

- p. 82 -

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No. 21.

THE

**PENNSYLVANIA  
MAGAZINE**

OF

**HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.**

**No. 1 OF VOL. VI.**

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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 Magazines, 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 calculated than any other, to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry, and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and free people."— *Washington to Mathew Carey, June 25, 1788.*

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**PHILADELPHIA:  
PUBLICATION FUND OF  
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,**

*No. 820 Spruce Street.*

**1882.**

*Entered at the Post-Office at Philadelphia as Second-class matter.*

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Germantown Road and its Associations (Part Fifth). By <i>Townsend Ward</i> . . . . .	1
Benjamin Horner Coates, M. D. One of the Founders of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and for many years its Senior Vice President. By <i>James J. Lovick, M. D.</i> . . . . .	21
Journal of Captain John Montrésor, July 1, 1777, to July 1, 1778, Chief Engineer of the British Army. Including Accounts of the Expedition of Lord and Sir William Howe up the Chesapeake, the Battle of Brandywine, and from the Occupation to the Evacuation of Philadelphia, with the Reduction of Mud Fort or Fort Mifflin. Contributed and Edited by <i>G. D. Scull</i> , Oxford, England (continued) . . . . .	34
The German Almanac of Christopher Sauer. By <i>Abraham H. Cassel</i> , of Harleyville, Pa. . . . .	54
A Sketch of some of the Descendants of Owen Richards, who emigrated to Pennsylvania previous to 1718. By <i>Louis Richards</i> , Reading, Pa. . . . .	69
Fenwick's Proposal for Planting his Colony of New Cæsarea or New Jersey . . . . .	96
Thomas Wharton, Jr., First Governor of Pennsylvania under the Constitution of '76. By <i>Anne H. Wharton</i> (concluded from Vol. V., page 439) . . . . .	91
The Descendants of Jöran Kyn, the Founder of Upland. By <i>Gregory B. Kern</i> (continued from Vol. V., page 461) . . . . .	106
Original Letters and Documents. Two letters from Robert Morris to John Nicholson—Dr. Benjamin Rush to Griffith Evans—Dr. Benjamin Rush to John Nicholson—Battle of Long Island, by Ezra Williams—Dauphin County, Pa., in 1783, by Alexander Graydon—A Letter from the Merchants Committee of New York to the Merchants Committee of Phila., July 10, 1776, with answer. . . . .	111
Notes and Queries . . . . .	119

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THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OR  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. VI.

1882.

No. 1.

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THE GERMANTOWN ROAD AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

BY TOWNSEND WARD.

(Continued from Vol. V., page 322.)

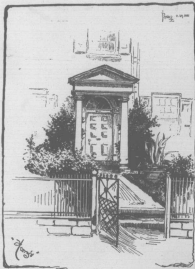
PART FIFTH.

. The Fourth Walk on the Germantown Road extended from Fisher's Lane northwardly to "Wister's Big House," and was confined to the east side of the road. Here, therefore, may be introduced an etching of Wakefield, which failed to be completed in time for that walk. A word may also be added regarding one of the early triumphs, and a most enduring one, of the little village;—yarn, spun, doubled and twisted, long ago, and still produced there, was always noted for its excellence. This has led to the best article of that kind, wherever made, being known throughout the States as "Germantown Wool." The "stone house, topped with creeping vines," spoken of on p. 372 of Vol. V., was, as I am now informed, used as a bakehouse for troops during the Revolution. An interesting note as to Ellinkhuysen, who executed the engraving of Frederick the Great, has been furnished by Mr. John B. Linn, of Bellefonte, and is printed on p. 488. The paper-mill erected by Christopher Bauer was

on the Schuylkill, not on the Wissahickon. "Duncan's Island," on p. 391, should have been followed by the words, "at the mouth of the Juniata," not by, "near Sanbury." Another son, named Wm. Logan Fisher, who died unmarried, should have been given to Thomas E. Fisher, on p. 367. Charles J. Wister never lived in any other house in Germantown but that inherited from his grandfather. We may now pass to the west side of the road.

Of the Wagner house and grounds, next to Toland's, much more can be said, for the researches of Mr. John W. Jordan now greatly aid me. He writes: "In Vol. V., p. 250, occurs the following: 'John Zachary had purchased part in 1745 from John Theobald Ent, and in 1747 he built the present house.' Ent, or rather Endt, although not originally a Moravian, joined that church, and took a very active part in their affairs in Germantown and its neighborhood. On the 12th of January, 1742, a Synod of the church was held in his house, over which Count Zinzendorf presided. Endt's children attended the Moravian schools. The property and house adjoining Endt's belonged to the Rev. John Bechtel, a Palatine from Franckenthal, whose daughter married the Indian Missionary, Blittner. Bechtel prepared for the Moravian Church a reformed catechism, which was printed by Franklin in 1742. John Stephen Benezet's house was near by."

Count Zinzendorf arrived in Philadelphia on the 18th of December, 1741, and almost at once repaired to Germantown, where he boarded with Bechtel. In 1742, the Moravians began a school there, but as it was further up the road, an account of it should be deferred until the house where it was held is reached. In January of 1746, sundry residents of Germantown, viz., John Peter Müller, Englebert Lock, Jean de Dier, Peter Hoffman, Anthony Gilbert, Cornelius Weygand, Marcus Münzer, and Hans Gerster, in behalf of themselves and others, made application to the Moravians at Bethlehem, desiring them to open a school for girls in their town. John Bechtel, at the same time, offered the use of his house and lot towards the project, and arrangements were completed on the premises for boarders, as well as for day-scholars,



and on the 21st of September the school was opened. That this later school was begun on this property can hardly be doubted, for the copious diaries of the Moravians are minute and accurate to a degree. The location was probably with the view to be nearer the city. The Rev. James Greening and wife, of Bethlehem, were first intrusted with its supervision. The earliest boarders were five girls, late inmates of a school at Nazareth; but soon the children of nearly all the members of the Philadelphia congregation attended. In February, 1747, Mr. Bechtel gave a piece of ground in the rear part of his property, for a Moravian burying place. In April of that year there were fifty children in attendance at this school; some were from this city, others from New York, Lancaster, and other places, and among the number were two Indian maidens, Mohegan converts. Six pounds per annum was the lowest charge for a boarder of Moravian parents. Among the rules were the following: "Parents are desired not to visit their children frequently, as it does them no good; parents are desired not to give their children expensive presents, and thus avoid dissatisfaction; the children are to attend meetings Sunday morning and afternoon." The school was discontinued in May, 1749.

Henry's house, which is the next north of Wagner's, and opposite the head of Fisher's Lane, was spoken of in the Third Walk, p. 252. The accompanying engraving of its front door will no doubt recall many pleasing associations.

West Logan Street, located here, but not yet opened from the west to the avenue, is known, I am told, under that name by the Gas Department, and also by a map. By the Water Department it is known as Norris Street. Those who own lots on it find their deeds give it the name of Terrace Avenue. Some who have tried to thread the mazes of this labyrinth, found, when they came to look upon the Ten Mile Map, their confusion worse confounded, for this has upon it still another name, Abbotsford Avenue. To make the matter still more farcical, there are only two houses on that part of West Logan Street, if it must be called so, lying in the Twenty-second Ward, and not more than three on that part which

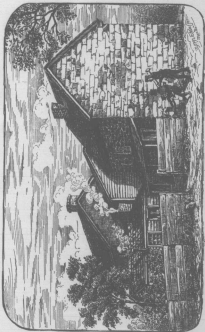
lies in the Twenty-eighth Ward. This profusion of names strongly reminds one of Falstaff's half-pennyworth of bread to his intolerable deal of sack.

Logan's Run crosses the northern part of Henry's grounds, and the depression, continued northwardly, was what was long known as Royal's Meadow, once a charming feature of the old Germantown Road, but now a thing of the past. In our youthful days, the meadow was a pleasing picture, for sheep were always feeding on the rich grass, while an occasional ox made the scene at times still more bucolic. So fine a pasture as was afforded here was of course seized upon by the British, who, with rails overlaid with sod, hutted a part of their cavalry around it. Somewhere about the middle of the last century, there was a person called Royal, but I know not how long had been his line of descent, nor which Royal ancestor it was who ennobled the "Barons of Beef," and knighted the doughty "Sir Loins;" thus graciously conferring titles to be held in honour so long as men have stomachs.

On the 11th of April, 1798, George Royal, a son no doubt, married Mary Sommera. I have seen a portrait of her, a creditable work, by Peale. This George Royal, not the Royal George who so oppressed our grandfathers, lived in the house on the east side, now down, of which an engraving was given facing p. 372. New houses, owned by Mr. John Wagner, now occupy its site. In the engraving, underneath that house, are the words, "On the Road above Fisher's Lane." No 4506, on the west side, is the house of George Royal's son Edward, who bought the meadow.

This house is said to have been erected in 1747, but it has been modernized. Old people used to tell of Edward Royal's humour. He had a horse of a most unpromising appearance, but which, nevertheless, was so very fast as often to pass the stylish looking horses of younger men, who were apt to look with contempt upon his poor "turn out." Once, meeting another waggon in a narrow part of the road, neither driver seemed disposed to be accommodating. Royal quietly bided his time, and at last, the other, whose patience was first ex-





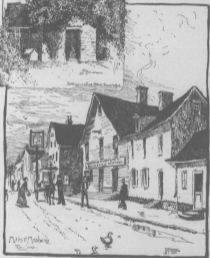
Fleckensteins House Spring Lane.

hausted, turned out, but with a sullen look as he did so. In passing, Royal said to him, "Do you know what I would have done if you had not turned out when you did?" "No," said the other, gruffly. "Why then," said Royal, with a quiet chuckle, "I should have turned out myself."

Nearly opposite No. 4506 is No. 4511, the place of residence of another son, Jacob. The children of these brothers continue to occupy these large buildings. About fourteen years ago there was erected upon a part of the meadow's front the row of brick houses, Nos. 4488 to 4460. No. 4515, spoken of on p. 378, was bought by the Royals about twenty-five years ago. Previously it had been for two generations occupied by the Duys, who gave their name to the lane near by.

We soon come to Spring Alley, which leaves the avenue, running to the west two hundred and seventeen feet, when it turns to the north with a course parallel with the avenue, soon to enter Mannheim St. In the S. W. angle of this alley is the spring from which it takes its name. On the northern side stood the dilapidated old house, No. 4528, where in early days, there was a Samuel Fleckenstein; and later, another of the same name, who lived long to tell of what he saw of the battle of Germantown. In recent days, another, named Frederick, a grandson of the first, lived there, and is well remembered. No doubt they were all alike,—it is known that the two latter were. They were all of them accomplished mechanics. Besides being universal menders of any kind of broken article, they were most ingenious workmen, and the elder of them made the ancient iron moulds, and other iron work, required by the Christopher Saur in the foundry where they cast their type. The two first were so utterly of the ancient world as to have no comprehension of the marvellous modern invention,—inflation. Whatever might be the job of work they undertook, and no matter how long they might be occupied on it, their invariable charge was but three cents, and Frederick piously followed them in this for many years. But when the civil war came, with its excessive depreciation of paper money, his fortitude failed him. In his agony he made a

supreme effort, and by raising his charge to five cents he saved himself from beggary. With a career almost coincident with the whole existence of Germantown, these men, with their small gains, were contented and happy, and they were not without the respect of the community in which they lived. Who, then, can say they were not wise! The second Fleckenstein, it may be remembered, was with young Miller in Locain's collar at the time of the battle. He lived so very long after that as to be with many others on Naglee's Hill, when St. Michael's Church, at Second and Jefferson streets, was burned on the 8th of May in the anti-Catholic riots of 1844. At that time there were no buildings to obstruct the view. Mr. Alexander Henry, one of the number gathered there, fell into conversation with Fleckenstein, and was told by him, that although he had witnessed the Battle of Germantown, and had lived to see that present sight, yet he had never been in the city of Philadelphia. His shop was a small one, as may still be seen, but it was always well filled, for chickens and pigeons seemed to dispute with the owner and his customers the possession of the place. Mr. George B. Wood, the artist, has preserved its appearance in an excellent painting he has made of its interior. Frederick Fleckenstein was fond of botany and of mineralogy, and many were the tramps he took with his devoted friend, George Redles, in quest of what was game to them. They not only knew of every rare and curious plant to be found in their vicinity, but such as were confined to the neighboring Jerseys did not elude their search. "Freddy" was a single-hearted man, who had come down to our day with the simplicity of the time in which he was born. He came from the era when men with hardy frames lived out their days, to be gathered to their fathers in a ripe old age. But it was his misfortune to fall upon an evil time of mighty changes, an era when physicians seem to be as numerous as patients were in the good old days, as some believe. On the morning of a day about six years ago, the old man felt slightly unwell, much therefore, according to modern notions, was to be done for him, and to be done at once. He was carried out of his



house, and sat in a chair for several hours, while the place, which had known no water for a century or more, was cleaned and its ceiling white-washed. He was taken back,—but the change had been too great for him. Pneumonia soon carried him off at the age of only about fourscore years.

Only a little distance north of Fleckenstein's, and we find ourselves opposite the western end of Duy's Lane. On the northern side of this lane, about a quarter of a mile to the east, is an old house, which in 1887 was purchased by the late Jeremiah Hacker, and in which his family still reside. It is probable that at some future time I may be able to obtain material for an interesting note concerning it.

The inn, at the S. W. corner of the avenue and Manheim Street, is in the style of an old-fashioned hipped-roof building. Not long ago, it was considerably enlarged and much improved, but tastefully so, and without materially altering its distinctive character. Pickus kept the place in its earlier day of an insignificant size; and Bockius, afterward. And then there came William K. Cox, who enlarged it, and who, in his turn, played the host there. As is the case with so many of our roads and streets, the lane alongside of this inn has had as many aliases as a prudent burglar. By some it was called Pickus's Lane, by others, Betton's. There were still others who styled it Bockius's. The following of the later occupant called it Cox's. The name which it now bears was given by one of whom I am fortunate enough to have received an account written by Mr. Edward Biddle.

“*Jacque Marie Roset* was born at Lyons, France, in the year 1765. He lived there until twelve years of age, when, his family removing to Austria, he was, on the nomination of the Emperor, Joseph II., admitted to the Imperial Academy at Presburg to be educated. When a young man, about twenty-seven years of age, he was attracted to this country, like Lafayette, by a strong admiration of the character of General Washington. Landing here on the 10th of December, 1792, it was his good fortune while making his way up Chestnut Street, with several of his countrymen, to meet General Washington, who recognizing them as Frenchmen,

to whose nation our country had been under peculiar obligations, stopped and greeted them, with the expression (according to the anecdote as given in Watson's Annals) of '*Bien venu en Amérique.*'

"This incident naturally made a very agreeable impression on Mr. Rosét, and one which he invariably referred to with great pleasure in after life. Mr. Rosét, being a thorough linguist, was shortly after his arrival here appointed to a position in the Foreign Department of the General Post-Office, then at Philadelphia. There, experiencing the difficulty arising from the use of foreign names in this country, he adopted the name of Jacob, under which he was always afterwards known. By his marriage with Elizabeth Stubert, which occurred December 5, 1793, he had eight children, four of whom reached years of maturity. Mr. Rosét became subsequently engaged in mercantile business in Philadelphia, and resided at this time at the N. E. corner of Seventh and Arch Streets. Before removing to Germantown, he lived for three years at Richmond Hill, at the Falls of Schuylkill. In the year 1821 he moved to Germantown and took up his residence in the old Toland property in Main Street below Manheim, where he lived for twelve years, afterwards moving into larger quarters on a street running west from Main Street. This street having at that time no fixed name he christened it Manheim, in honour of the beauty of the ladies of Manheim in Germany, and had a slab of marble inserted in the house on the corner of Spring Alley and the street, bearing on its northern front 'Manheim Square,' and on its eastern, 'Manheim Spring Alley.' In the house referred to above, on the north side of Manheim Street, before Greene is reached, he passed the remainder of his life. It was an old-fashioned but comfortable dwelling, having originally been two houses which he had joined, converting the two into one. The upper stories he had thrown into one large room where, of a Sunday, he would gather the children of the neighborhood, with whom he was a great favorite, and give them religious instruction. Mr. Rosét had a great fondness for flowers, and this taste he was enabled to gratify, having in the rear of his

house a large garden; his collection of Dahlias is said to have been particularly fine, and he was very fond of drawing attention to their different varieties. When Mrs. Butler (Fanny Kemble) passed his house in her morning rides, she was invariably the recipient of a bouquet from the gallant old gentleman's hands.

"Mr. Rosét, though educated a Catholic, attended, while in Philadelphia, the Dutch Reformed Church. When he removed to Germantown he attended the Lutheran Church, becoming a member of it when in his 80th year. Mr. Jacob Rosét enjoyed good health up to almost the last moments of his life. He lived to the advanced age of eighty-six, and it is related of him as showing his wonderful vitality, that only a few hours before his death, he rose in his bed, and waving off the skullcap which he wore, gave vent to three cheers for '*la France.*' He lies buried with his wife in the old Lutheran Church-yard at Germantown. Mr. John Rosét, his eldest son, is well remembered in Philadelphia as a merchant. He married Miss Mary Laning of Wilkes-Barré, a grand-daughter of the late Judge Matthias Hollenback of that place, and left by her a large family who survive him; of his three daughters residing in Philadelphia, one married Dr. John L. Ludlow, another the late Mr. John Brodhead, and the third, Mr. Anthony J. Drexel."

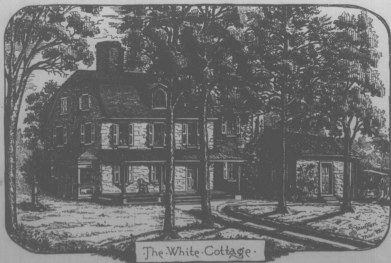
Dr. Samuel Betton, originally of the Island of Jamaica, had a considerable estate there, and derived a good return from it until its labor system was disturbed. But it was years before this occurred that he came to reside in Germantown; and it was just as old age was carrying the excellent and venerable Dr. Bensell from a scene which he had long graced. Although Germantown had long been called the Montpelier of America, it was, perhaps, not alone its salubrious air that attracted Dr. Betton to it, for there yet lingered there a Revolutionary character, Colonel Thomas Forrest, who had a daughter fully as attractive as the air of the place. He married her, and bought the rather striking, but agreeable looking house, "White Cottage," that yet stands on the north side of Manheim Street, west of Greene.

With good taste he erected the large octagon room on the east. When first at this house, I was but a boy. I had been told that those of the name of Betton were of the family of Bethune, whose illustrious head was the Duke of Sully, minister of Henry of Navarre, the great Henry IV., of France, and that their descent could be traced through a thousand years. I had just read the memoirs of the Duke, and as I was received by the venerable doctor with more than courtly suavity, I could not doubt, as with his handkerchief he wiped a few drops of rain from my shoulders, that such consummate grace was a part of his rich inheritance. It is told, that his was the first house in Germantown where silver forks were known. His son, the late Dr. Thomas Forrest Betton, married Elizabeth, a daughter of Albanus Logan, of Stenton. These are now represented by Mr. Samuel Betton, the present occupant of the White Cottage.

Opposite White Cottage is "Taggart's Field," where yet stands a house, part of which is said to be of pre-revolutionary date. The British Infantry were huted on these grounds. When they had passed away, young Miller saw on this field Count Pulaski's Legion of Cavalry, four hundred men in their uniform of nearly white. He said the Legion was formed mostly of prisoners of Burgoyne's Army, Germans, and others.

A little beyond Betton's is the place of Mr. Thomas A. Newhall, originally Robert Toland's. In 1860, when the Marquess of Chandos, who a year afterwards succeeded to the Dukedom of Buckingham, was here, he was a guest for some ten days at this house. The Prince of Wales was in Philadelphia at the same time. The Marquess visited the Hall of the Historical Society, and on observing there the original portrait of William Penn, which had been presented by a great-grandson, Granville Penn, he told me that he remembered it well. He had been an Eton boy, and often spent a few days at a time at Stoke-Poges, the seat of the Penns, and had seen it there. The portrait had just been returned here from Boston, where Mr. Schoff was about finishing an engraving of it. The Marquess told me that the Prince, who was especially fond of antiquities and historical





The White Cottage.

associations, had, in conversation with him, spoken of having inquired whether there was anything of Penn here; a house that he had lived in, or anything that had belonged to him. On this, after mentioning the house in Letitia Street, and what else there was of Penn's, I said that when the engraving should be finished, it would give me pleasure to send impressions of it to appropriate persons in England. This I afterward did, through the late Granville John Penn, suggesting to him that, among others, one should be sent in his name to the Prince. He did this, and in due time inclosed to me the letter written to him by the Prince's Equerry, Gen. Knollys, to the effect, that while not strictly in accordance with etiquette, yet it was accepted, as it was a work of much merit, and had been sent in so impersonal a manner.

Some forty years ago the large old double house of stone, on the avenue, now bearing the number 4558, was occupied by Commodore James Barron, at that time in command of the Navy Yard here. He was not less accomplished as a sailor than as a gentleman. He was also something of an artist, as may yet be seen by a production of his brush, a painting of one of James Gowen's fine cattle, now in Mr. Blake's parlour in London. The Commodore had a grandson residing with him, then a schoolboy in Germantown. He is now the Captain James Barron Hope who was invited by Congress to write, for the celebration of the centennial of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown, the ode repeated by him in this city, under the auspices of the Historical Society, on the 14th of December last. Mr. Hope remembers the Sunday dinners at his grandfather's house, at which Count Miollis was usually a guest, and that this gallant gentleman, then an exile, taught the French language at McClanahan's Academy, for his livelihood. He had been of the Great Napoleon's Army, and was the officer who made a prisoner of the Pope. A leg which he had lost was replaced by one of cork. This was soldierly, but much was added to it, for his gallantry had been rewarded with many decorations, and these it was his pride to wear upon festive occasions. His appearance at table therefore made an indelible impression

on a youthful mind. Like most Frenchmen, Count Miollis took little interest in public affairs; but once, however, when some occasion called forth every one, he with them all, went to the poll to deposit his ballot. To his intense surprise his right was challenged. It is not easy to imagine his wrath, for he conceived that he was to meet, successively, in mortal combat, all of the opposing party. To his disgust, he soon found, as he supposed, that they feared to meet him. It is said that to the day of his death, he never clearly comprehended the matter, so completely was he bewildered by the term "challenge," which had been used in the conversation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Commodore James Barron was a son of an earlier commodore known as "James Barron the Elder," who was born at Old Point Comfort in 1740, and who, in 1780, was promoted "Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia State Navy." This navy was not disbanded until the Federal Constitution was adopted, in 1787, in which year the commodore died. In his turn he was a son of Colonel Samuel Barron, of "Little England," in Elizabeth City County. It is in this, one of the original shires of the colony, or Old Dominion, that Fortress Monroe now stands, occupying the site of an earlier work, erected about 1630, and rebuilt, it is supposed, about 1639. This came to be called Fort George, but hardly, I suppose, until the time of the Hanoverian succession. Colonel Barron was commander there in 1740, and there, his son, spoken of above, was born. In the year 1749 a great hurricane and flood swept away all of the fort except some strong masonry.

The Barrons of the era of the Revolution (there were six of them, Samuel, Richard, James, William, Robert, and David) possessed considerable properties in the region, and were so largely in the shipping business that during the war they fitted out many a vessel, and saw and did much fighting; and there are few waters of the earth which could afford a better field for this, than did the broad expanse of Chesapeake Bay. Hardly any knowledge of their many actions would have been preserved but for much too brief articles in the *Virginia Historical Register* and the *Southern Literary Messenger*. The "Liberty" was one of the vessels commanded by a Barron. She was in more than twenty decisive actions without striking her colours, and surviving hostilities, she proudly carried them in peace.

Only one of the Barrons remained at home during the war; David, the merchant, in order to conduct the business. Their contributions to the cause of the colonies were to the value of \$150,000. No claim for compensation was made for this until about the year 1850, when about one-third of the amount was paid their heirs. But in recognition of their unselfish devotion there was ever at the disposal of the family, a Midshipman's Warrant, and once there was one sent to Mrs. Commodore Samuel Barron, for her child.

The house spoken of seems to have been destined to be the continued abode of heroes. After Commodore Barron left it, Captain Henry A. Adams, a Pennsylvanian who entered the Navy in 1814, became its occupant. He, in turn, was succeeded by Col. John G. Watmough, who earned his laurels in the brilliant sortie at Fort Erie. His elegant and impressive manners, and his still open wound, more than thirty years afterwards, made him sheriff of the county, and sent him as a Representative to Congress.

Germantown Avenue is becoming so much of a place of business, as to be less interesting, and much less picturesque than in earlier days, when it was only the "Old Germantown Road," lined with quaint looking places of residence. In that day it was thought that business pursuits should hardly be permitted there. It was conceded, however, that, should the imperative wants of the people require a departure from

It so happened, at that time, that her only child was a girl, so she returned it. In the course of a few months her husband died, and a son was born to her, whereupon the warrant was again sent to her. She returned it, saying her boy was an infant. Upon this the Secretary of the Navy again sent it to her, with a letter to the effect that she had no right to decide for the child, but that she should retain the warrant, and, at the proper time, let the child decide for himself. This she did; and the boy, a nephew of the commodore James who commanded here, grew, and served with credit. In time he became a commodore, but he is now, at an advanced age, living in retirement.

The changes in recent times have been so very great that, to the younger generation, it may seem ridiculous to be speaking thus of "children in arms." Nevertheless, boys so bred, often, in manhood, achieved world-wide fame. I may therefore be pardoned mentioning the fact that the second President of our Historical Society, Major Duponceau, was once a "child in arms;" for while yet an infant, he held a commission as lieutenant. He has told me that when arrayed in his uniform, and carried about the Isle of Rhé, in his nurse's arms, the respectful soldiers of the old French Monarchy would soberly yield to him the accustomed military salute. Later than this is the instance of Sir William Gomm, also in some degree connected with us of Pennsylvania, for he married a great-granddaughter of William Penn. He entered the army as a cornet at the age of ten years, and in time became the commander-in-chief of the British Army in India. He died in 1874, while Governor of the Tower of London. As his age was ninety-one years, he had thus held his commission for more than eighty years.

a rule so rigid, there might, out of an abundant grace, sanction be given to a few uneasy spirits whose shops should be such as that of Mr. Green, the latter, No. 4562. A quiet repose and an ample evidence of enjoyment of the fruits of toil, seem palpable in a long old building like this, where nine parts are a proof of prosperity, while only one presents an appearance of traffic. Formerly, at this old house there were some fifty martin boxes, and the interesting birds that occupied them, numbered a hundred or more. About ten years ago they suddenly disappeared, and, doubtless, for a good reason, for they have not returned. Many have thought that the street to the west of the avenue, and parallel with it, derived its name from the family which occupied this house. This may not be so, although the authorities lend colour to the belief, by painting the name "Green" on the sign-boarda. Some say the true name is "Greene," after a general of Germantown's battle, and claim that this is evident from the names of succeeding streets, Knox, Wayne, and Pulaski, which also commemorate the names of officers engaged in the famous conflict.

In our early Provincial days, many Germans, as we well know, fled from persecution in their fatherland, and found a refuge in Germantown. It is not often, however, that the fact is recalled that, at the same time, there were those in an English Colony in America who, to save their lives, fled therefrom to find safety in Pennsylvania. One of these was Edward Shippen, a wealthy merchant of Boston, and of an English family of some prominence, for he had a nephew, "Honest Will Shippen," as Robert Walpole called him, who was a member of parliament. Edward was tried in Massachusetts, and found guilty of being a Quaker, and was punished according to its law, by being driven at the cart's tail around the streets of Boston, and soundly whipped the while, by the hangman. This was not agreeable, but he did not feel degraded by it, for it is crime, not punishment, that degrades. Gen. Morgan of our revolution believed this, when he received four hundred and ninety-nine lashes in Braddock's Expedition, saying to the day of his death, that the British



Ye. Roebuck. Inn.

still owed him one, as the officer had made a miscount. Edward Shippen of course came here,—it was about the only place on earth where he could come,—and he became the first Mayor of Philadelphia, and built “Shippy’s great house,” for so the name was pronounced, in Second Street above Spruce, long known as the “Governors’ House,” because after his time so many of them occupied it. Many of his descendants, like himself, have been prominent in our public life, both in Provincial days and ever since.

As early as 1709, Joseph Shippen, a son of Edward, began to purchase land in Germantown, and in time he or his sons owned one hundred acres, lying in one body there. In 1716 he went there to live, perhaps in the summer time, and no doubt it was he who erected the house, whose site is now occupied by that of Mr. Heft, No. 4612. But whether he, or others of the family, lived in it for any length of time, does not appear to be known. There were other houses on their property. In his deed of 1740 to his sons, Edward, Joseph, and William, the house is mentioned as the “Roebuck Tavern.” In a deed of July 10th, 1788, from Joseph Shippen to his brother William, the lot on which their house stood is described as eighty-four feet front, and seven hundred and eight feet deep, with a brick house thereon erected, still “known by the name of Roebuck Tavern.” In 1819 William Shippen, a great-grandson of the preceding William, and Mary his wife conveyed the property to George Heft; with whom it became the well-known “Buttonwood Tavern,” marked by two stately trees of that variety, standing before it, only one of which now remains. It is a large, old, gnarled tree, spectre-like, for its bark is gone, and altogether it is one of the most striking looking trees in Germantown. The Hefts must have enlarged their grounds, for now, the frontage on the avenue is about two hundred and fifty feet. In Dec., 1854, on the settlement of George Heft’s estate, the property came to his son Caspar, the present owner.

A few words more should be given to those of the Shippens who were associated with ancient Germantown. Joseph Shippen’s youngest son, Dr. William, was born in 1712. He

attained real eminence as a physician, and reached the age of ninety with the love of all who knew him. He was twice elected a member of the Continental Congress, and, notwithstanding his advanced years, he was, as its journals show, constant in his attendance. By his wife Susannah, a daughter of Joseph Harrison of this city, he was the father of Professor William Shippen, born in 1736. Professor William Shippen studied here with his father, and afterwards abroad, under the celebrated Hunters, in England. In 1776 he was appointed "Chief Physician for the Flying Camp." In March, 1777, he laid before Congress a plan for the organization of a Hospital Department, which, with some modifications, was adopted, and on the 11th of April following he was unanimously elected "Director-General of all the Military Hospitals for the Armies of the United States." He died in Germantown on the 11th of July, 1808. Thacher, in his Medical Biography, speaks of these Shippens, father and son, and in high but just terms. Dr. Wistar's eulogium on the professor, 1809, is a graceful and charming tribute. Professor Shippen was married in London, about the year 1760, to Alice, a daughter of Col. Thomas Lee, Governor of the Province of Virginia. By her his son, who reached maturity, was Thomas Lee Shippen, born in 1765. He was a graduate of Princeton, was a student of law at Williamsburg, Va., with James Madison, and afterwards he was of the Inner Temple, London. In 1791 he married Elizabeth Carter, daughter of Major James Parke Farley, and granddaughter of Col. William Byrd, 8d, of Westover on the James. Their son was Dr. William Shippen, born at Farley, Bucks County, Penna., in 1792, married, in 1817, Mary Louise Shore, of Petersburg, Va., and died in Philadelphia, June 5, 1867. He was a Vice-President of the Historical Society.

No. 4622 is where Mr. Wm. Wynne Wister lives. This house was once the place of residence of Gilbert Stuart, the artist, and back of it are the old walls, still standing, the remains of his studio where he painted his excellent portrait of Washington. Near by, and still on the west side, is Mr.



