

MARSHALL'S DIARY

IN ITS RELATION TO LANCASTER CITY AND COUNTY.

Of the many names associated with the Revolutionary annals of Lancaster county, few deserve to be held in greater respect, or are better entitled to remembrance, than that of Christopher Marshall. At the same time I feel I am quite safe in saying few of those old-time worthies are so little known as he. How few of us are even acquainted with his name, or that such a man ever lived in this city. This is largely due to the fact that our local historians, from Rupp, Mombert and Harris, to those of a still later day, have not even so much as mentioned his name, so far as I am aware. This may be due, in part, to the fact that he was not to the "manner born," that he came hither from Philadelphia, and that his residence in this city covered a little more than four years. What a pity it was not ten times as long!

Yet, Christopher Marshall has made one of the most valuable contributions to our local history that we possess. For many years he kept a diary, a "Remembrancer," as he was pleased to call it, which, I believe I risk little in saying, is the fullest, most trustworthy and readable of all the similar productions of that period that have come down to us. Indeed, I know of nothing of a similar nature concerning Lancaster city and county at the period covered by this diary that is at all comparable with it. He was an educated man, a man of affairs, much concerned and connected with what was going on around him, a person of

strong likes and dislikes, social by nature, brought into contact by his position and offices with nearly all the noted men of the period, sharp, shrewd and observing, and, as he wielded a caustic pen at times, we may readily conclude his remarks in his diary concerning men and things were likely to contain much of interest and value to us who come a hundred years after him. As his "Remembrancer" was intended solely for his own eye, with never a thought of its publication, he spoke and wrote with a freedom not to be looked for under less favorable circumstances, and it is this freedom from restraint that adds such piquancy to much he has written.

But before I enter upon the main purpose of my paper, which will be to show you through the medium of Marshall's diary what was going on in Lancaster one hundred and twenty years ago, I will present a brief sketch of the career of the man who wrote it.

Christopher Marshall was an Irishman by birth, having been born in the city of Dublin on November 6, 1709. He died in the city of Philadelphia on the 4th of May, 1797. This latter fact was not known to Mr. William Duane, the gentleman who edited the last edition of the Diary, published in 1839. His family must have been well-to-do, for he was sent to London, where he received a classical education. Like many other enterprising Irishmen, both before and since his time, a desire to push his fortunes in the world made him cast his eyes beyond the confines of his island home. Failing to secure the permission of his parents, he went away without their consent, for which act of disobedience he was promptly disowned. He crossed the Atlantic and made his way to Philadelphia. His age at that time I have been unable to learn, but he must have been quite a young man,

because he at once began the study of chemistry and pharmacy, for which he appears to have had a special aptitude. He established a drug house, and his firm was one of the largest and best known in its line in the colonies. During the Revolutionary War he supplied most of the drugs and medicines to the troops of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware.

He was a Quaker in creed, but at the breaking out of hostilities with the Mother Country he became an ardent patriot, virtually, a fighting Quaker. This brought him into disfavor with his church, and he was, accordingly, disowned by it for his active advocacy of the American cause. In spite of that treatment he seems to have clung to the creed of his youth, and his diary shows he was a frequent attendant at the Quaker meeting-house in this city during his residence here. His business prominence and attachment to the cause of the Colonies secured him a wide acquaintance among the members of the Continental Congress. His house was a favorite place of resort for these men, and his relations with them were both cordial and intimate. Being a man of education, wealth and standing he was naturally regarded as one of the prominent citizens of Pennsylvania.

During the entire period of the war he was an active participant in public affairs. He was a member of the Committee of Safety from its origin to the end of the war. In 1775, he was one of the twelve men selected as managers of a company "set on foot for making woollens, linens, and cotton," the election having been held in Carpenter's Hall. He was also a member of the committee that met in the State House in April, 1775, to consider what measures should be adopted in view of the "critical affairs of America."

His "Remembrancer" furnishes

abundant evidence of his interest and energy in these various stations. In fact, much of his time appears to have been taken up in attending to the duties that devolved upon him. Every page shows his devoted patriotism, and, while he was at times given to complaints of the manner in which certain things were done, or left undone, his attachment to the patriot cause was earnest, sincere and unquestioned. The manuscript copy of his diary was presented to the Pennsylvania Historical Society by his great-great-grandson, Charles Marshall, of Germantown.

His son, Charles Marshall, received a classical education, and when of proper age became a partner with his father and elder brother, Christopher, in the drug house, finally becoming the sole proprietor. In 1821 he, in conjunction with others, founded the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, and he became the first president of the same.

This is wandering far from Christopher Marshall's diary, but I have thought a sketch of the man himself would be a fitting introduction to the more immediate consideration of what is contained in the book itself. I return therefore to his "Remembrancer," which, I may here add, begins on January 9, 1774, and ends on September 24, 1781. The published book, however, does not include all that is in the manuscript. A portion was omitted by the editor, who says he did so because the omitted parts related mainly to business and private matters, of no interest to the public. He, however, remarks that nothing of general interest was left out, so nothing has been lost in consequence.

The time between the commencement of the diary and the period when Marshall came to Lancaster, that is, from January 9, 1774, until June 27, 1776, is occupied wholly with Philadelphia, State and Colonial affairs. Hundreds

of very interesting occurrences are detailed. He was an ardent patriot and every incident, however trivial, even every rumor, connected with public affairs is related. It was a period of great excitement in Philadelphia, which was then the largest city in the Colonies, and he notes everything he thought of interest.

