

RESEACH NOTE

THE MINUTES AND PAPERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES IN LANCASTER COUNTY, 1774-1777

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The minutes and papers of Lancaster County's Revolutionary Committees comprise a lode of archival documents numbering some 1,500 pages. These documents provide a tantalizing view of the making of democracy.¹ How this form of government evolved in Pennsylvania's second most populous county is the subject of an ongoing study.² Here the focus is on how these documents came to my attention and, more importantly, how they landed in the Library of Congress.

In his *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, published in 1844, I. Daniel Rupp reproduced the minutes for seventeen meetings of Lancaster County's Revolutionary Committees.³ These meetings took place between June 15, 1774 and May 5, 1775,⁴ and between November 8 and 10, 1775. "This precious relic," Rupp said, "is deposited in the prothonotary's office of Lancaster County." Rupp also lamented that "if further proceedings [of the Lancaster Committee] were had, they cannot be found."

Twenty-five years later J. I. Mombert copied the minutes printed in Rupp's book for his *An Authentic History of Lancaster County, In the State of Pennsylvania*.⁵ Then, in 1895, editors John B. Linn and Henry Egle borrowed the minutes in Rupp's book and printed them in the *Pennsylvania Archives*.⁶ Linn and Egle wrote that "the full proceedings of the Committee of Observation for the county of Lancaster were in existence a few years ago, but at present cannot be found," and they "supposed that [the minutes] were in the possession of Jasper Yeates, chairman of the committee." These assertions, however, were educated guesses. In fact, fifty years before Linn and Egle made these statements Rupp's "precious relics" had been removed from Lancaster.

When I began to study the American Revolution in Lancaster County, I turned first to the Committee minutes found in the sources cited above. Rupp's lament hung in the air. I scoured the *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, county histories, and similar publications and manuscripts.⁷ Then, one day, while browsing *Conscience in Crisis: Mennonites and Other Peace Churches in America, 1739-1789, Interpretation and Documents*,⁸ my eye fell on a document with the heading: "At a Meeting of the Committee . . . at the house of Matthias Slough in the Borough of Lancaster on the first Day of July A.D. 1775." These minutes, I recognized, did not appear in Rupp. A search of the remaining documents in this book turned up fragments of minutes for five additional meetings of the Committee. Most important, the authors had noted that the minutes could be found in "The Lancaster County Committee Minute Book, Force Collection, Library of Congress."

At the reading room of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress I requested the microfilm for The Peter Force Collection, Series 8D, #86 and, at the suggestion of the librarian, Series 7E, #68. The microfilm marked 8D contains the original minutes for 99 meetings of Lancaster County's Revolutionary Committees, June 15, 1774 to June 28, 1777.⁹ The microfilm marked 7E contains transcripts of 59 Committee meetings. Another 4 transcripts appear alongside the originals in microfilm 8D, making a total of 64 transcripts. An additional 36 transcripts were doubtless sent to the typesetter when Peter Force edited his *The American Archives*. However, only 27 of the 36 appear in *The American Archives*; hence transcripts for 9 meetings remain unaccounted for. It is likely that these missing transcripts, as well as transcripts for those that appear in *The American Archives*, never came back from the printer. Thus, the Library of Congress holds the original minutes for 99 meetings of the Lancaster Committee, and transcripts for 64 of those 99 meetings. Subsequently, I discovered minutes and documents in

other sources that raise to 124 the verifiable number of meetings of Lancaster County's Revolutionary Committees.¹⁰ The authors of *Conscience In Crisis* also flagged three documents found in Peter Force Series 9. This collection, it turned out, yielded more than 500 pages of documents related to the work of the Lancaster Committee.¹¹

But how did the minutes of Lancaster's Revolutionary Committees and hundreds of documents that illuminate their work land in Peter Force's library of approximately 22,000 books and 40,000 manuscripts, a collection he sold to the Library of Congress in 1867 for \$100,000? A bill for \$32, which appears as the first frame of the microfilm containing the transcript of the Minutes of the Lancaster Committees, provided a clue. Drawn up on December 23, 1845 by a man named Simon Stevens, the bill was made out to Col. Peter Force. As a result, my investigation began with Peter Force, then moved on to Henry Stevens, Stevens's four sons – including the above mentioned Simon, the Honorable Thaddeus Stevens (no relation to Henry), and historian Francis Parkman.

