

William Henry

Progenitor of the Steamboat, Riflemaker, Patriot

By Herbert H. Beck

No man of Lancaster was more prominent in the affairs of his times than William Henry. Leader in civic and national affairs, master gunsmith in the period when Lancaster was making rifles new to the world, inventive mechanic whose application of steam to navigation turned the trend of ship building, William Henry was a national figure. The potentialities of the man were abridged only by the brevity of his life. The brilliant candle of his energetic career burned too strong. He died at the age of fifty-seven.

Even though in the documentary records of Lancaster County no name appears more frequently, between 1750 and 1786, than that of William Henry, nothing has been written of this illustrious man, except incidentally, by local historians for the records of the Lancaster County Historical Society. In 1907 John W. Jordan, then president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, read a brief paper before the Lancaster County Historical Society on his great-great-grandfather, William Henry. In 1910 John W. Jordan's brother, Francis Jordan, Jr., published "The Life of William Henry,"¹ which is the most comprehensive and the best work on the subject.

These two Jordans of Philadelphia had between them great numbers of the papers and documentary records of their ancestor and their work, on the whole, may be considered authentic.

In several of his papers on related subjects the late Judge Charles I. Landis, a former president of the Lancaster County Historical Society, and always accurate in his historical records, through his research, chiefly in the documents in the Lancaster County Courthouse—and he had intimate access to these—has corrected certain minor errors in the publications of the Jordans and other writers on William Henry.

Assisted by these records of Judge Landis, and by his own research, the writer has been able to collect some valuable material on his subject which was not used or entirely missed by the Jordans. Both of these, especially Francis Jordan, Jr. (1843-1911), will frequently be quoted in this record.

Through the bonds of friendship between six generations of his family and the descendants of William Henry the writer feels close to his subject. Ever since the 1770-1780 period, when the writer's great-great-grandfather,

Bernhard Adam Grubé, then a Moravian pastor at Lititz, affectionately referred in his diary to "Brother Billy Henry of Lancaster"; ever since in 1771 the same musicianly Grubé taught young Bill Henry^a to play the primitive piano of the day; through the Jordans of Philadelphia and the Henrys of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, the writer's family and the descendants of William have always been close friends.

Ancestry, Early Life and Residences

William Henry was of Scotch and French ancestry. His grandparents, Robert and Mary Ann Henry, had come from Coleraine, Ireland, in 1722, and settled in West Caln Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania.

Coming from Coleraine they must have been of the so-called Scotch-Irish.

Of their sons, John, the oldest, married, in 1728, Elizabeth DeVinne, of a Huguenot family who had settled nearby the Henry plantation. John Henry died in 1747 leaving two sons and three daughters, of whom William was the oldest.

William Henry was born May 19, 1729. Francis Jordan says: "It was the cherished hope of the father that his children should enjoy as thorough scholastic training as his means and the best local institutions provided, but his early death and the insufficiency of his estate compelled his widow to send William at the age of fifteen to Lancaster, where he was apprenticed to Matthew Roesser, a gunsmith."

^a Lititz Church Diary. June 27, 1771. "The great boy (Gr. Knabe) Bill Henry of Lancaster came to Brother Albrecht for an apprenticeship (Lehr) in riflemaking, accordingly he will remain here as a member." (Translation by H.H.B.)

This was William Henry's oldest son, born in 1757. As a fourteen-year-old lad he would be called a "great boy" to indicate his position between the Children's and the Brethren's Choirs. During the writer's youth at Lititz the terms "great boy" and "great girl" were still in use in the Moravian Congregation.

Büchse is the word used for Brother Albrecht's (sometimes Albright) trade, which is significant, for Büchse means rifle, not gun. By 1771 Lancaster rifles had become famous throughout the colonies. It is interesting that gunsmith William Henry of Lancaster sent his fourteen-year-old son to nearby Lititz for an apprenticeship in his own trade. Doubtless young Bill Henry got some education at the Lititz Brethren's House beyond his training as a gunsmith, just as he was taught music by Brother Grube.

For a reason, explained in the Church Diary, Bill Henry was sent to the Congregation at Nazareth before he had completed his apprenticeship with Andrew Albright.

Andrew Albright (1718-1802) is recorded in The Moravian Graveyards of Lititz (Abraham R. Beck) as a gunsmith.

The writer is Archivist of the Lititz Moravian Congregation.

(The footnotes will be indicated by a, b, c, etc. The citations appear numerically, 1 to 41, and are shown at the end of the essay.)

John W. Jordan says: "William Henry started his active career in Lancaster about 1748."

"At the age of fifteen" would have brought William Henry to Lancaster in 1744, before his mother had become a widow. It seems evident that William was sent to Lancaster by his father. "The insufficiency of the estate" seems to have been an established fact of several years prior to 1747.

Five-year apprenticeships, from other local evidence, were usually started when the apprentice was about fifteen. William Henry 2d started at fourteen.

Francis Jordan says: "Henry's mechanical aptitude made him an ideal apprentice as in 1750, when but twenty-one years of age, he engaged in making arms on his own account." John W. Jordan also says Henry started his trade in 1750.

Two years, from 1748 to 1750, would have been too short a period to learn a trade; 1744 must be accepted as the year William Henry came to Lancaster.

At that time Matthew Roesser was a well-established and probably the leading gunsmith in Lancaster.²

Apparently many young men of those days started their trade when they "came of age." Witness Philip Lefevre (1710-1766), who most probably served his apprenticeship with his neighbor in West Lampeter Township, Martin Meylin (1670-1749), and started his trade as a gunsmith in 1731.³

With little doubt William Henry lived at the home of his master, Matthew Roesser, at the northeast corner of West King and Concord Streets, from 1744 to 1749.⁴ There was usually a written agreement between the apprentice and his master by which the latter lodged and fed his apprenticed servant.

Afterward, certainly in 1754, he was a tenant of Leonard Bender. Leonard Bender owned two properties: one on the west side of the first block of North Queen Street, near Orange (third lot from the corner), the other on the south side of East Orange Street, at the southwest corner of that street and what is now Jefferson Alley.⁵ Which of these Henry occupied is not known, probably the former.

In 1756 he became a tenant of Isaac Whitelock, who had lots on East Orange Street, between North Queen and North Duke Streets. In 1759 he occupied a house belonging to John Woods, the exact position of which cannot be found.⁶

It was during his occupancy of the house of Isaac Whitelock, in the first block of East Orange Street, that William Henry married Ann Wood. Though Francis Jordan records this event as of January, 1755, it was probably a year later. John W. Jordan, Judge Landis and the Burial Book of the Lancaster Moravian Church (1744-1821) all record the marriage of William Henry to Ann Wood as 1756.

