Consideration) we have unanimously agreed to apply to you for Redress; firmly declaring (tho at present for the great and just Regard we have for Coll^o Washington and yourself, join'd to the Duty we owe to our King in Defending as much as it is in our Power His Colony of Virginia to which we belong) we do with the greatest exactness obey the Orders of our Superior Officers. But unless we have ample Satisfaction for these so groundless and barb'rous Aspersions, we are one and all (at this Garrison) fully determin'd to present our Commissions to the Governor (as in that Paper it is hinted) [which are?] given to a Reg^a of dastardly Debauchees; and desire that you will inform His Honor we expect that he will provide a Sett of Men for the Service, that will better answer the expectations of Our Countrey and of himself; we say Himself, believing The Printer wou'd never have dar'd to insert such a Paper in His Gazette without His previous knowledge or Consent, in either of which cases He must have believ'd the Censures therein to be just.

"You, Sir, may therefore assure Him, we are resolv'd to obey as Officers no longer than the twentieth day of November next, unless we have as Publick Satisfaction, as the Injury receiv'd. In which Time His Honor may (we imagine) procure GENTLEMEN to do that Duty, a Denomination point blank contrary to that which the Centinel has given US.

"We are heartily sorry to be laid under the necessity of being so free with you but hope the Occasion will be a suf-

ficient excuse for our Behaviour; when you must be sensible of the Abuse not only Put on Us, but the Whole Regiment by this Author, wherein we are charg'd—Laziness, Idleness, Drunkenness and Barbarity w^h all manner of Vice.

"When so far from that it is notorious that Virginia cannot furnish so great a Number of Men, that are more the Reverse A Character we are very Loath to give Ourselves; were We not oblig'd thereto by the circumstances of the present Case, which require that we shou'd justifie Ourselves to the Neighbouring Colonies, amongst whom we make no Doubt we are by this Time become a common Topic of Derision and Ridicule a Favor we are to thank Our Goodly COUNTRY MEN for.

"We are, Sir, with the greatest Respect,

"Your most obedient Humble Servants."

ARTICLE ATTRIBUTED TO BLAND.

"*Quilibet Nantarum victorumque tranquillo Mari gubernare potest; ubi orta sæva tempestas est, ac turbato Mari rapitur Vento Navis, tum Viro et gubernatore opus est.*"

LIV. L. 24 N. 8.

"SIR,

"I give you many Thanks for your Observations on the Dispute which is likely to arise between the Virginia Centinel and the Officers of the Forces employed on our Frontiers. But you must permit me to tell you that the Reason you give to persuade me the Centinel has good Grounds for what he advances, appears to me not to carry that Conviction with it, which most Things do, you have been used to communicate to me.

"I do, indeed approve very much of the Centinel's Vigilancy; and am convinced he advances nothing, but what he thinks is right, and for the public Good; but yet, he certainly judges from the appearances of things, and not from the things themselves.

"I confess I have a very good Opinion of most of the Officers: they have given sufficient Proofs of their Resolution in their Country's Cause; and their moral Characters, I must believe are unexceptionable. But opinion shall never

influence my Judgment; I will examine Facts, and from them discover Truths, which the Centinel may not have adventured to; if he had, I am certain, he would have set them forth to the public view in much more proper and lively Colors, than I can pretend to do.

"If what I may say should give Offence to any, for I give you free Liberty to communicate it, tell them, that I have the Honour to be a British Subject, and, under that glorious Character, enjoy the Privileges of an Englishman, one of which is to examine with Freedom, our public Measures, without being liable to the Punishments of French Tyranny; and, if I think proper, to expose those public Errors which have had to[o] long a Course, and which have been blindly embraced by many, as the most true Opinions. Be that as it will, you are my Friend, and in that Quality, I am going to tell you, ingenuously, my Thoughts of the present Conjunctures, so far as they concern my dear Country.

"And I pretend to shew you, as clear as the Day, that the unhappy Situation of our public Affairs, is not to be imputed to the Persons, to whom the Executive Power of the Government is committed nor to the Officers appointed to command upon our Frontiers; but that it arises from another Cause; a Cause which I really am unwilling to name; but which the Truth forces me, not to conceal.

"You must excuse me, if I remind you of several Transactions, with which you are acquainted, but which I am obliged to recapitulate, that I may give you a just and honest Resolution to this Controversy.

"And you who are so well acquainted with History, know that from the Reign of Lewis the XIVth., the French have been particularly attentive to gain the Superiority of the English, in North America; and have been constantly flinging men into Canada & Louisiana.

"Some Writers, perhaps of no great Esteem in other Respects, pointed out with a kind of prophetic Spirit, the fatal Consequences of this Conduct to the British Plantations. But they were not regarded; nor was any Notice

taken of the French Designs 'til about three Years ago; when the Governor received a Letter from the Earl of Holderness one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, informing him of these Designs, and giving him particular Instructions how to conduct himself.

"In Consequence of these Instructions, the Governor sent out Major Washington, to discover whether the French had made any Encroachments on this Colony; and, if they had, to desire them to withdraw; and calling the General Assembly, he laid before them the Earl of Holderness's Letter, and demanded from the Burgesses, such Supplies as would enable him to put the Royal Instructions effectually into Execution; but this Information was treated as Chimerical, and without Foundation, and the Burgesses peremptorily refused to grant any supplies.

"Major Washington returned with a Letter from the French commandant, in which he declared, he had taken Possession of the Lands on the Ohio; and was determined to hold them for his Master the French King. The Governor laid this Letter before the Burgesses, and desired with great Earnestness, such Assistance as would enable him to frustrate the Attempts of the French, now become visible, and apparent. But he could obtain only £10,000, which was put under the Direction of a Committee, the Burgesses not being willing to entrust the Administration with the Disposition of it.

"With this Supply, between 3 and 4 hundred men were raised under the command of Colonel Fry; but, upon his Death, the Command was given to Major Washington who was made a Colonel, and conducted the Expedition with Courage and resolution; but, being attacked, on his March, by above 900 French and Indians, he was overborn by Numbers; and tho' he lost the Day, he acquired the Character of a good Officer, and a brave Soldier; and, with the other Officers, received the Public Notice of their Country for their gallant Behaviour.

"This Defeat obliged the Governor to demand fresh Supplies, and the Burgesses granted £20,000, under the Direc-

tion of a Committee. With this Sum about 500 Men were raised, to reinforce General Braddock, who was arrived from England, with a Body of British Troops to the Assistance of the Colony.

"That General, being attacked, by the French, in his Passage over the Monongehala, was defeated. The Virginians in this Action fought like Lions, and behaved with prodigious Valour; they bravely stood the severest Fire from the Enemy; and after the Flight of the British Regulars, brought off the wounded General, who would otherwise have fallen into the most barbarous and savage Hands. Colonel Washington, acted as Aid de Camp to the General, and distinguished himself very remarkably; and with the other Officers, surviving this bloody Carnage, received, a second time peculiar Tokens of Regard from the General Assembly.

"This Defeat flung the whole Colony into the utmost Consternation, which was increased by Parties of the Enemy committing the most cruel and horrid Ravages upon the Frontiers, which were left defenceless by Colonel Dunbar, who retiring with the Remains of the British Troops, made all possible Expedition to get into Winter Quarters.

"And now, that noble Ardour, which ought to have inflamed every breast with Resentment and Indignation against the inhuman Invaders of our Country; that Zeal, which ought to have animated every Patriot Spirit to revenge the Robberies, Plunderings, Massacres, Burnings and Rapes with which the Frontiers were filled, were not to be found. Most Men were agitated with unaccountable Terrors; all Thoughts of an offensive War were laid aside; Fort du Quesne was looked upon as an impregnable Fortress: And no Considerations could prevail with the Majority of the Burgesses to grant more than £40,000 under the same Directions as the former Supplies, for subsisting 1200 Men, to act upon the Defensive only. And so entirely had this Panic taken Possession that the Government was restrained from marching any Part of the Militia or causing them to be marched, more than five miles beyond where the Inhabi-

tants of this Colony shall be settled on the Western Frontiers. Nor could a Proposition, sent from New York for an Union of the Colonies against the French, which the Governor communicated to the Burgesses, divert them from their favorite system. They refused to be concerned in this Union, and employed their whole Attention to secure the Country on the Eastern side of the Allegany Mountains by a Chain of Forts from Cape Capon to Mayo River.

"From this short Detail of our public Transactions, for the Truth of which I appeal to the Burgesses Journals, and to the Acts that have passed at the several Sessions of the General Assembly since November, 1753, the Cause of the present unhappy Situation of our public Affairs, so far as they concern the French Invasion, may, in my Opinion, be easily discovered.

"In a British Government, where the Laws controul even the Sovereign's Power, it is impossible that military Enterprises can be carried on with Advantage without a proper Assistance from those who are intrusted with the Disposition of the People's Money. If the Supplies, necessary to give Life and Vigour to our Arms, are refused or granted with too much Frugality, we must never expect to succeed against an Enemy subject to a despotic Prince, who can dispose of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects as he pleases.

"The Government was convinced of this, and in order to facilitate the new Scene that was just opening upon us, was desirous to act with Resolution and Magnanimity; but this was not in their Power, without proper Supplies. Supplies were indeed granted, but with so frugal a Hand, and in so peculiar a Manner as not to answer any kind of Purpose.

"Ten thousand Pound was first given to dispossess a politic and powerful People, who were perfecting a favorite Scheme, they had been planning for more than half a Century. This sum was found insufficient and 20,000 pound was granted; but this would not do; the Enemy was too strong and too well secured to be beaten out, by such a trifling supply; then only 40,000 pound could be obtained

to raise 1200 Men, tho' General Braddock had just been beaten with more than twice that number. The Men raised upon this Supply could not restrain the Ravages of the Enemy. Then Forts were thought of, which have proved an ineffectual Barrier against the Enemy, but will be a certain Means [of] impoverish[ing] the People. Thus have we gone on blundering, 'til we are become the Derision of the Enemy, and seem to be sunk in Oblivion, and forgot by our Mother Country.

"The Government cannot be blamed; whoever reads the Speeches to the several General Assemblies since the beginning of these Troubles, must be of this Opinion. I am no Flatterer, and want no favours; but the Truth shall always prevail with me.

"The Officers are as little culpable; what can they do? Are not the greatest Part of the Forces under their Command, composed of the Militia drafted out of the Northern Counties, and are they not restrained from marching more than five miles beyond where the Inhabitants of this Colony shall be settled to the Westward? Can they be compelled to march beyond these Limits? The Law is plain that they cannot, and if the Officers attempt to lead them further, the men may legally refuse to obey. Is it not evident, that as the Inhabitants abandon the Frontiers, and it is well known that they abandon them very fast, the Officers are more and more circumscribed in their Boundaries? Besides the Forts are to be garrisoned, and consider, I beseech you, the Figure 1200 Men must make, dispersed upon so extensive a Frontier as ours is. Nothing in my Opinion can, nothing ought to be expected from the Officers under such a Regulation. The French and their Indians are secured in Forts at a great Distance; those, of them, who commit Such Havock amongst us, are small Parties, sent out, like Wolves from their lurking Dens, and are scarce ever to be met with; when they are, I think, we have no Reason to accuse our Officers of Pusillanimity. In short, can it be possible, that Officers who have, heretofore, behaved with remarkable Courage and Resolution; who have marched over vast

Mountains; supported with invincible Patience, the rudest Fatigues; and shewed the most intrepid Valour in the greatest Dangers, and the warmest Desire to preserve their Country; I say, can these Officers so far forget their Duty and themselves, as to sacrifice that Character, they have so justly acquired; that solid Glory, that results from Noble Actions, to idle Entertainments; extravagant Gaming, and glittering Pageantry. Such a Reflection is too improbable, and too ill-natured to gain Credit even with the most invidious and malevolent; and I am certain it can make no impression on you, who think so justly and are not to be influenced by party Prejudice.

"Thus have I, my Friend, given you my Thoughts upon our public Affairs. The Prospect is gloomy! the Errors great! but I hope, not irretrievable; a Field of Glory is yet open to our View if we will but enter upon it, and play the Men; if we will behave as becomes true Sons of Britain, we may recover our reputation and deliver our Country.

"The Earl of Loudoun, like another Fabius, is watching the Motions of the French to the Northward; and all the Northern Colonies are in Motion to assist him, and shall that Colony which calls itself¹ the most dutiful and loyal, which has been so frequently fired with Resentment and Indignation at the Encroachments and Depredations of the French; and offered the Lives and Fortunes of its People to defend his Majesty's just Rights; shall the Eldest and, I am persuaded, the richest Sister of all the British Colonies, sit supine and negligent; and like a proud Boaster be only big in Words, while her younger Sisters are gaining Laurels in the Field, and Credit and Reputation with their common Sovereign? No, my Friend! let it not be said; but let yours and every Patriot Spirit be roused and really fired with Resentment and Indignation against the cruel Ravages of their Country. Let us not be persuaded, that the French have any Pretence of Title to the Lands which they have

¹ See the addresses of the Houses of Burgesses in answer to the Governors' speeches at the opening of the several General Assemblies from the year 1753.

so unjustly taken possession of; but let us give freely and liberally, such supplies, as will enable the Government to act with Spirit and Resolution, and at least to attack, with Success, Fort Du Quesne; that Source from whence all our present Evils flow. By a vigorous Effort, on this Side early in the Spring, we shall oblige the French to divide their Forces, and thereby give real Assistance to Lord Loudoun, by preventing them from turning their whole Force against him, or, we shall be certain of Success, against that Fort, which will be, to this Colony, an invaluable Acquisition. Let us leave the Government to act as it will; at least, let us try them for one Year; Let us shake off all Diffidence & Suspicion, and take off all Restrictions. Let their Power over the Militia be as extensive as the Service requires, and let them, if they think proper, offend and distress the Enemy. Believe, my Friend, the Operations of War are not to be conducted as common Affairs. Generals and Commanders of armies must be left to act as they find it most expedient for their Country's Interest. These few Observations will, I doubt not, have their proper Weight with you, as they come from your Friend, and what perhaps may have a greater Influence in this Case, one of your Electors. Your good Sense will improve upon them, and, I hope, at your next Meeting we shall hear of nothing, but a laudable Emulation, to discharge your Duty to your King and Dear Bleeding Country, with Honour, Reputation and Disinterestedness.

"I am, very Sincerely,

"Sir,

"Your very affectionate Servant

"PHILO PATRIÆ."¹

¹ Endorsed by Washington: "Written, it is supposed, by Col^d Rich^d Bland, 1756."

THE PENNSYLVANIA DUTCHMAN, AND WHEREIN
HE HAS EXCELLED.

BY HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, LL.D.

The following article has purposely been put in definite and succinct phraseology. It is possible that some of the statements may be modified by subsequently ascertained facts, but the effect of the paper cannot be overthrown by mere generalities. If ever Pennsylvania shall receive due credit for her unequalled influence and achievement, it will be when her writers and talkers—historical, literary, and political—shall cease their efforts to belittle that accomplishment in which they think they and theirs have had no part. A wider knowledge of themselves and their antecedents may also disclose a nearer relation to events of importance in her history, due to the Pennsylvania Dutchman, than they at present recognize.

1. In 1615 Hendrickson, a Dutchman, first sailed up the Zuydt River and saw the site of Philadelphia.

2. In 1662 Pieter Cornelius Plockhoy, who subsequently died at Germantown, laid the foundation of our literature and history by publishing the first book by a resident concerning the country bordering on the Zuydt River, later the Delaware.

3. In 1688 Francis Daniel Pastorius, Dirck op den Graeff, Abraham op den Graeff, and Gerhard Hendricks, by a public protest, made the first effort in America to overthrow the institution of slavery.

4. In 1690 William Rittenhouse built the first paper-mill in America on a branch of the Wissahickon Creek.

5. In 1692 Francis Daniel Pastorius published his "Four Treatises," the earliest original American scientific work.

6. Among the immigrants to Pennsylvania prior to the

Revolution were only two of the European nobility, Count Zinzendorf, of Bethlehem, and Baron Stiegel, of Manheim.

7. "The town of Lancaster, a place at that time [1750] remarkable for its wealth, and which had the reputation of possessing the best and most intelligent society in America. It was chiefly inhabited by Germans, who, of all people in the practice of emigrating, carry along with them the greatest stock of knowledge and accomplishments."¹

8. The most eminent scholars among the early emigrants to America were Francis Daniel Pastorius, who wrote fluently in eight languages, and Henry Bernhard Koster, who had translated the Bible from the Septuagint Greek version, both of Germantown.

9. On the 24th of September, 1734, the Schwenkfelders established their Gedächtniss Tag, or Memorial day, to commemorate their escape from persecution, and they have observed it ever since, an event without parallel.

10. In 1743 Christopher Saur published his quarto Bible, the first in a European language in America. The Bible was published three times in German in America before it appeared in English.

11. In 1744 Saur published his first Testament. The Testament was printed seven times in German in America before it appeared in English.

12. In 1764 Saur began the publication of the "Geistliches Magazien," the first religious magazine in America.

13. Saur was the earliest type-founder in America.

14. In 1814 the Bible was first published west of the Alleghanies by Frederick Goeb, of Somerset, in German.

15. In 1749 was published at Ephrata, Van Braght's "Martyrer Spiegel," historical, biographical, and theological, the most extensive literary production of the colonies.

16. The earliest original American essay upon music is the preface to the "Turtel Taube," printed at Ephrata in 1747.

17. The earliest American work upon pedagogy was the

¹ John Galt's "Life of West," 1816, p. 47.

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Schul Ordnung, written by Christopher Dock in 1754 and printed in 1770.

18. The earliest American essay upon etiquette was Dock's "Hundert Sitten Regeln," published in 1764.

19. The earliest American bibliography was the catalogue of the works of the Schwenkfelders.

20. The first contribution of real estate to the Pennsylvania Hospital was made by Matthias Koplin, of Perkiomen.

21. The first approximately accurate calculation of the distance of the sun from the earth was made by David Rittenhouse in 1769. Of him Thomas Jefferson said, "He has not, indeed, made a world, but he has approached nearer its maker than any man who has lived from the creation to this day."

22. The first Continental treasurer was Michael Hillegas.

23. The president of the First National Congress was Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg.

24. The first force to reach George Washington after he assumed command at Cambridge, in 1775, was a company from York County, Pennsylvania, under Lieutenant Henry Miller, which had marched over five hundred miles.

25. The first force to reach Abraham Lincoln at Washington in 1861 was composed of five companies from Reading, Allentown, Pottsville, and Lewistown.

26. George Washington was first called the "Father of his Country" in a German almanac printed at Lancaster in 1779.

27. "The schools for young men and women at Bethlehem and Nazareth, under the direction of the people called Moravians, are upon the best establishment of any schools in America."¹

28. The earliest American book on entomology was published by Frederick V. Melsheimer, at Hanover, York County, Pennsylvania, in 1806. Thomas Say calls him "The parent of entomology in this country."

29. "The first premium for excellency in printing was adjudged by the Pennsylvania Manufacturing Society to the

¹ Payne's "Universal Geography," 1798.

publishers of a book in the German language in the inland town of Lancaster."¹

30. The richest agricultural county in the United States, according to the returns of the last census, is Lancaster County in Pennsylvania.

31. The Wistar parties, the best known of early social events in Philadelphia, were established by Dr. Caspar Wistar.

32. Simon Snyder, Joseph Hiester, John Andrew Shulze, George Wolf, Joseph Ritner, Francis Rahn Shunk, William Bigler, John F. Hartranft, and James A. Beaver have been Governors of Pennsylvania.

33. Of the two largest telescopes in the world that in California was erected by James Lick, of Lebanon, Pa., and that in Chicago, by Charles T. Yerkes, of Philadelphia.

34. Leidy in science, Gross in surgery, Pepper in medicine, and Cramp in ship-building have reached the highest rank.

35. As a merchant, no American has ever surpassed John Wanamaker.

36. The Germans "have schools and meeting-houses in almost every township through the province, and have more magnificent churches and other places of worship in the city of Philadelphia itself than those of all other persuasions added together."²

37. The earliest Pennsylvania history of the Revolution was written by Colonel Bernard Hubley, and published at Northumberland in 1806.

38. The earliest original Pennsylvania school-book was the primer of Francis Daniel Pastorius, published in 1698.

39. Our knowledge of the language, manners, and customs of the aborigines of Pennsylvania is mainly due to the Moravians, Zeisberger and Heckewelder.

40. From 1732 to 1760 our relations with the Indians were conducted by Conrad Weiser.

41. The savages who defeated the Englishman Braddock

¹ Tench Coxe's "View of the United States," 1794.

² Answer to an invidious pamphlet, 1755, p. 73.

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in 1755 were overthrown by the Swiss-German Bouquet in 1764.

42. On the 17th of Ninth month, 1686, before the Provincial Council "The Petition of Abraham op den Graeff was read for ye Gov'rs promise to him should make the first and finest pece of linnen cloath."¹

43. Before the Revolutionary War there were more newspapers printed in German in Pennsylvania than in English.

44. The earliest effort in Pennsylvania in behalf of the adoption of the Federal Constitution was a petition from two hundred and fifty of the residents of Germantown.²

45. Of the nineteen members of the Pennsylvania Assembly who voted against the submission of that Constitution to a vote of the people, not one was a German, and of the forty-three who voted in favor of it, twelve were Germans.³

46. When Whittier wrote,—

"Thank God for the token! one lip is still free—
One spirit untrammel'd—unbending one knee!
Like the oak of the mountain, deep-rooted and firm,
Erect, when the multitude bends to the storm;
When traitors to Freedom, and Honor and God,
Are bow'd at an Idol polluted with blood;
When the recreant North has forgotten her trust,
And the lip of her honor is low in the dust,—
Thank God, that one man from the shackle has broken!
Thank God, that one man as a *freeman*, has spoken!"

he referred to Governor Joseph Ritner, of Pennsylvania.

47. Whittier's Pennsylvania Pilgrim was Francis Daniel Pastorius.

48. When Thomas Buchanan Read wrote,—

"Then from his patriot tongue of flame
The startling words of freedom came.
The stirring sentences he spake
Compelled the heart to glow or quake,

¹ "Colonial Records," Vol. I. p. 193.

² Lloyd's "Debates," Vol. I. p. 84.

³ Ibid., p. 135.

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And rising on his theme's broad wing,
And grasping in his nervous hand
The imaginary battle-brand,
In face of death he dared to fling
Defiance to a tyrant king,"

he referred to General Peter Muhlenberg.

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"A NOTE FOR MR. FRANKLIN."

[Translated by Albert J. Edmunds, from the original French manuscript in the "Franklin Papers" of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is without date, and endorsed in English "Good Advice," probably by Franklin.]

"The cause of the Americans has interested and warmed my heart. What a difference there is between our wars, undertaken for some boundaries unknown or at least indifferent to the people who take part in them, and the war which a whole nation is manifestly forced to sustain which fights for its freedom, after having exhausted all practicable means of moderation, and even of submission, toward the mother country, in order to obtain that treatment on the footing of equality which the self-interest of the metropolis ought to assure it for ever.

"Already long known in Europe by his interesting discoveries in Physics and by the superiority wherewith he has defended the interests of the Colonies, Mr. Franklin arrives in France charged with the powers of the General Congress.