Harlan's large double house No. 4626, at first used as a summer residence, but of late years, continuously. Next to it is No. 4680, where "Squire Baynton" lived.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Peter Baynton, pronounced Banton, was one of the early emigrants to Pennsylvania. He came from Bedminster, near Bristol, in England, and was here as early as 1686, for in that year he was a Justice of the Court at Upland, or Chester. That he had a house there is shown by the fact that on the 26th of Dec., 1693, the commissioners met in it. This had been the house of James Sandelands, whose widow, Annika Kyn Sandelands, was the wealthiest woman of the Province. She married Peter Baynton, and their only child was Rebecca, who in 1713 married Thomas Weston. The name here might therefore have then become extinct, had it not been for a great-nephew, born Dec. 27th, 1695, also named Peter, a son of Benjamin Baynton. It was no doubt the great-nephew Peter who was in Philadelphia in 1721 engaged in business, and who in the following year went for a time to the "Cherry Stones," and to other places in Virginia, and later to Charleston, S. C. In a letter written from the latter place, he expresses regret that he had left here; a regret that continued, for in less than a year he returned. A vessel in which he made shipments for Charleston had, for its captain, George Barefoot, and he had dealings there with Fenwicks Golightly. With such a gift for meeting with odd names it requires but a slight stretch of the imagination to suppose that in Virginia, he must have had transactions with the Steptoes and Lightfoots. In Charleston he married Miss Paris, who, however, lived but a short time. His second wife was his cousin Mary Budd, of New Jersey, a daughter of John and Rebecca (Baynton) Budd. On the 22d of Feb. 1743-4, he was drowned in the Delaware, near Burlington, his place of residence, and his remains were interred in the grounds of St. Mary's church. His career had been a prosperous one;—the roofing and shingling of St. Mary's was done at his cost. By his will he bequeathed to his wife, Mary, £640 per annum, and left £250 towards erecting a new Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. Benjamin Baynton, his eldest son, we suppose, was bred to the law, but died at the early age of twenty-one, and was buried also at St. Mary's, where the beautiful epitaph on his tombstone still attracts attention.

Another son, John Baynton, whose mother was a Budd, was born Dec. 17th, 1726, and was married Dec. 17th, 1747, to Elizabeth Chevalier of this city. After the custom of that day they had fifteen children, one of whom married Joseph Bullock, and was thus the mother of Rebecca who married Charles J. Wister. Another, Elizabeth, on the 18th of Dec., 1773, married Abraham Markoe, the first Captain of the First City Troop, and brother of Peter, the Philadelphia poet. Still another one of them became the wife of Col. George Morgan of Morganza, near Pittsburg. John Markoe, a son

A large old double house, of stone, standing somewhat back from the line of the avenue, now bears the number 4684. The old Bringhurst House was nearly opposite to it. For more than thirty years past it has been owned and occupied by the late Isaiah Hacker and his family. Long ago it was erected as a place of residence by David Hayfield Conyngham, who was born at Letterkenny, Ireland, on the 21st of March, 1750-1, and who was a son of Redmond Conyngham, of Letterkenny, Esquire, and his wife Martha, daughter of Robert Ellis, of Philadelphia. Redmond Conyngham came here in 1756, and was one of the original members of the firm of J. M. Nesbit & Co. He returned to Ireland in 1767, and died in 1785. David remained here, and on the 4th of December, 1779, married, at Whitemarsh, Mary, daughter of William and Mary West. She died August 27, 1820. He was a partner in the old house which, under the name of J. M. Nesbit & Co., became so distinguished during the Revolution.

of Abraham, had a daughter, Elizabeth Baynton Markoe, who married the late William Masters Camac. Benjamin Baynton, a son of John, was a captain in the 60th Reg. Br. Army.

John Baynton was a merchant of eminence in this city, and was of the firm of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan whose losses by Indian depredations were so great, that they had assigned to them in compensation, it is said, the territory now occupied by the state of Indiana. No doubt John Baynton was the owner of the country-seat at Fourth and Wood Streets, "Bedminster," spoken of in Vol. IV. p. 419. He died in Philadelphia on the 8th of May, 1773. One of his sons, Peter, was born in 1754, and in 1771 read law with Alexander Wilcocks. In 1799 he was Adjutant General of the Militia of Pennsylvania. It was after this, no doubt, that he lived for a time, in the Saur House spoken of in the last Walk, but subsequently he moved to the house spoken of above, No. 4630, on the west side of the road. At a later time Mr. Benjamin J. Leedom lived in the house. In Germantown the former occupant was always called "Squire Baynton." He died somewhere between the years 1817 and 1825. John Baynton, his son, lived in Mississippi for a time, and was cashier of a bank there. He became Mayor of Natchez, and married there Miss Sessions. In after years he returned to Philadelphia, where he died about twenty-three years ago, leaving a widow, who is the only one here now bearing the name. Burke, in his *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*, under Baynton-Rolt of Spye Park, says, "Sidney, in his *Treatise on Government*, affirms that, in antiquity of possession and name, few of the nobility equal the family of Baynton."

The title was changed after 1788 to Conyngham, Nesbit & Co. David H. was descended from William Conyngham, Bishop of Argyll, 1589, and was therefore of the same line of descent as the Marquess Conyngham of Ireland. He was first cousin to William Conyngham, created Baron Plunket, the eminent Chief-Justice and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1820-1841, and also of Capt. Gustavus Conyngham of the U. S. Navy, 1776-1783. He was father of the Hon. Redmond Conyngham of Lancaster Co., and the Hon. John N. Conyngham of Wilkes-Barré. He died on the fifth of March, 1884, and was buried in the grounds of our Christ Church. The career of Mr. Conyngham was a varied and interesting one, and such excellent material is in existence for a memoir of him, that I refrain from saying much more, as I understand one is to be written by the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, of Wilkes-Barré. One or two points in our local history impel me to say that his reminiscences show that the "Schuylkill gun" bearing the motto "Kawanio Che Keeteru Schuylkil," now lying at Fort Mifflin, was, in the beginning of the Revolution, in use at the Association Battery, the site of the late Navy Yard. It would be a graceful act on the part of the Secretary of War to deposit this historic gun with the company from whom it is believed to have come,—the ancient "State in Schuylkill." This society, the oldest social club in the world, would be sure to guard it as a treasure next in importance to its own history. It is also shown that Mud Island, as the iconoclasts of our day style it, was, by the heroes of '76, called Governor's Island. Conyngham, together with some friends, rescued Dr. Kearsley and Jabez Maud Fisher from the mob in the beginning of the Revolution, and afterward saw the latter in London. Fisher was a brother of Joshua, Samuel R., and Miers Fisher, and died in England in 1778. After Mr. Conyngham left the house, and perhaps immediately, Miss Hannah, a maiden sister of John and Charles J. Wister, occupied it for a dozen years or more. In 1832 Samuel Taylor and William Rainey sold the house and lot to Alexander Prevost, who, in 1835, sold to the Rev. William Neill, pastor of the old Presbyterian

Church on the Main Street below Haines. This gentleman, in 1844, sold the property to the late Isaiah Hacker.

The house next, to the north, bears the number 4636. It has an exterior so shaggy as to bid defiance to the most rigorous climate, and, consequently, promises every comfort within its walls. Some one, with a diamond, wrote on a pane of glass, in one of the windows, "Ann W. Morris, and Maria Abercrombie, 1807." Anne Willing Morris is to be spoken of hereafter. The latter name was that of a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Abercrombie, of the United Churches of Christ and St. Peters. She was married at an early age, but unhappily, for a separation soon took place. Resuming her maiden name, she was known, until her death, eight years ago, as Mrs. Abercrombie. Many remember her for a vivacity and freshness of feeling, extremely rare at the age which she attained;—a few, much older, recall the fact that these were characteristics of her earlier days. Long ago Mrs. Abigail Johnson Morris, a sister of Justus Johnson, lived in the house, but of later years it has been occupied by the family of the late William Howell.

No. 4638 is Handsberry's house. Last autumn it was the theatre of a scene that always pleases,—the ancient couple residing there celebrated their golden wedding. Woltemate's green house, No. 4646, is the site of the residence of the Van Laucheta. Christian and John, grandsons of the long ago Barbara Van Lauchet, have recently died. They were the last of the name, of a family from Holland, that came to Germantown at an early time. Michael Riter's Indian Queen Inn is soon reached, afterwards converted into the grocery store of Naaman Keyser, at the S. W. corner of Indian Queen Lane. With those of the olden time, this ancient name of the lane still holds, though moderns affect to call it Queen Street. The attempt can hardly succeed, for even the influence of the tavern, ever so potential in human affairs, has failed in the effort to have it called Whittle's or Riter's Lane. An earlier name, Bowman's, has also passed into oblivion.

**BENJAMIN HORNOR COATES, M.D.,**

**ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,  
AND FOR MANY YEARS ITS SENIOR VICE-PRESIDENT.**

**BY JAMES J. LEVICK, M.D.**

On the walls of the venerable Pennsylvania Hospital there have hung, for nearly seventy years, two very characteristic, life-size pictures. One of these is that of Dr. Benjamin Rush, a man distinguished in the halls of legislation and in those of medical science.

For thirty years, from 1788 to 1818, he served, and faithfully served, as attending physician at the Pennsylvania Hospital. He died of a malignant fever April 19, 1813, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. At a meeting of the managers of the hospital held 5 mo. 31, 1813, a month later, occurs the following minute. "A communication signed by twenty-nine persons was received, in which they say—'feeling very sensibly the loss of our deceased Professor, Doctor Benjamin Rush, and sympathizing with you on account of the loss your institution has sustained by his death, our minds have been excited to a spirit of commemoration, and we respectfully suggest for your consideration the propriety of having a full-length portrait taken, from a family likeness, for your Institution, the expense to be defrayed from the medical fund.'" The communication was referred to a committee of the managers, with instructions to confer with the physicians of the house, and inform them that if the proposal be assented to by them, measures will be taken to have the picture executed. At a meeting of the Board held 1mo. 31, 1814, the committee reported that an order was drawn in favor of Thomas Sully, artist, for four hundred dollars, for the picture painted by him of Dr. Benjamin Rush.

A very short time previous to this, Thomas Sully, an eminent painter, born at Horncaster, Lincolnshire, England,

June, 1788, but who lived for many years in Philadelphia, and died there Nov. 5, 1872, had presented to the hospital a life-size picture of its President, as appears from the minute of the annual meeting of the contributors, held 5 mo. 8, 1818, which reads as follows: "It having been stated that Thomas Sully had presented to the Institution a likeness of Samuel Coates, President of the Board of Managers, it was resolved that the thanks of this meeting be presented to him for his valuable picture. By a resolution of the meeting Thomas Sully is made a hospital contributor."<sup>1</sup>

The picture is eminently lifelike; the subject a handsome man, apparently in a hale middle life, is standing in the library of the hospital near an open window, one arm resting on a writing desk, his countenance beaming with intelligence and benevolence. Taken from life, it is, as has been said, an eminently lifelike picture.

Samuel Coates, whom the picture so faithfully represents, was, indeed, no ordinary man. For more than forty years he was a member of the Board of Managers of the hospital, and for thirteen years its President. This excellent charity, in 1751 "piously founded for the relief of the sick and the miserable," has been in operation for nearly a century and a half, in all which time its managers have been men of established position and unquestioned integrity. Giving, as they do, their time and labor with no compensation other than that which comes from a consciousness of duty well performed, with large pecuniary interests entrusted to their care, and the welfare of great numbers of the sick dependent upon them, they present now, to their fellow-citizens, as their predecessors have in past years, an instructive illustration of the fact that, with proper care in the selection of its rulers, a large public institution may be conducted, from generation to generation, with the same economy and integrity as that

<sup>1</sup> I desire here to express my obligations to William G. Mallin, Esq., for the opportunity of examining the minute book of the hospital, and for aid furnished me in my investigations. For nearly sixty years he has been officially connected with the hospital, and knows more of its history than any other man now living.

which characterize the best regulated private households. Samuel Coates, during his long connection with the hospital, served it with an earnestness and fidelity which at no time in its history have been surpassed. The minutes of the Board attest the truth of this statement. When additional funds were needed, he was among the first called on for aid, either directly, or indirectly by the influence of his character on other and wealthier citizens. Foremost among these was his warm personal friend, Stephen Girard, to whom an appeal was rarely made by Samuel Coates in vain. There lies before me now an original paper in his handwriting, with the autographs of the signers, bearing this inscription: "Benjamin West, of London, having promised to present to the Pennsylvania Hospital his fine painting of Christ Healing the Sick in the Temple, with a painting to be over each fireplace when a building is raised to receive them, the subscribers, on their part, agree to pay to the contributors to the said hospital, the several sums to their names hereby subscribed towards erecting a house for his pictures."

"1816. July 4. Stephen Girard one thousand dollars.

\$1000 paid to S. Coates.

" 8. L. Clapier (additional) \$100.

" 16. Edward Thomson \$200, paid.  
Caleb Cresson, Jr., "100, paid."

It is an interesting fact that of \$1710, raised by voluntary subscription for the construction of this building, now used as the hall of the Historical Society, one thousand dollars of it was the donation thus obtained by Samuel Coates of Stephen Girard.

Among Samuel Coates's own donations to the hospital appears on the minute of 10 mo. 29, 1804, the following record, characteristic of a peculiar phase of the early life of Philadelphia: "Samuel Coates presents to the hospital a German servant girl, to remain three years, which the Board accepts, and requests that he will get the indentures executed. He also offers Francis — for \$80, for three years, which was accepted, Francis consenting to serve and perform any duty that may be assigned him."

Samuel Coates had been brought up in the counting-house of his uncle, John Reynell, a shipping and commission merchant, himself a large-hearted philanthropist, one of the earliest managers, as he had been one of the first contributors to the hospital. Having lost by death his children, John Reynell adopted his wife's nephew, giving up to him his business, and, at his death, leaving him the house at the north-west corner of Front and Walnut Streets. Samuel Coates married, first, Lydia, daughter of Joseph Saunders, by which marriage he had several children, and, some years after her death, he married Amy, daughter of Benjamin and Rebecca Hornor. In the old Front Street house was born November 14, 1797, Benjamin Hornor Coates, their second son.<sup>1</sup> Benjamin was a bright and a studious boy. Indeed, from his very early years, he showed that wonderful love for books and for science which was so characteristic of him throughout his life. It is told of him that when but a mere lad it was his practice on his return from school to get possession of Rapin's History of England, place the book, which was too heavy for the little fellow to hold, on the floor, and lying down beside it pore over its pages with intense interest and delight.

Having received an excellent literary and classical education at the Friends' Grammar School, he entered as a student of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, where he graduated in the spring of 1818, having offered as his inaugural thesis an essay on "Blisters." Previous, however, to graduation he had served for several years as a "medical

<sup>1</sup> "Dr. Coates's maternal ancestor, John Hornor, landed at Burlington, N. J., Nov. 1, 1693. He was a native of Tadcaster, Yorkshire, England. The records say that he was a man of wealth and education. He selected a tract of land at White Hill, a beautiful eminence commanding noble views of the Delaware River. The site is now occupied by the mansion of Commodore Charles Stewart. Dr. Coates's great-grandfather and his son, John Hornor, very actively aided in establishing Princeton College, not only by contributing largely, but also became security for sums of money which were not met. They had to part with considerable property to discharge these debts. Dr. Coates's great-grandfather, Isaac Hornor, was the first person in the province of New Jersey to emancipate his slaves, of which he had a number from his father."



apprentices" at the Pennsylvania Hospital. These apprentices were students of medicine who were indentured to certain of the managers of the hospital for a period of five years, to learn "the art and mystery of medicine," and generally graduated before the term of indenture had expired. The last survivor of these apprentices, Dr. Reynell Coates, thus writes, under date of Jan. 10, 1882: "We were bound apprentices to certain of the managers (a brace of them for each of us), and had the right to claim all the privileges of pupilage with each and all of the attending physicians and surgeons of that institution, according to the custom of that age. We selected the teachers, whose practice we most approved of, as our private preceptors.<sup>1</sup> We watched at the bedside daily, and officiated in the pharmaceutical and dressing departments, graduating while still on duty, and prescribing in the intervals of the bi-weekly visits of the senior staff . . . I believe that the hospital *internes* were exempt from private individual instruction by custom, if not by university rule. The senior resident was far more frequently the consulted than the consultant. I am the last living apprentice to the art and mystery of medicine."

The hospital service ended, and his diploma honorably obtained, Dr. Coates began the practice of medicine at his old home, Front and Walnut Streets, a part of the town now entirely given up to trade, but then in the midst of an intelligent and wealthy population. Here he remained for some years, and, as appears from a letter written by Dr. Physick, bearing date of September 25, 1822, "with much success in practice." Subsequently he removed to the neighborhood of Third and Spruce Streets, later to Seventh and Arch Streets, to Seventh and Walnut Streets, and lastly to the northwest corner of Seventh and Spruce Streets, where he remained till the close of his days.

Dr. Coates was elected attending physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital in the year 1828, and continued there a physician and clinical lecturer until the year 1841.

<sup>1</sup> There is reason to believe that Dr. Philip S. Physick was regarded by Dr. Coates as his preceptor.

Dr. Kirkbride, who was at the time an *intern* of the hospital, says of him: "Dr. Coates was a faithful and regular attendant at the hospital, courteous to his assistants, and kind to his patients; he was a fluent and instructive lecturer. He delivered the address at the laying of the corner stone of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, June 22, 1836. It was an able and eloquent discourse."

Dr. Coates was elected a Fellow of the Philadelphia College of Physicians, May, 1827; was a member of other medical societies, of one of which, the Philadelphia County Medical Society, he was president, and in all of which he held at various times highly responsible positions. He was a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences; of the Athenæum; and of the Library Company of Philadelphia, of which his grandfather was one of the original shareholders. Besides these he was a member of many of the charitable and benevolent associations of Philadelphia. A very pleasant professional association to which he belonged was a social club, aiming also at medical improvement, the members of which met alternately at each other's houses. This was known as the "Tea and Toast Club," and among its members were the late Drs. Bache, Bond, Hodge, Wood, Meigs, and Coates.

But though a physician from choice, and deeply imbued with the love of his profession, Dr. Coates was by no means exclusively devoted to medicine or to medical literature.

There were, indeed, few subjects in literature or in science which did not in some degree at least claim his attention. A member of the American Philosophical Society, of which for some years he was the senior vice-president, he was always ready to take part in the discussion of papers on physical science which came before it. At the Academy of Natural Sciences he participated also in the consideration of the special branches of natural science which claimed its attention. A Fellow of the College of Physicians, there was scarcely any form of disease with which he was not acquainted, both as respected its phenomena and treatment, and its bibliographical history; and more than once he has surprised the young author of a supposed original paper, by quotations from

Hippocrates, Galen, and others of the fathers in medicine, showing that the subject then under discussion had been known to them, though subsequently lost sight of to the profession generally.

As a member of the Historical Society, of which he was one of the founders, long a member of its council, for many years its vice-president, and always its friend, he was thoroughly familiar with our colonial and state history, with the character of the early settlers, and with its early and later literature.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One so fond of research as Doctor Coates was could not fail to be interested in the history of his family, the country to which that family for many centuries had belonged, and the town from which the name was derived. He has left among his papers a number of manuscripts bearing directly on these subjects. They have evidently been prepared with much care, and have required great research. He says of them: "These results are founded upon an examination of a great number of magazines, particularly the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and various local histories." Among these he frequently quotes from Nichols's *Annals of Leicestershire*. I have thought it due to one who had done so much for our Historical Society that some results of these examinations, by our late Vice-President, should be preserved in the pages of its *MAGAZINE*, and have, not without much labor, prepared the subjoined synopsis of them.

Samuel Coates, the father of Dr. Benjamin H. Coates, was the son of Samuel and Mary Langdale Coates, and was born in Philadelphia, August 24, 1748, O. S.

His grandparents were Thomas and Beulah Jacques Coates, of Sproxtou, Leicestershire, England, where, and in the neighboring village of Cotes, this family had existed for many generations. Thomas Coates came to Pennsylvania A. D. 1684, receiving with other properties, as his city lot, the piece of ground at the northwest corner of Second and Market Streets, the northern boundary being that of what is now Christ Church ground, the western extending to and including Griadstone Alley on Market Street, a portion of which property is still owned by his descendants. Thomas Coates was a member of the Religious Society of Friends. He was the son of Henry and Elizabeth Coates, and was born at Sproxtou, Leicestershire, England, September 26, 1659. His wife was Beulah Jacques, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Jacques, and was also a native of Leicestershire. The family of Jacques is probably of French origin, but had long had a settlement in England, as Jacques is an ancient name in Leicestershire, and a rank similar to that of Cotes. If French it is probably Norman-French, and cannot have reached England later than in the time of Henry VIII.,

Dr. Coates was a classical scholar, as his father had been before him. He loved the language of Greece and of Rome,

when a person of that name may have come from France in the King's army of invasion.

In 1639 Sir Roger Jacques, Knight, was Mayor of the City of York.

For the family history of Langdale, Dr. Coates refers to Burke's *Extinct Peerage*, "where it may be easily obtained." Sir Marmaduke Langdale was created Baron Langdale by Charles II, in April, 1658, two years before the Restoration, for his extraordinary loyalty.

A full account of the family of Reynell is given, and in it occurs this quotation from Prince: "It is manifest that the Reynells were ever men of great credit, fidelity, and service to their king, country and state, as well in peace matters as in war."

An interesting paper on the *Village of Cotes* is also given, from which it appears that as early as A. D. 1220 there was attached to the Church of Prestwold, a chapel called *Cotes*, which was free, and endowed with all the sacramental rights and rights of sepulture, and provided with a resident chaplain. The parish received tithes of Sir Robert Putrel de Cotes, and Elyas de Prestwold.

In 1332 lived Willielmus de Cotes, Armiger, and had his coat armour this year. In 1359 Roger de Cotes was the first prior of Kirby Beler. In 1440 Hugh Cotes was rector of Bottesford Church, by the patronage of Margaret, Lady Bea, who was herself a relative of the rector.

In 1601 Alexander Cotes, gentleman of Leicester, married Martha, daughter of Henry Wigley, of Scruptoff, and Frances, third daughter of Richard Bradgate, Esq., of Peatling Parva, who were probably the grandparents of Thomas Coates.

Among these papers also are a sketch of the village of Sproxtton, notices of Sir Roger Cotes of Burbage, in Leicestershire, the famous mathematician and friend of Sir Isaac Newton; notes of the family of the De Albini, founded by Robert, standard-bearer of the Conqueror at the battle of Hastings. There is also a paper on the Counts and officers of the Saxon Coasts, in which the writer decides that the name of Cotes is not of Norman (*les Côtes* the Coasts), but of Saxon origin. He writes: "The name may be said to be common, and yet not numerous. It was written indifferently Cotes and Coates, but not Coats. The family [in England] furnished a mayor or two, a few citizens of great wealth, a considerable number of clergy of the established Church, a few army officers, a surgeon or two, a secretary or two of large public institutions, one distinguished man of science, one general, and six or seven holders of handsome hereditary estates. Their alliances with nobility appear in the Leicestershire families—1st, with the De Albanies, and through them with the De Bozes, and the Duke of Rutland, if this be the real meaning of Mr. Nichols; 2d, by the ennobling of Sir Marmaduke Langdale; and 3d, by the relationship of Roger Cotes,

and the poetry which found its expression in them. He was familiar with the French and German tongue, and it is believed with at least one other of the Continental languages.

To the current literature of his day he was a generous contributor; was an intelligent historian, and a poet of no mean order. Though "a Friend," he had an innate military genius, was thoroughly familiar during the Mexican War with the movements and strategy of our generals, and sometime before the war of the Rebellion had actually begun, he pointed out to several of his fellow members of the Historical Society that if this should come the decisive struggle of the war would be at or near Gettysburg. His knowledge was indeed vast and varied. It has more than once been said of him that he was "an encyclopædia of knowledge," from whose resources he could at any moment draw forth things old and things new with such readiness and ease as amazed those to whom he was but little known. Those who knew Doctor Coates well, I am sure, agree that I have not exaggerated the attainments of this remarkable man.

Allusion has been made to the fact that Dr. Coates was one of the founders of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and it seems eminently proper that here, on the pages of its *MAGAZINE*, some further notice should be taken of this fact. It may, therefore, be well to state, that this Society, which now numbers nearly a thousand members, owns a library of

the mathematician, to the Marquis of Kent. It is evident that the name by its wide dispersion comes from different sources. The syllable *Cot* or *Cotn*, mentioned by Johann, occurs in a vast number of ancient names of places, and it is equally evident from the meaning *cots* or *cottages*, that the name when ancient was always territorial. On the Continent this is an evidence of noblesse. . . . The family of this name, which I should say possessed the highest rank, was that of the *Cotes* of Woodcote, Shropshire. Next to this those who use the spelling *Cotes* in other localities. I should call *Coats* decidedly incorrect. The *c* never appears in the name till after Richard Cromwell's time, and my great-great-grandfather, Henry Coates, is absolutely the first, and this by a family record to whom I find it attributed. It is probable that this change was made by the Puritans, who destroyed so many monuments in the churches and churchyards."

nearly seventeen thousand volumes, besides much else that is valuable in manuscripts, pamphlets, and pictures, illustrative of our early provincial history, owes its origin to a parlor meeting of seven gentlemen, of whom Dr. Coates has long been the sole survivor. These seven gentlemen were Roberts Vaux, Thomas L. Wharton, Dr. Benjamin H. Coates, Stephen Duncan, George Washington Smith, William Rawle, Jr., and Dr. Caspar Wistar.

In the interesting address of President Wallace, delivered on the opening of the new hall of this Society March 11, 1872, it is stated that the first meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was held in the parlor of Thomas L. Wharton. The statement is doubtless correct, but the venerable widow of Roberts Vaux, who still lives—a beautiful example of a bright, intelligent, genial old age—assures me that it was in her parlors, now 1182 Arch Street, that the Historical Society originated; that she distinctly remembers the occasion, and the evening in which it was formed. The gentlemen named were engaged in social conversation, at her house, when Roberts Vaux called their attention to a notice of the annual dinner of "The Sons of New England," which a day or two before had been held, and he then said—"We should have such a Society among us," a suggestion which was cordially approved and promptly acted on. The name of "The Sons of the Soil" was first proposed for it, but was objected to as being "too clannish," and the much more appropriate name of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was then, or later, adopted. This statement is, without doubt, correct, and it is equally true that the first formal, official meeting was held at the house of Thomas I. Wharton. Two months later twelve names were added to the original number, the sole survivor of "this roll of honor" being Daniel B. Smith, the first Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

In the quiet retirement of his Germantown home Daniel B. Smith now lives, bearing with him in his honored old age the respect of all who know him, and the grateful, affectionate regard of those who had the privilege, in their early life, to sit under his teachings, and with whom he shared, at much

personal sacrifice, the best fruits of his richly cultivated mind.

How largely Dr. Coates aided in the work of the Historical Society is shown by the subjoined statement, kindly furnished by John Jordan, Jr., Esq.: Dr. Benjamin H. Coates was an incorporator under the first Constitution June 2, 1826; was a Vice-President from 1868-'75; Honorary Vice-President from 1875 to time of his decease; was Corresponding Secretary from 1841-'48; was Counsellor from 1825-'41, 1844-'49, 1850-'68—was, in other words, forty-eight years in active, and six years in honorary service; was in membership fifty-seven years.

In view of what this Society has already accomplished, and of the great benefits to the city and State which may be fairly expected of it, the community in which we live owes to these first members a debt of gratitude which cannot be too often remembered or too largely paid.

Dr. Coates was a ready and a prolific writer. Below<sup>1</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> Cases, Memoirs, Essays, Pamphlets for private distribution and courses of public lectures. Contributions to Chapman's Medical Journal, 1819-26, and to N. A. (Medical) Journal, of which Dr. Coates was one of the founders, published 1828-31, 12 vols. Courses of Lectures on Physiology, the Practice of Medicine, and Clinical Courses in Medicine in the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1828-41. Two courses of Physiological Experiments on Absorption, with Drs. Lawrence and Harlan. Dr. Coates being reporter 1821-22. On a Mechanical Bed for Fractures. On Gangrene of the Mouth of Children. On Delirium Tremens. A Memoir of Thomas Say, Naturalist. A description of a Hydrostatic Balance. A Narrative of an Embassy to the Western Indians, from the original manuscript of Heindnek Aupanmut, with prefatory remarks by Dr. B. H. Coates, April 19, 1836 (Hist. Soc. Mem.). Notice of the Life of Samuel Powell Griffiths, M.D., 1830 (Ib.). Report of the Committee on Epidemic Cholera, 1832, Philadelphia College of Physicians. Annual Discourse before the Historical Society, 1834, on the Origin of the Indian Population of America. Oration before the Philadelphia Medical Society, Feb. 10, 1830. On Certainty in Medicine, April 4, 1841. Remarks on Evidence in regard to the Larva of the Hessian Fly, May 29, 1843. Address read on the Centennial Anniversary of the American Philosophical Society. Effects of Secluded and Gloomy Imprisonment on Individuals of the African Variety of Mankind, in the production of disease. Annual Address on the Events of the Year, Philadelphia County

given a list of his contributions to literature, taken from Allibone's Dictionary and the collections of the Historical Society.

Dr. Coates, with such an unusual mental organization, was not without some of the eccentricities of genius, and the peculiarities of the student. A brain so much in action—rarely, indeed, knowing what repose was, could not be other than acutely sensitive to all external influences. He was, indeed, of a highly nervous temperament, often timid among, and shy of strangers, by whom he was sometimes misunderstood, and whom in his turn he sometimes misunderstood and misinterpreted. But they who knew him well, knew that beneath this sensitive exterior there existed a kindness of heart, and a conscientiousness in the performance of duty, which won their regard and commanded their respect. Within a few days there has been mentioned to the writer, by the daughter of the subject of it, an incident in the early life of Dr. Coates which he is glad here to put on record. A young medical friend, just starting out in practice, had incurred pecuniary obligations which he found it difficult to meet. Dr. Coates, though himself a very young man, learning of these difficulties, promptly offered his aid, paid his friend's office rent, and relieved him of his embarrassments. The friend subsequently became a successful and wealthy physician, and the debt was fully repaid, but he carried with him to the end of his life, and transmitted to his children, the grateful remembrance of Dr. Coates's kindness.

The last years of Dr. Coates's life were marked by great failure of his physical and mental health, so much so, indeed, as to cloud his bright mind, often to give much needless anxiety to himself, and much real solicitude to his friends. He died October 16, 1881, aged nearly eighty-four years. The

Medical Society, Feb. 22, 1860. Notice, Biographical, of Charles Caldwell, M.D., Jan. 9, 1855. Congratulatory Verses to Wm. Hepworth Dixon. Poetical Address before the Historical Society on the inauguration of its new hall, March 11, 1871. Sketch of "Earl Douglass," of Philadelphia, an aged colored man, a very amusing and well-written paper; Lippincott's Magazine, May, 1869.



funeral was from his home, Seventh and Spruce Streets, where the last years of his life had been passed. Here old friends came to pay their tribute of respect to one whose wonderful genius they had all recognized, and whose kindness of heart some of them were fully cognizant of.

As he lay in the calm, peaceful repose of death, all traces of the anxiety which, of late years, had clouded his brow, had passed away from it, and his countenance seemed, even in death, to be lighted up with the intelligence which had marked it in his early life. To more than one of these old friends, thus standing beside his bier, there came the thoughts, if not the words, which Tennyson has applied *In Memoriam* to another:—

“As sometimes, in a dead man’s face,  
To those who watch it more and more,  
A likeness hardly seen before  
Comes out—to some one of his race.

“So—brother—now thy brows are cold,  
I see thee what thou art—and know,  
Thy likeness to the wise below,  
Thy kindred with the great of old.

But there is more than I can see,  
And what there is I leave unsaid,  
Nor speak it, knowing death has made  
The darkness beautiful with thee.”