It was not, however, until 1765 that the married couple joined the Moravian Church. Ann Henry, whose antecedents were Quakers, had persuaded her husband to join her to hear Bishop Boehler, whose eloquence won them over to the Moravians. Prior to that William Henry had been a member of St. James' Episcopal Church.⁷

Francis Jordan says: "His business prospered as within a short time he built a commodious house on the public square, the most eligible site in the town, which he occupied with his mother and widowed sister and where the former died in 1777."

Modifying this statement slightly, the documents in the Recorder's Office show that on February 7, 1760, Alexander Stedman conveyed to William Henry, in consideration of £350, "all that piece or parcel of ground situate in the Borough of Lancaster, containing in breadth in front to Market Square 22 feet 2 inches, together with the brick dwelling house and kitchen erected and standing thereon and running the same breadth 125 feet to a 14-foot alley."

According to Judge Landis, in the original front of this house there were said to have been two windows and a door, and William Henry made some improvements on the house as soon as he obtained possession. But a brick house was evidently on the lot when Henry bought that piece of land.

It is not unlikely that he enlarged the house from a one and a half story house, the most common type of house of the period in Lancaster, into the two and a half story dwelling, which it certainly was during his occupancy.

This property is better defined when it was sold: "Sold on May 26, 1809, to William Kirkpatrick by the executors (at that time the oldest sons, William and John Joseph Henry) the property situate on the north side of Market Square in the Borough of Lancaster, and including a 2-story brick building, containing a front 22 ft and 2 inches and in depth to a 14-ft wide alley 125 ft, bounded on the west by a 14 ft wide alley and on the north by another 14-ft wide alley, on the east by ground of Jonas Metzgar and on the south by Market Square."⁸

This record would place Henry's lot and house on part of the lots acquired by the City of Lancaster in 1854 and on which the Central Market House now stands. His two and a half story brick house, probably with a front the entire width of the lot, 22'2", therefore stood opposite the north-west corner of the original Market Square. (See chart on page 83.)

The Market Square, which this house faced, was a tract of ground, 120 by 120 feet;⁹ "Deeded by Andrew Hamilton May 16 1730 for the keeping, erecting and holding a market within the Town of Lancaster."

On the southeastern end of the "Market Square" was built, between 1795 and 1797 the "Public Office House," which from 1799 to 1812 was the State House of Pennsylvania, and which later and up to the present time has been used for municipal affairs. Adjoining this building to the west was the Masonic Hall, built in 1798 and still standing under that name.

During Henry's lifetime that tract of land surrounded by Penn Square to the east, West King to the south, a 14-foot alley to the west and a 14-foot alley to the north—that curious corner of Penn Square so different from the rest—was used for its designed purpose, "keeping, erecting and holding a market."

He lived in this house from 1760 to 1786.

While attending the Congress in New York in 1785, Colonel Henry was taken with a lung disorder which compelled his return to Lancaster. Here his illness became acute and he died December 15, 1786.

From his home his pallbearers must have carried him the 125 yards through Moravian Alley to the Moravian Church, where the services were held. Then the procession moved another 150 yards to the burial place in the Moravian Graveyard.^b

All his life in Lancaster, from 1744 to 1786, William Henry had lived within two and a half blocks of Penn Square; and within this same central part of the town he found his final residence.

Business Career

Francis Jordan says that in 1750 William Henry formed a partnership with Joseph Simon of whom it is recorded, "He was a wealthy Jew of high character, the ancestor of three prominent Hebrew families in Philadelphia." Later he says "this partnership was dissolved in 1759." Judge Landis has made an important correction here. Quoting him: "In his autobiography written three weeks before his death, Henry said: 'In 1759 I closed my partnership in the hardware business with a gentleman of Lancaster (Joseph Simon), and this is the reason why I made my voyage to England.' What he meant was that he closed the bargain and entered into the partnership in 1759. He sailed for England in 1760 on the ship *Friendship*. He arrived home the latter part of December, 1761."¹⁰

In the *Philadelphia Gazette* of February 11, 1762, the following advertisement appeared: "Simon and Henry advertize a new cargo by the latest vessels at their Hardware Store in Lancaster next door to Slough's Tavern."¹¹

Again in the *Gazette*: "Lancaster, February, 1762. Just imported by the latest vessels from England by Simon and Henry, and to be sold cheap for cash or short credit at their Hardware Store at the Corner of King Street, next door to Matthias Slaugh's Tavern, near the Courthouse, in Lancaster, Ironmongers' goods, locks, etc."¹²

It is evident from these records that "the reason he made the voyage to England" was because he had someone in Lancaster, his partner Joseph Simon, to look after his business.

The "Hardware Store" property referred to in these advertisements, "At the corner of King Street, next door to Matthias Slough's Tavern, near the Courthouse (which was then in the center of Penn Square)" at this time,

^bThe Moravian Graveyard, which occupied the southern part of the lots at the southeast corner of North Prince and West Chestnut streets, was purchased from the Trustees of the Lancaster Moravian Church by the Government, in 1917, for \$35,000. In 1930 the Post Office was built on its northern portion. The remains of the burials were removed to Greenwood Cemetery in South Lancaster.

The writer remembers the grave of William Henry, near the southwest corner of the graveyard. The stone was readable from Prince Street.

With Matthew Roesser, William Henry, Peter Ganter, Jacob Dickert and many other famous riflemakers buried there, the original Moravian Graveyard was a classic spot in the history of the American rifle.

1762, belonged to David Franks. On April 6, 1764, Franks sold it to Joseph Simon. Until that time Simon and Henry must have occupied it as renters. Judge Landis says: "This partnership was in existence on April 28, 1773, as appears by an advertisement in the *Philadelphia Gazette* of that date; but it was not in existence in 1775. Advertisements show that Simon and Levy carried on the business then."¹³

"Henry found his private interests in dealing with war materials incompatible with his public duty, and for that reason dissolved his partnership with Simon at the opening of the Revolution."¹⁴

This business of William Henry with Joseph Simon, conducted for about sixteen years, was evidently in general hardware. Doubtless this included guns of Henry's own make; probably, too, those of other local gunsmiths. It evidently was a profitable business.

But to have been able to pay £350 for a house and lot and to take an expensive trip to England in 1760, William Henry must have been doing a prosperous business of his own before he joined the financially successful partnership with Simon in 1759.

In the decade following 1750 William Henry must have been making guns, probably mostly rifled, in considerable and profitable numbers.

Young Benjamin West, when in 1756 he painted the picture of his sponsor, William Henry, holding a rifle, did so evidently to show his subject as a master gunsmith.

In that decade the manufacture of rifles in Lancaster County had taken on large proportions. William Henry must have had many workmen and apprentice servants in his employ.

Also during this decade Henry was evidently doing business apart from gunmaking. John W. Jordan says: "In 1750 he embarked in business on his own account as a gunmaker and dealer in hardware and supplies for the Indian traders."

