CHAPTER THIRTY

HENRY PEARSALL
of Hempstead, Long Island, New York

This chapter has been in part deleted. See Note, page 1041.

SECTION 1.

HENRY PEARSALL, son of Thomas Pearsall of England and Virginia, Chapter 27, Section 1, resided at Pearsall, Hellgate Neck, and Hempstead, Long Island, New Netherland. He married Ann Valentine, widow of Moyles Williams. The Valentines were Dutch-English traders. They were associated with the Pearsalls in Virginia in Isle of Wight County, where they were also closely related by marriage with the Marshall family, so much so that it is generally accepted that from the marriage of a Valentine and a Marshall descended John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, and Thomas Marshall, Vice-President of the United States. Children:—

1. Nathaniel Pearsall, born 1649; Chapter 30, Section 2.
2. Daniel Pearsall; Chapter 33 Section 1.
3. George Pearsall; Chapter 37 Section 1.
4. Thomas Pearsall; Chapter 44, Section 1.

His will is among the records of the Surrogate's Office of the City of New York. There is also a release to his estate from the children of Michael (Moyles) Williams, which reads as follows:—This may certify to any whom these presents doth concerne That wee John Williams, Joseph Williams and Timothy Halsted doth by these presents for us our heyres Executors or Administrators. Acquit & discharge forever our late ffather in law Henry Persall him, his heyers, Executors Administrators or Assigns, from all dues or demands of Houses, or Lands of Inheritance or any other Lands known by any other title soever, And all other Goods & Chattles whatsoever, that formerly were our owne ffathers Michael Williams deceased. [Father-in-law is a person married to a woman who had children by a former husband &c. to which children he is said to be a Father-in-law.]

Moyles Williams was one of the original Dutch-English traders and one of the first settlers at Hempstead. Upon the patenting of the town, in 1644, he became one of the Proprietors. He died in December, 1644, which was before Dr. Denton and his party arrived from Stamford. The entry in the old Record Book of the Town discloses that there was laid out for the proprietary right of Moyles Williams ye following parcels of land, viz. To Thomas Williams, land lying northward of Herricks. To James Pine land lying at ye plain edge near ye pond ye east side of the highway, and land lying at ye North end of Pines Hundred acre Lott In ye North woods. To Joseph Smith, land Lying Where he Now Liveth Between Herricks and Success. To the family of Pearsalls at Herricks, that is to say the children of Moyles Williams, and their assigns land Lying to ye Westward of Herricks. This was merely a confirmation of the plot of land selected by Moyles

Williams before the patent and occupied by him at the time of his death. A careful reading of the old record book discloses most clearly that the first settlers of the town, who organized the first town and who were there before the patent was granted, did not surrender their old holdings to the new town, and receive new allotments for the same. The plan seems to have been to confirm these holdings by implied consent and start anew. Hence although the Pearsalls during all the time of Henry Pearsall's life occupied the old Williams house and lands, the records contain no reference thereto, except that the above entry speaks of them as living on this property at Herricks.

In this release signed by the Williams children their father is called Michael Williams, while in the records book of the division of land he is named as Moyles Williams a Proprietor, that is to say, an original investing adventurer in the Hempstead Town, and in the Town Records he is named as Moyles Williams. While the clerks were guilty of all kinds of bad spelling, they rarely failed to get a phonetic spelling which would indicate the real name of the party.

All the boyhood Henry Pearsall could remember was spent in Virginia on the shores of that wonderland, the Chesapeake Bay country. Here he witnessed the happenings of the chain of events which centered about the Dutch-English traders who had come there to handle and control the tobacco trade; and of which traders his father was the leader, both by personal domination as well as by representation of the largest, wealthiest and most influential interests.

As Henry Pearsall grew to youth he began to take a part in the exciting warfare which was incident both to the tobacco trade and the peltry trade with the Indians, until in early manhood he was a member of the party who attempted to found a trading post on the Delaware, where he, with his brothers and others, was captured and taken as prisoner to New Amsterdam only to be shortly released. In a few months he and his brothers returned and founded the town of Pearsall, later called Hellgate Neck, and which place ultimately became an outlying tributary of the patented town of Middleburg. Immediately the Pearsall brothers expanded into large cattle owners, owning herds which grazed upon the plains of Long Island. This branch of the business was delegated to Henry Pearsall, who, with others of his neighbors, moved over to the open country, where, in 1640, they started the town of Hempstead. But until, as a result of the civil war of the Commonwealth in England, they lost their fleet of merchant vessels, Henry Pearsall was always more or less in touch with those maritime trading expeditions which made the name of the family known in every part of the world. After the misfortunes of the civil wars had materially limited the influence of the Pearsalls in this world-wide trade, Henry Pearsall devoted himself to Hempstead.

His story up to this time will be found set out in interesting detail in Chapters 27 and 28 to which the attention of the reader is particularly directed. From this time his life became so interwoven with the history of Hempstead that we must depend upon its records, and the public records of New York, for the incidents of his life which attract our attention. It will be found that he was not only a large landed proprietor and a man of honor and influence, but that he fully merited the confidence confided in him by his fellow townsmen.

HOME OF HENRY PEARSALL OF HEMPSTEAD

In my research work on the genealogy and history of the Pearsall family I was most pleasantly surprised to find many of the old Pearsall houses still intact. When I discovered the one that had been the home of Henry Pearsall of Hempstead, I could hardly believe my own eyes, as I had supposed that it no longer existed save on the dim pages of history, and that its location had long since been forgotten. I was unable to accept the statement of the living as genuine until after the records had been searched, the exact location ascertained and a partition in the back staircase removed. The latter gave us access to a dingy garret, probably closed for more than a century, where we found evidence that removed all further doubt and confirmed what we had previously learned. Among other things we found the Dutch teapot that had been used by the family of Henry Pearsall. We also brought away the old hand-wrought key. History tells us that Henry Pearsall donated the land on which the Presbyterian Church was built and was a liberal supporter of the church; that he offered to build an annex to his house for the minister; provided other members of the congregation would lend their assistance. This little house stands today. Built against Henry's, as related in history, it gave mute evidence that we had not erred. The outside of Henry's house has been modernized to some extent by the addition of filigree work, dormer windows and a modern porch that undoubtedly had replaced an old one fallen to decay. I surveyed the scene with profound reverence for those who had lived and daily passed over its threshold. Upon our close examination of the old house the mystery of its preservation for so many decades, was revealed. The heavy structural timbers, and the lumber used in the outer construction, were hewed out of the choicest white oak, which was undoubtedly plentiful in early days. The whole was fastened together with heavy hand-wrought spikes and nails that seemed fit for at least another century of service. As we entered the house I was forcibly impressed with the good taste displayed in the finish which could hardly be improved upon at the present. A mahogany rail supported the balustrading of the stairs that led to the sleeping chambers above. Beyond the hall was a spacious reception room. The woodwork here, as throughout the house, save the mahogany rail, was painted white and showed the wear of ages. I regret to say that a family of Italians now occupy the old house, which ere long, like the houses of Henry and George, sons of Henry of Hempstead, will be razed to make room for more modern structures whose style of architecture, in that locality, is largely copied from the old historical homes. The Italians informed us that they had carried out and burned a clothes basket full of old letters, documents and papers, some of which they remembered bore the date of 1803. Hopeful that some of the papers might have escaped the flames, I asked the children of the house to make a search outside, but to our regret they found only fragments of letters that had been blown aside by the wind.

It will be noticed that nothing was laid out to Henry Pearsall himself, although he held large landed possessions. The record books of Hempstead disclosing that he was rated as the sixth largest land-holder in the town, and that his wealth in cattle and personal property had the same relative rank. The reason for this omission in the allotment book being that Henry Pearsall obtained his lands under the old town and before the new town was patented.

The Land and other records of the Town of Hempstead, disclose the following concerning the distribution of the Proprietary Right of Henry Pearsall:—To Elizabeth Pearsall, that is to say Elizabeth Williams, wife of George Pearsall, land at ye Beval and northward of ye Bevel. To Nathaniel Pearsall, of Cow Neck, land on ye south side of ye Road that leads from Masketicove against the Red path. To Thomas Pearsall, land lying southward of his house ye east side of Hempstead Harbour, land at the head of Cow Neck occupied by Thomas Cornell and land between Valentines Hundred and Richard Titus, in ye north woods. To Thomas Townsend, land at ye Bevel and on ye south side of ye hills ye east side of Masketicove Road. To Henry Pearsall, son of Thomas Pearsall, land northward of Westbury bounded by Edmund Titus and on the highway leading from Wheatly to ye Bevel. To Samuel Balden, land in ye woods north side of ye Hills Occupied by David Lewis.

January 19, 1663, At ye said town meeting was given to Henry Pearsall land upon ye hill on ye northeast of Herricks, commonly called Watermillion Hill. Watermelon Hill is a slightly rising ground at the foot of the Hills overlooking the plains. The property extended to the top of these Hills. It was subsequently divided, George Pearsall getting the part called Watermelon Hill, while Daniel Pearsall obtained the steep hillside. This property remained in his family until the beginning of the year 1917, when it was sold and is now occupied by one of the fine mansions that are appearing on the hills overlooking the Hempstead Plains. It was on this property that we found the old burying ground with its unmarked graves, which the present owner has so kindly protected by a clump of evergreens to beautify his park.

November 10, 1654, Henry Pearsall was nominated to the Governor to be appointed a magistrate. Henry Pearsall was a townsman in 1658 together with Robert Jackson, John Smith, Robert Carl, and Thomas Rushmore. He appears to have acted as treasurer of the town in 1658. [Hempstead Town Records, vol. 1, page 42, 49, 52, 54.

On the 5th of March, 1658, Henry sat as a member of the court held by the magistrates & townsmen of ye town of Hempstead. Those present were Mr. John Sticklan, Mr. Richard Gildersleve, Magistrate Mr. John Hicks, and Richard Willits, Robert Tomian, and William Schadden, asst. with Henry Pearsall, John Smith, Thomas Carter, and Thomas Rushmore, townsmen. [*Ibid*, vol. 1, page 55, 56.]

The cause was a complaint made by some of the inhabitants concerning their lands and an order was granted for the redress of their meadow lands to be given them and if any meadow land undisposed of within ye jurisdiction of Hempstead which judgement was confirmed at the town meeting 13th of March following. The return of the surveyors was approved the third day of June, 1658. The final being signed by Richard Gildersleve and Henry Pearsall.

1658. March 13, Richard Gildersleeve, Henry Pearsall, and Robert Marvin are called and chosen by lot to lay out to each inhabitant their due proportion of land out of the meadow land undisposed of at Haybridge Neck, or any other undisposed land convenient. For Marvin, Mr. Gildersleeve, Robert Ashman, John Smith, Jr., John Ellison, Laurence Ellison, John Smith, Mr. James, James Pine.

For Gildersleeve—Mr. Weeks, Henry Pearsall, Thos. Rushmore, Thomas Jecocks, John Smith, Jr., Richard Willit, Mr. Ashman, John Sturg. For Pearsall—Robert Foremen, Ambrose Sutton, John Sturg, Simon Searing, James Pine, John Smith, Thos. Langton, Thos. Secock. These 3 tickets are yet preserved, being pinned on a page of the record book.

Henry Pearsall was chosen at a town meeting for nomination to the Governor for Magistrate, November 27, 1658.

November 29, 1658. It was ordered at a general town meeting that certain tracts of land be granted unto the persons undernamed, the which is situate lying and being upon the north side within ye limits and belonging unto ye said towne. In this distribution Henry Pearsall acquired no lands to himself personally, but he, Hope Washborne and Richard Stites donated their allotment to the church, or, as the record so eloquently says, for a minister. [Early Colonial History of New York, Vol. 14, page 425. Hempstead Town Records, Vol. 1, page 61.]

Henry Pearsall was nominated to the Governor for appointment as Magistrate at a town meeting February 4, 1662.

In 1671 Capt. John Seaman rented all the meadow from the foot of the beach extending to Widow Pearsall's lot, and in 1672 James Pine rented the same described as the common meadow at Rockaway from the beach foot to Widow Pearsall's lot, and in 1673, John Bedell rented this piece of meadow, and Thomas Hicks rented it in 1675. As the records after this date make no further reference to the Widow Pearsall, it is assumed that she died during the year 1675. [Hempstead Town Records, book 1, pages 277, 285, 292-293 and 296.]

This ends the story of Henry Pearsall so far as the same is disclosed by the public records. There are, however, three other subjects of general interest concerning his life, which it has been deemed best to reserve for separate recital.

The Church at Hempstead. As DeVries notes in his diary,—the first building in an English town in America was always a church. Long before all the people were housed the meeting house was built. Many times it furnished shelter for several families waiting the completion of their individual habitations.

There has been so much written concerning the godliness of the forefathers, and of the religious freedom they sought in coming to America, that it will be of more than usual interest to read of the founding of a church by Dutch-English traders who came to America for business reasons and yet failed not in their duty to God and his Kingdom. This church, Christ's First Presbyterian Church in Hempstead, Long Island, is in a flourishing condition today and proud of its history. It is, as it has always been, filled with the spirit of the Lord and altogether it is a delightful place to worship. To the mind of the writer it appears as one of the places that the stranger in New York City should not miss. Here the dim past and the energetic present meet as part of an unbroken series of religious meetings that began in 1640. The history of this church will always be interesting no matter what aspect the inquirer may take concerning it. To the descendants of Henry Pearsall it is a visible evidence of his personality and spirituality, and constantly reminds us that this active man of affairs was at all times the supporter of the church and made many personal sacrifices for its welfare and prosperity.

Strange as it may seem, it has caused much really acrimonious debate as to the form of church government which it adopted at its founding. It seems to have been overlooked that if it were organized by the Dutch-English traders from Middleburg in Holland, then it would necessarily be a Presbyterian Church. Whereas, if it originated with the settlement at Stamford, Connecticut, then it would most likely have been a Congregational Church.

The Dutch-English traders were a tenacious lot; they held on to their old church governments with as much vigor as they evidenced in every duty of their busy daily lives. To them a church meant more than a mere congregation of worshippers utilized as a political machine with which to govern a town. It stood for God's orderly rule of the universe. It was the road to heaven and eternal bliss. The days and the nights spent upon the sea in their vessels, in storm, in calm or in fair weather, had taught them that all things were governed from without, as well as from within, by one great ruling Diety. The man of commerce, accustomed to meet those of every land and of every creed, had a broader outlook than the self-satisfied New England Congregationalist, who was unwilling even to submit his religious government to the joint control of all who made like professions. As a result the Congregational Churches of New England were involved in the politics of the small communities in which they existed. In Hempstead the politics of the town never revolved about its religious society.

This church was always looked upon solely as a means of salvation, the creator of manly rectitude and the pathway to a hopeful eternity. As was to be expected, the old church had its ups and downs. The New Englanders and the Dutch-English traders did not get along well together. It was not many years before the church fell into a state almost bordering upon extinction. Had it not been for the original Dutch-Englishmen it would have ceased altogether. Dr. Denton, very early, became openly a real estate boomer and town site speculator and there soon came to be a marked division between the thrifty and the godly inclined. At this time it was fortunate that the church had good and true men for its elders and deacons.

Among the rest, Henry Pearsall was an elder before 1658, as that year he is referred to on the Hempstead records as Goodman Pearsall, this being the title given the ranking elder. It was in this year that Dr. Fordham's son came to the Hempstead Presbyterian Church and there seems to have been a revival of religious interest and a marked renewal of church prosperity.

Under the date of November 10, O. S. 1660, it was ordered this day at a general meeting that a house end shall be set up to Goodman Pearsall's house upon a town charge for the entertainment of young Master Fordhame, Goodman Pearsall paying seven pounds toward the work if it be finished. At this time Henry Pearsall lived in the Williams house that now adjoins the Searington M. E. Church at Herricks, or Searrington, and the minister's lean-to is there to this day, with all its quaint fittings, a complete home in itself.

This religious revival had not been a matter of sudden resolve with the Dutch-Englishmen, for in the list of those who, in 1658, concluded to take up land on the north side, Henry Persell, Hope Washburn and Richard Stites enter on the record that their takings are for a minister. Not one of these men has any

connection with the so-called Denton-Stamford party, and it shows quite conclusively that Dr. Denton was not in Hempstead Church in November, 1658.

The Town Records disclose:—A quarter rate made for Mr. Richard Denton for his wages for the year 1657, the gatherers being William Washburn and Thomas Demont. Another quarter rate made the fourth of March, 1658, by the townsmen of Hempstead for the payment of Mr. Denton's last quarter. So we see that Dr. Denton had departed by the last of June of this year and the Dutch-English traders having resolved to again have the church free from New England influence, it was at the meeting of November 10, 1660, also ordered that the townsmen shall repair the meeting house and make it comfortable to meet in.

The church had a building before the coming of the Stamford party, and with the arrival of this large accession to the town's inhabitants, work was commenced upon a more pretentious structure which was not completed until 1648. It stood at the northwestern part of the Village near Barley Pond, on a lot which is now the northwest corner of Fulton and Franklin Streets, in Hempstead Village. The building was twenty-four feet square and had connected with it a fort or stockade for protection in case the Indians manifested any hostility. The mosquito was not helpful to religious meetings, so the pond was cleared in 1662. [Hempstead Town Records, book 1, page 126.]

There was occasion for a fort in Hempstead during the early days of its existence but by 1660 all danger from this source had apparently passed away, so at a town meeting March 29, 1660, there was sold to Henry Pearsall the fort about the Meeting House. The Meeting House remained and was used both as a church and town hall for a long time, being abandoned first as a church when the congregation moved to a new building, and finally, in 1770, more than a century after the death of Henry Pearsall, the building was sold and removed to North Hempstead. It seems that there was no regular sexton until 1683 when the Town Records show the following:—Agreement made by ye constable and overseers of this town of Hempstead they have agreed to allow to Jeremiah Wood of ye same town ten shillings for this present year for ye looking after ye opening and shutting of windows shutters belonging to ye meeting house and to look carefully after ye hour glass. Beginning this time from ye first of August 1683 and so to continue it to ye same months in ye year of our Lord 1684, by ye order of ye constable and overseers.

By this time Henry Pearsall had been dead over fifteen years, and the history of this church belongs to those who succeeded him. As to his sons, two of them, Nathaniel and Thomas became members of the religious Society of Friends, while Daniel and George remained connected with Christ's First Presbyterian Church, but do not seem to have had any part in its management.

The Indian Troubles. From the year 1641 to 1660 the town of Hempstead was never free from Indian alarms. The continued recurrence of Indian depredations, calculated to discourage these assertive Englishmen, only made them the more determined to hold on to their vantage points upon Long Island. While these Indian outrages had their serious drawbacks they yet served to make all the more secure the trading points these Dutch-English traders had established in the

vicinity of the Hellgate. The reason for these Indian attacks was well understood, for in all such underhand methods there is always someone ready to carry the news of the conspiracy. For strange as it may seem the Dutch were constantly encouraging the Indians to attack the English. So that really these Indian outbreaks were manifestations of Dutch hostility. All the Dutch-English towns sent up protest after protest to the Governor against his inaction in suppressing the Indians. When this proved to be of little avail, then the towns requested that they be permitted to send a delegation to Holland to address the Government and the Directors of the Dutch West Indies Company. The Dutch Governor met this revolutionary proposition by an invitation to the English villages to meet with the Governor's Council to consult upon so important a proposition. These Englishmen had been too long associated with the Dutch not to be aware that nothing would be done which would interfere with the valuable fur trade. They also well knew that the proposed consultation would result in a never ending discussion in which the language of the Dutch gave them every advantage, and what the latter did not say in words they could supply by gestures.

The town of Hempstead appointed a committee to consider the proposition and find a way to politely decline it. Henry Pearsall was made a member of this committee. They addressed to the Governor the following letter,—Noble Sir: May it please you to understand, that we have received yours by hand of your deputed and authorized agents, viz. your secretary and ensign unto whose relations we have and do according to your request give credence and with all convenient speed endeavored to acquaint our neighbors with your pleasure declared chiefly in the instructions you sent by them for our consideration, who incontinently made choice of five of us to confer with your aforesaid agents. Further that so they might have more light after serious consideration to return a plenarie answer unto you some grounds were given unto your agents, and you may please to understand that we are not so well versed in such matters of high government as to give a present resolution, besides some of our neighbors are absent whose advise we desire to concure with us, at whose return we shall with convenient speed endeavor it. So with due respects and thankful acknowledgment of your well wishings and well indeavors for our good, we humbly take leave and rest, Your servants, Tho. Tapping, Ch. Panco, Richard Gildersleeve, Henry Pearsall, Jonas Wood. Hempstede, Ffeb. 26: 49. To our honored Governor Peter Stuyvesant, Director General of the Province New Netherland, Curaco. these present. [Documents relating to the Colonial Hist. of New York, vol. 14, page 109-110.]

The Dutch authorities saw at once that they had made a bad choice of methods to put off these Englishmen, so the Governor withdrew the proposition by the following polite letter:—Gent: Your letter by Mr. Whitehead I received and what declaration your deputies made you at their return, I know not, only this; they never presented unto me any procuraties from yourselves, and did not see your instructions. For what mine own deputies have done, if according to my instructions by them to you presented, the copie whereof was left with you, but this I am sure, it was with a sincere heart to all your good, that I presented them and therefore having discharged my duty, I shall with God's assistance in ever respect act and do for you and all under my government, as much as shall lie in my power

for your public good. For present and future time you need not have troubled yourselves so much. So with my loving salutations to you I rest. Your loving ffriend, Fort New Amsterdam, March the 20th (1649). [Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. 14, page 109-110.]

Thus the matter drifted along, only that the townsmen found means to defend themselves, except against very large parties of Indians. We have already spoken, in connection with the story of Thomas Pearsall, concerning the delays and excuses the Governor gave for his inactivity, he even going so far as to write a letter to Holland asking advice as to how he should proceed, well knowing that it would take months before a reply would be received. He was hoping all the time that this storm would have passed and been forgotten by the day he received his instructions from Holland.

It was an interesting game these two parties were playing and the Dutch-English traders finally won out. There came a time when the tithes were to be paid under the terms of their patent, which required payment after 1654. The townsmen of Hempstead simply neglected to pay. Soon there came insistent inquiries from Holland to know why these taxes had not been received. All of a sudden the tax-payers in the towns became more valuable to the colony than the receipts from the fur trade. The townsmen persisted in their neglect to pay and the inquiries and commands from Holland became decidedly more plain in their demands for money or information. The Governor appealed to the towns and even sent his special messengers demanding the tenths. The townsmen of Hempstead wrote a joint letter to the Governor stating in plain terms the reason for the nonpayment.

The town persisted in its refusal to pay until 1658 when at a meeting it was ordered that Richard Gildersleeve be appointed to agree with the Governor concerning the tythes. Following this a payment was made upon the promise of the Governor to act in the suppression of the Indian outrages, but he had no more intention of doing so than he had before. As a result the Indian troubles continued for a few years longer, as by 1659 the Dutch Colonial authorities were made to understand that Indian troubles experienced by Long Island towns meant total loss of revenue from taxation for that year. As a consequence the Indian troubles soon became a matter only of bitter remembrance.

It was only the next year, 1660, until the town felt sufficiently secure from Indian troubles to sell and remove the stockade fort about the meeting house. This sale was important as it encouraged the Dutch to egg on the Indians in harassing the inhabitants of the scattered town of Hempstead. Hence for a few years longer the Indians were a constant annoyance, and at times a menace to the community. While the Indian no longer took white men's lives, yet at the slightest excuse he destroyed the white man's property. This resulted always in complaints to the Governor, who unfortunately seems to have been deeply concerned in keeping in the good graces of the red men and thereby holding on to the peltry trade, and at the same time it was well understood that he would like to have been rid of these English traders, and thus acquire for the Dutch the trade the newcomers had brought to New Netherland. The town was put to constant expense to reimburse those who lost through the Indians and this continued down

to the time of the English conquest. It was this feeling of mutual enmity that made conditions ripe for the work done by John Scott toward separating the Dutch-English towns from their allegiance to New Netherland.

The Conquest of New York. The story of the conquest of New Netherland by the English in 1664 is a never ending source of good stories. It is probable that not the least interesting of these is that which tells of the peaceable conquest of the Dutch-English towns of Long Island.

In 1660 the Commonwealth of England came to an end and the royal line of England was restored in the person of King Charles II. This gave the royalists in America, particularly those in the Dutch-English colonies of Long Island, a chance to retrieve their fortunes. Immediately upon receiving information of this change of government in England, John Scott, representing the friends of the Stuart king, sailed from New Amsterdam in the ship Eyceboom for London. Upon his arrival he began to agitate the question of the English acquiring the New Netherlands. John Scott, as we have already seen, was in some way related to the Pearsalls. News of his work soon reached New Amsterdam. As early as 1661, Governor Stuyvesant wrote to the Directors in Holland that Capt. Thomas Willet had letters from London and Boston which stated that a rupture was imminent between Holland and England. That the king of England, the Duke of York, and Parliament were urgently asked for three or four frigates to take New Amsterdam and whatever else belongs to the Company here. That those promoting this enterprize tried to persuade the king to grant their demand by telling him that the Dutch West Indies Company claims and holds this province by unlawful title because in 1623 King James had granted to the Company only a watering place on Staten Island and nothing more. John Scott and his English associates succeeded in getting a promise that the charter would be granted, but Connecticut becoming alarmed, its Governor, John Winthrop, sailed to London where he arrived in time to delay the granting of this charter, but after a few delays it was granted. In December, 1663, Scott returned to New Netherland where Stuyvesant soon consented that the claims of jurisdiction of both provinces over the English on the west end of Long Island, should be suspended. This, however, only left the Dutch-English towns without any head at all, so they invited John Scott to come and settle their government. Accordingly Middleburg, Hempstead, Oyster Bay, Flushing, Gravesend, and Jamaica, in a joint convention, on January 4, 1664, entered into an arrangement to secede from New Amsterdam, to manage their own affairs irrespective of Connecticut, until a government should be established among them by his Majesty of England. They elected John Scott president. He told them that Long Island had been granted by the King of England to the Duke of York. This convention then drew up and signed a compact in which they set forth the grounds of their allegiance to England and their intention to defend to any extremity the interests of their Royal Master, King Charles II. All the inhabitants of these four Dutch English towns, with but few exceptions, signed this compact. Within a few weeks John Scott, and others representing the English towns, had entered into a treaty with the Dutch Colonial authorities.

Hempstead this 3 of march 1663

honored friendes wee acknowledg yr care
towardes vs with thankefullnesse in that
in that yu sent yr commishoner to vs
by whom wee were a bonne setled in
peace had not captaine John Scot
made disturbance amoungst vs by drawing
a company of people after him by
promising of them libertie and soe going
from town to town calling of meetings
causing of them to sett their handes to a
combination to owne his magistie and
his highnesse the duke of yourke as wee
are credibblie informed and by them hav[e]
cast out the officers all the whole and
chosen new and lastly came to our towne
and presented himselfe att our towne
meeting and said that his magistie was
totalie dishonored and his servants [illegible]
[illegible] by ye Keeping [illegible] with conn[illegible]
and further declared to the people [illegible]
his magist hade noe officers in this [illegible]
butt the constabels) butt neuer the lesse
severall of good repott and the magistrats
and deputies owne and stand by the combi-
nation) our request to yu honors is that
yu would bee pleased to continewe yr care
towardes vs by sending of [illegible] speedily
for further in formation wee referre
yu to the bearer hereof Mr [illegible] [illegible]
wee take leave and remaine yr to command

Richard Gildersleeve
James Pine
Henerie Pearsall
Jeremie Wood
[illegible]
Richard: Gildersleeve

PETITION OF HEMPSTEAD TO HARTFORD

The Dutch-Englishmen immediately raised an army, part of which was placed under the command of John Coe, while the greater part was under the command of John Scott, which army rode through the Dutch towns on Long Island hoping to meet with such resistance as would warrant the capture of these places. This army was the excuse offered by Stuyvesant to the West India Company for his agreement to recognize the convention of Dutch-English towns.

It was not long before the English tired of the unrestrained authority which they had placed in the hands of John Scott, and of the excesses which this force committed. The leaders of Hempstead really assisted the Hartford military forces to capture and hold Scott, under the rather curious charge that he had attempted to usurp to himself the government of Long Island in the name of his Majesty of England and of the Duke of York, claiming that he should have acted under a commission and orders which the people of Hartford had given him by virtue of their patent, to subdue Long Island for them and to bring it under the government of the colony. Following the arrest of John Scott, Governor Winthrop and some of the Commissioners of Hartford came to Long Island and deposed the magistrates who had served under Scott, and set up new officers, taking care to make them swear allegiance to the King, instead of to Hartford, thus bringing about the complete subjection of the Dutch-English towns of Long Island to the King of England. They, however, made the inhabitants submit to Hartford and swear allegiance to it, as the governing colony over these towns, all of which was a violation of the agreement between Hartford and New Netherland. The original records at Hartford disclose that so far as Hempstead was concerned the action of Winslow and Hartford had largely been induced by the following letter from Hempstead.—Hempstead this 3 of March, 1663. Honored friends we actknowledge yr care towards us with thankfulness in that you sent your commissioner to us by wich we mite a benne settled in peace had not Captaine John Scoot made disturbance amoungst us by drawing a cumpanie of people after him by promysing of them libertie and soe going from town to town calling of meetings causing them to seek their eandes to a combination to owne his maijestie and his highness the Duke of Yourke as we are crediballie informed and by them have cast out the oificers att flushing and chosen new and lastly came to our towne and presented himself at our towne meeting and said that his maijestie was totalie dishonoured and his service neckleited by he joyning with Coniticot and further declared to the peoaple that his majesty hade noe oficirs in this town butt the constabull (but nevertheless severall of good report and the magistrats and debities owne and stand by the combination) our request to your honors is that you would be pleased to continue ye care towards us by stilling of turbulent spirits, for further information we referr you to the bearer hereof, Mr. John Hixses. These in haste we take leave and remaine yr. to command. Richard Gildersleve, James Pine, Henerie Pearsall, Jerimia Wood, Robert Marvin, Richard Gildersleve. [Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives, Towns & Lands, 1: 27.]

But through it all, and notwithstanding the change of government, the leading men in Hempstead seem to have been friendly wth John Scott, as the Hempstead Town Records disclose: 1664, Feb. 15. Capt. John Scott to be the towns agent or attorney to state and plead their cases about their bounds and Mr.

Hicks, Mr. Gildersleeve, Mr. Seaman, Mr. Jackson, Thomas Rushmore, Henry Pearsall, John Ellison, and Samuel Pine are to help him in stating the affairs, &c. [Hempstead Town Records.]

On May 12, 1664, the following inhabitants of Hempstead were made freemen of Connecticut,—Richard Gildersleeve, Sr. & Jr., Thomas Hicks, Jeremy Wood, John Carpenter, John Smith Jr., Mr. Fordham, Henry Pearsall, Edmund Titus, William Scadding, James Pine, William Yeates, Thomas Carle, Robert Marvin, John Smith Nan. [Trumbulls Am. Rec. 1, page 429.]