VOL. VI.—8

JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN JOHN MONTRÉSOR,  
JULY 1, 1777, TO JULY 1, 1778,

CHIEF ENGINEER OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

INCLUDING ACCOUNTS OF THE EXPEDITION OF LORD AND SIR WM. HOWE  
ON THE CHEESAPEAKE, THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE, AND FROM THE  
OCCUPATION TO THE EVACUATION OF PHILADELPHIA, WITH THE  
REDUCTION OF MIDDLETOWN AND FORT MIFFLIN.

DISTRIBUTED AND EDITED BY G. D. HOWLAND, NEW-YORK.

(Continued from Vol. V. page 417.)

*September 12th.* At 2 o'clock this afternoon Major-Genl. Grant with the 1st and 2nd Brigade marched from Chad's Ford towards Concord. The patrols from each Corps in scouring the woods near them picked up Waggoners, Horses, Ammunition, Provisions and cattle and several Rebels that had secreted themselves.

*13th.* Lord Cornwallis with the 2nd Battalion Light Infantry and 2 of Grenadiers marched at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 in the morning to join the body under Major-Genl. Grant and to move on towards Chester. A hard North West wind and cold. Neighboring Inhabitants Coming in for Protection. At 5 o'clock this afternoon the troops with Lord Cornwallis reached Ashton<sup>1</sup> within 4 miles of Chester. The peasants about employed in burying the dead Rebels without our Centries, who have now become very offensive. This day the 71st Regt. took possession of Wilmington, the rebels having left 7 pieces of Cannon unspiked and also 2 Brass field pieces taken from the Hessians at Trenton. Wind still to the Northward and cold.

*Sunday 14th.* A detachment at 8 this morning escorted our wounded men to Wilmington by the same opportunity. An Engineer and Company & Carpenters went in order to fit up the Hospitals, &c., and this evening the noted Dr. Rush,

<sup>1</sup> Now Aston.

a rebel Doctor and delegate with 8 Surgeons to attend the wounded Rebels left scattered in the Houses about the field of Battle unattended by their Surgeons till now.<sup>1</sup> Wind northerly and chilly. The Courier returned with a receipt of the delivery of a letter from the General to Lord Howe, delivered near the head of Elk to the Cornwallis, an armed vessel. Thirteen rebel prisoners and deserters sent into this camp by Lord Cornwallis. Dry weather & very favourable for the wounded. Persons during the Campaign constantly employed under the Chief Engineer<sup>2</sup> in surveying the roads the Army marches and their Encampments, &c., and fields of battle.

15th. Wind N. E. and raw. Lord Cornwallis who is advanced, sent several waggon loads of flour to this army. Came in two more Rebel Surgeons to dress their wounded and two more on the road, coming in. Arrived 2 light Horse deserted from the rebel army at Philadelphia, also deserted to us, one Willis a Rebel Captain of Grenadiers. A heavy cannon fire heard in the Delaware most of this morning. Prisoners taken, found in the woods, that could not escape. The rebel wounded sent off to the Turk's Head Tavern<sup>3</sup> 5 miles from Dilworth, Except Doctor Delegate Rush. The Commander in Chief went with his Escort only of Dragoons to Lord Cornwallis' Post  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mile west of Chester. At 4 o'clock P. M. learnt that the rebel army which had crossed the Schuylkill at Philadelphia had repassed it to this side of Levering's Ford and were pursuing the road to Lancaster.

<sup>1</sup> Washington, in a letter to Genl. Howe dated from "Head Quarters of the Army" September 13th, 1777, appoints, agreeably to the permission accorded, Doctors Rush, Lelper, and Latimer and Mr. Willet, a mate in the Hospital, with their attendants, and also adds Doctors Way and Coats to the Surgeons. Dr. Benjamin Rush was not a delegate to Congress at the time of the battle of Brandywine, but Physician General of the Middle Department.

<sup>2</sup> Engineers in 1777-8—Captain Montrésor, Capt. Mocerief, Lt. Pitts, Lt. Sutherland, Lt. Haldane, Lt. Tyers (Guides), Captain Nichol, Lt. Hart 46th, Lt. Munro 42nd, Lt. Sproule 16th, Ensign Wheeler 55th, Ensign Valency 16th.

<sup>3</sup> Now West Chester. The old tavern, modernised, is still standing.

This night at 8, the body with Lord Cornwallis moved from near Chester towards the Lancaster road. This day—two men were executed, one Grenadier, and one light Infantry.

16th. At half past ( ) this morning the army marched towards Lancaster by the way of the Turk's head, Goshen meeting and the sign of the Boot on the Dowsing Town road. At 11 o'clock we made a junction with Lord Cornwallis's Column, which immediately marched to the White Horse on Lancaster road and this column with Lt.-Genl. Kniphuysen continued to the sign of the Boot (being Commander in Chief's Head Quarters) when they encamped owing to an Equinoxial gale at N. E. accompanied with incessant heavy rains. We fired a few shot at their Patrols of Light Horse. About 2 this afternoon we were attacked on our right Flank by a body of the Rebel army under General Wayne together with a large body of militia previous to which we heard several cannon and small arms fired in Lord Cornwallis's column. We soon drove them. The Yagers behaved admirably. The Enemy left 9 dead on the Field and a Captain wounded with a 8 pounder and since dead and we took 13 Prisoners. Our loss was only 8 wounded—with Lord Cornwallis's column the Rebel left 12 dead and 80 prisoners amongst which a Colonel and a Brigade Major. The rebels on the firing decamped and in all the rain it marched to Hazel's Ferry, This Head Quarters is at the sign of the Boot in the Township of Goshen and within  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile of the Township of W. Whiteland. The Boot is within 5 miles of Downing Town.<sup>1</sup>

17th. The rain and wind continued at N. E. but not so incessant, the roads became very heavy, and the lowlands overflowed. There being but few houses and barns our troops suffered much from the weather. Several people returned from the rebels with various accounts, but in general

<sup>1</sup> The Boot Tavern is on the road from Chester to Downingtown, at the junction of that road and one which led to the White Horse on the old Lancaster Road. The student of the movements of the British should also consult Judge Fetthey's paper on the Massacre of Paoli, *PENNA. MAG.*, vol. 1. p. 283, and S. W. Pennypacker's *Annals of Phoenixville*, p. 101.

agree that Washington with the gros of the Rebel army is now on the Lancaster Road between the White Horse and Downing Town, a homely Tavern on the road to Swedesford with 18 others, say 87 pieces of Cannon. Excellent intelligence from the rebel camp. The Commander-in-Chief received a letter this evening from our Ships of war, and three victuallers, one at anchor in the Delaware off Chester. Rebel Camp moved from Howell's ferry in order to proceed to the Swedesford but their Express returned, not passable. So they returned and took their strong ground from the White Horse to Malins.

18th. Between 3 and 4 this morning (the Equinoxial Gale still continuing at N. East, with small rain) the Army marched from the Boot 8 miles to the White Horse where we joined Lord Cornwallis's column, halted an hour, and the whole army moved on towards Philadelphia, until we arrived at Randel Malins, being  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles further. There we struck off (the roads forking) the road to the Swedes Ford to Treduffrin, one mile beyond Howell's Tavern, being  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to that Tavern and encamped one mile further, making  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles more, in all this day, Eleven miles. Lord Cornwallis's column continuing the Philadelphia Main Road from the Forks at Randel Malins' (which was Washington's Headquarters the night before last) which road runs nearly parallel with the Swedes Ford Road, running only one Mile from this Camp, where his Lordship formed a junction and encamped. Several shot fired during the course of this day and some prisoners taken from the rebels. Some deserters and a Light Horse. The Army passed over the rebels late encampment where they had a most favourable position being a prevailing gradual height in the valley. This night, our out Centries took a Virginia Lt. Colonel, who mistook this Camp for the rebel one. Observed 2 reconnoitring parties of the Army at a distance during the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thomas Louis Ogas, of West Chester, writes that he is informed by Mr. Jos. Eldridge, who lived many years in the vicinity, that the house very much modernized is still standing. It is situated on the Conestoga turnpike west of where it branches off from the Lancaster Road.

march. Near the  $\frac{1}{2}$  of my artificers, labourers and waggoners as well as the Engineers are fallen sick with the prevailing distemper of the Fever and Ague. We found the Inhabitants in general at their Homes. Several small hills in getting to this Encampment, which made the rear long and Baggage late. The rebel dragoons took a servant and a driver at an Inhabitant's house in the rear. A man sent out discovered upwards of 3800 Barrels of Flour, Soap and Candles, 25 Barrels of Horse Shoes, several thousand tomahawks and kettles, and Intrenching Tools and 20 Hogsheads of Resin in a Barn, 3 miles from hence at the Valley Forge.<sup>1</sup> A detachment of 3 Companies Light Infantry went this night to possess it, the Commanding Officer of the Light Infantry had his horse shot.

19th. Wind N. W. very fine weather, which comes very seasonably to refresh the troops and dry the roads which are very sloughy about this place. The halting this day very necessary for the men and particularly for our horses. A Dragoon deserter came in. Abundance of Forage upon every plantation. The Commander-in-Chief's dispatches sent this day to Lt. Genl. Burgoyne. At 2 this afternoon Lord Cornwallis's column marched and encamped within 2 miles of French Creek at the Bull's Head and Mouth,<sup>2</sup> all upon the neighboring Height. This morning between 2 & 3 the Rebel congress precipitately abandoned Philadelphia, owing to a false alarm and proceeded to Reading. As many men have lately fallen sick, empty waggons are ordered to each of the Corps. Lt. Col. Harcourt with a party of dragoons and Light Infantry made an Excursion on the Philadelphia road and brought in 150 horses which were much wanted, got from New Town square 6 miles from hence. They took likewise one Captain, and 8 rebel prisoners. Heavy dew. Cou-

<sup>1</sup> See Woodman's Valley Forge, published in the *Phila. Sunday Dispatch*, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> Near and east of Pickering Creek. It was built in 1721 by W. Moore, and was the first public house in the neighborhood. An interesting account of it will be found in *Annals of Phoenixville*, p. 181.

riers constantly going towards and returning from the Enemy's Camp.

20th. Weather extremely fine. At 2 this morning the guards moved and posted themselves with the Light Infantry at the Valley Forge. Waggons employed in carrying off from the magazine there, the rebel stores. This morning 5 rebel centres fired on the Guards who took the whole. They slightly wounded 1 of our officers. This night Major Genl. Gray was detached with the 2nd Battalion of Light Infantry, 42d and 44th Regts. and Sergeant and 12 of 16th dragoons to surprise 2 Brigades of near 2000 men under the command of General Wayne. Between 10 and 12 they fell in on the Rebel picket, between the Admiral Warren and the Paoli, which fired on them; they rushed in and put the whole of the picket to the Bayonet and then huzza'd which further alarmed the main body, however our troops rapidly advanced on their left, which were chiefly in their wigwams, and put between 4 or 500 of them to the Bayonet and the rest fled except about 100 that were taken prisoners, amongst which was a Major and a French officer and also 9 loaded waggons with 4 horses each, and brought off their cattle. Their General escaped and 4 pieces of Cannon through the woods. Our loss was a Captain of Light Infantry, one Sergeant, and one Private killed, and 2 dragoons and 2 Light Infantry, and 8 Battalion men wounded. This capital service, was effected without our firing a shot.<sup>1</sup>

21st Sunday. At 5 this morning the Army moved, marched 8 miles to the Valley Forge and 2 more to Moor Hall<sup>2</sup> making 5 miles and there encamped, the weather very fine, but some few light showers. No firing during this march. We found the houses full of military stores. This country abounds with Forage, but the cattle drove off. Fevers and agues still prevail. A bridge was ordered to be made across the Schuylkill at this place where the River is 120 yards, and got in

<sup>1</sup> See PENNA. MAGAZINE, Vol. I p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of Moore Hall and William Moore, whose residence it was, see Annals of Phoenixville, pp. 18 and 45.

great forwardness, intending to deceive the enemy. Almost every day, one or two deserters come in.

22nd. Near 2 hours before daybreak, the enemy began to make some movement to their right. At 7 Sir Wm. Erskine with the mounted and dismounted Chasseurs, one Squadron of 16th Dragoons and part of the 2nd Light Infantry patrolled up the Pottsgrove Road which leads to Reading. Weather fine, rather cold wind, frost at North West, sun crosses the line. This country abounds with forage. Inhabitants, many about Moorehall fled, being disaffected.<sup>1</sup> At 5 this morning the Hessian Grenadiers passed the Schuylkill at Gordon's Ford under fire of their artillery and small arms, and returned back being intended as a feint.<sup>2</sup> At the same time the Light Infantry and Grenadiers passed over the Schuylkill at Fat Land Ford without a single shot and there took post.

23rd. Just after 12 o'clock this night the whole army moved to the opposite side, on North Side of the River Schuylkill by the way of the Fatland Ford, and by 10 A. M. the whole Baggage and all had happily passed it. After the principal body had got on the North Side of the Schuylkill about 1 mile the Army halted to dry themselves and rest. At 7 A. M. they moved forward the Egypt road and continued to Norrington where Head Quarters was fixed and the whole of the Army came to their Ground by 8 o'clock P. M. Major General — covered the rear with 10 Battalions and the Chasseurs. The Front of the Army extending within  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile of Swedes Ford on one Philadelphia Road and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles on the other one called the Manitawney road. During this day only a few scattering shot. We took 4 rebels Light Horse, some prisoners, waggons and 8 loads of Ammunition and some stores of Liquora. Our couriers affirm that the

<sup>1</sup> The sweeping statement of Washington in one of his letters to Congress (Sept. 23, 1777), that the inhabitants of this locality were "to a man disaffected" to the American side, has been generally followed without further inquiry. It is curious that directly the contrary statement should be made by a contemporary Briton in the same words.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon's Ford was at the site of Phoenixville. Two or three men were killed in this engagement. See Annals of Phoenixville, p. 106.



Rebel army principally retreated to Reading. On leaving the ground of our last Encampment we set fire to the Valley Forge and destroyed it.<sup>1</sup> The Enemy abandoned the Swedes Ford and left two 18 Pounders on the works then loaded but not spiked. An Excellent day for marching, cool and pleasant. About 9 this night our pickets in the rear fired a few shot at some skulking rebels.

24th. Weather delightful. Four or 5 shot exchanged between our foraging parties and the rebels about 9 this morning. Early this morning our pickets in the rear fired at some straggling rebels. This Township of Norrington is very rebellious. All the manufactures about this country seem to consist of Powder, Ball, Shot and Cannon, firearms, and swords. The Army halted this day.

25th. Wind fresh at N. N. East. The whole marched in 2 columns and arrived at Germantown, being Eleven miles, marched through a great deal of wood land and some stony ground. All the afternoon and night heavy rain and hard wind. Towards the Town by the Frankford road. Our Light Horse took a Colonel, a principal Commissary, a captain of a Frigate, and a Captain of Light Horse, and 2 or 3 of his men.

26th. At half past Eight this morning Lord Cornwallis with the two Battalions of British Grenadiers and Hessian Grenadiers, two Squadrons of sixteenth dragoons and artillery with the Chief-Engineer, Commanding officer of Artillery, Quartermaster and Adjutant-General marched and took possession of the city of

### PHILADELPHIA

at 10 the same morning amidst the acclamation of some thousands of the inhabitants mostly women and children. After the necessary guards were fixed, the Troops were posted as follows, the Hessian Grenadiers to the North of the city, the East Battalion British Grenadiers at the Bettering House, &c., fronting out from the centre of the city, and the 1st Battalion British Grenadiers at the Shipyard, to the South of the City, form-

<sup>1</sup> Woodman's Valley Forge.

ing a semi-circle, and covering the whole. At the same time the Engineers with working parties constructed 2 Batteries and marked out a *sd* along the waters edge with 6 medium 12 Pounders and 4 Royal Howitzers to prevent the Enemy's fleet repairing up the River or annoying the city. Took a Lieut. of the rebel Gallies prisoner. Fine weather. Wind at N. and fresh. This day a large party of the Enemy unperceived attacked the Queen's Rangers, shot the sentry and another, but were repulsed with great alertness, one of their Lieutenants we found dead on the field. This day myself and servant near being taken at Gloucester Point by the enemy's galley stationed there whilst I was reconnoitering. A messenger sent yesterday to acquaint our Fleet at Chester that we were in possession of Philadelphia.

27th. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8, wind at the West. Two of the Rebel Frigates and 5 row Gallies came up with the Tide with orders to lay as close to the City as possible, and cannonade it in order to drive the King's Troops out. Fortunately the 2 lower Batteries were just completed as they approached us within cannon shot, when we opened upon them and the artillery being extremely well directed their best Frigate the Delaware which got somewhat aground, stuck to us and one of the Gallies having her foremast carried away run ashore at New Jersey directly opposite to our Batteries. The other Frigate and 4 Gallies in great haste put about and went back to the Fort. This Frigate has 24 Twelve pounders, and 8 Nine pounders with 150 men. She had but one man killed and 6 wounded. She was 2 or 3 times on fire owing to one of our shot having drove through her caboose, it not being easily extinguished was also owing to one of our Royal Howitzers having burst within her near the bows. Captain Moncrief and the carpenters principally on board the Frigate to extinguish the Fire by cutting away parts of her side. Learnt by deserters from the Rebel Fleet that the Galley drove ashore on the Jersey side had 4 men killed and 6 wounded.<sup>1</sup> We found in this city about 50 Boats of all sorts

<sup>1</sup> For note on capture of the Delaware, see *PENNA. MAGAZINE*, Vol. I. p. 2.

and procured a Durham boat from Frankford creek that will hold 100 men. The Boats of the Ferries secured, accounts received that Lord Howe and the Fleet were within the Light House. This afternoon began to reconnoitre the heights near this city, for forming the defense of it, by Field Works, running from the Schuylkill to the Delaware river.<sup>1</sup> This I was given to understand was our present grand object. Some party of the Enemy attacked the Queen's rangers, killed one man and wounded three officers, but were immediately drove back with some loss. The Commander-in-Chief entered the city and returned. I attended him and settled for the payment of the Inhabitants that could be procured to work. Allowance 8 Shillings a day to four and eight pence per day.

*28th Sunday.* As cold as in the beginning of November. Wind at N. E. and fresh. Lt. Colonel Monkton and a detachment of 600 Grenadiers crossed the Schuylkill Ferry to escort some sailors sent by the Roebuck to man the rebel Frigate. The Commander-in-Chief entered this city and returned to his Head Quarters at Stenton near Germantown. Early this morning I began on fixing the Situation for forming a chain of redoubts for the defence of this city. This afternoon I attended Lord Cornwallis in viewing the Position I had fixed on for the works, extending along the heights from Delaware to Schuylkill, North of the city. Finished the North Battery, near Kensington. Several guns small arms, &c. discovered, also quantities of ammunition, Intrenching Tools, &c. Found at daylight this morning that the Galley had got off and returned to the Rebel Fleet. M. Duché,<sup>2</sup> minister was put in Jail for having been concerned

<sup>1</sup> It has been generally supposed that it was not until after the battle of Germantown that Howe decided to fortify himself in Philadelphia, but from the following it appears that preparations were made for that end as soon as he took possession of the city. Colonel Nicolas's map of the English Lines near Philadelphia is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A description of them will be found in *PENNA. MAGAZINE*, Vol. IV. p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> A sketch of the Rev. Jacob Duché, by Rev. Edward D. Neill, will be found in *PENNA. MAGAZINE*, Vol. II. p. 58.

in the Rebellion. Deserted to us this morning a Sloop with 2 guns and 80 armed men. Also several deserters and a Trumpeter of Rebel Light Horse. Deserted to us 80 armed men with a Galley which they run ashore below Gloucester Point, while their Captain was gone for Orders.

29th. Wind at N. E. and very cold. The detachment of Grenadiers returned from towards Chester and escorted safe the seamen sent by Captain Hammond of the Roebuck, consisting of one Lieut., 2 midshipmen, and 50 men, and a few hours after arrived 14 more seamen. Several persons concerned were apprehended and confined in the Jail. A Proclamation dated yesterday was issued this day by the Commander-in-Chief, signifying no further indulgences to Rebels, all former proclamations being now void. Engineers begun to mark out the defences. Large quantities of small arms discovered; also more Cannon. Several new discoveries of Boats. Several desertions from the Rebel Army.

Transmitted to my friend Boddington, copies and Triplicates of my public accounts, as my Control, in case of Enquiries or Retrospections for the conduct of the Expenditures. This night the rebels sent down 3 large Fire rafts to burn some of our Ships of war who kept a smart cannonade upon them, but being too late in the tide, returned with the Flood to their own Shipping, came in three dragoons from the rebels.

*October 1st, Wednesday.* Wind stiff to the North. Weather extremely pleasant. The 2nd Battalion Grenadiers returned but with little cattle. Several deserters from the rebels came by 4s and 6s. Several Scows, Flat Boats and others found and brought to Town that were laid hid in the marshes and several from Windmill Island and two Field carriages complete.

2nd. Weather vastly fine. Foggy mornings. Heavy cannonade down the river at 9 o'clock A. M. About 50 deserters chiefly from General Wayne's brigade. Wind S. S. W. The Delaware Rebel Frigate removed to the North Battery. A few of the Inhabitants made a kind of beginning at the Redoubt this afternoon. At 10 this morning signed the order for Provisions for 840 Inhabitants to work on the redoubts.

Not yet attended the work. This return dated October 1st and ending 4th both inclusive.

8rd. The mornings very foggy, but the weather fine. Inhabitants went to work this morning. But 800 men though signed for 840 days provisions. Regulated the Foreman to the workmen. This evening as the day was closing 2 Skiffs were brought to Schuylkill Ferry (the Rebels on our arrival having broke the canoe on the opposite side) as an officer and 20 Grenadiers were to escort myself, Captain Moncrief and Brigade Major Ferrington to ascertain the distances to the shipping and Forts, though dark, however, these boats would contain but myself and 5 Grenadiers, who were first over and the other Captain Moncrief and 4 Grenadiers. The Rebels abandoned the Island as did their Hospital.

4th. As the day was breaking and during our Reveille beating, our Pickets were unexpectedly attacked by the rebel army, &c.<sup>1</sup> A Flag of truce sent out to the Enemy for surgeons for their wounded. During the action of this day, the countenances and actions of many of the Inhabitants of Philadelphia were rather rebellious and seem to indicate their wish for the rebels to regain the city.

5th Sunday. Weather extremely fine but hot and dry. One captain, 2 subalterns, and 80 of Royal artillery detached this day to Chester, to bring to Philadelphia two 8 inch Howitzers, and two Eight Inch Mortars, if no Howitzers then another mortar of 10 Inch. A Battalion of Grenadiers and the 23rd or Welsh Fusiliers went at the same time to escort them, accounts received from the Lower Chevaux des frizes that our ships of war had weighed them under cover of their ships, and 200 men of the 71st Regiment now in possession of the fort at Billingsport. Sixty deserters from the Rebels.

6th. Weather very warm. Wind S. W. 80 deserters from the rebel army, who left it yesterday at the 29th milestone

<sup>1</sup> For the particulars relating to the Battle of Germantown, Captain Montrésor relies on a cutting from a Philadelphia newspaper and refers to a "letter of Washington's to Congress of Oct. 3, 1777, from camp near Pennacker's Mill." The reader can also consult the address by Dr. Lambdin, P. A. M. A., Vol. I. p. 368.

from this city. Washington's Headquarters at the Trap;<sup>1</sup> a large body at Perkioming creek, and another at Skippeack. This night returned the escort with Provisions and Artillery from Chester, and the 42d and 10th Regt. two 8 inch Bran Mortars, two 8 inch Bran Howitzers, and 400 eight inch Shells, and 500 Barrels of Pork. This night almost a continued cannonade between the Enemies Row Galleys and our Ships of war, between Fort Island and Chester. Arrived an Agent of Transports from Lord Howe's Fleet having left them off the Capes in a hard gale of wind. Scattering parties of the rebels fired at our outposts this night but were repulsed.

7th. Wind W. S. W. The weather extremely hot for the season. Early this morning an account of Lord Howe, and the fleet being certainly in the Delaware. The 23d Regt. marched from Philadelphia to Camp at Germantown. An Engineer and 100 Grenadiers proceeded this morning to reconnoitre Province Island for fixing of Mortars and 8 inch Howitzers. Some deserters from the Enemy. In the evening the rebels pushed 2 Galleys in the mouth of the Schuylkill which obliged the detachment with the Engineers to return to Philadelphia by Gray's Ferry. Gallies fired and the Fort together one hundred shot at us. Dispatches arrived at Head Quarters from New York by Chester.

8th. Weather remarkably fine and favourable for our wounded men. Wind West. Several deserters from the enemy. Hurley an ensign and adjutant and deserter from the 44th Regiment when at Boston (after having been tried by a Court Martial) was executed this morning in the Artillery Camp. This night at Sundown we made a Battery of No. 2 Medium 12s at the N. side of the mouth of Schuylkill; before it was finished 3 rebel Galleys came to their usual station at the mouth and hearing our workmen, fired grape

<sup>1</sup> This is an error, Washington's headquarters were at Pennybecker's Mill on the Perkiomen. The journal of the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, D.D., of the Trap, covering the period that a portion of the American Army was at that place is published in the collections of the Hist. Soc. of Pa., Vol. I. p. 147. Phila. 1853.

8 inch shot, which we did not return, until our Battery was completed. The 10th Regiment marched from Camp to assist as a working party, this night but the boats in the morning from Gray's Ferry coming to Province Island Ferry were taken by the rebels and the people wounded and another attempt in the Evening failed owing to the lateness of the tide. The artillery moved this Evening to Schuylkill Ferry a two medium 12 pounder, two 8 inch Howitzers, and 2 Eight Inch mortars, and 100 rounds to each, 400 Fascinis, and pickets to Plank timber and Tools, and a Detachment of Three hundred Grenadiers and one Field 6 Pounder.

9th. Wind at E. & S. E. A very heavy rain particularly this afternoon insomuch as to prevent the working and covering parties from proceeding to Province Island. Nine Rebel Gallies attacked our Battery of 2 medium 12 pounders but were beaten back. We lost one Grenadier killed, three wounded and a waggoner and two Horses killed. This evening on the turning of the tide two Brigs and a floating Battery moved up between Little Mud Island and Fort Island. The Fort this day apprehensive of our having taken port on Province Island fired from the Fort on it from 7 to 8 o'clock A. M. Accounts from General Clinton having proceeded from New York up Hudson's River with a considerable body of Troops to co-operate with General Burgoyne from whom some favourable accounts have been likewise received at Head Quarters. Several deserters came in.

10th. A keen North Wester. Weather delightful but cool. This night the Engineers constructed a battery unperceived, the battery 250 yards from the enemy's floating battery, and 500 yards West of the Fort on a dyke in an overflowed meadow. Advanced Lieutenant Sproule for the Inhabitants working on Redoubts—Thirty guineas out of my own pocket. The above, or Middle Battery, constructed on Carpenter's Island, for one 8 inch Howitzer, and one Eight inch mortar. Begun our first Battery against Mud Island, but not before on account of the extensive works in Town, Bridge across the Schuylkill, the reason for very heavy rains and overflow of the Delaware, and in making good such Breaches of the

several dykes as immediately affected the attacks and that by the Carpenters in the Engineers Department assisted by the Detachment.

11<sup>th</sup>. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 this morning the rebels landed about 180 men near the battery built last night, and advanced and summoned it and the Captain of the 10th delivered it up, with his detachment of 50 men and two officers and a medium Bran 12 Pounder and 4 artillery men, which was retaken immediately by Captain James Moncrief Engineer and 50 Hessians, recovered the gun unspiked and all the detachment except 2 subalterns, 5 grenadiers and 2 artillery men. During this day the Rebels fired 3000 Cannon Shot at this battery from the instant day broke. The Troops being few and harassed no work this night. This morning cold and white frost.

12<sup>th</sup> Sunday. Weather delightful. At 11 o'clock this morning about 500 Rebels landed in the front and 2 flanks of the Battery with Bayonets fixed (previous to which they shelled it with a very heavy cannonade, from the Fort, Floating Batteries and Gallies) our detachment of 50 men  $\frac{1}{2}$  Hessians  $\frac{1}{2}$  British under a Hessian Captain; received them with a well directed fire of musketry, the attack for  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an hour, the rebels concealing themselves under the Dyke and behind trees and bushes, in the mean time Major Gardiner with 50 Grenadiers moved from his post to outflank the rebels and the battery, which he succeeded in by the rebels taking to their boats, during which the detachment of the battery kept up a smart fire. We lost 2 British and 2 Hessian Grenadiers and 8 British wounded. The rebels took their killed and wounded off in their boats under their own Fire.

13<sup>th</sup>. Wind S. W. and delightful weather. The redoubts for the defence of Philadelphia continued on, though slowly, as none but Inhabitants are employed on it, and that at 8 shillings per day and Provisions. This morning the Batteries could have opened on the enemy but for the battery intended on the right which could not be begun on account of the *clearness* of the night. For the working and covering parties this night, 400 men. Deserters daily come in. This night



I began a battery on the point of Province Island at the Post houses for 2 Iron Eighteen Pounders. Large quantities of Forage collected and brought in the neighborhood of the city by the Commissary General, artillery, &c. &c.

14th. Wind at N. W. fine weather. Working party and covering for this night 500 men. Continued on the Post House Battery and completed it during the course of this night. Also began on a new Battery to the right and finished it, raised and thickened the middle Battery. The night very fine for work but too clear. Enemies send boats cruising, but we continued undiscovered. Some deserters came in. The Vigilant armed ship advanced early this morning and fired at the Rebel Fort. This night the rebels employed their Boats in loading their stores, &c., at Red Bank, where they have a Fort which they are now employed in strengthening.

15th. As soon (after daybreak) as the Fog was dispelled which was about 7 o'clock the 4 Batteries under my direction opened upon the rebel Fort and marine, the former we discovered to be nearly abandoned and the latter weighed and sheered off, excepting one Floating battery of 18 Eighteen Pounders which continued about 1 hour and changed her position more distant. Our batteries were as follows:—

Battery on the north side of Schuylkill Point,	2 medium	12 Pounders			
do. at the Post Houses			2 rebel Iron	18	do.
do. Middle (battery)	1 Eight inch	Howitzer	and one	8 inch	mortar.
do. Night	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.

During the course of our firing one rebel iron 18 pounder burst, while I was on the Post House Battery and killed one artillery man and wounded 3 more. Could observe an additional vessel of our Fleet added to the Roebuck and Vigilant now at anchor off of Little Tinnicum Island. The two Batteries on the Right continued to throw a shell or Howitzer about every  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour during the course of the night. Wind this day chiefly S. W. weather charming.

16th. At nine this morning a Court Martial sat for the

For one 8 inch Howitzer and 1 Eight inch mortar 600 yds from Fort.

tryal of such persons as were thought to have misbehaved on the 11th Inst. in surrendering to the enemy the middle battery on Carpenter's Island. Wind at N. E. but delightful weather. Fired some Red hot shot out of the Howitzers to set fire to the barracks. The lightness of our Artillery and the shortness of our ammunition not making that instant impression the Commander-in-Chief wished and expected he this day at 1 o'clock altered his present Plan. Guards for the Batteries at and near Province Island, 860 men. Observation by the Commander-in-Chief, respecting the reducing of Mud Island Fort, "That 3 weeks were now elapsed and nothing done." Quere? Whether that might not be related (with submission) to him, about his staying so far away at Germantown?

17th. Weather cold and raw and cloudy. Wind E. N. E. About noon 7 Deserters came off from the Fort in an excellent Barge. This day principally employed in my department in transporting the materials for the Bridge of Schuylkill at Gray's Ferry together with its boats. Shell and Howitzers continue from the battery at the rate of 10 every 24 hours. The 2 medium 12 Pounders brought back from the redoubt at the Battery at the Post Houses. Obligated to take the peasantry from the redoubts to load material.