It is likely that he had rented and used for the sale of hardware and Indian trader goods, sometime before 1759, that same store "aside of Matthias Slough's Tavern," which after that date was conducted by Simon and Henry. That in itself was a lucrative business. Doubtless he made guns for his Indian trade.

But wherever he had this shop it is evident that its business was an important factor in making him financially able to buy one of the best properties in Lancaster and to go to England in 1760.

But where was William Henry's gunshop? Some writers have placed it on his property on Penn Square, which he obtained in 1760, though with a brick house and a kitchen at the south end of a 125-foot lot, only 22 feet wide, there could not have been a large building in the rear. Nor is there a record of a gunshop, back of the dwelling house, when that property was sold in 1809. After elaborate research in the Lancaster County Courthouse, Judge Landis concludes that the lot on which he lived was the only land William Henry ever owned within the Borough of Lancaster.¹⁵

He must have leased or rented a gunshop somewhere in or near Lancaster.

When he started his trade in 1750 water power was used by many of those early gunsmiths for forging, boring and grinding their gun-barrels and it is likely that at least part of Henry's general factory was along the nearby Conestoga or Mill creeks.



Oil Portrait of William Henry by Benjamin West. Painted from life in 1756, the original is now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia.

Unfortunately no documents exist, or at least have not been found, which can show definitely where William Henry made his guns. Francis Jordan says: "To meet this demand (for arms at the beginning of the Revolution), which was pressing from every quarter, Henry's gun works located on Mill Creek, outside the Borough of Lancaster, where what is known today (1910) as the 'Old Factory Road' crosses that stream, and the best equipped in the

colonies, were working night and day to their utmost capacity, and the Board of War, realizing the gravity of the situation and the importance of keeping his works in uninterrupted operation, exempted his workmen from liability to military duty.”^c

There is no doubt of the location of the gunshop as described thus. There is only one place where the Old Factory Road, as of 1910, crosses Mill Creek.

But where did Francis Jordan learn of this site on land that was certainly never owned by Henry? Probably from some local source. In the preface to his work Jordan gives credit to but one local historian, Dr. Frank R. Diffenderffer. Diffenderffer (1833-1921) was a former president of the Lancaster County Historical Society and a careful historian. He told the writer that his grandfather, David Diffenderffer (1752-1846), as an old man, had dramatically related to him how he and other boys of the town—he from the Leopard Hotel which his father kept on East King Street—had run to the jail-yard on Prince Street to see among the bloody corpses of the murdered Conestoga Indians one who was still muttering imprecations against his slayers. This massacre by the Paxton Boys was in December 1763, and it is evident that David Diffenderffer was well acquainted, in the small town, with William Henry. He had told his grandson much about early Lancaster and the Revolution. With little doubt the site of Henry’s gun factory, which he certainly knew well, was handed down thus.

This probably accounts for Jordan’s location of the gunshop, though he may have found it among William Henry’s papers without mentioning his source; though this is unlikely.

Anyway, he must have been certain of his fact when he wrote so definitely about the location of the gun factory, “Where the Old Factory Road crosses Mill Creek.”

Today there is standing along Mill Creek, where the Old Factory Road crosses that stream, an ancient mill building, which evidence indicates was the one used by William Henry as his gun factory. It is the only building of early construction on that site. It is a two and a half story mill, roofed apparently, with Peach Bottom slate. Its ridge-pole is almost exactly east and west, thirty feet wide and sixty in length, its western end, against the creek, is frame for twenty feet. The bulk of the building is Conestoga limestone, quarried nearby. There is a brick chimney at the eastern end and also a grain hoist.

Henry’s gun works, where the Old Factory Road crosses Mill Creek, “the best equipped in the colonies,” must have been rented by Colonel Henry, for he never held title to it.

The tract of land, on which the mill stands, from 1747 to 1784, belonged to Andrew Shultz. His will reads as follows:

^c “Dec. 5, 1777. On application of William Henry, Henry Gingrich, John Eberly, Christopher Oberholtzer, Henry Mayer, Casper Hallum, Adam Deterer, Michael DeRiener and George Radfong were excused from going to camp in case they continue to work for Mr. Henry at making arms.” F.R.D. Vol 10. p. 12.

"Will of Andrew Shultz of Lampeter Township, May 12 1784. 84 acres. John Funk, Everard Gruber.

"Further I do direct and order that my Plantation with the saw mill and appurtenances shall be rented out by my executors from year to year until my son John shall attain to the age of twenty-one years, at which time he shall have possession thereof."¹⁶

This shows that the mill had been on the property prior to 1784. It probably was built by Andrew Shultz sometime after 1747, though there may have been a mill there earlier run by Andrew Shultz's father, of the same name, who had acquired the land from the Penns, May 3, 1734.¹⁷

From its wording, the will indicates the probability that the mill had been rented out prior to 1784.

Evidence that the ancient mill had been used as a gunshop comes from Elmer Eshelman, who in 1876, was born there. His grandfather, John Eshelman (1816-1864) had acquired the property in 1844 from John R. Montgomery who had inherited it from his father, William Montgomery in 1827.¹⁸ William Montgomery had acquired title to the mill property in 1814 from James Bryan,¹⁹ who had purchased it from John Shultz, already noted, in 1794.

Elmer Eshelman's father, John W. Eshelman (1844-1930), who inherited the mill property from his father, John, started the milling business there which today has developed into one of Lancaster's largest industries—The John W. Eshelman and Sons, Feed Manufacturers. Elmer Eshelman remembers as a boy finding remnants of gun parts about the old mill, particularly cut off ends of gun-barrels, as of barrels which after welding had been reduced to a standard length.

Elmer Eshelman says that during his youth the waters of Mill Creek, impounded by the dam running from his father's mill to the hillside across the stream, could develop 25-30 H. P. In earlier years, with a greater stream and mill-pond, the mill evidently was well fitted for forging, welding and grinding gun-barrels by water-power.

But even though William Henry may have rented Andrew Shultz's mill to be used as a gunshop during the Revolution, there is no evidence that this mill had been used for that purpose when he began making arms on his own account in 1750. Of one or more sites of Henry's gunshops only one thing is certain: all were on rented properties.

But where are William Henry's rifles today? The writer's expert friends, among the many collectors of ancient firearms, Joe Kindig of York, Pennsylvania, and Herman P. Dean, of Huntington, West Virginia, who, more than any two men, have scanned the collections in America, have failed to find a single piece marked "W. H. Lancaster." Nor is one among the Henry descendants.

Even though he was known to be a liberal advertiser, William Henry probably did not mark his guns; as, fortunately for the records of the Pennsylvania rifle, did Martin Meylin (1670-1749) and Matthew Roesser (1708-

1771). Otherwise at least one of the valued pieces of this famous gunsmith would be known today.