Emigration to Pennsylvania.

We may note what a heavy immigration there was into Pennsylvania at that time. He says on May 21, 1774, a ship arrived from Belfast with 450 passengers. On July 11, another from Newry brought 450 more. On July 15 another ship from Belfast with 400. On the 25th, one with 220. On August 6, one with 350, and another on the same day with 300. On the 10th, 400 more from Londonderry. On the 30th another from the same place with 600. And they kept coming at intervals of a few days from England, Ireland and other countries. Then, as always, Pennsylvania was the favorite home of European immigrants.

While these people were coming across the sea another class of persons were also finding their way to Philadelphia. These were the Delegates sent by other Colonies to meet in Philadelphia to consider the great questions which had arisen with the Mother Country. He announces the arrival of almost all the men with whose names we have become so familiar.

Many of the ships that came into port, and the character of their cargoes, are reported. It is simply wonderful what an amount of rum, brandy and wine came into the country. And we learn that most of the enemy's merchant vessels captured by our privateers were largely loaded with the same products. The conviction is inevitable that our patriot fathers were

by no means averse to a social glass—or more.

On April 24, 1774, the first express arrived with a report of the fight at Lexington. From that time the diary becomes a chronicle of war news and war rumors. It is simply surprising how many rumors were set afloat. Every day brought something new, which remained the town talk until confirmed or denied, when some fresh report came along. As all news came by boat or horseback, the delays were often very annoying.

The daily meetings of the Continental Congress are also faithfully chronicled, and the more important measures mentioned and commented upon.

His Country House.

He had a country home, which he called the "place," to which he went every day or two for pleasure and recreation. This place was in Moyamensing, between Broad street and the Irish Tract Lane. To this place he often invited the members of Congress to dine and to drink. He appears to have been on very intimate terms with nearly all of them. They were calling on him and he on them almost every day. Many of them were frequent diners at his son Christopher's, and here he also met them very frequently. John and Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine, John Jay, Silas Deane, Christopher Gadsden, Roger Sherman, Governor Ward, John Hancock, John Langdon, Thomas Mifflin, Governor Hopkins, Thomas Paine and many more were almost in daily communication with him.

The Committee of Safety appears to have met almost daily in the old Coffee House, and to that place he went almost every day, and in the evening also. The rooms of the Philosophical Society were also a favorite resort for the public officials and the various local committees. But I can delay in

Philadelphia no longer, and must hasten to the time when he came to Lancaster. I will make but one extract from the diary before that period. It is under the date of August 29, 1776, when he wrote: "My wife rose early to visit the wharves for wood; all bare. One vessel, with twenty-three cords of hickory and oak, just sold before she came, altogether for twenty-nine shillings for hickory and twenty shillings for oak." This seems odd for the wife to do, but she was a wife worth having, as we shall see later on.

In Lancaster.

"April 7, 1777. Eat breakfast soon, as my wife was getting ready to go a journey with my son, Christopher, as far as Lancaster, in order to view a house and lot that were to be sold by Col. Cox, in order for me and my family to remove there, as I am so poorly in my health, and to be out of the difficulties should this city be invaded, as I am not capable of rendering assistance. They went on horseback about eleven o'clock."

The wife and son's report must have been favorable, because on the 16th, nine days later, he has this entry:

"Near five came Paul Fooks, Dr. Phyle and Col. Cox, who brought the deeds for the house in Lancaster, and executed his to me, for which I then paid him." On June 6 he records having "paid John Whitehill £48 for hauling five loads of goods to Lancaster; two from Philadelphia, three from the Trap." On the 27th he records having "arrived at Lancaster, near seven. I was really tired, the road so hilly and stony, and I being so poorly."

His Place of Residence.

I may mention at this point the location of the property purchased by Mr. Marshall in this city. It originally consisted of four lots, each of 64 feet 4½ inches wide, on the north side of

East Orange street, between Lime and Shippen, and extending northward to Marion alley. There were two lots to the east of him on the block, the one on the corner owned by James Hamilton, and the other, next to him, by John Hambright, who had a brewery on it. On the west side, the corner lot on Shippen street was owned by Rev. Thomas Barton, the Episcopal clergyman, and the one next to it by Robert Thornberg. Subsequently Marshall bought the Thornberg property also, and then owned five-eighths of the entire front on Orange street. His house was the third from the Lime street corner. It was a stately brick mansion, three stories high, with basement. It is still standing, but is now much changed. An excellent picture of it as it was 100 years ago is still in existence. With a front of about 328 feet and a depth of 245 feet, he had ample room for his orchard and garden, in which he took great delight and where he was wont to retire for meditation and rest from the many duties he always had on his hands. Pursch, the celebrated Swedish botanist, who visited the United States in 1799, says he found four botanical gardens in this country: Bartram's, in Philadelphia; Woodlands, near that city; Dr. Hosack's, at New York, and Marshall's, in Lancaster.

Poor Market.

On July 13 he records some trials he encountered, as follows: "We have had some difficulties to encounter here, as the people have taken offense against the Philadelphians (there was quite a colony of them in Lancaster at that time), who, some of them, have not behaved prudently, so that at last the country folks would scarcely bring them anything to market. But I'm in hopes, as some are gone and more going, that the harmony that once subsisted will return again. I've not been

able to get a load of hay or wood, as yet, nor pasture for my horse. Had not my wife bought a load in the spring, and we sent some bushels of oats stowed in our bacon (wagon?), he must have suffered, but we have a lot adjoining us; though small, it serves to turn him in just to stretch his legs I just give this note by way of memento, to remember some of our difficulties. Yet I must say that the people of note, that I have had the pleasure of seeing and conversing with, have behaved extremely polite and kind to me, and some of the females have come and visited my wife and more have promised."