"The confidence of this assembly is praise enough of his abilities and his talents. But perhaps the Congress is ignorant of some details, the knowledge of which will be useful to him, I believe, for the success of his mission.

"In America, the interest of all decides the general wish; in the governments of Europe, on the contrary, the general interest nearly always gives place to the particular.

"All peoples have the love of freedom in their heart: the French nation has it, perhaps, as much as any other on earth.

"The French have seen with enthusiasm the efforts made by North America to deliver herself from the oppression wherewith she has been menaced; and, apart from every

kind of rivalry, the nation at large would look with the greatest satisfaction at the government giving the United States such assistance as that part of the world has a right to expect from all peoples among whom the cause of humanity is held in any esteem.

"But, as we just now represented, the general vote will not be consulted. The government only can come to a decision, and it cannot be agreeable to all its members to adopt such vigorous measures as the circumstances appear to warrant the success of.

"The king's solicitude for order makes him fear war as a hindrance to his views of economy and to the welfare of his people, and prevents him, perhaps, from correctly appreciating the immense resources of his kingdom.

"It is therefore very doubtful whether the proposal which Mr. Franklin will make to our minister—viz., to make war upon England, will be favourably received by him. One may believe, however, that the latter would not fully disclose himself to him on this question.

"At the same time, Mr. Franklin may ask him, and even insist by all the recognized motives of the interest of France, to take such a part as seems proper to him, especially as his alliance with the court of Vienna pretty much assures him of peace on the continent.

"In case they make him a dilatory answer, he ought to press them to give him at least some secret aids in money, and to allow him to despatch without delay whatever material Mr. Deane may have got together, by way of providing himself with everything which he knows to be most urgent to furnish his country withal.

"The publicity which the persons charged with the expedition of the two vessels from Havre have given to all their doings, has done a great deal of harm to the cause. The government has felt itself compromised, and is obliged to suspend everything. This is a warning to trust in future to none but business men, that is to say, to reliable and discreet merchants, in all expeditions of this kind.

"We owe Mr. Deane, moreover, the justice of stating that

it has not been in his power to make use of the persons who have been given him by the government, and whose indiscretion he could neither foresee nor even suppose.

"To the precautions lately adopted by the government to dispel the complaints of the English minister, it is to be hoped that more satisfactory measures will shortly succeed.

"While waiting, we think that Mr. Franklin cannot be better employed than in paying attention to the means of filling up successfully and quickly, as soon as he is permitted, the items of the schedule, which we suppose he has brought along with him, of whatever may be wanting to the American army.

"This schedule ought to include the places laid down in the plan of operations for the next campaign, the number of troops to be employed therein, and the means of maintaining them.

"There is no doubt that the bulk of the French officers who have already joined the American army have shewn in it a spirit of insubordination and absurd pretensions, which will not be allowed to fix the rank they must have promised themselves. But there is no need to trouble about that. Nothing will be easier than to employ them in the most useful way, since they will have over them some chiefs of their own nation of a higher rank and of recognized name and merit.

"Everything depends, therefore, upon the choice of these chiefs.

"It is quite likely that some officers of the highest rank will come forward, and even some who have repute in war will offer themselves to the service of the American cause.

"But the English Colonies require defenders who have something more than valour and military talents: that is to say, some leaders who are honest men, whose uprightness and rigid code of morals hold all their subordinates, and are capable of winning the confidence and respect of the troops and of the inhabitants of the Colonies.

"If Mr. Franklin thinks well to distract attention from the real object of his important mission by paying less

attention to the interests of his country than to answering the eager invitations he is pressed with in this great city, he will be offered a million dinners, at which, however, he would not find one guinea for the use of the Congress. He will doubtless know how to be on his guard against the barren cajoleries of the great, of the learned, and of women, who will each have some personage to commend to him. He will know that the safety of his country ought not to be placed in any one's hands without the most serious reflection."

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COLONEL RALL AT TRENTON.

[The following criticism of the military capacity of Colonel Rall, who commanded the Hessians at Trenton when that post was surprised by Washington on the morning of December 26, 1776, is taken from the diary of Captain Andreas Wiederhold, of the Knyphausen regiment, who participated in the engagement. The original of the diary is in the library at Cassel, Germany.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

“On December 14, 1776, we marched to famous Trenton, which I shall remember as long as I live, and to which place our all too merry Brigadier is said to have brought us by his solicitation. How well he would have done not to have solicited for it! He might perhaps have kept and preserved the undeserved praise which was ignorantly bestowed upon him. But here it all fell into the mud!

“Our poor worn out soldiers denuded of small clothes and uniforms could in this place recover their strength less than in the field. Service was extraordinary; guards, commands, pickets without end, although they served to no good purpose whatever, but merely formed a noisy occupation all day long about Brigade quarters. If only watches and commands were relieved, the soldiers might have trowsers to wear, shoes, shirts and the like or they might lack them; if the rifle was clean, polished, in good repair, the ammunition well prepared or not—was all the same to him and I have never heard him ask for it. Only the hautboists! That was his affair! And since the guard-house was only six or eight houses distant from his quarters and thus the trumpeters could not play long enough to satisfy him—he had the officer and picket march first around a church which was enclosed by a fence rail and just faced his lodgings—this looked just like a Roman Catholic procession, and to be complete it only lacked the cross,—banners and a number of little girls and boys marching in front

and singing. He would always follow the parade as far as the guard-house, only to hear the music during the relief.

"Any other commander would during that time have conversed with the staff-officers and others, of the service and of the welfare and safety of the garrison and like subjects. At about 2 o'clock the commands were relieved and at 4 o'clock the pickets. All the commissioned and non-commissioned officers had to be there and near his quarters, so that it might look grand and very much like a real headquarters. The guns which ought to have been stationed on avenues or on places where they might have been put to instant use, were all drawn up in front of his quarters and every morning two of them had to be dragged to the upper town; only to cause a constant noise and turmoil. He enjoyed himself until the small hours of the night, went quietly to bed, slept until nine and when we would go to his quarters between 10 and 11 o'clock for the parade, he would sometimes still be in his bath, to which he had gotten accustomed and on that account the guard had to march up sometimes for half an hour later and stand waiting for him. Not the least precautionary measure was taken; no rendezvous or alarm was prescribed in the case of a surprise. Still less was the possibility taken into consideration, that an attack might be made.

"Major von Dechow very wisely suggested to throw up some earth-works and to put the cannons into them, so that all might be in readiness for as good a defense as possible in the case of an emergency. 'Let them come,' was the Colonel's answer. 'What, earth-works! With the bayonet we will go for them.' Major von Dechow persevered and said: 'Colonel, it will not cost us anything to make them, if they are not needed they cannot do us any harm,' and he suggested me to him to undertake this work. I accepted very gladly and told the Colonel how and where I would construct them. But the Colonel only repeated his former words, laughed at us for our pains and went his way.—He believed the very name Rall more effectual and stronger than all the fortifications of Vauban and Coehorn

together, and no rebel would have the courage to attack him. Indeed a man wonderfully well fitted for the command of a corps and a brave one to defend a town! One who lies so near to the enemy who has one hundred advantages over him!—He did everything without any thought or deliberation. As a proof may serve this incident: Once the Colonel sent a letter, which had perhaps nothing of importance in it, to Gen. Leslie in Princeton by two dragoons who were shot at in the woods by a stray party of the enemy or perhaps only by some farmers, and one of them was killed while the other returned to report the occurrence. (This happened about three miles from Trenton on the road to Maidenhead.) The Colonel on hearing of this at once ordered out a Captain, three officers and 100 men with a gun and the necessary artillerymen (I was with the latter) only to carry this letter to Princeton. It was exceedingly bad weather, too. We delivered our letter, slept that night on the bare ground, and returned the next morning without having seen or heard anything. The English laughed at us, and truly it was laughable; a simple non-commissioned officer with 15 men would have been sufficient to do this errand, as the entire distance between the two garrisons was only 16 miles.

“When we were on the night march from Kingston to Maidenhead, Major von Dechow reported to the Colonel that many men were straggling behind, begging him to order that a halt be made, thus to give them time to join us again. Then the Colonel answered, they would come up soon enough, that he wanted to go ahead even if he could only get half of the men along with him. Thus it happened that still during all the following day men of his regiment arrived. Wherever the enemy created a false alarm there he would surely post plenty of forces; but those points where a real attack might be expected and where indeed it took place in the end, were left entirely out of consideration. A non-commissioned officer with 20 men was posted on the road where the attack was made. This post was reconnoitred the evening before by a hostile party

under command of a Captain who had strict orders from Gen. Washington not to engage in any fighting in case they should be discovered, but instead to retreat in the greatest possible silence. This Captain, however, may have imagined he was showing great courage by attacking, which he did, wounding 4 or 5 men of this non-commissioned officer's post. Thus the entire garrison became aroused and ordered under arms and a division of Rall's regiment was sent out to see what was going on. But that was all he did, outside of sending me with 9 more men and one non-commissioned officer as a reinforcement of this post. That division had already returned before I reached the post, consequently it had not been very far out. A vigilant commanding officer would have sent out reconnoitering parties to search all the roads as far as the river as well as the ferries, in order to find them either all quiet and peaceful or to discover the enemy and not to come home before that would have been accomplished. This would have revealed the entire affair and would have given an entirely different turn to it. As soon as I came to my post, I detailed seven pickets as well as I could manage it during the night; I had patrols after patrols walk about, thus to protect myself from any surprises.

"The night passed quietly and when it may have been an hour after daybreak and my day's patrol had already returned and reported that all was quiet, and the Jägers, who stood below me had already withdrawn their night-posts, I was suddenly attacked from the side of the woods on the road to John's Ferry and if I had not just stepped out of my little guard-house and seen the enemy, they might have been upon me before I had time to reach for my rifle, as my sentinels did not keep a very sharp lookout any more as it was broad daylight, and the advance-guard did not expect the enemy from that direction but rather in the line of Capt. Brubach's picket, which had not returned yet. I was thus quickly under arms and awaited the approach of the enemy with fortitude, thinking that it was merely a skirmishing party. They charged with three rounds of rifle fire me and my 17 men, who stood still under their arms.

After the third discharge I gave the order to fire and fought with them until I was almost surrounded by several battalions. I accordingly retreated under constant firing until I reached the Altenbockum company, which had rallied during my engagement and had taken up a position straight across the street in front of the Captain's quarters. I posted myself at their right wing and together we charged the enemy, but we were again forced to retreat in the same manner as before, so as not to be cut off from the garrison. Nobody came to see what was going on, no one came to our assistance with reinforcements, and yet Rall's regiment had that night its turn to be on the watch. I took up my position in front of one of the first houses of the town and fired at the enemy who was just forming in battle order on the upper side of the town. Only at this juncture the Brigadier made his appearance and he seemed to be quite dazed. I considered it my duty to report what had happened outside of the town, as he was ignorant of everything; so I told him all I knew and what I had seen; I said that the enemy were strong in numbers, that they were not alone above the town, but also on both sides of it, so that he might take the matter seriously and not consider it a bagatelle. He asked how strong the enemy were. I answered that I could not possibly tell that with accuracy as I had had to look after my men, however. I had seen about 4 or 5 battalions advancing from the woods and from three of these I had withstood the firing before I had abandoned my post. He now shouted to his regiment: 'Forward, March, Advance! Advance!' and he tottered back and forth without knowing what he was doing. Thus we lost the few favourable moments we might still have had in our hands to break through the enemy in one place or another with honour and without losses; but as it was we were surrounded before we had time to get outside of Trenton.

"The Colonel moved with his regiment to the right of the town under the apple-trees, intending only to charge the enemy on the Princeton road. But when he was re-

mined, I do not know by whom, of the loss of the baggage left behind in the town, he changed his mind and with his own regiment and that of Lossberg he attacked the city which he had just left. What madness this was! An open town which was useless to us and which he had only ten or fifteen minutes ago left of his own free will and which was now filled with three or four thousand of the enemy and then to attempt to take it back again with from six to seven hundred men, bayonet in hand from behind the houses, the fences and walls. A man of a little common sense and of very small experience in the business can here see his weakness. For the following mistakes he cannot be forgiven :

“ That he was ignorant of the enemy’s approach, who had had to cross in great force so large a river, covered with large cakes of ice, which crossing had been accomplished with great hardships and had lasted 16 hours, as he surely had been warned by several persons and must have had wind of it, so to speak.

“ That after the attack on the picket during the previous night, which ought to have been warning enough, he did not instantly send strong pickets to reconnoitre the ferries and the woods, to discover the enemy, and that during that time he had not given orders to have all the baggage packed and ready to start on the road thus to relieve himself of all unnecessary baggage and delay.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF DR. JAMES
CLITHERALL, 1776.

[In April of 1776 Dr. James Clitherall left Charleston, South Carolina, as escort to Mrs. Arthur Middleton and Mrs. Edward Rutledge, who were to join their husbands in Philadelphia, where they were attending Congress. We have selected those portions of the diary which relate to the doctor's sojourn in Philadelphia and New York, and omit the incidents of travel *en route*.—ED. PENNA MAG.]

“*May 13.*—We reached the Schuylkill early in the afternoon, from whence we had an agreeable prospect of several country seats pleasantly situated on its banks and a view of Philadelphia. About dusk we ended our journey and took lodgings at Mrs. Yard's on Second street. I immediately waited on Mr. Duché and West, two of my best friends in Philadelphia, but was informed that the appearance of the King's Ships so far up the river made them hurry their families out of town.

“In this metropolis I had an opportunity of seeing the grand Continental Congress, a body of men to my knowledge not equaled in history; men who like Cincinnatus of old, have left their private occupations and taken temporary leave of their family affairs, and disregarded the tender emotions of matrimonial, paternal and filial piety, and bade adieu to the soft Couch of Luxury to serve three millions of free people, whose confidence they so much possess, that their advice alone has more weight than the laws of the most splended tyrant, decked with all the trappings of Royalty.

“I was visited by my quondam fellow collegians Coxe, Chew, Tilghman, Mifflin, Redman, Graydon and Hillegas, and a few days after by my most valued friend Mr. West, a gentleman who expressed the greatest pleasure at seeing me. Our joy was reciprocal. He was a second father to me while under his guardianship, and on many occasions showed the sincerest regard for my father. He left Mrs.

West and his family about thirty miles from Philadelphia, in a pleasant, healthy situation and came to town now and then to enjoy the company of his old friends, inspect his business and hear the news. Mr. Duché also waited upon me on his hearing of my arrival. Our meeting was affectionate—his goodness and greatness of character as a preacher and politeness as a private gentleman, is well known in America and some parts of Europe. Among the rest of my visitors I must not forget Dr. Smith, Provost of the College, who is famous in the literary world as a pretty writer and great mathematician. I met Mr. Lynch, whose situation struck me deeply with the feebleness of human nature. He was greatly recovered; could keep up a conversation very well, but now and then his memory seemed to fail him. It was indeed shocking to see a man whose opinion at one moment swayed millions, and the next he himself under the direction of doctors and nurses.

“I soon perceived in this city that parties ran high—the body of the people were for Independency. The Proprietary, John Penn, and most of the gentlemen of the city attached to his interest, were against it lest the form of government should be changed, and they would no more acknowledge the old officers of the government. The Proprietary, if being still in times of danger was Prudence, behaved in a most unexceptionable manner. The gentlemen of the Province were much to blame, when they should have been industrious. The people thinking inactivity in times when they were surrounded with as many dangers as the hairs of their heads, a base desertion, chose governors among themselves—this nettled the gentlemen and they too late saw their behaviour had been too timorous and very impolitick. Some have now retired into the country disgusted at the present proceedings, fearful of the people, and railing at men in office on account of their low birth and little fortune. The rage of the multitude at present only vented itself in whisperings, but on a recommendation of Congress that those Colonies that did not find their present form of government sufficient for the exigency

of the times, would settle a form of government for themselves, the rage of the people burst out in a protest against their present Assembly, who had instructed their Delegates not to vote for Independency. A meeting of the people was called. I attended it. The paper calling the meeting was produced recommending a number of resolves; the Committee of Inspection proposed the appointment of a chairman; Roberdeau was seated. The different questions were then put; the people behaved in such a tyrannical manner that the least opposition was dangerous. They came seemingly with a determined resolution to comply strictly with the recommendations of the paper, and Colonel Cadwalader, one of their favorites, was grossly insulted for proposing a different form, preserving at the same time the sense of the resolves.

“The questions were put, at the first of which, a man because he would not vote as they did was insulted and abused, I therefore thought it prudent to vote with the multitude and we resolved, that the present Assembly was incompetent to form a new constitution, which was absolutely necessary, and called a conference of committees from each county to debate whether a convention should be held or a new Assembly chosen. In the mean time the publick papers were filled with protests and remonstrances. Scandal and abuse; nay, any gentleman who offered to speak in favor of the old constitution was abused and one published, and threatened in the Evening Post—The Assembly dissolved themselves. The attention of the publick was now taken up by the captains of the thirteen gondolas, who on being suspected by the people of cowardice (excepting Huston and one or two more) attempted to throw the blame on the Council of Safety by accusing them of tardiness and negligence in not supplying them with sufficient ammunition. The Council of Safety retorted and proved that they had sufficient ammunition, but were afraid of venturing too near the Roebuck and Liverpoole, and therefore wasted their supplies in ineffectual long shots. The captains complained of the want of a commodore;

the Council appointed, they were not pleased with him, took away his colors; the commodore complained to the Council who appointed both the captains and himself, the Council could do nothing, for the captains, seeing they would soon have new masters, refused to obey their appointers. Thus the affairs stood till the conference met; they recommended to these excellent Officers that they would obey the Council until the Convention which they called met. About this time the great, the brave and good Washington arrived to confer with Congress about the measures of campaign. He was admired by the people, revered and respected. His late generalship in driving Howe and the British army from Boston will immortalize his name, and the respect due to one of the greatest men the World ever produced, will certainly be paid him by an American Livy, and verses more sublime than Homer's, for surely the defender of the Liberties of his country is more worthy of laurels immortal than heroes who were engaged in fighting to regain a royal w——. The brave Mifflin accompanied the General, and Gates who was of infinite service in arranging the American army about this time, the Committee of Privates (a body founded in faction and growing in insolence) became remarkable by their advice to Congress and indecent charge against that honorable body, for not paying sufficient attention to the safety of Pennsylvania, signed by Simpson, a drunken shoemaker as chairman. I forgot to mention, that before the meeting of the conference every method was taken to force men into Independency by this body. They put the question to the City Battalions under arms, and any man who dared oppose their opinion was insulted and hushed by their interruptions, cheers and hissings. I do not mean by this that there was not a majority in their way of thinking, but to shew how unfair and partial their proceedings were.

“ I was as happy here as the absence of my relations would admit, after living one month at Mrs. Yard's Mr. Middleton and Rutledge invited me to live with them, and here I experienced much happiness in the pleasure of Mrs. Middle-

ton's conversation, a lady who is one of the first of her sex for sense, politeness and every female accomplishment. Mrs. Rutledge was generally sick and the gentlemen at Congress.

"*July 2.*—This glorious day that threw off the tyranny of George III., and greeted the Colonies as free united and independent states, I left Philadelphia, having yesterday heard that an attack on New York was expected hourly. Harleston and Burrows accompanied me. We had letters to the Generalissimo, Generals Mifflin, Putnam, Col. Moylan, Col. Read and Dr. Morgan, and rode post through the rain. At twelve o'clock that night we arrived at Brunswick, in New Jersey, after passing through Frankford, Bristol, Trenton and Princeton.

"*July 3.*—As my old acquaintance, Mr. L. Clarkson had made this his city of refuge, I thought it would be too great neglect not to call upon him in my way to New York. I roused him very early in the morning and found that he was ordered on duty at New York, that there was no occasion for hurrying, as we did the day before. I therefore breakfasted with him, after which I put my horse to his chair and we proceeded for head-quarters at Woodbridge, we were advised to go around by Elizabethtown, the old way being dangerous. On our way we overtook a number of troops marching for New York. The fields were deserted and every man seemed prepared to defend his liberties. When we arrived at Elizabethtown, we found the people much alarmed, and the women, children and baggage were hurried out of town, occasioned by the appearance of the British Troops at the Point where they had just taken up a bridge and possession of the Ferry house. It was now plain that they intended to secure Staten Island. We hurried on to New York and here found every one preparing for an attack. We took some refreshment and set off for the end of our journey, but could scarce get along, the ferries were so much crowded. About 3 o'clock (after Clarkson's frequently saying he would rather eat than fight) we arrived in this town, found all the streets near the water

barricaded, ready for an attack. We dined at Hullson's, very indifferent fare and lodged at Miss Adams's. As the General was out of town, we deferred delivering our letters.

"*July 4.*—We waited upon his Excellency, who gave us an invitation to dine with him, but being engaged with Col. Moylan, Quarter Master General to the American army, we could not accept of it, but according to his invitation—

"*July 5.*—We dined with him in company with Gen^l Wadsworth and Mercer, Col. Read, Adjutant General of the army, Major —, and the gentlemen of his household. The General seemed a little unbent at his table, was very affable and requested our company to King's Bridge the next morning.

"*July 6.*—At five o'clock we were at the General's door and proceeded to King's Bridge with him and his aid de camps Col^l Cary and Webb. We drove very fast and soon got to the fortification, which was commanded by Genl Mifflin, who had two good Philadelphia Battalions here of Col. Shea and Magaw. We examined the works, which were amazing strong and commanded on its western side the North River. The fort (called after the General), on the top of Mount Defiance, was erecting under the inspection of a French Engineer, who came with great recommendations to Congress. A few outworks were cast up about the hills which was made so inaccessible by nature and strong by art, that it was thought the whole British force could not take it. We breakfasted with Gen^l Mifflin, who we left about 10 o'clock, after waiting upon the General to his house, about 2 miles from the city, and refusing an invitation to dine with him, we returned. This day we dined with D^r Morgan, who was very kind and polite to us, particularly to myself, who he pressed to stay with him while at New York. In the afternoon we visited the grand Battery and called upon Gen^l Putnam who was not at home, but his lady requested we would breakfast with him in the morning.

"*July 7.*—We breakfasted with Genl. Putnam, who we found to be rough in his manner and speaking, but cheerful.

He offered us his barge and D^r Morgan accompanied us to Governor's Island, Red Hook and a Neck that joined Long Island. The works at these places were very good, but the general complaint was want of cannon. We returned about dinner time and dined with Lord Stirling, who had been very polite in offering his house and Stables to us. The invitation from Gen^l Washington hindered us from accepting another.

"*July 8.*—We dined with the brave G^l Putnam.

"*July 9.*—D^r Morgan accompanied us to view the works on Long Island, some of which command the city of New York. We dined at y^e Coffee House.

July 10.—We dined at the Coffee House and having seen all the works erected for the defence of the town, and it being the general opinion that General Howe would not attack the town very soon, we resolved to set off on a journey for the four New England Provinces."

ORDERLY-BOOK OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE
REGIMENT OF FOOT, MAY 10 TO AUGUST 16, 1777.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Continued from page 320.)