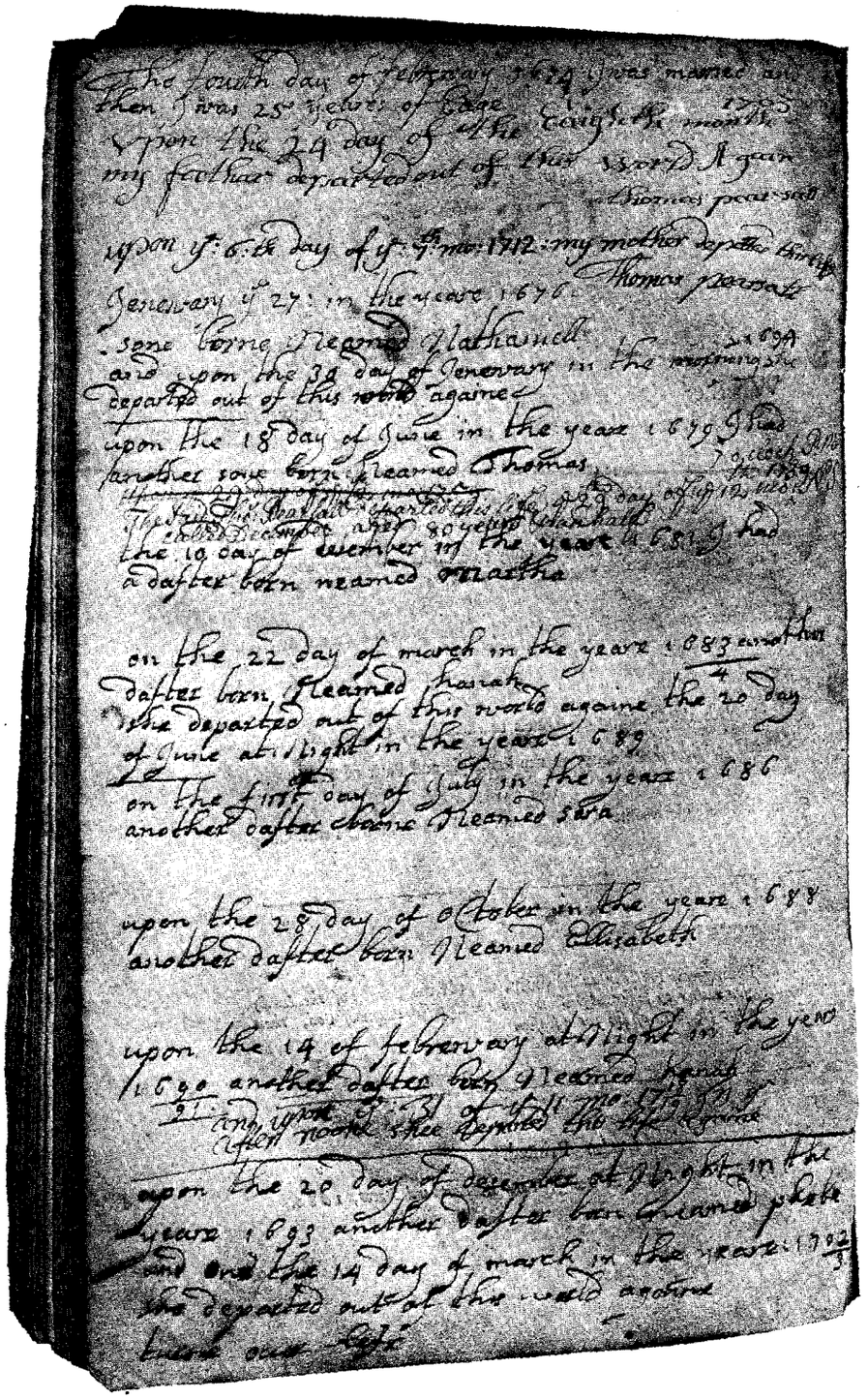
The record says—if they accept it; unfortunately neither the Connecticut nor the Hempstead records disclose which, if any, of them actually became freemen of that colony. All that can positively be said is that these were the official representatives of the town of Hempstead. This record marked the end of the Dutch control over the Dutch-English towns of Long Island. They were thereafter just as much English localities as though they were actually situated within the bounds of an English colony.

SECTION 2.

NATHANIEL PEARSALL, son of Henry Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 1, was born in 1649; died October 24, 1703, O.S. He resided in Hempstead, Long Island, New Netherland, later called ye Province of New York. He married Martha Seaman, daughter of Captain John Seaman, and his wife Martha Moore. Martha Pearsall died 7 mo., 6, 1712. Children:—

1. Nathaniel Pearsall, born 27th day, 11th month, 1676.
2. Thomas Pearsall, born 18th day, 4th month, 1679. Chapter 30, Section 3.
3. Martha Pearsall, born 10th day, 10th month, 1681. See V, this Section.
4. Hannah Pearsall, born 22nd day, 1st month, 1683; died 20th, 4th month, 1689.
5. Sarah Pearsall, born 1st day, 5th month, 1686. See W, this Section.
6. Elizabeth Pearsall, born 28th day, 8th month, 1688. See X, this Section.
7. Hannah Pearsall, born 14th day, 12th month, 1690-1; died 31st day, 11th month, 1718.
8. Phebe Pearsall, born 20th day, 10th month, 1693; died 1702-3.
9. Samuel Pearsall, born 18th day, 12th month, 1695; died 12th month, 1721-22. See Y, this Section.
10. Nathaniel Pearsall, born 11th day, 7th month, 1699; died 17th day, 6th month, 1701.
11. Mary Pearsall, born 30th day, 2nd month, 1703. See Z, this Section.

It would be difficult without taking more space than the limits of this history will permit to tell the story of Nathaniel Pearsall, it could not be done without at the same time giving the complete history of Hempstead during his generation. He was made town clerk when he was only twenty-three years of age, yet notwithstanding his youth he had already won a leading place in the councils of the town and was recognized beyond its borders as a leading citizen of his home community. For more than thirty years, until his death, he was among the foremost leaders in every enterprise for the betterment of Hempstead, and was one of its representatives upon nearly every important matter of controversy before the Governor or his Council, or with the neighboring towns and colonies.



THE BIBLE RECORD OF NATHANIEL PEARSALL

HOME OF NATHANIEL PEARSALL

Perhaps the most interesting home of the Pearsalls now remaining in America, aside from that of Henry Pearsall of Hempstead, is that of Nathaniel Pearsall. This grand old home situated on a promontory of Long Island, overlooking Hempstead Harbor, neatly nestled among majestic old English yew and elm trees, that have weathered the storms of more than two centuries, has lost but little of its former grandeur. Nathaniel must have posed somewhat as an English gentleman as the two hundred acres or more that remain of the estate resemble that of an English manor. In the foreground is a spacious lawn, studded with trees and shrubs from all over the world. Back of the house is a formal garden containing rare old English shrubs and plants, over the porch and arbor trail majestic wistaria vines. Beyond the spacious gardens are the paddocks and in the distant meadows fat and sleek cattle are grazing. A farm bell was used in cases of emergency to summon help. An interesting incident in the history of this place is that it remained in the possession of the descendants of Nathaniel Pearsall until about thirty years ago when it was sold to divide the estate of Thomas Pearsall.

The estate is now the property of Admiral and Mrs. Ward who take great interest in its history. They have adhered to the original as nearly as possible in both house and grounds. Mrs. Ward very graciously showed us through the house which was greatly beautified by the large collection of elaborate and costly gifts presented to the Admiral by foreign dignitaries on his voyages around the world. In the attic and cellar huge hewed oak timbers, held together by wooden pegs, appeared capable of service a century hence. Our visit to this old home, full of memories dead and gone was most pleasant and we shall ever feel grateful to Mrs. Ward for the interest she took in showing us about.

Henry Pearsall, in his will, provided that the overseers of his estate should have the power to dispose of the children's estate as they saw cause and as they have need. They appear to have exercised this authority by vesting everything in Nathaniel Pearsall and leaving him to settle with his brothers. This he appears to have faithfully done.

March 22, 1674, Nathaniel Pearsall by deed conveyed to his brother Daniel one fourth of their father's estate.

September 18, 1692. Nathaniel Pearsall by deed conveyed to his brother Thomas Pearsall, the latter's share of their father, Henry Pearsall's estate. This deed to Thomas discloses that Nathaniel Pearsall previously conveyed to his brother George, his share of their father's estate. This deed was, however, never recorded, this being the course of action pursued by George Pearsall and his descendants for many generations, namely, that they did not record their deeds of purchase, or the wills distributing their estates.

The origin of Quakerism on Long Island is one of considerable interest. It will be found in the history of New England, that the first Quakers that emigrated to Massachusetts, came in the year 1655-6. The first that landed in the New Netherlands, came over in 1657. Finding their liberty, if not their lives in danger, in that city, they dispersed, and a part of them withdrew to Long Island. Here, in various towns, and in Hempstead among others, one Hodgson promulgated the doctrines and inculcated the practices of the new sect, which not a few seemed prepared to

embrace. The bitter persecution of the Dutch government that followed, as is always the case, instead of impeding, rather advanced the progress of the system. The surrender of the province to the English, which occurred in a few years, put a stop to the persecution and restored these injured people to the enjoyment of the rights of conscience.

It was in 1672 that George Fox, the founder of the sect, visited America. Landing in Maryland, he set out for the north, a tedious journey through woods and wilderness, over bogs and great rivers. Coming to Middletown in Jersey, he says, They could not stay to hold a meeting there, as they were anxious to reach Oysterbay at the half-yearly meeting. Crossing the bay to Gravesend, they spent the night there, the next day they went to Flushing; and on the day following they arrived in Hempstead; the half-year's meeting began next day, lasting four days.

After spending several days in this vicinity, holding meetings in different places, he embarked by water for Rhode Island, where he attended a yearly or half-yearly meeting of six days' continuance. He was treated with hospitality by the Governor, and held a meeting in his house. On returning, he says, we came to Fisher's Island, where at night, we went on shore but were not able to stay for the moschetoes, a sort of gnats or little flies which abound there and are very troublesome. These little marauders appear to have given him the greatest annoyance that he met with on his journey. He then visited Shelter Island, where he spent more than a week, preaching to the white people and also to the Indians, of whom he once had an assembly of 100 or more. He then returned to Oysterbay, where he arrived on the 7th of the 6th month. Returning to Flushing and Gravesend, in both of which he held one or more meetings, he re-crossed the bay into Jersey on his way back to the south. [History of Long Island, by N. S. Prime, page 269-271.]

Queens County contains two memorials of this visit of Fox. The white oak trees until recently lived in Flushing, which shaded him, while he delivered his testimony to the people in the highway; and the massive rock is still to be seen at the village of Oyster Bay, which supported him when he uttered the words of persuasion. Beyond a doubt Nathaniel Pearsall was present on both occasions. Here he imbibed the truths which were not only to shape and control the balance of his life, but also the lives and conduct of his children and their descendants for many generations. This was by far the most important incident in the life of Nathaniel Pearsall. [Thompson's History of L. I., vol. 1, page 500.]

V. MARTHA PEARSALL, born 10th, 10th month (December) 1681; died at Matinicock 4th, 3rd month, 1633. She resided at Matinicock, Long Island, New York, and married Henry Cock, son of James and Sarah Cock, of Matinicock, Long Island, New York, who was born 1st day, 12th month (February) 1678.

W. SARAH PEARSALL, born July 1, 1686, resided at Hempstead, Long Island, New York. She married Thomas Townsend, son of Thomas H. Townsend and his wife Susannah Harcourt. This is a very interesting record in view of the marriage between the Peshales and Harcourts in England, especially John Peshall and Helen Harcourt, and is another Staffordshire family settled in Hempstead.

X. ELIZABETH PEARSALL, born October 28, 1688, died January 8, 1762, resided in New York City and died unmarried.

Y. SAMUEL PEARSALL, born February 18, 1695; died 12 month 1722/21. He resided in Hempstead, Long Island, New York, and died unmarried.

Z. MARY PEARSALL, born April 13, 1703, died December 7, 1786; resided in New York City. She married October 12, 1727, in Westbury Friends' Meeting, Thomas Franklin, of Flushing, son of Henry Franklin and his wife Sarah Cock. He was born January 30, 1703-4; died December 25, 1773.

SECTION 3.

THOMAS PEARSALL, son of Nathaniel Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 2, was born 4th month 18, 1679; died 12th month, 29, 1759, N.S. He resided at Hempstead Harbor, Long Island, New York where he married 9th month 25, 1708, Sarah Underhill, daughter of John Underhill, Jr. and his wife Mary Prior, born 6th month 17, 1687; died 9th month 10, 1768. John Underhill, Jr. was the oldest son of Capt. John Underhill and his first wife Helena Kneger of Holland. The Records of Westbury Friends' Meeting contain:—An account of ye birth of Thomas Pearsall's children. On ye 29th, 6th month, 1709, he had a son born and died immediately and then follows:—

1. Thomas Pearsall, born ye 18th, 6th month, 1710, Chapter 30, Section 4.
2. Nathaniel Pearsall, born ye 2nd, 7th, 1712, Chapter 30, Section 9.
3. Sarah Pearsall, born 11th, 6th, 1714-15, resided at Hempstead, Long Island, N. Y. She married first, November 26, 1741, Richard Mott, son of Richard Mott and his wife Elizabeth Thorne. She married second, Richard Alsop, son of Thomas Alsop and his wife Susannah Blackwell.
4. Phebe Pearsall, born ye 7th, 1st, 1716/17; resided at Hempstead Harbor, Long Island, New York; married first, Benjamin Hicks; second, Benjamin Mott.
5. Martha Pearsall, born ye 9th, 5th, 1719; died ye 16th, 10th month, 1721/22.
6. Hannah Pearsall, born ye 11th, 10th, 1721; resided at Hempstead, L. I., N. Y.; married 8th month, 7th, 1746, Benjamin Hawxhurst, son of Samson Hawxhurst and his wife Hannah Townsend; she was born August 31, 1720,
7. Samuel Pearsall, born ye 16th, 9th month, 1724. See Chapter 31, Section 1.
8. Mary Pearsall, born 5th, 24th, 1724; resided at Hempstead, Long Island, N. Y.; married Obediah Seaman, son of Thomas Seaman and his wife Phebe Titus, born Feb. 17, 1729.

The records of the Friends' Meeting disclose:—Att a monthly meeting held att the meeting house at Westbury by apoynement the 29th of 7th month, 1708. Thomas Pearsall son of Nathaneill Pearsall Deceased and of Martha Pearsall his wife, and Sarah Underhill daughter of John Underhill and of Mary Underhill deceased appeared before this meeting and declared their intention of marriage with each other and this meeting hath apoynted Nathaniel Seaman and Henry Cock to inquire concerning Thomas Pearsall his clearness from all other women in Relation to marriage and give account to the next monthly meeting thereof.

At a monthly meeting held at the house of Mary Willits in Jericho the 27 of 8 month 1708, there appeared the second time Thomas Pearsall and Sarah Underhill and declared their intention of marriage with each other and as far as we know all things being found clear on both sides with the consent of parent and Guardians this meeting have left them to take their time to accomplish the same according

to the order of Truth and the meeting doth appoynt Nathaniell Seaman and William Willis to be present at the consummation of said marriage to see that all things may be done decently and managed according to Truth and make Report thereof to the Monthly Meeting.

At a monthly meeting held at Jericho the 29th of the 10th month 1708. The Friends appointed by the monthly meeting to see the accomplishment of Thomas Pearsalls marriage gave account at this meeting that all things as far as they saw, being present thereat, were done decently and managed according to Truth. [Westbury Friends' Meeting Records.]

Thomas Pearsall was a very strict member of the society of Friends, and was trusted by them in many ways, as is shown by their records from which we make the following quotations: 3rd mo., 26th, 1736, At ye above meeting it was considered that Wm. Willis who was Clerk of sd meeting many years was dead and therefore this meeting hath appoynted Thomas Pearsall to be Clerk and take care of ye books.

The Friends were constantly suffering and to read the minutes of their meetings one would suppose them to be constantly in the pangs of extreme anguish. Their sufferings were generally the comparatively harmless consequences of doing things contrary to the generally accepted standards of the community. Instead of being a hardship they were the chief pleasure of a Friend's otherwise placid life. The Glory of Martyrdom, which brought the approbation of one's fellow religionists, was more valuable than worldly riches. It has been well said that to deprive a Friend of the causes for suffering, meaning to cease making any given course of conduct obligatory, was to deprive the individuals of the society of their chief pleasure in their religion. In England, as early as 1765, the Friends organized meetings for sufferings, which were largely experience meetings and where means were taken to relieve those who were real sufferers, for at times the conduct prescribed by the society brought real anguish to the individual member, notably the actions of the Society of Friends concerning suits at law in the courts of the land, and concerning the abolition of slavery, prohibiting the drinking of intoxicating liquors, and against participation in wars of any kind, all of which were made rules of conduct for Friends generations before the rest of the world had even given serious thought as to the iniquity involved in what was then common every day occurrence. In America the meeting for sufferings was called the representation meeting. In the town of Hempstead, one of the main causes of sufferings was their refusal to pay taxes for the support of the church or as the Friends called it for hireling priests, or to engage in war. The records of Westbury Meeting disclose the following sufferings by Thomas Pearsall and these will also show how little actual suffering it took to make a Friend supremely happy. From the standpoint of the true Friend it was not, however, the degree of the wrongdoing that counted, for the less the actual suffering the harder it was to stand out against it. The tendency of the easy-going would be to acquiesce in the little things and only make a stand upon the greater. But the Friend was taught that there were no degrees in right. A given course in conduct was either right or wrong, and if it was wrong then one must not do so no matter how trivial its commission may seem to one's neighbors who were not connected with the Society of Friends.

SECTION 4.

THOMAS PEARSALL, son of Thomas Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 3, born 6th, 8th, 1710, resided at Oyster Bay, Cedar Swamp, and Hempstead Harbor, Long Island, New York. He married 1732/3, Freelove Coles, daughter of Harvey Coles and his wife Mary Cooper. The Coles family is an old New England family. John Coles was in London, Connecticut, in 1651, while James Coles was one of the original proprietors of Hartford, Conn. Nathaniel Coles before 1663 was in Oyster Bay, where in 1675 he was assessor and was commissioned justice for Queens County, December 13, 1689. Nathaniel Coles of Oyster Bay bought two lots of land at Matinicock December 7, 1665, from John Tredwell. Children:—

1. Israel Pearsall, born 9th month, 27th, 1733; died May 12, 1799. See X, this Section.
2. Thomas Pearsall, born 6th month, 20th, 1735; died 3rd month, 18th, 1807. See Chapter 30, Section 5.
3. Nathaniel Pearsall, born 12th month, 22nd, 1737-8; died 8th month, 26th, 1757.
4. Mary Pearsall, born 1st month, 24th, 1742; died 11th month, 30th, 1824. See Y, this Section.
5. Martha Pearsall, born 9th month, 23rd, 1743. See Z, this section.

Minutes of Men's Meeting, Westbury. The monthly meeting being met, this 3rd day of 5th month 1755, in the meeting House at Westbury according to adjournment. At said meeting John Cock, Jacob Seaman, Joshua Cock, Thomas Seaman of Westbury, Wait Powell, Richard Willitts of Islip, William Mott & Thomas Pearsall Jr. were appointed to Sign Friends Certificates, or any six of ye number. The certificate in the following form. At a monthly meeting held in the Meeting House at Westbury by Adjournment from ye 30th day of ye 1st month to ye 3rd of ye 5th month 1755. This is to certify all whom it may concern that A. B. OF —— Queens County, is deemed and allowed to be one of the People called Quakers. Signed in and by order of said meeting. The names of the Friends who took Certificates include: Nathan Pearsall, son of Thomas, Isreal Pearsal, son of Thomas, Nathaniel Pearsall of Hempstead, Thos. Pearsall, of Bethpage, and Rowland Pearsall.

Many of these certificates were recorded among the land records of Queens County, New York, and caused a lot of trouble between the Friends and the authorities, all of which the party interested classed among his sufferings.

Thomas Pearsall was a strict Friend whose whole life was inseparably connected with the history of his meeting. Among the incidents which disturbed the tranquillity of the Friends on Long Island were the acts of their fellow members who professed a belief in the peculiar teachings of the schism called the Caseite Friends, whose history we shall briefly relate.

It began in the year 1675, at the English Kills, where there resided several individuals holding the religious opinions of the Friends or Quakers, who had without doubt received the articles of their faith from the lips of the distinguished George Fox during his visit to Long Island. Among them was Thomas Case who assumed the office of a preacher, and at his house at the Kills the faithful were

wont to convene for worship. He set up a new sort of Quakerism, and labored with great zeal to promulgate his views, not infrequently continuing his meetings for many days in succession. But alas! what extravagances will men entertain. Inspired with a fancied holiness of his character and office, he asserted that he was come to perfection and could sin no more than Christ. Nay more, he declared himself to be God, but afterwards qualified it and said he was of God. And he maintained that when he should die, he would rise again the third day. Against the people, and often against particular individuals, he would denounce the judgments of the Lord. On one occasion he significantly remarked to John Woollstoncroft that he perceived a great smell of brimstone. To which the latter retorted, he was afraid Case was going that way. One of his adherents claimed to have the gift of languages, and Case, on certain occasions, pretended to raise the dead. Among other vile principles they condemned marriage, and said it was of the devil, perverting that text of Scripture. The children of the resurrection neither marry nor give in marriage. [Annals of Newtown, page 92.]

This strange sect was not stamped out for many years, although the regular society of Friends made every effort to keep their members from being concerned with it. Every once in a while, in spite of all preventives, there would be an outburst of Caseism. It seemed specially attractive to those having deep religious emotions. Such an occasion took place in 1732, when Thomas Pearsall, then a young man, became enmeshed therein. He was reasoned with by the members of the Meeting, and soon yielded to better thought about religion and marriage. His own confession as it appears in the record here follows: Dear Friends:—Whereas I transgressed the will and inclination of my tender parents and the order of Friends, in the manner of condemnating marriage, these are to inform you that after a reflection of the matter in my self, I believe it to be an unworthy practice and do not justify it, but condem it and hope by grace to shun such evils for the future and desiring the prayers of all for my welfare in the Lord. Thomas Pearsall, Jr.

African Slavery. It will be noticed later on in this section that Martha Pearsall, daughter of Thomas Pearsall, in her last will recommended that special care and charity be extended towards the whole family of black people, that remained with her father at the time of his decease. These negroes were the offspring of slaves who had been in her family for several generations.

Negro slavery was introduced into the New Netherland by the Dutch. Among the freedoms and exemptions granted by the West India Company in 1629 to whoever planted colonies in New Netherland, was a clause stipulating to supply the colonists with as many blacks as they conveniently can. Negro slaves were employed on the construction of Fort Amsterdam by Wouter Van Twiller, and in an appraisal of the company's property, in 1639, the value of a negro slave was placed at 40 gilders. In 1650, it was decreed that the inhabitants of New Netherland shall be at liberty to purchase negroes wheresoever they may think necessary, except on the coast of Guinea, and bring them to work on their bouweries, paying a small duty on each importation. So far as can be seen the slaves held by the Dutch were humanely treated, although now and again we come across evidences

of the existence of cruelty. Even as early as 1744 we read of laws being passed for the emancipation of negroes who by long service and good behavior had earned some mitigation of their terrible lot. [Ross History of Long Island, Vol. 1, page 120.]

Under the English domination slavery not only flourished, but the laws against the negroes were made more stringent than ever. It is true that the traffic never was very profitable and by 1701 the annual importation in the whole colony had fallen to less than one hundred. From the beginning the Dutch-English traders imported slaves mostly for their own use, and they passed these slaves along to their children from generation to generation.

These black men had no family names, so they adopted those of their master. One has only to visit the negro section of New York City to find a duplication among the negroes of that city of practically every seventeenth century family of Long Island. The writer was surprised to learn of the number of colored people in New York City who called themselves Pearsall by every one of the spellings of the family name. It was no use trying to make them believe that they came from the South, and represented the old slaves of the North Carolina branch of the family. "Oh no!" one said, "we came from Manhasset, Long Island," thus showing that in this particular instance they were the descendants of the slaves of Thomas Pearsall of Cedar Swamp.

Many of the white masters were exceedingly kind to their slaves and as we have seen they provided for them in their wills.

Onderdonk records that at the death of one of the earliest settlers he left one slave and as the heirs could not divide him up, they quitclaimed him as follows: Be it known to all people to whome these presents shall come, we —— for divers causes and sufficient reason to our full satisfaction, we the said —— hath released granted and quit claimed unto —— and to his heirs and assigns forever, all our right and title, claim and demand whatsoever which we have or ought to have, of, in and to one Negro Boy named Prymus, which did belong to our father —— ——, deceased, in his life time. To have and to hold the said Negro Boy unto him ye said —— proper use and behoof for ever without any ——. In witness . . . this thirteenth day of April, 1747, Samuel Willis and Thomas Pearsall, Jr. This related to one of the negroes named in Martha Pearsall's will as being in her father's possession at the time of his death. It is a curious fact that so far as the Pearsall family was concerned the holding of slaves was most largely with those who were Friends. [Onderdonk's Dutch Congregation of Oyster Bay, page 752-753.]

James Wood in his booklet, The Purchase Meeting, says:—Friends everywhere took an early stand against slavery. Their position concerning it was one of gradual development. At first Friends upon Long Island and throughout Purchase quarterly meeting held slaves without objection, the meeting sometimes assisting members in their purchase. On the 14th of eighth month, 1684, this record was made: At our half-year meeting at Matinecock, the necessity of John Adams being laid before the meeting for their consideration and assistance for some speedy supply for part of the payment for a negro man that he hath lately bought, the meeting appoints and desires John Bowne to take care in behalf of

the meeting to procure a sum of money on as cheap terms as he can for the supply as aforesaid and the meeting engages to reimburse him. Some Friends were even engaged in the slave trade. But a conviction of the wrongfulness of human slavery gradually developed, until it was decided that members should neither buy nor sell slaves, but might retain those they had in possession. The records show several instances where those who sold their slaves were disowned. On 2d of fifth month, 1776, the monthly meeting at Flushing recorded: The committee on negroes report that many Friends have them but seem disposed to free them. Some have manumitted and instruct their children in necessary learning. Some justify their bondage. The committee is to labor with Friends who keep these poor people in bondage, in the ability that truth may afford for their release, and, if insensible, then Friends can have no unity with them so far as to accept their services in the church or receive their collections. No Friend shall hire any negro held in bondage, neither hire any negro or other slave that is not set free when of age, nor do any act acknowledging the rights of slavery. When Friends freed their slaves they continued to care for their education and religious welfare.

In 1767 the records of the Purchase quarterly meeting show that a step was taken that was markedly in advance of any before taken in any church or legislative body, concerning the intrinsic wrong of human slavery. At the quarterly meeting held 2d of fifth month, 1767, the following proposition was forwarded to the yearly meeting:—If it is not consistent with Christianity to buy and sell our fellow men for slaves during their lives and their posterity after them, then whether it is consistent with a Christian spirit to keep in slavery those that we have already in possession by purchase, gift, or any other ways.

Thus this pioneer movement was organized in New York six years before Warner Mifflin freed his slaves in Delaware.

In 1774 Warner Mifflin, a member of Motherkill Meeting in Delaware, freed all his slaves; he was the first man in America to unconditionally emancipate his slaves. From this time until his death his efforts to bring about emancipation were untiring. Through his labors most of the members of the Motherkill Meeting in Delaware liberated their slaves. He traveled from state to state preaching his anti-slavery doctrines to the Friends and in the close of his life visited all the yearly meetings over the continent. The Purchase Meeting of Duchess County was among the first who adopted this regulation of discipline. In 1775 this declaration was made:—It is our solid judgement that all in profession with us who hold negroes ought to restore them their natural right as to liberty as soon as they arrive at a suitable age for freedom. Three years later the following minute was recorded: The matter respecting those Friends that continue to hold slaves being nowtaken under consideration it is the judgement of the meeting that such Friends as still refuse to free them, ought to be dealt with as disorderly members. Monthly meetings proceeded to disown such members. Finally, in the year 1783, it was reported that no slave was held by any member of the New York Yearly Meeting. There were a few who left the meeting rather than part with their slaves by emancipation.

The conscience of the society of Friends did not allow its members to rest with merely liberating their slaves. The society felt that liberated slaves should be

reimbursed for past service. In 1781 monthly meetings were directed to appoint a number of solid, judicious Friends as a committee to visit such Friends who have set their negroes free, and inspect into the circumstances of such negroes, and afford them advice both with respect to their spiritual and temporal good as they may be enabled to do, and also to find what in justice may be done to such negroes as may have spent the prime of their lives in the service of their masters. They were likewise authorized to determine the amount so due when the late masters were willing to leave it to the judgment of the committee. They were also directed to see that provision was made for the proper education of the negro youth. Reports were made from time to time of the progress of this work, until in 1784 it was recorded: That it appears from the reports from the Monthly Meetings that they have attended to the settlement between Friends who have set negroes free and the negroes so set free, and they find that such settlement hath been generally made when it was necessary. Schools were provided for negro children and meetings for religious work and instruction were held among the negroes.

The slaves of Israel Pearsall, and of his sisters Martha and Mary, were emancipated in accordance with the discipline established by the Friends Meeting. But among the papers of their brother Thomas Pearsall appeared the deed of manumission for his slaves which appears not to have been carried into effect during his lifetime. While the children and descendants of Thomas Pearsall were not members of the Friends meeting, they seem to have carried out the wish of their father by freeing his slaves.

Matinecock Meeting. The marriage of Thomas Pearsall to Freelove Coles seems to have brought this branch of the Pearsall family into Matinecock, which as a local designation, according to Mr. Wm. Wallace Tooker, is a purely descriptive term, signifying a Hill-country or the Land that overlooks, the aptness of which will be recognized when the bounds of the territory are shown, as it originally comprised all the northern part of the Township of Oyster Bay extending from the Sound to the Ridge of Hills so called.

X. ISRAEL PEARSALL, born 9th month, 27th, 1733; died May 12, 1799; resided at Oyster Bay; married October 5, 1774, Mary Bowne, daughter of John Bowne and his wife Dinah Underhill, born 2nd month 14th, 1741; died 12th month, 9th, 1799. No children.

His will appears in the Records of Queens County, in the Surrogate's Office at Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y. An abstract thereof reads:—Will dated 4 month 4 day, 1799, wherein he names his wife Mary Pearsall; to Gideon Seaman of Westbury and Elias Hicks of Jericho one hundred pounds to be paid in two years after my decease for the use and benefit of an Institution of a School for the instruction of black children, which Institution was set on foot some years past by some Friends the People commonly called Quakers at or about Jericho; to my executors the sum of one hundred pounds payable in two years towards assisting or making comfortable Judith the Elder a black woman, daughter of Abia, who formerly lived in my father's family, and to the posterity of the said Judith, also to Katy or Catherine a black woman granddaughter of the said Abia and daughter of Phillis, and to the posterity of the said Katy or Catherine to be disposed of in

such proportion to each branch of said families; names his sisters Mary and Martha Pearsall; brother Thomas Pearsall; appoints brother Thomas Pearsall, brother-in-law John Bowne and friend Gideon Seaman of Westbury, executors. Witnesses: Rudolph Bogert, Lewis M. Thurston, Thomas Cornell. Proved June 17, 1799, recorded in Liber A of Wills of Real Estate, page 488.