He quickly became interested in the Mennonites he found here, and he records that on August 1 he had a religious conversation at his neighbor's, Dr. Neff, with a Mennonite preacher. Later, on the same day, he was visited by another, named Benjamin Ereson, Jr., who gave him their Confession of Faith to read.

Under date of August 15 he writes: "To writing, being engaged at times for this week past in correcting the Annals of the Brethren at Ephrata, left with me by Peter Miller and Obed Hacker, when here to visit me." That entry is important and suggests some queries. Was it the "Chronicon Ephratense" to which he refers? As its original form was German, therefore Marshall must have been a German scholar. That he was may be inferred from the quotation made a moment ago, that a Mennonite preacher had loaned him their confession of faith to read. That surely was in German. But, if the Ephrata Annals of which he speaks were not the "Chronicon," then what were they?"

Peter Miller was an English scholar. Did he translate the "Chronicon" into English and submit his work to Marshall for correction? If so, this must

have been that work. What has become of it?

On the 21st he writes: "This afternoon I finished my correcting of the manuscripts or History of the Brethren at Ephrata, containing four hundred and eighty-eight quarto pages."

On the 22d he made a contract with Joseph Walter, the barber, to call and shave him twice a week, for 36 shillings a year.

Many Prisoners Here.

On the 24th he notes that he took a walk to the barracks, after dinner, and stayed there until the English, Scotch and Irish prisoners, to the number of 200, marched out, under a strong guard, for Reading. One day later he again went to the barracks and waited until "our division of Hessian prisoners, consisting of 345, marched out, under a strong guard (with some women and baggage wagons, as the prisoners yesterday had done) for Lebanon."

I may mention that Lancaster appears to have been a favorite place for rendezvousing prisoners. Perhaps most of those captured north of the Potomac were, at some time or another, located here, as being the safest point.

I find that large bodies of prisoners were at times quartered here. On July 5, 1781, the Burgesses of the borough addressed a long communication to the Governor and Supreme Executive Council of the State, in which they represented that the barracks would accommodate 900 or 1,000 men, but that there were at that moment 1,400 prisoners of war huddled therein, besides 600 women and children, and that a fatal disorder was carrying off many. They further represent that the country adjacent has been drained of its provisions for some years past, owing to the great number of soldiers and prisoners. Also, that the presence of such large numbers of the enemy

renders the place insecure. It is added that there are too many disaffected persons in the vicinity who would count it meritorious could they aid in the escape of the prisoners. The health of the inhabitants, the security of the town and the rights of humanity were urged as the reasons for sending the address. [See Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. III., pp. 433-434.]

On the 26th he records that "on First Day morning (the) bellman went round this town, calling upon the inhabitants that had Hessian prisoners to take them to the barracks and have receipts for them; but very few obeyed." From this I infer that some of these prisoners were billeted upon the citizens, and that the latter were paid for keeping them. On the following day he notes that another "parcel of Hessian prisoners were sent off this day to Lebanon."

On the 29th he writes: "Yesterday there went from this town, under guard, 365 Hessian prisoners for Carlisle and adjacent places. One wonders where so many Hessian prisoners could have come from. More seem to have left Lancaster within ten days than were captured at Trenton. Some of those who were taken prisoners at Saratoga, by General Gates, came later.

Congress off for York.

On September 12 he says: "I went into town (Lancaster must have been a very small place when the corner of Lime and Orange streets was considered out of town), an alarm being spread that some of Howe's Light Horse had been seen at Pequea church." It was a false alarm. Such rumors were everyday occurrences, and generally received credence from the people. Our diarist gets angered at this, and remarks, "It is wonderful to hear and see the progress and fertility of the lying spirit, that moves about in and through the different classes of

men in this place, attended with such twistings, windings and turnings that it seems impossible to fix any truth upon them."

President Hancock's arrival on the 25th is mentioned. On the 29th he took leave of many members of Congress who left for York. He also states that many Philadelphians had accompanied Congress, among whom were the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Executive Council, members of the Assembly; the latter met in the Court House on the 29th. On the following day he went to look at some Virginian troops encamped on the commons. From thence he went into the main street, near the prison, and met a large number of prisoners just brought into town from Bethlehem, and on their way to Virginia. These were stirring days. Troops were coming and going continually; some to General Washington's army and others to their homes or elsewhere.

On October 14 I find this recorded: "I went into town, this being Election Day. The following gentlemen were elected in Lancaster: William Brown, Alexander Lowery, Philip Marstiler, James Anderson, John McMullen and Ludwick Lauman. The election was conducted with great order and sobriety."

Joy Over Burgoyne's Surrender.