B. O. . CAMP CROSS ROADS, August 14, 1777.

A return of the absent officers of the different Regiments to be given in by Colonels this morning at 10 o'clock, in doing which strict attention must be paid to the General Orders of yesterday, respecting the occasion of their absence, how long, on what duty &c. The gentlemen officers will also, in the forenoon, comply with the General Orders which relates to Suttlers, and make their report as early as possible.

HEAD QUARTERS

G. O. CAMP CROSS ROADS, August 14, 1777.

Major General tomorrow, Lord Stirling; Brigadier, Maxwell.

Field Officers, Colonel Cook, Lieut. Colonel Innes.

Brigade Major, Witherspoon.

A Board of General Officers not on duty to sit tomorrow at 10 o'clock in the forenoon at General Greene's Quarters for the purpose of settling the rank of all the Pennsylvania Field Officers.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Stolen from the stable at the Cross Roads a pair of Silver mounted Pistols with screw-barrels. A handsome reward will be given to any person who will deliver them to Major Nicholas of the 10th Virginia Regiment, and no questions asked.

Lieut. Colonel Heath of the 3rd Virginia Regiment had a horse stolen from him while the Army lay at the Clove. When the Army came to Coryell's Ferry, the horse was

found in the hands of one Jones Ingomar where he was left by John Cummins and Patrick McGovack, said to have been Sutlers to the North Carolina troops. The horse was much abused and much disfigured. Commanding officers of Corps are desired to make inquiry in their Corps for the said Cummins and McGovack, that they may be brought to condign punishment, or if innocent that by their means the villain may be found out.

B. O.

CAMP CROSS ROADS, August 15, 1777.

The Regimental Quarter Masters to make returns this day of such public stores as are in their possession to Laurence Trent, who is appointed Quarter Master of the Brigade. They will also make returns of the wagons belonging to their Regiments, that if there be any deficiency they may be supplied. The Wagon Masters of the Brigade will make him a return of the public horses in their regiments, and let him know if any are wanting for the Brigade. Anything wanting in the future for either of those Departments must be immediately communicated to him, and it is expected nothing will be left undone that may forward our marches when ordered. Mr. Trent will see to procure straw for any Regiments who are not supplied, and send their wagons immediately for it.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS, CROSS ROADS, August 15, 1777.

It is with great concern that the Colonel sees his Regiment appear on the Parade so very dirty. He must look upon this as in a great measure owing to the negligence of the officers commanding companies, by not paying attention to the cleanliness of their men. Cleanliness is the first means to keep men healthy—that when the men get into the habit, there will be less trouble to the officers, otherwise it will reflect on them and the appearance of their companies, and on the Colonel. The Colonel therefore requests the Captains and their officers will immediately examine into the dress and appearance of their men every day, and have such

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as appear dirty severely punished; he desires that the Captains divide their companies into squads, and give each of their sergeants the command and care of these squads, who is to be accountable for their cleanliness. It is my express order for the future, that no man appears on ye parade for guard without his uniform, close shaved, hands and face well washed and his hair powdered. Any soldier who in the future appears otherwise, must be immediately confined by the Sergeant-Major until the guard is relieved, when the officer of the main guard is to bring him to the front of the Regiment, attended by the guard, and he is to receive twenty lashes on his bare back.

WALTER STEWART,
Colonel.

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS, CROSS ROADS, August 15, 1777.
Major General tomorrow, Stevens; Brigadier, Woodford.
Field Officers, Lieut. Colonels Conner and Heath.
Brigade Major, Day.
Detail, Col. Stewart, 1 s, 1 s, 18 p.
B. O. Field Officer for the Brigade tomorrow, Major Murray.

B. O. CROSS ROADS, August 16, 1777.
The tents are to be struck at 10 o'clock and the encampments of the different regiments properly cleaned up, that the Wind and Sun may dry the ground. Regimental Quarter Masters will attend to this order and see that their encampments are clean and the tents pitched again in regular order in the afternoon. No bushes or filth of any kind must be left on the ground, either in the front or rear of the tents. The guards in future to parade in front of the Camp.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS, CROSS ROADS, August 16, 1777.

A return to be made out by each Captain or officer commanding a company, of the number of men enlisted in their companies during the War, with the names of said men, to

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be delivered to the Adjutant immediately. No drums of the regiment to be beat in camp at any time, without the liberty of the commanding officer of the regiment. If fair weather the men are to be paraded tomorrow morning at five o'clock for exercise.

WALTER STEWART,
Colonel.

NARRATIVE OF CAPTAIN GUSTAVUS CONYNGHAM,
U. S. N., WHILE IN COMMAND OF THE "SURPRISE"
AND "REVENGE," 1777-1779.

CONTRIBUTED BY MISS M. B. OLARK, LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA.

[The career of Captain Gustavus Conyngham was a varied and eventful one, and his interesting narrative while in command of the "Surprise" and "Revenge," which follows, is a valuable contribution to the history of our Continental navy. Some of his correspondence with Franklin, while the latter was ambassador at the Court of Versailles, has been published. He was born in 1747, and in October of 1778 was married to Ann Hockley, at Christ Church. *Poulson's Advertiser* for November 29, 1819, contains the following notice of his death:

"Died on Saturday morning last [November 27] at one o'clock, in the 72d year of his age, Captain Gustavus Conyngham, long a respectable inhabitant of this city.

"His connections and friends are respectfully invited to attend his Funeral from his late Dwelling No. 81 Lombard street, at 2 o'clock this afternoon. The Captain's Society are also respectfully invited to attend."]

"A Narrative respective Lugger surprize & Cutler revenge.

"1st The Lugger surprize was purchased in dunkirk early in the Year 1777, and fitted out by order of the Commissioners of the United States at paris, doctor Franklin & silas dean, & the appointed Agents in dunkirk for that purpose, & my commission, a Captain of the Navy of the United States, Given to me by P. Commissioners in Paris; signed by John Hancock, then president in Congress, dated first day of March 1777, attested Chas. thompson Sectr. In this vessell made a cruze to the East, took the harwick packett & Brig Joseph on the 8th & 4th May 1777, secured the mail & delivered it to one of the agents on our return to dunkirk with those prizes, which were Given up by order of the french Government, Capt. & crew confined in prison, my commission taken & sent up to Versailles & not returned—

here it is to be observed the Commissioners was not well informed as to the views of the french court or by designe from every circumstance Led to beleive the Latter from political motives, the court of Versailles carried on their duplicity & blinded the British minister Lord stormount. Also that the Crew should be delivered up, and actually sent two sloops of War & tenders to dunkirk to receive us. 3^d The revenge cutter was also purchased and fitted out at dunkirk by the same directions. Viz—the Commissioner at paris & their Agents, first a house to advance the money. 2^d A person to purchase a vessell & that in England, 3^d the material, 4th a person With a priest to execute, thiss to shew the caution necessary at that time, and my Commission as before mentioned as a publick one—Given to me by W^m Carmichael Sec^t to the commissioners at paris, dated 2^d day of May 1777 attested by Chas. thompson Sec^t. 4th Notwithstanding all this Caution & obscurity the french Government required a surety that the revenge should not commence hostily^a on the British—the Commissioners procured an American Citizen for the purpose & W^m Carmichael came to dunkirk to expedite the Cutter & gave me verbal explanations, could not be committed to paper. Also a Letter not to attack, but if attacked at Liberty to retaliate in every manner in our power—Burn—Sink & destroy the Enemy. 5th 16th July 1777, the revenge left dunkirk next day attack^d, fire^d on, chased by several british frigatt^s sloops of War & Cutters. Without an enquiry into the Circumstances attending the hostility commenced, the french Government threw the Surety into the bastile, further deception to appease Lord Stormount & his court for the surety was done away & the revenge at Liberty to retaliate, the coast lined by British frigatts & Cruszers of every description. A vessell in disguise in dunkirk peers to give Signals on our going out & Was executed & answered in the offing by their ships of War; 6th Count de Stang was fitting a fleet at toulon by report destined for the protection of their Coloney^a so he should be clear of the European seas—the real object in view. A secret, our ministers at Court urging

a declaration of those intentions brought it to a close the Comp^t de Vergennes could no longer avoid. Count de Stang was but 24 hours late of capturing Lord howe in the delaware—

“7th In the first instance of those Armaments at dunkirk it was to Capture & destroy the transports & to liberate the hessians & the other troops from the Continant bound to England, on Certain Conditions, destroy the Enemy; plan in sending those troops to America from difficulty & delay in paris & dunkirk. We lost a Glorious Opportunity.

“8th Leaving dunkirk we stood to the E & N E, made several prizes in the German Ocean, N. Seas, Irish Channel & Western Ocean, destroyed several others, ordered to America, West Indies, to such places as their Cargoes would answer, few of them Got in safe, some of the prize masters made the most of them to their own use. Also by deception Arrived in England—We suffered from Gales sprung our bowsprit, short of supplys put into Kinehead—N. W. Coast of Ireland—We got Watter, verry little else to be got theare, the little we Got, paid them their own price—Leaving this place Bare away for ferrol—on our Arrival there No Agent or person Would Undertake to supply us at Corruna—the house of Lazonere & Co. undertook to supply the revenge on condition of my responsibility for the payment of Advances they should make—I comply^d with—

“9th I wrote the Commissioners at paris Giving them every information of our cruze & our situation, Also the names of the Mercantile houses in spain our prizes should be addressed too & they approved of and appointed the house of Lazonere & Co. Consul & Agents for every Continental vessel or their prizes that should enter that port, or other ports in Gallicia—Giving me orders to cruze in those seas & where most probable to make prizes & ordering to send some prizes to bilboa to the house of Guardozine, selecting the most difficult port they could have pointed out, Also into the hands of the principal merch^{ts} were they should arrive. We made several cruizes from Corruna & ferroll the prizes as before mentioned with directions on arriving safe—to

Give every information to the Commissioners to take their directions, to those houses they were addressed too—

“ 10th in 1777 fell in with the french Brig *Grasiosa* of Cape Ortinzal from London bound to Corruna, a valuable Cargo am^t p^r Invoice 75,000 pounds sterl. covered by a Spaniard in Corruna, thiss & other circumstances well known on board revenge. thiss vessell & cargo was fully insured in England against all. the crew insisted she should be stopt^d otherways would do no further outcry, put a crew on board, ordered her to bilboa, from Gales & seveare W. arrived at St Sebastians—the officer & Crew sent to prison, french Cap^t & crew put in com^d of the brig. On my arrival at bilboa in the revenge I went to S^t Sebastians by Land, then every difficulty ensued to Get our people Liberated from prison, I was obliged to submit to their terms, viz—the Governour & Sec^y, I protested against such arbitrary proceedings & claiming a restitution on the Spanish Govern^t & left S^t Sebastians. 11th the spanish Governour & his sec^y by representations to Court rec^d orders to discharge the Brig, they disposed of the Cargo, pay the french Capt. the freight & proceed as he saw fit, he refitted, that they had no right either to detain the vessell or make sale of the Cargo. After Long delay the Spanish Court determined that the Captors should pay the damages in fourteen days from the date of said decission, if not paid by them in that time, the french Cap^t should pay it, so much for diplomatick proceedings. A concerted plan of Villany at Court & S^t Sebastians; it is to be observed the time specify^d by the Spanish Courts that the Captor should pay they was out of their power & they knew it.—Appearance of a public sale m^d of thiss Cargo at S^t Sebastians, the Greater part of purchased for that Governour & secy^t most arbitrary & clandestine manner.

“ 12th at Bilboa the time the crew was engaged for Expired, no provission made for paying them off the Agent theare had no funds for that purpose. one of our prizes Getting in safe at Bilboa otherways would have been attended with disagreeable circumstances. A crew consisting of all nations

not possible to Govern or be Governed, short of mutiny in several instances, Afterwards could not engage a crew for any term beyond a Cruze & to be settled with at the expiration of—No Wages p^r month, a bounty advanced to be deducted from their shares in prizes as p^r orders of Congress, & regulation of seaman. 13th 1778 left bilboa on a Cruze to the W^t S W. & S^e stright^s of Tib, made several prizes, sent some to [America], & different ports in Europe, few Got in safe. Seven prizes ordered to Am. all retaken but one, that the prize master sold and Give no acc^t of, we were badly situated for prize master.

“14th put into Cadiz to refit & apply to the house of Lacoute & Co. no funds there. A prize getting in we were able to refit & proceed on a cruze to the W^t N. E—& N^e Latt^d 50° N^e made prizes & destroy^d several, had a bad Acc^t of their fate some of them we never heard of, An English ship of the Line & two frigatt^s were laying in Cadiz on our arrival—in their usual & diabolick mode of Warfare had determined in the Night by their boats to set the revenge on fire—A Good french man on board one of them Gave notice to the french Consul of their designe, who advised us of. Consequently was prepared for them, they did appeare in the dead of the night but took Care to Keep their distance, the spanish admirall had thiss notice & he politely offered a 74 Gun ship to protect us—We acknowledge the favor, but was noways apprehensive of any danger, to the 15th Contrary it was our wish they would make the Attempt. from seveare Gales & short of supplys put into ferrol—fitted out, Went on a Cruze to the Western & Canary Isld^s, made severall prizes & destroy^d others ordered as before observed to AM. & ports in Europe—came to Anchor at Punto Nego, tenerif, to Wood & Watter, Also how we should be rec^d at the Capitol, received notice we should be received with hospitality, proceeded to Sandy-Cruze, Got provissions & Necessarys—the house of Casalon & C^o furnished us—here we learned that one of our prizes—Cargo Wine, fruit & Oyle, was at Island of Palma, the prize master was disposing of the Cargoe in League With the British Consul, We pro-

ceeded to s^d Island & found he had disposed of the Cargo, a part delivered, took the Necessary steps, Got possession of the vessell & that part of Cargo on board, with thiss obliged to be satisfy^d—put a crew on board, ordered her to Martinique. 16th We Left palma, Went on a cruze to the N W. N. E & S^o made some prizes retaken & others no account of. those seas covered by British Cruzers of every description and orders from their Govern^t to follow the revenge into any harbour she might be in & destroy her. for prizes none could be Got in, the cruze being finished put into Corruna—thear was orders from spanish Govern^t that we should not be protect^d or admitt^d General O'Neal the Comm^d Officer was friendly to us, Also the Cause of our Country—Gave us Liberty to proceed to punto-dema a private harbour in Gallicia & refit & be supply^d in future to avoid the ports in Gallicia, every difficulty in our Way by British influence at Court & infamous representations of their Consuls the Agents by order Commis^{rs} made the Advances—

“ 17th rec'd a Letter from Arthur Lee Esq. informing he was sole commis^{rs} for Spain. I wrote him in Answer & Gave him the same information as I had the commis^{rs} at paris, viz. the Names & firms of those houses the prizes were order^d or would arrive & he might direct as he saw fit—and he did Write the agents & order^d. 17th On the arrival of prizes my directions to the prize masters & agents they should advise the Commis^{rs} & take their orders in disposal of the property, Arthur Lee Esq did write the Agents that all prizes made by Continental vessells; the funds to be held at his disposal, the revenge, no other vessell had any prizes or funds, to the contrary continental vessells of War putting into ports in Gallicia in want of repairs & supplye—Also citizens of the U S of America, captured in those seas put on shore coast of Gallicia, Vigo & elsewhere in the Greatest distress by british cruzers—also his excellency John Adams on his way to paris rec'd Moneys at Corruna and at Bayone, All those expenses & charges from the funds of the revenge, cutter, will be found to be no small amount, not a word from the Commis^{rs} of any funds or Credit being or-

dered to pay any expences that might occur, without considering the Great Expense attending a cruizer, and at that day our flag under many difficulty. 18th We left puntodema, the Consul Lazonere settled with the crew in 1778, under articles of agreement same as the last & proceeded for the West Indies, advising the Commis^{rs} of the difficultys we Laboured under—Arrived at Martinique, made no prizes—William Bingham Esq AM. agent theare disposed of P. cutter revenge as a publick vessell—viz. the crew engaged for a cruze, bounty advanced them, to be deductted from their prize money & settled with when finished in same manner as at bilboa and had continued in, made several cruizes to Windward & among the Islands—made some prizes of little value, protected several AM. merchantmen & convoyed others clear of the Island. Kept the British privateers in Good order in those seas, Captured two of them—

“19th left Martinique in 1779 arrived shortly after in Febry. phila^a—the Navy board took the direction of P. Cutter & sold her at public sale by an act of Congress 12th March '79—I petition Congress for a settlement of my Acct^s & they referd to Alexander Hamilton Esq^r Sec^{ry} of State my accounts & vouchers of every description, and he promised should be reportted on first session of Congress—he did not, petition after petition to Congress time after time to dec^r 26th 1797 to no Effect.

“20th Some time after peace by an order of Congress a commercial Agent was appointed to settle every account relative to the public in Europe & did call or Write to every house or agent Concerned with the revenge, cutter, for that purpose, through the Agency of William Carmichal at Madrid.

“GUSTAVUS CONYNGHAM.

“By a resolve of Congress, that the Cap^t of any single ship or armed vessel have two twentieth parts of his share, but if more ships or armed vessels be in Company when a

prize is taken then the two twentieth parts to be divided amongst all the said Captains;

"I went on a voyage from Phila^d in the Brig charming peggy to Europe to procure Munition^s of War of every description—arrived at dunkirk after circuitious route, here we could not accomplish in any way our object—the Agent Jon^t Nesbett Went to holland & procured every article desired & ordered in phila^d our vessell could not take such a cargoe on board there, if possible no person would or could undertake it—such must be procured in holland the only alternative to ship P. goods on board two dutch vessells in the Texel—the powder—saltpetter & such in one vessell, the other vessell Arms-flints medecine, cloathing & to avoid accidents to be put on board our vessell Nieuport roads, on our getting there the dutch men as usuall had not arrived, a Gale came on were obliged to slip our Cables & run into the Canal leading to Nieuport about 2½ miles from the town 4 days after the dutch men arrived We took out their Cargoes, detained by contrary winds in a canal & other difficulty^s at the entrance of the canal its requisite to have a fair wind—the tide so rapid otherwise carry^d on the sand banks, here I am sorry to say an Irishman sailor on board the name of brackenridge is father usher to a school in Londonderry under a M^r Ewing—dezertted & Got to Ostend informed the British Consul of every particular in consequence we were stop^d arrested, a guard put on board in 3 days after a light air wind & fair in our turn We put the Guard under arrest took their arms proceeding out, fell calm air of Wind came right in our case became desperate—took to our boats left the agent to claim as he did not appeare to have any hand in it, a deception should we faile—breaking an arrest under that despotick Gover^{mt} not to be trifled wth that verry guard m^d Oath that the agant was in same state as themself^s after this a long & tedious business took place the vessell & Cargoe damaged through ignorance of the balief; burgomaster, fisherman W^t Embezzlement a valuable cargo & vessell turned out to nothing when solde from the different charges costs & by that corrupt Govern^t

under the sanction of their Court & their prince Charles—I remained in dunkirk & after-wards took the Com^d of the Surprize, also after the revenge, as related in the Narative.

“G : CONYNGHAM.

“*March 1779*, the Cutter revenge being purchased by individuals—I continued in the Com^d of her—Went on a cruze under my former Commission U. S. Navy—taken carried into N. York—sent to England in a packett in Irons W^t 55 lbs., arrived at Falmouth, pen-dominis Castle & figure of 4 hand Irons added to the others, sent to plymouth committed on the high treason Act to stand a tryale with his most Gracious Sovering George the 3rd—on rebel Allowance 6 oz beef & 6 of bread for 24 hours, the least fault as they termed it, 42 days in the dungeon on the half of the above allowance of beef & bread—of the worst quality. Suffered a seveare & cruel treatment for number years, dogs, cats rats even the Grass eaten by the prisoners, thiss hard to be credited, but is a fact—After Burgoine’s & Cornwallis Capture, same allowance, but a little better treated, not so often reminded of the Gallows, After several attemps to escape from prison, as often brought back, at last Got to texel Went on board the Alliance frigatt paul Jones ~~comd~~ proceeded on a cruze down channel & towards the Western Islands put into Corruna to refit Supply^d by Mess^{rs} Lazonere & Co. —here I went on board the tartan.

“Experiment bound to the U S N, on the 17 day of March captured by the Admiral Edwards private cruze carryed to dartmouth from theare to Mill prison Lodge, as usual dungeon recovering from a seveare sickness, some time after made my escape Got over to Ostend proceeded to paris then Lorient Afterwards to Nantes, Layona ship to mount 24 twelves and Nines, the day she was Launched We had the information of peace Materials guns & Greater part of the crew engaged—Citizens of they USM of AM coming to Nantes numbers every day in the greatest distress—no provision made for them actually begging for a morsel of bread—Jonathan Williams and Jonathan Nisbett did every

488 *Narrative of Captain Gustavus Conyngham, U. S. N.*

thing in the power of man for their releive. We took on board the ship hanibal 95 as we posible could and the crew 35 men no Wages, Landed them at phila^a, Without any charge to them or the Govern^t thiss verry differ^t from the Conduct of many other AM Vessells in that port & other ports in france at that time—

“G. CONYNGHAM.”

LETTERS OF RICHARD HENRY LEE, OF VIRGINIA.

[The following letters of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, are addressed to his friend, Hon. William Whipple, of New Hampshire.]

"CHANTILLY IN VIRGINIA June 26th 1779.

"DEAR GENERAL

"I wish this may find you as happy at Philadelphia as we are at Chantilly—nothing but the want of rain disturbs us, we have neither wicked, perverse or foolish Politicians here whose misconduct makes us fear for the safety of the Country. I have frequently admired the philosophic ease with which you have contemptuously viewed the proceedings in Congress which I own shocked me exceedingly. I suppose you have fixed your opinion with Mr. Pope 'what ever is, is right.' I believe indeed the wisdom and goodness of the Creator does not frequently deduce from evil, yet I am exceedingly chagrined when I see wicked and weak men have session in and misconduct the public councils. I understand that our excellent friend Sam Adams has left Congress—I am truly sorry for I well know that his ability and integrity will be missed from any assembly, but indispensable from the one from which he went. As you are the oldest member & the most skilled in Marine matters, I take it for granted that you are now Chairman of the Marine Committee. But whether so or not let me intreat you that you prevail with the Committee to order two Frigates into Chesapeak Bay if it is only for a few days—The Confederacy & the Boston can with infinite ease destroy the enemies vessels that are doing us so much injury, causing us so much expence by frequent calls for Militia—They have already burnt several private houses and one public warehouse with between 2 & 300 hhds of Tobo. and carried off much plunder & many negroes—Soon as they see the Militia gathering they embark and go to another unguarded place. They have 6 Vessels, Otter 16, Harlem 12 Guns Kings Vessels—Dunmore 16, Schooner Hammond 14, Lord North 12 Guns & Fin Castle 2 three pounders. The 4 last are Guntridges Pirates. They say the orders are to burn and destroy all before them—an Eastern Man whom they had captured and claimed escaped from them when they were burning the Warehouse and gave us the above account of their force, which is confirmed by others—They land between 60 & 70 men when they mean to do mischief—I do not think I can be charged with excess of opinion in favor of our Navy when I say that the frigates already mentioned could destroy these Pirates and return to their Stations after thus relieving our water bound Country and removing the cause of great expence. The frigates by calling at Hampton can get the best intelli-

gence of the enemies situation & force—Do me the favor Sir to convey the enclosed to Mr. Bradford as soon as you can. I shall thank you for your foreign & domestic news as well as to know what tunes the fiddle party are playing. My best respects attend my Whig friends in Congress. With sin—I am dr Sir your affct friend and obt servant

“RICHARD HENRY LEE.”