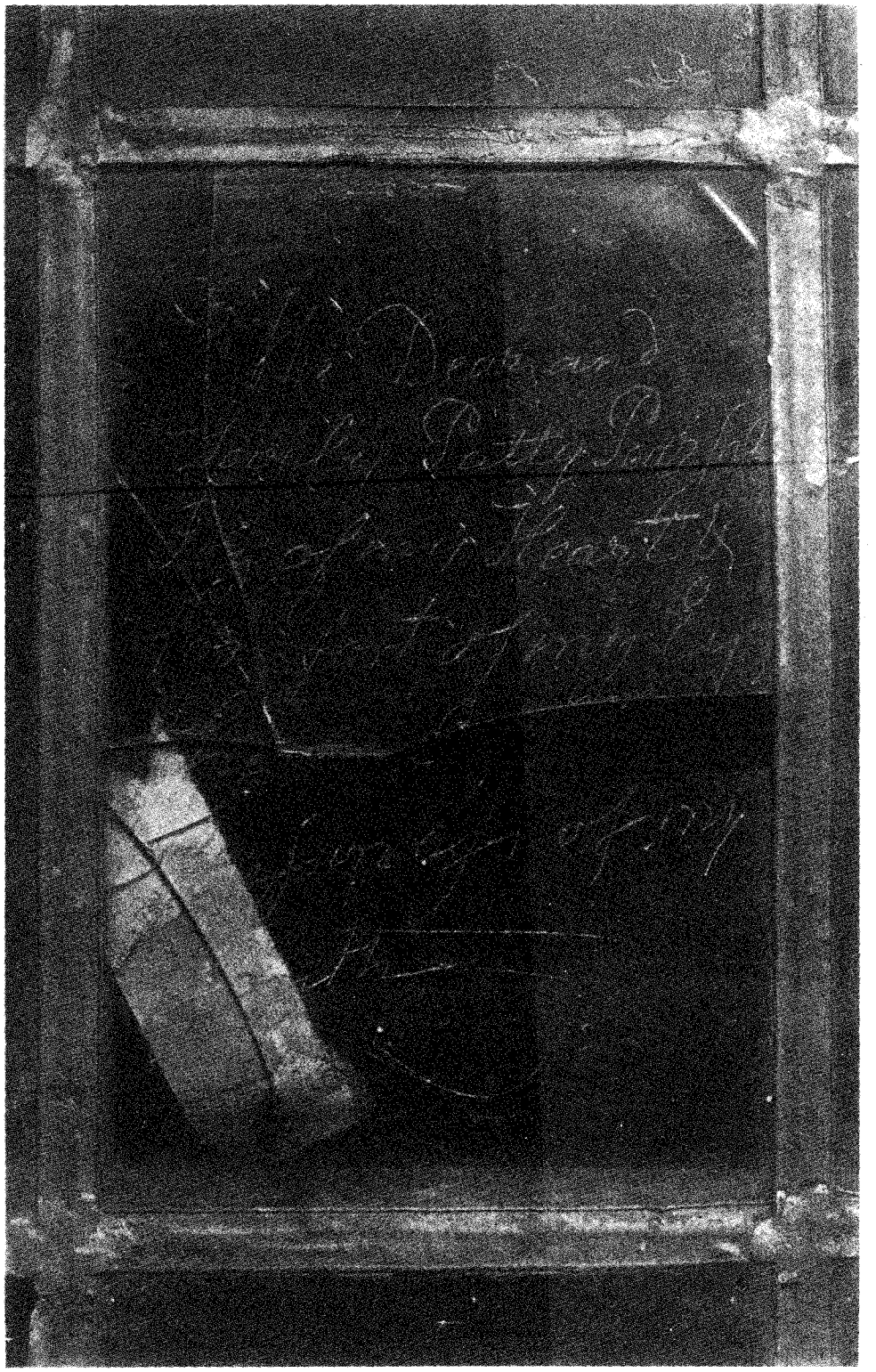
The writer confesses to a high regard for Israel Pearsall. In compiling this genealogy, so many instances have come to light where, quietly and unobtrusively, he has done good to others, that we have come to regard him as a lovely, manly character. There were many clouds and shadows that fell upon his life so one would not have been surprised to have found him morose and soured upon the world, but midst it all his life flowed on in keeping with the serenity and godliness of the religious society of Friends of which he was a member.

During the Revolutionary War, Isreal Pearsall was twice beset by the whale-boat men; in both cases they had poor success and only carried off some spoons and linen. On one occasion Israel was lying in his bed in the early part of the evening, when word was brought him that robbers were below. He ran out on the roof and cried—murder. It was heard by a neighbor who fired an alarm and then it was pop, pop, all over the neighborhood. Israel's maiden sister had been at a house in Cedar Swamp that this same gang had previously robbed. She sung out to them from an upper window, "What do you want?" Instantly recognizing her voice, they cried out, "What! are you here too?" The whale-boat men were principally Americans from Connecticut and had commissions from the Governors of New York and Connecticut, to cruise on the sound against British vessels, but used their authority to engage in general plunder. These small boat privateers were maintained by both the English and American forces. Many traditions remain on Long Island to this day concerning their depredations. The Long Islanders insist that although representing opposite sides in the war, yet they had a working agreement so far as preying upon property in Long Island was concerned. [Documentary History of the Dutch Congregation of Oyster Bay, Queens Co., pamphlet No. 9, page 794-795.]

Y. MARY PEARSALL, born 1st mo., 24th day, 1742; died 11th mo., 20th day, 1824; resided at Oyster Bay, Long Island, New York. She died unmarried.

Her will is on file in the Surrogate's office at Jamaica, Long Island, New York. It reads as follows:—Be it known unto all men by these presents That I, Mary Pearsall, have on this eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four, appointed my Nephew Duncan Pearsall Campbell and do now appoint and constitute him the sole heir of all the papers or written documents relative to the estate at Cedar Swamp which was sold to Caleb Frost and all the Writings or other memoranda relating to or anywise connected with the estate at Hempstead Harbor where I now live, together with all the printed volumes pamphlets Dissertations and Essays bound or unbound together with all the manuscripts of every description in my custody now or at the period of my decease.

Further, I bequeath unto him a small mahogany desk formerly the property of my paternal Grandfather and all the papers of every description it contains together with the chest and all it encloses formerly the property of my brother



THE INSCRIPTION ON A WINDOW PANE IN PATTY PEARSALL'S HOME

Israel Pearsall, who left the use and enjoyment of this estate to me and my sister during our natural lives. Witnesses, Thomas Garvie, Margaret Harrold. Proved May 28th, 1827; recorded in Liber E of Wills of Real Estate, page 531. By a strange chain of circumstances this desk is now the property of Clarence Pearsall of Wallkill, New York, and the papers it formerly contained are in the manuscript section of the New York Public Library.

Z. MARTHA PEARSALL, born 9th month, 23rd day, 1743, died unmarried. In her will she gave all her real and personal estate of every kind to her sister Mary Pearsall and her heirs and assigns, particularly recommending that especial care and charity may be extended by her out of my Estate towards the whole Family of black people that remained with my Father at the time of his decease. She appointed her sister Mary Pearsall sole executrix, dated 10th mo., 27th day, 1789. Witnesses, David Montfort, Thomas Demilt, Rudolph Bogart. Proved June 7, 1827; recorded in Liber E of Wills of Real Estate, page 534.

During the Revolutionary War, the young women carried out their religious teaching by loving their enemies; some of them becoming attached to the British soldiers.

In the Documentary History of the Dutch Congregation of Oyster Bay, by Henry A. Stoutenburg, appears the following pathetic story of Patty Pearsall, which is in great contrast to the happy termination of the other love affairs. We have no doubt but that she was a charming and lovely girl, and she, too, had a soldier lover. The affection between them, from what happened afterwards, was evidently deep and lasting, although it all came about between the latter part of August and the middle of October. The old adage that hot love soon cools was not applicable in this instance. The young soldier had been billeted at Thomas Pearsall's (the father of Patty). The Lieutenant received orders to return to England and before going away he writes, with a diamond, the following on the glass of the window of his room:—

Friday, Oct. 16th, 1776, Lieut. Thomas Keating went from this House, at which he was agreeably quartered, to go to Europe.

The dear and lovely Patty Pearsall. Joy of my heart and comfort of my eye.

The only care and business of my youth.

It is not for us to detail the scene of parting. He went away and never returned. The ship in which he sailed was lost and every soul on board perished. The news broke Patty's heart and destroyed her happiness.

In later years the old house of Thos. Pearsall was enlarged and the sash with the inscribed glass was taken out of its place and stored in the garret. We would not attribute very much romance to the nature of the sturdy old Quaker Edward L. Frost, but the preservation of the sash was due to him and he turned it over to Gen. James B. Pearsall, and from his son Thomas, the compiler received a copy of the inscription on the glass.

The sash is now in the possession of Mrs. Stanley Ineson, the granddaughter of Gen. James Buchanan Pearsall, at Glen Cove, L. I., N. Y., who has kindly permitted the writer to make a photo of the same.

The neighborhood tradition is that Patty told her ardent wooer that he must go through fire and water to win her, to which condition he readily consented.

It happened one day that there was on the lawn of the beautiful home a fire of the dead leaves that had been raked up. So what did the gallant officer do but walk through the thick of it, setting his clothes ablaze. At the foot of the lawn is a beautiful fish pond, and into this he plunged. Such bravery, even though foolhardy, won the hand, as he already had the heart, of the fair Patty. But, alas, fate had, as we have seen, decreed that their happiness was delayed too long, so that the order for his return to England with his command brought about their separation.

SECTION 5.

THOMAS PEARSALL, son of Thomas Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 4, born 6th mo., 20th day, 1735; died 3rd month, 18th day, 1807; he resided in the City of New York. Thomas Pearsall married 12th, 2nd mo., 1761, at Flushing Friends Meeting, Phebe Cornell, daughter of Richard Cornell and his wife Phebe Doughty. She died 1st day, 12th mo., 1810, aged 74 years, and is buried in the Friends Cemetery, Brooklyn, Long Island, New York. The families of Cornell and Pearsall were near neighbors, but owing to the controversy over the ownership of Cow Neck there was considerable hard feeling between them, and it took a century before they directly intermarried, although all the time they were more or less associated in the Friends' Meeting. The Records of Westbury Friends' Meeting show that on the 14th of 1st month, 1722/3, O.S. at Cow Neck (Manhasset), Mathew Franklin, a grandson of Nathaniel Pearsall, married Deborah Cornell, and that Thomas Pearsall, Mary Pearsall and Elizabeth Pearsall were witnesses. Judging from the few Pearsalls present there was at this time considerable feeling between the families. Several excellent Cornell genealogies have been published from time to time and kept up to date, consequently the reader will get more information from studying them than could possibly be condensed into a thumbnail sketch. Children of Thomas Pearsall and Phebe Cornell:—

1. Phebe Pearsall, born January 1, 1762; died September 19, 1764.
2. Sarah Pearsall, born October 1, 1763; died November 17, 1793. See Z, this Section.
3. Ann Pearsall, born August 6, 1765; died January 23, 1813; resided in New York City; married David Mumford, Jr., son of David Mumford and Rebecca Saltonstall, his wife. He was born December 20, 1759; died February 21, 1823. No children.

   The Records of the New York Friends' Meeting disclose:—Ann Mumford, late Pearsall, married out of the Unity of Friends before 3, 7, 1787. She was disowned by the Meeting 10, 3, 1787.
4. Thomas Pearsall, born March 17, 1767; died August 4, 1767.
5. Thomas Cornell Pearsall, born December 25, 1768; died November 5, 1820. Chapter 30, Section 6.
6. Richard Pearsall, born June 2, 1771; died June 14, 1772.

Thomas Pearsall was established in business in New York City as early as 1760, where he was engaged as a coast-wise and foreign shipper and trader, as well as a merchant. From the very beginning he enjoyed a large trade because, among others, he represented his father in his consignments from Long Island,

where he had a mill and trading place, the products of which were disposed of through New York City. When Thomas Pearsall married Phebe Cornell this brought considerable increase in the volume of his business, as the Cornells thereupon gave him a share of their consignments.

It was not long before Thomas Pearsall extended his trading to England and Holland, and as early as 1770 he was recognized as a leader among the foreign and coase-wise shippers and traders in New York. And, following the custom of the time, he was also a merchant and banker, having correspondents in the leading American and foreign ports. He seemed, however, to have had a preference for the English and Holland trade in which countries he had extensive business connections.

The most important historical event contemporary with Thomas Pearsall was the Revolutionary War. At the first no one looked for other than a peaceful settlement with England, and as it was within the rights of a Quaker to be concerned in the public welfare, Thomas Pearsall was prominent in the negotiations that preceded the beginning of actual hostilities. In the City of New York, at a meeting in the Exchange, May 16, 1774, Thomas Pearsall, along with his friend William Bayard, was appointed on the Committee of Fifty to correspond with the neighboring colonies on the present important crisis.

Events followed so quickly that on April 19, 1775, the Battle of Lexington was fought, and thereafter it was no longer permissible for a member of the Society of Friends to engage in the controversy with the mother country except as a noncombatant; hence Thomas Pearsall ceased to be active in the conduct of the war. During the early stages of the Revolution, the harbor of New York was in the hands of the American forces, and at this time Thomas Pearsall supported the American cause, as is shown by joining in a petition of New York merchants, to the Provisional Congress of New York, requesting that congress, by some act or publication of theirs, declare whether the people of New York are or are not at liberty to ship flax seed to Ireland; which was signed by Thomas Galweath, Daniel Phenix, Wm. Neilson, Peter Clopper, Mott & Benner, Fredk. Rhinelander, Thomas Pearsall, John Franklin, Murray Swanson & Co., Comfort Sands, Joshua T. De St. Croix, Jacob Watson, Edward & William Laight, Tempelton J. Stewart, August 12, 1775. [New York Revolutionary Papers, vol. 1, page 119.]

At this time there were three million inhabitants in the colonies. The serious weakness of the American cause was that they were divided; fully a third of the people were opposed to the war and still more were strongly opposed to independence. The beginning of hostilities released the radicals who rode rough-shod over the conservatives who were intimidated, tarred and feathered, and in some cases executed. In many districts the struggle was a civil war in which the Tories were kept down by force. But this did not apply to New York City, where the Tories included most of the well-to-do classes, the former colonial officers, and their friends, old officers of the British Army, many of the clergy and most of the graduates of colleges; hence New York City was intensely loyal to the English government. But at the same time its inhabitants, principally its merchants and leading citizens, recognized the force and justice of the American

claims which brought on the controversy with the English King; and short of actual secession and independence, there was a strong public sentiment supporting the armed resistance to the enforcement of the obnoxious laws; just as in later days many like instances have occurred in the British Isles, where certain parts of the people have in like manner resisted the enforcement of objectionable laws. At this time Thomas Pearsall was earnestly in favor of the American cause and went as far as he dared and yet remain a member of the Friends' Meeting. Among the records at Albany his name appears as one of the citizens from whose house window-leads were taken during the American occupancy of New York City. Next to powder, procuring lead was one of the most difficult problems of the Americans. There was absolutely no hope of bringing any from England. The supply was so short that pewter dishes of all sorts were melted and cast into bullets. In this emergency the City of New York proved to be a valuable mine. The type of the printers was taken as soon as it was found that the city must fall into the hands of the British, and all the bars of lead in the hands of the merchants were likewise confiscated. But the greatest source of supply was the window-leads, which were ordered by the Provincial Congress to be taken early in July, 1776, while the fleet of the enemy was threatening outside. In this manner there was acquired fully one hundred tons of lead. This was paid for by the State of New York after the close of the war. It is said that the lead at this time was removed from the windows in over five hundred houses, which shows how willingly the citizens, including Thomas Pearsall, cooperated with the Provincial authorities in this particular. [Essentials of American History, by Hart, page 166. Mather, Refugees from Long Island, page 112.]

Early in the war it became evident that the best move by the English army would be to divide the colonies into two sections by conquering the State of New York and thus drive a loyalist wedge into the Federation. Accordingly, Sir William Howe landed on Long Island, August 22, 1776, and met the American army under Washington, who was compelled to fall back upon New York City. Thereupon a series of engagements resulted in the retirement and division of the American troops, some going up the Hudson River, while Washington with his main army was forced back across New Jersey and the Delaware River into Pennsylvania. Washington, however, crossed the Delaware in boats, December 26, 1776, and reconquered New Jersey, as far as Morristown. As a consequence of these military operations, New York City and harbor was left in the hands of the English, who kept control of this port during the rest of the war. The place became at once an English trading point, and those who remained were perforce compelled to give adherence to the English side of the controversy. The Quakers, however, were neutral, hence they remained no matter who governed the city. Truth compels the statement, however, that the maritime merchants mainly looked upon themselves as adherents of the powerful English Empire.

It may be accepted as a fact, although there is no record of the same, that at this time Thomas Pearsall made satisfactory proof of his loyalty to the crown, or he would not have been permitted to remain in New York City where he carried on his business as a shipper and merchant. Between his business interests, ex-

tending to the whole seven seas, protected by the English fleet, and the controversy concerning taxation without representation, self-interest proved to be the controlling factor.

The next year the British campaign in New York State was intended to complete the conquest of the entire territory. This was to be accomplished by sending an expedition from Canada by way of the road that led along Lake Champlain to the Hudson River, and then on down this stream until it met another expedition that was to come up the river from New York City. Now it happened that the section of New York which is situated between the northern boundary of Saratoga County, southward to the present boundary line between Putnam and Duchess Counties, and extending westward as far as there were settlements, was intensely loyal to the American cause. The English were unable to penetrate this section and it remained in the possession of the Continental forces during the whole war. Thus there were created two districts of New York: that about the city and its harbor being overwhelmingly Tory, while the inhabitants of the other were by various methods practically made a united body in support of the Congress of the United States.

Thus Thomas Pearsall was for the period of the war precluded from entering the American lines unless he was ready to forfeit all his worldly wealth to the British. As long, however, as he remained a resident of New York City, and engaged in business, he was in a position to render valuable and efficient service to the American cause.

There was considerable bitter feeling between the strong partizans of the Whigs and Tories, which came to mean between the residents, respectively, of the city and country sections of New York. This applied with equal truth to practically all the principal seaports, at one time or another, during the continuation of hostilities. It was this division between city and country to which Franklin alluded when he said that forming an opinion of the American people and their manners by what is seen among the inhabitants of the seaports is judging from an improper sample. The people of the trading towns may be rich and luxurious, while the country possesses all the virtues that tend to promote happiness and public prosperity. Those towns are not much regarded by the country; they are hardly considered as an essential part of the states; and the experience of the last war has shown that their being in the possession of the enemy did not necessarily draw on the subjection of the country, which bravely continued to maintain its freedom and independence notwithstanding. [Life of Franklin, by Bigelow, page 277.] Nevertheless, there was good feeling between the leading men of both sections; it was among the masses that this bitterness prevailed. Taking him as a sample of other merchants who remained within the British lines, we know that Thomas Pearsall rendered efficient service to the Americans during the whole period of the war.

A small but influential minority of the American section of New York appreciated that their fellow citizens, who were in the English section, were there not because of any free choice about the matter, but because there was nothing else for them to do under the circumstances. Thomas Pearsall was intensely American in his feelings and desires, but having taken the affirmation of allegiance to

England, he was bound, according to his religious teachings, to bear all the consequences. The Friends taught that one must suffer rather than do wrong, and that having done what one considered right, he must be ready to stand the suffering that might prove incident thereto.

The British army had no sooner secured possession of Long Island and New York City than they began to requisition supplies from the inhabitants for the use of the army. Refusal to comply would have resulted in expulsion, together with confiscation of all tangible property. The inhabitants were also made to sign certificates acknowledging their allegiance to the crown. Nor did the people only suffer these hardships, and have their property exchanged for promises to pay for the same, which were never honored, but there were as well many indescribable indignities inflicted on their persons. The Quakers were nevertheless determined to adhere to their religious abhorrence and disapproval of war, so they were made the special objects of the army's attention. It was not safe to record in their minutes the greatest trials they were made to undergo, for fear of increased hardships being inflicted upon them. So they contented themselves with the recital of seemingly unimportant facts, which in many cases indicated some greater indignity that could not be expressed.

The condition of a non-combatant is never a pleasant one in time of war, and it is specially disagreeable in time of civil war. The British occupancy was a grim reality and one must get along with the new conditions or become a refugee to the country within the American lines, with increased hardships through the lack of means to procure a living for oneself and family. Thomas Pearsall did the wisest thing under the circumstances, when he decided to remain and put up with the British, even though thereby he incurred the enmity of the Americans, and had to bear the reproach of being classed as having taken sides in this civil war. But his religious professions taught him that it was better to suffer than to engage in any occupation which comprehended the taking of human life.

In 1778, Thomas Pearsall was looked upon by the English as one who could possibly assist in making peace between England and America. To this end Major Patrick Campbell, who subsequently abducted and married his daughter Sarah, was quartered in his house. (The reader will find the story in this same section in subdivision Z, entitled Sarah Pearsall, daughter of Thomas Pearsall.) The matter could not have progressed favorably, according to the English view, as nothing appears to have been done under the following communication, in reference thereto, addressed to Brig. Gen. Archibald Campbell, which appears in the Sparks' collection of manuscripts in Harvard College, and which is marked in Professor Sparks' handwriting as relating to the negotiations for peace. [Calendar of Sparks' Mss., in Harvard College Library, vol. 55, relating to attempted negotiations between England and United States during the war of the Revolution, copied from the originals in the State Papers Office, London, under the direction of Mr. John Palfrey, 1856.]

London, Jany. 21, 1779,—Sir;—In addition to the appointment and instructions delivered to you in October last by virtue of the commission with which we are honored, we now transmit to you the enclosed proclamations of that date either or both to be pursued and carried into execution in case the course of

events should make it expedient. If however the situation of affairs should be such as not to give you possession of the ports sufficiently for both or either of the said proclamations to operate with good effect, you will preserve them, or such of them as you may not have occasion to produce, carefully within your own custody till you can deliver them to His Majestys Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies to be cancelled.—We enclose for your better information copies of all such papers as have been transmitted to us on this subject—We are &c Carlisle, Wm Eden and Geo Johnstone. To Brig. Genl. Arch'd Campbell.

The whole history of the relations existing between Thomas Pearsall and Patrick Campbell shows most clearly that the former had no other interest in this subject at this time than to afford the agents of Congress an opportunity to learn the terms of the English government concerning peace, and as they did not include independence, they were rejected.

It is easy to understand that so far as the masses were concerned, the relations between the two sections of New York comprehended all the fierceness, bitterness and unrelenting brutality usually incident to civil war. And that the immediate political effect was to make the country section to be the state of New York so far as Congress was concerned; while the city became the greatest of the American sea-ports, enjoying unusual advantages in trade during the whole war. This outlet to foreign commerce, strange as it may seem, was of great advantage to the American cause, as there was very quickly found means, through back door methods, of supplying the American army with such stores as could only be produced in Europe.

It may seem remarkable, but once the war was started the Americans were anxious to get the very same kinds of English goods which they had boycotted before hostilities commenced. Their wants were, in this particular, partly supplied by the sale of prizes captured by the privateers. The quantities obtained from this source did not equal the demand, so there sprang up a new line of business known as the illicit trade, or the London trade. This soon grew to be enormous and profitable, and in this Thomas Pearsall was a heavy trader through the imports he sold to the wholesalers and jobbers. The State of New York winked at this in order to procure clothing for the army. The British allowed it, to get cattle and provisions, although they forbade any but a loyal subject to carry goods out of New York City. The means of communication were through mixed bands composed of Whigs, Tories and Refugees, together with American and British soldiers. [Mather, Refugees from Long Island, page 212.] Even the American historians, in noticing the subject, have been compelled to say that there seemed to be no disgrace in the practice; for nothing that is popular is ever disgraceful.

So far as the American section of New York was concerned, no effort was made to stop this trade until April, 1782, when a law was passed making contraband, goods brought into the American lines for private use. At this time the private demands of the Whig citizen were interfering with the needs of the State in procuring needed supplies. [Mather, Chapter 23.] Thomas Pearsall imported large quantities of materials needed by the American forces and in this way helped the State of New York to maintain her forces in fairly decent equipment.

In this particular her military force was much better off than that of any other state. Washington saw the advantage of this same means to be applied to the whole Continental army when in a letter to John Sullivan, in Congress, November 20, 1780, he wrote:—"Let Congress without delay employ some eminent merchant of approved integrity and abilities to import (in his own way) materials for the annual clothing of officers and men." [Writings of Washington, by Ford, vol. 9, page 34.] William Floyd and Isaac Roosevelt, the friend of Thomas Pearsall, were the special commissioners of the State of New York to arrange for the procurement of clothing for the military force of New York. [Mather, Refugees, page 96.] Hence we can readily see why the latter were so successful, for Isaac Roosevelt and Thomas Pearsall were in touch with each other during the whole of the Revolutionary War. It is very evident, however, that Washington had no thought of using the Port of New York as the means of procuring foreign cloths. As on November 7, 1780, he had written:—While our army is experiencing almost daily want, that of the enemy at New York is deriving ample supplies from a trade with the adjacent states of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, which, by degrees, has become so common that it is hardly thought a crime. Were the laws rigidly put into execution in a few instances, the practice would be stopped. Without something of the kind the enemy will, while they have a species of money of superior value to ours, find little difficulty in making up the losses which they every now and then meet at sea. [Writings of Washington, by Ford, vol. 9, page 23.]

Any fair-minded and unprejudiced examination of the subject will, however, disclose that the advantages were largely to the Americans in this trade. There was by this means no difficulty encountered by the individual citizen in obtaining all the goods he needed, but the seller wanted real money in exchange, while the American forces obtained from Thomas Pearsall all the supplies of every kind they needed, and for which they paid either in barter or in sound money. There should be praise to Thomas Pearsall and his associates that they were willing to risk the punishment of the British in order that the needed supplies should be obtained by the Americans. That others entered into the trade, and that it grew to such an enormous volume, only indicates the real necessities that existed among the people, as otherwise this trade would not have come into existence at all. And that Isaac Roosevelt on one side, and Thomas Pearsall on the other, were leaders, shows that it commanded the resources of the most wealthy merchants of the time. The rest of the country looked on this trade with disapproving eyes, yet there was not a state that failed to reap some advantage from this exchange of commodities through New York as a clearing house. It was not, however, approved by the military authorities, who were intent on starving the British out of New York.

As late as March 19, 1783, which was seventeen months after the Battle of Yorktown, Washington wrote:—What the final issue (of the Revolution) may be, Heaven only knows—Such an avidity appears among our people to make money and so feeble the reins of government (where there is an attempt to use them) to restrain the illicit and pernicious trade with the enemy at New York, that the fence between them and us is entirely broken down, and nothing but an

army quite sufficient to form a close investiture of that place can repair it. Five such armies as I have would be incompetent employed in any other way. The boats which have been commissioned to obstruct this trade are instrumental in carrying it on and have been caught in the act as many other trading parties also have been, by the guards and patrols I keep for this purpose. But it avails nothing. By hook or crook they are certain of acquittal. In truth I am quite discouraged and have scarce any thing left but lamentation for the want of virtue and the depravity of my countrymen. [Writings of Washington, by Ford, vol. 10, page 188.] Washington was right from his point of view in condemning those who were within the American lines for the continuance of this trade. But his view was nevertheless that of a military chieftain anxious to starve out his enemy rather than that of a statesman balancing the good and evil consequences. As a fact, trade never flourishes except through the desire of the buyer to procure some particular thing. The condition of the American people at this time was not such that they were buying any great quantity of luxuries. Hence, speaking for Thomas Pearsall, as one of the sellers, he deserves praise for having performed a very badly needed service to the American people at this time.

But at all times for the merchant to deal directly with the individual American was not only hazardous but likely to result in total loss. The keen-eyed spies of the American forces were alert to detect any goods or merchandise coming through the Continental lines and at once the machinery would be put into motion whereby to collect the value of the commodities. The plan adopted was simple and efficient. The party receiving the goods would be notified to pay the bill to the Committee of Safety, who would give a receipt for the same and an acquittance of the debt. Sometimes the debtor would ask permission to pay to the Committee, asserting that the creditor was voluntarily within the English lines. But whether the debtor paid willingly or unwillingly, the result was the same, namely, the creditor was out the price of the goods. The records of the Committee of Safety of the State of New York contain several entries which show that Thomas Pearsall lost in this way in dealing with those who were within the American lines. But, nevertheless, he never ceased to supply the American forces or the private citizen with any stores that they needed and which he had at his command. As we see, he was the victim of the perfidy of some who were within the American lines. It was only rarely, however, that goods were sold on credit. The merchandise intended for private use, the merchants and importers sold to the distributors who paid for the same, and they found means to transport and sell the commodities to the Whigs.

Thomas Pearsall lived in Flushing a part of the time that the English occupied New York during the Revolutionary War. In a mortgage made June 24, 1778, he is described as Thomas Pearsall of Flushing, late of New York, merchant. [New York Wills, vol. 9, page 37.] But this was no more than many of the richest merchants were then doing, Flushing being the fashionable residence section of the locality. Their business, however, was carried on in the City of New York during all the time of the British occupancy, and of these traders Thomas Pearsall ranked among the most active and successful during the British occupancy of New York City.

There was also, during the Revolution, a marked difference between the business conditions prevalent in the two sections of New York. The seacoast towns, particularly New York City, during the war enjoyed a period of great prosperity. Men everywhere made good wages, work was plentiful and the opportunities for speculation were almost without limit, while the ordinary business was transacted at large profit. The brunt and hardships of the war were borne by the rural population. Foreign commerce suffered from the war, but even here the gamble yielded large gains to the fortunate ones. And, strange as it may seem, and in opposition to the generally accepted historical view, the regular business of exchange and commerce of the country, as represented by the volume of trade in the coast towns, was based upon a sound currency.

Hard money began to be plentiful in 1779, through the disbursements of the English and the French, and through importations from other countries. [Jefferson's Writings, vol. 9, page 259. Pownall, Administration of the Colonies, page 55.] The prodigious quantity of French money brought into America by their fleets and armies, and the loans made by France to Congress, together with a vast return of Spanish dollars from the trade with Havana, and the gold of all nations, all found its way into the land within the British lines, and rendered specie very plentiful. It all came sooner or later to New York City, which at all times had a great deal of specie. That which went into the American lines to buy provisions came back to buy English goods. [Finance of the Revolution, by Sumner, vol. 1, page 24.] It must be kept in mind that in those days there were no banks in New York City, and that a part of the business of the financially sound and large mercantile establishments was in receiving and handling money the same as a bank. This influx of gold and silver greatly added to the capital of Thomas Pearsall and the other merchants of like standing, and consequently increased their opportunities to extend their own business operations.

On the other hand the rural sections, which were largely those which made up the territory within the American lines, including the section of New York loyal to the American cause, were impoverished by the burden of the war. Here there were only a few moneyed men, and they were disposed to employ their money elsewhere than for the upbuilding of the public credit, which is necessarily based on the private wealth of its citizens in a civilized state. [The Writings of George Washington, by Ford, vol. 9, page 105.] Congress attempted to finance the war by the emission of promises to pay, which it decreed should circulate as money. The federal officers would forcibly take such supplies as were needed by the army, giving a receipt for the same and a promise to pay, which was redeemable in continental money. If the seller happened to be a Tory, no one particularly cared if he never was repaid. If the seller happened to be a Whig, then he was only paying what he would otherwise have had to pay in taxes. [Finances of the Revolution, by Sumner, vol. 2, page 272.] One can well understand, therefore, that Thomas Pearsall and the other great merchants in New York, looked askance upon any body of men called a government which would issue promises to pay, with intention not only to never liquidate the same by taxation, but without providing the visible assets or adequate income out of which the debt could be made good. Alexander Hamilton, in a confidential letter to

Robert Morris, of the date of August 13, 1782, said that New York carried on its internal trade under the most disadvantageous terms. It divides into three branches: with the City of New York, with New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and with New England. The general balance of trade is against us, a plain symptom of which is an extreme and universal scarcity of money. [Correspondence of Robert Morris, by Stan. V. Henkels, page 6.] Thomas Pearsall and the other merchants of New York had been accustomed to carry on their coast-wise trade by exchanging the commodities of one port for those of home production, so they quickly reduced the system of trading with Continental America to bartering. Whatever the interior needed they obtained from Thomas Pearsall and the other New York City merchants only by an exchange of commodities. There were exceptions, of course, which furnished opportunity for the buyer to play false by paying the debt to the Committee of Safety of interior New York.