18th Wind at N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. weather extremely fine. The utmost preparation making to forward the Bridge at Gray's Ferry across the Schuylkill. The detachment from Wilmington and last from Chester, arrived on the opposite side at 2 o'clock P. M. The Tide surprisngly high. Wind this afternoon Southerly. With the detachment arrived the Engineer with it and another recovered of his wounds. The overflow of the meadows is such that the tide is rather over the platform of the right and middle Batteries and Boats pass from Ferry House to Blakely's. Wrote to the Honorable Board. The detachment of yesterday from Wilmington brought 500 convalescents. Arrived Lord Rawdon with dispatches from General Clinton of his having stormed Forts Montgomery and Clinton, killed 100 and took 800 rebels with the loss of 156 killed and wounded on our side.

19th. A thick fog, weather very fine. The Commander-in-Chief with the army marched from Germantown to the heights North of Philadelphia extending from the river Delaware to the Schuylkill  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles and encamped in the rear of the 10 redoubts. I am now constructing a kind of communication now kept up with the Fleet by the way of Province Island and Bow Creek. The cannon from the Fort damaging our Right Battery. Obligated to repair them at night.

20th. Wind S. W. and the weather remarkably warm. At 4 this morning 12 Flat bottomed Boats and a whale boat arrived at Philadelphia from our Fleet after receiving abundance of Grape from the Fort and 2 Gallies below without any injury until they arrived near our Battery two medium 12 pounders, on the North point of Schuylkill where they were fired on (that Garrison not being apprized) and lost one seaman. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 this morning, the Engineers finished the Floating Bridge across Schuylkill upwards of 400 feet. Rebels fired a feu de joie from the Fort and Ships, &c.<sup>1</sup> Commander-in-Chief visited the works. An officer and 6 mounted Jagers patrolling near the Falls of Schuylkill were met by a troop of Rebel Horse and obliged to fly having one killed, but Plunket their Captain pursuing too far fell in with one of our Pickets and was wounded and taken with another. Arrived in the night as far as Blakely's House a 13 inch mortar and this night made greatest put of its battery about 350 yards from the Rebel Fort. Communication open with the Fleet from the Batteries to Bow Creek, the road to Blakely's House. The effect of these Batteries were answered by driving off the Rebel Floating Batteries and Gallies and opening a kind of communication with our Fleet, they were also intended to annoy the Fort and set fire to the Buildings, which did not take place for the Instant the shells fell, they were immersed in the mire, that work being constructed in and on the mud.

21st. A sharp North Wester and rather cold. At 8 this morning our Troops embarked in 12 Flat bottomed Boats at

<sup>1</sup> On account of the news of the surrender of Burgoyne.

the North End of Philadelphia and landed on the Jersey Shore consisting of 3 Battalions of Hessians, Regiment of Mirlach and Chasseurs with all their Battalion Guns and 2 Royal Howitzers to attack the Rebels at Red Bank. On the redoubts 720 of our Troops and I discharged the peasantry. I began on the Tête de Pont on the West Side of Schuylkill with the Detachment left there 71st and 1 Battalion Hessians and 27th Regiment. Wrote to Captain McKenzie respecting my letter to the Board to return home to lay before the Commander-in-Chief. Accounts in the night that Genl. Woelen and 4000 rebels had crossed South Side of Schuylkill.

22<sup>nd</sup>. A very sharp white frost. Wind at North. Accounts that the rebels had passed a considerable body from their camp across the Schuylkill, the 10th and 28th ordered as a working party, and I began on Hamilton's House<sup>1</sup> opposite Gray's Ferry. The Troops continued on the Redoubts, began on damming out the waters at Province Isd. by filling up the Dykes that the rebels had cut to overflow the meadows by 11 Inhabitants from town, a skin of ice this morning just perceptible and that was all. Early this morning 8 Flat bottomed Boats arrived in the Schuylkill from the Fleet with 50 hogheads of rum without a single shot from the enemy. At 3 o'clock P. M. the works for the tete de pont at Gray's Ferry ordered to be stopt and the Detacht. to return and the bridge to be taken up and carried to Middle Ferry. In the night recd. the acct. of the Hessians having attacked the Rebel works at Red Bank, carried their out-works and afterwards repulsed. Count Dunop wounded mortally.

23<sup>rd</sup>. Wind northerly and fresh and cold. Before day break the 27th Regt. and a Battalion of Light Infantry crossed the Delaware to reinforce and cover the Hessians who retired this afternoon to Cooper's Ferry opposite the city. The working parties instead of doing their duty by thirds, do it now by fourths. The parties entered on the redoubts.

<sup>1</sup> Now known as the Woodlands.

Before the Explosion of the *Augustas* Powder Magazine which was at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 A. M. many of the seamen jumped overboard apprehending it, some were taken up by our ships boats, but the Chaplain, one Lieutenant and 60 men perished in the water. The *Augusta* has got aground but not on the Chevaux de frises as did the *Merlin* sloop of war but nearer the Jersey shore. 200 Grenadiers were ready for the assault and had marched to the Ferry at Province Island where the Fleet Boats were ready to receive them. During the course of this mornings unfortunate manœuvre the Rebels sent down a fire raft. 2 of our ships boats towed off and 2 went ashore. Four row Gallies came down this evening from Bristol and come too behind Petty's Island about 3 miles North East of the city. This night made work for 30 men on each side of Middle Ferry house to cover the workmen making the Floating Bridge. 2 Light 12 pounders brought from the Park and fixed on a rise to secure the Bridge.

24th. Wind at N. E. and raw. Began and finished 3 Lodgments for 40 men each as a Tête de pont opposite on West Side of Schuylkill. Began this morning to lay the Bridge and Middle Ferry and I completed it this afternoon. I directed a small work to be made to cover the 2 Medium 12 pounders and the 9 Pounder at Schuylkill St.

25th. Wind at E. N. E. small rain and a thick fog. Engineers mending the causeway to Blakely's House across the meadows. Two floating Batteries begun on for carrying each two 82 pounders. This day the commander-in-chief's Proclamation of the 1st October expires.<sup>1</sup>

26th. Wind at N. E. and thick moist weather. An Agent of Transports arrived before day from the Fleet with 24 flat bottomed boats with provisions. This evening returns leaving 8. This night went the mail for England but not yet to sail. This day the marines of the Fleet took possession again at Billingsport in New Jersey.

27th. A storm at N. E. and heavy rain. At night a mere

<sup>1</sup> The proclamation summoned the citizens to take the oath of allegiance on or before the 25th of October under certain penalties for neglect thereof.

Tempest. No working parties this day and indeed from the nature of this overflowed land and the heavy rains and great freshet in the Delaware retards our progress beyond description.

28th. The Tempest with rain continued. Wind at N. East. No working parties whatever this day. This morning between 6 and 7 the Commander-in-Chief's dispatches left this for England escorted to — by the two Battalions of 71st Regt. At 2 P. M. the floating Bridge at Middle Ferry was carried down the Schuylkill by the N. E. Stormy High tide and rapid stream and Ebb together. By the dispatches this day I wrote to the Board for 6 months leave or to be relieved, if not to be permitted to resign. The Schuylkill so rapid, could not depart, the Province Island Detachment. The Fresh so high in the Schuylkill as to carry off part of the wharf.

29th. The Storm continued at N. E. but neither so violent either in wind or rain. The weather too bad for work. Parties however of the seamen attempting to collect the Bridge and some carpenters squaring for another. Gallies attacked our lower Batteries with Grape but drove off. An Express went to the Fleet. One deserter came in. The Floating Batteries retarded in their building by the weather.

30th. Wind at W. N. W. and cold the weather very clear. Returned the messenger that was sent to Genl. Burgoyne from Treduffrin who could not succeed. Boats from the Fleet with Provisions and Rum. Ground too wet to go on with the works. This night the Rebels set fire to several of our boats that formed our Bridge at Middle Ferry and were carried away to the opposite shore.

31st. Wind at N. W. weather very fine. The Boats that attempted coming up from our Fleet towards 2 A. M. were fired on by the Rebel Gallies and returned back. A Battery of Light Infantry went  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles on Germantown road and saw no Rebels. Repossessed the Tête de pont at the Middle Ferry over Schuylkill without opposition. Knocked off one of the rebel's thighs with a cannon shot. Our party 60 Inhabitants this day and 80 more at night. Arrived this morn-

ing a Lieut. of the 62d Regiment from Lt. Genl. Burgoyne with a pass from Gates. A rebel General sent to the Commander-in-Chief here with an account of the Convention, with an account that our Northern army had lain down their arms, were on the march to Boston and there to Embark for England in Transports to be sent there from us and not to serve during the rebellion.

*November 1st. 1777.* Wind N. somewhat Easterly but Extreme fine weather. Flat boats brought up Provisions and 8 twenty four Pounders, Iron. Rebels fire across at people as they ride on the Banks of the Schuylkill. Two hundred of the Rebels employed in cutting up the road to Bow Creek<sup>1</sup> and breaking down the dam to overflow us.<sup>2</sup>

*Sunday 2nd.* A thick fog, Wind at S. E. weather extremely fine with a white Frost. A working party ordered of 200 men but Countermanded by the Commander-in-Chief lest it should bring on the Fire on the Boats expected up from the Fort this night. Rebels fired a few shot at our detachment, at Tête de pont. A deserter came in.

*3rd.* Wind at West and very fine weather. Early in the morning generally foggy. Came up about 8 this morning Provisions and three 24 Pounders in Boats. This day General orders Contain the Convention or rather Capitulation of Genl. Burgoyne's army. At 9 o'clock at night began on a Battery for six 24 pounders. Daily working parties from the Troops continue on the redoubta.

*4th.* Wind at West the day delightful. The mud Battery fired at our Shipping without effect. The Ship with the Rebel Commodore was struck by a shot from one of our

<sup>1</sup> It empties into the Delaware at the lower end of Hog Island, and is one of the boundaries of Philadelphia. Its position will be found on the map of Operations in the Delaware. Writings of Washington, by Sparks, vol. v. p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> November 1st. we are just now an army without provisions a Rum artillery for Besieging, scarce any ammunition, no clothing, nor any money. Somewhat dejected by Burgoyne's capitulation, and not elated with our late manœuvres as Dunop's repulse and the Augustas and Merlin being burnt and to compleat all, Blockaded. (From note book of Captain Montrésor.)

medium 12 pounders and their fleet hauled nearer the Jersey shore. The Battery began in last night left and changed to the Front Dam 90 yards nearer the Delaware. Boats come up from the Fleet with regimental Baggage and their Quarter Master.

5th. Wind at West morning hazy. Weather very warm and fine. Began on another floating bridge across the Schuylkill at Middle Ferry formed by Logs. Arrived this morning before daylight our Flat Boats from the Fleet with Provisions. Rain all the afternoon and night. The Commander-in-Chief visited Province Island and Carpenter's Island and the batteries and other works thereon. The rebels opened a Battery of two Guns, near Manto Creek against our shipping which was returned by them. Rebel Gallies at the same time went down and fired on the Fleet and were beat back. The Battery on the Front dam being found too miry this night the working party continued on the work of the night before last. This morning the Detachment on Province Island relieved by the twenty Seventh and the twenty eighth Regiment.

6th. Wind at W. and the greatest part of this day Rain. Arrived before daylight Boats from the Fleet with Provisions. Working party of 200 men Continued on the six twenty four Pounders Battery at Province Island. The weather too wet for the Troops to work on the redoubts. Two deserters came in from the Rebel Camp. Quarter Master General received orders to fix our Quarters near this city, intended for 10.000 men. Gun powder found lodged in the Chimnies in this city by the Rebels.

7th. Wind at N. W. weather very fine but cold. Boats come up from the Fleet before daylight with Provisions, Rum and 100 Barrels of Powder. Working party of 200 men continued on the Battery for six twenty four Pounders. Parties on the redoubt from the Line.

8th. Wind N. W. weather very fine. Boats happily got up again from our Fleet. Brought up 20 anchors for the Bridge. Provisions and 5000 Guineas for the Army. Rained all the afternoon and heavily all the night, which impeded



our work. Our light horse attacked 2 Squadron of the rebels Light Horse and drove them, took their Major and a French officer and some horses and a Dragoon.

*Sunday 9th.* Wind N. W. weather delightful. Finished this night a 2nd Redoubt near Blakely's House. Could not open our Battery this morning owing to the badness of the weather last night. Accounts received of the arrival of our reinforcements from New York. Some seamen deserted to us.

*10th.* Morning damp and thick. Wind at S. W. at 7½ A. M. We opened our Batteries against Mud Island Fort, the whole consisting of two 82 pounders, six 24 pounders Iron, one 18 pounder, two 8 inch Howitzers, two 8 inch mortars, and one 18 inch mortar for throwing pound shot and carcasses. Rebels from 2 Batteries fired 5 gun all silenced by noon except one which was not silenced at dark. Afternoon, began to rain with a gust at S. W. and continued raining most of this night. Notwithstanding began on fortifying Blakely's house. Bridge across Schuylkill at Middle Ferry passable for Horse and foot. Two of our men killed and one wounded by the rebels cannon shot. One Grenadier, 1 artillery man killed on our battery. Directions on our batteries to fire 80 rounds each Gun.

*11th.* A West N. West wind and as cold as in the depth of winter. A white frost and the ice ¼ an Inch thick. All the ordnance except the two 8 inch Howitzers which was slightly disabled. Deserters to us some seamen from the Rebel ships. One artillery Sergeant killed in our Battery, which continued firing all day and blew up the Centre Block House in the Fort. The Batteries repaired in the night. One corporal killed and 2 Sergeants wounded at Blakely's House being in the line of Fire. An 18 pounder the rebels weighed from the wreck of the Augusta, burst in firing it at our Batteries from Red Bank, killed 1 and wounded 8 in the N. E. stockade. Bridge across Middle Ferry Schuylkill finished. This night at high water at 10 arrived 2 Brigs and 2 sloops loaded with Provisions and ammunition which supplies the army with provisions 8 weeks to come.

(To be continued.)

**THE GERMAN ALMANAC OF CHRISTOPHER SAUER.**

BY ABRAHAM H. CASSEL, OF HARLEYSVILLE, PA.

Long before the arrival of the German printing press, the great desideratum of the German colonists in America was an almanac in their own language. To illustrate the assertion I will mention a few facts: 1st. When the provincial council was held in Philadelphia, about the year 1785, there was so much uncertainty about the time that many members came a week before the appointed time; those from a distance remained at the expense of the government, while the others returned and came again the week following. 2d. A member of the Dutch Reformed Church—a sister well known for her exemplary piety and regular attendance at the house of worship—was missing on a certain Sabbath from her accustomed seat, to the great surprise of a neighbor woman, who thought there must certainly be something the matter to account for her vacant seat. She, therefore, went to her good neighbor's house to ascertain the facts, when, on opening the door, she found her busily engaged at the wash-tub, not knowing that it was the Lord's day. 3d. A preacher by the name of Rittenhouse one Sabbath, while on the way to his charge, espied some men at a distance busily engaged in rolling and hauling logs. He rode up to them to reprove them for their Sabbath breaking, and judge of their surprise on being told that it was the Lord's day, and that he was even now on his way to church, etc.

Therefore, when the printing office was established at Germantown, numerous requests were made to Christopher Sauer, and renewed, until, in compliance, he published his first almanac in August, 1788. A copy of this is now lying before me. Its external aspect is similar to the 4to. almanac of the present day. It consisted of three sheets, or twelve leaves, had no outside title leaf or cover, and the calculations or months followed in close succession on both sides of the page, without

any intermediate reading. The phases of the moon, etc., were at the bottom of the pages, and the conjectures of the weather were interspersed throughout the calculations. In this way the almanac proper occupied only six leaves, or twelve pages, the remainder was occupied with very interesting reading matter, chiefly of a physiological and hygienic character, in very simple language, and with many striking illustrations for the benefit and instruction of the, at that time, lamentably ignorant public, which he purposed to serve in every possible way and manner. Also an account of the eclipses, etc., a record of the colonial and provincial courts and fairs, a chronology of important events, tables of high roads and distances, a ready-reckoned interest table, and a list of books sent to him on commission from Frankfort-on-the-Main; besides several other advertisements, etc., and thus was the first German almanac ever published in America completed.

The succeeding copies were similar in their outward construction until 1748, when he enlarged it to four sheets, or sixteen leaves, and designed and engraved a highly emblematical plate for the outside or cover. Besides many other figures, which I shall not attempt to describe or elucidate—it contained a flying angel. In one hand he held a wand entwined with two serpents, and in the other a large flag-like scroll with some illegible inscription upon it. As it was a first attempt at engraving, the execution thereof was (as might be expected) coarse and rough, although well designed. Still he shifted with it until 1759, when it had become so defaced from its excessive use as scarcely to show what it meant to represent. Then, with the assistance of an apprentice, Justus Fox, he re-engraved and somewhat improved it, and added different mottoes in the scroll consistent with, or in reference to, the forebodings of the times. That of 1759 had on it "*Krieg und Kriegs geschrey,*" i. e., wars and rumors of war. That of 1765 had "*Kümmertliche Zeiten,*" i. e., perilous times. That of 1767 had "*Hoffnung besserer Zeiten,*" i. e., hopes of better times, etc. These mottoes he would fre-

quently change so as to suit the ominous aspect of the times, either for better or worse as its signs might indicate.

He continued it with four sheets until 1748. The public became so interested with the reading matter, and he so anxious to serve them with whatever he thought useful, that he added a half sheet of four pages, filled chiefly with medical advice and other useful receipts, which were so well received and so duly appreciated as soon to encourage the addition of another half sheet for the year 1750 (and as physicians were very scarce and distant in many places in the then thinly-settled country, and the community generally too poor to afford their aid and advice), his efforts, therefore, for their benefit were so highly prized as to induce the addition of another whole sheet, making a complete 4to. annual of forty-eight closely-printed pages of choice religious and practical literature, *principally of his own composition.*

Encouraged by the still increasing success, he commenced in 1762 with a regular description of all the herbs used in the whole materia medica, giving their German, English, and Latin names, their virtues, uses, etc., with practical instructions for their application in the various cases of disease, adapted to the comprehension of the most illiterate. The ground-work of this was taken from the great *German Herbal* of the illustrious Dr. Zwinger, Prof. in the University at Basil, and continued until 1778, when he completed it, and furnished it with an index, referring to the number of the almanac in which each subject was respectively treated upon. Some that did not care to preserve their old almanacs separated this portion each year, and bound together when completed, thus forming a neat volume of useful references, several of which are still in existence.

In 1768 he also commenced the publication of a Revised History of England, of which he likewise appended each year from eight to ten pages, giving a complete outline of its foundation and subsequent history to the Reformation, and a very minute detail during that eventful period down to the coronation of William and Mary, with portraits of the most prominent characters, etc. His intention was to bring it

down to the present time, but, in 1778, the Revolution broke up his establishment, which left his very interesting history unfinished at the period as above mentioned.

An almanac was something so new and so entirely unknown amongst the ignorant portion of the community, that it was looked upon as a great novelty. Many bought it without knowing its proper use or design, and, therefore, laid too much stress upon it; for from the known integrity and veracity of Mr. Sauer, they would regard and confide in it as a thing infallible. Consequently many were disappointed when they referred to their almanacs for a fair day for some particular purpose, and then found the contrary to be true. As, for instance, a man by the name of Welker, from above Sumneytown, had occasion to go to Philadelphia. So he referred to his almanac, which promised a row of fair weather. In consequence he started without a cover to his wagon, but had not gone far until it began to get cloudy, and soon to rain, and was very disagreeable. The man was sorely vexed at being thus deceived and fooled just on account of that silly "Weather Book," and thought if only he could get hold of that old Sauer, he would give him a complete reprimand for publishing such lies. So, when he came to Germantown, he stopped at the printing office somewhat in a passion to give the printer his intended lecture. But Sauer in his accustomed meekness replied: O, Friend! Friend! be not thus angry, for although it was I that made the almanac, the Lord God made the weather, etc. Whereupon the man cooled off, and went his way pretty well satisfied, especially when it soon lighted up again, and he had fair weather for the rest of his journey.

Another man who had a little journey to perform likewise referred to his almanac, and as that promised fair weather he went without his overcoat, when it also happened to rain and to be very disagreeable. He, too, stopped at the printer's to give him a severe reprimand for deceiving him so with his lying weather-book—that he was now so wet and chilly, and in danger of taking a severe cold, and all just on account of his foolish almanac, which occasioned him to leave home

without his overcoat. Sauer calmly listened until the man was done with his reproof, and then answered: "Well, friend, as you were so disappointed, I will give you a piece of good advice gratuitously, and if you follow up to that you will not have occasion to blame me so soon again, namely—always to take your 'overcoat' along whenever you leave home by fair weather—when it is foul then you may do as you like—by following this advice you will never be disappointed, and will have no occasion to blame me hereafter."

In consequence of these and similar accusations, Sauer gave an explanatory preface or prolegomena in the almanac for the year following, in which he explains what an almanac was, and what its proper uses and intents were, etc., and excuses himself as not guilty nor blamable for any of the inaccuracies or unreliability thereof, as he was not properly the almanac maker. But that he had given the very best that he could possibly procure, and goes on to tell that he had bought six of the different English almanacs, and compared them with the astrological prognostications of the heavens, and found that sometimes one, sometimes two, sometimes all six, and sometimes none of them corresponded. But that he adopted the one which appeared to him as the most reliable—but found that it was with almanac-making as with all other human performances—full of frailties and imperfections, and that those who were the best astronomers and the most accurate calculators were the least competent judges of the weather, and those less competent at calculating were generally the better prognosticators. As, for instance, one of our best and most popular astronomers had failed entirely in his conjectures of the weather; while another much less accomplished one had generally conjectured very correctly, but two years ago he failed entirely concerning the eclipses, for the one which he said was here invisible was visible and total, and the other was also visible, and by several hours earlier than predicted. Thus we see that no one is perfect, and that our best endeavors are but piece-meal (*Stück-werck*), and full of weakness and imperfection.

But this year he says we procured two copies, and went to

the trouble of comparing each calculation, one with the other, so as to form one out of the two as nearly correct as may be, and we trust that as far as the rising and setting of the moon, etc., is concerned, we have not erred above a quarter of an hour, which, however, is near enough for all that may have occasion to travel by moonlight, and in regard to her phases we think it does also not depend upon several minutes. But with the rising and setting of the sun we tried to be as exact as possible—but that there is not an error of a minute or so, we will not guarantee. The prognostication of the weather is only conjecture, and yet not altogether accidental or casual, for much of it may be foretold by a proper observation of the signs in the heavens, from the aspect of the moon, stars, etc. To illustrate it, and, in order to make it comprehensible to the illiterate, he employs several very curious figures or parables.

In the compilation of his almanac he was very conscientious about inserting the names of the saints, or saint days as they are generally called, which occupy the margin of our 4to. almanac. 1st. Because they were of Popish origin, and might have a tendency for evil rather than good. [While on those days they of the Romish faith were accustomed to meet in their churches to descant on their fame, and to extol their greatness, goodness, holiness, etc.; how they had labored, suffered, and died, and of the mighty works and miracles that they had done, etc., whereby they idly entertained their audiences to the utter neglect of obeisance to Jesus, the great head of the church—and all they said concerning those so-called saints were, for the most part, but falsehoods and lies. And yet so apt to take with the credulous and inexperienced, as to exclude the purer truth as it is in Jesus. And while he also observed that Protestantism was ever too much inclining towards Popery, and already so much contaminated with its doctrines and usages, that he feared the insertion thereof would tend to perpetuate it rather than to check it, and, therefore, would best be omitted from the almanac.] But while many of the peasantry were so accustomed to refer to their almanacs for some particular saint's day when a cer-

tain work was to be done, or when this or that seed should be sown and planted, that they would scarcely have known when to sow clover, or how to plant their potatoes without them; he, therefore, inserted them, in the hope that while the people were so irreligious and so indisposed to worship anything save their mammon, that it might do no harm. For as many worshipped neither God nor the Son of God, they would also not worship these saints, and thus, after a good deal of reflection, he finally complied with their requests, and inserted them.

About the same time, they began to print almanacs in Germany with various fancy colors so as to show those "particular days," and the changes of the moon that were in request for this or that particular purpose, more strikingly and prominently to the eye. Therefore, Sauer was also requested by those who recently came in, to print his almanac in colors likewise, which he also attempted, and in 1748 successfully accomplished, several of which are now lying before me, so beautifully variegated with black and red as to do honor to his ingenuity in the art of color printing, which was but little known at that day.<sup>1</sup>

In an advertisement of his first colored edition, he says "that he had printed them thus in compliance with many urgent requests for the purposes above mentioned," with remarks on the folly and absurdities of such beliefs, and that whoever laid any stress on, or placed any confidence in such days, as having a particular virtue for this or that purpose is guilty of the grossest superstition. As, for instance, when it is said that the 15th of July was the day upon which the Apostles dispersed to go into all the world to preach the gospel to every creature, and that it was, therefore, the proper day to "disperse" or to destroy bugs and lice, is very superstitious indeed, and no intelligent man—no, not even in Rome

<sup>1</sup> A part of the colored edition was also interleaved with white blank paper to facilitate the farmers and others in keeping their rural memoranda, which was very customary at that time. I have several specimens in which the minutest circumstances and transactions are noted down.—A. H. C.



itself, will believe it any more, and thus it is with all the rest of those reputable days.

As the colored edition required a much finer and better quality of paper, it was subjected to a higher price, which gave occasion to a good deal of dissatisfaction from those who did not value it, which obliged him the next year to print also a plain edition for the usual price, which was nine pence, the colored being a shilling apiece. But the year following he printed them all on the same paper and for the same price, and thus he continued to do until 1754, when he printed the last colored edition. "Because (as he says) there are but so very few who value it, we are, therefore, not inclined to print any more with red ink hereafter, but will rather reduce the price a penny apiece, or a shilling at the dozen—at which price he continued to sell them until 1762, when he was obliged to put them down to six shillings a dozen to compete with the other almanac publishers, who began to flood the country with their productions, among whom Dr. Benjamin Franklin and Gothard and Anton Armbrüster were the most successful. The latter also published a very beautiful edition in colors as early as 1760 if not earlier, whose columns also were well filled with a continuation of original sketches from American history, especially of the first settling of the several colonies, and of the earliest discoveries of the western territories, etc., which, on account of the great scarcity of such computations, were deemed very valuable at that time, and it is doubtful whether the world has produced a more interesting annual than Sauer's and Armbrüster's almanacs were—the former on account of its herbology and hygienic instructions, besides the very interesting sketches of English history, and the latter for its American history, and other articles which were calculated to instruct as well as interest.

Another interesting feature of Sauer's almanac was his extensive correspondence with many of the most prominent characters both of Europe and America, from which he would cull largely for an article in the form of a dialogue between an inhabitant and an emigrant on subjects of political and domestic economy, as also on that of vital Godliness, replete

with pious instructions and occasional reflections, which was continued for a number of years, or until 1757, when it was intimated by some that they would rather have narratives and other descriptive facts from history in the place of it, whereupon he changed it into the garb of historical reminiscences, but still in the conversational form between *Albertus* and *Christian*, in which character it was continued until 1760, when it was crowded out to make room for his great herbology.

In 1751 he received information that the British Parliament was about passing an Act for changing the commencement of the year, and the correction of the calendar, and soon after he saw in an English newspaper that the King had signed ninety-five bills, among which was the aforesaid Act. He, therefore, delayed his almanac until this Act could reach this country, so as to make it correspond correctly with the new arrangements—for previously the year commenced on the 25th of March instead of January 1st, and was also eleven days short of true solar time.

But notwithstanding the Act had already on Wednesday, the 22d of May, received the royal assent, it had not been received here yet on October 1st, when he says in an editorial, "that thus far nothing could be done at the almanac, as he was still kept in suspense for the arrival of the Act to know what changes and alterations were to be made," and says "that he feared if it should tarry long yet that many might wish to celebrate their Christmas when the new year had already commenced, these would then fall too badly short."

Therefore, seeing that it was getting very late, he concluded to print the latter part, which at that time consisted of four sheets, so as to have it speedily completed when the Act should be received. (Accordingly, he began to prepare the articles to make up the forms, and when just completed he received a very valuable communication in relation to Indian affairs from the justly celebrated Conrad Weiser for insertion. But as the forms were all made up, and just ready to be struck off, he could give it no place any more for that year, and as Mr. Weiser wished to have his manuscript back

again, Sauer answered immediately, thanked him politely for his kindness, and explained the circumstances why not inserted, but that they were equally fit for the newspaper or calendar, and that he would copy it and return him the original with the next parcel.)

But while thus engaged the Act came, but likewise too late to give it a place in the almanac, and yet anxious to have it public to explain the new arrangements, on that account he published that week's paper on a double sheet, and gave besides the Act a short historical account thereof, and a preface under date of October 16, 1751.

As my chapter on the almanac is already too long, I will not enter into particulars about it, but will merely state that the almanac is now lying before me, and that the eleven days short of true solar time were added to the month of September, and brought in between the 2d and 14th, as follows: counting 1st, 2d, then after 2d the jump of eleven days, making what would naturally be the 3d to be the 14th, but from there on in the regular order again, giving to September instead of thirty days only nineteen, and to the year only 354 instead of 365.

Sauer's almanac had an unprecedented sale, and was for many years the only one in the German language, and although composed of but one set of calculations it was nevertheless so extensively sold throughout the German colonies—even in those of South Carolina and Georgia—that he was every year obliged to enlarge his edition, and yet frequently fell short or ran out before the time. The edition for 1761 was so soon exhausted that he advertised in different papers, that if any storekeeper, hawker, or peddler had more on hand than they had prospect to sell, he would thank them very kindly if they would return them and receive their money again, the sooner they would do so the more obliged he would be, as the demand still continued and the supply was almost exhausted.

From 1755 he also published an English edition of the almanac in 12mo. or small 8vo. for several years. But as the English competition was so great he could not compete with it, and hence relinquished its issue.

German competition he had none until the aforesaid Franklin and Armbrüster. The former published an English almanac in 12mo. as early as 1733, and a German in 4to. form in 1748, but did not succeed so well with the German as to continue it. Then came Armbrüster's in, which succeeded very well, and existed for many years. Next came Heinrich Miller's in 1762. The Fraternity's at Ephrata (a very nice religious one) in 1771. Francis Bailey's with David Rittenhouse's calculations in 1775, and Mathew Bartge's, of Frederickstown, Maryland, in 1776, which I believe were all that were published contemporary with Sauer's, whose last one was issued in 1778, when the Revolution broke up his establishment (and disposed of all his apparatus). But as the Sauer almanac was held in such high repute, a Mr. Theophilus Cossart, of Lancaster, attempted an improved imitation of Sauer's emblematical plate, and printed the Sauer almanac for that and the following years from 1779 inclusive. Melchior Steiner, of Philadelphia, also commenced the issue of a new almanac that same year.

The genuine plate of Mr. Sauer's almanac came into possession of Peter Leibert, a brother, of Germantown, who was an apprentice, and latterly a journeyman printer of Mr. Sauer. He got it from John Dunlap, of Philadelphia,<sup>1</sup> who procured it as is generally believed through the hands of Col. Bull from the confiscated sale of Sauer's establishment, and continued the issue of the German Sauer almanac from his own establishment in Germantown from 1784, and from him it passed to his son-in-law, Michael Billmeyer, and after his decease it came into the possession of Wm. W. Walker, in Third Street, Philadelphia, who has until recently been publishing the old Germantown almanac with its "*Hoffnung besserer Zeiten*," in its very identical appearance.

<sup>1</sup> Later researches prove that Dunlap, a printer in Market Street, Phila., actually issued it regularly in continuation of the same series, making his 1st the 41st, and so on, until his disposal in 1784, when it numbered the 46th edition instead of the 6th. He also forwarded it to the same agents, and it was in every respect a perfect fac-simile continuation, until Leibert's issues commenced a new series, and continued it in connection with Billmeyer until about 1835.