“CHANTILLY August 8th 1779.

“MY DEAR SIR.

“My indisposition prevented my replying to your favor of the 11th by last post, and I am now very unwell but will no longer delay thanking you. We are much obliged to the Marine Committee for their attention. I see the frigates have taken and sent in two prizes, vessels of war.—The other frigate you mention would no doubt have been of considerable service—I am very apprehensive with you that her freight will not be ready for some time—Not until other goods come to replace—I hope the goods coming will be really good, and not such miserable, pernicious stuff, as that to be reproved. Worse goods cannot come, so that a change bids fair to be beneficial—God send it may quickly take place—Fancy the ‘Ugly instrument’ is considerably hurt by the dressing lately given by our assembly—The oath anti-commercial ordered to be taken—Pray inform me if you can if the Base viol has groaned it out. I had thought it would stick in the throat not from principle but from fear. No doubt ‘the old Game’ will continue to be played whilst the old set continue where they are. The best and most faithful friends of America must be extricated by the best and most faithful friends of our enemies; and this is the clue to unfold much of what you see. Did you not enjoy some Phizs when Dr. Lee’s vindication and vouchers were read? Some people will always think it ‘clearly out of order’ to give the public this conviction of their own and their friends criminality. But I trust there will be a majority of virtue to do this justice to the community and to individuals. Shylock should have justice & the law—read the law of Moses, ‘forty save one.’ I fancy you were not much deceived about the budget—I will engage this, that from this opener it will be general deception, unimportant or partified. I have the most heart felt attachment to our Navy & therefore wish to know that the fisheries go on well, and that the Marine Committee are attentive. If the enemy go on burning in this manner their masked friends in — will never be able to bring us again under British bondage, even their finance and foreign affairs are trifled with abused & go wrong. Col. F. L. Lee is very thankful for your kind remembrance of him and sends his respects. He is not well any more than myself. It is impossible for us to be so, whilst the cause of America receives such injury from bad men. I hope you do not intend to leave Congress soon. You know I am happy to hear from you and you are too much my friend to deny me the happiness. I am yours dear Sir with most sincere affection

“RICHARD HENRY LEE.”

"CHANTILLY Sept 4th 1779.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am infinitely obliged to you for your very friendly letter of the 3rd last, and I assure you that while I live I shall never fail to retain the most affectionate remembrance of you. My health I thank you is well restored, and my spirits not a little enlivened by the discomforture of those wicked ones whose detestable arts have prevailed much too long for the interest of that cause which we have labored so much to promote and secure. I believe the Confederacies frieght will be a very guilty one, and the sooner we are quit of it the better. I think the companion of M^r Adams to be the very worthy one he describes him, and such an one will honor his Country & not distract this. I can feel with force the satisfaction that good men must have received and the chagrin that bad ones felt when Dr. Lee's papers were read. But how my dear Friend will the honor of Congress stand if they allow that wicked insulter and injurer of America—Silas Deane, to go on uncensured. Already you find by his memorial that your silence is construed into approbation of his conduct, and this idea will be pushed thro the world to his plaudit, and the indelible dishonor and disgrace of Congress. Yet it is most certain upon the estimation with which mankind regard Congress does the future interest and success of the United States depend most essentially. B—— is the most contemptible wretch in the world, and if he takes the oath and remains in Congress I am much misinformed if he will not have deep cause to rue it. You have certainly been exonerated of abundance of filth lately from Congress—does not an Augean Stable yet remain. I hope however that it will be cleansed at last. If you do not get a wise and very firm friend to negotiate the fishery, it is my clear opinion that it will be lost, and upon this principle, that it is the interest of every European power to weaken us and strengthen themselves. Mr. Ford is gone to Williamsburg to demand a public hearing before the Governor & Council that he may, as he says he can clearly do refute the charges brought against him in his absence—Long ere now I suppose you have received the Dispatch he brought, which I forwarded by Express, I believe they contained more proofs of the wickedness of faction. Dr. Lee informs us that he will return to America as soon as the treaty with Spain is accomplished. I submit my opinion concerning his resignation to the wise judgment of his and American Friends. It gives me pleasure to hear that you do not mean to quit Congress soon—It is very agreeable to me to hear that our little fleet has fallen in successfully with the Jamaica fleet. I am always rejoiced to hear that our Navy is fortunate.

"I am dear Sir your most sincere affectionate friend

"RICHARD HENRY LEE."

"CHANTILLY VIRGINIA July 7th 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND

"Judging of your heart by my own I cannot suppose that either of us will conceive ourselves neglected by an interrupted correspondence in the present state of things. It must certainly be some other cause than neglect which can produce such an effect between two persons whose friendship is founded on virtue tried in severest times—For my part I must cease to live before I cease to love those proved Patriots with whom I early toiled in the vineyard of American liberty.—The same reasons that I find had prevented you, have also discouraged me from writing, and nothing more so than the uncertainty of conveyance. It is disagreeable to write to a friend when the mind is cramped, and a free communication of sentiments prevented. Capt. Simpson safely contrived to me your letter with the very agreeable present of Fish, for both which I return you many thanks. The fish were fine, and furnished me with frequent opportunities whilst I regaled my friends here, to recognize the worth of the bounteous hand by which we were so delightfully fed. But I was never made so happy as to see either Capt. Simpson or your relation. They came not on my way or I in theirs. I sent one of my sons to entreat the pleasure of their company, but he was not fortunate enough to meet with them. I was in great hopes that the Major would have honored me with his company here whilst Capt. Simpson's business detained him in the country. We have indeed as you have observed suffered our share of the calamities of War, and I hope it may furnish us with that best kind of improvement which is furnished in the school of adversity—You may see by the last published Resolves at New York and that of our Assembly published that the last arrived delusion at New York is not likely to make a greater impression than the old ones had done. I fear Poor Weeks has gone to the bottom of the Sea with a very valuable Cargo and every Soul but one who was supported three Days on a ladder before he was picked up. An attempt is said to have been made to assassinate Dr. Franklin who is only slightly wounded on the ribs.

"RICHARD HENRY LEE."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

DENNIS FRITH.—A manuscript volume of "Genealogical Notes," recently presented to the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, contains the following incidents connected with the life and death of Dennis Frith, Esq., a young English lawyer, whose grave may be found in the cemetery of Christ Church, corner Fifth and Arch Streets.

"Philada. 4th mo 2d. 1810

"TO DENNIS FRITH AND WIFE.

"The design of this is to furnish you with some information respecting your son Dennis Frith, of whose decease you have no doubt heard. . . . He boarded at the house of John Slater and assumed the name of Duncan Fitzharris. Reuben Haines being known to Slater's family, his daughter called on him to enquire for a book on the subject of Natural History, stating that it was for a young Englishman who resided at her father's. This request excited some curiosity. . . . Mr. Haines waited on him . . . his conversation soon discovered that his education was of a superior nature. . . . At this interview no disclosures were made of his history. Some days after, Reuben Haines mentioned the case to Roberts Vaux . . . we made a visit to him together. We furnished him with an order for the use of a share in the Philadelphia Library. . . . Whilst we were with him he was enquired of when he came to America. He replied that he took the voyage for the improvement of his health and arrived in New York in the preceding July. On being asked whether he brought letters of introduction, he answered negatively . . . we sent for his hostess . . . enquiring what she knew of his history . . . with hesitation and with feeling, she unfolded to us in confidence the unhappy cause of his exile, which he had voluntarily told her. . . . He represented himself to be the only son of a wealthy and respectable father, of an affectionate mother, the brother of an amiable sister. . . . As he appeared to be in a very critical state of health . . . we deemed it necessary that he should have the care of a physician, and at an interview soon after Reuben Haines proposed it to him. Conscious of the smallness of his funds, and . . . peculiarly delicate and susceptible . . . the idea of receiving the attentions of a medical gentleman without the means of compensating him was . . . the reason why he would not yield to the proposition. . . . His indisposition increasing with alarming rapidity . . . his consent . . . ultimately obtained, Dr. Joseph Parish was called . . . and with all the tenderness of Christian solicitude, apprised his patient of his condition. . . . During the last two weeks of his life, we generally visited him twice in the day. . . . Having expressed a wish to see a clergyman, it was immediately gratified by a visit from Bishop White . . . who . . . on the evening of the succeeding day administered the Sacrament. . . . On the evening of the night that he departed . . . he poured forth a supplication to Heaven, imploring Almighty God to deliver him from his sins, and that He might be pleased to release him from all his sufferings. . . . In the morning, when we were informed of his death, we waited on P. Bond, Esq. (who saw him during his illness), and it was determined that his remains

should be deposited in the Church grave yard . . . which was accordingly done on the afternoon of the 31st of March; Bishop White officiated.

"CHESTNUT STREET March 31, 1810

"Mr Bond with his best compliments to Mr. Haines laments extremely that an increase of lameness confines him to the house, and will prevent his attending the funeral of the unfortunate Mr. Frith.

"6 April 1810

"Mr Bond's respects to Mr Haines and Mr Vaux, begs leave to assure them, the letter to Mr. Frith shall be transmitted to England. . . . From them indeed he [Frith] experienced the most abundant benevolence, superadded to a degree of care and assiduity most effectually calculated to mitigate the sufferings of his latter days . . ."

"SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF ST. GEORGE.

"[Meeting] held at the Mansion House Hotel . . . 23d day of April 1810,—Resolved that the thanks of this Society be given to Mr. Haines and Mr. Vaux for their humane relief and assiduous attention to Mr. Frith, an Englishman without friends here. . . ."

"RETFORD 29th June 1810

"TO P. BOND ESQ.

" . . . the grateful acknowledgments of an unhappy father, a tender mother, and a most affectionate sister . . . also to the good and pious Bishop White, also to those dear and good men Mr Haines and Mr. Vaux, . . . my dear son's history. . . . After making great improvement in the Classics, under my own tuition, he was sent to Grantham College or school . . . till fifteen years of age; afterwards he was one year at school at Doncaster. At sixteen he was articled clerk with John Holmes Esq. attorney at law, of this place, for five years . . . afterwards he went into a Solicitor's office in London, and was admitted an attorney. Before he went to London he had the first attack of a ruptured blood vessel . . . in May 1809, when he had been bleeding more or less for eleven days, he went out, on the morning of the 26th of that month, to meet me and his sister returning from our morning's walk, when he was met by a Mr. Bragg, who had frequently insulted him before. On passing Bragg struck him with his stick over the shoulders, and my son, though weak and infirm as he was, returned the blow with his cane, and a sort of stick licking, as I may call it, continued until my son thought he had given him enough, and stood upon the defensive. Unfortunately for us and poor Dennis, the man had been ill, . . . bad case of Erysipelas . . . and from a broken skin which my son gave him . . . which terminated his existence in about a month. His nephew who succeeded to his ill gotten property, had made proposals for my daughter . . . with unprecedented malice and revenge had a serious investigation before the Coroner . . . a verdict of manslaughter against my son. . . . But the nephew . . . at the assizes, preferred a bill for murder. . . . In that moment of terror . . . I consented to his going to Liverpool to take shipping for America. After he had sailed, at the Assizes, the Grand Jury threw out the revengeful nephew's bill, and brought in one for manslaughter only, of which, had he lived to return to his native country, I have no doubt he would have been honorably and fairly acquitted. . . . My son told you true; my property is considerable, and it is a matter of very great uneasiness to us, to find he was in want. Those in whom I confided assured me he had with him letters of credit

. . . and an order to draw upon a house in Liverpool for any sum; herein I was deceived, until I received a letter from him, the latter end of February last, when I immediately sent £70. to be remitted to him by Messrs Bainbridge & Browne in London, who gave an order on their correspondent in America, authorizing Duncan Fitzharris . . . to receive the money, this order . . . was to be conveyed by the John Adams, frigate, which was to sail about the 3rd of March. . . . I had a copy of your letter of the 28th March from Mr. Edward Nottingham, and another from York & Sheepshanks, of Leeds, relating to my son's death. . . . I received a packet from you under seal of the Secretary of State's office containing some letters . . . an inventory of my son's property . . . and also the good and consolatory letters of Messrs Haines and Vaux, for which we can never sufficiently acknowledge the kindness. . . . By the Eliza, packet, I also received your letter. . . . I also wish Dr Joseph Parish may be paid. . . . I am also desirous you will send me out . . . the silver horizontal watch; gold key and seal; the locket of hair; the pocket book with its contents, the 2d. and 3d volumes of Withering's English Botany, the box containing garden seeds, and hkf's containing corn, the pocket dial, gold breast pin and stone of a seal and the magnifying glass. . . .

"DENNIS FRITH."

"RETTFORD 3d Dec. 1810.

"TO PHINEAS BOND ESQ.

"By this Post I shall send a draft to . . . for your use. . . . I thank you also for your sending the remaining articles belonging to my son. I do not know how far it is customary in America to lay a flat stone over the grave of a person deceased, with an inscription thereon. Myself, Mrs. Frith and my daughter are very desirous to have a stone placed over my dear son's grave with an inscription, viz.

"Dennis Frith
of East Retford
England
Attorney at Law
died the 30th March
1810
aged 24 years.

[signed] "DENNIS FRITH."

From the *Freeman's Journal* of October 3, 1809.

"*London July 14.* On Sunday the 15th ulto. an inquest was held at the Angel Inn, East Retford, before Nathaniel Mason, Coroner, . . . on the body of John Bragge, gent. then lying dead; the circumstances . . . are rather extraordinary . . . according to the evidence. . . . The sister of Dennis Frith, an Attorney in East Retford, a young accomplished lady, felt or feigned a passion for Mr. John Bragge, a respectable old gentleman, about seventy, in consequence of which she addressed several letters to him in true loving style, which the gallant, unfortunately, never thought proper to answer. . . . Dennis Frith, enraged that his sister's affection should meet with no better return, and anxious to do away the disgrace, as he termed it, went to Mr. Bragge's house on the 24th of May, and reproached him with the impropriety of his conduct. From words they fell to blows, when Frith repeatedly struck the old man over the head, breast and legs, with a thick cane. . . . In consequence of the wounds, Mr. Bragge received, he was confined to his bed

and languished till the 23 ult. when he expired. The Coroner's Jury returned a verdict of 'died of mortal bruises given by Dennis Frith.' Frith has since absconded."

(*Tyne Mercury*.)

The letter of Dennis Frith, Sr., of June 29 (*supra*) to Mr. Bond speaks of Bragge as "not employing the physician who knew his constitution," after his death being "I am assured, not from the wound he had on his skin, but from his bad habit of body," and says that the nephew "had made proposals to my daughter, though not attended to by her, or her parents,"—also that "my son had many times before this business took place, solicited me, unknown to his mother and sister, to permit him to take a long voyage to sea, saying he had no hope of recovering from his indisposition, if that could not relieve him. In that moment of terror, and with the idea of his being dragged to prison, ill as he was, I consented &c."

SOME INDICTMENTS BY THE GRAND JURY OF PHILADELPHIA.—

"At a Court of Sessions held at Philadelphia before ye Maire, Recorder &c y^e 26th day of 7^{bre} 1702.

"The Names of y^e Grand Jury viz.

"Jno Psons,	Tho. Asson,
"W ^m Lee,	Rich ^d Warder,
"Penticost Teague,	Hugh Cordey,
"Ralph Jackson,	Andrew Bird,
"W ^m Sneed,	Rich ^d Worthington,
"W ^m Humphry,	Tho ^s Tibby,
"Rich ^d Love,	Rich ^d Wright,
"Jn ^s Harrison,	Emanuel Walker,
"Jn ^s Redman Sen ^r ,	Jn ^s Williams,
"Able Noble,	Jno. Haywood,
"Jn ^s Densey,	W ^m Hearn.
"Tho. Hobbs,	

"THO. FFARMAR
"Sheriffe."

"The Grand Inquest of the November Sessions for the City of Philadelphia held this second day of November 1703, presented the following for selling liquor without a license.

"Oliver Lambert,	Mary Robbins,
"Samuell Twonelley,	Grace Townsend,
"Hendrick Faulconburgg,	Nathaniel Duglas,
"John Sperring,	Sarah Gibbs.
"Ephraim Johnson,	

"JON REDMAN, forman."

[In the presentment of the Grand Jury, November 3, 1703, Alderman John Jones is presented "for incroachment on Mulberry Street, by setting a great Reed or hay stack in the said street for these two years last past & making a close fence about ye same." The same jury also presented the "great want of a Sealer of Leather and a Corder of Wood, for the City."]

"Prices of Liquors in publick houses & provender in Publick Stables set by the Justices July Sess^m 1731.

Wine p Quart in Pub. House	2s.
Rum p Jill	— 2d.
Rum Punch made of Double refined Sugar p Quart	1 4
Tiff or Flipp p Quart	— 8
Rum Punch made with Single refined Sugar	1 —
Arrack one Quart made into Punch	8
Beer p Quart	— 3
Best Beer p Quart—and so for a greater & Lesser Quantity	— 5
Oats p Bushell	8
Cyder p Quart	— 3
Best English Hay for a Horse p Night	— 8
Common Hay	— 5"

[In the handwriting of Benjamin Franklin.]

"The Grand Jury observe with great Concern, the vast number of Tippling Houses within this City, many of which they think are little better than Nurseries of Vice and Debauchery, and tend very much to encrease the number of our poor, They are likewise of opinion, that the profane Language, horrid Oaths, and Imprecations, grown of late so common in our Streets, so shocking to the Ears of the sober Inhabitants, and tending to destroy in the Minds of our Youth, all sense of the Fear of God and the Religion of an Oath, owes its increase in a great measure to those disorderly Houses; The Jury therefore begg leave to recommend it to the Court, to fall on some method of limittin or diminishing the number of Publick Houses, and pressing Good Order in such as shall be licensed for y^e Future

"WILL^m BELL
"Foreman

"PHILADA JAN^y 2^d 1744."

[In the handwriting of Benjamin Franklin.]

"To the Worshipful the Mayor, the Recorder and the rest of the Justices of the City of Philadelphia

"The Grand Jury of the said City, met at the present Sessions, do, in Compliance with the Direction of the Court, make the following *particular* presentments of unlawful Bakehouses, Coopers Shops, Disorderly Houses, &c. but believing from the Reprimand they yesterday received from the Court, that the *general* Presentment they then made was misapprehended, and that, thro' the Clerk's hasty Reading, the Court did not sufficiently advert to the Tenor and Import of that Presentment they beg Leave here to repeat it.

"The Grand Jury observe with great Concern the vast Number of Tippling Houses within this City, many of which they think are little better than Nurseries of Vice and Debauchery, and tend very much to encrease the Number of our Poor. They are likewise of Opinion, that the profane Language, horrid Oaths and Imprecations, grown of late so common in our Streets, so shocking to the Ears of the sober Inhabitants, and tending to destroy in the Minds of our Youth, all Sense of the Fear of God and the Religion of an Oath, owes its Increase in a great Measure to those disorderly Houses. The Jury therefore beg Leave to recommend it to the Court, to fall on some Method of limiting or diminishing the Number of Publick Houses, and preserving Good Order in such as shall be licenced for the future."

"The Jury would only observe, that they had no Intention in the least to break in upon the Authority of the Magistrates; that they only complain'd of the great Number of Tipling Houses as a Grievance which they feel, and, far from prescribing to the Justices, they only requested them to fall upon some Methods among themselves of preventing it for the future: Which is no more than is practiced in like Cases by the Grand Juries of the City of London, as the Presentment they made of the great Increase of Gin Shops, to the Ld Mayor and Justices of that City, fully shows. [Here read the Middlesex Presentment.] For this Presentment the Jury were, as we are inform'd, *thank'd* by that honourable Court, and a Committee of the Bench appointed to enquire into the Grievance complain'd of, upon whose Report Measures were afterwards taken to remove it. The Grand Jury do therefore still think it their Duty to complain of the enormous Increase of Publick Houses in Philadelphia, especially since it now appears by the Constables Returns that there are upwards of One Hundred that have Licences, which, with the Retailers, make the Houses that Sell Strong Drink, by our Computation, near a tenth Part of the City; a Proportion that appears to us much too great, since by their Number they impoverish one another as well as the Neighbourhoods they live in, and, for want of better Customers, may, thro' Necessity, be under greater Temptations to entertain Apprentices, Servants, and even Negroes. The Jury therefore are glad to hear from the Bench, that, the Magistrates are become sensible of this Evil, and purpose to apply a Remedy; for which they will deserve the Thanks of all good Citizens.

"We do further hereby particularly present the following Persons for keeping Disorderly Houses in this City, to wit, Katharine Mason, John Browne, Margaret Cook, Widow Finley, Ralph Highrick, William Jones, Jane Bond, Katharine Carr, Sarah Levine.

"The Jury observ'd with Concern in the Course of the Evidence, that a Neighbourhood in which some of these disorderly Houses are, is so generally thought to be vitiated, as to obtain among the common People the shocking Name of *Hell-Town*.

"We do farther present the following Persons for having Coopers Shops not regulated according to Law, and dangerous to the City on Account of Fire, to wit, Hugh McMachen, Samuel Powel, Andrew Farrel, Benjamin Betterton, Thomas James, Jonathan Evans, Aaron Jenkins, Jacob Kollock, Tho' Glentworth, Thomas Fisher, Richard Brockden, Cateer, Jacob Shute, William Nixon, Hugh McCullogh, Edmund Beech.

"We do farther present the following Persons for keeping Bakehouses not regulated according to Law, and dangerous to the City on Account of Fire, to wit, William Darvell, Marcus Kuhl, John Fitzharris, John Fenell, Daniel Button, Francis Johnson, Samuel Reed, Joseph Clark, Stephen Jenkins.

"And we do present Norton Prior, Wight Massey, and Marcus Kuhl for having Piles of Faggots dangerously situated and contrary to Law.

"We do farther present Lynford Lardner for abusing and assaulting the Constable of the Watch then upon Duty.

"And lastly, we do present Samuel Hasell Esq as a Magistrate who not only refused to take Notice of a Complaint made to him against a Person guilty of profane Swearing, but (at another Time) set an Evil Example by swearing himself.

"We beg Leave only to add, that as a good Grand Jury (which the Recorder was pleased to say we had the Appearance of being) may, if there is no Misunderstanding between the Magistrates and them, greatly

assist and strengthen the Court in the Suppression of Vice and Immorality, we hope no Cause will be given hereafter of the least Disagreement; and that well meaning Persons may not be made unwilling to serve in that Office by unkind Reprimands from the Bench, tho' they should sometimes happen to mistake their Duty, but be treated at least with some Indulgence.

"By Direction and in Behalf

"of the Grand Jury

"WILL^M BELL *fore man*

"Jan. 8, 1744."

"To the Worshipful the Mayor, Recorder, & Aldermen of the City of Philadelphia.

"The Petition of Francis Delboux.

"Humbly Sheweth.