The joyful news of Burgoyne's surrender had been current for some days, but on the 20th it was fully confirmed. On that day he made this entry: "As it was rainy weather we all went to bed past eight. Near nine, alarmed by Timothy Matlack, who came to inform me that an express had just arrived in town with the news of Howe's quitting Philadelphia and General Washington in full pursuit of his army. This was joyful news, indeed. I then went to bed, but had not lain long when Major Wertz came,

with boy, lantern and candle, on the same errand. I then arose and conversed till he went away; then to bed. Not long there before Robert Taggart came with his lantern. After he was gone I went to bed. Not being easy, Dr. Phyle (who, it seems, was lodging with him) arose. We dressed ourselves, went into town; met with many heartily rejoicing; then to Jordan's (a tavern); stayed in large company till near twelve; then home in the rain to bed, before one." After all, this news was premature. On the following day, the 21st, more rejoicings are described. Hear him: "In the evening went into town, having first prepared our front windows with conveniency of fixing candles for the illumination this night on account of General Burgoyne's defeat. A further account came this evening, and was read in the Court House room, where the principal inhabitants, with many others, strangers, were collected, to spend the evening in a kind of festivity on the occasion, which was conducted with great sobriety and prudence. There were many patriotic healths drunk and a cold collation. The part of the battalion under arms that was in the borough paraded the streets, fired a jeu de joie with many manoeuvres, drums, fifes, playing in the room. I came away with a great many others about nine." It appears they acted on such occasions pretty much as we do now.

On November 22 he sounds a different note. "About half after seven, before I arose, hearing a great noise like an empty wagon going over a gutter. When Robert Whitehill arose, he asked if I had heard the earthquake; he said it made the house shake to the foundations. This was felt by many, whom I heard talking of it in town." At this time war news, mostly false rumors, occurs in almost every entry.

Quakers Sent into Exile.

The Quakers here were nearly all Tories, and gave the authorities continuous trouble. On December 11, he says some of these sent into exile in Virginia were found to be in correspondence with some persons in Lancaster to depreciate the currency. The result was all the Quaker prisoners were sent to Staunton, Va., and the leader, Owen Jones, was ordered into close confinement without the use of pen, ink or paper, and the rest promised the same treatment unless they took an affirmation that they would neither act, speak nor write anything against the independence of the United States. On the 13th he records a rumor that Howe had marched up the Lancaster road to the Sorrel Horse, thirteen miles from the city of Lancaster. It was a false rumor, and the next day Marshall fired this shot: "Some people pretended to have heard a firing of cannon this morning.....This is a strange age and place, in which I now dwell, because nothing can be had cheap but lies, falsehood and slanderous accusations. Love and Charity, the badge of Christianity, is not so much as named amongst them." The rumor about Howe was enough, however, to scare the Executive Council which packed up all its papers and records and sent them to York.

A Whack at the Times.

On the 25th, Christmas day, he notes the arrival in town of General Conway, him of cabal notoriety. He also chronicles the fact that "we had a good roast turkey, plain plum pudding, and minced pies." On the 27th, he says: "I spent the evening at home examining part of the History of Ephrata, brought me by Peter Miller for my inspection and correction." He adds this new note in the old key: "There appears to be no kind of news to be de-

pended upon, but as for lies, this place is really pregnant and brings forth abundance daily, I might safely say, hourly." This was evidently one of his bilious periods, for on the next day, the 29th, he breaks out in this violent manner: "Our affairs wear a gloomy aspect. Great part of our army gone into winter quarters; those in camp wanting breeches, shoes, stockings, blankets, and by accounts brought yesterday were in want of flour, yet being in the land of plenty, our farmers having their barns and barracks full of grain; hundreds of barrels of flour lying on the banks of the Susquehanna, perishing for want of care in securing it from the weather, and from the danger of being carried away, if a freshet should happen in the river; our enemies revelling in balls, attended with every degree of luxury and excess in the city (Philadelphia); rioting and wantonly using our houses, utensils and furniture; all this and a thousand of other abuses we endure from that handful of banditti, to the amount of six or seven thousand men, headed by that monster of rapine, Gen. Howe. All this is done in the view of our Generals and our army, who are careless of us, but carefully consulting where they shall go to spend the winter in jollity, gaming and carousing. O, Americans, where is now your virtue? O, Washington, where is your courage?"

On December 29 we have this brief, but important bit of information: "Visited in the evening by Dr. Yeardwell, who told me they had made a hospital at Ephrata, in which were near two hundred and forty-seven sick and wounded men." The next day he was once more at work on the Ephrata book, as I find this entry: "I then went to writing or, more properly, correcting the Annals of Ephrata, and so continued till bed time, near eleven o'clock."

January 4, 1778: "Soon after came Wm. Atlee's son and daughter, enquiring for the doctor (Phyle, who was staying at Marshall's). The request was that he would go to our neighbour's house to take care of an English prisoner (but he turns out to be one of the new raised levies in New Jersey) that they had sent there to be nursed, he being very poorly, and his name was Mrs. Atlee's maiden name, and this has induced her to take so much care of him. A poor excuse, when, at this same time, there are near upon two or three hundred of our State's soldiers in the greatest distress and extremity for real want of a little straw to lie upon." Wrought upon by this little incident, he breaks out in the most violent manner at the people for their shortcomings as they present themselves to him.

Tribute to His Wife.