*William Richards.*  
*of Batavia, N.Y.*  
*1758 - 1823.*

**A SKETCH OF SOME OF THE DESCENDANTS OF  
OWEN RICHARDS, WHO EMIGRATED TO  
PENNSYLVANIA PREVIOUS TO 1718.**

BY LOUIS RICHARDS, READING, PA.

The surname of Richards is of Welsh origin, and from that nationality, it may be generally asserted, the great majority of those who bear it in this country are descended. In Wales it occurs with great frequency, and from thence has been borne into other parts of Britain, and especially England, where it is almost equally common. It was at first a Christian name, merely, from which the *s* was omitted, the latter being added when it came to be used as a patronymic.

The earliest families of Richarides in New England were of Puritan stock, their ancestors emigrating hither from old England at various dates during the seventeenth century. In a "Genealogical Register of the Descendants of Several Ancient Puritans," vol. iii., compiled by the Rev. Abner Morse, A.M., Member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and published in Boston in 1861, several thousands of the name are traced out, through many generations, from the emigrant founders. Of the twelve original ancestors whose posterity is sketched, the earliest mentioned is Thomas Richards, who, it is stated, was born about 1590, and came to Dorchester in 1680, ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims.

Among the colonists who came over at the invitation of William Penn, at the date of the foundation of the province in 1682, or within a few years subsequently, were, as is well known, a number of Welsh, to whom the Proprietor granted a tract, or barony as it was termed, of forty thousand acres west of the Schuylkill. The original warrant was issued in 1684, and the territory it embraced was mainly included in the townships of Newtown, Goshen, Uwchlan, Tredyffrin, and Whiteland in Chester County; Haverford and Radnor,

originally also in Chester, now in Delaware County, and Merion, formerly Philadelphia, now Montgomery County. Gwynedd Township, Montgomery, originally in Philadelphia County, was also settled by people of this nationality, about 1698. The broad fertile region known as the Great Valley, in Chester County, a large part of which was included in the Welsh grant, began to be extensively populated by them in 1711. The names given to most of the townships mentioned unmistakably suggest the circumstances of their origin. A considerable proportion of the early Welsh settlers were Friends, a large number of them were Baptists, and a few adhered to the Church of England. They were a hardy, sober, and vigorous race, possessing means, enterprise, and energy, and constituted a valuable accession to the original population of the province, to which they gave some of the most distinguished men in its early history. Their native language continued to be employed to some extent, it is said, down to about the period of the Revolution. At the present day they have become largely merged in other nationalities more numerous represented in later immigrations. Their descendants are recognized by their names, and the localities in which they originally settled in any considerable numbers are invariably found to be English-speaking communities.

Among the early records of Philadelphia and Chester Counties, which date back to 1682, are to be found the names of several Richardses, who located within their limits—all undoubtedly of Welsh, or, more immediately, English origin. Joseph Richards was a member for the county of Chester of the first Assembly convened by Penn in 1682, and purchased 500 acres of land in Aston Township the same year. He died in Chichester in 1710, and a son and a grandson bearing the same Christian name, succeeded, respectively, to the ownership of a portion of his estate. Solomon Richards was also a "first purchaser," and drew for city lots in Philadelphia in 1682. One Richard ap Richard was a landowner in Whiteland Township in 1710. Others of the earliest of the name mentioned in the Chester County records were Nathaniel, who was a landholder in Astou Township in 1692, and died there in

1700; Guenlyon, of Haverford, who died in 1697; Rowland, of Merion, who purchased in Tredyffrin in 1707-8, and died there in 1720—a grandson of whom had the same name; William, whose estate was administered upon in 1716, and Thomas, of Tredyffrin, who died in 1789. The ancient records of Philadelphia County mention, among others, Philip and John Richards, whose wills were probated respectively in 1698 and 1711, and both of whom were residents of the city.

1. OWEN RICHARDS, a few of whose descendants it is proposed to trace, emigrated to Pennsylvania from Merionethshire, a county of North Wales. According to tradition, he sailed from the port of Chester, England, and landed at Philadelphia, accompanied by his wife, three sons, James, William, and John, and a daughter, Elizabeth. There is no means of ascertaining the exact date of his arrival, but it was certainly before the year 1718, and probably not earlier than 1710 or 1715, though the last two dates mentioned are merely conjectural. There is some reason to think that he may have resided for a time in Tredyffrin, Whiteland, or some other Welsh portion of Chester County before referred to, and some of the earliest of his name already mentioned may have been, and probably were, his kindred. Both suppositions are without any record evidence to support them, but they are rendered at least plausible from the fact that certain names which appear in some land transactions of his in another county, a few years later, are unmistakably those of original residents of Chester.

The first positive trace of him discoverable is by his purchase, December 22, 1718, of 800 acres of land in Amity Township, then Philadelphia, now Berks County, from one Mouns Justice, at that time a resident of the Northern Liberties. The latter was one of several Swedes to whom a warrant for a tract of ten thousand acres was granted by the Proprietary, through his Commissioners of Property, in 1701. These Swedes belonged to the congregation at Wicaco, and their pastor, Andreas Rudman, who was one of the grantees, probably negotiated the purchase. Possession was taken



under the warrant, and patents for these lands in severalty were issued in 1704 and 1705. Out of the Swede tracts, collectively, the township of Amity was formed, and it constitutes the location of the earliest settlement within the limits of the present county of Berks, which was erected in 1752. Justice's patent is dated in 1705, and was for 700 acres. The portion of the tract purchased from him by Owen Richards, it has been ascertained, lies close to the present village of Weaverstown, about three miles from the Schuylkill, a considerable part of it being at this date in the possession of the heirs of Daniel McLean. The land is rolling and of good quality for agricultural purposes. A small tributary of the Monocacy Creek runs through it.

In 1726, Owen, together with one David Harry, from Chester County, also a Welshman, bought 250 acres of land in Oley Township from John Banfield, 100 acres of which were a portion of a larger tract which had been patented to John Longworthy, of Radnor, in 1714. This land is in the southeastern corner of the township, on the Manatawny Creek, about half a mile from a well-known tavern called the "Yellow House." Richards and Harry resold this tract the same year to John Ellis, of Springfield, Chester County, and in 1785 it passed to Jacob Hill, remaining in the possession of the Hill family for a century and a quarter.

Owen Richards doubtless resided in Amity Township, on the property purchased by him from Justice, from 1718 until his death, the date of which is uncertain, though records show that it did not occur previous to 1784. In 1729 he sold one-half of this tract to his eldest son James, in consideration of £7, and "natural love and affection." The remaining portion, which he probably occupied, it is likely passed to his heirs, as no conveyance of it by him, or recital thereof, is to be found of record. When and where his first wife died is unknown. It cannot be affirmed, indeed, with any confidence, that she ever saw America. The records of Christ Church, Philadelphia, show that he was married in 1727 to a second wife, Elizabeth Baker. She survived him, and died in 1753, without issue, aged about eighty years. She was

buried, as was doubtless also her husband, in the ground of the Episcopal church at Douglassville, on the Schuylkill, in Amity Township, anciently a Swedish church known as "St. Gabriel's at Morlatton," the organization of which dates back to about the time of the original Swedish settlements before referred to. Its oldest existing records begin in 1736.

The descendants of Owen Richards have frequently been confounded with those of another family of the same name, but of German derivation, residing in Berks, Montgomery, and some other adjoining counties. The latter were originally called *Reichert*, their first ancestor in this country being Johann Frederick Reichert, a native of the Kingdom of Wurtemberg, who patented lands in New Hanover Township, originally Philadelphia, now Montgomery County, in 1720, and died there in 1748. Their name has been anglicized for over a century, having been changed to Richards, as is said, by English schoolmasters, out of preference for their own tongue. Of this stock, which is a very numerous one, were John and Matthias Richards, grandsons of Frederick, both early members of Congress from Pennsylvania, a son of the latter, Judge Matthias S. Richards, of Reading, the late George Richards, of Pottstown, formerly a State Senator from Montgomery County and a son of John, and his brother, Mark Richards, for many years a well-known merchant of Philadelphia. A number of families who still write their name Reichert are found in various portions of Berks and neighboring counties. These are also of German descent, and of Palatine origin.

The children of Owen Richards, of whom any trace or tradition remains, appear to have been—

2. **JAMES**, of whom no information is obtainable beyond the record of his purchase from his father of the 150 acres in Amity in 1729, and the sale by him of the same tract in 1741 to Peter Weaver. In the deed conveying away this land he is styled "labourer," and he was a single man at that date. He probably left no descendants.
3. **WILLIAM**.
4. **JOHN**, who appears to have resided in Amity, or vicinity, for some years, though the records do not show that he was a landowner. His wife's name was Sarah, and the names of two of their children, as

appears by the Register of St. Gabriel's Church, were Edward and Susannah, the former baptized in 1737 and the latter in 1739. Another child (name not given—probably an infant) was buried in 1736. The tradition is that he eventually removed to Virginia, where some of his descendants remain at the present day. From him, it is said, "Richards' Ford," on the Rappahannock, takes its name, and from his posterity proceeded a family of the name who settled in Kentucky.

6. ELIZABETH, of whom nothing whatever is traceable. It is likely that she d. unm.

3. WILLIAM, through whom all of the family who here follow are traced, was without doubt born in Wales, and had probably about arrived at manhood at the date of his father's emigration. He appears at one time to have been possessed of considerable estate, but closed life in comparative poverty. In 1785, he bought from one Michael Waren, 150 acres of land in Amity, which had also been a part of the Mouns Justice tract. It adjoined the 150 acres acquired by his brother James from Owen, but did not constitute any part of the latter's original purchase. In 1740, William, together with his wife Elizabeth, sold 58 acres of his land to Peter Weaver—the same who the following year purchased the whole of James's. One of the witnesses to the deed of conveyance is Rowland Richards. What disposition he made of the balance does not appear. It may have been comprised in a tract of 184 acres situated in the same vicinity, which he mortgaged in 1747 to the executors of Samuel Powell, Jr., for £140, the debt being repaid by his assignee, Jacob Roads, in 1761, presumably out of the proceeds of the sale of the land. The mortgage contains no recital of title. To his occupation of tiller of the soil, he at one time added the functions of constable of the township. In the first volume of the Pennsylvania Archives, first series, is published at length a deposition which he gave in 1788, containing a diverting account of his rough experience, as one of His Majesty's peace officers, with some violators of the ancient provincial laws against the obstruction of the navigation of the river Schuylkill by the erection of racks for the taking of fish—a subject of ab-

sorbing importance in the primitive days of river transportation, when grain was conveyed to Philadelphia by rafts.

He died in Oley Township in January, 1752. His will, dated December 26, 1751, is on file in Philadelphia, and mentions the names of all his children. The inventory of his personal estate amounted to £207 7s. 10d. Pennsylvania currency. The appraisers were Ellis Hughes—without doubt a Welshman—and George Boone, for many years a prominent provincial magistrate of Oley, who belonged to a family of Quakers of that neighborhood, and was the uncle of Daniel Boone, the pioneer of Kentucky. Nearly one-half of the sum total of the appraisement is made up of obligations for moneys due the decedent by various persons, while the character and valuations of the different chattels enumerated seem to indicate that at the time of his death he was a small tenant farmer, whose resources had been run down to the verge of exhaustion.

The witnesses to his will were James and Jane Norrell and Benjamin Longworthy. His wife Elizabeth and Peter Weaver were appointed executors, but the latter renounced. He directs all his personal property and movables, "within and without," to be sold, and gives his wife the use of the proceeds for life, but adds that "if she thinks proper to alter her condition, she shall have her thirds according to law"—a favorite mode of restriction upon widows in those days. He enjoins that his son William "is to live with his mother for the space of one year, and then be put out to a trade which he likes." His daughters Ruth and Sarah were "to be to the care and discretion of their mother," each receiving £5 Pennsylvania currency, and the latter, in addition, the testator's "chest of drawers at Cornelius Dewees's." His son Owen and his daughters Mary Ball and Margaret were each given five shillings Pennsylvania currency—a slender patrimony! His son James received £10 and a mare. The residue of his estate was given to William upon his coming of age, and after his mother's decease.

Of his seven children it would appear that but three, Mary, Owen and James, had attained their majority at the date of

the will. The following notices of them are given in the supposed order of their ages:—

5. **MARY** married John Ball, who resided in Douglass Township, Berks County, and acquired land in Amity in 1754. One of their children was Joseph Ball, who became a prominent merchant and extensive landowner and capitalist of Philadelphia, accumulating a large fortune. He was interested in various business enterprises in that city, among which was the Insurance Company of North America, established in 1792, of which he was one of the original directors, and President in the years 1798 and 1799. In his early manhood he was employed as manager of the iron works at Batsto, Burlington County, New Jersey, then owned by Col. John Cox. He was there in that capacity during the earlier part of the Revolutionary War, and in 1779 became proprietor. The works were extensively employed in the manufacture of shot and shell for the Continental service. In the 4th volume of Pennsylvania Archives, first series, pp. 757, 761, 762, a correspondence of Mr. Ball and Col. Cox with the Committee of Safety of Philadelphia in May, 1776, shows that the ammunition then being furnished to the Committee was, by their special order, hauled by teams from Batsto to Cooper's Ferry (now Camden), instead of being transported by the usual less expeditious mode of conveyance by water. He took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania September 10, 1777, under a law passed by the Assembly to insure fidelity to the interests of the State on the part of its citizens. During the struggle for liberty he was a decided patriot, and advanced liberally of his rapidly accumulating means in aid of the cause. After the close of the War, it is said that he was extensively embarked in the schemes for the restoration of the public credit set on foot by Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, by means of which he, in common with many others, suffered considerable pecuniary loss. Mr. Ball died in 1821, aged 73 years, leaving a widow, Sarah, but no issue, and his vast estate passed to an immense number of collateral heirs, occupying many years in process of distribution.
6. **OWEN** was baptized, according to the records of St. Gabriel's Church, before mentioned, together with his brother James and sister Ruth, September 20, 1737. He appears to have been a farmer by occupation, and is assessed in Amity Township as a tenant from 1756 to 1760, and in Union Township from 1766 to 1773, after which no further trace of him is to be found in the county records. He removed, probably about the commencement of the Revolutionary War, to Northumberland County, or some other of the then so-called western portions of the State. A person of his name, pre-

sumably the same individual, appears on the list of privates of Capt. Gray's Company, Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, in 1777. The names of his children, as given in a tabulated list of the heirs of his nephew, Joseph Ball, were William, John, Mary, Elizabeth (Barr), Eleanor (Hamilton), Jane (Stevens), and Sarah (Roberts).

7. **JAMES.**

8. **RUTH** married Daniel Kussman. Nothing is known of her family record excepting the names of her children, which were Rebecca (Hoffman), Elizabeth (Miller), Mary (Seiler), Catharine (Canstatter), and William.

9. **WILLIAM.**

10. **MARGARET** married Cornelius Dewees. The Deweeses, as I am informed by one of their descendants, were of Huguenot stock, the name being originally written De Wees. Several of them are found among the list of landholders in Philadelphia County as early as 1734. Margaret died in 1793. Her children were William, Owen, David, Cornelius, Mary (Patterson), and Samuel.

11. **SARAH** married James Hastings, and resided for a considerable portion of her life in Virginia. She died, probably about 1825, leaving three children, Howell, William, and John.

7. **JAMES** was b. about 1722, and was baptized, as above stated, in 1787. He was engaged all his life in farming, and resided first in Amity, and subsequently in Earl and Colebrookdale Townships, Berks County, being assessed as a property owner in the last-mentioned district from 1768 to 1797. He owned 150 acres of land at the head of Ironstone Creek, about two miles northwest from the present borough of Boyertown, upon which he resided. He served for a short period during the Revolutionary War, and his name appears on the roll of Captain Tudor's Company, Fourth Pennsylvania Continental Line, as a Sergeant, enlisted May 10, 1777. He was a man of immense frame, and great physical strength, and his long life of rugged toil was varied with many lively episodes of conflict and adventure. Disposing of his property in Berks to certain of his sons, he removed, with perhaps some of his youngest children, in 1797 or '98, to the North Branch of the Susquehanna, near Danville, then Northumberland County, where he d. in 1804, aged upwards of eighty.

His wife's name was Mary, and his children were William, Frederick, Elizabeth, James, Owen, Mary, Sarah, Hannah, and John. Of the daughters, Hannah d. unm.; Elizabeth m. Enoch Rutter; Mary, Henry Fox, and Sarah, Henry Schmale. Descendants of several of these children remain, both in Berks and on the Susquehanna. William, the eldest son, was b. Jan. 27, 1754, and m. Mary, daughter of John William and Elizabeth Miller, of Karl Township, by whom he had four children, William and Elizabeth, both of whom d. young, James, b. March 27, 1782, and John, b. June 5, 1784. William Richards d. about 1786, and his widow in 1838, at an advanced age.

James Richards, last mentioned, was distinguished for the fervor of his religious convictions, and the purity of his character and life. He m. 1811, Ann Hunter Smith, dau. of John Smith, Esq., of Joanna Furnace, Berks County, and Elizabeth, his wife, and was the father of the late John S. Richards, Esq., for many years a prominent and well-known member of the Bar of Reading. James d. September 21, 1828, and his widow, April 25, 1857. John Richards m. 1st, 1811, Rebecca, dau. of Michael and Susanna Ludwig, who d. January 19, 1840, and 2d, 1841, Louisa, dau. of Ephraim and Elizabeth Silvers, who d. January 26, 1880. He had seven children. He was a native of Colebrookdale Township, Berks County, and removed to New Jersey in 1808. He was engaged for forty years in the iron manufacturing business, principally at Weymouth and Gloucester Furnaces, Atlantic County, of the latter of which he became a proprietor in 1830. In 1836-37 he was a member of the Legislature of New Jersey for the county of Burlington, but, with this exception, declined all public positions, his predilections being wholly in the line of business life. He resided from 1848 to 1854 at Manch Chunk, Pennsylvania, where he continued the iron manufacture, retiring in the latter year to an estate called "Stowe," in the vicinity of Pottstown, Montgomery County, where he d. November 29, 1871, in the 88th year of his age. He possessed in a marked degree the characteristics of energy and self-reliance, and was a fair example of the success which, in spite

of the lack of early advantages, usually attends the exercise of these qualities when joined to principles of strict business integrity.

9. WILLIAM was b. September 12, 1788, and was baptized at St. Gabriel's Church, Feb. 28, 1789. At the time of his father's death he was in his fourteenth year, and in accordance with the directions of the will of the latter that he should be taught such a trade as he preferred, was sent to Chester County, and placed, it is believed, at Coventry Forge, on French Creek, to learn the occupation of a founder. Coventry was built by Samuel Nutt, an Englishman of enterprise and fortune, about 1718 or 1720. At the time William went there, it was under the management of John Patrick, also an Englishman, who was early associated with Nutt in that capacity. In 1764, William m. Mary, dau. of John Patrick and his wife Anna, dau. of Oliver Dunklin. She was b. June 24, 1746, and had a brother Samuel, who was b. in 1748, and m. Rachel Gibbs, and a sister Esther, b. in 1747, who m. Ezekiel Leonard. After the death of his first wife, John Patrick m., 1765, Abigail Hockley. In 1748, he purchased from the heirs of his father-in-law, Oliver Dunklin, 160 acres of land in Amity Township, before mentioned, which he disposed of in 1750 to Henry Van Reed, from Holland, the ancestor of the well-known family of that name in Berks, in the possession of one of whose descendants the premises still remain. John Patrick d. in East Nantmeal Township, Chester County, in 1765. His son Samuel was also a forgerman, and an agreement is still in existence, bearing the date of 1767, in which he undertook to blow the Cornwall Furnace, then in Lancaster County, for the proprietors, Peter and Curtis Grubb, at "five shillings per ton for pigs," and "forty-five shillings per ton for stoves." At a later date he was engaged at an establishment called the Forest of Dean Furnace, in Orange County, New York.

William Richards was subsequently employed at Warwick Furnace, another well-known establishment, on French Creek in the vicinity of Coventry, built by Samuel Nutt's widow, Anna Nutt, in 1787. About the year 1768, he went to



Batsto Iron Works, New Jersey, before mentioned, as founder, his family continuing to reside in Pennsylvania. In 1774, he purchased a tract of 210 acres in East Nantmeal Township, Chester County, from the heirs of his father-in-law, John Patrick, who had bought it in 1763 from the heirs of Samuel Savage. He sold this farm to one Jacob Weimands in 1775, and was subsequently, in 1778, the owner of another tract of 151 acres in West Whiteland Township, afterwards known as the "Ship Tavern" property, situated on the Lancaster Turnpike, near the present station on the Pennsylvania Railroad called Whiteland.

In June, 1775, he was commissioned by the Assembly of Pennsylvania as "Standard Bearer to the Second Battalion of Associators of Chester County." On August 13, 1776, as appears from his private diary, he joined the Revolutionary forces, his family being then resident at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, where he was in camp with the army during the memorable winter quarters in 1777-78. The length of his entire term of service is not known, but it probably extended over the greater part of the active period of the war. In January, 1781, he accepted the position of resident manager of Batsto, tendered him by Col. Cox and Mr. Charles Pettit, succeeding his nephew, Joseph Ball. He shortly afterwards acquired an interest in this large and then celebrated manufacturing establishment, and about the year 1784 became sole owner. He rebuilt the works, and made extensive additions and improvements, his operations expanding from time to time with his increasing prosperity. His domain extended over many thousands of acres, and he acquired what was then regarded as a princely fortune.

He was a man of unbounded enterprise and untiring energy, of great firmness of character and tenacity of purpose. These qualities well fitted him to be a leader, rather than a follower of men. A large community gradually grew up around him, in the midst of which he lived in a style suited to his wealth, commanding the respect and confidence of his dependants, who in turn prospered under his judicious supervision. In person he was six feet four inches in height, of

gigantic mould, and great physical strength—his robust frame being a fitting tenement for his vigorous and active mind. A miniature profile engraving of him by St. Mémin, accompanying this sketch, taken in advanced life, portrays him as of calm and reflective features, equally indicative of force of character and benignity of disposition. Surmounting his long thick hair is a flat circular comb, such as the then prevailing fashion warranted as a masculine ornament.

His first wife, Mary Patrick, by whom he had eleven children—seven sons and four daughters—d. November 24, 1794. He was m. in 1796 to Margaret Wood, a daughter of Isaac Wood, of Moorestown, Burlington County, New Jersey, who was b. in 1767. Eight children—seven sons and one daughter—were the result of this union. In 1809 he relinquished the iron works at Batsto to his son Jesse, and removed to Mount Holly, Burlington County, where he became a landowner, and though just threescore and ten, thoroughly identified himself with the growth and development of that place. In this new home, surrounded by his numerous family, he d. on the 31st of August, 1823, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and his remains rest in St. Andrew's Cemetery, belonging to that denomination, near Mount Holly, beside those of his second wife, who survived him until December 21, 1850. The spot is marked by a plain high marble tomb, inscribed with the date of his decease and age.

The children of William and Mary (Patrick) Richards were—

12. ANIGAIL, b. June 1, 1765; d. May 14, 1794.

13. JOHN, b. June 1, 1767; d. November 30, 1793.

14. SAMUEL, b. at Valley Forge May 8, 1769. He was for many years an extensive iron manufacturer in the State of New Jersey, and a prominent and esteemed merchant and resident of Philadelphia. He m. 1st, 1797, Mary Morgan, dau. of William Smith, merchant of that city. She d. in 1820, and he m. 2d, 1822, Anna Maria Witherpoon, dau. of Burling Martin, of New York, who survived him. Mr. Samuel Richards had eleven children. Two of those by his first marriage were Sarah Ball, the widow of the late Stephen Colwell, merchant of Philadelphia, and Thomas B., also a large iron works proprietor, who m. Harriet, dau. of General Francis Nichols. Mr. Richards d. January 4, 1842.

VOL. VI.—6

- one daughter X  
 married —  
 Dubuque —
15. ELIZABETH, b. August 26, 1771. She m. 1799, the Rev. Thomas Haskins, of Maryland, and had three children. Her husband d. June 29, 1816, and Mrs. Haskins, September 24, 1857.
16. REBECCA, b. August 7, 1773. She m., 1794, John Sevier, of Tennessee, and had seven children. She d. May 10, 1809.
17. WILLIAM, b. July 1, 1775; d. December 21, 1796.
18. JOSEPH, b. October 6, 1777; d. March 26, 1797.
19. THOMAS, b. February 10, 1780. He was a merchant of Philadelphia, and m., 1810, Ann Bartram, by whom he had nine children. He d. October 17, 1860—the date upon which it had been arranged to celebrate his golden wedding, and the marriage of his daughter.

## 20. JESSE

21. CHARLES, b. August 9, 1785; d. May 11, 1788.

22. ANNA MARIA, b. February 8, 1789; m., 1810, John White, of Belmont, and had three children. She d. May 2, 1816.

X  
 Maryland  
 more in Christ Church burying grounds Philadelphia  
 The children of William and Margaret (Wood) Richards

23. BENJAMIN WOOD, b. Nov. 12, 1797.

24. CHARLES HENRY, b. April 9, 1799; d. April, 1802.

25. GEORGE WASHINGTON, b. May 6, 1801; d. June, 1802.

26. AUGUSTUS HENRY, b. May 5, 1803; m. Rebecca, dau. of the Hon. John McLean, of Ohio; was a member of the Philadelphia Bar, to which he was admitted in 1826; had two children; d. in 1839.

27. WILLIAM, b. January 16, 1805; m., 1831, Constantia Marie Lamand, and had five children. He inherited in a very striking degree the physical constitution of his father; was of remarkably large and massive build, and possessed the strength of a giant. He d. April 19, 1864.

28. GEORGE WASHINGTON, b. May 3, 1807. He was a merchant of Philadelphia, and subsequently engaged extensively in the cotton manufacture, and was active in the directory of prominent railroads in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and for many years of the Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia. He m., 1829, Mary Louisa, dau. of Louis Le Guen; had eight children; d. April 22, 1874.

29. JOSEPH BALL, b. November 9, 1811; d. January 30, 1812.

30. MARY WOOD, b. March 6, 1815; d. September 19, 1860.

20. JESSE. He was b. at Valley Forge, December 2, 1782, and succeeded his father, as before stated, in the management of Batsto. In 1829 he rebuilt the works, and, in 1846, the furnace having been abandoned, established extensive glass

had three children; the were

eldest Elizabeth D  
 married Alfred  
 owner of Tanager  
 County Va.  
 human owner

is the only surviving child - born 1846



*B. W. Richard*

*1797-1851.*

manufactories, which he carried on successfully until his death, June 17, 1854. He greatly enlarged and improved the Batato estate, which, toward the close of his proprietorship, comprised about forty thousand acres. This property he left to his children, who occupied it and carried on the glass manufacture for a considerable period. It passed a few years since into the ownership of Mr. Joseph Wharton, of Philadelphia.

Jesse Richards was a member of the Assembly of New Jersey for Burlington County at the Sessions of 1837-38 and 1838-39. He m., 1810, Sarah Ennals Haskins, dau. of the Rev. Thomas Haskins, before mentioned, by his first wife, Martha Potts,—Mr. Haskins having previously m., as his second wife, Elizabeth Richards, sister of Jesse. Mrs. Richards d. Oct. 14, 1868, in her eightieth year. They had seven children. One of the eldest, Thomas Haskins Richards, a graduate of Princeton, was a member of Assembly in 1841-42 and 1842-43, and member of the Senate for Burlington County in 1847, '48, and '49.

23. BENJAMIN WOOD. He was b. at Batato, November 12, 1797, and graduated at Princeton in 1815, in his eighteenth year. Whilst at college he received very deep religious impressions, and decided to enter the ministry of the Presbyterian church, but the extremely delicate condition of his health at that period compelled him to abandon this intention, and to seek the restoration of his physical strength by travel. After an extended tour through the southern and southwestern States, he returned, greatly re-invigorated, and went to Philadelphia in the year 1819, and entered upon mercantile pursuits. Becoming interested in municipal affairs, he was elected to membership of the City Councils. His capacities for public service, and the confidence of his fellow-citizens, led to his selection in 1827 as a member of the Legislature, in which he served for one year. While in the Assembly he evinced a particular zeal in the cause of public education, procuring the first appropriation from the State for the establishment of public schools in Philadelphia. He was an active promoter of the common school system, after-

wards adopted, and was one of the original members of the City Board of Controllers. Under an Act passed in 1829, he was appointed one of the Canal Commissioners of Pennsylvania. In April of that year, he was chosen Mayor of Philadelphia, to fill the unexpired term of George M. Dallas, who had resigned. The office was at that time elective by the City Councils, and the period of service one year. In October following, William Milnor was chosen for the succeeding term, but Mr. Richards was again elected in October, 1830, and re-elected in 1831, serving until October, 1832, when he was succeeded by John Swift.

His public spirit led him to take an active part in the organization and promotion of a number of the leading benevolent and educational institutions of the city. He was one of the founders of the Blind Asylum, an early manager of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, a member of the Philosophical Society, and a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania. He took considerable part, at one period, in Federal politics, and was appointed by President Jackson a director of the United States Bank, and a director of the Mint, but resigned these positions upon being elected Mayor. He was the chief magistrate of the city at the death of Stephen Girard, and after the expiration of his term, became a director of Girard College.

While travelling in Europe in 1833 for the restoration of his then seriously impaired health, his attention was directed to the subject of rural public cemeteries, more especially in consequence of a visit which he made to that of Père la Chaise at Paris, and upon his return he wrote much for the journals of the day to direct public attention to the desirability of establishing some worthy institution of this character for the city of Philadelphia. Having secured the active co-operation of several other prominent citizens in this project, the result was the purchase and organization, in 1835, of the beautiful cemetery at Laurel Hill. In 1836, he originated and founded the Girard Life Insurance, Annuity, and Trust Company—one of the earliest of a numerous class of institutions of the city since grown to great business magni-

tude and importance—and was its President from its organization until his death.

The qualities which prominently entered into the elements of his character were great benevolence of heart, profound convictions of right and justice, and unflinching moral courage. These, combined with a strong degree of intellectual force, and a disposition to employ his talents and energies for the good of his fellows at large, constituted what may be truthfully termed a highly successful life, the impress of which has been deeply engraven upon the institutions of his adopted city. In person Mr. Richards was of tall and imposing figure, and of peculiarly symmetrical and attractive features. In the earlier part of his public life he was considered one of the handsomest men in Philadelphia, and a portrait of him, by Inman, which hangs in the Mayor's office, and from which the accompanying picture was taken, confirms the justice of the compliment. He was m., in 1821, to Sarah Ann, dau. of Joshua Lippincott, and left seven children—four sons and three daughters. He d. July 12, 1851, aged fifty-three years. His wife d. March 19, 1862. His remains are interred at Laurel Hill.

Thus imperfectly, from very meagre materials, have been compiled a few facts which may prove of interest to some of those to whose descent they more or less immediately relate. It may be added that the inquiries which led to their development were originally stimulated by some researches of the writer for other purposes into the records of the county of Berks, where, as it has appeared, the scene of the narrative opens. It is due to him to remark, in conclusion, that the natural feeling of hesitation with which a publication of this mass of personal details was at first regarded, has only been overcome by the reflection that the subject-matter, at least, is in harmony with the character and design of the medium through which it is presented—a consideration which it is hoped will be accepted as a sufficient apology for the propriety of a work of this nature, which, under any circumstances, usually proves a perilous undertaking.

FENWICK'S PROPOSAL FOR PLANTING HIS COLONY  
OF NEW CÆSAREA OR NEW JERSEY.

[The following is a reprint of the first printed paper relative to the colony of *West Jersey*, after it came into the possession of Byllinge and Fenwick. Copies of the original are so rare that Mr. Whitehead writes, that the only copy heard of was offered for sale in London in 1853. The one from which we print is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and was purchased at the sale of the library of the late George Brinley. It was from the "Penn Papers," and bears a memorandum in the handwriting of William Penn on the margin. It is a single sheet, about the size of a foolscap page, and is printed on both sides; that portion of it signed by Fenwick is given on the first page, the description of the country being on the second or back of the sheet. In printing we have carefully followed the spelling and punctuation of the original, and the same variation of type, making it as near a reprint as a modern font will permit.—Ed.]