Peter Force was born in Passaic Falls, NJ on November 26, 1790.¹² At age twelve his father died, and Force went to work for a New York City printer named William Davis. Four years later Davis promoted Force to shop foreman. At twenty-two years of age Force became president of the Typographical Society of New York. In 1815 Davis secured a printing contract from the United States government and promptly opened an office in Washington, DC that operated under the name of Davis and Force. Force impressed civic leaders in the nation's capital. In 1832 he was elected to Washington's city council and soon afterwards became its president. Four years later, he was elected mayor, a position he held until 1840.

Some believe that Force's father, a Revolutionary War soldier, fostered his son's love of books. Beginning about 1820 Peter Force entered into the first of a number of publishing ventures that included re-printing government directories, along with the publication of a literary journal, and a newspaper entitled *National Journal*. With cash in hand, the printer/publisher/politician/bibliophile/editor began to acquire books and manuscripts on the American Revolution. Force hoped to publish in one collection all of the historical evidence bearing on the revolution, a project akin to one proposed by a scholar named Ebenezer Hazard during the rebellion. The Continental Congress funded Hazard's project in 1778, but he did not complete it. To secure federal funding for his project Force needed the right kind of partner, and he found one in Mathew St. Clair Clarke, a man who had achieved

considerable wealth and political savvy during his tenure as clerk of the House of Representatives from 1822 to 1833. Congress rejected the Force-Clarke proposal submitted in 1832, but a year later lawmakers passed a bill that authorized the Secretary of State to draw up a contract with the partners for the publication of the *The American Archives . . . a Documentary History of . . . the North American Colonies*. (Only the six-volume 4th series and the three-volume 5th series of this massive project were published.)

Ambiguous wording in the contract resulted in charges and counter-charges by both parties for years to come. To make matters worse, as power in the House shifted in the wake of each election, funding for Force's project became a political football. Clarke left the partnership in 1843, but Force persevered and completed the 4th series with the publication of Volume 5 in 1844, followed by Volume 6 in 1846. Three volumes of the 5th series appeared in 1848, 1851, and 1853, then Force ran out of funds and the project collapsed. From the beginning, Congressmen not only heckled Force about the cost of the project but also challenged the proportion of material in each volume previously printed in newspapers and official documents, compared to material recovered from primary sources. And this leads to Henry Stevens and his remarkable family.

Henry Stevens (1791–1867) was born in Barnet, Caledonia County, Vermont.¹³ The eldest of eight children, Henry attended Peacham Academy, in nearby Peacham, VT, but left school early to help care for his siblings. Henry succeeded his father as a farmer, mill owner, and inn-keeper. A great reader, he developed a passion for antiquarian study, and became a collector and dealer in old and rare books, manuscripts, and newspapers. In 1838 he helped found the Vermont Historical Society and became its first president.

Henry and his wife Candace had eleven children, of whom four sons, Enos, Henry Jr., Simon, Benjamin Franklin, and a daughter, Sophia, grew to maturity. They were an extraordinary family. For example, on a visit to Paris and Italy in 1853, Sophia, a twenty-six-year-old widow, worked as a correspondent for the *New York Tribune* under the name of 'An American Woman Abroad.' Later she reported from Italy, where she had fallen in with the artistic set in Rome. Sophia is reputed to have inspired the character of Hilda in Nathaniel Hawthorne's novel *Marble Faun*. However, here, in this paper, it is the Stevens brothers who are the center of attention.

Like their father, Enos (1816–1877), Henry (1819–1886), Simon (1825–1894), and Frank (1827–1892) attended Peacham Academy. Enos graduated from Middlebury College. Then, from 1838 to 1846 he taught

school at Paradise, Pennsylvania. Around 1847 Enos shifted his career to business, a pursuit cut short when he returned to Barnet to care for his aging parents.

Henry Stevens, Jr., graduated from Peacham Academy then attended Middlebury College, where he supported himself by giving lessons in penmanship—a skill he shared with all of his siblings—at the rate of \$3.00 for forty lessons. In the middle of his sophomore year Henry left Middlebury and traveled to Washington, DC, where he hoped to earn enough money to continue his education. Henry farmed political connections on both sides of the aisle including his uncle, Senator Henry Hubbard, a Democrat from New Hampshire, who helped his nephew obtain an appointment as a clerk in the Treasury Department. A few months later, in May 1840, Hubbard, now Chairman of the Joint Committee of Congress charged with investigating the claims of Clarke and Force, hired his nephew to serve as the Committee's clerk. The foregone purpose of this Committee was to terminate Congress's contract with Clarke and Force for the publication of the *American Archives*. But the Committee had little interest in examining the official papers so they turned the task over to young Stevens.