"That your Petitioner came over to America with his Excellency General Braddock, & served him as a Cook. That your Pet' has also served Gen' Webb, Lord Howe, & Gen' Amherst in that Station; That your Pet' bad Health prevented him following the Army, where he might have procured himself a Livelihood, for which Reason Gen' Amherst was pleased to discharge him, as may appear by proper Certificates & a Letter of Recommendation writ by order of that General.

"Your Petitioner therefore prays your Worship would grant him your Recommendation to his Honour the Governour for his License to keep a public House of Entertainment in this City. And your Petitioner, as in Duty bound, shall ever pray &c."

PROPOSED ADVERTISEMENT OF THE CHARITY SCHOOL OF PHILADELPHIA, 1740.—

"ADVERTIZEMENT.

"It has pleased Almighty God of his infinite Goodness and Mercy in these latter Days to Visit with his Holy Spirit the Hearts and Minds of many professing Christianity in this as well as diverse other Parts of the World however divided or distinguished in denomination or Interest so as to make them lay aside Bigottry and party Zeal and unite their endeavours to promote the truly Noble Interest of the Kingdom of the Blessed Jesus.

"With this View it hath been thought proper to erect a large Building for a Charity School for the Instruction of Poor Children Gratis in useful Literature and the knowledge of the Christian Religion And also for a House of Publick Worship The Houses in this Place being insufficient to contain the great Numbers who convene on such Occasions And it being Impracticable to meet in the open Air at all Times of the Year because of the inclemency of the Weather

"It is agreed that the Use of the aforesaid School and House of Religious Worship be under the Direction of certain Trustees Viz

and other Persons to be appointed by them who in case of the Decease of one of their Number are to choose by a Majority of their Votes one other fit Person to succeed in his Place and so from Time to Time as often as any of the before named Trustees or others so to be chosen shall dye the Place of such deced Trustee shall be supplied by the Votes of a Majority of the Surviving Trustees.

"Which Trustees before named and hereafter to be chosen are from Time to Time to appoint fit and able School Masters and School Mistresses and introduce such Protestant Ministers as they judge to be

Sound in principle acquainted with experimental Religion in their own Hearts and faithful in their Practise without regard to those distinctions or different sentiments in lesser matters which have unhappily divided real Christians.

"These are therefore to give Notice to all Charitable Persons who are inclined to encourage this undertaking that the Building is actually begun under the direction of

and the Foundation laid on a Lot of Ground (late of Jonathan Price and Mary his Wife who have generously contributed) Situate near Mulberry Street in the City of Philad^a where Materials for the Building will be received As also Subscriptions for Money and Work taken in by the under written Persons.

"PHILAD^a July 1740."

LETTER OF COLONEL RICHARD HUMPTON TO GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE.—

"PHILADELPHIA 14th Aug^r 1781.

"DE GENL

"On my arrival at Lebanon I found the Regim^t had march'd to Lancaster Col Marsteller who supply'd the provisions on his own Acc^t was satisfy'd without rendering any Account for payment. Gen^l St. Clair was in P Town I went to Council with him, he apply'd for Tents &c but could obtain nothing, they mentioned their intention of Marching 1st & 4th Reg^{ts} to Lancaster the 2^d & 3^d to Reading—I saw Major Bankson he had got all the returns except the 6th which he rece^d only a few days ago The person who Major Grier sent it by, had neglect'd delivering it. There is a resolve of Congress for 6 months nominal pay on acc^t but there is no money to be got—Mr Morris & M^r Peters are gone to Head Quarters & I have heard there is a plan on foot for another arrangement of the army this winter from what I see Recruits are got very slowly here as well as in the Country, Major Parrs Comp has little success Gen^l St Clair left Town a few days ago and went to Potagrove Gen^l Wayne may expect a reinforcement & I think that is as much as he will get. I have just heard that a Frigate of ours is taken & five or six sail of other vessels of the Capes—Gen^l Washingtons army remains near Valentines Hill it is said the English Ships of war have been sail'd from New York some time but no body pretends to know where they are gone, it was reported this day that 3000 Hessians had, or will arrive soon, that they came north hope M^r Irvine & family are well my Compliments

"I am D^r Gen

"Yours with Esteem

"RICH^d HUMPTON.

• "GEN. IRVINE."

LETTER OF STEPHEN CHAMBERS TO JOHN ROSE (BARON ROSENTHAL), SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL OF CENSORS.—

"DEAR SIR:

"I would thank you to send me by the Lancaster Post, as many as you can conveniently spare of the proposed amendments of the Constitution in the German Language,—as the Germans, want much to read them and judge for themselves as some of y^e thinking part of them begin to apprehend they have been imposed on, & I have no doubt in a little time that a great Majority of them will be for the Amendments, as it must evidently appear upon an examination, that nothing is proposed

but what will tend to their security & happyness. Things begin to wear a different appearance I have great hopes it will encrease every day. The Publications by one of the Majority & one of the Germans are particularly usefull.

"I am D^r Sir

"with Esteem

"your very humble Serv^t

"STEPHEN CHAMBERS.

"LANCASTER 5th Aprill 1764."

INQUEST ON THE DEATH OF LIEUTENANT CHARLES C. BEATY, OF COLONEL ANTHONY WAYNE'S BATTALION, PENNSYLVANIA ASSOCIATORS.—

"To the Honourable the Council of Safety for the State of Pennsylvania,—Gentlemen, We must Inform you that an unhappy Accident happened on the Sixteenth day of this Instant at a Certain Alexander McCalla's in Charles Town Township in the County of Chester and the State aforesaid, (to wit the Accidental Death of Charles Clinton Beaty, Second Lieutenant to Captain Thomas Church of the fourth Battalion of the Pennsylvania Troops Commanded by Colonel Anthony Wayne) and as there is now no Legal way of Proceeding in Cases of Accidental Deaths we thought it Expedient to call upon the Chairman of the Committee for the County aforesaid to Qualify Evidences and Call and Empannell a Jury to try the matter above mentioned.

"We therefore of the Jury according to the Powers Delegated to us, have to the best of our understandings well and truly examined the Evidences Relative to Death of the above Named Lieutenant Charles Clinton Beaty, and find that it was merely Accidental by a Shot from Captain Caleb North's Fusee of the same Battallion not apprehending it to be charged. In Testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands & seals the 17th day of Feb^r Annoq Domini 1777.

"W^m Bodly, [SEAL]
 "W^m Dewees, Jr., [SEAL]
 "Sam'l Roberts, [SEAL]
 "John Griffith, [SEAL]
 "Pat^r M^cFall, [SEAL]
 "Benj. Rittenhouse, [SEAL]

Tho^s Church, [SEAL]
 John Pugh, [SEAL]
 Peter Dehaven, [SEAL]
 Benj Coates, [SEAL]
 Jonatⁿ Coates, [SEAL]"

ARCH STREET, ORIGIN OF THE NAME.—The following presentment of the Grand Jury in July, 1723, is interesting as determining the origin of the name of Arch Street, which, according to the original plan of the city, was to have been called Sassafras Street. The original is in the collection of the Historical Society.

"1723 July y^e 5th.

"To the Court of Q^r Sessions now Setting in Philadelphia, . . .

"Wee the Grand Inquest for the Body of this City having Vewed the Streets thereof, doe Present that part of Northside of Chesnutt street Bounding on Tho^s Shutes house & Lott & on the house & Lott commonly call'd the Sign of ye Hatchett wee y^e s^d Inquest doe likewise present Chesnutt wharfe now in y^e Tennur of W^m ffishburn—also the place where y^e Arch stood &c. And that part of Sassafras street Adjoying to front street . . . and a heap of earth & Rubush in y^e front street between Phillip Sings & Owen Merideth, Likewise a Dangerous place In King street before a house & Lott of Jn^s Jones Bolter, all which places &

every of them wee present as Common Newsances well knowing the
 s^d places or some of them renders the Lives of many of ye Inhabi-
 tents of this City & others very precarious which Newsances & Grev-
 ances wee pray may be Remov'd Sign'd In behalf of ye Jury

"By the forman

"BEN^A DUFFIELD."

ROLL OF LIEUTENANT SAMUEL MURPHY'S COMPANY FOR FRON-
 TIER DEFENCE.—From a "Return of Arms, Accoutrements, Ammuni-
 tion, and Camp Equipage wanting to Complete a Detachment of State
 Levies under the Command of Lieutenant Sam'l Murphy, Guys Bottom,¹
 7th April, '95." The names of sergeants and privates are copied.

"Serjt. Wm. Brown.	John Hays.
"Serjt. Joseph Collins.	Thos. Story.
"John Mitchell.	Joseph Sutton.
"John Bulman.	James Mahaney.
"David Rankin.	George Wilson.
"Sam'l M'Call.	Charles M'Cann.
"John Kirk.	Edward Kelly.
"John Shaul.	Edward Canaan.
"James Caze.	William Fisher.
"Mich'l Shaul.	John Carroll.
"John Claws. [Clause.]	Sam'l Sterrit.
"Henry Turner.	John Reeves.
"Benjamin Lewis.	Ephraim Collins.
"Samuel Gillasp.	John Mounts.
"Isaac Varus.	Joseph Kerrigan.
"John Bell.	Thos. Hambleton.
"Curtis Varus.	George Bumgardner.
"David Bell.	Serjt. Farrell.
"John Sterrit.	James Bryan."

Painesville, Ohio.

ALICE C. TRUBY.

HON. WILLIAM ELLERY TO GENERAL WILLIAM WHIPPLE, 1777.—
 The following paragraphs have been extracted from a long letter of Hon.
 William Ellery to General William Whipple, dated at York, Pennsyl-
 vania, in December of 1777:

"Our soldiers in the hands of the enemy at Philadelphia and New
 York, especially the former, are treated in a most barbarous manner, and
 a number of them have perished from hunger. Some of them have been
 seen in the State House yard with grass in their mouths, as I have been
 informed different ways. How long shall we forbear to retaliate on
 those worse than savages? On application of Gen. Washington, Sir
 William Howe consented that he should send in an officer to see how
 our soldiers were treated, whereupon, one was sent to the City, but Sir
 William denied him admission, saying that he need not give himself any
 concern about the prisoners, that he could take care of them. I believe
 we shall take care how Commissary of Prisoners are allowed to go about
 the States providing for and taking care of the prisoners in our hands.
 Congress have passed a resolution that all their supplies shall be paid
 for in gold and silver—in solid coin. . . .

"Col. Rollins, who was taken at Fort Washington; Lieut. Col. Liv-
 ington, at Fort Montgomery; and Major Steward, at Staten Island,

¹ Guyasutha's Bottom. About five miles above Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on the north
 side of the Alleghany River.

lately made their escape from a gunship on which they had been but a few days confined. Col. Rollins who hath since been before Congress confirmed the account of the cruel treatment our officers and soldiers had there. . . .

"I am just this moment informed that our Army will winter at Valley Forge, about twenty miles from Philadelphia near the Schuylkill."

THE DUCKING-STOOL.—"Whereas it has been frequently & often presented by Several former Grand Jurys for this City, The Necessity of a Ducking Stool and house of Correction, for the just punishm^t of scolding Drunken Women as well as Divers other profligate & unruly persons in this place, who are become a Public Nuisance & disturbance to this Town in Generall Therefore We the present Grand Jury, Do Earnestly again Present the same to this Court of Quarter Sessions for the City, desiring their immediate Care, that those publick conveniencys may not be any longer Delayed but with all possible speed provided, for the detection & Quieting such disorderly Persons.

"WM FISHBOURN, foreman.

"1717"

SKETCHES OF SEVERAL NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, SLAVES.—Joseph, *alias* Boston, was born in Africa in 1715, and when about twelve years of age, was brought with a cargo of slaves to Charleston, South Carolina, where he was sold to an English sea captain. In 1732 he was resold to a planter on the island of Montserrat. From thence he was brought by a new master to the Durham Furnace, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where he worked for a number of years. In 1743 he was hired to Squire Nathaniel Irish, whose plantation lay along the Lehigh River and Saucon Creek, and was there married. On leaving the Irish plantation, his master hired him to the Union Iron Works, in Hunterdon County, New Jersey, and for two years in Maryland. After returning again to the Union Works, he was, in 1760, purchased by Abraham Boemper, of Bethlehem, of Messrs. Allen and Turner, for £50, and two years later became the property of the Moravian Church, and was employed on their farms. He had been baptized by that Church in 1752, and given the name of Joseph. He died September 29, 1781. Hannah, his wife, was born July 11, 1722, at Esopus, and in 1736, was sold by her master Anthony Slecht, of Kingston, to Isaac Yslestein, of Marbletown, Ulster County, New York, for £45. In 1743, she was purchased by the Moravians of Bethlehem for £70, Penna. Cy. She died at Nazareth, Pennsylvania, November 24, 1815.

"Whereas Christian Anton of Emaus in the County of Northampton, in the Province of Pennsylvania Free Negro, with the Consent of Joseph, alias August Gottlieb Spangenberg of Bethlehem in the County of Northampton in the Province of Pennsylvania, Clerk, and Peter Boehler of the same Place, Clerk, Exec^{tes} of the late David Nitschman of Bethlehem afores^d, is going to be married with the said Joseph, alias August Gottlieb Spangenbergs & Peter Boehler's Mulatto Woman Ann Cherry whose Name before Baptism was Margaret, & who was bought by the late David Nitschman aforesaid of Sam^l Green Millwright of Oxford Township in Sussex County & Province of West Jersey for the sum of fifty Pounds of lawfull Money of Pensilvania.

"It is this Day agreed on between the two said Parties, that if the said Christian Anton pay unto Joseph alias August Gottlieb Spangenberg & Peter Boehler or their Executors Administrators or Assigns yearly the Interest of the said sum at the rate of six per cent, and as much of the

said Capital of fifty Pounds, as he shall be able, untill the whole Capital & Interest be paid of, that then they the said Joseph, alias August Gottlieb Spangenberg & Peter Boehler or their Executors Administrators or Assigns, shall give up unto the said Christian Anton the Bill of Sale wherein the said Ann Cherry was bound to the said David Nitschman, and that both the said Ann Cherry & her Issue which shall then be born, be quit free.

"But in Case the said Christian Anton should not pay of the said Capital, that then the said Ann Cherry and her Issue remain bound unto the said Joseph alias August Gottlieb Spangenberg and Peter Boehler their Executors Administrators or Assigns as she now is. In Witness whereof both Parties have interchangeably set their Hands & Seals to these Presents, the eight Day of June in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty two.

[SEAL] "JOSEPH alias AUGUST
GOTTL SPANGENBERG.

"Sealed & delivered
in the Presence of us
Frederic Marshall
Andreas Weber
Friedrich Boeckel."

[SEAL] "PETER BOEHLER.

ABSTRACT OF AN INDENTURE OF 1727.—"Indenture made September 18, 1727, between Nicklas Depue of Kizerrick, Ulster Co. New York and Indian owners for tract of land lying in county of Bucks, Pensalvena, joining to Dilaway River beginning by Peter Kettle on the south, by the north of a creek and there over and runs up S. W. 80 chains—N. W. so far as the top of the high mountains; all along said mountains as the Coast runs, so long till we come over against Peghgoquery; thence S. E. line so as the river runs, including all the islands to the said tract of land belonging to the heirs of Sir William Pen, containing three thousand acres more or less.

[Signed] "WAUGOANLENNEGGEA,
"PEMNOGQUE."

CAPTAIN NEWCASTLE, a Six Nation Indian, whose name frequently appears in Provincial affairs, on the opening of the Indian War of 1755, was called by his nation *Cashiowaya* or *Kanukrusy*. When a child he had been formally presented by his parents to William Penn, at New Castle. In August of 1755, Governor Morris publicly conferred on him the name of Newcastle, in remembrance of that event, addressing him, on that occasion, in these words:

"In token of our affection for your parents and in expectation of your being a useful man in these perilous times, I do, in the most solemn manner, adopt you by the name of Newcastle, and order you hereafter to be called by that name." He confirmed his words with a belt of eight rows.

J. P. B.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES EXTRACTED FROM THE CHURCH REGISTER
BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Hussey, b. 1713, in Wiltshire; d. 1775. Md. Martha Wilkes.
James Hall, b. 1724, in Yorkshire; d. 1783.
John Rodgers, b. 1704, in Portsmouth; d. 1758.

Hector Gambold, b. 1719, in Wales; d. 1788.
John Lewis, b. 1744, in Wales; d. 1788.
John Brownfield, b. 1714, in Greenwich; d. 1752. Md. Catherine Kearney, of New Jersey.
Edward Thorpe, b. 1721, at Ribley, Yorkshire. Md. 1763, Grace Brooke; d. 1797.
James Birkby, b. 1732, at Wyke, Yorkshire; d. 1803. Md. Hannah Brook, d. 1799.
Richard Lee, b. 1703, in London; d. 1797. Md. Anna Cook.

A DRUGGIST'S BILL OF 1784.—

"Mr Reuben Haines
 To Rob^t Bass, D^r
 1783 & 1784. To Sunday
 Dressings & to Sore Leg
 & Thumb . . . £1.—
 Rec'd August y^e 18th 1785
 in full of all Demands.
 R. Bass.

"N. B. this Cure was perform'd
 on Sam^l Pemberton."

Robert Bass, druggist, was located on Market Street between Third and Fourth Streets.

READING OUT OF MEETING.—(From the *Pennsylvania Packet*, March 18, 1780.)

"From our Monthly Meeting held at Wrightstown, 7th of the 12th month, 1779.

"Whereas Thomas Ross, Junior, having had his birth and education amongst Friends, but having so far disregarded the testimony of truth against wars and fighting as to pay a fine demanded of him for not associating to learn the art of war, and Friends having treated with him in order to bring him to a sense of his misconduct; yet he continues to justify himself in so doing; therefore we give forth this as a testimony against such practices, and can have no farther unity with him as a member of our Society until he comes to a sense of his error, and condemns the same to the satisfaction of Friends, which he may do is our sincere desire for him.

"Signed in and on behalf of the said Meeting by

"J. CHAPMAN, Clerk.

"When the Clerk had finished reading the above testimony, Mr. Ross stood up and read the following declaration to the meeting:

"Whereas, the Society of the people called Quakers, in North America, in several important particulars, both in theory and practice have departed from their ancient creed, and inasmuch as in their ecclesiastical decisions and transactions, they are become extremely partial, inconsistent and hypocritical, I do therefore give forth this my testimony against their present practice and innovations, and can have no farther unity with them as a member of their Society, until they shall add to a profession more consistent with christianity, a practice more agreeable to their profession. Signed on behalf of himself, by

"THOMAS ROSS, JUNIOR."

488 *Narrative of Captain Gustavus Conyngham, U. S. N.*

thing in the power of man for their releive. We took on board the ship hanibal 95 as we posible could and the crew 85 men no Wages, Landed them at phila^d, Without any charge to them or the Govern^t thiss verry differ^t from the Conduct of many other AM Vessells in that port & other ports in france at that time—

“G. CONYNGHAM.”

LETTERS OF RICHARD HENRY LEE, OF VIRGINIA.

[The following letters of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, are addressed to his friend, Hon. William Whipple, of New Hampshire.]

"CHANTILLY IN VIRGINIA June 26th 1779.

"DEAR GENERAL

"I wish this may find you as happy at Philadelphia as we are at Chantilly—nothing but the want of rain disturbs us, we have neither wicked, perverse or foolish Politicians here whose misconduct makes us fear for the safety of the Country. I have frequently admired the philosophic ease with which you have contemptuously viewed the proceedings in Congress which I own shocked me exceedingly. I suppose you have fixed your opinion with Mr. Pope 'what ever is, is right.' I believe indeed the wisdom and goodness of the Creator does not frequently deduce from evil, yet I am exceedingly chagrined when I see wicked and weak men have session in and misconduct the public councils. I understand that our excellent friend Sam Adams has left Congress—I am truly sorry for I well know that his ability and integrity will be missed from any assembly, but indispensable from the one from which he went. As you are the oldest member & the most skilled in Marine matters, I take it for granted that you are now Chairman of the Marine Committee. But whether so or not let me intreat you that you prevail with the Committee to order two Frigates into Chesapeak Bay if it is only for a few days—The Confederacy & the Boston can with infinite ease destroy the enemies vessels that are doing us so much injury, causing us so much expence by frequent calls for Militia—They have already burnt several private houses and one public warehouse with between 2 & 300 hhds of Tobo. and carried off much plunder & many negroes—Soon as they see the Militia gathering they embark and go to another unguarded place. They have 6 Vessels, Otter 16, Harlem 12 Guns Kings Vessels—Dunmore 16, Schooner Hammond 14, Lord North 12 Guns & Fin Castle 2 three pounders. The 4 last are Guntridges Pirates. They say the orders are to burn and destroy all before them—an Eastern Man whom they had captured and claimed escaped from them when they were burning the Warehouse and gave us the above account of their force, which is confirmed by others—They land between 60 & 70 men when they mean to do mischief—I do not think I can be charged with excess of opinion in favor of our Navy when I say that the frigates already mentioned could destroy these Pirates and return to their Stations after thus relieving our water bound Country and removing the cause of great expence. The frigates by calling at Hampton can get the best intelli-

gence of the enemies situation & force—Do me the favor Sir to convey the enclosed to Mr. Bradford as soon as you can. I shall thank you for your foreign & domestic news as well as to know what tunes the fiddle party are playing. My best respects attend my Whig friends in Congress. With sin—I am dr Sir your affct friend and obt servant

“RICHARD HENRY LEE.”

“CHANTILLY August 8th 1779.

“MY DEAR SIR.

“My indisposition prevented my replying to your favor of the 11th by last post, and I am now very unwell but will no longer delay thanking you. We are much obliged to the Marine Committee for their attention. I see the frigates have taken and sent in two prizes, vessels of war.—The other frigate you mention would no doubt have been of considerable service—I am very apprehensive with you that her freight will not be ready for some time—Not until other goods come to replace—I hope the goods coming will be really good, and not such miserable, pernicious stuff, as that to be reprov'd. Worse goods cannot come, so that a change bids fair to be beneficial—God send it may quickly take place—Fancy the ‘Ugly instrument’ is considerably hurt by the dressing lately given by our assembly—The oath anti-commercial ordered to be taken—Pray inform me if you can if the Base viol has groan'd it out. I had thought it would stick in the throat not from principle but from fear. No doubt ‘the old Game’ will continue to be played whilst the old set continue where they are. The best and most faithful friends of America must be extricated by the best and most faithful friends of our enemies; and this is the clue to unfold much of what you see. Did you not enjoy some Phizs when Dr. Lee's vindication and vouchers were read? Some people will always think it ‘clearly out of order’ to give the public this conviction of their own and their friends criminality. But I trust there will be a majority of virtue to do this justice to the community and to individuals. Shylock should have justice & the law—read the law of Moses, ‘forty save one.’ I fancy you were not much deceived about the budget—I will engage this, that from this opener it will be general deception, unimportant or partifid. I have the most heart felt attachment to our Navy & therefore wish to know that the fisheries go on well, and that the Marine Committee are attentive. If the enemy go on burning in this manner their masked friends in — will never be able to bring us again under British bondage, even their finance and foreign affairs are trifled with abused & go wrong. Col. F. L. Lee is very thankful for your kind remembrance of him and sends his respects. He is not well any more than myself. It is impossible for us to be so, whilst the cause of America receives such injury from bad men. I hope you do not intend to leave Congress soon. You know I am happy to hear from you and you are too much my friend to deny me the happiness. I am yours dear Sir with most sincere affection

“RICHARD HENRY LEE.”