An unaltered rifle marked "William Henry, Lancaster" would sell, like Stiegel glassware, for a hundred and more times its original value.

All through William Henry's business life 1750 to 1786, his energy and enterprise were being lavishly spent on affairs outside of his gunshop and traders store. Even in that first decade, during which he made considerable money, he took an active part in the French and Indian war.

Yet when he died he left what was then a handsome fortune, £22,455 7s 5d.²⁰ Withal, he must have been a good business man.

Military, Public and National Career

Few men, within so short a life-span, had conferred upon them so many honors and responsibilities, both civil and military, as did William Henry. These, with his scientific achievements, which they shared with him, deserve to rank him with his contemporaries, Benjamin Franklin and David Rittenhouse.

He started his military career and first came into prominence as Armorer of the State forces attached to Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1755.²¹ In this capacity, with little doubt, he furnished many arms from his own and other gunshops in Lancaster. That he was in action in this tragic campaign is shown by the fact that he saved the life of the young Delaware Chief, Gelelemand, on Braddock's field.^d The following year he filled a similar commission under Forbes.

From this it is evident that he was a prominent figure in the French and Indian War. He was Major Henry then.

His first entry into public life was when he was appointed, by the assembly, Canal Commissioner in 1771.²²

Upon the breaking out of hostilities between the Colonies and the Mother Country he espoused the patriotic cause with energetic enthusiasm. Soon he was on the Committee of Safety and other committees for the revolutionary cause, including the Supreme Executive Council or the Board of War. He was made Superintendent of Arms and Accoutrements and Assistant

^d On Braddock's disastrous field, July, 1755, there fell into the hands of the Fortieth Regiment of Foot an eighteen-year-old Delaware youth. The infuriated Colonials were about to dispatch the Indian with their bayonets when William Henry, at the risk of his own life, stepped front and rescued him.

This Indian, Gelelemand (1737-1811), the son of a chief, overwhelmed with gratitude by this merciful interference, so unprecedented in Indian warfare, as an expression of his deep feeling, proposed to Major Henry an exchange of names. This, according to the Indian code, was the greatest honor that could be conferred.

A friendship was established which lasted for several generations of the differently-colored Henry families.

Old William Henry-Gelelemand, also known as Killbuck, outlived the friend of his heart, Major Henry, by twenty-five years.

See "The Life of William Henry," Francis Jordan, chapter 11.

Commissionary General. He was empowered to act as Fiscal Agent of the State and Confederation for Lancaster and adjoining counties. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and sat upon the bench as one of its judiciary. He served nine years as Treasurer of Lancaster County, the richest and most populous in the State. Finally, in 1785, he was a delegate to the Continental Congress, then meeting in New York.²³

From his personal contact with the Continental Congress; from his vast correspondence, as is shown by letters from Washington and many others still in existence; it is evident that Colonel Henry knew most of the leading men of America.

These records show the versatility of his assistance to the cause. He was a trusted patriot, as is shown by his positions on Revolutionary Committees and the Board of War.

He was a manager and administrator, as is shown by his being Superintendent of Arms and Accoutrements. In this capacity he had charge of making firearms in Lancaster County. As Commissary of Hides for the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland he established workshops in Philadelphia, Lancaster, Allentown and elsewhere for making boots, shoes, hats, cartridge-cases, etc., for the army.²⁴

He was a financier, as is shown by his being Fiscal Agent of the State and Confederation. In this field he was a consultant of President Reed. It fell to him to handle all of the local money available for the support of the army. In 1781, when the financial situation was becoming desperate, President Reed appealed to Colonel Henry. Thus far no one had shown capacity to cope with the financial problems precipitated by the war. Robert Morris had raised money on his personal credit, but had formulated no plans to provide for permanent revenue, or for placing a European loan. Henry's letter to Reed, which antedates by a year Morris's subsequent recommendations, has suggestions for both. Premising that the basis of all paper currency must necessarily be specie, Henry, in this letter proposes a clear and feasible plan for its accumulation by enactment of laws requiring the payment of certain licenses and duties on imports in coin; and further recommends, as a basis of security for placing loans with foreign bankers, the revenue from an excise tax. This latter he strongly urged as a moral as well as an economic measure.

This financial plan of William Henry, in his letter of May 26, 1781, to President Joseph Reed, is an original, masterly plan, worthy of a minister of finance of today.²⁵

With friends on both sides of the vital issue of the day, William Henry's judicial tact and diplomacy, which evidence shows he had in full measure, was frequently put to test.

During a period of the war, according to the Diary of the Lititz Moravian Church, Brother Billy Henry was several times called upon for advice on the political issues of the day in which the Lititz Moravians, who at least for a time were pacifists, found themselves in embarrassing circumstances.

He was even called upon by the Committee of Safety to arrest the pastor of St. James' Episcopal Church, the Rev. Thomas Barton, whose Tory activities

were becoming conspicuously offensive. Now Henry had formerly been one of Barton's parishioners. The two men were close friends. It seems to have been through the forbearance of William Henry, as disclosed by the *Lancaster Journal*, that on "October 13, 1778, having disposed of his real estate to his son-in-law, Paul Zanzinger, Thomas Barton was permitted to leave Lancaster with his wife."²⁶

When, in 1778, Silas Deane returned from France, after successfully negotiating treaties of alliance and commerce with that country, the *Lancaster Journal* says: "Salutes were fired and in the evening an illumination, the expenses of which were paid by Colonel Henry out of his own pocket."²⁷

Always was the cause of Liberty, Independence, Democracy close to Colonel Henry's heart.

But he seems to have been too useful a man as producer of army equipment ever to have been on the battlefield in the Revolution. Colonel Henry was a versatile fighter for the great cause.

Inventor and Man of Science

William Henry was an inventive genius.

In 1767 his scientific mind was drawn into that unique group of philosophers who met in Philadelphia, 65 miles away, and with whose illustrious members, Benjamin Franklin, David Rittenhouse, Thomas Jefferson and others, he soon played an active part. Franklin's signature is attached to his certificate of membership in the American Philosophical Society.²⁸

According to Francis Jordan, William Henry devised labor-saving machines that were helpful in his gunworks;^c he is credited with the invention of the screw auger;^d he invented a system of steam heating, suggesting that now in vogue; he constructed a steam-wheel which, had he lived, would have been converted into a steam-carriage. It seems to have been the beginning of the locomotive. In the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (1768) there is described a "Self-moving or Sentinel Register, invented by William Henry of Lancaster." This was a steam machine, invented in 1767. The minutes of the Society record: "1789, April 17. 21 members present,

^c It is probable, too, that the ingenious William Henry did much to improve the Pennsylvania or so-called Kentucky rifle, the making of which he had learned from Matthew Roesser (1708-1771). Lancaster County was well established as the Birthplace of the Pennsylvania Rifle by the time he started gunmaking in 1750.