Henry found the official papers inadequate. Without making his role known to Force, Henry gained the confidence of the publisher who recounted every detail of his troubles with the contract. The twenty-year-old Stevens then prepared a report that urged Congress to continue funding the *American Archives*. The Committee censured Stevens, but no less a figure than committee member Daniel Webster championed Henry's report. Subsequently, the Committee deadlocked and was discharged—and Force's funding remained intact. Not only had Henry caught the eye of Daniel Webster, but he had made a friend of Force who helped him through Yale University and Cambridge (Massachusetts) Law School. Eager to assist his new friend—and to share his good fortune with other members of this closely knit family—Henry soon recruited his father and three brothers to dig up manuscripts and copy them for Force. More importantly, Henry's association with Force enabled him to launch a career as one of the most prominent and influential bookmen of the nineteenth century.

Frank, youngest of the four brothers, worked on the family farm until age fourteen, then went to Albany, New York, to copy manuscripts in the office of the Secretary of State for his father. Beginning in 1851, Frank held a job as Assistant State Librarian while attending a seminary and, later, the Vermont University. During this period he also collected books for his brother, Henry.

Then, in 1860, he joined Henry, who had moved his business to London. Frank soon became as well known and respected in the book trade as his brother.

Simon Stevens, third brother in line, graduated from Peacham Academy in 1843. Henry Stevens, Sr., anxious to "fit him [Simon] for college," sent the eighteen-year-old to live with his brother, Enos, in Paradise, Pennsylvania.¹⁴ Two years later, Simon moved to Lancaster and began to read law in the office of the Honorable Thaddeus Stevens.¹⁵ In 1848 Simon was admitted to the bar, first in Pennsylvania, then Maryland, Virginia, the United States Supreme Court, and the Queen's Bench in Canada. Simon Stevens became his mentor's close friend and confidant. As a result, doors on Capitol Hill opened for him and he prospered. So intimate was his relationship with the Great Commoner that Simon, whose first son bore the legislator's given name, attended him on his deathbed. Like his brothers, Simon belonged to numerous historical societies and even published a pamphlet that set forth the advantages of the Tehauntepec Railway [in Nicaragua and Guatemala], to which brother Henry added historical notes. In this venture Simon may have been challenged by his brother, Enos, who, in 1848, published a treatise entitled the *Rudiments of Astronomy*.

The Stevens clan overcame staggering obstacles of poverty and class by dint of hard work, and, in part, by a chance association with a man who rose to become one of the nation's leading politicians. It was no accident that Enos Stevens had migrated from Vermont in 1838 to teach school in Paradise, a town about ten miles from Lancaster. Henry Stevens, Sr., doubtless discussed Enos's future with his friend and classmate at Peacham Academy, Thaddeus Stevens, for whom Henry continued to provide small services in Vermont, such as looking in on Stevens's beloved mother. Thaddeus Stevens left Danville, Vermont, and moved to Pennsylvania in 1815, first to York then to Gettysburg. The young lawyer flourished, and in 1833 his constituents elected him to represent them in the state legislature. Thaddeus Stevens would have had no problem finding a job for Enos Stevens. But why Paradise? The lawmaker may have been looking ahead. In 1842 Thaddeus moved from Gettysburg to Lancaster, opened a law office, and subsequently launched a successful campaign for a seat in the United States Senate. Upon learning that Thaddeus had relocated, the elder Stevens asked his friend whether or not his nineteen-year-old son, Simon, a good Green Mountain Boy (a label the brothers relished), might study law with him? In January, 1845, Simon began his clerkship in Stevens's office.¹⁶

Thanks to his brother, Henry, Simon Stevens had already begun collecting and copying manuscripts for Peter Force. On December 6, 1844, Simon billed Force \$73.31 for copies of the Laws of Pennsylvania. "You will observe," Simon informed Force, "that volumes 1 and 3 to be in the handwriting of my brother [Enos], but it has been carefully compared [to the original] by me." Simon then offered to copy other documents and reported on some of his discoveries: "I have now in my possession part of the journals of the Council of Safety for Lancaster County of 1774-75 and I think I have got on track of the remainder."¹⁷ Force paid this bill, but he did not order additional documents. Undeterred, Simon, always in need of money, renewed his attempt to sell Force the documents mentioned in his previous letter. "I have now in my possession part of the journal of the Committee of Safety for the County of Lancaster commencing the middle of June 1774, and continues to the 9th of September complete, and then continues again January 22nd to May 5th 1775, and then November 8th to the 11th November. They were found in the prothonotary's office scattered around, half a sheet in a place . . . there are 40 pages in all, about 12,000 words."¹⁸ Simon had found the Committee minutes published by I. Daniel Rupp in 1844.