The balances, which were always against the country, were required to be liquidated in specie, hence the want of sound money in the Continental section of New York, of which Hamilton complained as a hardship. The conditions in this respect were worse as one went farther away from the English lines. The Whig section of New York was therefore a clearing house for the needed foreign goods that came through the City of New York and, as we see by Hamilton's letter, this jobbing trade extended to much the larger portion of the States. It soon became evident to the observant business man like Thomas Pearsall, that the longer these conditions continued the more impoverished the Continental section of America was certain to become. American governmental affairs were tending rapidly to a catastrophe; the people were utterly tired of the war and the financial system had collapsed. The debased Continental money, coupled with the adverse balance of trade, had brought American business and governmental affairs to a serious crisis. The Whig merchant saw that his own salvation could only be brought about by his participation in the London or illicit trade, whereby he was able to pass this burden of American financial failure along to the residents within the Continental lines. As a result trade had a remarkable revival, but the net result was to add to the impoverishment of the citizens.

Washington wrote as early as 1779, that some thought the contest over and that there was nothing more to do but make money. Friends and foes seem now to combine to pull down the goodly fabric we have been raising at the expense of so much time, blood and treasure.

In May, 1780, George III. said that the distresses of the government in America would force the Americans to sue for peace during the summer unless the English met with some disaster. Washington agreed with him. He wrote to the committee of Congress, "we seem to be verging so fast to destruction that I am filled with sensations to which I have been a stranger till within these three months. The conjuncture requires all our wisdom and all our energy. Such is the present state of our country that the utmost exertion of its resources though equal is not more than equal to the object." [Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. 10, page 207. Correspondence of George III., vol. 2, page 319. Durand's American History, page 245; also Webster's Essays, page 75-143; Pownall Administrations of the Colonies, page 55; Jefferson's Writings, vol. 9,

page 259; Pennsylvania Packet (newspaper), February 17, 1781; Chastellux's Travels, vol. 2, page 30; Sheffield's Commerce of America, page 169; Calendar of Virginia Papers, vol. 3, page 465; Onderdonk Suffolk and Kings, page 109-201; Onderdonk, Queens, page 175.] And later, George III. said that the help of France could not enable America to restore the value of the paper money; if that is not effected, it is impossible that the rebellion can long exist. And herein the English King spoke from first-hand knowledge; as the enemy, perceiving the terrible harm the Americans had done to themselves by this emission of paper money, thought it well to help, by counterfeiting the bills in large quantities, which they put into circulation in the States. Thus greatly adding to the financial distress of Congress. [Sumner, History of American Currency, page 45.]

Washington, being equally well informed, took exactly the same view of the situation, except that he hoped that France would adequately finance the United States. He did not realize that France had also reached the end of her resources available for other than her own necessities in prosecuting the war. Washington discussed the subject with extreme frankness in his letter of instructions to Laurens, to which the reader is referred. [Writings of Washington, by Ford, vol. 9, page 103.] He summed up the situation in the statement that: the efforts we have been compelled to make for carrying on the war have exceeded the natural abilities of this country and by degrees brought it to a crisis, which renders immediate and efficacious succors from abroad indispensable to its safety, and this has resulted in the absolute necessity of an immediate, ample and efficacious succor in money large enough to be a foundation for substantial arrangements of finance to revive public credit and give vigor to future operations.

It has generally been thought that as this added to the wealth of Thomas Pearsall and the other merchants in New York City, it must have been a pleasing prospect to him and them. On the contrary, as the strength of the Continental forces grew less, and the evident poverty of the people living in the country governed by Congress grew greater, the conditions of the merchants in New York City became more exasperating. The English authorities became more and more exacting in their demands until it looked as if they were going to place the entire burden of England's expenditures for the war upon these merchants. This was a tactical error, as it caused an almost unanimous feeling to grow up among the people within the English lines that some way must be found to bring the war to a speedy close, and in such a manner as to break this tyranny now so openly manifested towards the loyal Americans, most of whom, it is true, had been forced to be loyal in order that they might live within the British lines. The family records of Thomas Pearsall, and those of his brother and sisters, disclose that this was a time of much anxiety for all those who had remained within the English lines, whether they were Tory or Whig in their sympathies. One has only to read Mather's masterly work on the Long Island Refugees to get a good glimpse of the hardships and injustices inflicted at this time by the English upon friend and foe alike. Nor was this course of conduct confined to New York City and vicinity, but it was extended to every place where the English had control. On the other hand, and very distressing to the American cause, the merchants who were within the American lines, and living in the seaports, were

satisfied with the profits coming from privateering. In fact, privateering was so lucrative a trade that even members of Congress looked enviously upon those who had a share in it. For example, Richard Peters, on August 28, 1780, wrote to Robert Morris that if he, Peters, should see himself possessed of certain expected cash he proposed investing some of it in this trade. He also said, I don't care how vain you think me, when I tell you that I am conscious of deserving some share of the advantages of this diabolical war. I have earned it by my labor and by my losses. I have gained a right to demand something from fortune as a retribution for her unfavorable treatment. As you are one of her favorites, and much more my friend than her ladyship, I shall pay my court through you and by that, if it be possible and proper, I may bear a small share in the Privateer circle. [Correspondence of Robert Morris, by Stan. V. Henkels, page 96.] It is certain that whatever wealth the Whig merchants gained by privateering, it was obtained at the corresponding loss of the merchants of New York City. It is easy to see why they had changed sides with reference to a continuance of the war. This, as we shall presently see, was to have an important effect upon the fortunes of the government of the United States.

It would seem that the distress of those who supported Congress would have made every whig merchant anxious that peace should come speedily to relieve the people from the sufferings that they were patiently enduring, to the end that American freedom might be maintained throughout the land, but notiwthstanding this, the whig merchants as a class wanted the war to continue because of the profits they were reaping from privateering. At the very close of the Revolutionary War, when peace was about to be signed, Robert Morris records that the prospect of peace has given more general discontent than any thing that has happened for a long time, particularly amongst the mercantile part of the community. I have been much surprised at it, but so the fact; however, again I repeat my wishes for a speedy and honorable peace. [Correspondence of Robert Morris, by Stan. V. Henkels, page 41.] Whereas those who were actually fighting for the success of the Revolution were more than ever in earnest, although they were very deeply cast down with the difficulties which beset them on every side. Col. Tench Tilghman, special aide and private secretary to Washington, wrote to Robert Morris on December 22, 1780,—To be candid with you, I do not think the contest ever stood upon more critical ground than at present. The people grow tired of a war which has been of longer duration than they were led to expect, and are alarmed and amazed to find that the enemy are at this time of day making strides which they could not effect at the beginning. Two things will save us and that speedily—a sufficient permanent army and a foreign loan in aid of our own resources. We may amuse ourselves of plans, of specifications, from the states and a thousand idle projects. But until the army can be regularly clothed, paid and fed by the means of a substantial medium (money), we are only lingering out the time of our dissolution. [Correspondence of Robert Morris, by Stan. V. Henkels, page 169.]

At this time and in this emergency patriotic America turned for help to the merchants and foreign traders of the country, including those of the City of New York. The suggestion to mobilize for the benefit of the United States all the

merchants, who it must be remembered were also the bankers of the time, appears to have originated with Elbridge Gerry, a member of Congress from Massachusetts, who wrote to Robert Morris, June 1, 1780, proposing an immediate association of the merchants throughout the United States to support the plans of Congress relative to finance. It is doubtful, however, if his suggestion comprehended merchants like Thomas Pearsall, who were inside the English lines in the City of New York. [Correspondence of Robert Morris, by Stan. V. Henkels, page 2.] As was to have been expected, nothing came of this proposition, as the self interest of the whig merchants of the seacoast towns in the possession of the Americans, lay in the continuance of the war, so irregularly that privateering was not only permitted but encouraged. Hence, the credit for discerning that the opposite self interests of the whig and tory merchants had made them change sides with reference to the continuation of the war, and for bringing in to accord with Congress the powerful merchants of New York City, although they were within the English lines, belongs to Isaac Roosevelt and Isaac Lawrence, who were close business associates and warm personal friends of Thomas Pearsall. Isaac Lawrence was also the personal friend of Alexander Hamilton, who wrote concerning him that he was a man of good sense and good intentions—has just views of public affairs—is active and accurate in business. He is from conviction an advocate for strengthening the Federal government and for reforming the vices of our interior administration. [Correspondence of Robert Morris, by Stan. V. Henkels, page 6, appendix.]

Of course no one can say what went on in the secret negotiations, as these New York merchants, wisely, kept no written memoranda. But, from the chain of events which followed soon thereafter, it is easy to determine that they demanded a business-like administration of the finances of the American federation; that this duty was to be performed by a responsible agent of the government, and that he was to be clothed with full power and authority in the premises. The reason for this demand being that Congress had been performing these executive acts through a committee of its own body; a committee which had largely to do with the legislation upon the same subject. The intimate association of Thomas Pearsall with those who now labored to bring about the financial salvation of the American government shows how deeply he was concerned in bringing about those changes in the financial operations of congress which so quickly brought the Revolution to a successful end. The result of these conferences with those who were in touch with Thomas Pearsall, and the other New York merchants, is also reflected in the letter of Hamilton to James Duane in September, 1780, wherein he advocated that the functions of the United States should be separated into legislative and executive. That the executive should be divided into several departments, each under the management of a single individual, vested with the power to carry out the directions of Congress. He also suggested Robert Morris for the department of finance, who would have many things in his favor and could by personal influence give weight to the measures he should adopt. Which was to say that he would command the confidence of those merchants who were principally located in New York City, of whom Thomas Pearsall was a leader, and who earnestly desired that the war be brought to an end in

such a way as to assure freedom from both the American privateer and the English taxing officers. [Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, vol. 6, pg. 480; vol. 4, pg. 48; Franklin in France, vol. 2, pg. 39; Circuit History of France and America, vol. 3, pg. 288.]

Among the first acts of congress, in pursuance of the merchants' demands, was the creation of the position of Superintendent of Finance. And on February 20, 1781, Robert Morris of Philadelphia, a merchant of the highest standing, was elected to the position. Michael Hillegass of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, was later appointed treasurer. Thus the administration of Robert Morris at once represented all the whig merchants of the state of Pennsylvania. On the following sixth of July, Gouverneur Morris of New York was appointed assistant Superintendent of Finance, the position having been especially created for him. He represented the group of New York merchants who supported the American cause and who had closed their business at the time of the British occupancy of New York and had removed to some place within the Continental lines. There was another set of merchants, namely those who had remained in New York City and with whom Thomas Pearsall was associated. Gouverneur Morris was also fully trusted by these and his relations with them were pleasant and business-like, so much so as to attract public attention. John Jay wrote him from Philadelphia: Your enemies talk much of your tory connections, take care, do not unnecessarily expose yourself to calumny and perhaps indignity. In reply Morris wrote: As to the malevolence of individuals it is what I have to expect and it is by no means a matter of surprise. [Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris, by Anne Cary Morris, vol. 1, page 8.]

There was considerable money raised at this time in Pennsylvania, but practically all of it went into the state treasury. It was expected that quite a large sum would be raised for congress in New York City, which included Long Island in the estimate. So far as known, there was no particular selection made of a firm through whom the money would be obtained, but every merchant in New York City was approached at this time and they severally gave the proposition the attention they thought it deserved, according to their prejudices for or against the United States. That there was a good-sized sum raised is shown by the records of the Committee of Safety of New York. This fact has also been noticed by others who have investigated the subject. [Finances of the Revolution, vol. I, page 24; Hamilton's Works, vol. 8, page 65.] In the aggregate, however, the sum obtained was far from sufficient for the needs of congress. This effort resulted in an aggravation rather than a palliation of the existing need for money by the United States. It is easy to say that more money should have been raised in this way from these New York merchants; but the difficulty was not with the merchants, as many of them no doubt would have subscribed more liberally, but with congress as all the money thus subscribed was practically a gift, for it was certain that the debt would be repaid in Continental money, as congress apparently had no other means of payment. It is to the great credit of Thomas Pearsall and his business associate, William Bayard, that they alone saw that America had an abundance of assets against which it could borrow all the money needed to finance the Revolution, although at this time Continental

money was rated at 525 to one in coin. [Penna. Legislative Journals, vol. 1, page 681, 561; Webster's Essays, page 174; Reed's Life of Joseph Reed, vol. 2, page 295; Autobiography of Charles Biddle, page 238.] And partly by repudiation, under the guise of this depreciation, and partly by making it an article of commerce, Continental money had ceased to be treated by the people as money, as it only circulated to the extent that it was forced on the people by the agents of congress.

To the Americans generally the treasury of France seemed inexhaustible. Every public man who supported the American cause proposed plans for the conduct of the war based upon specie and a navy from France. There were good grounds for this generally accepted belief, for France at this time did furnish large credits and sent to America a large division of her navy, with the result that a campaign was undertaken which resulted in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. There were only a very few of the American statesmen and merchants who knew that this was the last desperate effort of France to win victory for herself and her allies. This effort consumed practically all of her surplus power and left her so crippled, at least financially, that the flow of loans to congress was to cease. The awakening came when the French naval commander refused to cooperate in any military and naval movements following up and clinching the signal victory at Yorktown. The people had been educated to believe that the French were perfect in their military knowledge, and when her fleet sailed away it was not possible to make the people who supported congress believe that any more effort was necessary to win the war, and they acted as though the war was won. Washington and those in authority were not deceived by the happenings which left the relative position of the parties not very much changed. The one result at home was to stop recruiting, which meant the early dissolution of the Continental Army. The result in Europe was to make it increasingly evident that congress was without the financial means, either in America or in Europe, with which to continue the war.

It was fortunate that before this time, in its efforts to borrow money from the American merchants, congress had sent its agents into New York city. For while the sum obtained was, as we have already seen, inadequate to the needs of the United States, it developed that there was a willingness on the part of the so-called Tory merchants to help the American cause in such a way as to bring a favorable peace. It was more than fortunate that this effort on the part of congress was the impelling reason why Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard felt called upon to carefully study the financial needs of congress with the intent to discover if possible the means whereby the war could be closed to the advantage of the Americans and incidentally of themselves. They consequently interpreted the invitation by congress to the New York merchants to contribute to the treasury of the United States to mean that they personally had been charged with the duty of bringing financial assistance to the United States from any available source that they could command. This was a most fortunate conviction as they ranked among the strongest of American merchants; they possessed broad business vision which they were capable of communicating to those with whom they dealt; and they were successful in their own business notwithstanding the diffi-

culties then incident to mercantile transactions in America. All of which gave added weight to their conclusions and representations when communicated to those who were resident abroad and possessed of the desirable funds. They were the first who saw the difficulty toward which the American government was rapidly advancing. They had correspondents in every European port and hence were advised of the important occurrences long before they came to the attention of the governmental authorities at home or abroad. To them long before any one else seems to have noticed the trend of events the conditions seemed to call for intelligent effort along broad business lines. This accounts for their preparedness at the most critical moment in the history of the United States. Moreover they saw the remedy that would bring about the financial independence of the United States. It was this foresight which made their efforts so successful. Today it seems quite self-evident that others as well as Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard should have perceived that the same plan that was being so successfully followed by Pennsylvania, could also be carried out by congress. But the fact remains that no others had the same view, or, at least if they had, they made no practical application of this knowledge in the same way as was done by Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard. The logic of their arguments when presented to the bankers in Europe was not to be gainsaid. The attractiveness of the loan as a business venture was evident the moment they exhibited its certainty of payment at maturity. For if it came to a pinch it was evident that there was not a state but would gladly exchange its unsettled lands for its share due for the liquidation of a loan. Hence in their judgment all that was necessary to be done was to make the loan and confidently look forward to the day of payment, well knowing that there was ample security to pay the debt. It was however too large an undertaking for these two merchants to handle, hence they must depend upon interesting some of their foreign correspondents.

Their British correspondents had been concerned in the political upheaval in England whereby a government pledged to peace with America had come into power. It was nevertheless evident that nothing was to be done for a long time along the line of peace. This delay meant the possibility of financial ruin to Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard as well as to their English correspondents, for privateering was not only increasing but it was highly profitable to the Americans. At the same time it was hardly possible that a loan could be floated with the English merchants, yet it could be expected that at least no opposition would come from that source. This pointed to Holland as the most likely place where such a loan could be obtained. Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard immediately took up the subject with their correspondent in Holland, the great banking firm of William and John Willink of Amsterdam. They informed them that the state of Pennsylvania had issued so-called Island money in which each note represented a claim against a certain piece of land, and that the aggregate claims against this parcel of land were so much less than its actual value, that as a consequence this money, even under the present distressing conditions, ranked higher than gold or silver coin. That there were other large and well located tracts of land available for the same purpose, so that if the United States failed to pay the loan yet there would be sufficient value in the lands to liquidate the same. And that as a fact

the default of the government on the loan would enable them to take in payment lands which could be sold to emigrants at an increased profit to the lenders. While the subject was under consideration by the Willinks, on October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, but neither side looked upon this as ending the war.

The lack of funds by congress became so manifest and so evident was its inability to command any adequate sum of money with which to continue the war that the English government expected the early financial collapse of the American confederation. While Washington wrote to congress that unacquainted as he was with the state of politics between congress and the courts of Europe respecting future negotiations, whatever our prospects from that quarter may be, he could not justify himself to his own mind without urging congress in warmest terms to make every arrangement that may be found necessary for an early and efficacious campaign the ensuing year. And that early preparation for military operations will put the United States upon the most respectable footing, either for war or negotiation; while a relaxation will place it in a disreputable situation in point of peaceful prospects and will certainly expose it to the most disgraceful disasters in case of a continuance of the hostile disposition of its enemies. [Writings of Washington, by Ford, vol. 9, page 396.]

The necessities of congress for large sums of money had become urgent through the reorganization of the army and navy, and by the withdrawal of fresh supplies of money from France; while the States by their delays practically closed even this means of getting small amounts of ready money. All of which had greatly multiplied the difficulties of congress and made the desire for the foreign loan all the more urgent. It was the beginning of May, 1782, before the Willinks were possessed of all the information they required and which made them resolve to furnish the United States with the much needed funds. Having formed this determination, they immediately acted, and thereafter events in Holland occurred in such rapid succession that William Bayard and Thomas Pearsall were, for a short time, as ignorant as every one in America of those subsequent occurrences in Europe which had to do with the American loan.

Regarding any other equally important event in American history as this loan, it would ordinarily be sufficient to refer the reader to the publication, or to the original records, where he could study the history of the same, but unfortunately this story has never been told and as the circumstances flowing therefrom absorbed practically all the rest of the business energies of Thomas Pearsall and of his son Thomas Cornell Pearsall, together with the energies of his grandson Duncan Pearsall Campbell, as well as those of his cousins who then resided in Duchess County, and also occupied the most important period of the life of Peter Pearsall, we shall have to ask the attention of the reader to the following short recital of the incidents which make up the history of this loan. [History of the Currency of the United States by William F. De Knight. Second edition prepared under the direction of Judson W. Lyons, Register of the Treasury, page 18.]

As to the story of the loan obtained in Holland, on the credit of the United States, the reader will understand and appreciate that the events in the life of Thomas Pearsall which we have just related have an important bearing upon his

connection with this loan. For a brief space we shall have to broaden the scope of the story so as to take in all the characters who were in any way instrumental in procuring the loan. This will make the story of more than family interest and hence purely intra-family incidents will have to give way to the broad statements of general American history, but, nevertheless, the reader will find no occasion to be aught but proud of the part the members of our family had in this loan, in the procurement thereof, in its liquidation, and in the extrication of the lenders from the financial difficulties which thereby came to them through their taking lands either in part payment of this loan, or in their investments of the proceeds in lands, which came about as a natural consequence of their original loan to the congress of the United States.

[It will save much citation if reference is made by the reader to the Life of John Adams, by Charles Francis Adams, volumes 1, 7, 8, & 9, and to the Life of Benjamin Franklin, by John Bigelow, volume 3; Franklin in France, volume 2, and Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, volume 6.]

The story begins with a letter dated April 20, 1782, from Benjamin Franklin from Passy in France to John Adams in Holland:—Sir George Grand shows me a letter from Mr. Finzeau in which he says that if advantage is taken of the present enthusiasm in favor of America a loan might be obtained in Holland of five or six millions of florins for America, and if their house is empowered to open it he has no doubt of success, but no time is to be lost. I earnestly recommend this matter to you as extremely necessary to the operations of our financier, Mr. Morris, who not knowing that the greatest part of the last five millions had been consumed by the purchase of goods etc. in Europe writes me advice of large drafts that he shall be obliged to make upon me this summer. This court has granted us six millions of livres; but it will fall far short of our occasions, there being large orders to fill and near two millions and a half to pay M. Beaumarchais besides the interest bills. The house of Finzeau and Grand (in Paris and Amsterdam) is now appointed banker for France by a special commission from the King, and will on that as well as other accounts be, in my opinion, the fittest for this operation. Your excellency being on the spot can better judge of the terms &c. and manage with that house the whole business in which I should be glad to have no other concern than that of receiving assistance from it when pressed by the dreaded drafts. [Life of Franklin by Bigelow, page 89.]

It happened that some time before the date of this letter Adams had departed from France because he disagreed with the policy of the French statesmen with reference to the closing of the war with England by the allies. As a consequence his relations with Franklin had approached almost to the point of an open rupture. He had gone to Holland, giving among other reasons his desire to raise a loan for the United States. He had been there a long time and had accomplished nothing tangible, for which lack of results he was not to blame, but nevertheless the time and effort appeared to have been wasted. The letter of Franklin was therefore a cynical reference to a banking firm of France and Holland who in all probability had already taken or should have taken the subject up with Adams as the representative of the United States, who was actually in Holland for this very purpose, and with Franklin, who was likewise the representative of the United States for the same purpose in France. The suggestion as to the overpowering necessity for the loan did not originate with Franklin or Adams but with Washington, through

whom Col. John Laurens had been sent to France on a special mission having reference thereto. In introducing him to Franklin, Washington wrote:—I beg leave to repeat to you, that to me nothing appears more evident than that the period of our opposition will very shortly arrive, if our allies cannot afford us that effectual aid, particularly in money and in naval superiority, which is now solicited. [Writings of George Washington by Washington Chauncey Ford, vol. 9, page 192.]

The differences between Adams and Franklin were of long standing, in fact, as early as 1779, Lafayette had written to Washington that there are two parties in France: MM Adams and Lee on the one part, Doctor Franklin and his friends on the other. So great is the concern which these divisions give me that I cannot wait on these gentlemen as much as I could wish for fear of occasioning disputes and bringing them to a greater collision. [The Marquis de la Fayette in the American Revolution, by Charlemagne Tower Jr., vol. 2, page 74.]

This letter of Mr. Franklin therefore called for some action on the part of John Adams, and as he had been considering the same subject, but with very small prospects of success, under the guidance of Messrs. John Hodshon & Son, he immediately wrote the head of that firm as follows:—Amsterdam, 26 April, 1782. Mr. Hodshon is desired to make the necessary inquiries and as soon as he gives me, under his hand, his engagement to furnish congress with four or five millions of guilders by the last day of July next, so that I may write forthwith that they may draw for that sum I will agree to his opening the loan upon the terms we have agreed upon. This letter was on April 30, 1782, followed by a set of proposals for opening a loan:—Mr. Adams proposes:—1. If the houses of Fizeaux, Grand & Co., John Hodshon & Son, Messrs. Crommelins, Messrs. Van Staphorst, Messrs. De La Lande and Fynje, and Mr. John de Neufville & Son will all join together in an American loan, Mr. Adams will open it without demanding any stipulation for any certain sum. 2. If the first proposition is not agreed to Mr. Adams will open a loan with as many of these houses as will agree together and enter into a stipulation with him to furnish the sum of five millions by the month of August. 3. If no number of houses will join Mr. Adams will open the loan with any one that will undertake and contract to furnish that sum. 4. Mr. Adams proposes that all these gentlemen should meet and consult upon the matter and propose their thoughts. [Life and Works of John Adams, vol. 7, page 575-6.]

At some time during the negotiations Adams gave the above named group of bankers an exclusive option to float this loan. There was, however, a reservation of defeasance or cancellation as to John Hodshon & Son. If we are to judge from the correspondence this option was given at the meeting which followed the letter of April 30, 1782. This proposition never was cancelled except as to John Hodshon & Son. All the efforts made at this time to secure the loan were entirely without avail. The proposition to float an American loan was not even quiescent, it was looked upon as a hopelessly dead project, as appears by the letter of John Adams to B. Franklin, from Amsterdam, May 2, 1782, wherein he said:—This matter, the treaty of commerce, which is now under deliberation and the loan will render it improper for me to quit this station, unless in case of necessity. The affair of the loan gives me much anxiety and fatigue. It is true, I may open a loan for five millions; but I confess, I have no hopes of obtaining so much. The money is not to be had. Cash is not infinite in this country. Their profits by trade have been ruined for two years or three years; and there are loans open for France, Spain, England, Russia, Sweden, Denmark and several other powers, as well as their own national, provincial and collegiate loans. The undertakers are already

loaded with burdens greater than they can bear; and all the brokers in the republic are so engaged that there is scarcely a ducat to be lent but what is promised. This is the true cause why we should not succeed; yet they will seek a hundred other pretences. I would strike with any house that would insure the money but none will undertake it now it is offered although several were ready to affirm that they could when it began to be talked of. Upon inquiry they do not find the money easy to obtain, which I could have told them before. It is to me, personally, perfectly indifferent which is the house (as between Grand and Hodshon); the only question is, which will be able to do best for the interests of the United States. This question, however simple, is not easy to answer. But I think it is clear, after very painful and laborious inquiry for a year and a half that no house whatever will be able to do much. Enthusiasm at some times and in other countries may do a great deal; but there is no enthusiasm in this country for America, strong enough to untie many purses. Another year if the war continues perhaps we may do better.

This statement by Mr. Adams makes it quite apparent that up to the day of his writing to Franklin he had no knowledge that the Willinks, acting at the suggestion of William Bayard and Thomas Pearsall, had been investigating the conditions in America with the purpose of determining the possibilities of success by the army and navy of Congress; nor that they had determined that the same plan which made the Island money of Pennsylvania bring a premium, when Continental money was worthless, would adequately assure the repayment of a loan to the Congress of the United States although it did not have the power to levy taxes. Nor does Adams appear to have known that the Willinks had enjoyed a very extensive trade to and from New York through their correspondents William Bayard and Thomas Pearsall.

The reference made by Mr. Adams to the year and a half spent by him in very painful and laborious inquiry is thus spoken of by his grandson Charles Francis Adams:—The object of Mr. Adams's journey to Holland was to form an opinion for himself of the probability of obtaining assistance to America from the people of that country. After spending a fortnight at Amsterdam, and conversing with many persons respecting the chances of success in opening a loan, he was led to believe it far more feasible than the turn of events afterwards showed it to be. His opinion he communicated to congress in a letter to the president; but already six weeks before this a commission had been sent by congress directing him to make the attempt. That country was rich in money which it was in the habit of freely lending to other nations.

The letter of Adams, however, depicted truthfully and dramatically the most critical time in the affairs of the United States. To sum it all up—The loan must be had or the Revolution must fail—no other words will describe the situation. It was now an open secret that congress was in dire financial distress. John Adams thereupon in pursuance of his duty in the matter, immediately set about inquiries of the leading brokers in Amsterdam as to the probability of obtaining the aid of influential houses to effect that object. Whether he could have succeeded had no adverse circumstances intervened is very doubtful. At any rate the opportunity to know was denied him. Scarcely had he entered on his task before the news

arrived of the capture of John Laurens and of the discovery of secret papers in his possession, likely to involve Holland in difficulty with Great Britain. The panic among the moneyed men was extreme. Not a merchant or banker in the place, of any influence, would venture at such a moment even to appear to know that a person suspected of being an American agent was at hand. Which gives us a clear account of the cause for Adams' failure to get the loan.

The official account of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown had been transmitted to Adams by Washington, and acting under the commands of congress he had proposed to Holland a treaty of triple alliance between France, Holland and the United States; it was the nineteenth of April, 1782, before the States General acted favorably and agreed to receive him as Minister and Envoy of the United States of America. Mr. Adams in his letter to Franklin refers to the treaty that must now be arranged between the two countries. Adams having been formally received as the representative of the United States on April twenty-second following. This was clearly an argument in favor of the loan, so that his failure to secure the same, and his views as to the financial situation, as communicated to Franklin must also be read in the light of these occurrences.

On May 7, 1782, Lafayette wrote from Paris to Adams:—I most heartily give you joy, my dear sir, upon the happy conclusion of your Dutch negotiations. Everybody here congratulates me, not only as a zealous American, but also as your long professed friend and admirer. This Dutch declaration in the present crisis I take to be particularly important. To the victory you have gained I wish you may join a successful skirmish and bring about a useful loan of money. This letter of Lafayette was more than a merely personal communication between friends. It was an official and guarded statement concerning the essential things necessary to be done to bring about the hoped for peace, and was made by one who stood in the light of a special agent of congress. For while Lafayette had been granted a leave of absence to visit his family in France, congress had recommended to its ministers plenipotentiary, resident in Europe, that they confer with the Marquis and avail themselves of his information relative to the situation of national affairs, which information the various heads of departments were directed to furnish him. [Life of Washington by Washington Irving, vol. 4, page 391.] No one knew better than Lafayette the over-shadowing need for money to support the American cause, and that to be useful it had to be obtained on the faith and credit of the United States, and not to be a mere contribution to the war chest by one of the allies and intended solely to keep the United States at war with England, only so long as its help could be of value to the lending nation. And, that the failure to get this loan within a reasonable period would mark chronologically, the time when the conflict would cease by the States becoming restored to the British Empire.

Referring again to the Willinks, Adams knew as a matter of course that they were ranked among the strongest financial institutions in Holland, and that they were foreign traders who had extensive trade with England. That they enjoyed the business of the largest concerns in that Kingdom and that the exchanges handled by this firm to and from Great Britain and its possessions made them rank along with the leading banking houses in the Netherlands. It was therefore

to have been expected that Adams should not only eliminate them from his list of eligibles, but mark them as his principal opponents. It was not within the range of possibility, and certainly very improbable, so far as any outsider could have seen, that this firm would undertake to float an American loan. It was not possible for Adams to have known of the efforts that were being put forth by Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard to secure a loan for the United States, based upon its own faith and credit. It made quite a difference also to have the subject presented to the Willinks by long-headed, reliable and substantial business men of world-wide standing such as Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard. Nor could Adams have expected that British acquiescence of sufficient moment could be obtained to insure the undertakers the success of their proposition.

The business men in England had long before this tired of the losses from the depredations of the American privateers. Paul Jones of the navy had also even ventured to and harassed the coasts of England, and thereby paralyzed the country's foreign trade. The influence of these merchants had gradually been withdrawn from the tory administration of Lord North until, on February 27, 1782, in the House of Commons, a motion had been carried urging the King to end the war with America. March 20, 1782, the government was handed over to a whig administration pledged to peace with the American colonies. The ministers however, desired a reconciliation and not a dismemberment of the Empire by the recognition of the independence of the United States.