^d John Joseph Henry (1758-1811) in a statement (now at the home of Thomas William Henry Stites, Boulton, Pa.) says that as a 13-year-old boy (in 1771) he saw his father's experiments with and the development of this auger. The first one was made of lead, which his father bored into a turnip. The next one, iron, threw the chips out of poplar wood, but failed with oak. Finally, in 1772, the pattern of the tool was taken to John Henry Rauch, in the Moravian Community at Lititz, who was making Spitzbohrer (gimlets) at the time. Rauch, after properly tempering the steel, perfected the screw auger. Henry and Rauch, thereafter, did considerable business together in manufacturing the tool, which was new to the trade. John Henry Rauch (1729-1796) is listed in the Moravian Graveyards of Lititz (A. R. Beck) as "Spurrier, smith and augermaker."



Eshelman's Mill on Mill Creek at its juncture with the Old Factory Road. Used as a gun factory by William Henry during the Revolution. Photograph by M. Luther Heisey, 1942.

Franklin presiding. A memoir 'On the effects of heat in conducting the Electric Fluid and explaining the phenomena of thunder, the Aurora Borealis, etc.,' by the late William Henry of Lancaster, was read." Henry had died three years before, but his scientific records were still being honored by the Society."

The versatility of Henry's constructive mind is shown by the fact, as recorded in the Diary of the Lititz Moravian Church, that Brother Billy Henry of Lancaster, drew the architectural plans for the new church at Lititz.^g

He superintended the building of a new prison in Lancaster in 1784.^h

But William Henry's greatest claim to fame lies in the fact that he was the first man in America to apply steam to navigation.

The facts in connection with this notable achievement are these: In December, 1760, on the ship *Friendship*, Nathaniel Falconer, Master, William Henry sailed from Philadelphia to London. Among his receipted bills is one of £25 for the passage. He had letters of introduction from Thomas Barton, Rector of St. James' Episcopal Church in Lancaster, to friends in England. As the *Friendship* entered the English Channel she was captured by a French privateer, England and France being at war. This meant that Henry was delayed several months in getting to London, as his ship was taken to a Spanish port.²⁹

Whether the main purpose of this expensive and hazardous trip to England was to meet James Watt (1736-1819), whose attempts to utilize steam as a motive power were, in 1761, beginning to be known over the world, is not recorded. However Henry visited Watt,ⁱ then probably in Birmingham,

^g This church was dedicated August, 1787. William Henry did not live to attend the ceremony. From 1785 to December, 1786, when he died, he was suffering in his last illness. He must have drawn the architectural plans for the nearby Moravian Church under physical stress.

^h "The County of Lancaster to William Henry, Dr.

To superintending the Building of the New Gaol in the Borough of Lancaster from the 10th of June to October 5, 1784 (Sundays excluded)
101 days at 5s per day £25 5s
Lancaster October 7, 1786" (Document at Boulton, Pa.)

Without doubt he designed this building. It probably was an addition to or a reconstruction of the jail, at the corner of North Prince and West King streets, which had been built about 30 years earlier.

ⁱ It is likely, too, that Henry, on this visit met Matthew Boulton, who later became Watt's business partner.

The young Bill Henry, who in the 1770's was sent from Lititz to complete his apprenticeship at Nazareth, started his gunshop at Jacobsburg on the Bushkill Creek, according to Thomas William Henry Stites, in 1799. In 1812, when his son, William Henry 3rd started a gunshop one mile down that creek from Jacobsburg, the settlement was named Boulton. Family tradition says it was named for a friend of grandfather Henry Matthew Boulton.

Boulton today, where Thomas William Henry Stites and his wife, Mollie Henry Stites, both descendants of William Henry, now live, is classic ground in the history of nineteenth century gunmaking in America. For here at Boulton, terminated by Mollie Henry's father, Granville Henry, the art of

who received him courteously and showed him his steam engine in operation. William Henry left Portsmouth, November, 1761, and after a rough passage of forty-two days returned to Lancaster before the end of the year.³⁰

Soon after his return, he began to apply what he had learned from James Watt to experiments in steam navigation.

Robert H. Thurston, former Director of the Department of Mechanical Engineering at Cornell University, in his "Life of Robert Fulton," says: "In 1763 William Henry completed a machine which was attached to a boat with paddles and with it he experimented on the Conestoga, near Lancaster. The boat, a stern-wheeler, was structurally weak and unable to resist the pounding action of the engine. This was the first attempt that ever had been made to apply steam to the propelling of boats. Notwithstanding this ill luck that attended the first attempt in an undertaking of the practicability of which he had not the least doubt, Henry constructed a second model with improvements on the first."

The "Sentinel Register," described in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, in 1768, as an invention of William Henry, was a mechanical device the motive power of which was steam. It had been in use prior to 1767. This, with his experiments in steam engineering on the Conestoga would be clear evidence that William Henry, if not the first, was certainly among the first to apply steam as a motive power for any purpose in America.

"One has but to read his explanatory note to realize his thorough grasp of the principles governing the elasticity of air and the power to be derived from its expansion, a scientific truth then in its infancy." (F. J.)

John Fitch (1743-1798) who is generally given credit for completing a steamboat and successfully running it on the Delaware in 1787, was an acquaintance of William Henry. "In 1785 Fitch came to Lancaster and called on Henry who ingenuously showed him his perfected model of the steamboat. At the same time Henry told Fitch that he had experimented with his steamboat as early as 1760, and had discussed its possibilities with Andrew Ellicott (1754-1820) and with Thomas Paine (1737-1809), who had considerable mechanical ingenuity; but added, with that modesty which was characteristic of him, coupled with an unwillingness to inflict an injury, even though it recoiled upon himself, that as he (Fitch) had proclaimed his invention to the world, he would not claim it." (F. J.)

After the death of William Henry, in 1786, a controversy arose between James Rumsey (1743-1792), who had invented a steamboat (1784), and John Fitch as to their respective claims to priority. Referring to Rumsey's claim, Fitch made this important acknowledgement: "That although Rumsey might

riflemaking, which was started by Martin Meylin in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania in 1719, and had come through the famous William Henry, was continued until the latter part of that century.