But Force did not bite. On January 5, 1845, Simon sent Force a bill for earlier work, and again asked the publisher for an order to copy a number of documents including "the Journal of the Committee of Correspondence for Lancaster County, sometimes called the Committee of Safety." Aware that he may have pushed too hard, Simon offered an explanation for his aggressive tactics. "I have just commenced reading law with the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens and my pecuniary resources lie entirely upon my 'good quill' which induces me to solicit orders from you so urgently."¹⁹

In fact Simon was a chip off the old block. Two months later, Henry Stevens, Sr., wrote to Peter Force and asked him "to give Simon some employ. He is now at Lancaster, Penn with Thaddeus Stevens. I should be glad to have him write about 4 hours each day. This will meet most of his expenses. The boys must work hard to meet their expenses."²⁰ Despite this appeal, Force did not order additional work from Simon. But the patriarch of the Stevens clan pressed on. Three months later he informed Force of some great discoveries he had made and added, "I hope when you go up to Pennsylvania you will call at Lancaster and see my son Simon . . . if you can give him a job of some kind I should be glad. I wish to have him hoe his own row as far as possible. I have written to him not to have a vacation until he receives some job whereby he can earn a little money. . . . When I come to Washington I will

thank you by the name (?) – for the many continued favors rendered my sons.”²¹

Six months after Simon Stevens began his work with Thaddeus Stevens, brother Henry, then studying law at Harvard, asked him to extend a warm welcome to the historian, Francis Parkman, whom Henry had met while both men attended Yale. Parkman, who was writing *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, wanted a companion while he explored the old Allegheny frontier. Parkman arrived in Lancaster in July 1845 and, as the historian related to Henry, he and Simon had a grand time.

I went to Lancaster, where I found your brother very well, and almost as full of the old manuscript mania as yourself. We drove round the country together in an old broken down chaise, lodged with the Dutchmen, laughed and talked with the Dutch girls, and moused out the MSS. in the intervals. Your brother is a good hand at it. He has the true Yankee shrewdness and acuteness, and when a few more years have passed over his head, he will make a lawyer not to be sneezed at.²²

Henry responded from London where he had gone to collect books, the way having been smoothed with introductions from Parkman who preceded him the previous year.

I was rejoiced to hear so good an account of my brother: Do you really think he has got the *damn-me-if-I-don't-do-it*-principle in him? Having it yourself you are a proper judge of *ditto* in others. Those Dutch girls must have thought you two antiquarians mighty old of your years – But I wait with impatience to know the particulars of the “*bull lot*” of your collections. (Emphases in original.)

Rupp’s claim that minutes were deposited in the prothonotary’s office is accurate. But Simon Stevens found a “*bull lot*” more in the attic or cellar of the courthouse. On August 7, 1845, Simon described his latest find to Force. The letter is quoted in full.

Last Monday I was so fortunate as to find nearly all if not entirely the Minutes of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence of Lancaster County from 1774–80 together with the letters that they received and copies of those which they sent to persons, etc. on official business.

I think there will be a 1,000 pages of foolscap in them. I also think I have got on the right track of York and Lebanon Committee papers.

I have taken this the earliest moment to inform you of my discovery as you requested I should when I was in Washington.

I found the papers among those of Judge [William Augustus] Atlee who was chairman for a long time. If you wish for copies of the Minutes of Committee of Safety, and will send me an order to that effect, it shall be duly and faithfully executed. *I own all the originals* (emphasis added), and if you would have the kindness to inform me of your intentions respecting these papers you would much oblige me.²³

Force responded six days later. That letter has not been found, but the tone of a letter Simon wrote to Force on August 14 suggests that Force wanted more information from Simon. Simon, however, wanted an order, so he changed his pitch.

I cannot dispose of the papers as these were left in my hands never to go out of the county, but a copy of which is subject to your order. The expenses that I have been at in collecting them from 'heaps' of old rubbish and my time has been considerable, they having lain for years all scattered in among 8 or 10 bushels of a Lawyers papers which were very musty, and to be picked out one by one and arranged according to dates, I think is worth 8 cents per hundred words to copy them. To be done up in the same style as my brother Henry done for you.²⁴

Simon overstated his case—he already had the minutes—and raised the ante, but Force followed through with an order at six cents a hundred words.