"CHANTILLY Sept 4th 1779.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am infinitely obliged to you for your very friendly letter of the 3rd last, and I assure you that while I live I shall never fail to retain the most affectionate remembrance of you. My health I thank you is well restored, and my spirits not a little enlivened by the discomforture of those wicked ones whose detestable arts have prevailed much too long for the interest of that cause which we have labored so much to promote and secure. I believe the Confederacies frieght will be a very guilty one, and the sooner we are quit of it the better. I think the companion of M^r Adams to be the very worthy one he describes him, and such an one will honor his Country & not distract this. I can feel with force the satisfaction that good men must have received and the chagrin that bad ones felt when Dr. Lee's papers were read. But how my dear Friend will the honor of Congress stand if they allow that wicked insulter and injurer of America—Silas Deane, to go on uncensured. Already you find by his memorial that your silence is construed into approbation of his conduct, and this idea will be pushed thro the world to his plaudit, and the indelible dishonor and disgrace of Congress. Yet it is most certain upon the estimation with which mankind regard Congress does the future interest and success of the United States depend most essentially. B—— is the most contemptible wretch in the world, and if he takes the oath and remains in Congress I am much misinformed if he will not have deep cause to rue it. You have certainly been exonerated of abundance of filth lately from Congress—does not an Augean Stable yet remain. I hope however that it will be cleansed at last. If you do not get a wise and very firm friend to negotiate the fishery, it is my clear opinion that it will be lost, and upon this principle, that it is the interest of every European power to weaken us and strengthen themselves. Mr. Ford is gone to Williamsburg to demand a public hearing before the Governor & Council that he may, as he says he can clearly do refute the charges brought against him in his absence—Long ere now I suppose you have received the Dispatch he brought, which I forwarded by Express, I believe they contained more proofs of the wickedness of faction. Dr. Lee informs us that he will return to America as soon as the treaty with Spain is accomplished. I submit my opinion concerning his resignation to the wise judgment of his and American Friends. It gives me pleasure to hear that you do not mean to quit Congress soon—It is very agreeable to me to hear that our little fleet has fallen in successfully with the Jamaica fleet. I am always rejoiced to hear that our Navy is fortunate.

"I am dear Sir your most sincere affectionate friend

"RICHARD HENRY LEE."

"CHANTILLY VIRGINIA July 7th 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND

"Judging of your heart by my own I cannot suppose that either of us will conceive ourselves neglected by an interrupted correspondence in the present state of things. It must certainly be some other cause than neglect which can produce such an effect between two persons whose friendship is founded on virtue tried in severest times—For my part I must cease to live before I cease to love those proved Patriots with whom I early toiled in the vineyard of American liberty.—The same reasons that I find had prevented you, have also discouraged me from writing, and nothing more so than the uncertainty of conveyance. It is disagreeable to write to a friend when the mind is cramped, and a free communication of sentiments prevented. Capt. Simpson safely contrived to me your letter with the very agreeable present of Fish, for both which I return you many thanks. The fish were fine, and furnished me with frequent opportunities whilst I regaled my friends here, to recognize the worth of the bounteous hand by which we were so delightfully fed. But I was never made so happy as to see either Capt. Simpson or your relation. They came not on my way or I in theirs. I sent one of my sons to entreat the pleasure of their company, but he was not fortunate enough to meet with them. I was in great hopes that the Major would have honored me with his company here whilst Capt. Simpson's business detained him in the country. We have indeed as you have observed suffered our share of the calamities of War, and I hope it may furnish us with that best kind of improvement which is furnished in the school of adversity—You may see by the last published Resolves at New York and that of our Assembly published that the last arrived delusion at New York is not likely to make a greater impression than the old ones had done. I fear Poor Weaks has gone to the bottom of the Sea with a very valuable Cargo and every Soul but one who was supported three Days on a ladder before he was picked up. An attempt is said to have been made to assassinate Dr. Franklin who is only slightly wounded on the ribs.

"RICHARD HENRY LEE."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

DENNIS FRITH.—A manuscript volume of "Genealogical Notes," recently presented to the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, contains the following incidents connected with the life and death of Dennis Frith, Esq., a young English lawyer, whose grave may be found in the cemetery of Christ Church, corner Fifth and Arch Streets.

" Philada. 4th mo 2d. 1810

"TO DENNIS FRITH AND WIFE.

"The design of this is to furnish you with some information respecting your son Dennis Frith, of whose decease you have no doubt heard. . . . He boarded at the house of John Slater and assumed the name of Duncan Fitzharris. Reuben Haines being known to Slater's family, his daughter called on him to enquire for a book on the subject of Natural History, stating that it was for a young Englishman who resided at her father's. This request excited some curiosity. . . . Mr. Haines waited on him . . . his conversation soon discovered that his education was of a superior nature. . . . At this interview no disclosures were made of his history. Some days after, Reuben Haines mentioned the case to Roberts Vaux . . . we made a visit to him together. We furnished him with an order for the use of a share in the Philadelphia Library. . . . Whilst we were with him he was enquired of when he came to America. He replied that he took the voyage for the improvement of his health and arrived in New York in the preceding July. On being asked whether he brought letters of introduction, he answered negatively . . . we sent for his hostess . . . enquiring what she knew of his history . . . with hesitation and with feeling, she unfolded to us in confidence the unhappy cause of his exile, which he had voluntarily told her. . . . He represented himself to be the only son of a wealthy and respectable father, of an affectionate mother, the brother of an amiable sister. . . . As he appeared to be in a very critical state of health . . . we deemed it necessary that he should have the care of a physician, and at an interview soon after Reuben Haines proposed it to him. Conscious of the smallness of his funds, and . . . peculiarly delicate and susceptible . . . the idea of receiving the attentions of a medical gentleman without the means of compensating him was . . . the reason why he would not yield to the proposition. . . . His indisposition increasing with alarming rapidity . . . his consent . . . ultimately obtained, Dr. Joseph Parish was called . . . and with all the tenderness of Christian solicitude, apprised his patient of his condition. . . . During the last two weeks of his life, we generally visited him twice in the day. . . . Having expressed a wish to see a clergyman, it was immediately gratified by a visit from Bishop White . . . who . . . on the evening of the succeeding day administered the Sacrament. . . . On the evening of the night that he departed . . . he poured forth a supplication to Heaven, imploring Almighty God to deliver him from his sins, and that He might be pleased to release him from all his sufferings. . . . In the morning, when we were informed of his death, we waited on P. Bond, Esq. (who saw him during his illness), and it was determined that his remains

should be deposited in the Church grave yard . . . which was accordingly done on the afternoon of the 31st of March; Bishop White officiated.

"CHESTNUT STREET March 31, 1810

"Mr Bond with his best compliments to Mr. Haines laments extremely that an increase of lameness confines him to the house, and will prevent his attending the funeral of the unfortunate Mr. Frith.

"6 April 1810

"Mr Bond's respects to Mr Haines and Mr Vaux, begs leave to assure them, the letter to Mr. Frith shall be transmitted to England. . . . From them indeed he [Frith] experienced the most abundant benevolence, superadded to a degree of care and assiduity most effectually calculated to mitigate the sufferings of his latter days . . ."

"SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF ST. GEORGE.

"[Meeting] held at the Mansion House Hotel . . . 23d day of April 1810,—Resolved that the thanks of this Society be given to Mr. Haines and Mr. Vaux for their humane relief and assiduous attention to Mr. Frith, an Englishman without friends here. . . ."

"RETFORD 29th June 1810

"To P. BOND Esq.

" . . . the grateful acknowledgments of an unhappy father, a tender mother, and a most affectionate sister . . . also to the good and pious Bishop White, also to those dear and good men Mr Haines and Mr. Vaux, . . . my dear son's history. . . . After making great improvement in the Classics, under my own tuition, he was sent to Grantham College or school . . . till fifteen years of age; afterwards he was one year at school at Doncaster. At sixteen he was articled clerk with John Holmes Esq. attorney at law, of this place, for five years . . . afterwards he went into a Solicitor's office in London, and was admitted an attorney. Before he went to London he had the first attack of a ruptured blood vessel . . . in May 1809, when he had been bleeding more or less for eleven days, he went out, on the morning of the 26th of that month, to meet me and his sister returning from our morning's walk, when he was met by a Mr. Bragg, who had frequently insulted him before. On passing Bragg struck him with his stick over the shoulders, and my son, though weak and infirm as he was, returned the blow with his cane, and a sort of stick licking, as I may call it, continued until my son thought he had given him enough, and stood upon the defensive. Unfortunately for us and poor Dennis, the man had been ill, . . . bad case of Erysipelas . . . and from a broken skin which my son gave him . . . which terminated his existence in about a month. His nephew who succeeded to his ill gotten property, had made proposals for my daughter . . . with unprecedented malice and revenge had a serious investigation before the Coroner . . . a verdict of manslaughter against my son. . . . But the nephew . . . at the assizes, preferred a bill for murder. . . . In that moment of terror . . . I consented to his going to Liverpool to take shipping for America. After he had sailed, at the Assizes, the Grand Jury threw out the revengeful nephew's bill, and brought in one for manslaughter only, of which, had he lived to return to his native country, I have no doubt he would have been honorably and fairly acquitted. . . . My son told you true; my property is considerable, and it is a matter of very great uneasiness to us, to find he was in want. Those in whom I confided assured me he had with him letters of credit

. . . and an order to draw upon a house in Liverpool for any sum ; herein I was deceived, until I received a letter from him, the latter end of February last, when I immediately sent £70. to be remitted to him by Messrs Bainbridge & Browne in London, who gave an order on their correspondent in America, authorizing Duncan Fitzharris . . . to receive the money, this order . . . was to be conveyed by the John Adams, frigate, which was to sail about the 3rd of March. . . . I had a copy of your letter of the 28th March from Mr. Edward Nottingham, and another from York & Sheepshanks, of Leeds, relating to my son's death. . . . I received a packet from you under seal of the Secretary of State's office containing some letters . . . an inventory of my son's property . . . and also the good and consolatory letters of Messrs Haines and Vaux, for which we can never sufficiently acknowledge the kindness. . . . By the Eliza, packet, I also received your letter. . . . I also wish Dr Joseph Parish may be paid. . . . I am also desirous you will send me out . . . the silver horizontal watch ; gold key and seal ; the locket of hair ; the pocket book with its contents, the 2d. and 3d volumes of Withering's English Botany, the box containing garden seeds, and hkf's containing corn, the pocket dial, gold breast pin and stone of a seal and the magnifying glass. . . .

"DENNIS FRITH."

"RETTFORD 3d Dec. 1810.

"TO PHINEAS BOND ESQ.

"By this Post I shall send a draft to . . . for your use. . . . I thank you also for your sending the remaining articles belonging to my son. I do not know how far it is customary in America to lay a flat stone over the grave of a person deceased, with an inscription thereon. Myself, Mrs. Frith and my daughter are very desirous to have a stone placed over my dear son's grave with an inscription, viz.

"Dennis Frith
of East Retford
England
Attorney at Law
died the 30th March
1810
aged 24 years.

[signed] "DENNIS FRITH."

From the *Freeman's Journal* of October 8, 1809.

"*London July 14.* On Sunday the 15th ulto. an inquest was held at the Angel Inn, East Retford, before Nathaniel Mason, Coroner, . . . on the body of John Bragge, gent. then lying dead ; the circumstances . . . are rather extraordinary . . . according to the evidence. . . . The sister of Dennis Frith, an Attorney in East Retford, a young accomplished lady, felt or feigned a passion for Mr. John Bragge, a respectable old gentleman, about seventy, in consequence of which she addressed several letters to him in true loving style, which the gallant, unfortunately, never thought proper to answer. . . . Dennis Frith, enraged that his sister's affection should meet with no better return, and anxious to do away the disgrace, as he termed it, went to Mr. Bragge's house on the 24th of May, and reproached him with the impropriety of his conduct. From words they fell to blows, when Frith repeatedly struck the old man over the head, breast and legs, with a thick cane. . . . In consequence of the wounds, Mr. Bragge received, he was confined to his bed

and languished till the 23 ult. when he expired. The Coroner's Jury returned a verdict of 'died of mortal bruises given by Dennis Frith.' Frith has since absconded."

(*Tyne Mercury.*)

The letter of Dennis Frith, Sr., of June 29 (*supra*) to Mr. Bond speaks of Bragge as "not employing the physician who knew his constitution," after his death being "I am assured, not from the wound he had on his skin, but from his bad habit of body," and says that the nephew "had made proposals to my daughter, though not attended to by her, or her parents,"—also that "my son had many times before this business took place, solicited me, unknown to his mother and sister, to permit him to take a long voyage to sea, saying he had no hope of recovering from his indisposition, if that could not relieve him. In that moment of terror, and with the idea of his being dragged to prison, ill as he was, I consented &c."

SOME INDICTMENTS BY THE GRAND JURY OF PHILADELPHIA.—

"At a Court of Sessions held at philadelphia before ye Maire, Recorder &c y^e 26th day of 7^{bre} 1702.

"The Names of y^e Grand Jury viz.

"Jno Psons,	Tho. Asson,
"W ^m Lee,	Rich ^d Warder,
"Penticost Teague,	Hugh Cordey,
"Ralph Jackson,	Andrew Bird,
"W ^m Sneed,	Rich ^d Worthington,
"W ^m Humphry,	Tho ^s Tibby,
"Rich ^d Love,	Rich ^d Wright,
"Jn ^s Harrison,	Emanuel Walker,
"Jn ^s Redman Sen ^r ,	Jn ^s Williams,
"Able Noble,	Jno. Haywood,
"Jn ^s Densey,	W ^m Hearn.
"Tho. Hobbs,	

"THO. FFARMAR
"Sheriffe."

"The Grand Inquest of the November Sessions for the City of Philadelphia held this second day of November 1703, presented the following for selling liquor without a license.

"Oliver Lambert,	Mary Robbins,
"Samuell Twonelley,	Grace Townsend,
"Hendrick Faulconburgg,	Nathaniel Douglas,
"John Sperring.	Sarah Gibbs.
"Ephraim Johnson,	

"JO^N REDMAN, *forman*."

[In the presentment of the Grand Jury, November 3, 1703, Alderman John Jones is presented "for incroachment on Mulberry Street, by setting a great Reed or hay stack in the said street for these two years last past & making a close fence about ye same." The same jury also presented the "great want of a Sealer of Leather and a Corder of Wood, for the City."]

"Prices of Liquors in publick houses & provender in Publick Stables set by the Justices July Sess^m 1731.

Wine p Quart in Pub. House	2s.
Rum p Jill	— 2d.
Rum Punch made of Double refined Sugar p Quart	1 4
Tiff or Flipp p Quart	— 8
Rum Punch made with Single refined Sugar	1 —
Arrack one Quart made into Punch	8
Beer p Quart	— 3
Best Beer p Quart—and so for a greater & Lesser Quantity	— 5
Oats p Bushell	8
Cyder p Quart	— 3
Best English Hay for a Horse p Night	— 8
Common Hay	— 5"

[In the handwriting of Benjamin Franklin.]

"The Grand Jury observe with great Concern, the vast number of Tippling Houses within this City, many of which they think are little better than Nurseries of Vice and Debauchery, and tend very much to encrease the number of our poor, They are likewise of opinion, that the profane Language, horrid Oaths, and Imprecations, grown of late so common in our Streets, so shocking to the Ears of the sober Inhabitants, and tending to destroy in the Minds of our Youth, all sense of the Fear of God and the Religion of an Oath, owes its increase in a great measure to those disorderly Houses; The Jury therefore begg leave to recommend it to the Court, to fall on some method of limitting or diminishing the number of Publick Houses, and pressing Good Order in such as shall be licensed for y^e Future

"WILL^m BELL
"Foreman

"PHILADA JAN^y 2^d 1744."

[In the handwriting of Benjamin Franklin.]

"To the Worshipful the Mayor, the Recorder and the rest of the Justices of the City of Philadelphia

"The Grand Jury of the said City, met at the present Sessions, do, in Compliance with the Direction of the Court, make the following *particular* presentments of unlawful Bakehouses, Coopers Shops, Disorderly Houses, &c. but believing from the Reprimand they yesterday received from the Court, that the *general* Presentment they then made was misapprehended, and that, thro' the Clerk's hasty Reading, the Court did not sufficiently advert to the Tenor and Import of that Presentment they beg Leave here to repeat it.

"The Grand Jury observe with great Concern the vast Number of Tippling Houses within this City, many of which they think are little better than Nurseries of Vice and Debauchery, and tend very much to encrease the Number of our Poor. They are likewise of Opinion, that the profane Language, horrid Oaths and Imprecations, grown of late so common in our Streets, so shocking to the Ears of the sober Inhabitants, and tending to destroy in the Minds of our Youth, all Sense of the Fear of God and the Religion of an Oath, owes its Increase in a great Measure to those disorderly Houses. The Jury therefore beg Leave to recommend it to the Court, to fall on some Method of limiting or diminishing the Number of Publick Houses, and preserving Good Order in such as shall be licenced for the future."

"The Jury would only observe, that they had no Intention in the least to break in upon the Authority of the Magistrates; that they only complain'd of the great Number of Tipling Houses as a Grievance which they feel, and, far from prescribing to the Justices, they only requested them to fall upon some Methods among themselves of preventing it for the future: Which is no more than is practiced in like Cases by the Grand Juries of the City of London, as the Presentment they made of the great Increase of Gin Shops, to the Ld Mayor and Justices of that City, fully shows. [Here read the Middlesex Presentment.] For this Presentment the Jury were, as we are inform'd, *thank'd* by that honourable Court, and a Committee of the Bench appointed to enquire into the Grievance complain'd of, upon whose Report Measures were afterwards taken to remove it. The Grand Jury do therefore still think it their Duty to complain of the enormous Increase of Publick Houses in Philadelphia, especially since it now appears by the Constables Returns that there are upwards of One Hundred that have Licences, which, with the Retailers, make the Houses that Sell Strong Drink, by our Computation, near a tenth Part of the City; a Proportion that appears to us much too great, since by their Number they impoverish one another as well as the Neighbourhoods they live in, and, for want of better Customers, may, thro' Necessity, be under greater Temptations to entertain Apprentices, Servants, and even Negroes. The Jury therefore are glad to hear from the Bench, that, the Magistrates are become sensible of this Evil, and purpose to apply a Remedy; for which they will deserve the Thanks of all good Citizens.

"We do further hereby particularly present the following Persons for keeping Disorderly Houses in this City, to wit, Katharine Mason. John Browne, Margaret Cook, Widow Finley, Ralph Highrick, William Jones, Jane Bond, Katharine Carr, Sarah Levine.

"The Jury observ'd with Concern in the Course of the Evidence, that a Neighbourhood in which some of these disorderly Houses are, is so generally thought to be vitiated, as to obtain among the common People the shocking Name of *Hell-Town*.

"We do farther present the following Persons for having Coopers Shops not regulated according to Law, and dangerous to the City on Account of Fire, to wit, Hugh McMachen, Samuel Powel, Andrew Farrel, Benjamin Betterton, Thomas James, Jonathan Evans, Aaron Jenkins, Jacob Kollock, Tho^s Glentworth, Thomas Fisher, Richard Brockden, Cateer, Jacob Shute, William Nixon, Hugh McCullogh, Edmund Beech.

"We do farther present the following Persons for keeping Bakehouses not regulated according to Law, and dangerous to the City on Account of Fire, to wit, William Darvell, Marcus Kuhl, John Fitzharris, John Fenell, Daniel Button, Francis Johnson, Samuel Reed, Joseph Clark, Stephen Jenkins.

"And we do present Norton Prior, Wight Massey, and Marcus Kuhl for having Piles of Faggots dangerously situated and contrary to Law.

"We do farther present Lynford Lardner for abusing and assaulting the Constable of the Watch then upon Duty.

"And lastly, we do present Samuel Hasell Esq as a Magistrate who not only refused to take Notice of a Complaint made to him against a Person guilty of profane Swearing, but (at another Time) set an Evil Example by swearing himself.

"We beg Leave only to add, that as a good Grand Jury (which the Recorder was pleased to say we had the Appearance of being) may, if there is no Misunderstanding between the Magistrates and them, greatly

assist and strengthen the Court in the Suppression of Vice and Immorality, we hope no Cause will be given hereafter of the least Disagreement; and that well meaning Persons may not be made unwilling to serve in that Office by unkind Reprimands from the Bench, tho' they should sometimes happen to mistake their Duty, but be treated at least with some Indulgence.

"By Direction and in Behalf
"of the Grand Jury

"WILL^M BELL *fore man*

"Jan. 3, 1744."

"To the Worshipful the Mayor, Recorder, & Aldermen of the City of Philadelphia.

"The Petition of Francis Delboux.

"Humbly Sheweth.

"That your Petitioner came over to America with his Excellency General Braddock, & served him as a Cook. That your Pet' has also served Gen^l Webb, Lord Howe, & Gen^l Amherst in that Station; That your Pet^r bad Health prevented him following the Army, where he might have procured himself a Livelihood, for which Reason Gen^l Amherst was pleased to discharge him, as may appear by proper Certificates & a Letter of Recommendation writ by order of that General.

"Your Petitioner therefore prays your Worship would grant him your Recommendation to his Honour the Governour for his License to keep a public House of Entertainment in this City. And your Petitioner, as in Duty bound, shall ever pray &c."

PROPOSED ADVERTISEMENT OF THE CHARITY SCHOOL OF PHILADELPHIA, 1740.—

"ADVERTIZEMENT.

"It has pleased Almighty God of his infinite Goodness and Mercy in these latter Days to Visit with his Holy Spirit the Hearts and Minds of many professing Christianity in this as well as diverse other Parts of the World however divided or distinguished in denomination or Interest so as to make them lay aside Bigottry and party Zeal and unite their endeavours to promote the truly Noble Interest of the Kingdom of the Blessed Jesus.

"With this View it hath been thought proper to erect a large Building for a Charity School for the Instruction of Poor Children Gratis in useful Literature and the knowledge of the Christian Religion And also for a House of Publick Worship The Houses in this Place being insufficient to contain the great Numbers who convene on such Occasions And it being Impracticable to meet in the open Air at all Times of the Year because of the inclemency of the Weather

"It is agreed that the Use of the aforesaid School and House of Religious Worship be under the Direction of certain Trustees Viz

and other Persons to be appointed by them who in case of the Decease of one of their Number are to choose by a Majority of their Votes one other fit Person to succeed in his Place and so from Time to Time as often as any of the before named Trustees or others so to be chosen shall dye the Place of such deced Trustee shall be supplied by the Votes of a Majority of the Surviving Trustees.

"Which Trustees before named and hereafter to be chosen are from Time to Time to appoint fit and able School Masters and School Mistresses and introduce such Protestant Ministers as they judge to be

Sound in principle acquainted with experimental Religion in their own Hearts and faithful in their Practise without regard to those distinctions or different sentiments in lesser matters which have unhappily divided real Christians.