FRIENDS,

**T**HESE are to Satisfie you, or any other who are Sober, and are any wise minded to go along with me, and Plant within my COLONY; That we shall no doubt find, but that New CÆSAREA or New JERSEY, which is the Place which I did Purchase: Together with the Government thereof, is a Healthy Pleasant, and Plentiful Country: According to the Report of many Honest Men, Friends, and others who has been there, and the Character given thereof, by JOHN OULLEY in his AMERICA, which I herewith send. The Method I intend for the Planting of all, or so much thereof, as I shall reserve to myself, my Heirs and Assigns for ever. Is thus:

1. **W**hoever is minded to Purchase to them and their Heirs for ever, may for Five Pound have a Thousand Acres, and so Ten Thousand Acres; and thereby be made Proprietors or Free-Holders.
2. Who is minded to Carry themselves, (and not Purchase) with their Families at their own Charges, are to have the Freedom of the Country when they Arrive, and one hundred



Acres for every Head they carry above the Age of Fourteen, to them and their Heirs for ever. At the yearly Rent of a Penny for every Acre, to Me, my Heirs and Assigns for ever.

8. Who are minded to go as Servants, who must be Carried at my Charges, or any other Propriator, or Purchasor, or Carries themselves with Servants at their own Charges as aforesaid; they are to Serve 4 years, and then to be made Free of the Country: Their Masters are to give them a Suit of Cloaths, and other things sutable; a Cow, a Hog, and so much Wheat as the Law there in that Case allows; with Working Tools to begin with: And then he is to have of me, or his Master out of his Propriety, a hundred Acres, Paying the yearly Rent of a Penny for every Acre: To me and my Heirs for ever, or to his Master and his Heirs.

And as for the Planting of the Whole, with Ease, Satisfaction and Profit, as well to the Poor as the Rich: this Method is intended, and approved of by many that are preparing to go with me, which I intend will be about the middle of the next Month call'd *April*, or the end thereof without fail, if the Lord please.

First, 10000. Acres being pitch'd Upon, and divided according to every mans Propriety; then Lots shall be cast, and when every one knows where his Lot lies, there being also a place Chosen and set out for a Town or City to be Built, in which every Purchaser must have a Part, by reason of *Delaware River* for Trade. Then every one must joyn their Hands, first in Building the Houses, and next in Improving the Land, casting Lots whose Houses shall be first built, and whose Land first Improved: And as the Land is Improved so it shall be for the Use of all the Hands and their Families which are joyned in this Community, until the whole 10000. Acres be Improved; Then every one to have his own Lot to his own Use: And so this Method to be used till the Country be Planted.

If any like not this Method, they may be left to Improve their Propriety alone. If any happen to go who is not Able to get a Livelihood here, nor to Pay their Debts out of their Stocks, the Governor and his Council shall take care, upon

notice given thereof by the Creditors, that such shall make Satisfaction out of their Estates, as the Lord shall give a Blessing to their Labours, and an Increase of their Substance. Provided the Creditors hinder not their Passage, but give the Governor and his Council a Particular of their Debts.

The Government is to be, by a Governor and 12 Council to be Chosen every year, 6 of the Council to go out, and 6 to come in; whereby every Proprietor may be made capable of Government, and know the Affairs of the Country, and Privileges of the People.

The Government to stand upon these two Basis, or Leges, viz. 1. The Defence of the Royal Law of God, his Name and true Worship, which is in Spirit and in Truth.

2. The Good, Peace and Welfare, of every Individual Person.

This 60. of the Lat. Month.  
1675.

I am a Real Friend and Well-  
wisher to all Men.  
*J. Fenwick.*

*The Description of a happy Country.*

**D**ELAWARE-Bay, the Mouth of the River, lieth about the Mid way betwixt *New York* and the *Capes of Virginia*.

The best Commodities for any to carry with them to this Country is Clothing, the Country being full of all sorts of Cattel, which they may furnish themselves withal at an easie Rate, for any sort of *English* Goods, as likewise Instruments for Husbandry and Building, with Nails, Hinges, Glass, and the like. They get a Livelihood principally by Corn and Cattel, which will there fetch them any Commodities: Likewise they Sow store of Flax, which they make every one Cloth of for their own wearing; as also Woollen Cloth, and Linsey-woolsey; and had they more Tradesmen amongst them, they would in a little time live without the help of any other Countrey for their Cloathing; for Tradesmen there be none but live happily there, as Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Masons, Taylors, Weavers, Shoemakers, Tanners, Brickmakers, and so any other Trade: Them that have no Trade betake themselves to Husbandry, get Land of their own and live exceeding well.

We shall conclude our Discourse of this Country with a notable Character given thereof by a late Writer, as to the great advantage of happy living in all respects, for whosoever shall be pleas'd to betake himself thither to Live.

**I**F there be any terrestrial happiness (saith he) to be had by any People, especially of any inferior rank, it must certainly be here. Here any one may furnish himself with Land, and live Rent-free, yea, with such a quantity of Land, that he may weary himself with walking over his Fields of Corn, and all sorts of Grain, and let his Stock amount to some hundreds; he needs not fear their want of Pasture in the Summer, or Fodder in the Winter, the Woods affording sufficient supply, where you have Grass as high as a Man's Knees, nay, as high as his Waste, interlac'd with Pea-Vines, and other Weeds that Cattel much delight in, as much as a Man can pass through: And these Woods also every Mile and half Mile are furnish'd with fresh Ponds, Brooks, or Rivers, where all sorts of Cattel, during the heat of the day, do quench their thirst, and Cool themselves. These Brooks and Rivers being environ'd of each side with several sorts of Trees and Grape-Vines, Arbor-like interchanging places, and crossing these Rivers, do shade and shelter them from the scorching beams of the Sun. Such as by their utmost Labors can scarcely get a Living, may here procure Inheritance of Lands and Possessions, stock themselves with all sorts of Cattel, enjoy the benefit of them whilst they live, and leave them to their Children when they die. Here you need not trouble the Shambles for Meat, nor Bakers and Brewers for Beer and Bread, nor run to a Linnen-Draper for a supply, every one making their own Linnen, and a great part of their Woollen Cloth for their ordinary wearing. And how prodigal (if I may say) hath Nature been to furnish this Countrey with all sorts of Wild Beast and Fowl, which every one hath an interest in, and may Hunt at his pleasure; where, besides the pleasure in Hunting, he may furnish his House with excellent fat Venison, Turkeys, Geese, Heath-hens, Cranes, Swans, Ducks, Pigeons, and the like; and wearied with that, he may go a Fishing, where the Rivers are so furnish'd, that he may

supply himself with Fish before he can leave off the Recreation. Here one may Travel by Land upon the same Continent hundred of Miles, and pass through Towns and Villages, and never hear the least complaint for want, nor hear any ask him for a farthing. Here one may lodge in the Fields and Woods travel from one end of the Country to another, with as much security as if he were lock'd within his own Chamber: And if one chance to meet with an *Indian* Town, they shall give him the best Entertainment they have, and upon his desire direct him on his Way. But that which adds happiness to all the rest, is the healthfulness of the Place, where many People in twenty years time never know what Sicknes is; where they look upon it as a great Mortality, if two or three die out of a Town in a years time. Besides the sweetness of the Air, the Countrey it self sends forth such a fragrant smell, that it may be perceiv'd at Sea before they can make the Land: No evil Fog or Vapor doth any sooner appear, but a North-West or Westerly Wind immediately dissolves it, and drives it away. Moreover, you shall scarce see a House, but the South-side is begirt with Hives of Bees, which increase after an incredible manner: So that if there be any terrestrial *Cannas*, 'tis surely here, where the Land floweth with Milk and Honey.

THOMAS WHARTON, JUNR.

FIRST GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF '76.

BY ANNE H. WHARTON.

(Concluded from Vol. V., page 489.)

The 4th of July, 1777, was celebrated in Philadelphia with public demonstrations of joy; a few days later news reached the city of Sir William Howe having sailed from Sandy Hook, and various were the surmises as to his destination, which were turned into murmurs of alarm when it was ascertained that he had landed his army at the Head of Elk, less than a hundred miles from the capital.

In the midst of active military preparations, while the threatening of invasion hung like a cloud over the city, a perplexing matter of home discipline was laid before President Wharton and the Council: Congress, deeming the continuing at large of certain disaffected persons, in Pennsylvania and Delaware, inimical to the cause of the Colonies, ordered the arrest of such by the executive officers of those Provinces. On the 31st of August, David Rittenhouse, Colonel William Bradford and others waited upon the Council, in consequence of an invitation from that body, when a Resolve of Congress of the 28th instant was read to them, in confidence, and their assistance requested in making out a list of persons suspected of being dangerous to the State.<sup>1</sup> The list, then formed, contains the names of some forty highly respectable citizens, most of whom belonged to the Society of Friends, although among the number were those of two clergymen, and that of one Thomas Pike (dancing

<sup>1</sup> Nearly at the same time, as appears in the Minutes of Congress, Aug. 28, 1777, there had been transmitted to it a letter from Gen. Sullivan, enclosing a paper said to have been found among baggage taken at Staten Island. This paper professed to contain information from a yearly meeting of Friends, said to have been held at Spanktown, N. J., Aug. 12th.—*Exiles in Virginia*, p. 36.

master). Some of these gentlemen were paroled, giving a verbal promise not to leave their houses, write, or give any intelligence to the enemies of the Colonies; among the latter was no less patriotic personage than Samuel Shoemaker, who earnestly protested to his disapproval of the proceedings of certain leading Friends. Although, as appeared from the report presented to Council on the 3d of September, no papers of a dangerous character were found in the possession of the persons named, some twenty of them were put under arrest, and confined in the Free Mason's Lodge in this city. On the 5th of September, a remonstrance from the prisoners was laid before Council by President Wharton, upon which it was ordered that the said remonstrance be presented to Congress, and that the question of the release of the gentlemen in the Lodge, on their subscribing to the oath of allegiance to the State, be also referred to that body.<sup>1</sup>

Without pausing to dwell on the smaller details of this affair; or to quote the numerous and pathetic remonstrances of the Friends, or the correspondence that passed between Congress and the Council,<sup>2</sup> whose pleasure it seemed to be to bandy the matter between them, for a time, without approaching any adjustment of the difficulty; it is sufficient to say that the prisoners refusing to comply with the terms proposed, the Supreme Executive Council, on the 9th of September, in view of the approach of the enemy, issued an order for their speedy removal to Staunton, Virginia. On the 14th of September, when the prisoners had advanced on their journey as far as Pottsgrove, Levi Hollingsworth and Benjamin Bryant overtook them with writs of *habeas corpus* for nine of their number, granted by Thomas McKean. Two days later, however, a bill passed the House of Assembly, which justified the President and Council in their proceedings against the prisoners. "It was," says one of their number, "to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and deprive us and others from a trial, and the rights and privileges secured by the law to

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Supreme Executive Council.

<sup>2</sup> All of which are given at length in the "Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council," and in Thomas Gilpin's *Exiles in Virginia*.

freemen." Such, indeed, it seemed, when, empowered by this bill, President Wharton, disregarding the writs "allowed" by the Chief-Justice of the Commonwealth, issued a second order for the removal of the Friends, this time naming Winchester, Virginia, as the place of their exile. Thus, these twenty citizens, numbering among them such men as Edward Penington, the Fishers, Thomas Gilpin and Thomas Wharton (own cousin of the President), were banished from the Province which their ancestors had settled, a little less than a hundred years before, and which it had been their pleasure, and part of their religion, to hold as an asylum for the oppressed and persecuted from all nations.

This, in brief, is the outline of a transaction that must have caused excitement, dismay and indignation in the Quaker City, only exceeded by that produced by the entrance of the British a few days later. A transaction, which viewed with the impartiality that a hundred years lend to those who scan the pages of history (due allowance being made for the fact that in the hurry and confusion of the hour, the President and Council had little time to deliberate upon the matter), can scarcely be considered as other than an act of flagrant injustice. The banishment of these gentlemen from their homes, without allowing them time or opportunity to provide for the support of their families during the coming winter, without fully informing them of the "head and front of their offending;" because they refused to take certain oaths (it being against the tenets of their religion to take an oath), or to sign the prescribed parole; and who perhaps became *irritatingly conscientious* when the matter was pressed home to them, seems to us a violation of the rights of citizenship: a measure more worthy of John Adams and John Hancock of Massachusetts, by tradition antagonistic to Quakers, than of the Pennsylvanians then at the head of affairs. It is not strange that the former should have considered them dangerous and turbulent citizens; but it does seem remarkable that those who lived in daily intercourse with them should have permitted men of known reliability

and integrity of character to rest under charges which they could not themselves have believed.<sup>1</sup> This, too, when had milder measures been used toward them, from the outset, instead of the military rule which seemed in itself an insult to their profession, they would doubtless have yielded to the necessities of the case. Be it remembered, also, that citizens far more inimical to the interests of the Commonwealth were allowed to remain in their homes in peace and security, there to receive the red-coated warriors with greater demonstrations of joy than would have been consistent from "them that are clothed in drab," and to enjoy with them the comforts of the Capital during the winter of '77 and '78. Although it has been urged, in extenuation of the course pursued by him, that President Wharton acted *ex officio*, he has been severely censured, and not alone by Friends. That he himself instigated any of the stringent measures used toward the banished citizens has never been charged against him; yet his most partial biographer cannot excuse him for not throwing the weight of his influence on the side of the Friends, who were, as far as known, taking no means to aid the enemy. Aside from the arbitrary nature of the proceeding, what possible benefit to the Commonwealth could the President have expected to result from it? If an example were needed, certainly a more noted one could have been found than these peace-loving citizens, of whom even John Adams remarks, and with singular inconsistency in view of the part taken by him in the expulsion of the Quakers: "From these neither good is to be expected, nor evil to be apprehended. They are a kind of neutral tribe, or the race of the insipida." On the other hand, although these are days when no biographer is expected to be a Boswell, it is but just to say that President Wharton's conduct in this affair was in perfect conformity with his views and professions; none, who are familiar with his letters and proclamations, can remain ignorant of the fact that his patriotism was of so intense and

<sup>1</sup> Nine of these gentlemen had signed the Non-Importation Agreement of 1765 — *Exiles in Virginia*, p. 46.



devoted a nature that he could brook no half-way measures in others; in his eyes those who did not dedicate themselves heart and soul to the cause of liberty deserved to be ranked with her declared enemies. It must also be taken into consideration, that the seeming lack of consistency in many of the Friends led to the gathering of the vials of wrath that were now poured upon their devoted heads; admitting as they did the injustice of Great Britain, they had, from the beginning, opposed hostile measures, and had repeatedly called upon their members to refrain from taking part in the same, crying out, "Peace, peace, when there was no peace." Furthermore, the Friends formed but a small portion of those who were apprehended during this fall and winter; the large number of disaffected persons in and around Philadelphia seeming to call for vigorous action on the part of the Council, in view of the approach of General Howe toward the capital. Thus, with the sound of the enemy's gun in their ears, expecting each morning that the sun rose upon the city that it would set upon a foe encamped within her gates, some excuse may be found for those at the head of affairs in Pennsylvania, if, like others in similar positions, in order to escape the labor of solving a perplexing question, they banished it far from sight and hearing.

On the 10th of September, 1777, a proclamation was issued over the signature of the President, which concluded with the following spirited period:—

"The Council therefore most humbly beseech and intreat all Persons whatsoever, to exert themselves without delay, to seize this present opportunity of crushing the foe, now in the bowels of our Country, by marching forth instantly under their respective officers, to the assistance of our great General, that he may be able to environ & demolish the only British army that remains formidable in America, or in the World. Animated with the hope that Heaven, as before it has done in all times of difficulty & danger, will again crown our righteous efforts with success, we look forward to the prospect of seeing our insulting foe cut off from all means of

escape, & by the goodness of the Almighty, the Lord of Hosts and God of Battles, wholly delivered into our hands.

"Attest, THO'S WHARTON, Jun'r, Presd't."

"TIMOTHY MATLACK, Secretary."

"GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE."

On the 14th, public money and papers were removed to Easton; but it was not until the 23d, when the sad tidings of the surprise and massacre of the troops under Wayne, at Paoli, reached Philadelphia, accompanied by positive intelligence that Howe's army was *en route* for the city, that the Supreme Executive Council consented to leave it; the British entering three days later. Christopher Marshall makes the following record in his diary, Lancaster, Sept. 29, 1777: "Took leave of sundry of the Congress, who were setting off for Yorktown. . . . Many of the inhabitants of Philadelphia came to-day and yesterday to this place, as did our President or Governor, the Executive Council, and the Members of Assembly, who met here this day in the Court House." On establishing themselves at Lancaster, the Council instituted regular expresses to pass and repass from Council to camp once in two days, that co-operation between the government of the State and General Washington's army might be ensured. Constant communication with Congress was kept up, and earnest and continuous efforts made by the President to raise in the minds of the people an enthusiastic determination to expel the enemy from the State. In reply to a letter from Colonel Tench Tilghman, announcing the news of Burgoyne's defeat in the north, Thomas Wharton wrote the following:—

LANCASTER, Oct. 17, 1777.

"Sirs: The Council express their sense of the obligation they are under to you for the intelligence contained in yours of the 15th, which has given the highest satisfaction to every friend

<sup>1</sup> Mr. C. H. A. Edling has communicated to me the fact that on this occasion, his great-grandmother, Mary Baker, rowed the Governor of Pennsylvania from her home, "The Chapels of Point No Point," on the Delaware near Bricesburg, across the river to the Jersey Shore.—A. H. W.

of liberty here. They have no expectation of regular correspondence with you, but they cannot forbear expressing a wish that you will give a line on such interesting events as deserve particular notice. These expressions are intended to gain the intelligence necessary to keep up the spirits of the people, and excite them, if it be possible, to some degree of vigor. Every possible means will be used for this purpose."

On the 20th of November, the Assembly and Council, at Lancaster, met, and re-elected Thomas Wharton President, with George Bryan Vice-President, for the ensuing year. At no period in her history was the position of Chief Executive of Pennsylvania surrounded with greater difficulties than during the winter of '77 and '78. Congress, having lost some of its most influential members, was filled with petty rivalries, and proved a far less efficient body than formerly. The enthusiasm that once inspired the army had, in large measure, faded away before the reverses of Brandywine, Paoli, and Germantown, while Pennsylvania—resting under the near shadow of these defeats, with Sir William Howe and his officers comfortably lodged in her capital, offering gold to the producers of the surrounding country for what her Governor could only give paper—was called upon to raise troops, as if by magic, equip them, and send supplies to headquarters to meet the ever-recurring demands of a large and destitute army. Although loud and bitter were the complaints filed against the Commonwealth for her tardiness in answering the demands made upon her, we read of no personal attack made upon her Chief-Magistrate. Indeed, the blame heaped upon this State far exceeded her deserts, the fact being frequently overlooked that her resources had been already drained for the sustenance of the army during the past months, and that, after being the battle ground of the Republic during that time, she was not in a condition to be an unfailing source of supplies. The following extract from a letter, written by Wayne to Wharton, in December, proves to us that Pennsylvania was sometimes found to be acting the

<sup>1</sup> *Penna. Archives, 2d Series, vol. III.*

part of a too liberal hostess: "Whilst other States are exerting every power (under a Resolve of Congress) to provide for their own troops only, you are following the generous course of providing for the whole. This, Sir, is being generous out of time!"<sup>1</sup>

The cause of the Colonies was that for which he labored, and to which he dedicated his best energies; but dear to Thomas Wharton's heart as a Pennsylvanian, a matter of pride, or of deep humiliation and regret, was the conduct of the troops of this Commonwealth. December 12th, he writes to General Armstrong, referring to a recent engagement at Whitemarsh, when Howe moved out from Philadelphia with the threat that he would drive Washington beyond the Alleghanies: "The precipitate retreat of the enemy after so much Gascnading is a convincing proof that their army is not so formidable as they would wish us to believe, or they put great dependence in our want of bravery, and therefore, expected our army would retreat from hill to hill as soon as they approached; they have, however, been disappointed, and I trust we shall benefit by this last movement of theirs. The conduct of our militia gives me real pain, Council is informed from various hands that they have behaved very infamously. The loss of our worthy General Irwin,<sup>2</sup> I have been informed, was owing entirely to their base behavior."<sup>3</sup>

General Reed, who was on a visit to headquarters at this time, describes the same engagement in a letter to President Wharton (the place alluded to was Mr. Wharton's country seat, Twickenham, in Cheltenham Township, Montgomery County):—

"We first saw them [the enemy] at Ottinger's, near your house, but in a moment they moved, crossing your meadows in considerable numbers, but scattered. General Potter, Cadwalador, and myself endeavored to draw up the troops in the woods back of your house in order to flank that wing."

<sup>1</sup> *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> General James Irvine of the Pennsylvania Militia.

<sup>3</sup> *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. p. 85.

Elias Boudinot, writing to Thomas Wharton, Dec. 9, 1777, says: "The enemy continued to advance, and posted their pickets about half a mile from our army, their main body lying back of your house. In this manner we lay watching their motions and they ours, when, on Monday, to our great surprise, they moved off by the Old York Road, and got into town about midnight, burning a house or two on their way. Yours is not among the number. I believe the damage done to you is very inconsiderable."<sup>1</sup>

In a letter to Elias Boudinot, written December 18, 1777, Thomas Wharton says: "I hope our troops may not retire to winter quarters, and leave our country open to the ravages and insults of the enemy, possibly some opportunity may turn up in the course of the winter for our army, if they should be near the enemy, to attack them with a good prospect of success, which, if scattered, or at a great distance, cannot be put in execution."

Writing to Joseph Reed a few days later, he says: Our army withdrawing its protection from the inhabitants of Phila., and Bucks Counties fill'd the House of Assembly and Council with the utmost distress and anxiety for their safety, and induced them to remonstrate to congress against their retiring to such a distance from the enemy as to leave the inhabitants an easy prey to their wanton and savage treatment, I however hope the General Officers have altered their plan and that they have reconsidered the situation of our country and will afford that relief to those who they are bound to protect as they have an undoubted right to expect. . . . I hope with the blessing of providence we shall enjoy peace and tranquillity in the course of a few months, is it not disgraceful that a handful of men should possess the capital of one of the most wealthy States, and with all our exertions not have force sufficient to destroy every man in the twinkling of an eye, if we were so dispos'd ?"<sup>2</sup>

Although such were his views on the subject of the army going into winter quarters, President Wharton's co-operation

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Correspondence of President Reed*, vol. i. pp. 351, 352.

<sup>2</sup> *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. p. 120.

with the Commander-in-Chief, against whom formidable cabals were organized during this winter, seems to have been ever earnest and vigorous. In a letter written to General Washington, March 10, 1778, he says: "There is not any State on this continent which has been so oppressed with Continental business as this has been, from the beginning of the present controversy to this hour. Its exertions have been so zealous and unremitting that no time has been lost in inquiries after groundless charges of neglect made against it, which have been generally calculated to excuse indolent or improvident officers, or to disgrace the government established in it. The amazingly difficult task which your Excellency has to perform while you are embarrassed with perpetual applications and complaints of officers, who are not fully acquainted with their duty, must, too forcibly, convince you how near to an impossibility it is to conduct a very extensive business without the subordinate officers discharging, in some sort, their duty; and it is from the example of your Excellency alone that it is believed to be possible to conduct the affairs of a large army under the difficulties which you have had to contend with. Equal abilities or success in attempts of this kind are not to be expected in many instances. . . . There is at present an absolute dependence on the Council to supply the common rations of the soldiery now in this borough. An earnest desire to serve the general cause, and a zealous attachment to its interest, are the only motives which could possibly induce the Council to undertake such business in any extremity."<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, the demands made upon Council during this campaign were not only extensive, but so unreasonable as to have led President Wharton to indulge in some mild sarcasm at the expense of the applicants. Writing to Washington, Jan. 1778, he says: "The officers, whose wants it is believed are very pressing, will be in some measure relieved; but it cannot be expected that powers of this extraordinary nature, can be exerted to procure any other goods than warmth and decency

<sup>1</sup> *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi, pp. 353, 354.

require. Lieutenant Peterson, of the eighth Pennsylvania battalion, applied to the Council for clothing for himself and several officers. At the foot hereof we transcribe, from his application, a specimen of their wants. The call upon the State was thought to be for covering for the naked part of the army; and as no idea that fine ruffled shirts, laced hats, or even fine ones of beaver, silken stockings, or fine scarlet cloth, came under this description, no provision has been made, nor can be expected."<sup>1</sup>

In view of the onerous and perplexing duties at this time devolving upon Thomas Wharton, and the promptness and faithfulness with which they were discharged, it is impossible to regard Marshall's unamiable soliloquies without a smile: "An invitation made by the President at Major Wirtz's, to which was invited scarcely any other but a parcel of Tories in this place, some of them inhabitants, and some who reside here from Philadelphia. Poor Dr. Phyle and some of his principals, were not counted worthy to taste of the dainties, and thereby they escaped being intoxicated and made drunk, and next day sick, etc."<sup>2</sup> From which a certain amount of pique is obvious on the part of Mr. Marshall, at not having, himself, been counted worthy to partake of these same dainties and potations, from which he chose to consider that Dr. Phyle had made a happy escape. "Last Sixth day another Ball or Assembly in Lancaster, where, it's said cards were played at a hundred dollars a game, President there, O poor Pennsylvania!"<sup>3</sup>

In accordance with a recommendation of Congress, setting apart Thursday, December 18th, to be observed as a day of solemn thanksgiving and praise, President Wharton called upon the good people of the Commonwealth to keep it as such, in remembrance of former mercies of God, and in the firm trust that He, who had blessed them thus far, would continue to aid them in the prosecution of a just and necessary war. Great and noble were those spirits, in council and

<sup>1</sup> Sparks's *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Marshall's *Diary*, p. 140

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*. p. 170.

in camp, which discerned causes for thankfulness and hope amid the thick clouds and darkness that hung over the patriotic cause at the opening of the campaign of '78, when the torch of liberty burned so dimly that, seen no longer a blazing beacon on the hill-tops, it flickered like a feeble rushlight in her watch-tower, menaced by every passing breeze. Brave and true were the statesmen and soldiers, who labored cheerfully in this cheerless hour for the good of the Colonies; when continued disappointments and defeats had attended their councils and armies; when, with a depleted treasury, uncertain credit, and troops ill fed, and poorly provided to endure the rigors of winter, they strove to hold out against a powerful and opulent nation, possessing all the sinews of war. Well, indeed, might Pennsylvania, in the words of her warrior parson, prepare herself, by solemn prayer, to meet the Lord her God at the beginning of this winter, destined to be a winter of sorrows to her, and to the army which so sadly and wearily encamped upon the bleak hill-sides of Valley Forge. With what interest and admiration Thomas Wharton, at Lancaster, watched that army, in which seemed centred the hope of the future of America, we learn from his letters to Washington. If the soldiers suffered, as suffer they did, from cold, hunger and exposure, it was, as we have seen, from no neglect on his part; but because, under the existing state of affairs, it was impossible to furnish them with adequate supplies, there being elements in the population of Pennsylvania that seriously militated against such a general and enthusiastic uprising of the people as the exigencies of the case demanded.<sup>1</sup> Stretching between the camp and the invading army in Philadelphia was a rich and populous country, so largely inhabited by Tories, however, that the benefit was far greater to the enemy's troops than to those of Washington; while, as Reed says in writing to Wharton from Valley

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Nourse wrote from the War Office at York, Nov. 1777: I am to inform you, Sir, that the Board have undoubted information that part of several Townships in the vicinity of this place are notoriously disaffected to the cause of America, and under the influence of —, and Mr. Rankin, who is now with the enemy.—*Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. p. 42.



Forge, in February: "The intercourse between the country and the town has produced all the consequences foreseen by many in the beginning of the winter. The supply of provisions to recruit and refresh our enemies, I count the least pernicious. The minds of the inhabitants are seduced, their principles tainted, and opposition enfeebled; a familiarity with the enemy lessens their abhorrence of them and their measures; even good Whigs begin to think peace, at some expense, desirable."

But the story of these months has been told us, and so fitly and beautifully told, that none need ever again essay a recital of the noble endurance and matchless courage of that ragged and starving army, and the heroism of its leaders, which have been immortalized by the eloquent, almost inspired words of the gifted orator, who, standing amid the historic shadows of the old encampment, sang her grand and solemn epic; giving back to the listening hills and the valleys that had known them, in tones of thrilling enthusiasm or tender sadness, the century-old story of the sufferings and triumphs of her heroes.<sup>1</sup>

Of the patience with which the army at Valley Forge bore the hardships attending their situation during this severe winter, President Wharton says: it "is an honor which posterity will consider as more illustrious than could have been derived to them by victory obtained by any sudden and vigorous exertion."

On the 11th of May, news of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles reached Lancaster, and was received with public demonstrations of joy. A few days later, a shadow was cast over these rejoicings by the sudden death of the President. On the 18th Mr. Matlack writes to Mr. Peters: "His Excellency, the President, is much indisposed;" on the following day we notice the last record of his name as presiding over the sessions of the Council.<sup>2</sup>

George Bryan thus announced this sad event, in a letter written to General Washington, from Lancaster, on the 23d:

<sup>1</sup> *Valley Forge Oration* by Henry Armit Brown.

<sup>2</sup> *Colonial Records*, vol. ix. p. 486.

"This morning early, his Excellency, Thomas Wharton, Junior, Esquire, died here very unexpectedly. The State suffers by the loss of the worthy president. But tho' Council sensibly feel the want of his presence in their deliberations, your Excellency may be assured of their most spirited exertions," etc.

To which General Washington replied from Headquarters at Valley Forge, May 28th: "I received your favor of the 23<sup>d</sup> instant, and sincerely console with the Council and state on the loss of so worthy a citizen and president."

On the 25th instant the funeral of President Wharton was solemnized with civil and military honors; his remains, which were interred in the Evangelical Trinity Church of Lancaster, being followed to the grave by a large escort. All due respect was paid, on this occasion, to his Excellency's character and station; the Council attending in a body, also the Honorable Speaker of the House of the General Assembly, in company with other persons of distinction in Lancaster at that time. Why the Lutheran Church was chosen as the final resting-place of Thomas Wharton, appears from the following entry made by Marshall in his diary: "May 24th. Preparations making, it's said, at [the] Court House for a grand interment of Pres. Wharton this afternoon at the Lutheran Church. It's said the vestry of that church gave an invitation and permission to be buried there, which the vestry of the Episcopal Church neglected, and the Friends were not applied unto for leave to be buried in their ground. . . . In the afternoon went to the burial of Pres. T. Wharton, attended with military honors to the Lutheran Church."

The following extract, from a memorial volume of this Lutheran Church of Lancaster, taken in connection with the statement in the minutes of the Executive Council, and elsewhere, proves conclusively that Thomas Wharton was interred literally "in the Evangelical Trinity Church," and that his remains occupy the grave in front of the old altar and pulpit:—

<sup>1</sup> *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. pp. 546, 556.

"This morning early, his Excellency, Thomas Wharton, Junior, Esquire, died here very unexpectedly. The State suffers by the loss of the worthy president. But tho' Council sensibly feel the want of his presence in their deliberations, your Excellency may be assured of their most spirited exertions," etc.

To which General Washington replied from Headquarters at Valley Forge, May 28th: "I received your favor of the 23<sup>d</sup> instant, and sincerely condole with the Council and state on the loss of so worthy a citizen and president."