On December 9, 1845, Simon informed Force that "The minutes of the Lancaster Committee are now copied in first rate *"style"* (emphasis in original) and will be sent to you soon, but owing to my pecuniary situation I am not able to pay the copyist until I shall have received the *"thirty dollars"* of our account for those original manuscripts (emphasis in original)."²⁵ The copyist, of course, was Simon Stevens, himself, but in this letter Simon hides behind "the copyist" in a clumsy attempt to deceive Force and thus ensure quick payment for his work. The reference to other manuscripts at a price of "thirty dollars" refers to an agreement made between Simon Stevens and Force a year earlier.

A few days before Christmas Simon informed Force that he had “sent the Minutes of the Committee of Safety for Lancaster County during the years 1774–77 . . . there are in the whole fifty-one thousand eight hundred and seventy words which amount to thirty one dollars and twelve cents, paper at 87½ cts., making in all thirty one dollars and ninety nine cents and one half.”²⁶ Simon enclosed a bill that included the \$30 due a year earlier, for a total of \$62.

Two months later, Stevens, desperately in need of money, dunned Force. “Father came here several days ago” he wrote, “and being unable to let me have but twenty dollars I am under the necessity of asking you to accept [the enclosed] bill of exchange. I owe this amount for my boarding and T. Stevens having paid it demands now of me this amount, viz. \$72.00 which is the amount of your indebtedness to me. . . . I have to pay my dues, or I shall lose my situation, and I beg, for God’s sake, you will do this.”²⁷ (An earlier bill for copying another manuscript raised the total to \$72.) In June 1846, Simon made another attempt to collect money from Force.²⁸ When that failed, he tried yet another ruse and sent Force a bill of exchange payable to Thaddeus Stevens. “I hope I shall not be under the necessity of again writing to you on this matter,” Simon said.²⁹ On this caustic note the correspondence between Simon and Force came to an abrupt halt. In fact the burden of publishing Volume 6 of the 4th series in 1846 may have compelled Force to put all other matters aside. Whatever the reason, the five letters written by Simon Stevens to Peter Force in the period December 9, 1845, to July 28, 1846, remained sealed until June 11, 1869 when they were opened by Force’s son and executor, William Q. [Quoreau] Force.

I have been unable to determine whether Stevens ever received compensation for copying the Minutes of the Lancaster Committees. However, in December 1845, or early January 1846, the original minutes of Lancaster’s Revolutionary Committees (Series 8D), along with Stevens’ transcriptions (Series 7E), and the Committee’s general correspondence (Papers of Peter Force) arrived at Force’s home at the corner of D and 12th Streets, Northwest in Washington, DC, from whence they were transported to the Library of Congress in 1867. Here Peter Force’s library “not only became the cornerstone of the Library of Congress ‘Americana’ collection, but also was a major factor in transforming the Library of Congress from a ‘legislative’ library to a ‘national library.’”³⁰

Men like Simon Stevens and Peter Force salvaged and preserved thousands of documents essential to the study of American history. But an even greater

debt is owed to the likes of Judge Atlee whose “musty papers” included the minutes and papers of the Lancaster Committee. Atlee attended nearly every meeting of the Committee and served as its chairman on many occasions. Acting without any special authorization from the Committee the forty-year-old lawyer and former chief burgess of Lancaster borough collected from at least six different clerks the single sheets of paper on which the minutes had been recorded, folded the paper to form a 3” × 6” packet, then dated, identified, and filed each one. This task might appear to be little more than the disciplined routine of an experienced lawyer. It seems to me, however, that in Atlee’s hands this work became a conscious act of historical preservation. William Augustus Atlee, the first associate judge of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court who rose to become President Judge of the First District Court of Pennsylvania, died in 1793, leaving six daughters and three sons, his wife having died a year earlier. Fifty years later Simon Stevens turned up “8 or 10 bushels” of the judge’s papers in the Lancaster County Courthouse. But how and when the Minutes of Lancaster’s Revolutionary Committees, together with Atlee’s correspondence with important revolutionary leaders, and a bundle of love letters to his wife landed in the county’s hall of justice may always remain a mystery.