The financial conditions in America must have even influenced Franklin, for as late as May seventeenth of this same year one David Hartley, who no doubt supposed that he was acting for the American commissioners, left with the British Foreign Minister a preliminary for peace the first article of which reads:—That the British troops shall be withdrawn from the thirteen colonies of North America and a truce made between Great Britain and said provinces for years (suppose ten or twenty). The fourth article provided that the truce should be converted into a perpetual peace; the Independence of America shall be admitted and guaranteed by Great Britain and a commercial treaty settled between them. [Life of Franklin by Bigelow, vol. 3, page 124.] It is needless to discuss these articles; they would have operated to place the colonies in the position of free provinces of England. Such a proposition could, after seven years of war, have foundation only in the known desperate financial condition of the United States, which was believed in Europe to be more distressing than that of England. Hence the ministry in England hoped that by delaying the negotiations they would bring about a peace which would still leave the colonies as part of the empire. The English merchants had no such illusions; they knew the temper of the American people to be such that nothing short of complete independence would bring peace. That no matter how poor Congress might be, there always was money ready from private sources to outfit privateers. As a fact the war continued, specially on the sea, and the losses of the British merchants multiplied to such an extent that when the Willinks inquired of their English correspondents it developed that so far as they were concerned it would make no difference in their business relations if Willink & Co. floated an American loan; on the contrary, it might bring about the close of the war and restore British shipping to the high seas. As to Adams,

he was opposed to any proposition short of complete independence, but was powerless to prevent reconciliation unless he could float a loan in such a way as to prove that the United States had borrowing capacity commensurate with its needs, independent of every other nation. If there ever was a day when money would talk it was at this particular time in the history of the United States. It was on May second that Adams wrote to Franklin that it was not possible to make the loan. It was after this that William and John Willink, having received from William Bayard and Thomas Pearsall all the information required to make a final decision, and having completed their own independent investigations, and having thereupon concluded to undertake the American loan, came forward and agreed to furnish the much needed funds to the American government. In their letter to John Adams of May 11, 1782, dated at Amsterdam they say:—M. Fynje having communicated to us his conversation with your Excellency last evening we beg leave to assure you that we will gladly do all that lays in our power to give you satisfaction. We therefore to convince you of our inclination in this respect do without any hesitation accept of the terms you proposed, of 4¼ per cent for the remedium [compensation to be deducted] or other charges. To this letter Adams replied from The Hague where he had gone on the twelfth and writing the next day:—I understand your meaning to be, to accept of the four and a quarter per cent for payment for receiving and paying the money at first, for receiving and paying off the capital, for the brokerage, for the remedium for the undertakers and for all other charges of the loan. In this sense I agree, in my capacity as agent, for negotiating a loan for the United States, that you shall be allowed four and a quarter per cent. The negotiations continued until May 17, 1782, when it was finally agreed, to the satisfaction of both parties, that the allowance for remedium of negotiating and paying out the money, brokerage, notary, stamps and all expenses whatsoever and also for the final redeeming of the negotiated sum, altogether, was to be 4¼ per cent to be deducted at once.

Thus we see that within fifteen days after he had officially declared the matter impossible of accomplishment, Adams had made complete arrangements with responsible bankers for the floating of an American loan. And even this very short time represented uselessly prolonged bartering. For Adams could not resist injecting the bluff peculiar to Yankee bargaining, by saying to the prospective undertakers of this very much needed loan, that if they had the least difficulty about accepting his terms they should give him notice of it and he would strike a bargain with another house on as good terms. It is impossible to understand how he could have found occasion to have risked losing the help of the Willinks at this time. It was a bluff pure and simple, for on May 21, 1782, he wrote to Lafayette as follows:—I shall do all in my power to obtain a loan of money here, but with very faint hopes of success. In short, there is no money here but what is already promised to France, Spain, England, Russia, Sweden, Denmark and the government here; and what will be fatal to me is, the East India Company have just opened a loan for nine millions of florins under the warranty of the States of Holland and with an augmented interest. There can be only one explanation, namely, that he thought that he was dealing with the enemies of his country, hence he could not comprehend the motives which impelled the Willinks

to undertake this loan, nor could he see that they were satisfied with the security coming from the large tracts of vacant land in New York and Pennsylvania that were ripe for settlement the moment peace was declared. Nor did he know that the financially strong and exceedingly resourceful American merchants Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard were pledged to the Willinks to see them safely through the venture. Neither could he foresee the great empire building that was to come in these two states by the association of these merchants and their associates with the Willinks. Had he seen this he could have placed the loan long before this time and with those with whom he dealt at first. This is shown by the acts of the first proposers who became angry about their loss of this undertaking as soon as the Willinks made their advertisement explaining how well secured this loan was, independent of the promise of the Congress of the United States.

The two banking houses who went along with the Willinks in placing this loan were associates of the Hodshon Syndicate. These two insisted upon being considered as bound by their previous agreements made with Adams. They had faith that the great firm of Willinks would not undertake any venture that they were not certain that they could carry through. The other members of the first syndicate voluntarily dropped out, except the Hodshons, who for some reason were not acceptable to the Willinks and therefore Adams forced them out. This did not modify their feelings of disgust when they learned of the excellent security that the United States had to offer and which they had practically declined. On June 13, 1782, Adams wrote to John Hodshon;—I have further to beg of you, to accept of my thanks for the generous manner in which you conducted the whole affair of the loan, especially in nobly releasing me from my engagements with you, if, upon inquiry, I should find I could do better for the public. I am very sorry to have been the innocent occasion of giving you any disagreeable feelings upon this occasion, but . . . upon the whole I thought it would be better for you, as well as the public, to proceed with the society who now have the loan under their direction.

This was a time of great anxiety in America. Congress, collectively and individually, complained of the want of news from France and Holland; even Washington was disposed to be critical. [The Writings of George Washington by Ford, vol. 10, page 82.] We can therefore well understand what must have been the anxiety of William Bayard and Thomas Pearsall while they were waiting to hear from their friends and correspondents, the Willinks. It was not until the end of July that they received the first news from the Willinks of the great happenings in Holland in connection with the American loan under their direction. It was now eight months since the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and all that England had done towards peace was to appoint commissioners to treat with France. Adams at this time wrote Franklin that the work of peace seems so impracticable that he was happy in being restrained in Holland by his duty there, and by this means excused from troubling his head much about it [vol. 7, page 597]. While Lafayette, who it will be recalled was a special envoy from the United States, for the purpose of advising the Ministers Plenipotentiary from America, as to the views of congress on the important questions then under consideration, said to the English commissioner, who asked him when he should go to America, that he,

Lafayette, had stayed in France longer than he otherwise should have done, that he might see whether America was to have peace or continue the war; but as he saw that the expectation of peace is a joke, and that the English only amuse us without any real intention of treating, he thought to stay in France no longer but to set out in a few days. [Bigelow, Life of Franklin, vol. 3, page 151.]

So dark was the outlook that France was seriously thinking that she might secure a greater influence in America as an outcome of the peace, while England was of the belief that there might be a reconciliation. But at this very moment of greatest darkness, the sunlight of American Independence began to beam in Holland, very faintly at first, it is true, as the prospects of the loan being a success improved. Adams thereupon took the position that he would not go to Paris while there was any messenger there from England unless he had full powers to treat with the ministers of the United States. And he advised his colleagues that in his opinion they ought to insist upon the English commissioners having full power to treat with the American representatives before the latter have anything to say upon the subject. It is true that Franklin had already said the same, but Adams began to occupy the peculiar position of being the spokesman as to America's policy. This was because the loan in Holland was showing all the signs of being a complete and ultimate success. But this was not known in America, for Washington in the depths of serious doubt wrote, from his headquarters on the Hudson, on June 15, 1782, that the path we are to tread is certainly a plain one; the object is full in our view, but it will not come to us; we must work our way to it by proper advances, and the means of doing this is men and money. The subjugation of America, so far at least as to hold it in a dependent state is of too much importance for Great Britain to yield the palm to us whilst her resources exist, our our inactivity, want of system, or dependence upon other powers, or upon one another prevail. [Writings of Washington, by Ford, vol. 10, page 29.] For while as early as June 25, 1782, Franklin wrote to congress that he had hopes that the loan Mr. Adams has opened in Holland and which it is said is likely to succeed will supply the deficiencies of the American government, it was several months later before the letter reached America. [Bigelow, Life of Franklin, vol. 3, page 166.]

Thus we see that Washington was speaking of conditions as they then existed in America. His statement discloses truthfully and graphically not only the internal conditions of Continental America, eight months after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, but it clearly portrays the position of congress at this same moment. There is no misunderstanding his declaration to mean anything else than that peace with England was not possible, without reconciliation, unless the United States as an entirety was first independent of all other nations, friend or foe, including her allies France and Spain, and also independent of the several states as well. It is easy to comprehend that the moment the United States would be able to command on her own credit, the means to carry on the war and to support the government, that moment would mark the time when she would have a place among the nations of the world, and not a minute before this would she occupy this position. Washington perceived that every loan obtained from the allies, without the means to assure the repayment of the same being evident, at

the time the loan was made, only marked another step in the transference of dependence from England to the creditor nation. The far-sighted mental observation, and the well balanced political wisdom of Washington, was able to prophesy exactly what was then occurring in Europe, although he was entirely unaware of the great happenings in Holland in reference to the American loan, whereby the progress of the loan marked the growth of the sovereignty of the United States as universally acknowledged by all the world.

Incidentally, the success in floating the loan marked Adams as the particular representative of this new world power and the one with whom England must finally arrange the terms of peace.

On July 5, 1782, he sent to congress copies of the negotiations relating to the loan and requested ratification of the same. In transmitting these papers he said that if we get a million and a half by Christmas it will be more than I expect. He entreated congress not to draw against this loan until they received information from the directors of the loan how much money they are sure of, and then to draw directly upon them. The loan went ahead so steadily that it seemed too good to be true. It was in the spirit of amazement and delight that on August 2, 1782, John Jay, who was one of Adams' associates as peace commissioner, wrote to Adams that he congratulated him on the prospect of the loan succeeding and hoped that his expectations on that subject may be realized. He also commends Adams' prudence in not relying on appearances, they deceive us sometimes in all countries.

It was not however until September 14, 1782 that the loan was ratified by congress. [History of the Currency by De Knight, etc., page 30.] And even then congress did not believe that the money would be forthcoming. For the letter of Robert Morris to Captain Joshua Barney commander of the ship George Washington, and which letter gives the latter directions for his voyage to France with special instructions to the American Peace Commissioners in their negotiations with the commissioners of England and dated October 7, 1782 states inter alia, I hope your expenditures in Europe may be moderate, for we can ill afford any which are unnecessary and I trust your continuance there may be short. [Joshua Barney by Ralph D. Paine, page 208.]

Notwithstanding the doubters, or the efforts of its enemies, the loan steadily progressed, and long before Christmas Adams was able to say that it had passed the million and a half mark. On August 11, he wrote and congratulated the directors of the loan upon their having received as much as one million four hundred and eighty-four thousand florins. The loan was now a complete political and financial success and thereby it was also established that the United States had the capacity to borrow money adequate to its needs, solely upon the lenders' faith in its credit. Thus after six years of war, and after experiencing many hardships, as well as undergoing many deprivations, the United States had made good her Declaration of Independence. For after all this proved to be the great stumbling block to peace. No nation, outside of those who were at war with England, had, until the treaty with Holland, recognized the independence of the United States. Adams said to congress that a doctrine prevails that the acknowledgement of the independence of America is a hostility against England, and consequently a breach of neutrality. Our friends have sometimes favored this idea.

But if an acknowledgement of our independence is a hostility, a denial of it is so too, and if the Maritime confederation forbids the one it forbids both.

But always and nevertheless England prevented recognition of the independence of the United States. Thus we see how determined England was to prevent American independence becoming a real and actual fact. The success of the loan changed England's attitude in this particular; it now became her policy to be the first, after Holland, to accept this independence as an accomplished fact. Where before there was delay by England, now there was anxiety and haste to accomplish peace and to bring it about in such a manner as to have these two nations alone determine the terms and conditions of the treaty. It was following this, on September 28, 1782, just a year, less three weeks, since Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown, that England authorized her representatives to treat of peace with the commissioners of the United States. This fact having been communicated to Adams, he arranged to go to Paris to take part in the negotiations for peace. In a letter to congress he says that after signing a sufficient number of obligations to leave in the hands of the directors of the loan, he set off to Paris where he arrived on Saturday, October 26, 1782. This was one year and seven days after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and was the first time that Adams had been willing to meet with the representatives of England during all of that perid of time, because up to then England had refused to make the necessary acknowledgement of the independence of the United States, hoping all the while for a reconciliation with the thirteen colonies.

On November 30 following, articles of peace were agreed upon with England. Thus we see that once it had been determined that the United States was capable of standing alone financially, it required only a short time to close the war by articles of peace which acknowledged the independence of the United States. Whereas prior to the demonstration of the financial strength of the American republic, more than a year had elapsed since Yorktown without any serious intention to close the war having been manifested by England.

In the meantime affairs in America had gone from bad to worse and it was evident that the dissolution of the Federation or, what was still worse, the return of at least some of the states to English control was likely to occur at any moment. American historians have not chosen to dwell upon the condition of collapse which had at this moment come over the American Federation, specially in the state of New York. On August 13th, 1782, Hamilton wrote to Robert Morris:—There still remains a third of the People whose wishes are on the side of the enemy. The remainder side for peace, and if left to themselves would, too many of them, be willing to purchase peace at any price, not from inclination to Great Britain, or disaffection to independence, but from mere supineness and avarice. [Correspondence of Robert Morris by Stan. V. Henkels, page 7.]

When the news of the success of the loan in Holland reached America it caused the greatest rejoicing among those who were in authority, specially among those who had borne the brunt of the revolution. To those who were engaged in privateering it was most unwelcome news, as it meant the death blow to a very profitable trade. We can hardly appreciate, however, the satisfaction and gratification of Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard that their unaided efforts should

have brought about such good results, although thereby they had placed themselves more or less in the power of the Whigs of the upper Hudson country, who looked upon them as enemies.

In all his efforts in Holland Adams had complained of the opposition of France. Hence when he came to Paris, he at once acted on the assumption that America was able to stand alone and to emphasize this the ministers of France were cut out of the negotiations by the United States with England. In a letter to Francis Dana, September 17, 1782, Adams wrote that his work in Holland had resulted in the triumph of stubborn independence. You know my meaning, he said:—Independence of friend and foe. In a letter written December 19, 1782, to the Representative of France to the United States, Count de Verennes, the French prime minister, wrote as follows:—You will surely be gratified, as well as myself, with the very extensive advantages which our allies, the Americans, are to receive from the peace; but you certainly will not be less surprised than I have been at the conduct of the commissioners. According to the instructions of congress, they ought to have done nothing without our participation. I have informed you that the King did not influence the negotiations any further than his offices might be necessary to his friends. The American commissioners will not say that I have interfered and much less that I have wearied them with my curiosity. They have cautiously kept themselves at a distance from me. Mr. Adams, one of them, coming from Holland, where he had been received and served by our minister, had been in Paris nearly three weeks, without imagining that he owed me any mark of attention; and probably I should not have seen him till this time if I had not caused him to be reminded of it. . . . Judge of my surprise when on the 30th of November Dr. Franklin informed me that the articles had been signed. There had been considerable discussion between the two nations, but finally on September 3, 1782, the articles of Peace were signed and on November 30, 1782, it was agreed to as a definite and final treaty. It was, however, agreed that the final treaty should await the conclusion of the treaty between England and France. Hence on December 5, 1782, Franklin wrote Captain Barney as follows:—I have kept the express, hoping to have sent you by him our final letters. But the answer of the Court [of France that they had entered into a treaty with England] being not yet obtained and the time when we may expect it being from some present circumstance very uncertain I dismiss him and shall send another when we are ready. In the meantime it may be agreeable and of some use to you to know that though peace between us and England is not yet concluded (and will not be until France and England are agreed) yet the preliminary articles are signed and you will have English passport. I acquaint you with this in friendship that if you have any little adventure on your own account you may save the insurance, but you will keep it to your self for the present. Hold your ship ready as we know how soon we may be ready to dismiss you. [Joshua Barney by Ralph D. Paine, page 216.]

All the while the money kept coming in from the loan until the sum of five million guilders was ultimately obtained.

There were two loans obtained in Holland, the first being in April, 1781, by means of which the expedition was organized which brought the assistance of the French navy, and a large detachment of troops, in time to force the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, in October, 1781. John Laurens had been sent to France for the special purpose of securing this financial aid and military assistance. At first he met with a flat refusal but his persistence, coupled with the help of Lafayette and the active friends of America, brought about a change of heart in

the French and the men and boats together with the money were forthcoming. The story is clearly set forth in the dispatch of Comte de Vergennes to M de La Luzerne of the 19th of April of that year, in which after referring to a former statement made by him as to the attitude of France, he said, "I have already informed you, sir, in my despatch of the King's decision in regard to the pecuniary demands of congress. The extreme distress of the American army, as you have described it to us, added to the lack of money and of credit, and above all to the spirit of insurrection which has shown itself among the troops, has led us to reconsider this subject at the moment when M Laurens landed in France, and his Majesty has crowned nis generosity and magnificence by consenting to become guarantor of a loan in Holland of ten millions of livres turnois to be opened in Holland on account of the United States." In his despatch of May 11th he refers to the same subject as follows:—"As to the loan, M le duc de Vauguyon was instructed to propose it to the States of Holland; but he has encountered insurmountable difficulties not only because the Americans are without credit in Holland, but also because the province of Holland is afraid of compromising itself by lending money to the United States. By so doing it would recognize indirectly their independence and such a step would be contrary to certain obligations which the Republic has entered into with the neutral powers. In order to overcome this obstacle the King decided to become alone responsible for the sums of money that shall be advanced." It was the interest on this loan which France now demanded the United States should provide for out of the Willink loan. [Lafayette in the American Revolution by Charlemagne Tower Jr., Vol. 2, page 282.]

The indignation of France reached the point of demanding the interest on the money she had borrowed for congress in Holland. Thereupon Adams wrote to Franklin that there was money enough in the hands of the directors of the loan to discharge the interest of the ten millions of guilders borrowed in Holland by the King of France, under the warranty of the States General, if it is expected and insisted that congress shall pay it. Robert Morris however had not waited for any advices upon the subject but had sent the bankers of the French King a letter of credit on the Willinks which, after paying the interest on this loan, left a balance of a million livres in their hands. Upon being advised of this, Adams wrote Morris that this would have an unfavorable effect in Holland. A principal motive to lend the money having been the encouragement of trade between the two countries and when it is found that none of the money is to be laid out there it is probable that the money will cease coming. [Adams' Life and Works, vol. 7, page 664.]

It is interesting to note that Adams never did learn the inside history of the connection of the Willinks, through Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard, with the loan. As late as May, 1783, he wrote: As to the loan in Holland, I have never troubled you [Robert Morris] or any one else in America with details of the vexations of various kinds which I met in the negotiation of it. If I had told the whole truth it could have done no good and it might have done infinite mischief. In general it is now sufficient to say that private interest, party spirit, cabals and slanders have obstructed, perplexed and tortured our loan in Holland, as well as all our other affairs, foreign and domestic. . . . If, in the bitterness of my soul, I had described the fermentation, and mentioned names and drawn characters, I might have transmitted a curious tale; but would have only served to inflame old animosities and excite new ones.

All of which can have no possible reference to the Willinks or to their American correspondents Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard, who, unsolicited by Adams, brought him the loan in Holland at the very time when he said that it was impossible of attainment. [Life and Works of John Adams, vol. 8, page 59.] Moreover Adams was never friendly to the Willinks, let alone being adequately appreciative of what they had done for him, as well as for what they had done for the United States. In fact, he was not above trying to undermine them with the American governmental authorities. As for example on June 16, 1783, he wrote to Secretary Livingston: There is one piece of advice I beg to offer to the minister who may go to Holland, respecting a future loan of money it is to inquire whether the House of Hope would undertake a loan for us, either in conjunction with the

houses who have the present one, or with any of them, or alone. In my private opinion, which ought to be kept as secret as possible, we might obtain a large loan in that way that we cannot in any other. The people in that interest have the money. I am not personally known to that House nor any one of them to me; but I know they are all-powerful in money matters and I believe they would engage. [Life and Works of John Adams, vol. 8, page 73.] All the while, however, the Willinks were supplying money to the United States under the most trying conditions of mismanagement by the government's fiscal agents. Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard were doing their utmost to bring business conditions in New York to a normal condition and Adams was openly manifesting towards the Willinks the utmost cordiality, and apparently having the most pleasant business dealings with them.

It is impossible to get Adams' point of view in this matter, unless he was restive at having to take such great favors at the hands of those whom he all the time considered as enemies of his country, which quite accords with the generally accepted view in America of the residents of the sea-ports, and was particularly directed toward those individuals like Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard who had come out of the war with cordial relations with foreigners of any country. It is well to remember that Adams had even taken this same view toward the French statesmen. Hence he could not look upon the Willinks in any other light than as British agents, because he was ignorant of the underlying motives which induced them to undertake the American loan. By this time it was also known to him that the Willinks were the correspondents of Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard, two New York City merchants who were classed as Tories; this probably added to his desire to punish the Willinks. When we have said this we have said all that could be said in defense of Adams' action in trying to start the United States on an experiment in bitter and unnecessary competition at this critical moment in the nation's finances. It might have been different if the credit of the United States had really been firmly established, but at this time the loan was hanging by a very slender thread, which had its strength entirely in the high financial standing of the House of Willink, who were being encouraged by Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard to go on with it, notwithstanding the greatest difficulties of all kinds. While on the other hand, Adams did not know the bankers whom he recommended to replace the Willinks who were giving satisfactory service, which should have been sufficient reason why the former should not have been recommended.

But the house of Hope was not unknown to the American people. For as early as December 24, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, the author of the motion for a Declaration of Independence, placed in the possession of Robert Morris a statement that the British ministry have accurate account of every vessel that arrives in every port of Europe from America, with the particulars of her return, and they also know of every vessel that loads in Europe for America. This is accomplished principally by means of the house of Hope & Co. in Amsterdam, who have the most extensive correspondence of any power in Europe, and have been employed these two years to give the British ministry information of whatever is done in any of the ports relative to America. The members of this firm were not Hol-

landers, but Scotchmen, which would at once stamp them as enemies of the United States. These facts were well known to all who sailed under the American flag, as many a poor fellow who found himself in an English prison could have testified. [Correspondence of Robert Morris, by Stan. V. Henkels, page 29.]

It is a peculiar incident of the history of this loan that every time John Adams appears in connection therewith his own statements disclose that he is ignorant of, and not cooperating with, the personality which made it a success, and that, because of this very want of harmony between him and them, he is either in open or secret opposition to them, or is doubtful of their sincerity and of their ability to succeed. It is too bad that he did not make an effort to find out the true motives and the exceedingly great personal worth of those with whom he was dealing; he would have found that the Willinks, together with Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard, were well worthy of his confidence and that of the American people. It was this ignorance which made him desire to do that which would have placed the government of the United States at the mercy of the British government through the house of Hope. There are so many historical incidents connected with the history of the British Empire to prove this, that no one will doubt that America would have thereby been encouraged to incur public and private debts so large as to make payment entirely a matter of grace from England. The political consequences would have been the loss of independence, for the majority of the people would have easily been convinced that their own best interests, and those of the several states, were inseparably bound up with the British Empire. Which leads to the statement that no one can read the story of the loan which made America independent without feeling that as an incident in American history it was purely adventitious, so far as the government of the United States, or any of its agents, was concerned. That no matter what may be the bias of the person who is considering the same, the loan must be accepted historically as having happened through or from some outside source, or to have been casually acquired, or that it was a fortunate accidental occurrence which came at just the right moment to bring about the independence of the United States. In recent years it has frequently been said, by both Americans and Englishmen, that the independence of America was a manifestation of Providence which resulted beneficially to both countries. This is sustained by the history of the incidents relating to the loan, as above related, the floating of which induced England to finally acknowledge the independence of the United States.

Washington told the whole story of the Revolution, as well as of this loan and its final success, when on March 26, 1781, he wrote:—Our affairs are brought to an awful crisis, that the hand of Providence, I trust, may be more conspicuous in our deliverance. The many remarkable interpositions of the divine government in the hours of our deepest distress and darkness have been too luminous to suffer me to doubt the happy issue of the present contest. [Writings of Washington by Ford, vol. 9, page 192.] And following out the same thought to its rational conclusion, no one should desire to accord to William Bayard, or to Thomas Pearsall, or to the Willinks, any other credit in this matter than is consistent with the thought that they were the unconscious agents of Providence in doing severally those things which brought this loan to the United States at this time. As to

John Adams, the only American statesman who was in any way connected with its accomplishment, he placed his own estimate upon the value of the service which at this time he rendered his country, when in September, 1782, in a letter to James Warren, he said:—Not the declaration of American Independence, not the Massachusetts constitution, nor the Alliance with France, ever gave me more satisfaction, or more pleasing prospects for our country, than this event. It is a pledge against friends and enemies. It is an eternal barrier against all dangers from the house of Bourbon, as well as a present security against England. Truth, however, compels the statement that John Adams had no more to do with this loan than that he happened to be the representative of congress who was present in Holland at this happy moment. The Willinks would have dealt with any accredited representative of the American government who would have been in that country at that moment. They sought Adams, he did not seek them.

It is interesting to note in this connection that nowhere does it appear that the Willinks at any time considered their connection with the loan in any other light than that it was simply a well-planned business venture, having possibilities of large profit. That thereby they brought independence to America was to them an unnoticed incident so far as their correspondence reveals. Nor did it occur to Thomas Pearsall or William Bayard that their services in this connection had in any way altered their status as Americans who were counted as tories. That they believed that the loan would result in peace with England, and possibly in the independence of the United States, is shown by their immediate preparation for the inevitable consequences of the same to themselves by, as far as possible, placing their individual fortunes beyond the reach of the drastic escheat law which the country section of New York had already enacted against those who were described as enemies, although, as in the present instance, they might be most efficient friends to the American cause. As to the confiscation act of New York, John Jay, one of the peace commissioners, characterized it as being an injustice too palpable to admit even of palliation. [Sabine, American Loyalists, page 98.] As a result, however, of their foresight the actual loss to Thomas Pearsall and to William Bayard was comparatively small.

In closing this brief recital of the history of the loan in Holland, floated by the Willinks, it will only be necessary to add the interesting observation that it brought about that which each of the parties who were in any way connected with it most desired, namely:—peace between England and the United States, but not exactly as they severally desired it.

To resume the story of the life history of Thomas Pearsall.

The signing of the treaty of peace nevertheless was a great surprise to Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard, as well as to the other inhabitants of New York City, as they did not expect that the English were to evacuate New York without making adequate provision for their protection. But all this proved to be but blighted hopes, as that government had no intention of doing anything which would in any way delay its departure from the territory of its old thirteen colonies. The English held, and could have easily continued to hold, New York Harbor, and the merchants had every reason to believe that the stronghold would not be surrendered without some assurance that the inhabitants would not be punished

for their forced adherence to the English cause. But England did not even provide its own army with the means of adequate defense.

Ward Chipman wrote Edward Winslow from New York, 3rd Aug., 1783, that opinions are various respecting the evacuation of this place, though I have little doubt myself that it will be soon. No magazine of fuel or forage is being provided for the winter. The whole army is encamping from Newtown across to Deny's as if to be in readiness to embark at a minute's warning. I imagine we will be hurried off as soon as the definite treaty arrives. [Winslow Papers, page 116.]

No matter how the English government may have felt toward Thomas Pearsall and the other inhabitants of New York, he and William Bayard, as is shown by their acts in connection with the Holland loan, were not willingly partisans of the English in the Revolution. They had no other course of conduct open to them so long as they remained in the city. As a fact, England did not seem to care whether or not the vengeance of the Whigs was visited upon the people of New York City when peace was declared and the British army had departed, which it finally did on November 25, 1783. All of which was in marked contrast to the acts of the British in holding onto the forts at Detroit for a number of years after peace was declared, so as to protect the Indian allies of England, in their peltry trade with the far west. In fact, it was 1820 before the English influence on the Michigan peninsula ceased to be dominant, and it was nearly ten years later before it could be safely called a community of predominant American sentiment.

It is possible that by the time the treaty of peace was being considered, it had also become known in England that Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard had supported the American cause by helping congress get the much needed loan from Holland, the receipt of which moneys by America had acted so disastrously upon British hopes. But strange to say, although the Americans knew that these merchants had made the success of the United States possible, nevertheless, the evident prosperity of all the New York merchants aroused the bitter enmity of the rural New Yorkers who had borne the brunt of the war, and endured the hardships of the Revolution; therefore a determined effort was made to deprive Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard and their associates of their property, and to drive them from the country. As a consequence, at the close of the war, things looked very dark for them and they, as well as many other leading merchants, looked upon themselves as marked for voluntary and involuntary removal to English territory. Hence they were deeply concerned in the promises made by the English government for the settlement of Tories in the Canadian provinces. Fortunately for the United States, there was a scandal in connection with the distribution of these lands, growing out of the unfair treatment of the citizens of New York City, and before the matter was finally adjusted many, including Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard, found it desirable to remain in the United States, notwithstanding the hardships experienced under the confiscation acts, directed against those who had remained within the English lines. In the meantime the leading New York merchants addressed a petition to the English governor, reciting their grievances. [Essentials of American History, by Hart, page 166. N. Y. Gen. and Bio. Rec., vol. 2, page 180.]

Meanwhile the grasping hands of the escheator had been busy with the worldly possessions of the New York merchants. Among the names of those in New York whose estates were forfeited at close of the Revolution appear the names of Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard, which shows that in civil warfare the knife of vengeance may sometimes cut the non-partisan-non-combatant and injure the real friends of independence. It was at this time, as is shown by the land record of New York, that Thomas Pearsall retired to Long Island and later he, like many of the other great merchants, returned to New York City, where he resumed his place as one of the leading merchants of that city. [Supplement to New York in the Revolution, by Erastus C. Knight, page 271.]

That Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard and their competitors among the New York merchants, who were counted as tories, returned to that city was a most fortunate thing for America, as otherwise these far-sighted men of affairs, who controlled large amounts of foreign capital, then greatly needed by the new government, would have gone to Nova Scotia and there devoted themselves to the upbuilding of that British colony.

The greatest period of Thomas Pearsall's life as a merchant was immediately following the Revolution, when with his own capital, and that of his Dutch clients who had loaned money to the American Congress, he was engaged in opening to settlement the intervening country which blocked the march of improvement towards the large tracts of land these Dutchmen had acquired in southwestern New York and in the northern tier of Pennsylvania.

Another very remarkable apparent contradiction, but really a manifestation of steadfastness in the life of this great merchant, was, that beginning with the reconstruction period, following the Revolution, he seems to have lost all personal interest in the members generally of the family of Pearsall who had remained within the English lines during the Revolution; whereas, he furthered in every way the interests of those who had been on the American side. As a result, wherever the writer has found the groups of our family who came from Duchess and Saratoga counties, New York, he had only to go back far enough, to find Thomas Pearsall as having also been a landed proprietor in the same locality. Hence his name is inseparably connected with the development of the localities where we find the groups of Pearsalls, at Bainbridge and Bath in New York, and Clearfield, Jefferson and Potter counties in Pennsylvania. This will be more particularly referred to again in connection with the history of these particular groups of the family.

Thomas Pearsall was also engaged in the trade of Redemptionists, that species of white slavery which flourished in the early days of colonial America, as is disclosed when on June 15, 1786, the following advertisement appeared in the daily papers in New York City:—Run away, two indented German servant men, who came here last year, named Peter Sweine and Jacob Ronk, neither of them speak English, they were seen near King's Bridge, and it is supposed intend for Albany. Eight dollars reward for each will be paid by Isaac Roosevelt or Thomas Pearsall. Thomas Pearsall was, as we have already seen, engaged in worldwide commerce. His vessels sailed every sea and it was to him only a matter of business to receive passengers, even though he had to let the party work out the pas-

sage money after reaching America. Many, many a man of good family found his way to America in that way, just as later many found their way across the country by working, and, arriving in the west, have been grubstaked. Of course, it is wrong to hold any man in slavery to a debt, but all new countries settled by Anglo-Saxons have been peopled in this way, and the best men in any community pay their debts either in money or services, and therefore we must judge Thomas Pearsall in this connection by the standard of his time. Isaac Roosevelt was a sugar refiner in New York City. He was exceedingly wealthy and at the date of this advertisement was president of the Bank of New York, the only financial institution of the kind then in this city. Along with Philip Livingston and others he left New York City when it was occupied by the British in 1776. He had been a member of the committees of 60 and 100. He was a delegate to all four of the provisional congresses. He was state senator from southern New York, 1778-1783, 1784-1786, and later in 1788-1791. He was a delegate to the convention of New York to adopt the Constitution of the United States in 1788. He was one of those who loaned money to the state on subscription, as an internal or domestic loan was called. He was on the committee to procure money by means of loans. Which indicates the source through which Robert and Gouverneur Morris communicated with Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard in reference to the New York City loan to the United States, and how it came about that they interested themselves to secure the Willinks as undertakers of a loan in Holland, which restored the credit of congress and brought about the treaty of peace with England. [Annals of New York City for the year 1786. Compiled from the newspapers of the day.]