Alas, the Boulton gunshop, even the dam on the Bushkill which ran it, are gone today.

claim precedence, as far as he was concerned, Mr. Henry was long before Rumsey in making a draft and preparing a model of a steamboat, although he did not publicly announce it."³¹

Subsequently, in behalf of Fitch's claim, Mrs. Henry made this affidavit: "This is to certify that Mr. John Fitch called upon William Henry, Esquire, my late husband, in his lifetime, about two years and a half since, when Mr. Fitch showed him draft and model of a machine to propell a boat through the water; and further, that I have frequently heard of Mr. Henry applying steam as a means to urge boats through water by the force of it, and that he had proposed laying a model of a machine for that purpose before the Philosophical Society long before Mr. Fitch called upon him. Witness my hand this 12th day of May, 1788. Ann Henry. Test, Jno. Jos. Henry."³²

Here from the wife, and from Fitch himself, is clear evidence confirming the records of Dr. Thurston "That William Henry had the honor of originating the idea and of building the first steamboat ever built in the United States."

Robert Fulton, who is generally given credit for being the first successfully to commercialize the application of steam to navigation, was born in what was then Little Britain Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, November 14, 1765. His father, Robert Fulton, had come to Lancaster in 1735 and occupied a house on Penn Square directly across that Square from the lot in 1760 taken over by William Henry. In February, 1765, this Robert Fulton sold this residence and bought a farm in Little Britain Township, where his son, Robert, was born the same year. Unsuccessful in farming he moved back to Lancaster in 1766. He died here in 1768, leaving a widow and five children, of whom Robert was the elder son. Young Robert Fulton lived in Lancaster for sixteen years. He went to Philadelphia in 1782.)

Through the fog of traditions of young Fulton's attainments in various branches of mechanics, of his schooling by William Henry, it is well to consider some known facts of Lancaster between 1763 and 1782. William Henry's early experimentation with the steamboat was done before Robert Fulton was born. After 1775, when as a ten-year-old boy Fulton would begin to take an interest in what was going on in the town, William Henry, for seven or eight years, was so busy with the affairs of the Revolution that he probably did

i These facts and dates are taken from "Robert Fulton, Inventor and Artist," by H. W. Dickinson, of the Science Museum, South Kensington, England. (John Lane, London, 1912.) It is the best work on the subject in our literature. The author says: "Many are the stories, mostly improbable and therefore not reproduced here, of Fulton's experiments and attainments in various branches of mechanics during his boyhood (in Lancaster)."

When, in 1938, H. W. Dickinson visited Lancaster and the writer took him to visit Fulton House, where Robert Fulton was born, his ideas of this sentence had not changed. He discredited the local traditions that young Fulton learned much from William Henry.

not do much in further experimentation with the steamboat. While during this period, prior to 1782, Robert Fulton, as a maturing youth, undoubtedly knew everything that was going on in Lancaster, as a youth in a small town always does, he may not have seen Henry's steamboat on the Conestoga. Robert Fulton, however, must have been well acquainted with Henry, and known of the Henry steamboat. With a mind with a natural trend toward mechanical sciences, young Fulton was taking an active interest in the gunshops and other mechanical trades in the community. And an inquisitive boy would have to see that model of the steamboat.

Beyond this a supplementary note comes from Mrs. Alice Crary Sutcliffe, a great-granddaughter of Robert Fulton, when she says in her "Robert Fulton and the Clermont": "Fulton must have already been familiar with some of the early attempts toward steam navigation, through his Lancaster townsman, William Henry."

That Robert Fulton got his first ideas of the steamboat from William Henry there is no doubt.

Another great-great-grandson of William Henry, Augustus W. Jordan of Germantown, summarized the chronology of the steamboat as follows:

"William Henry, 1763 on the Conestoga.

James Rumsey, 1784 on the Potomac.

John Fitch, 1787 on the Delaware.

Oliver Evans, 1804 on the Schuylkill.

John Stevens, 1804 on the Hudson.

Robert Fulton, 1807 on the Hudson."³³

The steamboat was born on the Conestoga.

It matured on the Potomac, the Delaware, the Schuylkill and the Hudson.

William Henry was its progenitor.

Notable Guests and Visitors

Among the many distinguished persons in Colonel Henry's home, one of the most famous was one of the earliest. This was Benjamin West, who was born in Chester County, October 10, 1738. Before he was eighteen years old Henry realized the boy's prospective talents as an artist and took him into his home, where he supplied him with materials essential to his work. John Galt, in his "Life of Benjamin West" (London, 1816), says: "Among those helpful to West in his early career was William Henry, of Lancaster, who had acquired a handsome fortune by his profession as a gunsmith. Henry was indeed an extraordinary man and possessed the power generally attended upon genius, that of interesting the imagination of those with whom he conversed."

Exactly when West came to Lancaster is not known, but it must have been prior to 1756. Two of his early portraits, William Henry and his wife Ann Henry,³⁴ must have been made from life, doubtless after they were married, which was, according to Judge Landis, March 8, 1756. About this same

period, at the suggestion and under the inspiration of Henry, the youthful artist painted his first group picture, the Death of Socrates.^{35k}

Benjamin West later became President of the Royal Academy. William Henry named his youngest son for him.

It is doubtful if any residence in Lancaster ever had a list of distinguished guests and visitors to equal that of William Henry's home at the northwest corner of the Market Square.

From 1766 to 1776^l this house was the home of the Juliana Library, which was named for the wife of William Penn, Jr., son of the original proprietor of Pennsylvania. Founded in 1759 by William Henry and others, it was the third circulating library in America. On its charter (1763) are a list of names—the Who's Who of Lancaster County of the period. Edward Shippen, George Ross, Robert Fulton, Sr., Henry William Stiegel, illustrious ironmaster and glassmaker, are among the eighty names. All of these came to the library. For a time Henry was librarian and treasurer.³⁶

During the British occupation of Philadelphia, John Hart, a member of Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence; David Rittenhouse, eminent astronomer and treasurer of the State, and his wife; and Thomas Paine, famous political essayist; for a considerable time, were guests at this house.³⁷

John Joseph Henry, in his "Campaign against Quebec,"^m says: "In the summer and winter of 1777 and 1778 he [Thomas Paine] was an inmate of my father's house, with the late David Rittenhouse and John Hart. . . . Mr. Rittenhouse inhabited the front room on the upper story, where was [had been] the [Juliana] library. There he kept the office of the treasury of Pennsylvania. The room of Mr. Paine and Mr. Hart was to the left as you come to the stair's head entering the library."

What a houseful it must have been; for besides these four guests there were Colonel and Mrs. Henry, a widowed sister and six Henry children; John Joseph (1758), recovering from his injuries at the time, Elizabeth (1765), Abraham (1768), James (1771), Matthew (1773) and Benjamin West (1777),ⁿ with three servants; and at least at meals, probably several apprentices.

^k It is likely that all of the work of the young artist, which he did in Lancaster, was done in the house belonging to Isaac Whitelock, on East Orange Street, between North Queen and North Duke, where William Henry and his wife were tenants at that time.