On the 25th instant the funeral of President Wharton was solemnized with civil and military honors; his remains, which were interred in the Evangelical Trinity Church of Lancaster, being followed to the grave by a large escort. All due respect was paid, on this occasion, to his Excellency's character and station; the Council attending in a body, also the Honorable Speaker of the House of the General Assembly, in company with other persons of distinction in Lancaster at that time. Why the Lutheran Church was chosen as the final resting-place of Thomas Wharton, appears from the following entry made by Marshall in his diary: "May 24th. Preparations making, it's said, at [the] Court House for a grand interment of Pres. Wharton this afternoon at the Lutheran Church. It's said the vestry of that church gave an invitation and permission to be buried there, which the vestry of the Episcopal Church neglected, and the Friends were not applied unto for leave to be buried in their ground. . . . In the afternoon went to the burial of Pres. T. Wharton, attended with military honors to the Lutheran Church."

The following extract, from a memorial volume of this Lutheran Church of Lancaster, taken in connection with the statement in the minutes of the Executive Council, and elsewhere, proves conclusively that Thomas Wharton was interred literally "in the Evangelical Trinity Church," and that his remains occupy the grave in front of the old altar and pulpit:—

<sup>1</sup> *Penna. Archives*, vol. vi. pp. 546, 556.

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<sup>1</sup> *Penns. Archives*, vol. vi. pp. 546, 558.

"We had frequently heard that some person had been interred immediately in front of the old pulpit and altar, and that when the brick pavement of the aisle was removed, the grave was disclosed; but no one appeared to know who it was. When the repairs were commenced in the autumn of 1858, the removal of the floor again brought it to light; but nothing about the grave or in the church records afforded any clue to the name of the occupant.

"A few days ago the writer found a small memorandum by Dr. G. H. E. Muhlenberg, in which he sets forth 'Data for the granting of a lottery to the members of the Lutheran congregation at Lancaster;' the fifth being as follows: 'The congregation have been from the beginning good Americans; they have received President Wharton in their Church, and Gov. Mifflin on their burial ground without any gratuity. Does not one good turn deserve another?'"

We are surprised to learn that even British journals deemed the death of the Governor of Pennsylvania worthy of a passing notice, as an announcement appeared in the list of deaths of the Gentleman's Magazine of August, 1778.

Although to Thomas Wharton it was given to conduct his native State through the darkest year of her history, amid toil and discouragements of which we can now form no adequate conception, he was not permitted to behold the full dawn of victory and peace soon to break upon the cause for which he labored. To him Germantown and Brandywine were as "twice told tales;" but not for him were the brighter pages of Monmouth and of Yorktown.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JORAN KYN, THE FOUNDER  
OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from Vol. V., page 62.)

McCALL—PLUMSTED.

133. MARY McCALL,\* daughter of George and Anne (Yeates) McCall, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., March 31, 1725. She became, September 27, 1758, the second wife\* of William Plumsted, eldest son of Clement Plumsted, a native of Norfolk, England, who settled in Philadelphia,† by his second wife, Elizabeth Palmer, of our city,‡ born November 7, 1708. Mr. Plumsted inherited nearly all his father's property (except the very considerable portion of it bequeathed to his three children by his first wife), embracing land in and near Amboy and Gloucester in New Jersey, and in Kent County on Delaware, and Bucks County, Pennsylvania, besides a wharf and stores on the east side of Plum Street in Philadelphia. He continued Mr. Clement Plumsted's busi-

\* His first wife was Rebecca, daughter of Philip Kearney, of Philadelphia, great-aunt of Charles Kinsey, of Burlington, N. J., who m. Elizabeth, daughter of Reynold and Anne (Lawrence) Keen (254), to whom Mr. Plumsted was married at Philadelphia Friends' Meeting, April 19, 1733. Their daughter Elizabeth became the second wife of Andrew Elliot, who m. Mr. Plumsted's sister-in-law, Eleanor McCall (137).

† Clement Plumsted was a Common-Council-man and Alderman of Philadelphia, and thrice (in 1723, 1736, and 1741) occupied the office of Mayor, represented our city and county in the General Assembly, and was finally appointed a Member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania. A further account of him and his descendants will be comprised in the forthcoming *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*.

‡ A near relative, probably, of Anthony Palmer, the Provincial Councillor of Pennsylvania, who was present at her marriage (by Friends' ceremony), and signed the certificate. Mr. Clement Plumsted's first wife, Sarah Biddle, had only one child, also named William, who died in infancy.

ness as merchant. He was elected a Common-Council-man of Philadelphia, October 2, 1789, and an Alderman, October 6, 1747, and filled the office of Mayor from October, 1750, to October, 1751, and again for the unexpired term of Charles Willing, deceased, from December 4, 1754, to October, 1755, and finally (by re-election) from the latter date to October, 1756. He was commissioned a Justice of the Peace for Philadelphia City and County, May 25, 1752, November 27, 1757, February 28, 1761, and January 17, 1765; and for Northampton County, November 27, 1757, and November 19, 1764. He represented Northampton County in the General Assembly of the Province in 1757-8, and was appointed on the Committee to audit and examine the accounts of the Commissioners that year.\* From June 19, 1745, until his death, he held the office of Register-General of Pennsylvania. By Acts of Assembly, passed October 31, 1761, and November 2, 1762, he was empowered to draw on David Barclay, Jr., † of London, Agent of the Government of Pennsylvania, for the money allotted to the Province by Parliamentary grant for the years 1758, 1759, and 1760, and direct the appropriation of the same, in case of the death of his associate in this authority, Benjamin Chew. ‡ He was one of the gentlemen who pledged the payment of the tax on the Proprietary estates, to facilitate the passage of an Act for raising money for the defence of the Province in August, 1755, already spoken of, and in his capacity as Mayor of Philadelphia, November 24, signed an earnest "remonstrance" to the Assembly on behalf of the city, appealing to that body to organize a militia to protect

\* *Penna. Archives*, vol. iii. pp. 452-3.

† Uncle of Patience Barclay, who became the second wife of Reynold Keen (85).

‡ Member of the Provincial Council, and Attorney-General, of Pennsylvania, afterwards Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province. He succeeded Mr. Plumsted as Register-General. His granddaughter Elizabeth Henrietta Philips, his great-grandsons William Henry Rawle and Oswald Jackson, his great-granddaughter Charlotte Manigault Wilcocks, and his great-great-grandson William Poyntell Johnston, M.D., all married descendants of Jöran Kyn.

the people against attacks of the Indians.\* He was a Member of the Association Battery Company of Philadelphia in 1756, and a Commissary-Agent in our city towards the close of the French and Indian War. He was one of the first Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and a Trustee of the College and Academy of Philadelphia from their foundation until his death. He abandoned the principles of the Society of Friends, in which he had been educated by his father, and adopted the established religion, becoming a Vestryman and Warden of Christ Church, and signing the petition to the Proprietaries for the site on which St. Peter's was erected, being, with his brother-in-law, Samuel McCall, Jr., a Member of the Committee on building the latter edifice. He was an original Member of the noted fishing company, known as "the Colony in Schuylkill," instituted May 1, 1782, and a Subscriber to the First Dancing Assembly of our city, held in 1748. It was in one of his stores, in Water Street above Pine, according to Watson,† that the first English theatrical troupe which visited Philadelphia, called "Hallam's Company," opened their theatre. He resided in a house on the east side of Second Street above Chestnut (on the site of the present Nos. 47 and 49), which afterwards became the Prince of Wales Inn. Mr. Plumsted died in Philadelphia, August 10, 1765. The following obituary notice of him appears in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of that week: "On Sunday last died here, after a short, but severe, illness, William Plumsted, Esq., one of the Aldermen of this City; and the next Day was buried in St. Peter's Church Burying Ground, in the plainest Manner, at his own Request, according to the new Mode, lately used in Boston and New York, having no Pall over his Coffin, nor none of his Relations or Friends appearing in Mourning. . . . We flatter ourselves, that this frugal and laudable Example of burying our Dead, so reasonably set by People of Family and Fortune, will be imitated by all, both in City and Country; the good Effects of which must soon

\* The "Remonstrance" appears in the *Minutes of the Provincial Council*.

† *Annals of Philadelphia*, vol. i. p. 471.



be felt, especially by those in low Circumstances." Mrs. Plumsted also died in Philadelphia, and was buried with her husband, September 18, 1796.\* They had seven children, born in Philadelphia:

328. WILLIAM, b. August 4, 1754; bur. in Christ Church Ground, March 11, 1786.
329. GEORGE, b. August 9, 1755; bur. *ibid.* July 15, 1786.
330. WILLIAM, b. August 29, 1756. He d. unm. in Philadelphia, and was bur. in St. Peter's Churchyard, August 27, 1794.
331. CLEMENT, b. October 4, 1758. He d. unm. in Philadelphia, September 23, 1800, and was bur. *ibid.*
332. ANN, b. July 7, 1760; bur. *ibid.* December 7, 1772.
333. CATHERINE, b. in *eodem partu*. She d. unm. in Philadelphia, and was bur. *ibid.*
334. GEORGE, b. May 3, 1765. He engaged in mercantile pursuits in Philadelphia. He m. in this city, December 8, 1793, Anna Helena Amelia, daughter of John Ross, a native of Aberdeen, Scotland, who settled in Philadelphia,† by his wife Clementina, daughter of Captain Charles Cruikshank, R. A., also of Scotland, who fought in the Netherlands, and at Quebec under Wolfe, and owned and occupied the beautiful country-seat, called by him "the Grange," in Haverford Township, Chester (now Delaware) County, Pa., afterwards purchased and inhabited by his son-in-law, Mr. Ross.‡

\* A portrait of Mr. Plumsted, by Copley, one of Mrs. Plumsted, by Hemellus, and a miniature likeness of each are in the possession of their granddaughter, Miss Clementina B. Plumstead, of Philadelphia.

† Son of Murdoch Ross, of Aberdeen. "At the breaking out of the Revolution he warmly espoused the cause of American Independence, and became a banker in South Carolina, being subsequently sent from that State as a Delegate to Congress." (Sketch of his son, Charles Ross, Captain of the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry, in the *History of the Troop*, p. 145. Lanman does not mention him.)

‡ For an interesting account of "this ancient seat of grandeur and elegance," adorned by a sketch of the mansion (known as "Clifton Hall") erected upon it by John Wilcocks, a former proprietor, drawn by Captain Cruikshank in 1770, see Doctor Smith's *History of Delaware County*, pp. 393, *et seq.* "The land attached to the Grange was partly in three Counties—Chester (now Delaware), Philadelphia, and Montgomery—which Captain Cruikshank increased by purchase," likewise enlarging and modifying the house. "Mr. Ross added to the buildings, and also increased the quantity of land to an aggregate of six hundred acres." The great natural and artificial beauties of the place are sympathetically described in a poem by Doctor

Mrs. Plimsted was b. November 26, 1776. Mr. Plimsted d. in Philadelphia, April 5, 1866, and was bur. in St. Peter's Churchyard. In an obituary notice of him in *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, April 11, it is said: "The memory of Mr. Plimsted is endeared to his friends by the mildness of his manners and disposition, by his hospitality, by his charities to the poor, by his liberality to public institutions, and by his integrity and uprightness in all his dealings." Mrs. Plimsted survived her husband many years, subsequently marrying the Hon. Philip S. Markley, of Montgomery County, Pa., Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, a Member of the House of Representatives of the United States, and afterwards Naval Officer for the port of Philadelphia. She d. in Philadelphia, January 18, 1845, and is bur. with Mr. Plimsted.\* They left issue.

Charles Caldwell, a visitor to Mr. Ross, about 1798, printed in the same work, pp. 556-7, from a MS. furnished by Mr. Ross's son-in-law, the late Samuel Brock. After the death of Mr. Ross the estate was purchased by another son-in-law, John F. Millin, half-brother of Thomas Millin, the distinguished Governor of Pennsylvania.

\* Portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Plimsted, by Gilbert Stuart, are owned by their daughter Miss Plimstead.

(To be continued.)

## ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

[Contributed by Edward H. Ward, Jr.]

ROBERT MORRIS TO JOHN NICHOLSON.

Jno Nicholson Esq'

Dear Sir,

Hills Nov 1 1797

Your several favours of this day (if distressing Billets can be called favours) No 1 to 6 were brought out by Charles this Evening, by the last of them I see you had just rec'd mine which enclosed a Copy of the letter I wrote to the Trustees this morning. What you find right therein you will confirm, and if anything you condemn correct it by a letter from yourself, for we must follow them up and at least do all we can to prevent an unnecessary sacrifice of our property. I see by your No 1 that you will need sleep to-night as well as myself and when I go to Bed I will say as they do in England over a pot of ale "Here's to you". My letter to the Trustees is a reply to this of yours without comment. Poor Boone, Poor Nicholson, Poor Morris, Poor Sterritt, Poor Sheaff. Poor — but who is not poor, except Ashley & Co. this replies to No 2. I have sworn to let no body inside of my House and not to go outside of the walls myself. If I see them it is out of a window, I being up stairs and they down. When I snuff the open air it is on the top & there is some thing else to snuff there unless you keep to Windward as you know. I wish I had some persons that I could name to take a smell to Leeward until they would consent to do not *their* needs but ours, *that's a good one*. You have got a Boon, but it is of that sort that you & I have too many of, what the plague will you do with it. I wish to answer this question myself but cannot, and fear it will equally puzzle you. No 3. Damn the actions *Descript and non Descript*. I hate them all and have a great mind not to "tir one tep". Cha' Young I do not like thee Cha' Young, neither do I like thy business Cha' Young but I feel for thy situation and regret that my Friend & I ever suffered thee to whistle away a Segar in our Company—No 4. *Suits* again, a curse on all suits say I. If they were good comfortable Winter Suits one might dispose of them, the more the better; but these damned Suits wherein a Lawyer in the Taylor are neither good for man, Woman, Child or Beast. Away with them, away with them to Chief Justice McKean. He will dispose of them—a letter for Mr Ingraham sent to Doct' Wistars will reach him and letters sent to W-Sansom House will probably reach Mr Sansom. So much for No 5 and as to No 6 and last, to fulfil the Scripture I made it first, however a word more to it: dont you think Mr Ahleys leading Strings may give way, if the Comm' should take the Studd, & I fear they will for some of them we know are apt to ride resty, did you mark, "yes I am sure you did". Ger' Forrests expressions about the dapper little Downey—has not he got the Trustees in leading strings. now if we could cast a noose around his muzzle we might lead him, he would lead the Trustees, and they would lead the comm'. I think this would make as good a scene as Bates with Ro, Moo & Ploo or what the Devil are their names for I believe I am near them but not quite right. do I write like a man in distress or one deranged, perhaps I am both. Good night, I wish you rest.

Robt Morris.

[Original in collection of R. C. Davis.]

[Contributed by Dr. Horace Evans.]

ROBERT MORRIS TO JOHN NICHOLSON.

No. 2.

HILLS, Decr. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1797.

Jno: NICHOLSON, Esq.: Dear Sir,

I have already acknowledged the receipt of your billets No. 1 to 5 of this day, but I was then too much hurried to say in reply all that ought to be said. Your sentiments in regard to C. Y. agree exactly with mine, but what can we do. Issuing paper is worse than Death or Jail, or anything. We have no money, nor anything that will command it, and as to security, nothing seems to be deemed security now, short of Prime Street security, and that is not worth Doctr. Logan's apple-tree buttons. Mr. Reinagle may be liable to Mr. Hallowell's ca. ca. and yet be worth more money (my property) than Mr. Hallowell or his client. Why therefore should he not enter bail and justify. But they mean to browbeat him, and for this purpose have employed E. Tilghman who knows Reinagle's circumstances from his having been a client, and I think Tilghman ought to have had more pride and spirit than to have been made a "cat's-paw," under such circumstances. However, if Mr. Reinagle has spunk enough to see the thing out and go through with what he has undertaken, I should like the trial. Mr. Gibson is afraid of Tilghman. He believes him infallible, and dare not risque opposition to him, but if he means to be a *great lawyer* he should glory in opposing the whole *Bar*, and of all men his *old Master*. I mark your good intentions, in regard to Reinagle entering bail for me in preference, if he cannot do it for both. This is, I think, what I should have done if the case had been reversed, and consequently it meets my approbation, altho' I fear that he cannot serve either of us unless the court chooses. Your interview with J. Baker was no doubt very interesting, both to him and to you, and I do not wonder that your feelings were wound up to a high pitch, but you must not go to Pruen Street. Parry the present difficulties, and fortune will smile hereafter, but if the key is once turned on you by the hand under any authority but your own, God only knows when that door shall be opened to you; perhaps never, until you shall be insensible to the affairs of this world.

I have already told you my regret at poor Dr. Moulder's exit from his own castle, and with you I disapprove of his not holding off as long as he could. Your consolation in this case is the only solid one which can protect a man against a reproaching world. I see you did not send on my letter to Sheriff Boone in time, and I have received one from him recapitulating his distresses. If you neglect forwarding my letters I must not entrust you with them. Mr. Gibson should let me know as soon as possible Mr. Duponceau's determination as to the French business.

If Noailles has a mind to serve you let him go and enter special bail to all the actions that require it. I thank you for the hint of Lovering and will take care, for he shall not come within these doors, nor will I go out thereof. William and Charles sallied forth whilst I was writing No. 2 to look for C. Tunk & Co., but the latter avoided the rencounter, and as far as we know, went off. But I remember it was a sentiment of E. Thompson their principal, that by perseverance he could take any man living, therefore I must be eternally on my guard by supposing that he and his myriads are constantly on the watch.

Jno: NICHOLSON, Esq.

Good Night,

ROBT. MORRIS.

## DR. BENJ. RUSH TO GRIFFITH EVANS.

Dear Sir,

Accept of my thanks for your friendly and interesting letter from Paris. I deplore with you the factions which have torn that country to pieces, but you and I believe that "all evil is good in disguise," and of course that the present distractions of France are nothing but the seeds of great and universal happiness.

The United States continue to exhibit proofs to the world that Republics are practical governments. We are still peaceable and happy, and I have no doubt but we shall continue to be so, for many, many generations to come.

D<sup>r</sup> Priestley has fixed his permanent residence in North<sup>d</sup> town. He is now on a visit to our city in which he is admired, and caressed by all classes of citizens, and by the Autocrats, for his *political*, and by the aristocrats for his *religious* principles. He has preached three times in the Universal Church to crowded and respectable audiences. His sermons (one excepted) were very popular. The unpopular one gave offence only by detailing the vices of Heathens in too gross language, in showing the necessity of the Christian Revelation to correct and banish those vices from civilized Society.

M<sup>r</sup> Winchester preaches on Sunday evenings to crowded audiences, but they are composed chiefly of the second and lower classes of our citizens. He is as usual, eloquent, Scriptural, and irresistible in his reasonings upon all Subjects.

The Treaty with Great Britain, though not popular in the House of Representatives, will it is expected, be supported by them. The treaty with Spain will, it is said, be ratified by a unanimous vote in the Senate. Thousands on the western waters already begin to shout its applause.

With best respects to D<sup>r</sup> Edwards I am my Dear Sir

Your Sincere Friend

Philada. March 4<sup>th</sup> 1796.

BENJ: RUSH.

## DR. BENJAMIN RUSH TO JOHN NICHOLSON.

Dear Sir,

Nothing could be more opportune than your kind offer to the poor Africans. They had nearly despaired of being able to complete their church. The person who once offered to lend them money was Col. Cox. Finding that you had anticipated him in that benevolent act, he followed your kindness by bequeathing to them one hundred pounds. From their numbers, their increasing prosperity, and their punctuality in all their engagements, I have no doubt but your interest will be paid to a day every quarter. The lot and building amply secure the principal. In all my intercourse with the blacks, I have found them affectionate and grateful. You will find them more so,—for you have greater demands than I have ever had, upon their gratitude and affections. I find they have allotted a pew for each of us, on different sides of the pulpit of their church. On Saturday next they purpose to raise their roof, after which they are to have a dinner under a tree at a private house in the Neck, about a mile from town. I hope I shall have the pleasure of meeting you there, for they intend to invite you with two or three more of their white benefactors. I wish to suggest to you an idea of offering 10,000, or more acres for sale on moderate terms, and on a credit for a few years, to Africans only who have been brought up as farmers. The attraction of color and country is such, that I think the offer would succeed, and thereby a precedent be established for colonizing in time, all the Africans in our country.

VOL. VI.—8

Adieu—my dear friend—May Heaven prosper you in all your great and extensive pursuits, and may you long continue to enjoy the highest and only rational pleasure that wealth can confer—I mean the luxury of doing good.

From yours

Sincerely

BENJ<sup>r</sup> ROSS.

August 12<sup>th</sup> 1793

[Contributed by George de B. Keim.]

BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND.

Respected Friend, )

ALLEN McLANE. }

PHILADELPHIA, 8 Mo: 8<sup>th</sup>: 1824.

Thy favor bearing date on the anniversary of the battle of Long Island is now before me.

On that day the Regiment of Riflemen under the command of Col. Samuel Miles and of which I was first Major, was in danger of being surrounded by a heavy body of the British Army, and being the only officer then mounted, the Colonel requested me to ride with speed into the Brooklyn lines and request of the commanding officer a reinforcement—when I applied to Gen: Putnam he said he could not spare a man. The enemy was approaching our left near the Wallabout. Soon afterwards a number of Miles's Regiment came into the lines near the centre, and brought the sad tidings that Col. Miles was taken prisoner, that Col. Piper was killed, with many other officers and privates.

I collected all the officers and privates that had escaped that could be found, and I hastened to Gen: Washington, who was in the main work on the right of the lines, and requested instructions as to the position I should take with the riflemen:—He directed my view to the Mill dam, and some of the Americans on our right that was retreating through the Marsh from the Heights where Gen. Stirling was engaged. I hastened to the Mills, pulled them down for the retreating troops to pass over the Creek. The advance of the Americans had taken a British officer and 18 Marines—they got first over the creek into our lines, and you was one of the party that was guarding the prisoners.—I recognized you my old fellow Citizen and considered my friend Allen McLane an officer from the Philadelphia Militia thus saved from the British who were in view on the high ground firing their Howitz and field pieces at them.—Gen: Stirling's horse fell about this time, and his division followed the party that brought off the prisoners, and hundreds of the Americans escaped this way, which tended to strengthen Gen: Washington's lines.

I am very respectfully

Thy friend,

ENNION WILLIAMS.

[Contributed by Charles Roberts.]

DAUPHIN COUNTY, PA., IN 1789.

Sir,

LOUISBOURG, March 5<sup>th</sup>. 1789.

A Hurry of Business added to a want of Health has hitherto prevented me from paying that Attention I could have wished to your Questions respecting the County of Dauphin. I now give you the Result of my Enquiries upon the different heads you propose arranged in the order of your Queries.

Answer to 1<sup>st</sup> Qu. Dauphin, formerly contained within the Limits of Lancaster County, but divided from it and erected into a separate County by Act of Assembly passed March 4<sup>th</sup> 1785.

Ans<sup>r</sup> to 2<sup>d</sup> Qu. It's Boundaries on the West and South West are the Western Shore of the River Susquehanna (the River being within the Limits and Jurisdiction of the County) on the South East Conawago Creek as far as the Head of it and from thence running in a direct Line to the south East Corner of Heidelberg Township where it strikes the Berks County Line thence north West by the Line of Berks County to Mahantago Creek thence along the same by the Line of Northumberland and crossing the Susquehanna to the Line of Cumberland County. It is thus described in the Act of Assembly, but perhaps it may be sufficient for your purpose to say. That it is bounded on the West and south West by the Counties of Cumberland and York, on the South and South East by Lancaster County—on the East & North East by Berks and on the north by Northumberland, the greater and best part of the County lying in the valley between the blue or Kittatinny Mountain, and the Conawago Hill or South Mountain, which latter Name it obtains in Cumberland County. Its form is triangular and its Extent along the Susquehanna about forty-five miles from thence to the Line of Berks County about thirty-five Miles and from thence to the same River along the Line of Berks and Northumberland Counties about fifty-five miles.

Ans<sup>r</sup> to 3<sup>d</sup> Qu. There are 3250 taxable Inhabitants in Dauphin from whence perhaps it may be estimated that there are not less than 16, or 18000 souls. These consist with a very few Exceptions of German and Irish or what are in Pennsylvania called Scotch Irish and their descendants. I think about two thirds of the Inhabitants are Germans or of that Extraction. The principal religious denominations among them are Lutheran and Calvinists perhaps about an equal number of each—there is also a small Congregation of Moravians who have a place of worship about a mile from the Town of Lebanon. There are besides a good number of Menonists and a small Society of Roman Catholics who have a Chapel in Lebanon Township.

The religious Profession of the Irish families is the Presbyterian. They have three meeting houses, one in West Hanover, one in Paxton and one in Derry Township. There are also a few Seceders and Covenanters who being too Inconsiderable in number to form distinct Societies have generally fallen in with the before mentioned Congregations. The english Episcopalians, Quakers &c of which we have a few are by no means numerous enough to have places of Worship.

Ans<sup>r</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> Qu. The soil is generally good and in some parts remarkably fertile more particularly in Lebanon and Heidelberg Townships and in that part of Paxton lying along the River. A great portion of the County is Lime stone land but as it approaches the Kittatinny Mountain which runs through it a Distance of near thirty Miles it is generally a gravelly or light slaty soil which however produces very good and certain Crops of excellent Wheat Rye &c Beyond the mountain to Northumberland County which Tract of Country comprehends upper and middle Paxton Townships. The quality of the soil is much inferior to the other parts and is very little cultivated. It is generally timbered with pine & white oak and watered with a number of fine Streams which enable the Inhabitants to erect Saw Mills and to drive on a very beneficial Trade in Boards &c but tho' the soil of this Country is somewhat sandy & in other parts wet as may be inferred from the timber yet it produces pretty good Grain and affords a great deal of good meadow Ground. From the best information I am inclined to think that the proportion of the Land under Cultivation will average at less than an half. The trade to Philadelphia and the Mills on the Road thither, our principal Export being Wheat and flour—we also export Bar Iron and the neighbouring Country is supplied with Boards Scantling &c from Louisbourg and Middletown which are situated on or near Susquehanna down which great Quantities of these Articles are rafted in the Spring and Autumn at which Seasons

the waters being high the navigation is rendered safe and easy Our Exports (except what are taken off by the watermen who bring down Lumber and Grain) are conveyed by Land, the navigation of the Susquehanna being at present too much obstructed below Middletown by Rocks Falls &c to make it eligible to convey them by Water to Baltimore and the other Markets in the Chesapeake which may possibly be the case in future when the Country has ability to remove these Obstructions.

Our chief Imports besides the Articles brought down the River as already mentioned are European and East and West India Merchandise brought from Philadelphia. The natural Growth of the Soil is generally Hickory, Oak, Chestnut, Poplar and near the River Walnut Locust, Linn or Linden, Maple, Ash, Beech &c with the Herbage usual in other parts of the State. Its productions from Culture are Wheat Rye, Oats, Barley, Indian Corn, Flax, Hemp &c.

Ans<sup>r</sup>. to 5<sup>th</sup> Qu. The Rivers are the Susquehanna the Swatara a large stream which has its source in Berks County and after watering a considerable Extent of Country in its windings empties into the Susquehanna at Middletown—the Quitapahilla which discharges itself into the Swatara and the Tulpehocken which empties into Schuylkill (about a mile from Reading) between the Head waters of which (is the Tulpehocken) and the Quipahilla which approach within a mile of each other near the town of Lebanon it has been in Contemplation to cut a Canal and thereby by means of Locks &c to open a navigable Communication between the Schuylkill and Susquehanna a work which though at present laid aside will probably one day be carried into Execution. There are besides these several less important Streams vizt. Paxtang, Conawago, Spring Creek, Clark's Creek, Sturgeons, Armstrong, Beaver Creek, Monady, Wickonisky, little Swatara &c most of which afford seats for Mills & every kind of water works.

I know of nothing remarkable in the Mountains of which there are several in the County vizt. the blue Mountain already mentioned and several other Ridges in its Neighbourhood such as Peter's Mountain, Berry's Mountain &c and the Conawago Hill, in which there is a Mine of Iron Ore belonging to the Estate of the late Mr. Grubb (part whereof is in Lancaster City) which appears to be inexhaustible—

There is a Spring near the foot of the blue Mountains much celebrated and resorted to by the Country People on Account of its supposed Efficacy in the Cure of Rheumatic and other chronic Disorders, but from what I can learn if it possesses any virtue it arises chiefly from its excessive coldness.

There is also a Cave on the Banks of the Swatara about a mile from Hummel's town in derry Township deemed a great Curiosity by those who have seen it. Its Aperture being under a pretty high Bank is from 15 to 20 feet wide and from 7 to 10 in Height—You enter by a gradual Descent and in your Progress pass through a number of Passages and Apartments of various Dimensions, some low and narrow others very high and spacious, vaulted by magnificent Canopies fretted with a variety of depending Petrifications, some of which are drawn to a great Length by means of their continued Exudation. But much of their original Beauty and Transparency is obscured by the smoke of the Torches from time to time employed in conducting the curious Traveller through this gloomy recess. From the Entrance of the Cavern to a small Fissure or Outlet at the Extremity which is barely large enough to admit the Body of a Man is about 200 yards measured in a strait Line on the surface of the Ground under which it passes, but the Distance must be much greater to those who have the Courage to trace it in its subterraneous Windings. This is the only natural Curiosity in the Country that I have heard of and I know of no Antiquities or artificial ones.

Ans<sup>r</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Qu. The Country was first settled by Emigrants from Ireland.



Ans<sup>r</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> Qu. The state of Agriculture is much the same as in the neighbouring Counties & will doubtless admit of much Improvement. The same may be said of the Manufactures though some Branches seem to merit a particular mention viz<sup>t</sup>. A nail factory at Louisbourg which is carried on by means of a stamping Machine much cheaper & more expidiously than in the usual mode of drawing—also a Powder Mill of Lebanon Township in which is manufactured Powder of a very superior Strength and Quality. Besides these I cannot omit a Grist Mill within a Mile of Middletown seated very advantageously on the Swetara & about half a Mile from the mouth of it. It is a very large and handsome stone Building has four pair of Stones and is perhaps in every respect one of the most complete in Pennsylvania. But what is perhaps more deserving of Attention is the Race a Canal from twenty to thirty feet in Breadth and carried with such a degree of Boldness to a Length of 476 perches through Rocks and Hills and every Obstacle which occurred in its Course as cannot fail to excite a very high Idea of the enterprizing Spirit & persevering Industry of Mr. George Frey the undertaker and owner.

We have as yet no Academy or public schools but shall in common with the other Counties of the State have a Tract of Land granted & appropriated by the Legislature for the Establishment of one besides which we are entitled to the annual proceeds of a Ferry across the Susquehanna at present rented for £135 per An<sup>m</sup>. which shou'd it (as in all probability it will) be applied to this Use will constitute a very respectable Fund.

Ans<sup>r</sup>. to 8<sup>th</sup> Qu. The County comprehends ten Townships viz<sup>t</sup>. Paxton (or Paxtang which is the original Indian name), upper Paxton, Middle Paxton, East Hanover, West Hanover, Derry, Londonderry, Lebanon, Bethel and Heidelberg—and ten Towns viz<sup>t</sup>. Louisbourg or Harrisburgh containing about 130 dwelling houses, a Gaol being a plain stone Building and a German Church a Log Building—Lebanon containing about 160 Houses and two German Churches built of Wood. Middletown containing 90 odd Houses & one German Church of Wood. Hummel's town containing about 25 Houses & one German Church of Wood.—Anville or Miller's town containing about 35 houses Heidelberg or Shaffer's town containing about 70 Houses & 2 German Churches one of which is a handsome stone Building—Newman's town containing about 20 houses—Tulpehocken or Myer's town containing about 25 houses—Williamsburg or Jones's town containing about 40 houses and one German of Wood. N. B. In Lebanon one of the Churches belongs to the Latheran the other to the Calvinists, so in Heidelberg, but in the other Towns where there is but one, it generally belongs to both societies and is used by them alternately.