The Willinks continued for several years to be the fiscal agents of the United States and also for the State of Pennsylvania, which, so far as this state was concerned, came about in this way. The Assembly of Pennsylvania, after a conference with Robert Morris in respect to the measures to support his administration, in June of 1781, authorized him, in connection with his opportunities as superintendent of finance for the United States, to obtain the specific supplies for Pennsylvania. He agreed to accept the agency of the state for this purpose and promised if necessary to pledge his private credit as far as might be required. [Penna. Legislative Journal, vol. 1, page 681.]

It was very unfortunate that the public duties of Robert Morris in any way involved the use of his private credit and when later he was forced to trade for the benefit of the United States, his affairs, public and private, became so hopelessly involved that it affected adversely all who were associated with him in a business way. Gouverneur Morris, Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard soon cut loose from him, but the Willinks became adversely involved with him for a large balance on account of their advances to him. And when Robert Morris lost his business judgment in reference to the future value of the unsettled lands of the States, he unfortunately found the Willinks ready to accept his judgment because of their previous investigation of the subject through their correspondents, Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard. But there was a vast difference between the immediate value of lands close in to civilization, and those that lay even far beyond the lands that would be open up to settlement in that or the succeeding

generation. It is impossible to describe the sensations of those long-headed business men, Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard, who were possessed of the very best business judgment, and not given to pursuing phantoms, when this dreamer, Robert Morris, secured the financial cooperation of the well-meaning and trusting Willinks to the acquisition of lands that were so far removed from the settled parts as to place them beyond the possibility of quick development. Robert Morris held such a position in the United States, by reason of his reputation as a financier, that he also involved many of the best informed men of America in these land schemes, which from the beginning proved to be illusionary, so much so that most of the American support was almost immediately withdrawn. It was some time before the Willinks became aware of the truth, hence they were also deeply involved in land ventures with Robert Morris before they called a halt to their advances to him. No one really knows the extent of the land holdings which Robert Morris acquired at this time. The summary given by Dr. Oberholtzer in his life of Robert Morris includes 7,234 building lots in the city of Washington, then a wilderness and existing only on paper; 647,046 acres of land in Pennsylvania; 932,238 acres in Virginia; 717,249 acres in North Carolina; 577,857 acres in South Carolina; 2,314,796 acres in Georgia and 431,043 acres in Kentucky; besides over a million acres of land in Pennsylvania that he had conveyed to a holding company called the Asylum company, and over five million acres in New York. Later Robert Morris organized the North American Land Company to which he conveyed the most of his land holdings, other than in the state of New York. In reference to this company Dr. Oberholtzer says that to Willink and Co., the Amsterdam bankers who were so useful to him as the Financiers of the Revolution, he forwarded one thousand shares to cover a pressing debt. They had refused an offer of city lots in Washington. His standing account with them was so large that it called for his immediate care. [Oberholtzer, Robert Morris, page 323.]

Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard were not only innocent of any association with Robert Morris and the Willinks in all these foolish land ventures, but they tried in every way to discourage the same. It is true that the firm of which William Bayard was a member helped the Willinks to locate and to acquire title to a large part of the lands that they came to own in America, but this was all done along the line of trying to help them out of a bad investment. There was no gainsaying however that Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard had indirectly been the means of getting the Willinks into association with Robert Morris, and hence they were clothed with a great responsibility to see them out of this land difficulty in as good shape as possible. During the early period of the Willinks' dealings with Robert Morris the public loans to America which they had floated began to accrue. This also added to the responsibilities of Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard with reference to the Willinks. It must be remembered that these New York merchants were also bankers, and the wise thing for them to do, so that they might handle the large sums needed to liquidate these loans, was to increase their own available capital.

William Bayard, in 1790, associated himself with Herman Le Roy, a merchant of the highest financial rating. They traded under the name of Le Roy & Bayard.

[Barrett, The Old Merchants of New York, vol. 2, page 172.] It will be interesting to note, as indicating the standing of this firm, that Caroline, one of the daughters of Herman Le Roy, married Daniel Webster. Barrett in his Old Merchants of New York says that the partners of this firm and all their subsequent associates ranked as kings, princes and dukes among the merchants of New York. Duncan Pearsall Campbell, grandson of Thomas Pearsall, married a daughter of William Bayard, and upon her death he married her sister. He became a member of this firm.

At this time Thomas Pearsall associated with himself his son Thomas Cornell Pearsall and the firm name became Thomas Pearsall & Son. [Barrett, Old Merchants of New York, vol. 3, page 101.]

Thomas Pearsall, however, followed more closely the business custom of the day, and which has continued to be the practice of international bankers, of forming a syndicate of which his friends Isaac Roosevelt and Isaac Lawrence were members along with others.

The United States with the same end at least partly in view, organized the United States Bank with a capital of ten million dollars which, according to the times, was equal to a capital of a billion dollars today. [Hart, Essentials in American History, page 242.] The head office was in Philadelphia with eight branch offices in other cities. The New York branch had Philip Livingston for president. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He had served on all the committees of New York at the opening of the Revolution. He was a delegate to the third and fourth Provisional Congresses in New York and a member of the Continental Congress 1774-1778. In June, 1776, when the plot to take the life of Washington was discovered, Philip Livingston was on the committee of the Provisional Congress to examine the prisoners, and through his personal efforts the plot was uncovered and the instigators punished. After the war was ended he was later a member of the convention of the state of New York that adopted the constitution of the United States. He gave up his business at the beginning of the Revolution, but after peace was declared engaged in the general importing business in New York City, being located on the new dock and was a member of the Chamber of Commerce. [Mather, Refugees of Long Island, page 677.] The Livingston and Bayard families were related by marriage, the daughter of Nicholas Bayard Jr. having married Peter Van Burgh Livingston, treasurer of New York, was who was brother of Philip Livingston.

The directors of the New York branch of the Bank may well be mentioned here. John Atkinson was one; in business on Queen street near Bowling Slip. His brother Francis and he were members of the St. George Society before the Revolution, and Francis was one of the founders of the present St. George Society in 1786. They kept on in New York City during the war which means that John Atkinson was a Tory and intensely pro-British. Thomas Pearsall was a director and largely a controlling factor in this branch of the Bank of the United States. As a fact the entire directory seems to have been made up of his friends and those of William Bayard.

William Laight, another director, was an old pre-revolutionary merchant in New York City. He remained in the city during the British occupancy, but ap-

pears to have not been in any way anxious to do more than just live with the English. In the early days of the war he addressed with others a letter to the provisional congress of New York which disclosed that at that time he was in sympathy with the American cause. Later he must have squared himself with the English or he would not have been permitted to remain in the city. He was a personal friend of Thomas Pearsall.

William Bayard, who was a director, we already know. He was a warm friend of Alexander Hamilton and it was to his house that Hamilton was taken in July, 1804, after being mortally wounded by Aaron Burr. It was located near Fort Gansevert. And as showing the apparently inconsistent but nevertheless harmonious things which at this period happened in the life of this individual, we find that the proceedings of the senate of the State of New York on March 14, 1785, show a petition as having been presented by those who bought lands which were forfeited and sold by the commissioners of sequestration, under the decree which followed the attainder and conviction of William Bayard as a Tory, doing business in the city of New York, during the time of its occupancy by the British.

Thomas Buchanan, another director, who Barrett says ranked as a king among merchants, was an importing and shipping merchant. To him was consigned the tea ship that was returned to London with its cargo by the people of New York. He served on the committee of one hundred, along with Thomas Pearsall, at the beginning of the trouble with England. He signed the address to King George October 24, 1776, upon the British obtaining possession of the city, at which time William Bayard and many others did the same. It is astonishing says Barrett how many signed the document. Yet it is not strange either, they were merchants engaged in foreign trade, the British had the city, and it was much better to be loyal to the powers that be and keep on in business than to be disloyal, have their property confiscated and be banished from the city to parts unknown. [Barrett, Old Merchants of New York, vol. 3, page 137.] Frances, the daughter of Thomas Buchanan, married Thomas Cornell Pearsall, the only son of Thomas Pearsall. Thomas Buchanan was always deeply interested in the prosperity of his adopted city. He was a constant friend and promoter of its public institutions and charities. Although not one of the founders of the Chamber of Commerce, he was among those elected at its second meeting, May 3d, 1768. At this time he was only in his twenty-fourth year. He was Vice-President of the Institution from 1780 to 1783. He was one of the original promoters of the New York Hospital, his name being recorded upon the charter granted to it by George III, on the 13th June, 1771, and he served it faithfully as one of its governors from 1785 to 1800, a period of fifteen years. He was active and zealous in various offices of commercial trust.

Jacob Le Roy, another director, was the brother of Herman Le Roy, the partner of William Bayard. He belonged to Trinity Church and was a vestryman in 1751.

Archibald Gracie, another director, was a Scotchman who came out from Scotland directly after the close of the Revolution. He became one of the heaviest merchants New York had seen up to that time.

Isaac Lawrence, another director, was a Quaker, and near neighbor and friend of Thomas Pearsall. He was very active on the side of those who supported the

American congress. The son of Isaac Lawrence married the daughter of Archibald Gracie.

The reader may sub-group these officials in any way that suits his fancy, but he will always find that this branch of the Bank of the United States was in harmony with Hamilton's administration of the Treasury; that it was controlled by the Bayard-Pearsall group, and that it was in complete sympathy and close association with Willink & Company, the Holland bankers.

It was rather more than a coincidence that on April 30, 1781, Hamilton should have written a paper to Robert Morris containing a complete discussion of the financial needs of congress. He wanted a national bank the capital of which was in large part to be paid in lands. This would of course mean lands that had passed into private ownership, which would be given the enhanced value they had acquired through improvement thereon and from surrounding improvements. It is therefore all the more to the credit of William Bayard and Thomas Pearsall that they had confined their efforts to demonstrating the mass value of the cheap unsettled-unpatented lands. And that, resisting the advice of this eminent financier, they advocated with the Willinks these unseated lands as the ultimate and not the primary security for the loan to congress.

The branch Bank of the United States in New York was not the first bank to be started at this time in New York City. In February, 1784, a proposal was published in the New York Packet for a bank of the State of New York, the subscribers to which were to pay one-third cash and the other two-thirds in mortgages on land in New York and New Jersey, to be appraised at two-thirds of its value. A fortnight later a meeting was called to found another bank but on specie only. The first scheme was fathered by Chancellor Livingston who had carried on a zealous propaganda in its favor. The second plan was started by Hamilton to defeat the other proposition. One of the rules of the second plan was that the bank should not deal in foreign exchange, which of course cut out Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard as well as the Willinks. This bank was named the Bank of New York. A. McDougall was its first president, who was succeeded by Isaac Roosevelt. The directors were Samuel Franklin, who was a Pearsall, Nicholas Low, William Maxwell, Alexander Hamilton, Joshua Waddington, James Buchanan, Thomas Randall and Comfort Sands. All of which array of names discloses the financial revolution that was accomplished when Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard, together with their associates, founded the New York branch of the Bank of the United States. The Bank of New York was an intensely whig institution, and nearly every one of those who composed the directory had taken an active and prominent part on the American side during the Revolution. An analysis of the personal predilections of those who composed this directory shows that nevertheless the institution could be classed as friendly to Thomas Pearsall, although effort had been made to exclude the influence of the foreign traders from the bank and to have its work confined to the State of New York. [Barrett, Old Merchants of New York, vol. I. History of Banking by William G. Sumner, vol. I, page 12-19.]

It is quite evident, however, that these capable men of business, William Bayard and Thomas Pearsall, had accomplished the defeat of Hamilton. For

although he had advocated the incorporation of the Bank of the United States he had been forced to accept the amendment which provided for branch banks. The real reason why he had excluded foreign exchange from his own bank was to exclude the foreign traders of New York of whom Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard were acknowledged leaders. His opposition to the branches of the national bank was because he foresaw the collision of interests that was bound to occur between the two banks, the Bank of New York being at that time a depository of government funds. In November, 1791, Hamilton assured the cashier of the Bank of New York that although it was his duty to put the public funds in the branch of the United States Bank, he would conduct the transfer so as not to embarrass or disturb the Bank of New York. As soon as the charter of the United States Bank had been signed he wrote to the treasurer of the Bank of New York that he had explicitly directed the Treasurer of the United States not to draw upon this bank without special directions from himself. [History of Banking by William G. Sumner, vol. I, page 33.] All of which discloses how diplomatically yet effectively Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard had bulwarked their financial supremacy, and that of their associates, by the organization of the New York branch of the Bank of the United States.

It is more than likely that it was through these two foreign traders that the stock of the United States Bank came to be held so largely in Europe that by 1811 the stock ledger disclosed that 1800 of the 2500 shares were held abroad. These foreign share-holders had no vote and this was an excellent but little appreciated means of securing the capital the business men of America needed to carry on their business after the war had so badly depleted the country's wealth. [History of Modern Banks of Issue by Conant, page 340.]

Time soon brought the period for the repayment of these public and private loans, floated in Holland by the Willinks and their associates. The published records do not make entirely clear the means whereby the debts were liquidated. The results to the Holland bankers were that substantially the United States government paid partly in cash and partly in land warrants, and Pennsylvania paid in the same manner as the general government. Most of the historians say, however, that congress and Pennsylvania paid cash to the Willinks and their Holland associates, and that these Hollanders reinvested these moneys in lands. To sustain this view they quote from the prospectus of Pieter Stadintzi, one of their associates in the Holland Land Company, which states that he invited the public to become interested in the purchase of American lands, because it is well known that great profits were made by the Hollanders through speculation in American bonds, and that this land venture offers greater probability for even greater profits than the bonds. The reader may accept whichever view suits his own judgment, the results are the same so far as our family history is concerned. [Harm Jan Huidekoper, page 98.] Robert Morris paid partly in loans and partly by mortgages against lands he had desired to hold for speculation. The Willinks and their associates subsequently bought for cash large blocks of land adjoining the lands they had acquired from the United States, the state of Pennsylvania and Robert Morris. The latter subsequently made other loans with Willink & Company which, upon his default, were reduced to judgment, upon which judgment

execution and sale was made of lands belonging to Robert Morris; the Holland Land Company being the purchaser at the sheriff's sales. As there was not a full and complete settlement of Robert Morris' accounts, either as superintendent of finance, or as agent for the state of Pennsylvania, he claimed that he had been compelled to pay the debts of the United States and Pennsylvania from his private estate. The enemies of Robert Morris in denying this have laid much stress upon his accounts having been regularly audited by the committees of congress; but even in this particular there were some of his accounts that never were audited simply because the result would have been to have given him a credit balance. It is probable that no man has been more unjustly charged with dishonesty in handling public funds than Robert Morris, and it is well to remember that the state of an account is alone determined by an audit, while settlement comes only by liquidation of the balance found to be due. Therefore until there is shown to have been some positive acquittance of the sums due Robert Morris, as the result of his management of the fiscal affairs of the United States, we have every right to believe in the justice of his claim that as a nation we were at this time indebted to him. [Account of Morris' Property, pamphlet 1860. Blackman's History of Susquehanna County, Pa., page 486.]

The reader can therefore well understand that all this presented a most complicated problem, no matter from what standpoint one undertakes to examine the same, in order to determine the truth of the many counter-statements made against each other by those who were indebted to Willink & Company and their associates.

We shall therefore content ourselves with saying that the lands acquired by the Willinks and their associates were placed in a common pool which, although not incorporated, came to be known by them and the American public as the Holland Land Company. Their holdings comprehended all the lands within the bounds of the state of New York west of Seneca Lake, and the greater part of the lands in the state of Pennsylvania on the waters of the West Branch of the Susquehanna and the waters of the Allegheny River, being practically the northwest quarter of the state of Pennsylvania. [Turner's History of Holland Purchase in N. Y.; Hist. Mag. June 1869; Finance of the Revolution, by Sumner, vol. 2, page 263. McKnight, History of Jefferson County, Penna., page 86.]

It was found that the New York lands were subject to the dower interest of the wife of Robert Morris. This resulted in a controversy which was not settled until February 10, 1801, when by a compromise the Holland Land Company granted to his wife, Mrs. Mary Morris, an annuity of fifteen hundred dollars per annum. While in Pennsylvania there was some question as to whether or not there was a right of redemption vested in the state, or in the other grantors, concerning these lands, and whether these aliens could legally part with their lands in view of their possible escheat to the state. This uncertainty prevented the sales of these lands by the Holland Land Company until the act of the legislature of Pennsylvania, passed March 31, 1823, which authorized William Willink and others of Holland, to sell and convey any lands belonging to them in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. [Turner's P. & G. Purchase, page 436; O'Reilly, Hist. of Rochester, page 148; American Review (1851), vol. 6, page 79; Penna., Mag. Hist. & Bio., vol. 2, page 180.]

When Willink & Company acquired these lands they were an unbroken wilderness, remotely removed from the settled sections of New York and Pennsylvania. The vast stretches of intervening vacant land must first be opened to travel, and be broken by settlement, before the Holland Company's lands could have a market, and moreover, as we have seen, their title was not marketable until after 1801 in New York, and 1823 in Pennsylvania, so that quite a long time had elapsed before the march of settlement reached them; nevertheless they were not ready to do business. The reader must understand that this statement has more particular reference to the New York lands of the Holland Land Company and those in Pennsylvania east of the Allegheny River. The block of lands west of that river were subject to entirely different conditions as to sale.

In 1793, Robert Morris made an effort to open a road from Northumberland in Pennsylvania to his lands on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, in northwestern Pennsylvania and southwestern New York. He imported a colony of Germans for the purpose, who under the direction of Captain Williamson cut a road, which was subsequently known as Captain Williamson's road, and which ran from Northumberland at the forks of the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania to Bath in New York. The Holland Land Company apparently did but very little toward the settlement of their lands, but directed the private capital of its members and that of its New York associates to the task of opening up to settlement the undeveloped lands in New York that lay east of Seneca Lake. For the like reason the settlement of the Pennsylvania tracts proceeded very slowly. As late as 1804 there were but four families living in the territory included in what is now Jefferson County, Pennsylvania. It was subsequently proven by experience that the opening of this section to settlement was really waiting upon the growth of the cleared section of southwestern New York. [McKnight's History of Jefferson County, Pennsylvania, page 85.]

This association with the Willinks and the advent of the lumber industry under Peter Pearsall, brought Thomas Pearsall and his associates in New York City into a series of great empire building land ventures in New York State, the details of which will be elsewhere related in this genealogy, so far as these land colonization schemes may have influenced our family history.

In practically all of the many land schemes which at this time absorbed so much of the attention of the New York merchants, Thomas Pearsall was a heavy contributor and a much sought after associate. The deeds to and from Thomas Pearsall run into hundreds. The writer simply had to close his eyes when he came across them.

He and his associates in Holland and America had the broad vision of kings, a courage that knew no limit, and a comprehension of the wilderness so far beyond ordinary men that the only adequate comment is that one must see the great empire they founded to appreciate these old merchants of New York and their associates, the Willinks of Holland.

Thomas Pearsall is buried in a vault in the yard of the Presbyterian Church, New York City, which will indicate to the reader that sometime during the later years of his life he departed from the teachings of the Religious Society of Friends, particularly as to the holding of slaves, as is shown in an interesting deed of manumission found among the papers of Duncan Pearsall Campbell.

This manumission does not appear to have been executed by delivery and recording during the lifetime of Thomas Pearsall. It reads:—To all to whom these Presents shall come or may concern, I, Thomas Pearsall of the City of New York, Administrator, Executor, and Legatee of and under the Testament and last will of Richard Cornell, deceased, late of the Town of Flushing in Queens County, in the State of New York, and also acting executor and legatee of and under the testament and last will of Phoebe Cornell, deceased, late the widow of the said Richard Cornell, deceased, do certify and make known that I, the said Thomas Pearsall, do hereby manuate and set free my negro woman slave called Lucy, aged about forty years, to me in my own right, as an executor aforesaid and also my five negro male slaves called the one of them George, the other of them Amos, one other of them James, one other of them Samuel, and one other Joseph, and also my three negro female slaves, to wit the said George, Amos, James, Samuel, Joseph, Hamot, Nauche, and Sally are the children of my said negro woman slave called Lucy. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this fifthe day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred. Thomas Pearsall. Sealed and Delivered in the presence of John Latham and Mathew Franklin.

The Friends' Yearly Meetings very early took a stand against human slavery. As early as 1775 the religious society of Friends had made it a part of their discipline that the members should be free from slave holding. Nor would they permit the slaves to be sold. Nothing less than their manumission would suffice. Should a Friend be so foolish as to sell his slaves, he was compelled to rebuy, many times at a greatly advanced price, and manumit or be disowned by the Meeting. It must have gone very hard with this great merchant prince to have any one assert that he could not regulate his business affairs according to his own views upon the subject. It would appear that the committee on discipline had reasoned with Thomas Pearsall at this time concerning his disobedience, and that they had secured the execution of the deed of manumission, but the meeting records are silent as to its having been carried into effect.

Two or three years before his death, in 1807, Thomas Pearsall gave up the active management of his business, and following the custom of his and many succeeding generations of successful business men, he devoted the most of his attention to the Bank and to the supervision of his other financial interests. But to the end of his days he continued his business relations with the Willinks and their associates in Holland. Among the last of the special services they asked of him was the execution of the following power of attorney, which came to him through the Willinks:—

On the twenty-first day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and three, before me, Christoffel Reinard Samuel toe Laer, Notary Public, by the Court of Holland duly admitted, residing in Amsterdam, personally appeared Mr. Abraham Van Loghem of this City of Amsterdam, merchant as well in his particular as in the name of his house of commerce under the firm name of A. Van Loghem & co. who declared to have made, ordained, constituted and appointed, and revoking all former powers of attorney doth make, ordain, constitute and appoint Messrs Thomas Pearsall & Son of New York, merchants, his true and lawful attorneys, giving and granting unto his said attorneys, jointly and separately full power and authority for him the said constituent, and his said house of commerce to ask, demand, levy, sue for, and by all lawful ways and means recover and receive of and from any person or persons whomsoever in the State or City of New York aforesaid, all and every such sums of money, goods, wares, merchandise, effects and things whatsoever as now or hereafter shall or may be belonging, appertaining, due, owing or payable unto him, the said constituent, or his said house of commerce, by or from any person or persons whomsoever, to view, examine, settle, adjust all accounts, to compound, compromise and agree of what shall be recovered and received, to give lawful acquittances and discharges, if need be to appear in any court or courts before all lords, judges and justices, there to demand, answer defend and reply to all matters and causes concerning the premises, and to do, say, pursue, implead sciro sequester, arrest, attach, imprison and out of prison to deliver and generally in and about the premises to do all and whatsoever shall be necessary as fully, amply and effectively, to all intents and purposes, whatsoever, as the said constituent might or could do were he personally present, with power to substitute one or more attorneys with like or limited power and the same to revoke; he the said constituent hereby ratifying and confirming all and whatsoever his said attorney shall lawfully do or cause to be done in the premises by virtue of these presents. In witness whereof the said constituent hath hereunto set his hand and seal at Amsterdam, aforesaid, in the presence of the underwritten witness. Signed A. Van Loghem and also witnessed by J. Thielman and T. T. Diemont as well as by the Notary, and his right to act as a notary is certified to March 9, 1803, by C. Santhagens and B. Blomman Fort also notaries of Amsterdam.

The relations between the original parties to the American loan in Holland, namely John and William Willink, William Bayard and Thomas Pearsall, lasted not only as long as they severally lived, but their surviving partners continued to deal together until some time after 1832. It is pleasant to note the entire confidence, the gentlemanly regard, the brotherly affection and the mutual trust they severally exhibited towards each other up to the very end of their lives.

The latest document which has survived the ravages of time is a release made in 1832, wherein Hierminus Sillam of Amsterdam, surviving partner of Mathieson & Sillem, formerly of Hamburg, discharges from further responsibility Herman Le Roy, surviving partner of Le Roy, Bayard and McEvars. The paper recites that William Bayard and James McEvars are dead. The responsibility grew out of a mortgage made to Le Roy Bayard and McEvars as secret trustees for the releasors. The land was located in Clinton County, New York. Mention is also made that in 1817 the said firm had appointed Silas Hubbell as agent for the sale of these lands and that he had made sale of certain parts thereof. This agent, like all the others of the Holland Land Company, was a real estate dealer. The advent of the practical lumberman began the same year with the selection of Peter Pearsall under whose efforts the timber of the tracts on the west branch of the Susquehanna and the eastern waters of the Allegheny River, was speedily turned into merchantable lumber. From this time on the affairs of the Holland Land Company began to assume a condition of prosperity which was in marked contrast to the heart-breaking delays, disappointments and losses of the previous period.

About the last act of a public character performed by Thomas Pearsall was to join with eleven others on February 19, 1805, in forming The Society for establishing Free Schools in the City of New York for the Education of such poor children as do not belong to or are not provided for by any Religious Society. De Witt Clinton was the first president of this society. The purposes of the institution were broader than its title as it was designed to extend the benefits of education to the poor of the City of New York, and all other individuals who desired to attend. This was an experiment in American public affairs and followed the system then in vogue in the City of Lancaster in England. By 1815 the society had established three large schools, the first being started in 1806 before the death of Thomas Pearsall. This was the beginning of the public school system of the City of New York, and from that day to this no child in that city has been without the means to acquire a common school education. The name of the society was abbreviated to the "Public School Society" and in 1813 a special State law directed the payment of State School moneys to the trustees of this society and to such incorporated religious societies as supported charity schools within the said city. The Public School Society also received tuition fees from such as could afford to pay. These, together with public funds and private contributions, enabled it to maintain the public schools. [Barrett, The Old Merchants of New York, and American Public Schools by John Sweet, page 52.]

The story of the life of Thomas Pearsall closes at this point in this narrative, but it has, however, been thought advisable to add a few more words about the association of these same persons in the liquidation of this debt from the United States to the Willinks, so that the reader may be prepared for the subsequent occurrences in our family history which were the direct outcome of this association of Thomas Pearsall, William Bayard and the Willinks.

It was an interesting chain of circumstances which brought all the old parties together who had figured in the first loan, except John Adams, in connection with the liquidation of the debts owing to France by the United States, and growing out of the advances it made to congress to carry on the Revolutionary war.

At the close of the Revolutionary war Robert and Gouverneur Morris engaged in business together. In 1787 the latter was in Virginia superintending mercantile affairs in which they were jointly interested. It was necessary to have an agent on the spot, who understood the business, to manage the shipment of tobacco to France, for which large contracts had been taken by the Farmers-general, who were certain members of the nobility of France who contracted to pay into the Treasury a fixed sum yearly, taking upon themselves the collection and use of certain taxes, among the rest the excise on tobacco, thereby obtaining a monopoly in the sale of that commodity. The political disturbances which marked the beginning of the French Revolution were becoming so serious that Gouverneur Morris determined to personally go to France, where he arrived on January 27, 1789. After landing, seeing that there was a scarcity of flour, he communicated with the firm of William Constable & Co. of New York City, with whom he was in special partnership, a plan for purchasing all the wheat on the Hudson River, and entered into arrangements by which it should reach France at the moment of the greatest demand. The shipping of this large quantity of wheat robbed the home market and the price was greatly increased in all the American sea-ports. This made considerable bad feeling with the regular shippers like Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard, as well as with their Holland correspondents, Willink & Co. of Amsterdam.

Gouverneur Morris carried with him to France instructions from the United States to arrange, if possible, for the liquidation of the debt due by the United States to France, which made him stand in the light of a special envoy, and this, when it became known in America and Holland, added to the intensity of the feelings against him by the home and foreign traders, including Thomas Pearsall, William Bayard and the Willinks. The negotiations for the settlement of the debt were long drawn out, and in the meantime, it having become evident that the money to enable the United States to pay the same would have to come from a loan in Holland, Gouverneur Morris began to angle with the house of Hope as the bankers to handle this loan. It would appear that his overtures were successful, as he was able to say to the French Minister that it was by means of America's connections in the United States and Holland that this can be accomplished, and that it was not possible for France to get a new loan so advantageously as it could compromise and settle the debt due to it from the United States. The negotiations finally reached such a point that it was necessary to know that the money really could be obtained, so he determined to go to Holland and make the loan a certainty. The Willinks had every reason to believe that they were to handle this loan, but just before Gouverneur Morris departed from France it leaked out that the loan was to go to the house of Hope. It also appeared that there was to be a commission to the negotiator. The discovery at this time that they were not to be considered, coupled with continued losses in wheat, caused by Gouverneur Morris' control of the market, did not lessen their indignation that they should be used in this manner by an agent of the United States. They at once communicated with Thomas Pearsall and William Bayard to bring the matter to the attention of the American government. The Willinks on their part personally took the steps which caused Gouverneur Morris to record in his diary

at this time that the houses in Holland (Willink & Co.) have not only refused to be connected with me either as parties, or on commission, but have opened a loan on account of congress and have written a letter to Mr. Hamilton (Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States) and M. Necker (Jacques Necker, Comptroller General of Finances and Minister of State of France 1788-1790) urging them not to agree. Go to Mr. Shorts (William Short, Secretary of Legation under Thomas Jefferson, who was then Minister from the United States to France) to see the letter to Hamilton, which besides being a very foolish one is like all the rest a violation of the promise made to me. I tell Van Staphorst (one of the Willink partners) my opinion of their conduct which he acknowledges to be just. I have disagreeable forebodings about the affairs negotiating in Holland. Van Staphorst tells me that he thinks I had better go to Amsterdam and that, although the houses do not merit a participation in my plan, yet they can be so useful I shall find it to my interest to employ them. I tell him that I think I shall go. [Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris by Anne Cary Morris, vol. I, page 290.] He accordingly proceeded to Holland, arriving at Amsterdam on March 1, 1790, and on the fourth he went to see M. Hope on business of the American debt to France. He was sumptuously entertained at dinner along with other distinguished guests, after which he had an opportunity to meet those who were in the same political and social set as the House of Hope. He soon found out from their conversation that they were of the Orange party and consequently glad to see the miseries which the Revolution had brought upon France. Which at once indicated to him where the sympathies of England were to be found, and hence why the House of Hope was not likely to help the American Loan for France, and apparently the times were not propitious for an English house to do anything worth while, so Gouverneur Morris was after all compelled to go to the Willinks.