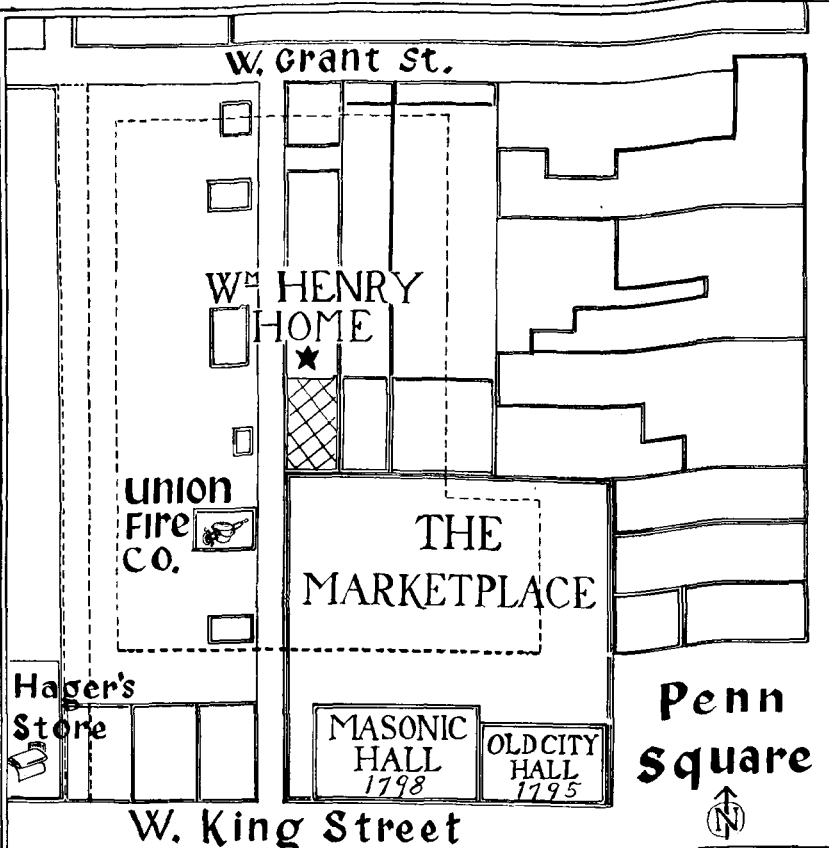
By 1757 West had gone to Philadelphia.

See "Benjamin West and his visit to Lancaster," Charles I. Landis, Vol. XXIX, No. 5.

^l Between 1776 and 1784 the books of the Juliana Library were packed in storage. See "The Juliana Library Company in Lancaster," Chas. I. Landis, Vol. XXXIII, No. 10.

^m This is a classic of its period. Note that John Joseph Henry, who was in that bitter campaign of 1775, was born November 4, 1758. As a youth, without his father's knowledge, he had run away to join Arnold's army.

ⁿ Nathaniel, born in 1775, had been laid away in the nearby Moravian Graveyard in 1776. Ann Henry, according to the records of the Lancaster Moravian Church, had 13 children. Six of them died in infancy, not an unusual proportion for the period.



MAP SHOWING SITE
OF EARLY MARKET
AND HOME OF W^m HENRY

----- DOTTED LINES INDICATE
PRESENT MARKET STREET &
CENTRAL MARKET

1950

M.L. HEISEY & CTGS
J.W.W. LOOSE

Nor could the 2½-story house, with a 22-foot front, have been large. What a test it must have been for Ann Henry's^o fortitude and patience; with a wounded son, four small children, a newly-born baby and a man like Tom Paine to look after?

For Paine was an unpleasant guest. John Joseph Henry, in his "Reminiscences" (1809), says of him: "I knew Paine well and personally, for he was a guest in my father's house when Generals Howe and Clinton were in Philadelphia. When my wound had so far mended in 1778 as to permit my hobbling about on crutches, I would sometimes go to Paine's room and sit with him, as I often did with Mr. Rittenhouse. I found Paine a man afflicted with supercilious pride, and imaginary importance, which made his society undesirable. With a small amount of learning he domineered as if he were a Johnson. It was his daily habit to take a walk in the morning until twelve, take an inordinate dinner, after which he would retire to his chamber and take a nap of several hours in a big arm-chair wrapped in a blanket, with a bottle of spirits and a tumbler within easy reach of his hand. His indolence was amazing. His manuscripts lay upon a table covered with dust. Today a few lines would be added, and in the course of a week a dozen more and so on."

Moreover, he made no secret of his deistical opinion.

With an intemperate glutton, who was spreading atheism among her children in her house, patient, devout Ann Henry finally prevailed upon her husband to move Paine out.³⁸

David Rittenhouse (1732-1796) was a different man. John Joseph Henry says of him: "My greatest recreation in my distressed condition was to get into the chamber of Mr. Rittenhouse, whose conversation enlivened my mind, for he was most affable."

The great German traveler, Herr Schoepff, visited this house in 1784. William Henry showed him "a machine intended for the propelling of boats."³⁹

Joseph Priestley^p visited this house after William Henry's death. Ann Henry, who lived there until 1799, expressed her admiration of his "superlative attainments" in science.⁴⁰

These and many others, with little doubt most of the important visitors to America in 1794 (1733-1804), the man who first isolated oxygen, came William Henry was the attracting magnet of Lancaster from 1760 to 1786.

^o Ann Henry was a woman of much intelligence. John Joseph, her second oldest son, in his "Reminiscences" testifies to his mother's strong convictions, extensive reading and unusual cleverness. "And yet so tenderhearted that of a truth it may be said of her 'She knew no guile.'"

David Rittenhouse, in a letter to her of November 5, 1789, closes with "I am dear Madam your affectionate friend and Humble Servant." She succeeded her husband as Treasurer of Lancaster County.

^p Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), the man who first isolated oxygen, came to America in 1794. He settled at Northumberland, at the Forks of the Susquehanna, where he is buried.

Personality and Homelife

Francis Jordan, from definite family records, says that "Colonel Henry was of commanding presence, tall, vigorous and muscular, with prominent features. Although the expression of his face was stern, it belied the innate gentleness of his nature; as all the recorded acts of his life, (witness his saving an enemy Indian on the battlefield) exhibited a self-sacrificing and a tender solicitude for the welfare of others."

"He looked well to the comfort and dignity of his household, and was accustomed to the amenities of good living. Among his papers are receipted bills that tell their own story. He employed two maids and a 'serving man' and paid not only for their maintenance but for their apparel. On December 14, 1778, he paid David Gordon £175 for a chair (a two-wheeled vehicle) for Mrs. Henry. In January, 1782, he bought of James Hall, a silversmith of Lancaster, one dozen silver spoons and a silver cream jug for Mrs. Henry, and a pair of gold buttons for Mrs. Rose, his mother-in-law, paying for them £7 10s."