"These are therefore to give Notice to all Charitable Persons who are inclined to encourage this undertaking that the Building is actually begun under the direction of

and the Foundation laid on a Lot of Ground (late of Jonathan Price and Mary his Wife who have generously contributed) Situate near Mulberry Street in the City of Philad^a where Materials for the Building will be received As also Subscriptions for Money and Work taken in by the under written Persons.

"PHILAD^a July 1740."

LETTER OF COLONEL RICHARD HUMPTON TO GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE.—

"PHILADELPHIA 14th Aug^r 1781.

"D^r GEN^l

"On my arrival at Lebanon I found the Regim^t had march'd to Lancaster Col Marstiller who supply'd the provisions on his own Acc^t was satisfy'd without rendering any Account for payment. Gen^l St. Clair was in P Town I went to Council with him, he apply'd for Tents &c but could obtain nothing, they mentioned their intention of Marching 1st & 4th Reg^{ts} to Lancaster the 2^d & 3^d to Reading—I saw Major Bankson he had got all the returns except the 6th which he rece^d only a few days ago The person who Major Grier sent it by, had neglect'd delivering it. There is a resolve of Congress for 6 months nominal pay on acc^t but there is no money to be got—Mr Morris & M^r Peters are gone to Head Quarters & I have heard there is a plan on foot for another arrangement of the army this winter from what I see Recruits are got very slowly here as well as in the Country, Major Parrs Comp has little success Gen^l St Clair left Town a few days ago and went to Potsgrove Gen^l Wayne may expect a reinforcement & I think that is as much as he will get. I have just heard that a Frigate of ours is taken & five or six sail of other vessels of the Capes—Gen^l Washingtons army remains near Valentines Hill it is said the English Ships of war have been sail'd from New York some time but no body pretends to know where they are gone, it was reported this day that 3000 Hessians had, or will arrive soon, that they came north hope M^r Irvine & family are well my Compliments

"I am D^r Gen

"Yours with Esteem

"RICH^d HUMPTON.

• "GEN. IRVINE."

LETTER OF STEPHEN CHAMBERS TO JOHN ROSE (BARON ROSENTHAL), SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL OF CENSORS.—

"DEAR SIR:

"I would thank you to send me by the Lancaster Post, as many as you can conveniently spare of the proposed amendments of the Constitution in the German Language,—as the Germans, want much to read them and judge for themselves as some of y^e thinking part of them begin to apprehend they have been imposed on, & I have no doubt in a little time that a great Majority of them will be for the Amendments, as it must evidently appear upon an examination, that nothing is proposed

but what will tend to their security & happyness. Things begin to wear a different appearance I have great hopes it will encrease every day. The Publications by one of the Majority & one of the Germans are particularly usefull.

"I am D^r Sir

"with Esteem

"your very humble Serv^t

"STEPHEN CHAMBERS.

"LANCASTER 5th Aprill 1784."

INQUEST ON THE DEATH OF LIEUTENANT CHARLES C. BEATY, OF COLONEL ANTHONY WAYNE'S BATTALION, PENNSYLVANIA ASSOCIATORS.—

"To the Honourable the Council of Safety for the State of Pennsylvania,—Gentlemen, We must Inform you that an unhappy Accident happened on the Sixteenth day of this Instant at a Certain Alexander McCalla's in Charles Town Township in the County of Chester and the State aforesaid, (to wit the Accidental Death of Charles Clinton Beaty, Second Lieutenant to Captain Thomas Church of the fourth Battalion of the Pennsylvania Troops Commanded by Colonel Anthony Wayne) and as there is now no Legal way of Proceeding in Cases of Accidental Deaths we thought it Expedient to call upon the Chairman of the Committee for the County aforesaid to Qualify Evidences and Call and Empannell a Jury to try the matter above mentioned.

"We therefore of the Jury according to the Powers Delegated to us, have to the best of our understandings well and truly examined the Evidences Relative to Death of the above Named Lieutenant Charles Clinton Beaty, and find that it was merely Accidental by a Shot from Captain Caleb North's Fusée of the same Battallion not apprehending it to be charged. In Testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands & seals the 17th day of Feb^r Annoq Domini 1777.

"W^m Bodly, [SEAL]
 "W^m Dewees, Jr., [SEAL]
 "Sam'l Roberts, [SEAL]
 "John Griffith, [SEAL]
 "Pat^r M^cFall, [SEAL]
 "Benj. Rittenhouse, [SEAL]

Tho^s Church, [SEAL]
 John Pugh, [SEAL]
 Peter Dehaven, [SEAL]
 Benj Coates, [SEAL]
 Jonatⁿ Coates, [SEAL]"

ARCH STREET, ORIGIN OF THE NAME.—The following presentment of the Grand Jury in July, 1728, is interesting as determining the origin of the name of Arch Street, which, according to the original plan of the city, was to have been called Sassafras Street. The original is in the collection of the Historical Society.

"1728 July y^e 5th.

"To the Court of Q^r Sessions now Setting in Philadelphia, . . .

"Wee the Grand Inquest for the Body of this City having Vewed the Streets thereof, doe Present that part of Northside of Chesnutt street Bounding on Tho^s Shutes house & Lott & on the house & Lott commonly call'd the Sign of ye Hatchett wee y^e s^d Inquest doe likewise present Chesnutt wharfe now in y^e Tennur of W^m fishburn—also the place where y^e Arch stood &c. And that part of Sassafras street Adjoying to front street . . . and a heap of earth & Rubush in y^e front street between Phillip Sings & Owen Merideth, Likewise a Dangerous place In King street before a house & Lott of Jn^s Jones Bolter, all which places &

every of them wee present as Common Newsances well knowing the s^d places or some of them renders the Lives of many of ye Inhabitents of this City & others very precarious which Newsances & Grevances wee pray may be Remov'd Sign'd In behalf of ye Jury

"By the forman

"BEN^a DUFFIELD."

ROLL OF LIEUTENANT SAMUEL MURPHY'S COMPANY FOR FRONTIER DEFENCE.—From a "Return of Arms, Accoutrements, Ammunition, and Camp Equipage wanting to Complete a Detachment of State Levies under the Command of Lieutenant Sam'l Murphy, Guys Bottom,¹ 7th April, '95." The names of sergeants and privates are copied.

"Serjt. Wm. Brown.	John Hays.
"Serjt. Joseph Collins.	Thos. Story.
"John Mitchell.	Joseph Sutton.
"John Bulman.	James Mahaney.
"David Rankin.	George Wilson.
"Saml M'Call.	Charles M'Cann.
"John Kirk.	Edward Kelly.
"John Shaul.	Edward Canaan.
"James Cazez.	William Fisher.
"Mich'l Shaul.	John Carroll.
"John Claws. [Clause.]	Saml Sterrit.
"Henry Turner.	John Reeves.
"Benjamin Lewis.	Ephraim Collins.
"Samuel Gillaspy.	John Mounts.
"Isaac Varus.	Joseph Kerrigan.
"John Bell.	Thos. Hambleton.
"Curtis Varus.	George Bumgardner.
"David Bell.	Serjt. Farrell.
"John Sterrit.	James Bryan."

Painesville, Ohio.

ALICE C. TRUBY.

HON. WILLIAM ELLERY TO GENERAL WILLIAM WHIPPLE, 1777.—The following paragraphs have been extracted from a long letter of Hon. William Ellery to General William Whipple, dated at York, Pennsylvania, in December of 1777:

"Our soldiers in the hands of the enemy at Philadelphia and New York, especially the former, are treated in a most barbarous manner, and a number of them have perished from hunger. Some of them have been seen in the State House yard with grass in their mouths, as I have been informed different ways. How long shall we forbear to retaliate on those worse than savages? On application of Gen. Washington, Sir William Howe consented that he should send in an officer to see how our soldiers were treated, whereupon, one was sent to the City, but Sir William denied him admission, saying that he need not give himself any concern about the prisoners, that he could take care of them. I believe we shall take care how Commissary of Prisoners are allowed to go about the States providing for and taking care of the prisoners in our hands. Congress have passed a resolution that all their supplies shall be paid for in gold and silver—in solid coin. . . .

"Col. Rollins, who was taken at Fort Washington; Lieut. Col. Livingston, at Fort Montgomery; and Major Steward, at Staten Island,

¹ Guyasutha's Bottom. About five miles above Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on the north side of the Alleghany River.

lately made their escape from a gunship on which they had been but a few days confined. Col. Rollins who hath since been before Congress confirmed the account of the cruel treatment our officers and soldiers had there. . . .

"I am just this moment informed that our Army will winter at Valley Forge, about twenty miles from Philadelphia near the Schuylkill."

THE DUCKING-STOOL.—"Whereas it has been frequently & often presented by Several former Grand Jurys for this City, The Necessity of a Ducking Stool and house of Correction, for the just punishm^t of scolding Drunken Women as well as Divers other profligate & unruly persons in this place, who are become a Public Nuisance & disturbance to this Town in Generall Therefore We the present Grand Jury, Do Earnestly again Present the same to this Court of Quarter Sessions for the City, desiring their immediate Care, that those publick conveniencys may not be any longer Delayed but with all possible speed provided, for the detection & Quieting such disorderly Persons.

"WM FISHBOURN, foreman.

"1717"

SKETCHES OF SEVERAL NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, SLAVES.—Joseph, *alias* Boston, was born in Africa in 1715, and when about twelve years of age, was brought with a cargo of slaves to Charleston, South Carolina, where he was sold to an English sea captain. In 1732 he was resold to a planter on the island of Montserrat. From thence he was brought by a new master to the Durham Furnace, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where he worked for a number of years. In 1743 he was hired to Squire Nathaniel Irish, whose plantation lay along the Lehigh River and Saucon Creek, and was there married. On leaving the Irish plantation, his master hired him to the Union Iron Works, in Hunterdon County, New Jersey, and for two years in Maryland. After returning again to the Union Works, he was, in 1760, purchased by Abraham Boemper, of Bethlehem, of Messrs. Allen and Turner, for £50, and two years later became the property of the Moravian Church, and was employed on their farms. He had been baptized by that Church in 1752, and given the name of Joseph. He died September 29, 1781. Hannah, his wife, was born July 11, 1722, at Esopus, and in 1736, was sold by her master Anthony Slecht, of Kingston, to Isaac Yslestein, of Marbletown, Ulster County, New York, for £45. In 1748, she was purchased by the Moravians of Bethlehem for £70, Penna. Cy. She died at Nazareth, Pennsylvania, November 24, 1815.

"Whereas Christian Anton of Emaus in the County of Northampton, in the Province of Pennsylvania Free Negro, with the Consent of Joseph, *alias* August Gottlieb Spangenberg of Bethlehem in the County of Northampton in the Province of Pennsylvania, Clerk, and Peter Boehler of the same Place, Clerk, Exec^{tor} of the late David Nitschman of Bethlehem afores^d, is going to be married with the said Joseph, *alias* August Gottlieb Spangenberg & Peter Boehler's Mulatto Woman Ann Cherry whose Name before Baptism was Margaret, & who was bought by the late David Nitschman aforesaid of Sam^l Green Millwright of Oxford Township in Sussex County & Province of West Jersey for the sum of fifty Pounds of lawfull Money of Pensilvania.

"It is this Day agreed on between the two said Parties, that if the said Christian Anton pay unto Joseph *alias* August Gottlieb Spangenberg & Peter Boehler or their Executors Administrators or Assigns yearly the Interest of the said sum at the rate of six per cent, and as much of the

said Capital of fifty Pounds, as he shall be able, untill the whole Capital & Interest be paid of, that then they the said Joseph, alias August Gottlieb Spangenberg & Peter Boehler or their Executors Administrators or Assigns, shall give up unto the said Christian Anton the Bill of Sale wherein the said Ann Cherry was bound to the said David Nitschman, and that both the said Ann Cherry & her Issue which shall then be born, be quit free.

"But in Case the said Christian Anton should not pay of the said Capital, that then the said Ann Cherry and her Issue remain bound unto the said Joseph alias August Gottlieb Spangenberg and Peter Boehler their Executors Administrators or Assigns as she now is. In Witness whereof both Parties have interchangeably set their Hands & Seals to these Presents, the eight Day of June in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty two.

[SEAL] "JOSEPH *alias* AUGUST
GOTT^L SPANGENBERG.

"Sealed & delivered
in the Presence of us
Frederic Marshall
Andreas Weber
Friedrich Boeckel."

[SEAL] "PETER BOEHLER.

ABSTRACT OF AN INDENTURE OF 1727.—"Indenture made September 18, 1727, between Nicklas Depue of Kizerrick, Ulster Co. New York and Indian owners for tract of land lying in county of Bucks, Pensalvena, joining to Dilaway River beginning by Peter Kettle on the south, by the north of a creek and there over and runs up S. W. 80 chains—N. W. so far as the top of the high mountains; all along said mountains as the Coast runs, so long till we come over against Peghgoquery; thence S. E. line so as the river runs, including all the islands to the said tract of land belonging to the heirs of Sir William Pen, containing three thousand acres more or less.

[Signed] "WAUGOANLENNEGGEA,
"PEMNOGQUE."

CAPTAIN NEWCASTLE, a Six Nation Indian, whose name frequently appears in Provincial affairs, on the opening of the Indian War of 1755, was called by his nation *Cashiwaya* or *Kanuksusy*. When a child he had been formally presented by his parents to William Penn, at New Castle. In August of 1755, Governor Morris publicly conferred on him the name of Newcastle, in remembrance of that event, addressing him, on that occasion, in these words:

"In token of our affection for your parents and in expectation of your being a useful man in these perilous times, I do, in the most solemn manner, adopt you by the name of Newcastle, and order you hereafter to be called by that name." He confirmed his words with a belt of eight rows.

J. P. B.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES EXTRACTED FROM THE CHURCH REGISTER
BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Hussey, b. 1718, in Wiltshire; d. 1775. Md. Martha Wilkes.

James Hall, b. 1724, in Yorkshire; d. 1783.

John Rodgers, b. 1704, in Portsmouth; d. 1758.

Hector Gambold, b. 1719, in Wales; d. 1788.
John Lewis, b. 1744, in Wales; d. 1788.
John Brownfield, b. 1714, in Greenwich; d. 1752. Md. Catherine Kearney, of New Jersey.
Edward Thorpe, b. 1721, at Ribley, Yorkshire. Md. 1763, Grace Brooke; d. 1797.
James Birkby, b. 1732, at Wyke, Yorkshire; d. 1803. Md. Hannah Brook, d. 1799.
Richard Lee, b. 1708, in London; d. 1797. Md. Anna Cook.

A DRUGGIST'S BILL OF 1784.—

"M^r Reuben Haines
 To Rob^t Bass, D^r
 1783 & 1784. To Sunday
 Dressings & to Sore Leg
 & Thumb . . . £1.—
 Rec'd August y^e 18th 1785
 in full of all Demands.

R. Bass.

"N. B. this Cure was perform'd
 on Sam^l Pemberton."

Robert Bass, druggist, was located on Market Street between Third and Fourth Streets.

READING OUT OF MEETING.—(From the *Pennsylvania Packet*, March 18, 1780.)

"From our Monthly Meeting held at Wrightstown, 7th of the 12th month, 1779.

"Whereas Thomas Ross, Junior, having had his birth and education amongst Friends, but having so far disregarded the testimony of truth against wars and fighting as to pay a fine demanded of him for not associating to learn the art of war, and Friends having treated with him in order to bring him to a sense of his misconduct; yet he continues to justify himself in so doing; therefore we give forth this as a testimony against such practices, and can have no farther unity with him as a member of our Society until he comes to a sense of his error, and condemns the same to the satisfaction of Friends, which he may do is our sincere desire for him.

"Signed in and on behalf of the said Meeting by

"J. CHAPMAN, Clerk.

"When the Clerk had finished reading the above testimony, Mr. Ross stood up and read the following declaration to the meeting:

"Whereas, the Society of the people called Quakers, in North America, in several important particulars, both in theory and practice have departed from their ancient creed, and inasmuch as in their ecclesiastical decisions and transactions, they are become extremely partial, inconsistent and hypocritical, I do therefore give forth this my testimony against their present practice and innovations, and can have no farther unity with them as a member of their Society, until they shall add to a profession more consistent with christianity, a practice more agreeable to their profession. Signed on behalf of himself, by

"THOMAS ROSS, JUNIOR."

PAROLE OF CAPTAIN CHARLES BIDDLE.—

"I Charles Biddle, late Captain of the Brig Active from St. Thomas bound to Philadelphia, do hereby acknowledge myself a Prisoner of War to the King of Great Britain, and pledge myself my faith and most sacredly promise upon my parole of honour, that I will not do, say, write, or cause to be done, said or written, directly or indirectly, in any respect whatever, anything to the prejudice of His Majesties service before I am duly exchanged, and that I will confine myself to such limits as shall be prescribed by the Commissary General of Naval Prisoners, or his Deputy, and that when required I will deliver myself up again. In Testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal at New York this 11 day of Dec 1781

"Present

"ROBT LENOX.

CHAS BIDDLE [SEAL]

"This is to Certify that Charles Biddle has signed a Parole of which the above is a copy, and that he has obtained permission to go to Flatbush, on Long Island, and there within the limits allotted him, remain at his own expense, demeaning himself as Prisoners ought to do 'till further orders.

"Given under my hand and seal of Office at New York, day and date above written.

"DAVID SPROAT

"Commissary General for Naval Prisoners."

The following letter gives the account of the capture of the "Active."

"READING Feby 4. 1782.

"MR. JOHN MITCHELL,

"DEAR SIR.

"Eight days after leaving St. Johns I had the misfortune to fall in with the Chatham of fifty guns. I was then about twenty five leagues from our Capes. It was at the dawning of the day we first discovered her, at the distance of about four miles. It blew very hard at N. W. at this time; there was not a man belonging to the vessel but the second mate and myself, but what had died or were sick with a fever that broke out at St. Johns. We got up our top gallant yards and with the assistance of the passengers made all the sail we could. At noon she fired a shot over us. I now hove my guns overboard; we went at the rate of eleven knots an hour. At 3 p.m. being within pistol shot and no possibility of escaping I hove too.

"A few days after my return home I was seized with the same fever that proved so fatal to my crew, and it brought me to the brink of the grave. Mr. John Shute with young Jack Shute and all the boats crew that came to St. Thomas for me are dead and I don't know that one man of the whole crew is living.

"I believe the brig foundered in a gale of wind two days after we were captured, she had not since been heard of. I loosened her joints in carrying so much sail upon her the day of the chase. . . .

"CHAS BIDDLE."

GENEALOGICAL NOTES OF THE IRISH FAMILY.—Nathanial Irish, whose plantation was located on Saucon Creek near its confluence with the Lehigh River, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, was born on the Island of Montserrat, West Indies, and died at Union Furnace, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, in the year 1748. He was commissioned a Justice of the Peace for Bucks County in 1741. His son Nathaniel, who during

the Revolution commanded a company in the Corps of Artillery Artificers, commanded by Colonel Benjamin Flower, was born at Saucon (now in Northampton County), May 8, 1737; removed to Pittsburgh, where he was elected first Assistant Burgess, and died there September 11, 1816, and is buried in the First Presbyterian church-yard. He married, in 1758, Elizabeth, daughter of John Thomas, who was born in 1735, and died in August of 1790, near the mouth of Plum Creek, Pitt Township, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania.

William Beckford Irish, son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth, was born in Philadelphia, August 23, 1773, and died in Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, March 25, 1850. He was United States Marshal during the administration of President James Monroe. His wife was Lydia, daughter of Septimus and Sarah Dallas Cadwallader, who was born June 1, 1799, at Redstone (now Brownsville), Pennsylvania, and died March 15, 1870, in Philadelphia.

MORRIS, POTTS, EDWARDS, WEBB, BARBER.—“Cadwallader Morris” and “Richard Potts” are witnesses to a deed poll signed by “Hugh Edwards,” of Gwynedd, in the county of Philadelphia, yeoman, and “Christian Edwards,” his wife, dated 16 March, 1713. The recital mentions Elizabeth Webb, widow of John Barber, late of Shipley, in the county of Sussex, Great Britain, deceased. Barber purchased of William Penn in July of 1681 2500 acres. S.

FIRST CELEBRATION OF WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY BY AMERICANS IN ROME, ITALY, 1830.—The first dinner held in Rome, Italy, to celebrate Washington's birthday was in 1830, and took place in the palace where Alfieri formerly resided. Forty-nine American gentlemen and ladies and one Italian were present, and James Fenimore Cooper presided. The following is a copy of the card of invitation:

“The Committee of Arrangements request the pleasure of Mr. Richmond's company, at the birthday dinner on Monday next at N° 3 via Strozzi, 6 o'clock.

“J. FENIMORE COOPER,
“PETER SCHERMERHORN,
“JAMES DUNDAS,
“JOSEPH GRINNELL,
“BENJ. A. GOULD.

} Committee.

“ROME, Feby. 20th, 1830.”

LIST OF GRAND AND PETIT JURYMEN, PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER, 1734.—*Sessions Grand Jury, October 29, 1734.*—Thomas Hatton, foreman; William Atwood, Robert Ellis, John Bringham, Edward Bradley, Samuel Powel, Jr., John Dillon, William Rawle, Aaron Hassert, William Plumsted, Thomas Glentworth, Joseph Shippen, Jr., Richard Nixon, George House, William Wallace, Thomas Sharp, Henry Combs, William Humphries, Hugh Roberts, William Clymer, Dennis Roachford, Benjamin Hoskins, Stephen Armitt, John Howell.

SEPT. ROBINSON, *Sheriff.*

Sessions Petit Jury, October 29, 1734.—William Clear, John Bayley, Samuel Emlen, Jacob Usher, Abraham Bickley, George Wilson, Francis Richardson, Thomas Stapleford, John Trapnall, Richard Crookshank, Benjamin Paschall, Thomas Say, Michael Poynts, Nathaniel Edgcomb,

Daniel Bateman, Jacob Shoemaker, John Foredam, John Breintnall, Daniel Hood, John Williams, John Wastfield, Caleb Ranstead, Charles Williams, Joseph Flower.

SEPT. ROBINSON, *Sheriff*.

OLD VIOLINS.—In the Archive Room of the Moravian Church at Lititz, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, is preserved a violin which bears the following inscription: "Johann Antes me fecit Bethlehem 1764." Other instruments by the same maker are known to be preserved.

Queries.

COLONEL NINIAN BEALL.—Among those who were transported to Maryland by the Parliamentary forces for political reasons was Colonel Ninian Beall. He was born in 1625 in Scotland, probably in Fifeshire. He served in the Scottish army at the battle of Dunbar in 1650, and was among the prisoners taken by Cromwell. The earliest notice I have found of him in the Maryland Land Office at Annapolis is of the year 1658, but soon after the battle of Dunbar the Parliamentary government had him transported to Maryland. He served in the Provincial forces, finally rising to the rank of colonel. For his numerous and valuable military services the Maryland Assembly passed in 1699 "An Act of Gratitude to Col. Ninian Beall." His name appears frequently in the land records. He died in 1717. His wife was probably a Miss Moore. There are on record at Marlboro, Prince George County, Maryland, a number of deeds of gift from "Col. Ninian Beall And Ruth his Wife," dated March 10, 1706. These deeds mention their sons Charles, Ninian, Jr., Thomas, John, and George, and their daughters Hester, Mary, and Rachell. He and his family should not be confounded with the following six emigrants of a very similar name, who were all in the Province before 1680: John Beal, 1658; John Beale, 1658; Thomas Beale, 1666; Thomas Beale, of St. Mary's, 1672; William Beale, 1664; and William Beale, 1671. I shall be greatly obliged for any further particulars about Colonel Ninian Beall.