He records in his diary that he went to the Exchange with John Willink on March tenth, and that on the thirteenth he dined, en famille, with William Willink. The company consisted of Willink's two sons, with their private tutor, a professor who is said to be a very learned man. There was also a student of this professor and Mrs. William Willink and her husband, thus making ten persons in all. The repast was the usual Holland noon-day dinner with no extra dishes on account of the guest. That Gouverneur Morris was displeased with the want of special attention was what his host, no doubt, desired. It was in such marked contrast to the elaborate entertainment given by the House of Hope that Morris feels that his reader will understand him when he says that the conversation was like the feast and turned upon business, and he had but little reason to be satisfied with either. He adds, however, time and chance produce strange revolutions on this globe, we shall see. He evidently did see for he took the lesson to heart and made proper amends, and on the twenty-second he left Amsterdam with the assurances from John Willink that if it were possible they would effect his object in regard to the debt question. [Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris by Anne Cary Morris, vol. I, page 306-307.] The loan was made by the Willinks and some of the inside history of its management is very clearly related in the following letter:

Amsterdam, August 13, 1806, Wm. Bayard Esqr., New York; Dear Sir;— In pursuance with your permission, and in conformity with the particullars which were explained to you during your stay in Europe, we purchased through the agency of Messrs Hottinguer and of Mr. Swan of Paris, from Jese Brush a claim which he had on

the French Government, and had it placed in your name in consequence. The power of Attorney which you were pleased to pass in our favor on the 23 of May, 1803, before Isaac Galpine, Notary at Southampton in England, empowering us to claim to receive such Bills of Exchange as should be drawn by your Minister at Paris, on the Treasury at Washington, for any debts that might be due you, or stand in your name, has been made the necessary use of and a power of substitution was in consequence made out by us in favor of Messrs Hottinguer who represent us. The claim of Jese Brush was the only one our friend could at that time procure on equitable terms, its amount is 150000 francs which were liquidated at the French board of liquidation, confirmed and approved and decreed to you by the board of American Commissioners, but hitherto Mr. Armstrong has not yet issued his bills on the Treasury of Washington, in payment of the said claim, in consequence of the following difficulty. Jesse Brush having been declared bankrupt, and having been imprisoned for debt, a committee of the French creditors inquired on the State of his affairs, and at the time the above claim was to be paid opposed the same, so that till this moment no settlement could be made or payment could be obtained. The title we hold is, however, considered as complete owing to the cession made by Brush at the time at the consular office, registered and accompanied with all the formalities required on such occasions. However Brush, already embarassed at the time that he sold this claim to Messrs. Hottinguer, disposed of the very identical one to Messrs. Roquette, Beeldemaher & Co. of Rotterdam, but this transaction was not attended nor accompanied with the same necessary formalities, though it embarassesses the progress of our endeavors to obtain the payment. Being for some time past in this situation, the assignees of the Estate of Brush at Paris, proposed a settlement, but we could never come to any terms, and now that we intended to come to an adjustment the lawyer of the House of Rotterdam came forward saying to have in his power a declaration from you stating that you have no claim on the Estate of Brush, that you never had any, that if any one took a transfer in your name it is not for your account, in short that you don't know what is meant by saying that you are liquidated for 150000 frs. out of Brush's claim. This is written to us by M. V. Swan, and, as we have reason to suspect the veracity of this statement, we have thought it necessary to be so particular in the description of this affair in question, therefore not believing the existence of such a document we beg leave to request an additional favor from you that whether or not any part of the said statement be true, you will be pleased to make out an affidavit purporting that on the day and year before mentioned you made out and passed the Power of Attorney in our favor to the purposes as therein expressed, that you were informed of the purchase of the said 150000 frs. and that if ever any declaration was given by you to the contrary, in whatever shape it was done, whether by writing or verbally, that it was subsepted from you; in order that we might make use of this paper in case we come to a proper amicable adjustment.

It was our intention to have sent you those bills for encashment but esperiencing the delay which you have above related we don't know to what conclusion the business may be brought. We flatter ourselves we are not intruding too much upon your friendship but in the stage in which this affair is situated such a document is indispensably necessary, and we are led to indulge the hope that also in this instance you will acquiesce to our request and forward us as soon as convenient the affidavit aforesaid which will much oblige us.

It is with pleasure we seize this opportunity to remember our families to yours and to request our respectful compliments to all its members, assuring you of our everlasting friendship and the sincere regard with which we have the honor to be, Your most obedient servants, Willian Van Willink. P.S. It would perhaps be most eligible to send a fresh power, in our joint names, referring to the former and purporting the same, in addition to the affidavit, and relating at the same time that you appoint us as the attorney substituted by us to claim and receive payment for the said 150000 frs. liquidated and which were bought in your name by Messrs Hottinguer from Mr. Jesse Brush.

William Bayard, as we have already stated, associated with Herman Le Roy, a man of large wealth, and the firm became Le Roy and Bayard, which continued with several changes of partners and variations of firm name, for a number of years. It was composed of younger men than Thomas Pearsall and hence, with the growth of the city, it forged ahead quite rapidly to a leading position in the foreign trade of New York City. Herman Le Roy devoted much of his time to the details of the transactions whereby the Willinks acquired the large tracts of land to which we have already referred, and which became known as the holdings of the Holland Land Company. Hence we find him at this time beginning to figure prominently in the land deals of New York and Pennsylvania in which the Willinks were either directly interested or which deals were collateral to their land projects.

In 1792, Herman Le Roy was made one of the trustees to hold the title to the lands acquired by the Willinks in their settlement with Robert Morris.

In 1793, Herman Le Roy and William Bayard, as Trustees, took title to a large block of land in Pennsylvania for the Willinks and their associates, who called themselves the Holland Land Company. It had been found that these foreigners could not legally hold or convey lands in the United States, so it was necessary to have the title vested in American citizens. At this time the Willinks sent their clerk John Huidekoper to America, to oversee the details. After he had attended to this special business he traveled through the United States with Talleyrand, who was then a fugitive in this country. [Harm Jan Huidekoper, page 250.] Three years later his brother Harm came to America to act as one of the agents of the Holland Land Company. He landed in New York on October seventeenth, and two days later called to see the firm of Le Roy, Bayard and McEvers. He also says that on the twentieth he was entertained at Mr. Le Roy's

and that they spoke much of his brother John, and wanted to know whether he was not also coming to America. He finally says that Le Roy Bayard & McEver furnished him with one hundred dollars which the Willinks, through John Huidekoper were to give them credit for, and charge to his account. [Harm Jan Huidekoper, pages 34 and 100.]

This fixes quite clearly when the firm of Le Roy, Bayard & Company first acted in this special capacity for the Willinks and their associates. There are several letters among the files in the Mss. section of the New York Library that passed between this firm and the Willinks, or their associates, which it will repay the interested reader to study carefully.

Z. SARAH PEARSALL, born October 1, 1763, died November 17, 1793; resided at New York City; married Patrick Campbell, who died in 1782. The license for the marriage was granted January 2, 1781. Child:—

1. Duncan Pearsall Campbell, who married first, Elizabeth Ann, daughter of William Bayard. He married second, Marie Bayard, her sister. Children:— *1. Elizabeth Bayard Campbell. *2. Sarah Ann Campbell. *3. William Bayard Campbell. *4. Thomas Pearsall Campbell. *5. Duncan Campbell. *6. Robert Bayard Campbell. *7. Catharine B. Campbell. *8. Henry P. Campbell. *9. Marie L. Campbell. *10. Edward Campbell. They resided at New York City.

Patrick Campbell was major of His Majesty's Seventy-first Regiment of Foot, which made him an officer in the British Army that was sent out to America during the Revolutionary War. He belonged to a Highland Regiment, and was billeted in the house of Thomas Pearsall, at No. 203 Queen Street (above Franklin Square, in Pearl Street). There he became acquainted with the beautiful and demure Quakeress, Sarah Pearsall. Old Thomas would have as soon consented to the marriage of his daughter with a Calmuck Tartar as with a Highlander, or British officer. The result was a runaway match. Of course the parties were forgiven, but neither husband nor wife lived long after she gave birth to a son, who was Duncan Pearsall Campbell. Old Thomas adopted the son and brought him up as his own. This is the account given in The Old Merchants of New York, by Walter Barrett. [Vol. 2, page 184-185.]

It is a brief story of a romance, the outline of which also appears in the old records of the Flushing Friends' Meeting, which then included the city of New York. The Clerk of the Meeting recorded that Sarah Campbell, late Pearsall, left her father's house in a very undutiful and unbecoming manner, and lived for several days in the same house with Patrick Campbell, and was afterwards married to him, which marriage was accomplished by a priest. This Reproachful Conduct, to which according to the Clerk of the Meeting, she was insensible, caused her disownment by the meeting, 3rd, 7th, 1781. The Clerk of the Meeting also recorded that Thomas Pearsall, Merchant, acknowledged 4th, 5th, 1781, that his daughter had left his house unknown to him and gone away with an officer and he later consented to their marriage.

The following account of the romance was written by Josephine Pearsall of Bainbridge, N. Y., who tells it as she heard it told many times in her family. She was, of course, wholly ignorant of the other accounts. It is remarkable that the three historians should so closely agree and yet each furnish facts which sup-

plement the others. Taken altogether the story is quite clearly and beautifully told. She says, my father's (Robert Pearsall) great-uncle, Thomas Pearsall, in New York City, the very generous wealthy uncle I have already mentioned (though all genuine Pearsalls are noted for unselfishness, generosity and hospitality), had a very bright, attractive daughter Sarah. At the time of the Revolution she in some manner became acquainted with a British officer, I don't recollect his rank, named Duncan Campbell. He became very fond of the beautiful daughter, and asked for the daughter in marriage. The father had no personal objections to the young Royalist, he was the soul of honor and an accomplished gentleman, but the father and family, including the daughter, could not and would not contract any marriage with a Tory, and the gentleman was forbidden the house. Soon after the daughter went out in the city, and did not return. Search was made, alarm given, all to no purpose. The family were in great distress. A few weeks later my aunt, or rather her mother, was out in the outskirts of the city for charity work, when she heard a window open overhead, and someone call "Mother." To her delight it was the lost daughter. She stated she was held prisoner by said Campbell, though treated with the most perfect courtesy, every want and comfort supplied, only she was a prisoner, and reason why? The gentleman must have her where he could visit her. He would release her whenever the parents would allow him the freedom of the house. It is needless to add that matters were arranged, and the daughter released.

As has been already stated their only child, Duncan Pearsall Campbell, married twice, first to Sarah Ann, a daughter of William Bayard, and second, to her sister Marie.

After the death of his father and mother, in fact at the time of the death of his father, Duncan Pearsall Campbell was taken into the home of his grandfather, Thomas Pearsall, where he was raised the same as though he was the son of Thomas Pearsall, instead of his grandson. So thoroughly did he become a member of his grandfather's family that it is difficult sometimes in listening to the family traditions to discern whether the incident that is being related refers to his own son or to his grandson, Duncan Pearsall Campbell. Barrett, in his Merchants of Old New York, notices the same difficulty in relating the history of these eminent merchants:—Thomas Pearsall, his son Thomas Cornell Pearsall, and his nephew Duncan Pearsall Campbell. Being a member of his grandfather's household brought Duncan Pearsall Campbell into intimate association with the members of the families of those who were the original projectors of the American loan in Holland, for there was between these old merchants a much closer relationship than that of mere business. They evidenced toward each other the most gentlemanly regard, coupled with the strongest brotherly affection. The fine, yet strong confidence they mutually reposed in each other continued to the end of their lives. And what is very unusual, the same feeling extended to the members of their several households. Of the original projectors Thomas Pearsall was the eldest, the Willinks and William Bayard being practically the same age as his son. This brought Duncan Pearsall Campbell into the same generation as the children of the Willinks and William Bayard. The Willink youngsters were all sons and the grandson of Thomas Pearsall, also in a home without daughters, made the second

male side of this triangle. The home of William Bayard had several fine daughters. William Bayard devoted himself largely to the European end of his firm's affairs, which frequently took him across the ocean, and in these trips he was often accompanied by his daughters, particularly when his journeying led him to Holland. The Willink boys also visited New York, so that as a result the youngsters of these three families were very intimate and had jolly times together which greatly pleased the older folks. It was not long before this social intimacy and friendly companionship advanced to a rivalry between one of the sons of William Willink and Duncan Pearsall Campbell for the heart and hand of a daughter of William Bayard, for notwithstanding that there were several daughters the goddess of love directed their affections to the same young lady. In this contest Duncan Pearsall Campbell was successful. The result so far as young Willink is concerned is well told in the following letter written by his father to William Bayard.

Amsterdam 19 Apr. 1803. Dear Sir: We enjoyed yesterday night the satisfaction to embrace our son, but my good friend, how much should it have been augmented, if we had gotten communication by him, that he had prevailed on Miss Bayard to live with him, his tender affection for her, your cordial friendship towards him, is so strongly impressed on his mind, that we hope it will not injure his health. Indeed we feel for him as for your daughter and if a just sense of his duty did not command him he should have made the sacrifice to follow Miss Bayard in America: he mentioned the justice, you did him on this subject, and I acknowledge to you, I did entertain a hope your beloved daughter should have yielded to his wishes, tho I shall never blame the attachment she proves for her worthy parents. I am persuaded they should be happy together, and lament very much so insurmountable an obstacle prevents their union, Mrs. Willink and myself having no daughters, she would have been dear to us and nothing wanting on our part to promote her happiness and satisfaction. Could my writing have yet any influence I should endeavor to exercise my best eloquence, but what the presence of Mr. Willink could not effectuate would be in vain for me to attempt. Our wishes for her happiness are so sincere as my gratitude to you and family for your friendly and truly amicable behaviour toward Mr. Willink. I hope this circumstance will rather promote than occasion any break to our friendship, please to reserve the assurance of our, with our best compliments to you and Family and believe me always, Dear Sir, Your assured friend Wm. Willink.—To William Bayard, Esq. Mr. Willink handed your letter respecting your claim on Mr. Frederik, we shall take counsel respecting it, and if we can be serviceable to you, be assured of our best efforts.

This letter with its manly grace and parental love is a splendid picture of this old Dutch banker. As has already been stated in telling the life story of Thomas Pearsall, the Willinks, acting on the advice of William Bayard and Thomas Pearsall, their New York correspondents, had floated the loan for the United States which closed the Revolutionary War, and they procured other loans to finance the government until the adoption of the constitution. Subsequently they and their associates, known as the Holland Land Company, had acquired large tracts of land in southern New York and northern Pennsylvania. The Pearsalls, Bayards and Campbell continued to represent the Willinks and through them, Peter

Pearsall of Saratoga County, New York, was induced to become personally interested in the development of that part of the great forest that lay along the west branch of the Susquehanna River and its tributaries in Clearfield and Jefferson Counties, Pennsylvania.

Duncan Pearsall Campbell became a member of the firm of LeRoy, Bayard & Co., a concern which traded to all parts of the world. This well known banking-maritime-trading concern was started, as we have already said, in 1790, by William Bayard and Herman LeRoy. From the beginning it made a specialty of having foreign partners, so that it had resident members of the concern in every quarter of the earth. They held the titles for the Willinks in many of their later American land transactions. For example, on August 21, 1793, they entered into a contract which was made by Hon. James Wilson of Philadelphia, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, of the one part, and Herman LeRoy and William Bayard of the City of New York, merchants, agents of Wilhelm Willink, Nicholas Van Staphorst, Pieter Stadnitski, Christian Van Eeghen, Hendric Vollenhoven and Rutje Jan Schimmelpennich of the city of Amsterdam, gentlemen, of the second part, for the sale and purchase of 499,660 acres of land on French Creek and between French Creek and the Allegheny River in the state of Pennsylvania, making in all 1162 warrants. In accordance with this agreement surveys were made and patents obtained for the most of the tracts prior to the year 1801. Thereby this large block of land became absorbed into the other holdings of the Holland Land Company, and was divided into seven land districts, with an agent in charge, all under one general agent resident at Philadelphia, where Paul Beeston, who became the general agent in 1797, resided until his death in 1835. [Harm Jan Huidekoper, page 100, 338.]

The banking and exporting business of the Willinks and their associates in America was transacted through their New York correspondents, who at this time were LeRoy, Bayard & Co. (of which firm Duncan Pearsall Campbell became a member), and Thomas Cornell Pearsall, acting on his own account and as a member of the firm of Pearsall & Son.

District territories of the lands of the Holland Land Company were again subdivided for the convenience of special agents who handled certain blocks of the same. Theoretically the scheme of management was correct, but the lands for many reasons did not sell in any large quantities. In New York, the most eastern district was under the charge of John Lincklaen, a Hollander. An interesting detail of this family history is that on December 24, 1792, Robert Morris and Mary, his wife, conveyed to Herman LeRoy and John Lincklaen as trustee for Wilhelm Willink, Nicholas Van Staphorst, Pieter Van Eeghen, Hendrick Vollenhoeven and Rutger Jan Schimmelpennick. There were a series of three deeds running along until the following July, in which lands in western New York, totaling 3,300,000 acres, were conveyed to these trustees. There was also a fourth conveyance which vested lands in Wilhelm Willink, Jr., and Jan Willink, Jr. Thus over four million acres of the lands of the Holland Land Company had gone directly through the members of the firm of LeRoy, Bayard & Co. to the Willinks and their associates in the Holland Land Company.

As an important contribution to the history of the Holland Land Company, and specially of the Willinks in America, the following letter is also herewith produced, as it not only indicates the method pursued by these Dutchmen in dealing with their American investments, but it evidences the continued close personal relationship between them and the original group of New York merchants through whom they had been brought into such close intimacy with the finances of the United States.

Amsterdam, 26 February, 1807. Mr. Bayard, Esq., New York. Dear Sir: We have duly received your respected favor, 18 November, and the papers therein contained have already been extremely useful: we are much obliged to you for all the trouble thus occasioned and in vindication of our silence shall say that we did not wish to cause you unnecessary trouble, yet if we would have suspected that Mr. Delagrange would thus have imposed upon you we should certainly not have done it; Messrs. Hottinguer are our friends, they act for us and they have occasionally made use of Mr. Swan and employed him when it was by them found necessary, but only Mr. Hottinguer is empowered to act, and now again a substitution is vested in him resulting from the power you have now transmitted. We thank you for this essential document and should any further be wanting shall take the liberty to request the same from you, meanwhile wishing you would inform us of the cost of the present and have the same carried to one of our accounts. Our families unite in both compliments to yours and requesting your and their friendly rembrance we remain with great respect, Yours very truly, William Willink, a/c N. J. R. Van Staphorst & Co.

SECTION 6.

THOMAS CORNELL PEARSALL, son of Thomas Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 5, born December 25, 1768; died November 5, 1820; resided in New York City. He married in the First Presbyterian Church, New York City, June 17, 1791, Frances Buchanan, daughter of Thomas Buchanan and his wife Almy Townsend, whose father was a leading merchant in Glasgow. After finishing his studies at the University of Glasgow, he determined to visit America, and arrived in New York soon after he had completed his eighteenth year. Mr. Walter Buchanan, a cousin of the father of Thomas, was at that time engaged in business in New York. Thomas Buchanan in a short time entered into partnership with this relative, and together they transacted business under the style of Walter & Thomas Buchanan. The first advertisement of this firm appears in the Post Boy, November 17th, 1763. The store of the Buchanans was for many years in Queen Street, opposite the upper end of the Fly Market, so that they were near neighbors to Thomas Pearsall, and the children of both families were school companions. He was, as we have already stated, one of the directors, along with William Bayard and Thomas Pearsall, in the New York branch of the Bank of the United States. Children:—

1. Thomas Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 7.
2. Sarah Pearsall, resided in New York City; married James Clinton Norton. Children: *1. Pierre Norton, *2. James Clinton Norton, married Julia A. Children: 1. James Clinton Norton. 2. Julia Norton. *3. Robert Burrage Norton.

3. Phebe Pearsall, born October 2, 1815; died July 9, 1895.
4. Mary Pearsall, see W this section, born October 22, 1816; married January, 1835, Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst, son of Samuel Bradhurst and his wife, Mary Smith, daughter of Captain Richard Smith (British Army) of Monmouth, New Jersey. Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst was born Sept. 19, 1810; died February 22, 1861. He was an ensign in the 82nd New York Regiment and Alderman of New York City. Children:— *1. John Maunsell Bradhurst, born April 25, 1837; died June 6, 1867. *2. Charles Cornell Bradhurst, born April 14, 1840; died March 24, 1905; married Catherine Ten Brock Rodwell, daughter of Ann Rodwell. Children:— 1. Elizabeth Bradhurst, married F. H. Randall. 2. Henry Maunsell Bradhurst, born June 26, 1864; married December 17, 1889, Jean Banham, daughter of Benjamin Franklin Banham. *3. Thomas Cornell Pearsall Bradhurst, born 1847; died 1889. *4. Frances Pearsall Bradhurst, died July 21, 1907. She married M. Augustus Field. Children:— 1. Augusta B. Field. 2. May Field, married Henry Wilmerding Payne. 3. Thomas Pearsall Field, married Emma Beadleston. 4. Maunsell Bradhurst Field, married Ella Elizabeth Billings. 5. Edward Pearsall Field. *5. Phebe Pearsall Bradhurst, married Alfred E. Lahens. Children:— 1. Frances Lahens, married M. Wetherill. 2. Mary Augusta Lahens. 3. Louis E. Lahens. 4. Pierre Pearsall Lahens. *6. Mary Elizabeth Bradhurst, married Charles A. Jackson. Child:— 1. Pearsall Bradhurst Jackson. *7. Pearsall Bradhurst. *8. Augusta Caroline Bradhurst, married at Calvary Church, New York City, October 14, 1885, William Hazard Field. Children:— 1. Mary Pearsall Field. 2. William B. Osgood Field. 3. Edward P. Field, married Oct. 28, 1879, Anna Tailer Townsend.
5. Charles Cornell Pearsall, see X this section.
6. Edward Pearsall, born July 14, 1818; see Y this section.
7. Richard Henry Pearsall, see Z this section.

Thomas Cornell Pearsall was a boy during the Revolutionary War, in fact he was only fifteen years old at the close of that conflict. Long before he arrived at full age he became his father's assistant, while shortly after he reached full manhood he was made a member of the firm. The business of Pearsall and Son ranged over the whole world. They were importers and exporters, merchants and forwarders. Their vessels, during the years of their operation, brought hundreds of passengers to America, many of whom they placed upon the land they owned or controlled in southern New York and western Pennsylvania.

It is well known that at this period of American history every foreign trader of any standing had a part in the promotion of emigration to the new nation where liberty was enthroned, and which thereby became the land of opportunity for the enterprising of the several nations of Europe bordering on the Atlantic Ocean. The firm of Thomas Pearsall & Son not only encouraged emigrants from England, Ireland and Holland, but they brought in many from the Palatinate sections of Europe. In this effort they worked in connection with their correspondents the Willinks of Amsterdam, Holland, with whom Thomas Pearsall had been so closely associated for so many years and with whom he had borne an important part in connection with the American loan in Holland, the history of

which we have already related in connection with the history of Thomas Pearsall, in Section 5 of Chapter 30, to which account the reader is referred. The responsibility of seeing the Willinks through the supplementary adventures growing out of this loan had forced upon the Pearsall firm the obligation to enter into the transportation of emigrants to a larger extent than they might otherwise have done. The Bayard and Pearsall firms did not parallel each other so far as the ages of their respective members were concerned, as Thomas Pearsall was much the oldest man, so that the progress of business was from Thomas Pearsall to the Bayard concern, and finally time brought both concerns practically together under the association of Duncan Pearsall Campbell, the grandson of Thomas and nephew of Thomas Cornell Pearsall. The Willinks, however, dealt with both concerns but the bulk of the business followed the course we have just indicated. They also represented the principal partners in the Holland Land Company, which was composed of a number of Dutch capitalists who had associated with the Willinks when they financed the Continental Congress at the close of the Revolution. The Holland Land Company owned millions of acres of land in southern New York and northwestern Pennsylvania.

At a very early age Thomas Cornell Pearsall assumed the duty of traveling for his father's firm which was quite an undertaking as their dealings extended not only to the extreme western borders of American settlement but to Europe particularly France, England and Holland. This brought him into close and continued personal and business association with the Willinks of both generations.

The Revolution in France brought on a very trying time for the American trader engaged in foreign trade. It was a necessity for a concern having extensive shipping to have a resident partner in Europe so as to meet the eventualities that were of almost daily occurrence. The following letter gives a glimpse of the difficulties experienced by the Pearsalls at this time.

London, 25th February, 1797. Messrs. Pearsall & Pell: Gentlemen: We enclose you copies of what we wrote you the 30th ult. Belvidere and 21st inst. Eliza to which you refer. We now beg leave to acquaint you with the advice we have given Captain Farley relative to the Severn and which we hope will meet your acquiescence that as it is necessary for the ship to go into the carpenter's dock to repair the damage she sustained while on shore. We have recommended his having her thoroughly repaired and as soon as possible, but we find from a letter received of the 17th inst. that the docks are all full and that he will not be able to get her in for four weeks. From this delay and his informing us it was your wish that the ship should be sheathed and copper nailed at Liverpool had the time permitted. We have therefore recommended this being done at Hull judging it can be equally as well there as at Liverpool. It will be impossible for her to return this season. The Captain will therefore dismiss some of his hands so as to lighten the expenses as much as possible. It was in contemplation to have obtained a freight for the Severn to Hambro, but the difference of insurance upon American bottoms and other neutral ships has for the present done away all hopes of it. Indeed the times wear but a very gloomy aspect and from the very unpleasant circumstances of the French having captured some of your ships and the fear of a rupture between your country and theirs. Insurance upon

American ships has very considerably advanced within these few days and many of the underwriters are very shy of the policies, but we hope a change may have taken place before she comes out of dock and if any short voyage then offers so as to employ her till the fall shipments commence, we think it may be advisable to embrace it, but on this head we must be governed by the times and the information we may receive from Messrs. Read, Tottie & Co. of Hull, under whose care we have placed her and have wrote them that we shall be accountable for such sums as the Captain may have occasion to value upon them for his expenses. Mr. Tottie is a relation to Messrs. Lees of Leeds. In our correspondence with the Captain and Messrs. Read, Tottie & Co. we shall have in view your interest.

We received a letter for you last week from W. & J. Willink which we handed to Mr. Thomas C. Pearsall as we judged it might have enclosed average papers of the damage the cargo might have received from the ship being run ashore, it not being the case, he forwarded it to you, and the enclosures of the Eliza. On the 7th inst. we drew the further sum of £860 for your account on Hambro at 2½ months exchange 35/1 to your credit the 10th inst. and on the 22nd we paid Messrs. Capper, Startin & Co. draft for £750 to your debit. This completed the whole of your disposition except what Captain Farley may have occasion for. Not having any of your favors to reply to, we assure you of our remaining very sincerely, Gentlemen, Your obedient servants, Relph & Todhunters, 27th Feb. 1797 (ent. 4th Aug. 1797). Gentlemen: We beg leave to confirm the annexed as copy of what you wrote the 5th inst. by the D. and now hand you a letter we have received from Captain Farley of the 22nd inst. to which refer. We are with great regard, Gentlemen, Your obedient servants, Relph & Todhunters. To Messrs. Pearsall & Pell, New York.

We have already told the story of the loan by which the independence of the United States was brought to pass through the efforts of the Willinks in raising money for congress in Holland, at a time when the credit of the United States seemed to be entirely gone. And the connection therewith of Thomas Pearsall, father of Thomas Cornell Pearsall. We shall consequently permit this letter only to remind us of the great bodies of land which the Willinks and their associates had then or subsequently in part acquired in Pennsylvania and New York, as a result of their connection with this loan. These lands were known locally as the holdings of the Holland Land Company.

Legally there never was any such thing as the Holland Land Company, or the Holland Company, as they were usually called. The company consisted of William Willink and eleven associates, merchants and capitalists of the city of Amsterdam, who, as we have seen, had acquired both in New York and Pennsylvania immense tracts of land. The names of several of the persons interested in these lands, and who composed the Holland Land Company, so called, were as follows: William Willink, Jan Willink, Nicholas Van Staphorst, Pieter Van Eegham, Hendrick Vollenhoven, and Ruter Jan Schimmelpenninck. Two years later the five proprietors transferred a tract of about one million acres, so that the title vested in the original five, and also in William Willink, Jr., Jan Willink, Jr., Jan Gabriel Van Staphorst, Roelif Van Staphorst, Jr., Cornelius Vollenhoven

and Hendrick Saye. For various reasons it is difficult to follow the changes in the personnel of the Holland Land Company.

But even this combination of interests existed only by means of trust deeds, the legal title being vested in trustees who were citizens of the United States, for the reason that the Willinks and their associates were foreigners, and therefore not able to hold the title to lands without it escheating to the State wherein it was located. This occurred during the second period of the business career of these New York Merchants and hence the individual members of the firm of Le Roy, Bayard & McEvars had been utilized as trustees of the legal title. Both the Pearsall and Bayard firms were trying to help the Willinks dispose of these lands, but the Willinks had acquired their holdings so far from the settled parts that it required years to open the intervening wilderness to settlement before the tide of emigration could reach these distant parts of New York and Pennsylvania. Long before this the Willinks and their associates were heartily tired of the delay in selling their lands. It had all the appearance of a dead loss. On February 26, 1805, Harm Jan Huidekoper, the agent of the Holland Land Company at Meadville, Pennsylvania, had written to the company's general agent at Philadelphia, that he should dissuade our Dutch friends from all idea of abandoning the West Allegheny lands totally. He also said I sincerely regret that the Dutch proprietors are so much discouraged and that they set no value on their property in Pennsylvania. I acknowledge that the speculation was a bad one but now that it is made I do not see that the whole is lost. Which shows quite clearly that even the company's agents were doubtful about the value of the lands owned by the Holland Land Company. Over ten years later, even the lands east of the Allegheny were an unbroken wilderness except for Captain Williamson's Road and the trail to Meadville. It would be useless to relate all the schemes and plans of the company looking to the opening up of this unbroken forest, or to detail all the law suits that these Hollanders suffered, or to recount the events of the Indian wars which drove their settlers from these lands. It all meant complete failure to conquer the wilderness and an absolutely defunct business venture. The anxiety of the Willinks and their associates to make a quick profit, coupled with the provisions of drastic laws requiring immediate settlement of the lands, operated to cause them to attempt all sorts of impossible plans to profitably rid themselves of this vast and apparently unconquerable wilderness. Both the state and the Holland Land Company should have been more willing to wait until the march of civilization had reached them. Today any one can see that the lands of the Holland Land Company along the west branch of the Susquehanna River did not settle as fast as they expected, owing to the fact that their settlement was dependent upon the improvement of the lands in the adjacent territory to the north, located in southern New York, on the waters of the north branch of the Susquehanna. These Pennsylvania lands were covered with a vast forest of pine and hemlock, which at once indicated that this part of the Holland Land Company's holdings needed the advent of the lumberman, and hence were not such lands as would attract the foreign emigrant, who desired productive farming land and not the thin soil of the pine and hemlock forest. [Harm Jan Huidekoper, page 117 and 118.]

The company had devoted most of their energies to the lands on the waters west of the Allegheny River. Their settlers were thus compelled to travel from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh over the Allegheny Mountains by way of the Bedford road. Then they went north over the road which followed along the trail that Washington took when he went to Presque Isle at the beginning of the French and Indian war to warn the French out of the Ohio country. Thus their attempted settlements were completely out of touch with the settled parts of the country. This made them look to Pittsburgh and the lower Mississippi Valley as their market, whereas the bulk of the inhabitants in the United States at that time were located along the Atlantic seacoast, which could be reached from some of the lands of the Holland Land Company by the Susquehanna River to Baltimore as the distributing point. As a consequence, the wilderness on the waters of the west branch of the Susquehanna River, although it should have been the first of their holdings in Pennsylvania to be opened to settlement, remained practically untouched by settlement until 1817, when Peter Pearsall, of Saratoga County, came to New York City to exchange some paper money, which was found to be worthless. It was a hard blow and it must have been a very sad day to Peter Pearsall when he discovered that all the wealth that he had been so many years in accumulating had gone through his hands by reliance on the honesty of his fellow man. That he should have been legally robbed by one with whom he had business dealings must have greatly hurt his pride. He had however good credit at home and his father and brothers were men of means, and he had every reason to believe that it would be possible for him to recover his fortunes by following the lines in which he had already been successful, and at the place where he had already made good. But fate had something else in store for him and what appeared to be his misfortune was to Thomas Cornell Pearsall and the firm of Le Roy, Bayard & McEvars a longed-for opportunity which seemed never to be coming, but was now present and awaiting their acquisition. They accordingly lost no time in representing to Peter Pearsall that his road to financial success and independence lay along with the exploiting of the lands of the Holland Land Company. The reason for this being that Peter Pearsall was an expert lumberman, a first class mill-wright in the construction of sawmills, and a successful distributor of manufactured lumber. It took considerable effort to persuade him to agree to go into the wilderness of Pennsylvania but they persisted until they won his agreement to undertake this venture for them, they agreeing to stand behind him to the extent that he might need capital to finance either himself or those whom he might induce to follow him. The reader will find this story of Peter Pearsall's connection with these lands related in Chapter 37, Section 5. It is sufficient at this time to say that thus they secured a constructive lumberman, to exploit and develop the lumber industry in connection with the pine and hemlock lands of the Holland Land Company, located in Clearfield and Jefferson Counties, Pennsylvania. This was the first time good common business sense had been applied to this problem and the results were so extraordinarily good that it seemed like an intervention of Providence.