Ans<sup>r</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> Qu. The Name of the principal Town or Seat of the Courts is Louisbourg so styled by the Supreme Executive Council in their proceedings as well as in those of the Courts altho' it is more generally known by the name of Harrisburgh—it is a fine flourishing place & its progress amazing having been laid out a little better than 3 years. It lies between the 40<sup>th</sup> & 41<sup>st</sup> degree of Latitude and is somewhat more than a degree & a half West of Philada. its Distance from that place 100 Miles and its Bearing about West and by North—

This is the most accurate Information I cou'd obtain with respect to the Objects of your Inquiry. I have probably been more minute than necessary in some Cases, but agreeably to your desire was willing to give as full an Answer as possible and shall be happy if it affords you any Assistance in your very useful Undertaking in which I wish you Success and

Am Sir

Your very hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

ALEX. GRAYDON.

To Mr. JEDEDIAH MORSE.

POSTSCRIPT to the PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL, July 12, 1770.

## A LETTER

From the *Merchants Committee* of New-York, to the *Merchants Committee* in this place, dated New-York, July 10, 1770, with the Answer.

New-York, July 10, 1770.

GENTLEMEN,

IN pursuance of the printed advertisement, inclosed you by our last express; we are directed to acquaint you, that the sense of our inhabitants has been again taken according to the inclosed written proposals from our committee; which was not finished until last night; and as there appeared a great majority for importing everything, except such articles as are, or may be hereafter be subject to duty for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, and in consequence thereof, many orders for goods may be sent by the packet to sail to-morrow or next day; we are ordered to give you the most early advice of this event by another express, that if your merchants should chuse to send any orders, they may avail themselves of a vessel which, we hear, will be ready to sail from your port for London on Saturday next. Another opportunity will also offer from hence for Liverpool the same day.

We are very sorry our late earnest endeavours to harmonise with our brethren of Philadelphia, have proved abortive; but we flatter ourselves the event will abundantly justify the measure adopted by the majority of our inhabitants, although they appear just now to be singular in their opinion.

We remain,

With great regard,

Gentlemen,

Your most Humble Servants.

To Committee of Merchants }  
in Philadelphia. }

In the above Letter was inclosed the following.

THE above persons are requested by the committee of merchants to divide themselves in pairs, one of each party; and to take the sense of their ward for, and against Importation; by taking down the names of the inhabitants after reading to them the following proposition, without using any other arguments, viz.

As by the return of our expresses from Boston and Philadelphia, we are advised by let-

ters from their committees, that a majority of both places are for maintaining their Non-Importation Agreements on their present footing.

Is it your sentiments that we should also abide by our present Non-Importation Agreement; or to import everything except the articles which are, or may hereafter be subject to Duty?

It is expected that every Person who is waited on, will candidly give his opinion for, or against Importation, and that the Committee appointed to wait on them, will make a return of their voices to the Committee of Inspection, at Mrs. Wrag's on Monday Evening the 9th of July, without fail.

By Order of the Committee.

Philadelphia, July 11, 1770.

WE are sorry to find by your letter on the 10th inst. by express, that a majority of your city have determined to break your Non-Importation Agreement: a measure which we think will be prejudicial to your own and the liberties of all America.—Arguments are now vain.—To posterity and to your country you must answer for the step you have now taken.—The disposition you shewed on a former occasion, and the letters we received from you since the passing of the Act of 7 G. 3, promised a different conduct. We cannot even “flatter ourselves the event will justify the measure you have adopted.” You have certainly weakened that union of the colonies on which their safety depends, and will thereby strengthen the hands of our enemies, and encourage them to prosecute their designs against our common liberty. We cannot forbear telling you, that however you may colour your proceedings, we think you have, in the day of trial, deserted the cause of liberty and your country.

We are, gentlemen,

Your obedient humble servants,

And assured friends.

To The MERCHANTS COMMITTEE  
of New-York.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

**THE ST. CLAIR PAPERS: THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, etc. etc.**—Edited by William Henry Smith. Robert Clark & Co., Cincinnati, 1882, 2 vols. 8vo. \$6. This work is the most valuable contribution to the literature of the Revolution that has been made for years. It, indeed, could not be otherwise, if the material of which it is composed warrants the title which has been given to it. St. Clair, who was a Brigadier-General in 1776, and a Major-General in 1777, was a central figure in the Revolutionary war. It was not, however, in that struggle alone that his fame was won. Under Wolfe and his successors he served in the war for the conquest of Canada, and after the establishment of independence led the ill-fated expedition which bears his name against the Indians. As governor of the northwest territory from 1787 to 1802, he served his country as faithfully as in the field. The close of his chequered life is as sad an episode as any in our history, and will long serve as an example to prove the truth of the popular, but rather questionable estimate of the gratitude of republics. The manuscripts which form the base of the work were purchased from the descendants of General St. Clair by the State of Ohio, and other sources have been drawn upon to make the series complete. Under the authority of the Legislature of Ohio they have been published, and now they are accessible we wonder that they did not appear before. The letters and documents are prefaced with an appreciative sketch of St. Clair, but it is not necessary for us to trace his fitful career so well as it is known, nor, indeed, would our space permit us to do so were we so inclined. We shall, therefore, only point out some few of the new facts that have been brought to light, that our readers may understand the value of the work.

It has been heretofore stated that St. Clair was the grandson of the Earl of Roslyn, but although of the same family, Mr. Smith says he was not descended from the Earl. He was born in Thurso, Scotland, in the year 1734. His father died while Arthur was quite young, and when the latter had arrived at a proper age, he was indentured to the celebrated Dr. William Hunter, of London. The study of medicine had no charms for him, and after the death of his mother in the winter of 1756-57, he obtained an ensign's commission. He came to America, and under Amherst at Louisburg and Wolfe at Quebec, he participated in the most brilliant engagements of the Canadian campaign. At the close of the war he married Phoebe Bayard. By this marriage he received the sum of £14,000, a legacy to his wife from her grandfather, James Bowdoin, of Massachusetts. In 1762 he resigned his commission, and shortly afterwards settled in western Pennsylvania in the Ligonier Valley. He soon became intimate with the most influential men of the colony, and was employed in public business of importance. In the volumes before us there are many letters of interest to Governor John Penn and others, regarding Lord Dunmore's war and Dr. John Connolly, which supplement those printed in the Pennsylvania Archives.

Upon the breaking out of the Revolution in 1775, St. Clair suggested at once the seizure of Detroit by a volunteer expedition to be sent out from

western Pennsylvania, but the plan was not approved of by Congress. Had it been so, it is possible it would have been successful, but the conception of the idea serves to show the decisive character of the man, and how entirely he was in sympathy with the colonists in opposing the measures of the crown. On January 3, 1778, St. Clair was chosen by Congress to command one of the four battalions to be raised in Pennsylvania, and on March 12th left Philadelphia for Canada with six companies fully equipped, and took part in the disastrous campaign beginning with the retreat from before Quebec. In his correspondence covering this period, with his Pennsylvania friends, there are many passages of peculiar freshness and interest. In a letter addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel William Allen, who had served under him, and who left the army after the passage of the Declaration of Independence, and subsequently joined the British, we have St. Clair's views on independence. Mr. Smith says that he had the honor of reading the Declaration to the troops at Tinicouago, but it is not so clear that the honor was considered one at the time. On September 1st he wrote to Colonel Allen, whose course he deprecated: "I wish you had returned to the regiment. Though I well knew your sentiments, I really expected you would have come back. 'The oak keeps its footing when the oak is torn up by the roots.' You know my way of thinking, and you know likewise the obligations I have for your family—obligations which no change of circumstances can ever cancel. But you will excuse me, my dear sir, when I say that I believe it would have been true policy to have given some way to the temper of the times. If I remember rightly, there were two points on which we were perfectly agreed: First, that independence was not the interest of America, if the liberties of America could be otherwise secured; Secondly, if foreign troops were employed to reduce America to absolute submission, that independence or any other mode was justifiable. There is now no doubt about the employment of foreign troops, which I own I think was the watch-word to every man of property in America, for I doubt very much whether, if Great Britain should succeed by force if such odds would be made by the lordly conquerors between friends and foes, or if nature and foreign avarice and rapacity would not be glutted with the indiscriminate spoil of both. I am persuaded many worthy men would not have wished time to go as they have done, because they thought it not consistent with the true interests of America, which might have long been happy in a regulated (not an absolute) subordination to Great Britain, amongst whom I think I may reckon your venerable father; but that fatal proceeding has cast the die." We cannot agree with Mr. Smith that this letter was dictated by a wish to serve Chief-Justice Allen, the father of the Colonel. From what we know of the former, we do not believe that St. Clair could have rendered more bitter returns for past kindness than by persuading his son to remain in the American army after independence had been declared. To us the letter appears to be a free and confidential one, from one friend to another, and while it is evident that St. Clair yielded his opinion to the popular wish, it is equally clear that he did not think that the time had arrived to take the final step.

One of St. Clair's correspondents was Thomas Smith, afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. In 1776 he was a delegate to the Convention which formed the Constitution of that State. Whoever wishes to understand the division of parties here at the most critical period of the Revolution, must not fail to study the proceedings of that body. The abrogation of the Provincial Constitution under which the colony had grown in wealth and power, and the fact that its destruction was the work of men new in the political arena, was an event which caused the most bitter feeling, and its consequent effect on continental politics has proved a stumbling block to more than one historian. A number of members of the convention

were opposed to the work of the body. Of these Thomas Smith was one, and his letters present with vivacity the feelings of the minority. In August, 1776, he wrote to St. Clair that he was recovering from an attack of sickness "when the convention met. I was chosen one of them—a pretty Bolon you will say. No matter, we have now sat three weeks, and agreed upon the fundamental principles of our Government. They are somewhat singular, however. The most of us have not had our judgments warped in favor of any other, and not a sixth part of us ever read a word on the subject. We are only to have one Legislative branch, viz., the Assembly, who are to be chosen annually, and a rotation to take place every three years. Instead of having a Legislative Council, it seems we are to have a convention every three, five, or seven years (it is not yet settled which), who are to inquire into and supply defects, deviations, or abuses in the Constitution. In what manner the executive and judicial are to be chosen I cannot yet say, as we only settled the other points last meeting. I was in a small minority. I believe we might have at least prevented ourselves from being ridiculous in the eyes of the world were it not for a few enthusiastic members who are totally unacquainted with the principles of government. It is not only that their notions are original, but they would go to the devil for popularity, and in order to acquire it, they have embraced levelling principles, which you know is a fine method of succeeding. Don't, therefore, be surprised if in the next letter I write to you, I should inform you that we had passed an Agrarian Law." On the 22d of the same month he wrote: "I feel the truth of your sentiments with regard to the Constitution that we are about forming. In several sects of religionists in the different ages of the world, and in some even now, inspiration was supposed to have a considerable share in the direction of their actions, and they very gravely supposed themselves gifted with it. I believe we shall have the honor of first introducing the same doctrine into modern politics. A motion was made without a blush, by a member, that whatever might require the consideration of the House might be printed before any resolve was passed upon it for the use of members, as several of them could read *print* better than writing. Our principle seems to be this: that any man, even the most illiterate, is as capable of any office as a person who has had the benefit of an education; that education perverts the understanding, eradicates common honesty, and has been productive of all the evils that have happened in the world. In order that inspiration may be our only guide, every person who is to be chosen into any office, that was formerly supposed to require some degree of human knowledge and experience to enable the person to execute it with justice—every such person, I say, is to be turned out before he can possibly acquire any experience. . . . We are determined not to pay the least regard to the former Constitution of this Province, but to reject everything therein that may be proposed, merely because it was part of the former Constitution. We are resolved to clear every part of the old rubbish out of the way, and begin upon a clean foundation. You know that experimental philosophy was in great repute fifty years ago, and we have a mind to try how the same principle will succeed in politics. You learned fellows who have warped your understandings by poring over musty old books will, perhaps, laugh at us; but, know ye, that we despise you."

With these few extracts, which are of especial interest in Pennsylvania, we must close our notice of the volumes. It is impossible for us to speak of the many letters that appear in them from Anthony Wayne, James Wilson, and other names so familiar to us, or to more than allude to the claim of St. Clair to the credit of having proposed the strategic movement at Trenton, immediately preceding the battle of Princeton. The fortitude with which he bore the odium heaped upon him on account of his retreat from Ticonderoga

before the superior force under Burgoyne, until vindicated by a court-martial; his services as President of Congress, and as Governor of the Northwest Territory, must also be passed by. This last is the subject which called the work into being, and will naturally attract the attention of those most competent to review it from that standpoint. We have preferred to speak of it as a Pennsylvania work, deserving the attention of her sons. This it is throughout, for it is the record of a life that reflects honor and credit on the State, a life that was worn away in the service of the whole country, and that was deserving a kinder fate. The work is an excellent one, and will have a prominent place in the historical literature of the country.

**WILLIAM WATSON, FIRST SETTLER OF NOTTINGHAM TOWNSHIP, N. J.**—The Memorandum Book of William Watson, the first settler of Nottingham township, adjoining the City of Trenton, New Jersey, is in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. From it we extract the following:—

Left Farnsfield my dwelling in the County of Nottingham in Ould England the 29th day of the 5th month, 1684. Lodged at Sawley, 15 miles.

30th day. Passed by Ashby 8 & by Tamworth & lodged at Brimigim' 14 miles.

31st day. To Bewdely 10 miles—took water there called Severn and lodged on the water.

1st day of the 6th month. Lodged on the water.

2d day. At Upton by Bevern.

3d day. Past by Gloucester and lodged on the water all night.

4th day. Lodged on the water at \_\_\_\_\_ month, 7 miles from Bristol.

5th day. 6 miles unloaded and lodged in the city. Several weeks thence came in the ship called Bristol merchant William Smith cheefe commander, very well accomodated arrived safe Madefia near eight weeks—rented a part of a house there 4 weeks—my son William Watson died & was buried there.

Then I, William Watson & my two sons Isaac and John Watson & my daughter Elisabeth Watson & William Blair or Blanty & John Abot my cuntrymen that came as my servants, settled a plantation and called the place Farnsfield in the township of Nottingham in the County of Burlington in the province of west New Jersey.

Born at Farnsfield in Ould England

Isaac Watson. Birth 15 day 6 month 1670.

William Watson the son of Richard Watson 30th day of 9th month and Margaret his wife was born at Kirklington in the County of Nottingham Ould England.

Baptized at the \_\_\_\_\_ in the year 1639.

William Watson son of William Watson & Ann his wife was born at Farnsfield in Ould England & was buried at Madefia the \_\_\_\_\_ of the 9th mo 1684.

Elisabeth Watson born at Farnsfield in England & died 1668 at Farnsfield in the town of Nottingham in the County of Burlington in west Jersey the 12th day of the 2d month 1688.

John Watson born at Farnsfield in Ould England \_\_\_\_\_ 9 mo 1672.

*Copy.*

Received of William Watson Twenty Seven pounds in full for six passages on the ship Bristol Merchant for Pennsylvania ye 9th — 6th mo 1684.

William Smith.

Paid Samuel Louis one passage £4 10s.

supposed for himself	} Seven
three sons	
one daughter	
two servants	

Adj. Gen. Wm. S. Stryker, under date of Trenton, Feb. 4, 1892, writes. The Watson tract now includes the following farms, viz. :—

D. C. Abbot . . . . .	110 acres	
Margaret do. . . . .	180 "	To-day south of Lambertton along the
I. N. Burton do. . . . .	100 "	Delaware eastward and southward of
Caleb Pitman . . . . .	110 "	the southernmost limit of the City of
Andrew K. Rowan . . . . .	165 "	Trenton.
	—665 acres.	

There still stands on the farm of Mr. Rowan a substantial, fine house, erected by Isaac Watson, in 1708. No descendant of Wm. Watson is known to exist in the county. J.

THE HISTORY OF PAPER-MAKING.—Much has been written on the manufacture of paper, but as the subject is not exhausted something may be gleaned from a volume that I have before me. It is a 12mo. of 156 pp., entitled *Oeuvres du Marquis Villetta, A Londres, MDCCLXXXVI. Ce volume est imprimé sur le Papier d'Ecorce de Tilleul.* This paper, made of the bark of the Linden tree, is yellowish and somewhat coarse and rough, but it is firm. At the end of the volume are a number of leaves, each bearing a printed title—the first, *Papier de Guimauve*, Mallows; then comes *Papier d'Ortie*, Nettles; and then follow in succession, *Papier de Houblon*, Hops; *Papier de Mousse*, Moss; *Papier de Roseaux*, Sweet Calamus; *Papier de Conserua*, Hair-weed, of two species; *Papier de Bois de Coudrier*, wood of Hazel; *Papier de Bois de Fusain*, wood of the Spindle tree; *Papier d'ecorce de Fusain avecce son epiderme on croûte*, bark of the Spindle tree; *Papier d'ecorce de Chêne*, Oak bark; *Papier d'ecorce de Peuplier*, Poplar bark; *Papier d'ecorce d'Osier*, bark of the Water Willow; *Papier d'ecorce d'Orme*, Elm bark; *Papier d'ecorce de Saule*, Willow bark; *Papier de Bardanna*, Hurdock; *Feuilles de Bardanna et de Pas-d'Ans*, leaves of Hurdock and Colt'sfoot; *Feuilles de Chardons*, leaves of Thistles. By an inscription on the bastard-title it appears that this curious volume was presented, December, 1788, by J. P. Brinot de Warville, who visited Pennsylvania, to Miers Fisher, of Ury. From him it passed to a nephew, Thomas Gilpin, who had the paper mills on the Brandywine. On the first of April, 1877, it was presented by Mrs. Mary Rodman Fisher Carpenter to Mr. William Redwood Wright, a great-grandson of Miers Fisher.

In this State, paper was successfully made of straw, in 1831, by George A. Shryock and Dr. Samuel D. Culbertson, at their mill near Chambersburg. William Magaw, of Meadville, made some discoveries on the subject about the same time. This, according to W. I. H. McCasley's *History of Franklin County*, p. 99, was "the very first use of straw paper as a staple article in our world."

It is an interesting fact that the first wood pulp profitably prepared for the manufacture of paper, suitable for the purposes of printing, was also made in Pennsylvania. Although several intelligent Englishmen had succeeded in producing such a pulp by chemical methods, these were found to be quite too costly to yield any useful result; and it remained for Mr. Morris L. Keen, of West Philadelphia, to discover a mechanical process for attaining an end which has completely revolutionized the art of paper-making within our generation. This great invention was first carried into

effect by Mr. Keen in the old engine-house of the Wilmington and Philadelphia Railroad, at Gray's Ferry, and was brought to perfection by him, with the aid of Mr. Hugh Burgess, one of the English chemists alluded to, in a paper mill started at Royer's Ford, in Chester County, Pa., in 1854, leading to the formation in 1863 of the well-known "American Wood-Paper Company," originally under the direction of Mr. Keen. T. W.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID, for the use of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, of the City of New York, N. Y., James Parker, 1767. A copy of this work, purchased at the sale of the Brisley Library, is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Mr. William Kelby, of the New York Historical Society, writes that the copy in the library of that institution was presented by Egbert Benson, and bears a memorandum in his handwriting to the effect that it was translated by Francis Hopkinson, of Philadelphia. We are indebted to the Rev. T. W. Chambers, D. D., of New York, pastor of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, for the translations of the following extracts from the church records. They are the only ones in which the name of Mr. Hopkinson appears.

NEW YORK, May 22, 1764.

Resolved—That Mr. Evert Byvank be discharged from his engagement to versify the Psalms in English in the same manner as they are versified in the *Law Dutch*, and that the Committee with Mr. Hopkins inquire into the best method of doing this according to the genius of the English tongue, and the versifying be done accordingly.

NEW YORK, June 29, 1764.

A letter was read from Mr. Francis Hopkinson dated June 11, 1764, concerning the versifying of the Psalms of David in English in the manner proposed; and the Consistory agreed to pay him for altering what has been done forty pistoles, and for completing the whole one hundred pistoles, fifty of which shall be paid when the work on the new plan shall be half done if Hopkinson asks it; and since certain members are to pay the first mentioned 40 pistoles, the Consistory agrees to repay them out of the first printed Psalm books or out of other funds; and shall also make the necessary arrangement for paying the last named 100 pistoles and the other needful expenses in versifying the Psalms.

SABIN FAMILY OF AMERICA.—The Rev. ARDOR TITUS, Jr., has issued in pamphlet form, with additional information, his sketch of the four earliest emigrations of the Sabin Family in America, lately published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF WASHINGTON COUNTY, PA.—The proceedings at the celebration of this anniversary, which was held on the 7th and 8th of September, 1881, have been published in a neat pamphlet of 109 pages, from the press of E. E. Cramrine, of Washington, Pa. The address on the General History of Western Pennsylvania was delivered by Rev. J. L. BEESWICK, D.D.; that on the Civil and Legal History of the County, by Boyd Cramrine, Esq.; on Judge Alexander Addison, by Hon. D. AGNEW, late Chief Justice of the Commonwealth; on Agricultural History, by John McDowell, Esq.; on Religious History, by Rev. I. N. HAYS; and on Medical History, by G. W. BARNETT, M.D. The address of Mr. Cramrine is of special importance, as it contains extracts from the



records of a court held under the authority of Lord Dunmore, when Virginia claimed jurisdiction over the western part of Pennsylvania. All of the addresses are excellent, and we commend the publication to those interested in the history of Western Pennsylvania. The managers of the celebration are to be heartily congratulated on its successful character, and the interest it developed.

**YELLOW FEVER IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1803.**—In a letter of Miers Fisher, of Ury, Pennsylvania, to his brother Samuel B., at Hartford, Conn., 9th mo. 23d, 1803, he says: "The accounts from the city are daily more distressing. I learn this evening that there are two cases (Yellow Fever) in Farmer's Row, directly back of my house,—two or three others in Dock Street; six in Penn Street, near Jehu Hollingsworth's, two of whose young men were this day sent to the City Hospital; and there are several other cases in Walnut, Chestnut, and other streets. Col. Patton who left the Post Office in Twelfth Street, since noon this day, informed me that he had intended to remove the office back to Third Street on Seventh day next, but the information he got in town prevented it till a more favorable state should appear."

**A GERMAN'S INFORMATION REGARDING THE OFFICERS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.**—In the correspondence of Prof. August L. Schlözer, *Göttingen*, 1781 (vol. 8, p. 3), we find the following regarding Washington and his fellow-officers. It is interesting, as showing the character of information on which the opinion of a European regarding the Americans was based. The informant of Schlözer was doubtless a correspondent with the German troops.

*American Generals and Staff Officers.*

1. General-in-chief, George Washington, was in the years 1756 to 1762, Captain of the Virginia Militia.
2. Major-General Gates is 2d General in Command; was a Colonel in the English Service and a very Capable Officer.
3. Macduggel (McDougal), 3d General in Command, was a Sailor.
4. Lee was a Major in the English Service, and a Capable Officer.
5. Baron Steuben is Inspector General of the American Army, was Quarter-Master Lieutenant in the Prussian Service, and resigned in 1760.
6. Arnold was a horsedealer.
7. Putnam was an Innkeeper.
8. Sullivan was a breechesmaker, then leasee of a ferry, and subsequently an Advocate.
9. Knox was Blacksmith, is General-in-Chief of the whole Artillery.
10. Green is Quarter-Master General, was an advocate from New England, and had been prohibited from pleading.
11. Brigadier-General Scott was a Corporal who deserted from the English.
12. Mühlenberg was a Clergyman in Winchester County.
13. Wayne was a Tanner boy and subsequently Surveyor.
14. Irwin (James Irvine) was a hatter in Philadelphia.
15. Westphal was a Tailor and Citizen of Boston.
16. Maxfeld (Maxwell) was an actual Swineherd in New Jersey.
17. Colonel Proctor (Proctor), Chief of an Artillery Regiment, was a slovenly servant under different masters, and finally a Carpenter.

' The uncle of the Emperor Justinian, and Pizarro the conqueror of Peru, were also swineherds.

18. *Vibecker* (*Pabiger*) commands the light infantry, was an innkeeper in St. Croix (West Indies).
19. *Former* (*Lewis Farmer*) was a horse-boy at an inn, and is now, as Colonel, still an innkeeper.
20. *Balthasar Melchior* (*Isaac Melcher*) is Barrack-Master General, was a Jew and innkeeper in Philadelphia.
21. *Nagell*, Chief of an Infantry Regiment (*George Nagle*, of Berks Co.), was a Cowherd boy of a farmer.
22. *Globber* (*Glover*), Chief of an Infantry Regiment, was a Tailor.
23. *München* (*Francis Mentgen*), Chief of a Pennsylvania Regiment, was a dancing-master, and to pay for his passage on his arrival frequently danced at the playhouse.
24. *Lieut.-Col. Fränck* (*Franks*), Adjutant under Gen. Arnold, was a Jew.

*General Adjutants of his Excellency Gen. Washington.*

1. Col. *Fitzgerald* was a bankrupt merchant from Virginia.
2. *Hamilton* was an Advocate.
3. *Mish* ( ) was a Fringemaker in Philadelphia.
4. *Tillerman* (*Tilghman*) was a merchant's boy.
5. *Harrison* was an Advocate.
6. *Lee* is Private Secretary of Gen. Washington.

*General Staff.*

1. Col. *Palfrey*, Paymaster of the Army, was a merchant and twice a Bankrupt.
2. *John Mitchell*, Deputy Quarter-Master General, was a merchant, had been bankrupt at divers times, and for having taken a false oath, had been committed to the Common Jail.

N. B.—An American Major-General is what is a Lieutenant-General in other Services, and a Brigadier-General is a Major-General.

*Board of War.*

1. Col. *Peterson*, President (*Richard Peters*), was a (*Büttenträger*) Pedlar.
2. *Pickering*, Deputy, was a broken merchant.

*Court Martial.*

A Captain charged the lieutenant of his Company with having stolen from him a pair of shoes. By the judgment of the Court Martial the Lieutenant was honorably acquitted.

*Queries.*

PORTRAIT OF COL. THOMAS FORBES.—Where did the editors of the Second Series of Pennsylvania Archives get the portrait which faces page 201 of the eleventh volume? They have had an autograph of Col. Thomas

Forrest engraved beneath it, from which I suppose, they present it as his portrait. It is evidently copied from an impression of St. Mamin's portrait of Col. Joseph Mellvaine, of New Jersey (No. 188 of the Collection published by E. Dexter, in 1842).  
C. B. H.

REV. THOMAS DUNGAN.—Can any of the readers of the *MAGAZINE* furnish me more than is told by General Davis, in his *History of Bucks County*, regarding the Rev. Thomas Dungan, who came from Rhode Island to Pennsylvania, and was the first Baptist minister in that colony? My record is that Frances Latham, b. 1611, d. Sept. 1677, daughter of Lewis Latham, married, 1st, Lord Weston; 2d, Wm. Dungan; 3d, Jeremy Clark; 4th, Rev. Wm. Vaughan. William Dungan left four children: 1st, Barbara, who m. 1644, James Barker, of R. I.; 2d, Frances, who m. 1648, Randall Holden, of R. I.; 3d, Margaret; 4th, Thomas, who d. 1688. After the death of William Dungan in England, his widow married Jeremy Clark, and with her four children removed to America. The children of Jeremy Clark were Walter, b. 1640; Mary, Jeremiah Latham, Weston, James, and Sarah. The children of Thomas Dungan (son of William and Frances) were William, Ulement, Thomas, Elizabeth, Mary, John, Rebecca, Sarah, and Jeremiah. There is said to be a tradition in Pennsylvania that the Dungs are descended from Lord Dungan, but I have been unable to verify it.  
Providence, R. I.

J. O. A.

### Replica.

DESCENDANTS OF CHRISTOPHER SOWER OF GERMANTOWN (vol. v., p. 283).—In Part Fourth of the series of articles on the Germantown road and its associations, appearing in the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY*, is found the following:—

"One, at least, of the family (of Christoph Saur or Sower), lives in Germantown, Mr. William H. Sowers, who resides in Harvey Street. Another son of Christopher the second, as I am led to believe, went to Lancaster County after the Revolution. He had a son Michael, and a grandson Jonathan, who was the father of this William H. Sowers."

Having in my possession tables of descent from Christopher Sower first, including his only son, all of his grandsons and great-grandsons, with dates of their births, deaths, places of residence, and particulars of their lives, also names of most of their descendants down to the seventh generation, I feel warranted in venturing to say that the statement as regards the descent of Mr. William H. Sowers from Christopher Sower, of Germantown, is an error. The evidence of this is too voluminous to be here presented, and is so complete as to leave in my belief no room to question it.

The name of Saur or Sowers (our family spell the name Saur or Sower) is a frequent one among modern German immigrants, and even in the time of Christopher Sower was not an uncommon one, as appears from the following list found in Rupp's "Thirty thousand names" of immigrants who came to Pennsylvania before 1775.

Oct. 2, 1727.	Jno. Sower.
Sept. 11, 1731.	Adam Sower.
Sept. 29, 1732.	Henrich Sauer.
Sept. 29, 1733.	Hans Henrich Sauer.
Nov. 25, 1740.	Wilhelm Sauer.
Oct. 17, 1741.	Hofman Sauer.
Sept. 20, 1742.	Johan Nickel Sauer.
Sept. 14, 1751.	Johann Dietrich Sauer.
Oct. 1, 1754.	Johannes Sauer.
Oct. 1, 1754.	Hans Adam Sauer.
Oct. 1, 1754.	Hans Michael Sauer.
Oct. 1, 1754.	Johann Michael Sauer.

It will be observed that two of the above have Michael, a name not found in our family, as a given name. Christopher Sower in his papers makes no allusion to any of these as relatives, and certainly *their descendants cannot be his*.

Mr. Ward's article contains other errors, some of which I will here add: "Sower," "first," is said by Mr. Ward to have been a "Dunkard" ("Tunker" or "Dunker," in my view, are more correct spellings), and a preacher in that denomination; whereas, he was a "Separatist." His son was the Tunker preacher and overseer.

*Stimplate stoves* were his invention, from which ten-plate stoves afterwards originated.

Mr. Fleckenstein did not "forge" his types. They were cast by himself in matrices, said to have been forged under his directions by Mr. F.

Phila., March 20, 1852.

CHARLES G. SOWER.

**FRIST HONANRY MILLS IN GERMAN TOWN** (vol. v. p. 267).—MR. T. WARD. *Dear Sir*:—On the page mentioned you quote from an English newspaper a reference to the establishment of the manufacture of hosiery by Thomas R. Fisher, in his mill at Germantown, and give the date of the newspaper as "about 1830." That date could not have been earlier than 1834, about the beginning of which year Mr. Fisher purchased from Thomas Jones his machinery and engaged his services as superintendent of that new department of his business. He had been engaged at the Wakefield Mills only in the manufacture of cloth, either woollen or of cotton and wool mixed, and not at all in that of hosiery.

Thomas Jones died May 7, 1834, before the hosiery machinery was ready for operation at the Wakefield Mills, and was succeeded as superintendent by his son, the late Aaron Jones, who engaged in business on his own account in 1829; was succeeded in the employ of Mr. Fisher by his brother John, now a resident of this city, from whom these facts and dates were obtained.

Thomas Jones and the late John Button commenced the manufacture of hosiery at Germantown about the beginning of April, 1831; having, each of them, moved to that place on the first day of that month, the former from Nicetown, and the latter from North Third Street below Shippen Street; and having, each of them, arrived in this country from Leicestershire, England, in April, 1830. They are entitled to the credit of having been the pioneers of the hosiery industry at Germantown as it is now carried on in mills; though the manufacture of stockings on hand-frames in the homes of the people was coincident with the settlement of Germantown by the Moravians in 1684.

Yours truly,

Philadelphia, March 6, 1852.

W. R. BAGWELL.