But I come now to a nugget of extreme richness, under date of January 6, which I shall quote entire, despite its great length. He writes: "As I have, in this Memorandum, taken scarcely any notice of my wife's employment, it might appear as if her engagements were trifling, the which is not the case, but the reverse, and to do that justice which her services deserve by entering them minutely would take up most of my time, for this genuine reason how that, from early in the morning until late at night, she is constantly employed in the affairs of the family, which for some months has been very large, for, besides the addition to our family, the house is a constant resort of comers and goers, who seldom go away with dry lips and hungry bellies. This calls for her constant attendance, not only to provide, but also to attend at getting prepared in the kitchen, baking our own bread and pies, meat, &c., but also on the table. Her cleanliness

about the house, her attendance in the orchard, cutting and drying apples, of which several bushels have been procured, add to which her making of cider without tools, for the constant drink of the family, her seeing all our washing done, and her fine cloths and my shirts, the which are all smoothed by her; add to this the making of twenty large cheeses, and that from one cow, and daily using milk and cream, besides her sewing, knitting, &c. Thus she looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness, yea, she also stretcheth out her hand and she reacheth out her hand to her needy friends and neighbors. I think she has not been above four times since her residence has been here (it was more than six months since she had come to Lancaster) to visit her neighbors, nor through mercy has she been sick for any time, but has at all times been ready, in any affliction to me or my family, as a faithful nurse and attendant, both day and night, so that I can in great truth take the words of the wise man and apply them to my case: Prov. 31: 10, 11, 12." That is a passage that reflects infinite credit on her of whom it was written and on him who wrote it. I may add that in the Pennsylvania Freeman's Journal of September 4, 1782, only a few years after this panegyric was written, I find this record: "On Monday, August 26, died at Lancaster, in the sixty-first year of her age, Mrs. Abigail Marshall, the late admirable consort of Christopher Marshall, Esq., and on Wednesday, the 28th, her corpse was interred in the Friends' burying ground, attended by a numerous and respectable concourse of people, both from town and country." A noble tribute to her charity, hospitality and many other Christian virtues follows. On the same day that he recorded the foregoing tribute, he says:....."Dr. Phyle

and I then finished correcting the *Annals of Ephrata*."

The Outcry Against Washington.

On January 10 George Bryan and Dr. Rush spent the evening at his house; they left at nine o'clock and then he wrote these remarkable words, which serve to give us an insight into the perturbed condition of public sentiment: "By the conversation with those gentlemen to-night, there appears to be a general murmur in the people about the city and county against the weak conduct of General Washington. His slackness and remissness in the army are so conspicuous that a general languor must ensue, except some heroic action takes place speedily, but it's thought by me that G. W. must be the man to put such a scheme into practice. Notwithstanding, cry begins to be raised for a Gates, a Conway, a De Kalb, a Lee, but those men can't attain it. Such is the present concern of fluctuating minds."

Something must have occurred to disturb his usually quiet frame of mind, on January 22, as he has another whack at our citizens. Hear him: "This is a wonderful place for variety of sentiments and behaviour. You may speak and converse with some, whose sweet countenances will tell you that you are highly agreeable to them while you talk to them in their way, but change the discourse by asking them to spare some hay, oats for horse, wheat, rye, wood, butter, cider for yourselves, etc., etc., to be paid for in Congress money; or that the English army is likely to be defeated and our people get the victory, Oh! then, their serene countenances are all overcast, a lowering cloud spreads all over their horizon; they have nothing to say, nay, scarcely to bid you farewell."

Revolutionary Gaiety.

On January 29 he notes that General

Conway and the Marquis de Lafayette passed through, on their way from York to Philadelphia. On the 31st he writes: "There was a grand ball last night, or entertainment, kept at the house of William Ross, the tavern keeper, which it is said was very brilliant, at which, it's said, were above one hundred men and women assembled, dressed in all their gaiety, cold collation with wine, punch, sweet cakes, music, dancing and singing." Whereat he was, of course, much disgusted. On the 21st of February he adds: "Last night was a grand ball, this being the third held in town lately, notwithstanding the grievous sufferings that this State lies under and labors with. Last night, I understand, there was in Lancaster what is called a brilliant ball, to which assembled a great number of fops, fools, etc., of both sexes, old and young. It was kept at the house of Major Wertz, formerly a tailor." On March 6th we have more heartache; listen to it: "Last Sixth Day another ball or assembly in Lancaster, where, it is said, cards were played at a hundred dollars a game. President (Governor) Wharton there. O, poor Pennsylvania. It is said that the people who keep the ball in Lancaster allow the Hessian band of music Fifteen Pounds for each night's attendance."

Death of Governor Wharton.

On April 2 he bought four lottery tickets for sundry parties. On the 5th he tells of the arrival of Generals Gates, Mifflin and Lee. On May 11 he states that the Court House was illuminated, and some brass cannon fired a salute of thirteen guns, besides small arms and bonfires, on account of the alliance concluded with France. On May 23 the death of Governor Wharton is recorded, after an illness of eight or ten days. He says preparations were

made at the Court House for a grand burial in the afternoon of the 24th, at the Lutheran Church. The vestry gave an invitation and permission for him the Oath of Allegiance. Among the on the day mentioned. Under the same date he says that petitions came into the Assembly to take Abjuration out of petitioners were the Rev. Thomas Barton and the Moravian minister at Bethlehem; the latter declared "he could not, nor would not do it, let the consequence be as it may." He also had a visit from John Carryle, a Mennonite, about the test oath, and he mentions that ten persons of the same persuasion were brought in from the county and committed to jail for refusing to take the oath.

Visits Philadelphia.

General Howe having evacuated Philadelphia, Marshall decided to pay a visit to that city. He set out on June 24. The diary reads: "Baited at the sign of the Hat; then proceeded to the sign of the Wagon; dined there; from there went to the sign of the White Horse, and soon went to bed..... Stayed for breakfast; stopped at the Union; at the Black Horse baited..... Crossed the bridge at the Market street ferry." He remained in Philadelphia, attending to his business affairs. He returned on July 15 and 16. Being to be buried there, a thing which the Episcopalians neglected to do. Wharton was buried with military honors unable to hire domestic help, we are treated to another bilious outburst on the 19th: "My dear wife meets with little respite all day, that proverb being verified that 'woman's work is never done'.....It seems a little discouraging to have no help about us, besides living in a neighborhood of lumps of mortality, formed in the shape of men and women, but so unpolished, so hoggish and selfish, that

no good, kind sociability makes any impression upon their boorish nature."