It required about four months to communicate with the owners in Holland, during which time Peter Pearsall remained in New York City advising with

Thomas Cornell Pearsall, and Le Roy, Bayard & McEvars. The agreement having been satisfactorily made, Peter Pearsall returned to Saratoga County, where, however, his departure for Pennsylvania was delayed by the death of his wife, so that it was not until the spring of 1818 that active promotion of this plan was under way. Thomas Cornell Pearsall died before any substantial results were obtained.

These interesting details of family history will enable the reader, as this genealogy proceeds, to identify and appreciate the reasons for the groups of Pearsalls who are found in southern New York and northern Pennsylvania, located either upon the lands of the Holland Land Company, or upon lands that were acquired by the New York merchants, including Thomas Pearsall, for the purpose of developing the vacant lands which were located between the settled portions of New York and the lands of the Holland Land Company. Those of the family who were located at Bainbridge, N. Y., and Shinglehouse, Pa., originated from Samuel Pearsall, the great-uncle of Thomas Cornell Pearsall. His father, Thomas Pearsall, and his uncle Israel Pearsall, having sold them the land. The group of James Pearsall at Painted Post and Bath in Steuben County, N. Y., came along with the Congregational Church from Stillwater in Saratoga County, to whom the Holland Land Company, through Peter Pearsall, sold land. Peter Pearsall, while associated with his father, George Pearsall, erected the most of the mills for these three groups of lumbermen, and later, Peter Pearsall located in Clearfield County, Pennsylvania, where he became the ancestor of a fourth group. Thereby Samuel Pearsall and George Pearsall became ancestors of three of these four groups. They both lived in Clinton Township, Duchess County, N. Y., where they were near neighbors during the period of the Revolutionary War. James Pearsall, before coming to Bath, lived in Saratoga County, near neighbor to Peter Pearsall. Thus these groups all trace the cause for their emigration to one common source, namely, Thomas Pearsall, merchant of New York City, and his association with the Willinks of Holland, who were induced by him and William Bayard to furnish congress with the money to close the Revolutionary War.

W. PHEBE PEARSALL, born October 2, 1815; died July 9, 1895; resided in New York City; died unmarried.

Her will, dated February 15, 1884, and probated October 1, 1895, was recorded in the Surrogate's Office of New York City.

X. CHARLES CORNELL PEARSELL, resided in New York City; died unmarried.

Y. EDWARD PEARSALL, born July 14, 1818; resided in New York City; died unmarried.

Z. RICHARD HENRY PEARSALL, resided in New York City; died unmarried.

SECTION 7.

THOMAS PEARSALL, son of Thomas Cornell Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 6, resided at Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y. He married June 17, 1822, Lavinia Coles, daughter of Gen. Nathaniel Coles and his wife Elizabeth Townsend.

They were married in the Oyster Bay Baptist Church, by the Rev. Marmaduke Earl. She was born July 28, 1802. She is buried in the graveyard of the Episcopal Church, Glen Cove, L. I., N. Y. The tombstone reads, 1802-1892. Children of Thomas Pearsall and Lavinia Coles:—

1. Thomas Coles Pearsall, born June 29, 1823; died May 21, 1877. See Y, this Section.
2. Nathaniel Coles Pearsall, born January 8, 1825; died April 24, 1913. See Z, this Section.
3. James Buchanan Pearsall, born March 14, 1827; died January 20, 1916. Chapter 30, Section 8.
4. Frances Pearsall, born March 3, 1835; baptised at Episcopal Church, Glen Cove, L. I., N. Y., September 5, 1841; resided at Glen Cove, L. I., N. Y.; married, 9th mo. 26, 1855, Franklin Coles, son of John B. Coles and Eliza, his wife. No children.

Y. THOMAS COLES PEARSALL, born 1823; resided at Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y. He married Mary C. MacArdle, daughter of Patrick MacArdle and his wife, Mary Mooney. No children.

Z. NATHANIEL COLES PEARSALL, died April 24, 1913; resided at Locust Valley, near Glen Cove, Oyster Bay, Long Island, New York; died unmarried.

SECTION 8.

JAMES BUCHANAN PEARSALL, son of Thomas Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 7; born March 14, 1827; baptised at the Episcopal Church, Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y., Sept. 4, 1842; died January 20, 1916; resided at Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y.; married March 14, 1850, Ellenah Frost, daughter of Jarvis Frost and Phebe Underhill, his wife, baptised at the Episcopal Church of Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y., March 26, 1833; died June 24, 1889. Her tablet in the wall of the Episcopal Church reads, March 25, 1827—July 21, 1889. Children:—

1. Frances Pearsall, died September 30, 1866, aged 4 years, 11 months.
2. Thomas Buchanan Pearsall, resided at Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y.; married Cora Peck Fray. Child:—
   1. Phebe Pearsall, resided at Glen Cove, L. I., N. Y.; married Stanley Bailey Ineson. No children.
3. Helen Buchanan Pearsall, died April 8, 1887, aged 16 years, 5 months, 19 days. Buried in the Episcopal Churchyard, at Glen Cove, L. I., N. Y.

General James Buchanan Pearsall was a man recognized as of the highest rank, not only in Queens County, where he lived, but in the whole state of New York. Of unsullied character and of the highest probity, he everywhere enjoyed the most intimate confidence of his fellow men. To him for advice came men in every walk of life. Samuel J. Tilden, candidate for President of the United States, leaned heavily upon Gen. James B. Pearsall, during all the days of the campaign, and during the subsequent time until the electoral commission decided in favor of Rutherford B. Hayes. Tilden's patriotic resolution to abide by the decision of the tribunal was in a measure at least also dependent upon the broad statesman-like advice of Gen. James Buchanan Pearsall.

For years he had been gathering information concerning the family history; amongst other things he acquired the most valuable collection of original deeds of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, relating to the old Hempstead people, including the Pearsalls. His grand-daughter, Mrs. Stanley B. Ineson, kindly gave the writer access to their entire collection, from which the most copious and valuable notes were made for this history.

James Buchanan Pearsall did much work looking toward a genealogy of the family. Many instances can be cited where we have been referred to him as the author of information given to the writer. One will serve to show how widespread was his influence in the family. Nathan Gregg Pearsall of New Orleans, Louisiana, writes:—Some years ago I visited a man named James B. Pearsall, who lives on Long Island near New York, and if he is still living he has a lot of very interesting data about the Pearsall's, he was the Adjutant General of the State of New York under Governor Tilden, when I was at his house in 1905, he stated to me that the family was from Staffordshire, England.

SECTION 9.

NATHANIEL PEARSALL, son of Thomas Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 3, was born July 2, 1712; departed this life in Unity with ye Friends ye 23d of ye 2d mo. 1758; resided at Cow Neck, Long Island, New York; married 9th mo. 13th, 1735, Mary Latham, daughter of Joseph Latham and his wife, Jane Singleton. She died 11th mo. 9, 1799. Thompson's History of Long Island, discloses:—Joseph Latham who was born at Bristol, England, in 1674, and his wife, Jane Singleton, settled in the City of New York, where he pursued the business of a shipwright with great success, so that in 1718 he was enabled to purchase a tract of 1200 acres at Cow Neck, Long Island, from William Nicoll, the Patentee of Islip. Here he settled, lived and died July 7, 1748. Children:—

1. Sarah Pearsall, born 18th of 5th mo., 1737; resided in New York City; married Lawrence Embree, son of John Embree and his wife, Elizabeth Lawrence. Sarah Pearsall and Lawrence Embree declared their marriage intentions 3rd mo. 6th day, 1771, and the marriage was reported accomplished 5th mo., 12th day, 1772, according to the Flushing Friends Records. Children:—*1. Nathaniel Embree, born 3rd mo. 17, 1776; died 9th mo. 6th, 1797. *2. An adopted daughter, Sarah B. daughter of Benjamin Helme.
2 Joseph Pearsall, born 10th of 5th mo., 1740; Chapter 30, Section 10.
3. Jane Pearsall, born 1st of the 8th mo., 1742; died 9th mo., 24th, 1775.
4. Thomas Pearsall, born 13th of 9th mo., 1744; see Chapter 30, Section 11.
5. Mary Pearsall, born 21st of 1st mo., 1746-7; died 12th mo. 31, 1795; resided in New York City; died unmarried.
6. Hannah Pearsall, born 5th of 8th mo., 1749; died 1st mo., 26, 1763; resided in New York City and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; married John Laboteaux of Philadelphia. Children:—*1. John Laboteaux. *2. Samuel Smith Laboteaux. *3. Peter Laboteaux. *4. Gabriel Laboteaux. *5. William Laboteaux. *6. Hannah Laboteaux. *7. Nancy Laboteaux.

7. Robert Pearsall, born 12th of 3rd mo., 1752; died 8th mo., 21st, 1767. At a Monthly Meeting held in the Meeting House at Westbury ye 24th day of ye 9th month, 1766, a proposal was made for a certificate for Robert Pearsall, the son of Nathaniel Pearsall, deceased, he having removed to New York, to serve an apprenticeship with his brother, Joseph, which is within the verge of Flushing Monthly Meeting, and this meeting appoints William Mott and Adam Mott to make inquiry into his life and conversation and if they find he has a right, prepare one against next Monthly Meeting. [Westbury Meeting Records, page 111.]

The Records of the Westbury Monthly Meeting disclose:—At a monthly meeting held at ye meeting house at Westbury, the 24th day of ye 7th mo., 1735, Nathaniel Pearsall, son of Thomas Pearsall of Hempstead Harbour, and Mary Latham, daughter of Joseph Latham of Cow Neck, presented themselves and declared their intentions of marriage with each other and the meeting hath ordered Jeremiah Williams and Richard Valentine to inquire concerning Nathaniel's clearness and bring account to the next monthly meeting, at which time they may receive the meeting's answer. At a monthly meeting held at ye meeting house at Westbury the 29th day of ye 8th mo., 1735, Nathaniel Pearsall and Mary Latham presented themselves and desired an answer to their former proposals of marriage and the persons apoynted to enquire concerning Nathaniel Pearsall's clearness gave account that they don't find anything but that he is clear from all other persons in relation of marriage, so ye meeting leaveth them to accomplish their sd marriage according to ye practice used amongst Friends and the meeting apoynts Jeremiah Williams and Richard Valentine to attend sd marriage and give account to next monthly meeting how it was managed. 9th, 26th, 1735. Jeremiah Williams and Richard Valentine gave account that Nathaniel Pearsall's marriage was performed orderly.

The marriage certificate, recorded several years after, shows that Nathaniell Pearsall, son of Thomas Pearsall and Sarah Pearsall of Hempstead Harbour, and Mary Latham, the daughter of Joseph and Jane Latham of Cow Neck, in the Township of Hempstead, in Queens County, on Nassau Island, in the Province of New York, were married 13th of 9th mo., 1735, at the Meeting House at Cow Neck. Witnesses to the marriage of Nathaniel Pearsall and Mary Latham, 13th day of 9th mo., 1735, as recorded in Book 34, page 65, of the Westbury Friends records:—Rachel Seaman, Edward Sands, Mary Williams, John Sands, Hannah Underhill, Dinah Underhill, Mary Prior, Phebe Mott, Ann Pearsall, Rachel Seaman, Jr., Jeremiah Williams, Joseph Carpenter, Isaac Hicks, Benjamin Hicks, Jonathan Whitehead, Samuel Prior, Richard Mott, Caleb Cornell, Samuel Dodge, Thomas Pearsall, Joseph Latham, Jane Latham, Sarah Pearsall, Margaret Bowne, William Latham, Amy Latham, Jane Hicks, Sarah Pearsall, Jr., Austine Hicks, Phebe Pearsall, Hannah Underhill, Nathaniel Seaman, Samuel Underhill.

The Friends' Meeting granted written certificates to those of the membership whose conduct was acceptable to the Meeting and these strict Friends had the same recorded in the Land Records, which appears not only to have been against the law, but it uselessly encumbered the Land Records. It seemed to be part of their sufferings to do this unusual act. Nathaniel Pearsall was among the rest

whose certificates are preserved in the Public Records; his reads:—This is to certify that Nathaniel Pearsall, son of Thomas Pearsall of Oyster Bay, has been deemed and allowed to be one of the people called Quakers for the space of 12 months or upwards, signed on behalf of said Meeting by John Cock, Jacob Seaman, Thomas Seaman, Joshua Cock, William Mott, Richard Willits. Entered May 7, 1755.

Record Book 6, page 22. In Mandevilles Flushing, taken from Queens County Records, Long Island in Olden Time, it appears that 10th mo., 14th, 1741, Nathaniel Pearsall and Jos. Smith, having lain in Jamaica jail for several years for debt, petition the Assembly for relief. They allege that their creditors are inexorable, although they have offered to give up all their property. As nearly as can be gathered at this day, it appears that Nathaniel Pearsall, together with Joseph Smith, engaged in a large land operation, supplementing their private fortunes by borrowing on their personal bonds the large sums of money they needed. The land did not move as quickly as expected and the young men were badly crippled, financially, by their creditors coming down on them for immediate payment.

An old parchment Judgement Roll, preserved in the Chancery Records of New York City, recites:—On the term of April in the Twelfth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Second, witnesseth James De Lancy, Esq., Chief Justice. New York Ss, Friend Lucas puts in his place John Kelley, his attorney, against XXX Pearsall, otherwise called Nathaniel Pearsall of Oyster Bay, in Queens County, in Nassau Island, on a plea of debt. Judgement signed May the 4th, 1739, by Daniel Horsemanden. Filed May 4, 1739, Kelley attorney.

Damaged 10 pounds, 465 pounds, 11 shillings, 2 pence on a bond. At Albany Chancery Records, by Mr. Baker, Clerk. The minute book of the Chancery Court discloses that judgments were also obtained against him in actions begun by Rutgers, Burling, Bowne, Abraham, Van Horne and Peter Rutgers.

It would appear that the delay was to the advantage of the young men, as the lands so increased in value that they were able to satisfy and settle with their creditors, hence no writ of sale was ever issued against the lands, and Nathaniel Pearsall again became a man of means in the Cow Neck community. It is more likely, as shown by the family history, that the recital of their hardships of incarceration in prison was only a fiction existing in the mind of their lawyer and that they were allowed their freedom under bail, they both having wealthy and influential family connections.

SECTION 10.

JOSEPH PEARSALL, son of Nathaniel Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 9, born 6th, 10th, 1740; died 12th, 5th, 1834; resided at Flushing, Long Island, at Butternut, Otsego County, New York, and in New York City; married 10th day, 6th month, 1771, at New York City, Hannah Bowne, daughter of Robert Bowne and his wife Margaret Latham, daughter of Joseph Latham. Children:—

1. Mary B. Pearsall, born 20th, 7th mo., 1772; died before 1780.
2. Nathaniel Pearsall, born at Cow Neck, 8th mo., 18th, 1776; died 12th, 7th, 1801; and buried in the Friends Cemetery, New York. The Friends Cemetery, now in the midst of Prospect Park, Brooklyn, New York, was opened

1847 and the remains removed, 1848, from Hester Street. After 1828 the cemetery and records were retained by the Hicksites, who allotted the Orthodox Quakers about half of the new cemetery and both have since maintained it.

3. Margaret Bowne Pearsall, born 7th mo., 13th, 1780; died 5th mo., 25th, 1799; resided in New York City, where she married 12th, 11th, 1793, at the Friends Meeting, New York, Henry Haydock, son of Henry and Hannah Haydock, decd.
4. Mary Pearsall, born 13th of 7th mo., 1780; married 5th, 11th, 1803, W. P. Robinson of New York, son of Philip Robinson, late of Newport and now of New York, and his wife, Elizabeth, now deceased. Children:—*1. Nathaniel Robinson, died 1828. *2. Hannah Robinson, died 1844. *3. Margaret Robinson. *4. Samuel Robinson. *5. Charles Robinson, died 1859. *6. Mary Elizabeth Robinson.

The Records of Westbury Meeting show that he married out of Meeting, before 8th, 5th, 1779, and was accepted into renewal of membership, 9th, 1st, 1779, and took a Certificate to Westbury, 12th, 1st, 1779. The last record, page 285, reads as follows:—To the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Westbury. Dear Friends:—Application being made to us for our certificate on behalf of Hannah Pearsall, wife of Joseph Pearsall, now residing within the verge of your Meeting. These may certify that after due inquiry we find that she was of a sober life and conversation, a steady attender of our religious Meetings for Worship and sometimes for Discipline, whilst among us. We recommend her to your Christian care, earnestly desiring her growth in the Truth. We salute and remain, your Friends, Brethren, and Sisters. Signed in and on behalf of our Monthly Meeting held at New Town ye 1st of 6th mo., 1778.

Joseph Pearsall lived on Long Island during the Revolution, and of course suffered at the hands of the whaleboat men. 1782. Peter Strones swears that being at Joseph Pearsall's on Cow Neck on the night of September 26, a party of armed men came to the house and broke open the door and robbed Pearsall of some money, plate and other articles, and threatened and abused him much. Next morning he tracked said armed party to and from the shore and supposes they must have come by water.

SECTION 11.

THOMAS PEARSALL, son of Nathaniel Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 9; born 9th mo., 13th, 1744; died 1st mo., 28th, 1825; resided in New York City and Flushing, Long Island, N. Y.; married November 13, 1765, Elizabeth Dobson, daughter of Thomas Dobson and his wife, Elizabeth Bowne. She was born 1st, 10th, 1744; died 2nd, 4th, 1813. Children:—

1. Robert Pearsall; died aged 14 years.
2. Elizabeth Pearsall, born 5th, 1st, 1767; died 5th, 20th, 1846; resided in New York City, where she married, first, 9th, 1793, James Byrd, son of Thomas and Hannah Byrd of Uffculm, England. Child:—*1. Mary Byrd. Married second, John D. Wright, son of Jordan Wright.

3. Hannah Pearsall, born 3rd, 5th, 1769; died 12th, 3rd, 1831; resided in New York City; married 3rd, 11th, 1789, Samuel Bowne, son of Samuel Bowne and his wife, Abigail Burling. She was born 4th, 5th, 1767; died 3rd mo., 31st, 1803. Children:—*1. Eliza Bowne, born 1st mo., 15th, 1790; married Samuel Underhill. *2. Thomas Pearsall Bowne, born 11th mo., 30th, 1792; married Sarah M. A. Craft. *3. Hannah Bowne, born 1st mo., 18th, 1795; died unmarried. *4. Samuel Bowne, born 1797; married Elizabeth Titus. *5. Lindley Murray Bowne, born 8th, 21st, 1800. *6. Abby Bowne, married —— Haines.
4. Sarah Pearsall, born 4th, 23rd, 1772; died 8th, 13th, 1870; resided at Flushing, Queens County, Long Island, N. Y.; died unmarried.
5. Robert Pearsall, born 6th, 25th, 1774; died 9th, 12th, 1828. See Chapter 30, Section 12.

SECTION 12.

ROBERT PEARSALL, son of Thomas Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 11, born 6th, 25th, 1774; died February 12, 1828; resided in New York City and removed to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February, 1827; married 12th, 13th, 1797, Elizabeth Collins, daughter of Isaac Collins, who came from England in 1730, as a child, and settled in Delaware, and his wife Rachel Budd of New Jersey, daughter of Thomas Budd and his wife, Rebecca Atkinson. Elizabeth Collins was born July 23, 1776; died November 11, 1857. Isaac Collins, her father, a son of Charles Collins, married Sarah Hammod; they came to America from Bristol, England, about 1734, and had two children:—Elizabeth, who never married, and Isaac who, in 1770, was appointed printer to King George III, for the Province of New Jersey; he established himself at Burlington. Children of Robert Pearsall and Elizabeth Collins:—

1. Robert Pearsall, born November 11, 1798; died 1886. See Chapter 30, Section 13.
2. Rachel Collins Pearsall, born December, 1800. See X, this Section.
3. Mary Pearsall, born 1802. See Y, this Section.
4. Rebecca Grellet Pearsall, born June 15, 1805; died January 20, 1864. See Z, this Section.
5. Elizabeth Pearsall, born 9th mo., 16th, 1812; died 6th mo., 12th, 1829.

X. RACHEL COLLINS PEARSALL, born December 29, 1800; died August 2, 1873; resided in Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.; married, April 12, 1821, at Hester Street Friends Meeting, New York City, John Jay Smith, son of John Smith and his wife, Gulielma Marie Morris. She was born at Greenhill, Burlington Co., N. J., June 16, 1798. Children:—*1. Lloyd P. Smith, born February 6, 1822; died July 2, 1886; resided in Philadelphia, Pa.; married, October 13, 1846, Hannah E. Jones, daughter of Isaac C. Jones of Rockland. *2. Albanus Logan Smith, born September 30, 1823; died September 29, 1842. *3. Elizabeth Pearsall Smith, born 1825; died 1914. *4. Robert Pearsall Smith, born February 1, 1827; died April 17, 1898; married June 25, 1851, Hannah Whitall, daughter of John M. and Mary Whitall of Philadelphia, Pa. *5. Gulielma Maria Smith, born July 30, 1829; died December 25, 1835; unmarried. *6. Horace John Smith, born

December 9, 1832; died 1906; resided in Philadelphia, Pa.; married December 9, 1857, Margaret Longstreth, daughter of William W. Longstreth, by his first wife. She was born January 12, 1825.

Y. MARY PEARSALL, born 1802; resided in Philadelphia, Pa.; died unmarried. Her will appears among the records of the Register of Wills for Philadelphia Co., Pa., in Will Book 129, page 189.

Z. REBECCA GRELLET PEARSALL, born 6th mo., 18, 1805; died 1st mo., 20, 1864; resided in Flushing, Long Island, N. Y.; removed to Philadelphia, Pa., February, 1827. She married, 10th mo., 20, 1827, Samuel George Morton, son of George Morton and Jane Cummings. He was born 1st mo., 26, 1799; died 5th mo., 15, 1851. Children:—*1. James St. Clair Morton, born 9th mo., 24, 1829; died 6th mo., 17, 1864. He was a Brigadier-General and was killed before Petersburg; unmarried. *2. Robert Pearsall Morton, born 5th mo., 22, 1831; died 12th mo., 1, 1906; married 10th mo., 1868, Julia Vander Burgh Wiltbank, daughter of Ambrose White Wiltbank and Maria Vander Burgh. She died 1st mo., 23, 1913. *3. George Morton, born 12th mo., 21, 1832; died 5th mo., 14, 1850; unmarried. *4. Thomas George Morton, born 8th mo., 8, 1835; died 5th mo., 20, 1903; married 11th mo., 12, 1861, at Philadelphia, Pa., Ann Jenks Kirkbride, daughter of Thomas Story Kirkbride and Ann West Jenks, his wife. She was born 6th mo., 29, 1840; died 3rd mo., 30, 1907. *5. Anna Morton, born 11th mo., 4, 1838; died 6th mo., 25, 1914; married 10th mo., 31, 1861, at Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa., Thomas Harrison Montgomery, son of Rev. James Montgomery and Mary Harrison White, his wife. He was born 2nd mo., 23, 1830; died 4th mo., 4, 1905. *6. William Henry Harrison Morton, born 4th mo., 28, 1841; died 11th mo., 26, 1841. *7. Mary Elizabeth Morton, born 10th mo., 16, 1842; died 9th mo., 1, 1882. *8. Algernon Morton, born 4th mo., 18, 1845; died 3rd mo., 25, 1878; married, 12th mo., 14, 1876, at Philadelphia, Pa., Mary Grier Cope, daughter of John Edmund Cope and Helen Vaughn Merrick, his wife. She died 10th mo., 27, 1916. *9. Charles Mortimer Morton, born 2nd mo., 11, 1848; died 5th mo., 17, 1913; married, 10th mo., 10, 1883, at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa., Sarah Glen Douglas Emory, daughter of Caleb Norten Emory and Sarah Bland, his wife. She died 3rd mo., 21, 1885.

SECTION 13.

ROBERT PEARSALL, son of Robert Pearsall, Chapter 30, Section 9, born 11th mo., 9, 1798; died 1st mo., 23, 1866; resided in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; married first, 1st mo., 5, 1825, Ann Shoemaker, daughter of Jacob Shoemaker, decd., and his wife Mary Richardson. She died 2nd mo., 25, 1840, aged 39 years. He married second, 12th mo., 28, 1842, Emily Fell, daughter of Jonathan Fell and his wife Rebecca Jenks of Philadelphia. She was born 11th mo., 20, 1811; died 1st mo., 31, 1847. He married third, May 23, 1849, Eleanor Hopkins Warder, daughter of John Warder and Abigail Hopkins, his wife. She died June 13, 1885.

The Land Records of Philadelphia Co., Pa., disclose an ante-nuptial agreement dated December 21, 1842, between Emily Fell of Philadelphia, Pa., and James A. Fennimore, together with Franklin Fell and Robert Pearsall, which

recites that, whereas a marriage is intended between the said Emily Fell and the said Robert Pearsall, &c.

Also an ante-nuptial agreement, May 21, 1849, between Eleanor H. Warder, Robert Pearsall, and John H. Warder, together with George W. Bawn, which recites that a marriage is intended to be had between Eleanor H. Warder and Robert Pearsall, &c.

Children of first marriage:—

1. Elizabeth Pearsall, born 10th mo., 6, 1825; died 6th mo., 13, 1827.
2. Robert Pearsall, born 11th mo., 25, 1827; died 1st mo., 5, 1849.
3. Henry Pearsall, born 5th mo., 6, 1829; died 1831.
4. Francis Pearsall, born 5th mo., 1, 1832; died 10th mo., 5, 1883. See Y, this Section.
5. Sarah Pearsall, born 2nd mo., 20, 1834; died 2nd mo., 3, 1835.
6. William Pearsall, born 2nd mo., 24, 1836; died 2nd mo., 28, 1916. See Z, this section.

Children of second marriage:—

7. Emily Elizabeth Pearsall, born 2nd mo., 13, 1844; resided in Philadelphia, Pa.; married, 10th mo., 28, 1863, Charles Poultney Dawson, son of Mordecai Lewis Dawson and his wife Elizabeth Poultney. He was born 5th mo., 18, 1842; died 1885. Children:—*1. Helen G. Dawson, born 8th mo., 3, 1864. *2. Emily Dawson, born 6th mo., 25, 1866.

Children of third marriage:—

8. Ann Warder Pearsall, born 6th mo., 2, 1851.
9. Mary Pearsall, born 2nd mo., 4, 1853.
10. Henrietta Warder Pearsall, born 10th mo., 7, 1854.
11. Ellen Warder Pearsall, born 11th mo., 17, 1860; married 11th mo., 4, 1885, Charles Albert Longstreth, son of William Collins Longstreth and his wife Abie A. Taylor of Philadelphia. He was born May 20, 1857; died March 9, 1916. No children.

The Land Records of Jefferson County, Pennsylvania, disclose:—Deed Book 7, page 112, a deed dated July 7, 1853, wherein Robert Pearsall and Eleanor, his wife, by their Attorney in Fact, Charles C. Gaskill, convey to James Moore, land in Pine Creek Township, Jefferson Co., Pa., on the Erie Turnpike, bounded by Samuel Templeton, James Murphy, Jacob Kroah, formerly Isaac Parker.

Deed Book 1, page 32, a deed dated January 23, 1828, wherein Susannah Shoemaker Estate conveys to Robert Pearsall, Jr., land in Jefferson County, on the waters of Sandy Lick Creek, patented to Jeremiah Parker; one of them called Cottage Hall, bounded by said Jeremiah Parker, being the westermost 2/3 of the tract called Dover, surveyed on warrant 3946; signed Thomas Shoemaker, Iona Shoemaker and Alex Elmstie. Witnessed by Jos. S. Russell, Wm. Milliron.

Deed Book 1, page 35, a deed dated January 24, 1828, wherein Robert Pearsall and Ann L., his wife, convey to Jonathan Shoemaker, land in Jefferson Co., Pa.

Wm. J. McKnight, in his History of Jefferson Co., Pa., says:—that Charles C. Gaskill came to Punxsutawney about 1820 from Philadelphia, Pa. He resided there until 1849, during which time he visited regularly the courts of this and adjoining counties, making sales and receiving payments for land. In this year he disposed of all the Holland land to Reynolds, Smith, Gilpin & Co., when he returned to Philadelphia, Pa. Mr. Gaskill was a kind, courteous Quaker gentleman. He died at Cooper's Point, N. J., in 1872. Thomas Pearsall, merchant of New York City, was interested in the Holland Land Co. through the Willinks, and there would seem to be no doubt but that his cousin Robert Pearsall was also interested in the Holland Land Company. It is likely from the tenor of the deeds that many of the Holland Dutch of Pennsylvania were also interested in the

company, which accounts for the deed by the estate of Susannah Shoemaker to Robert Pearsall and Ann L. Shoemaker, his wife. It is also more than probable that it was the association of Robert Pearsall with the Holland Land Company which brought him in contact with his wife, and that this was therefore the reason of his leaving New York and coming to Pennsylvania. Of course, his father had already gone there, but from a business standpoint there was every reason why Robert, Jr., should have returned to New York City. It was in this immediate locality that the writer was born and reared, but he never heard of the descendants of the Robert Pearsall branch of the family until after this history was in process of construction. The records, however, disclose how closely allied were all the branches of the family in New York up to the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and how loyally they held on to their friendship with the Willinks.

Y. FRANCIS PEARSALL, born 5th mo., 1, 1832; died 10th mo., 5, 1883; resided in Wilmington, Delaware; died unmarried. His will appears in the records of the Register of Wills of Philadelphia Co., Pa., in Will Book 111, page 283.

Z. WILLIAM PEARSALL, born 2nd mo., 24, 1836, in Philadelphia; died 2nd mo., 28, 1916; resided in Philadelphia, Pa.; married Hannah Miller Parrish, born 1842, in Philadelphia. Children:—

1. Robert Pearsall, born February 4, 1863; removed to Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa., May, 1893; married Ethel Durant. Children:—
   1. Margaret Lane Pearsall, born October 5, 1902.
   2. Robert Pearsall, born November 10, 1914.
   3. Clara Pearsall, born June 22, 1917.
2. William Parrish Pearsall, born March 7, 1866; died 1891; resided at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.; married, April 4, 1890, Violette Beatrice deBravens Morel. She was born July 31, 1869. Child:—
   1. Robert Pearsall, born October 10, 1891.
3. Elizabeth Parrish Pearsall, born May 6, 1869, at Moorestown, N. J.; resided at Philadelphia, Pa.; married December 3, 1889, William West Frazier, son of William West Frazier and his wife Hannah Morgan Harrison. He was born July 13, 1865. Children:—*1. William West Frazier, born April 12, 1891. *2. Isabella Frazier, born September 14, 1892; married Charles Henry Scott. He was born August 26, 1887.
4. Mary Pearsall, born January 14, 1873; resided in Philadelphia, Pa.; married, May 4, 1894, Trevanion Bordan Dallas, son of Hon. George Mifflin Dallas and his wife Ellen Markoe Wharton of Pittsburg. Children:—*1. Elizabeth Pearsall Dallas, born June 5, 1895. *2. Edith Wharton Dallas, born March 12, 1897. *3. George Mifflin Dallas, born May 26, 1900.