What a fancy chair that must have been at £175—the equivalent of ten good horses of the day.

His home was evidently that of a gentleman of means.

His education was similar to that of Benjamin Franklin. With adverse circumstances at his boyhood home, with an apprenticeship in riflemaking when he was fifteen, he was largely self-taught. Francis Jordan says of this: "What he lost in his youth his alert mind, as it matured, made up in an almost insatiable appetite for books, which he gratified to the extent of his purse, utilizing as well the library [Juliana] he helped to found. His literary studies ran into the sciences, which he absorbed, reading everything within his grasp, with little or no mental effort." Thus educated he provided his children with a better start in life. "His sons, upon attaining the proper age, entered Franklin College, and his daughter the Moravian Institution at Bethlehem." (F. J.)^q

In a letter of December 23, 1775, to Bishop Seidel, who was head of the Bethlehem Girls School, Colonel Henry expresses his appreciation of the careful attention the Sisters of that institution, particularly Sister Esther, were giving his "dear Betsy."⁴¹

Parts of the "Inventory of Goods and Chattels which were of William Henry, Esquire, late of the Borough of Lancaster, deceased. Appraised by

^q Franklin College was founded in 1787, a year after William Henry's death. Francis Jordan's statement must have applied only to the two youngest sons, Mattheus, born 1773, and Benjamin West, born 1777; possibly to James, born 1771, and Abraham, born 1768. The brief unsigned will of William Henry, written in 1786, directs "That the house and lot, etc., shall be sold. 1/3 to wife Ann, 2/3 to William, John Joseph, Elizabeth, Abraham, James, Mattheus and Benjamin (last two very young to be clothed and educated)." (Register's Office.)

Franklin College was united with Marshall College in 1853 to become Franklin and Marshall.

Henry Dehuff and Philip Thomas, April 26, 1790," now in the Lancaster County Courthouse, are worth recording. Among much else there are:

	£	s	d
One horse	15	0	0
One cow	4	0	0
One heifer	2	0	0
One servant man who has 8 years to serve	20	0	0
One Franklin Stove	3	0	0
One River piece	3	15	0
One fowling piece	1	5	0
Three old guns		15	
One Pair of silvermounted pistols	7	10	0
One saddle portmanteu and bridle	2	4	6
One Landscape and one History Piece	2	5	0
Three variation needles and one dipping do	1	10	0
Books, pamphlets etc., 9 Vols of Journals of Congress		18	

£15, about \$43 in the value of the American pound, from other similar inventories, seems to have been a fair estimate of an average saddle or light-harness horse in those days. There might have been a stable on the 125-foot lot.

"The servant man who has 8 years to serve" was doubtless a redemptioner, an immigrant whose passage had been paid by Henry at the Philadelphia dock.

With little doubt the "River piece" was a large caliber duck gun—the kind used in the early days to throw a half pound of shot into a "raft" of ducks at night.

The "fowling piece" was distinctly a shotgun, for upland small game shooting.

Among the "three old guns" there may have been one or more of the rifles which made William Henry famous as a gunsmith. But with three at only 15s the appraisers could not have thought much of their condition.

The "History piece," with the landscape, was most probably the "Death of Socrates," by Benjamin West, which is today still in the family at Boulton, Pennsylvania.

"Three variation needles and one dipping do" seem to be all that was left of Henry's scientific apparatus, four years after his death.

Under "Bonds, Notes & Books Accts in Specie," in the same Inventory, the long list of debtors is added because it comes near to being a Directory of Lancaster of 1786; and it is clear evidence that William Henry was a generous banker in his community, even to the County of Lancaster. List of notes due:

	£	s	d
George Burkhard	133	17	0
Gravenor Marsh	131	16	7
John Churchman (Insolvent)	30		
Joseph Work	37	10	
John B. Webster (Insolvent)	15		
Matthew Hehl	89	14	3
Joshua Isaacs (Insolvent)	37	10	
Christian Kurtz	175	0	0
Matthias Slough	162	17	
John Nixdorf	3	0	0

	£	s	d
Henry Fortney	22	10	0
William Fullerton and Dan Houston	125	0	0
David G. Kallinger	21	0	0
Daniel Frank	100	0	0
John Jos. Henry	30	0	0
George Hoffnagle	30	0	0
Frederick Rathfon	60	0	0
Leonard Rathfon (Insolvent)	56	9	0
John Joseph Henry	16	15	0
John Musser	15	11	0
Paul Weitzel	15	4	6
Zebulon Pike	20	1	3
Zankey Dixon	4	3	4
James Johnson	63	7	6
Frederick Hubley	11	6	0
John Balm	15	0	0
Nathaniel Hainitsh	31	14	5
John Doyle (Insolvent)	6	0	0
Philip Albright	120	18	6
Charles Turnbull	34	15	11
do	4	0	0
Alexander Scott	17	0	0
Jonas Metzgar	9	0	0
Peter Suder	3	0	0
Samuel Bail (Virga)	61	2	4
John Carson	20	0	0
Samuel Boyd	19	16	2
The County of Lancaster	51	9	6
Daniel Elliot	23	5	0
Philip Dean	17	6	0
Henry Starrett	50	0	0
James Johnson	120	15	6

Total appraisal value of entire Inventory 4518 6 9

William Henry, in many ways, was the benefactor of his fellowman, of his nation.

CITATIONS

1. The New Era Printing Company, Lancaster, Pa.
2. See "Martin Meylin, a Progenitor of the Pennsylvania Rifle," by Herbert H. Beck. Vol. LIII, No. 2.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. "The Juliana Library Company in Lancaster," by Charles I. Landis. Vol. XXXIII, No. 10, p. 206.
6. Ibid.
7. "The Life of William Henry," by Francis Jordan, p. 25.
8. Recorder's Office, Lancaster.
9. See "The Famed Markets of Lancaster," by M. L. Heisey. Vol. LIII, p. 8
10. "Benjamin West and his Visit to Lancaster," by Charles I. Landis. Vol. XXIX, No. 5.
- 11-14. Ibid.
15. Vol. XXXIII, No. 10, p. 206.
16. Register's Office, Lancaster.
17. Book CC-540, Recorder's Office.
18. Misc. Book 1825-1828, pp. 361-362.

19. Deed Book 9, p. 379.
20. Audit in Lancaster County Orphan's Court. "Life," F. J., p. 178.
- 21-30. Ibid.
31. Ibid, p. 52.
32. Ibid, p. 53. United States Patent Office Report, 1849-1850.
33. "Girard's Column," the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, about 1930.
34. Now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia.
35. Now at the home of Thomas William Henry Stites, Boulton, Pa.
36. Vol. XXXIII, No. 10.
37. "Life," F. J., p. 80.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid, p. 37.
41. Ibid, p. 176.