August 17 finds him going to Philadelphia again. The first stop was at the sign of the Hat; then proceeded, but stopped on the road to eat some gammon and drink some toddy; slept at the sign of the Wagon, and so on until he reached Philadelphia, at 5 o'clock on the second day. On September 11 he heard his wife was very ill, so he set out on his return. The diary reads: "Rained pretty smart until after we passed the Schuylkill. Proceeded over the bridge at French Creek; came to Potts'; fed our horses; then proceeded and reached Jones' tavern, where we dined. Reached Capt. Reese's tavern at the Blue Ball by dusk. Here we took up our residence for the night. On the whole, we had middling good weather, yet both we and horses were tired as the roads were so exceedingly hilly and stony, and I think longer and worse than the great road is over the Valley Hills. We scarcely met any travelers on this road, but saw plenty of squirrels. We drank coffee for supper and slept in our great coats, stockings, etc., for fear of fleas and bugs. We rose early (on the 13th). I paid the reckoning, thirty-eight shillings and ten pence. Set off for Lancaster; passed through New Holland, in which were many, but indifferent, and some good houses, built in the Dutch fashion, on both sides of one long continued street. The men, women and children seemed to be plenty, mostly Germans and of the middling sort. The roads here were in general good, fine woodland and many fine plantations, with a great quantity of wild pigeons and squirrels, regaling themselves in the fields and in the woods, with some flocks of partridges. We reached Lancaster past ten; found my wife abed and very poorly."

On October 3 note is made of the fact

that "Parson Barton (the Tory Episcopal clergyman) moved off the last of his effects, in two covered wagons." On the same day a lot of Scotch, English and Hessian prisoners came to town. "They had not the appearance of our poor, emaciated countrymen, discharged by the English tyrants. Ours were reduced to the utmost extremity; these, hearty, plump, and fat, with wagons to carry their baggage, women and children; ours so stripped as hardly to have rags to cover them."

Honesty of the People.

People in those days were no better than now, according to the following entry on October 5: "Breakfasted; then to picking some apples left in the orchard, as the wind blew so fresh and I had turned the cow into the orchard, for as she was in such fine order I was apprehensive some of our ordinary butchers might make too free and take her to their homes. I presume that yesterday, while I was at the burial, some persons got into the orchard and took away most of my pears, though not fully ripe, and I had kept them there to ripen." He also records on the following day that he "spent part of the forenoon with Levi Marks, who called to see me and kindly invited me to come and dine with him, and this I should remark that none of my friends in Lancaster have paid me that compliment since my wife went to Philadelphia," which was nearly three weeks before.

Burgoyne's Soldiers.

On the 13th it was rumored that Burgoyne's army had crossed the Conestoga, but it was a mistake. On the following day, however, 781 of them came to town, and on the 15th came two more regiments, numbering 873. On the 17th the Third Division of Burgoyne's army arrived, amounting to 923

prisoners. On the 19th the foregoing three divisions left and the First Division of German prisoners came in, numbering 947, besides women and children. More of them came on the 20th, 935 in number. "A great many Dutch round Lancaster came in to-day, I presume to wait upon the German prisoners." All these soldiers moved off on the 21st and 22nd.

On January 1, 1779, we have this record of a custom which has survived until our own time: "The Dutch kept firing guns last night and to-day, it being, it's said, customary. On February 5 saw two men standing in the pillory for horse stealing. On March 1, came General Pulaski's regiment of Light Horse and Tagers. On the 11th, nine of Colonel White's Light Horsemen were whipped at the barracks for mutiny because their provisions were not good and their pay overdue." On the 24th he met a Lancastrian, of whom he approved: "Visited by Philip Thomas, carpenter, I think the most sensible, resigned Christian I have conversed with in this place. Lent him a book called 'The Everlasting Gospel.'"

On May 8th, he made another trip to Philadelphia, reaching there the same day. He set out on his return on June 11th, and got home on the 12th. On the 14th he was made Chairman of a committee of fifteen to fix the prices of provisions. Under the date of June 27, I find this gem: "After breakfast, I planted a number of coxcombs, although there are a number of two-footed ones in this borough."

Celebration of Independence Day.

July 5 was made memorable in this city by the celebration of Independence Day. Colonel Glotz's battalion was in town, and with a committee, of which he was the head, preceding it, marched down South Queen street to a

piece of woodland, where there was a grand time, thirteen toasts being proposed and responded to, he acting as Toastmaster. During the night he was aroused by strains of music. It was the town band, who informed him they came to honor him for his good and prudent conduct to the borough. The Tories also had a jubilee of their own, at which they got drunk, paraded around the Court House, cursed the committee, called them rebels, and even came to blows with the patriots.

The officers and men captured by General Wayne, at Stony Point, came into Lancaster on August 4. On the 28th he was "visited by two English officers, prisoners, to know if I would let them part of my house. I received them politely, yet let them know my sentiments so freely that they will not make a fresh inquiry, I think."

On January 21, 1780, we have this entry: "Learned that there was a splendid Assembly last night at the Court House; twenty-one ladies, double the quantity of men, band of music, dancing, singing, gaming and carousing. It is said every subscriber is to pay Three Hundred Dollars."