THOMAS WILLING BALCH.

JEANES—BREWER—THOMAS.—William Jeanes died Fourth month 10, 1747; his wife, Esther *née* Brewer, died First month 22, 1737. Dates of births and marriage required, and also those of the parents of Esther Brewer.

Esther, a daughter of Joseph Jeanes, born Tenth month 26, 1743, married Nathan Thomas, who died Fourth month 21, 1819, and was buried at Abington, Pennsylvania. Who were the parents of Nathan Thomas, what is the date of his birth and marriage, and likewise of his parents?

A. J. T. HICKS.

Piqua, Ohio.

Replies.

THE FARMERS' SOCIETY was established at Sandy Spring, in Montgomery County, Maryland. In 1800, the president was Thomas Davis, and the secretary Roger Brooke.

ED. PENNA. MAG.

Book Notices.

"MEMORIALS OF THE HUGUENOTS, with Special Reference to their Emigration to Pennsylvania," is the title of a work in course of preparation by the Rev. A. Stapleton, of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. The names and family history of nearly a thousand who settled in this Province have been collected.

SNYDER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, MARRIAGES.—Mr. George W. Wagonseller, of Middleburg, Pennsylvania, is compiling a register of the marriages performed in Snyder County, and also the tombstone inscriptions to be found in the cemeteries of the county, with a view to their publication.

HISTORY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS.—Professor Oscar Kuhns, of Wesleyan University, has finished his book on "The History of the Pennsylvania Germans," which, among others, will contain chapters on the condition of South Germany and Switzerland at the close of the seventeenth century, and on the different periods of immigration to Pennsylvania from 1683 to 1775. Another interesting subject treated of is the origin and meaning of Pennsylvania German surnames and their changes under English environment.

MUNICIPAL HISTORY AND PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO. By Samuel Edwin Sparling, Ph.D. Madison, Wisconsin, 1898. 8vo, 188 pp.

We are indebted to the Regents of the University of Wisconsin for a copy of Dr. Sparling's thesis, in which he first treats of the administrative history of Chicago to the year 1872, which closed the period of special legislation for that city; and, second, its present municipal organization.

SHORT TITLES OF BOOKS RELATING TO OR ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY AND PRACTICE OF PSALMODY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1620-1820. By James Warrington. Philadelphia, 1898. 96 pp.

This brochure is but a tentative list issued for the purpose of inducing librarians and collectors to report to the compiler any books which are not included in it. He especially desires to have a line-for-line copy of the title-page, and other bibliographical information or correction. We hope that Mr. Warrington will receive the cordial help his work deserves.

JACOB ALRICHS AND HIS NEPHEW PETER ALRICHS. By Edward A. Price, Esq. Wilmington, 1898. 8vo, 60 pp.

Prominent actors in the Dutch and English history of the Delaware, are Jacob and Peter Alrichs, uncle and nephew, and through the researches of a descendant of Peter Alrichs we have now in attractive form a well-arranged account of their eventful lives. Mr. Price's monograph was read before the Delaware Historical Society in January last.

THE GOVERNMENT OF FEDERAL TERRITORIES IN EUROPE. By Edmund C. Burnett, Ph.D. Providence, Rhode Island, 1898. 8vo, 61 pp.

The government of dependencies has been extensively studied, but chiefly with reference to colonial government. A similar amount of

attention has not been given to dependencies of federal governments—subject territories which are not component parts of the federation. How successful the American system has really been can be seen only by a comparison with other systems which have prevailed, and in his paper Dr. Burnett describes those systems which have existed in Europe.

DESCENDANTS OF ARCHIBALD McALLISTER, OF WEST PENNSBORO TOWNSHIP, CUMBERLAND COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, 1730-1898. By Mary Catherine McAllister. Harrisburg, 1898. 8vo, 200 pp.

In the work under notice is set forth the genealogy of the American branch of this distinguished Scotch family, beginning with the founder, Archibald McAllister, who about 1730 settled in the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania. The data is compiled from family records and original documents, and is another valuable contribution to Pennsylvania genealogy. Considerable space is devoted to the reproduction of wills, inventories, deeds, muster-rolls, Revolutionary accounts, commissions, letters, tombstone inscriptions, diaries, and other valuable documents. The book is well printed on good paper, and contains an exhaustive index. It is bound in the attractive tartan of the clan.

HISTORY OF THE MILITARY COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS NOW CALLED THE ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1637-1888. By Oliver Ayer Roberts. Vol. III. 4to, 437 pages. Boston, 1898.

The third volume of the history of this ancient and honorable company of artillery, which covers the period between 1822 and 1865, has recently been issued. It has been prepared with the same great care as to historical details and biographical sketches, and liberality in illustrations, which marked the preceding volumes. The last volume is in the course of preparation. A revised and enlarged edition of the history of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry has long been needed, and as the material is abundant, we hope that its proposed preparation will not be long delayed.

SOME PENNSYLVANIA WOMEN DURING THE REVOLUTION. By William Henry Egle, M.D. 8vo, 208 pages. Harrisburg, Pa., 1898.

This attractive volume contains biographical sketches of some of the noble women of Pennsylvania, whose social and domestic lives, deeds of bravery, philanthropy, and devoted zeal to the cause espoused by their patriotic husbands, during the Revolution, are given without embellishment or fulsome laudation. We heartily commend it to our readers, and especially to those to whom, as descendants of Revolutionary sires, we owe so much. The work is well printed and bound in the patriotic colors,—buff and blue.

As we are about to close our forms the news reaches us of the death on January 16 of MR. ISAAC CRAIG, of Alleghany, Pennsylvania, a Vice-President of this Society. He was elected a member in 1857, a Vice-President in 1890, and was a valued contributor to this Magazine.

MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA, 1898.

A stated meeting of the Society was held January 10, 1898, President Charles J. Stillé, presiding.

Mr. Oliver Hough read a paper on "Captain William Crispin, one of Penn's Commissioners for settling the Colony," for which the thanks of the Society were voted.

Dr. Keen, Librarian, reported the following accessions since the last stated meeting: books, 616; pamphlets, 208; miscellaneous articles, 40. Among the more important gifts were the following:

A large collection of engravings, broadsides, caricatures, etc., from Mr. Frank L. Vinton.

A type-written copy of "Abstract of Minutes of Abington Monthly Meeting, 1746-1774," from Mr. Joseph E. Gillingham.

Portraits of Gustavus Hesselius and his wife, painted by himself, from Mr. Charles H. Hutchinson.

A handsome hand-painted fan presented by the authorities of Canton to Captain John Green, of the "Empress of China," the first American vessel flying the American flag to enter that port, in 1784, from Miss Mary M. Green.

From the family of the late David Paul Brown, Esq., a silver pitcher presented to him by the "disfranchised citizens of Philadelphia, 1841."

The "Washington Collection" of the late William S. Baker, of 430 handsomely bound volumes, 1092 engravings, and 1146 medals, coins, and tokens.

A stated meeting of the Society was held March 14, 1898, President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

An address was delivered by F. R. Diffenderfer, Esq., on "The Quaker and Palatine as Commonwealth-Builders."

On motion of Mr. W. C. Stevenson, Jr., the thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Diffenderfer.

Nominations for officers of the Society, to be voted for at the annual meeting, being in order, the following gentlemen were placed in nomination:

President.

Charles J. Stillé.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

Craig Biddle,

Ferdinand J. Dreer.

ANNUAL STATEMENT
OF THE
TRUSTEES OF THE GILPIN LIBRARY
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR
THE YEAR 1898.

Capital.

[No change.]

Income.

DR.

Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1898 . . .		\$2,248 86
Cash received, Interest on City Loan . . .	\$633 00	
Cash received, Interest on Mortgages . . .	1,625 00	
Cash received, Sale of Duplicate ; . . .	8 00	
	<hr/>	2,266 00
		\$4,514 86

CR.

Cash paid for Books, Pamphlets, and Newspapers	\$2,709 28	
Cash paid for Binding	10 20	
Cash paid for Salaries	660 00	
Cash paid for Rent, Historical Society of Penn- sylvania	200 00	
Cash paid for care of Laurel Hill Lot . . .	10 00	
	<hr/>	3,589 48
Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1899 . .		<u>\$925 38</u>

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STATED MEETINGS.

January 9, 1899.	May 8, 1899.
March 13, 1899.	November 13, 1899.
January 8, 1900.	

Annual membership.	\$5.00
Life membership	50.00
Publication Fund, life subscription.	25.00
Pennsylvania Magazine, per annum	3.00

Payments may be made to the Librarian, at the Hall, 1300 Locust Street, or to the Collector.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE
COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

Statement of Finances, December 31, 1898.

DR.

The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following :

To Real Estate	\$126,201 41
To Investments	114,059 28
To Study Fund	102 69
To C. Tower, Jr.	25 20
To Cash	7,539 59

CR.

The Treasurer and Trustees claim credit for :

General Fund, Investments	\$5,500 00
“ “ Real Estate Loan	4,337 60
“ “ Cash	2,208 54
Binding Fund, Investments	5,300 00
“ “ Cash	218 99
Library Fund, Investments	20,505 00
“ “ Cash	65 48
Endowment Fund, Investments	39,000 00
“ “ Cash	1,040 03
Publication Fund, Investments	37,754 28
“ “ Cash Uninvested	410 47
“ “ Cash	1,302 21
Smedley Fund, Investments	6,000 00
John Clement Fund	140 00
English Records Copying Fund	2,244 51
Real Estate, Investments	121,863 81
Sundries	37 25
	<u>\$247,928 17</u> <u>\$247,928 17</u>

General Fund.

Receipts: Cash Balance	\$4 44
Annual Dues, 1898	7,415 00
Interest and Dividends	1,252 94
Trustees of Endowment Fund	2,077 63
Donations, etc.	422 05
	<u>\$11,172 06</u>
Disbursements: General Expenses and Taxes	10,125 92
Balance in hands of Treasurer	<u>\$1,046 14</u>

Library Fund.

Receipts: Interest, Dividends, and Sales	\$1,004 84
Disbursements: Books purchased	\$589 81
Balance December 31, 1898	349 05
	<u>938 86</u>
Balance in hands of Treasurer	<u>\$65 48</u>

Binding Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1898	\$157 46
Interest and Dividends	297 00
	<u>\$454 46</u>
Disbursements: Binding Books, 1898	235 47
Balance in hands of Treasurer	<u>\$218 99</u>

Endowment Fund.

Receipts: Interest on Investments	\$2,091 00
Disbursements: Paid to Treasurer of General Fund	2,091 00

Publication Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1898	\$1,338 90
Interest and Rents	2,121 53
Subscriptions to Magazine, Sales, etc.	435 35
	<u>\$3,895 78</u>
Disbursements for 1898	<u>2,593 57</u>
Balance in hands of Trustees	<u>\$1,302 21</u>

ANNUAL STATEMENT
OF THE
TRUSTEES OF THE GILPIN LIBRARY
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR
THE YEAR 1897.

Capital.

[No change.]

Assets.

Philadelphia City Loan	\$21,100 00
Bonds and Mortgages	37,800 00
	<u>\$58,900 00</u>
Less amount due Income Account	288 35
	<u>\$58,611 65</u>

Income.

DR.

Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1897	\$1,088 02
Cash received, Interest on City Loan	\$1,266 00
Cash received, Interest on Mortgages	1,625 00
Cash received, Interest on Deposit	11 82
Cash received, Western Saving Fund for care of Lot in Laurel Hill Cemetery	20 00
	<u>2,922 82</u>
	<u>\$3,955 84</u>

CR.

Cash paid for Books, Pamphlets, and Newspapers	\$845 23
Cash paid for Binding	116 75
Cash paid for Salaries	625 00
Cash paid for Carpenter Work	100 00
Cash paid for care of Laurel Hill Lot	20 00
	<u>1,706 98</u>
Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1898	<u>\$2,248 86</u>

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OF THE
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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR
THE YEAR 1898.

Capital.

[No change.]

Income.

DR.

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Cash received, Interest on City Loan . . . \$633 00	
Cash received, Interest on Mortgages . . . 1,625 00	
Cash received, Sale of Duplicate . . . 8 00	
	<hr/>
	2,266 00
	<hr/>
	\$4,514 86

CR.

Cash paid for Books, Pamphlets, and Newspapers	\$2,709 28
Cash paid for Binding	10 20
Cash paid for Salaries	660 00
Cash paid for Rent, Historical Society of Penn- sylvania	200 00
Cash paid for care of Laurel Hill Lot . . .	10 00
	<hr/>
	3,589 48
	<hr/>
Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1899 .	<u>\$925 38</u>

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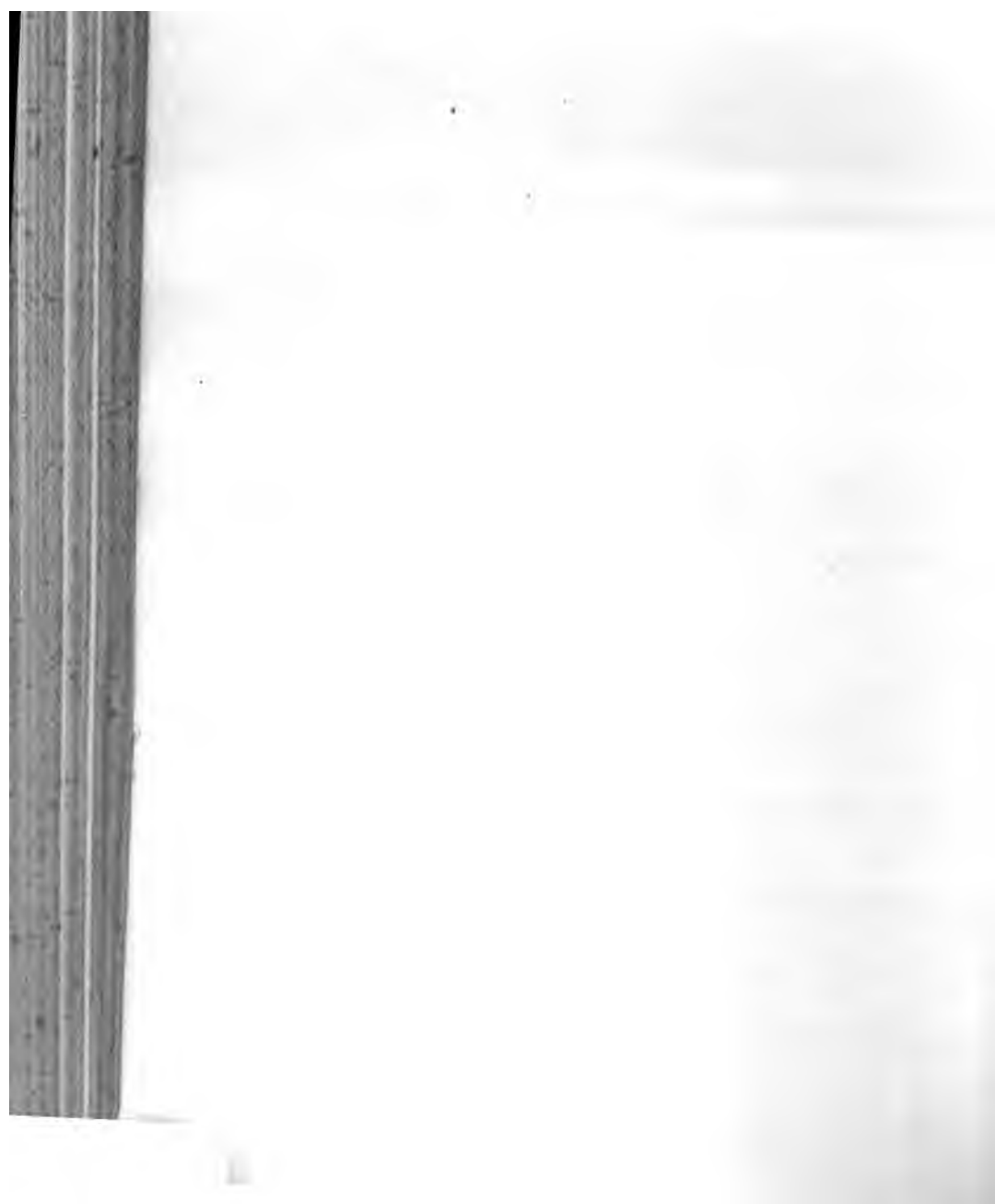


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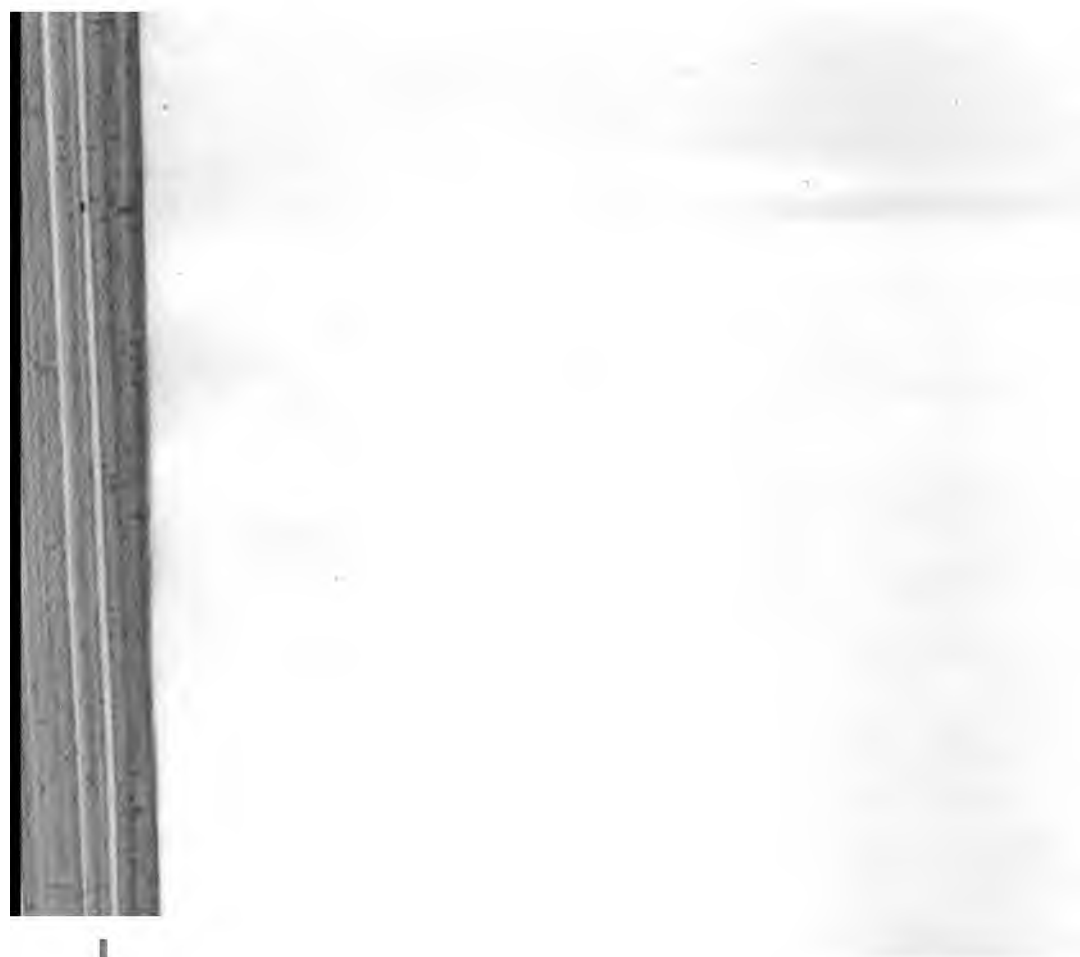


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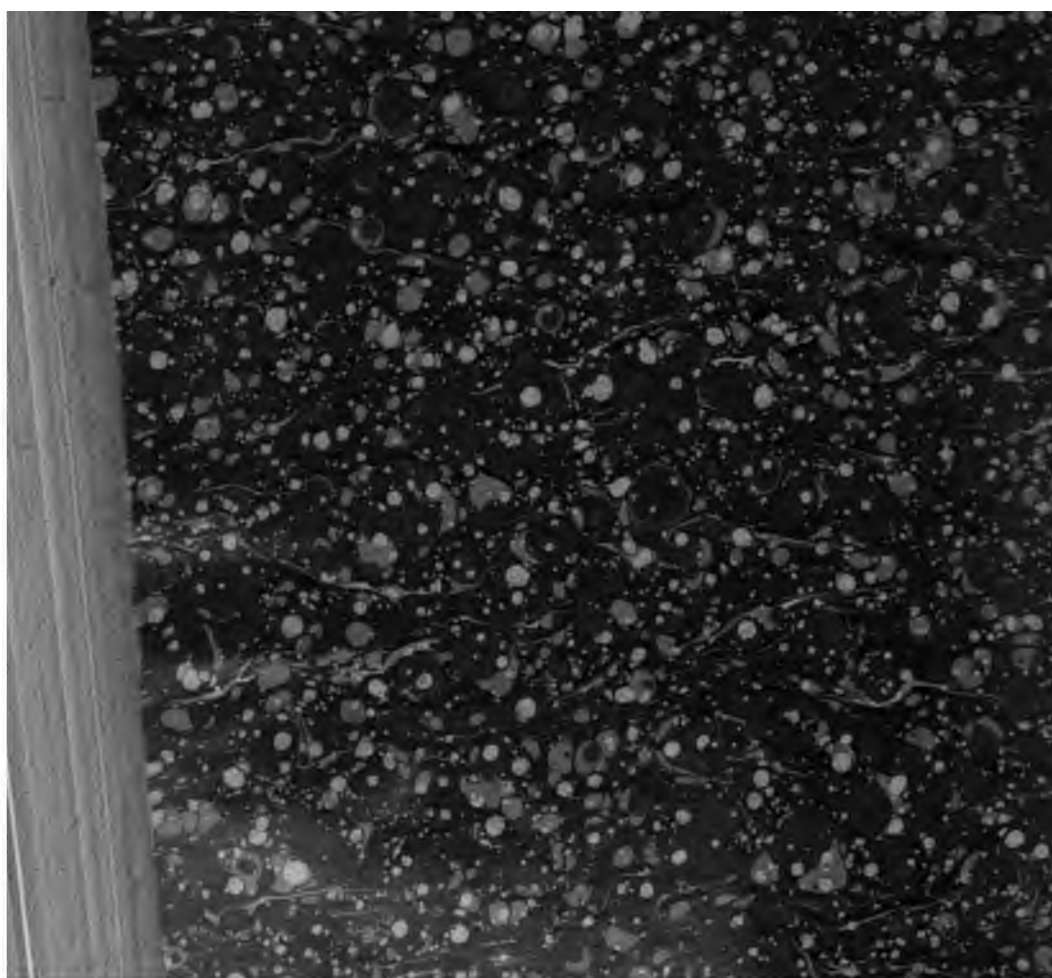




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