Continental Currency Prices.

At this point the diary is almost audible with his groans over the extravagances of the times. He has been giving the cost of provisions and household necessities for some time, but on February 14th he has this: "After breakfast, I took a walk to the vendue of Cornelius Lands' household goods, where they were sold extravagantly, as per a specimen here annexed, to show that the people here in general set no store by our Continental money: A frying pan, Twenty-five Pounds; A wood-saw, Thirty-seven pounds, ten shillings; Three bone-handled knives, three ditto forks, rusty, Twenty-two

pounds, ten shillings; An old mare, eleven years old, for Eight hundred and five pounds; One gallon stone bottle, Seven Pounds, ten shillings; one common razor, without case, with hone for setting, Twenty pounds; one pair common spectacles in case, Eighteen pounds; small Dutch looking glass, six inches by four, no ornaments, but worse by age, Eight Pounds, ten shillings; fifty sheaves of oats for Eighty Pounds; an old eleven inch square-face eight-day clock, walnut case, Two hundred and ten Pounds; an old straw cutting knife and box, Fifty Pounds; and so, in general, throughout the sale, the which so amazed me that I told them it was high time for a Bedlam to be built in Lancaster."

Old Time Customs.

On March 15th this entry is made: "It's remarkable that two Whigs, namely William Henry and Ludwick Lauman, both brought up lately gold from Philadelphia for the English officers, prisoners here, and delivered it safe gratis; the first 150 guineas, the latter, 117 guineas." On May 4th he writes: "Great holiday with the Dutch, called Ascension Day." On the 6th we get a glimpse at the punishments of those days: "Yesterday, it's said, three men were whipped and pilloried, and one of them cropped (that is, his ears were cut off); this day, two whipped and pilloried; all of them, it's said, for horse stealing." On the 10th he went to the Court House and saw "a trial of a person for passing counterfeit money; brought in guilty; three others, from Virginia, acquitted, and one, Leech, who keeps tavern near the Gap, also acquitted, though, it's said, proof was strong against him. Numbers of people displeased with this last verdict, as they say this is not the first time he has been concerned in such base practices." On

the 13th he calls up an old practice among our fathers when he says: "This was a remarkable day for the German men and women, bleeding at (Dr.) Chrisley Neff's. So many came that I presume he must work hard to bleed the whole. Strange infatuation." On the 15th he speaks of another: "I went nowhere from home this day, although it's a very high holiday in this place, and as it was a most pleasant, agreeable, fine day, numbers were diverting themselves abroad, some riding, some walking, others playing long bullets, etc." It was Whit-Monday; but what game was long bullets? "Long bullets" was a favorite pastime of the long ago. It consisted in hurling to a distance, iron balls or bullets of the weight of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds.—From N. and Q. Second series, p. 197. On June 27th he set out for Philadelphia, and got there on the 28th. He returned on the 10th of July.

On July 19 he says: "Visited by William Henry; took a walk in the garden and slayed some time in conversation. He said that (Matthias) Slough had acted very imprudently, as he heard; that he had caused the gold, before he paid it away, to be clipped very close, and thereby procured a large sum by this, his depreciation, very unjustly." We may add that Col. Slough was engaged in buying horses for the use of the French army.

Quakers Not Numerous.

Although disowned by the regular Quakers, he still held to that faith. On August 6th he notes: "I went to Friends Meeting, where were fifteen menkind and eight womenkind, among which were included four strange men and one woman, likewise Polly Dickenson, who, with Thos. Vickers, spoke for some time." On the 14th of January, 1781, he attended another service in the same place, at which only nine

men, two women, and two boys were present.

December 10: "Went to meeting that consisted of six men and self, four boys, three women and two girls. At this meeting Daniel Whitelock was disowned for excessive drinking and joining with the company that celebrated the Independency of America on the fifth of last July." Again on February 18, 1781: "My wife and I went to meeting, that consisted of eight men, seven women, five boys and three girls (silent.)"

From these entries we conclude the Quakers were not numerous in this locality at that time, nor at any time. At this last meeting he says "Caleb Cope stood up and read a paper of excommunication against Alice Harry for marrying James Ramsey, who and she are constant attenders of this meeting. I thereupon got up and came home."

His orchard gave him some trouble. Under date of August 9, 1780, he writes: "Arose early, being a warm night, and some of our neighbors being too free in the orchard." He set his servant Antony to watch, but the latter fell asleep. Antony, by the way, was a character and almost worried the soul out of Mr. Marshall by his peculiarities and tantrums. On August 15th is this entry about his orchard and his neighbor, Dr. Neff: "Towards evening I caught Antony giving a quantity of our only best, ripe apples in the orchard through the fence to Dr. Neff and some of his grandchildren. This I thought exceedingly mean and below the character of a man of honor and a neighbor (and who had about a week past collected what he had upon such a like tree and stowed them away. Upon my seeing them collected, he being at his door, I asked the reason as they were not yet ripe. He said some of them had been stolen, and he did this to have some for themselves.)" He was

fast losing his good opinion of Dr. Neff.

Low Water and High Wine.

October 12th, 1780. Under this date we have this: "It's said that the Susquehanna and Conestoga rivers, through the long drought, are so low that people may walk over them by stepping from stone to stone." Conviviality appears to have been rather expensive in those days, as this entry under date of November 23 testifies. "I then went to Casper Shaffner's; then Casper Shaffner, Daniel White-lock, Jacob Miller and self went to John Frank's and drank three pints of Madeira wine. Jacob paid for it one hundred and fifty dollars." Under date of December 23, he says: "My wife rose early, having some things to do; made a fire in my room; called her negro woman, which affronted her so that she behaved very saucy to her mistress. Hearing the noise in the kitchen I arose, went, found Madam very impertinent. This obliged me to give her sundry stripes with a cowskin, but as she promised to behave better in future I was pacified for the present."

Poll.

He had another servant called Poll, who was a very important as well as very troublesome character in Mr. Marshall's household. Her mother was a negro, who had long been a servant in the family. She died and left her young daughter Poll an unwelcome legacy to Mrs. Marshall. Page upon page of the diary is taken up with the doings and misdeeds of the wench. She was incorrigible and worthless, with a fondness for the admiration of the stronger sex that neither persuasion nor stripes could overcome. She would leave her master's house whenever the whim took her, and remain away until another whim caused her return. Mar-

shall, himself, was anxious to get rid of her, but her kind-hearted mistress ever seemed to think that having taken charge of her when young, she must put up with her wrong-doing and evil conduct under all circumstances. She even rode on horseback to York, in search of the girl, who had gone there on one of her periodical flights and brought her back. Hopelessly irreclaimable, she was the only recorded cause of discord in the Marshall household. Of her fate we are not told. Poll was a character, and her affairs enliven many pages of the diary.

February 5, 1781, records this passage: "I visited Dr. Neff, very poorly; prescribed and mixed a julep for him. Although he and his son are so cried up for skill, my judgment is that they are quite Ignoramuses in preparing and administering physic with any degree of sound judgment."

To Philadelphia and Return.

On May 27th he set out for Philadelphia, lodged at Downingtown, and got to the city on the 28th. He started on his return trip on July 22d, and got to Lancaster on the 23d, and here I take my leave of this most interesting chronicle. I have merely skimmed the surface, but even then its value as a narrative of events and a picture of the times in this city and county must be apparent to every one. The last entry is on September 24, 1781. As already stated, he died in Philadelphia in 1797. Why he discontinued his diary sixteen years before his death can only be conjectured. One year after the entries cease his wife died. He was greatly attached to her, and her death or his illness may, perhaps, have also contributed to that end. I do not know when he returned to Philadelphia to remain.

President Steinman's Illustrated Copy.

It will interest the members of this

society to know that our worthy President, Mr. George Steinman, has for a number of years been gathering materials for an illustrated copy of this most interesting book. The book itself is a small duodecimo, while Mr. Steinman's copy will be enlarged to that of a large quarto and extended to three thick volumes. I need hardly say that neither time nor expense has been spared in procuring his materials for this purpose. How many years he has been engaged in the work and how many dollars it has cost him would, perhaps, not be wise to tell, but the book is a monument of loving labor in a good cause.

It would be impossible for me to give you more than a faint idea of the treasures he has collected, but I will yet be permitted to give you some outline of what he has done. There are, perhaps, 1,000 illustrations; they consist of autograph letters, portraits, pictures of buildings and places, and everything else accessible that is spoken of in the diary. Let me quote a few persons who are represented by letters or otherwise in the volume. There are letters from Generals Washington, Lafayette, Knox, Sullivan, Lee, Gates, Wayne and others, on the American side, and of Generals Howe, Gates, Amherst, Clinton and others on the British side. The signers of the Declaration of Independence are represented by John Hancock, Dr. Franklin, Ross, Rutledge, Clymer, John Adams, Caesar Rodney, Benjamin Harrison, Dr. Rush, Wilson, Morris and others. Michael Hillegas, the Treasurer of the young nation, is here; so is Charles Thompson, the Secretary of the Continental Congress; Jos. Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania; Governors Wharton, Snyder and McKean, and Franklin, of New Jersey; Silas Dean, our Minister to France; David Rittenhouse, astronomer and Treasurer of

the State, and a host of other worthies.

These few facts will serve to give you some conception of the labor its collection has entailed. It is an enduring monument to his zeal, his patience and his enterprise, from which there is only one reward—the pleasure the labor has given him.

Prices in 1779, '80 and '81,

As a matter of interest, the prices of food and other articles as found in the Diary are here appended; the amounts are, of course, in Continental currency:

At Lancaster in 1779.

Oct. 19. Butter, per pound....	\$ 4.00
Nov. 11. Rye, per bushel.....	37.33
Nov. 11. A load of wood.....	35.00
Dec. 8. Milk, per quart.....	66
Dec. 10. Hogs, per pound.....	2.00

1780.

July 11. Oats, per bushel.....	21.00
July 5. Butter per pound.....	12@18
July 15. Mutton, per pound..	4.00
July 20. Huckleberries, per quart	3.75
July 26. A dough tray.....	55.00
August 1. Sixpenny nails, per pound	14.00
Aug. 12. Oats, per bushel.....	18.00
Sep. 23. A hickory broom....	4.00
Oct. 12. A skein of thread....	2.00
Oct. 14. A loaf of bread.....	4.00
Nov. 8. Chestnuts, per quart..	3.00
Nov. 23. Madeira wine, per pint	50.00
Nov. 18. Eight-penny nails, per pound	20.00

1781.

Feb. 28. A peck of white beans	23.00
March 2. Eggs, per dozen.....	6.00
March 21. Tow linen, per yard.	20.00
April 28. Butter, per pound..	12.00

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