NOTES

1. An *appointed* body named the Lancaster County Committee of Correspondence (June 15–November 22, 1774) was superceded by an *elected* body named the Lancaster County Committee of Observation and Inspection (December 15, 1774 to June 28, 1777).
2. The working title of the study is “Democracy in the Rough: Legacy of the Revolutionary Committees in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1774–1777.”
3. I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Lancaster: Gilbert Hills, 1844; Reprint. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1990), 372–404.
4. The correct date is May 5, 1775 not May 15, as found in Rupp and in subsequent copies of Rupp’s minutes.
5. J. I. Mombert, *An Authentic History of Lancaster County, In the State of Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1869; J.E.Barr & Co; Reprint. Laughlintown, PA: Southwest Pennsylvania Genealogical Services, 1988), 199–232.
6. *Pennsylvania Archives* 119 vols. (Philadelphia and Harrisburg, 1852–1933), Ser. 2, vol. 13, 275–299.
7. *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* (Lancaster, PA, 1896–).
8. Richard K. MacMaster with Samuel Horst and Robert Ulle, *Crisis In Conscience: Mennonites and Other Peace Churches in America, 1739–1789, Interpretation and Documents* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1979).

9. Peter Force, Series 8D, #86, Series 7E, #68, Library Of Congress.
10. Evidence of additional meetings is found in Charles Evans, ed., *American Bibliography*, microtext (Chicago, 1903–1934); *Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789*, 204 reels (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1959); Peter Grub Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; *Pennsylvania Archives*; McMaster et al., *Crisis in Conscience*; Peter Force Collection, Series 9, Library of Congress; Peter Force, comp., *The American Archives . . . a Documentary History of . . . the North American Colonies*, 4th series, 6 vols., 5th series, 3 vols. (Washington, DC: M.St. Claire Clarke and Peter Force, prepared and published under an Act of Congress, 1837–1853).
11. Peter Force, Series 9, microfilm, Library of Congress, reels 96–110.
12. On Peter Force I have drawn upon material found in the following sources: John Spencer Bassett, *The Middle Group of Historians* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1917; Reprint. Freeport, NY: Books For Libraries Press, Inc., 1966), 233–302; David Alan Lincove, “Peter Force” in Mathew J. Bruccoli and Richard Layman, ed. dirs., *Dictionary of Literary Biography* vol. 30 (Ann Arbor: Gale Research, 1984), 89–97. See also Carolyn Hoover Sung, “Peter Force: Washington Printer and Creator of the ‘American Archives’” (Ph.D. diss, The George Washington University, 1986).
13. For Henry Stevens and his family I have drawn on material found in Frederic Palmer Wells, *History of Barnet, Vermont* (Burlington, Vt: Free Press Publishing Co., 1923), 622–28; Wyman W. Parker, *Henry Stevens of Vermont* (Amsterdam, Neth. N. Israel, 1963).
14. Henry Stevens, Sr., to Peter Force, July 4, 1844, Papers of Peter Force, Library of Congress, hereafter PPF.
15. Hans Louis Trefousse, *Thaddeus Stevens: Nineteenth-Century Egalitarian* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
16. Simon Stevens was admitted to the bar in 1848, a milestone that doubtless gave rise to the following advertisement on September 6, 1848 in the *Examiner and Herald*: “Simon Stevens Attorney at Law, Office with Thaddeus Stevens, Esq., South Queen Street, Lancaster, Pa.” T. Richard Witmer, “Some Hitherto Unpublished Correspondence of Thaddeus Stevens,” *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 35 (1931): 61.
17. Simon Stevens to Peter Force, December 6, 1844, PPF.
18. Simon Stevens to Peter Force, December 17, 1844, PPF.
19. Simon Stevens to Peter Force, January 4, 1845, PPF.
20. Henry Stevens, Sr., to Peter Force, March 3, 1845, PPF.
21. Henry Stevens, Sr., to Peter Force, June 25, 1845, PPF.
22. Francis Parkman to Henry Stevens, September 12, 1845; Stevens to Parkman, September, 1845; Parkman to Stevens, September 29, 1845, in John Buechler, ed., “The Correspondence of Francis Parkman and Henry Stevens,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 57, pt.6 (1967), 7–13. See also Mason Wade, ed., *Journals of Francis Parkman* (New York: Harper, 1947), 299–301, 362, 372–3.
23. Simon Stevens to Peter Force, August 7, 1845, PPF. A decade later, this courthouse, erected in 1787 to replace one destroyed by fire, was replaced, at which time the papers would almost certainly have been tossed on the dump.
24. Simon Stevens to Peter Force, August 14, 1845, PPF.
25. Simon Stevens to Peter Force, December 9, 1845, PPF.

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26. Simon Stevens to Peter Force, December 23, 1845, PPF.
27. Simon Stevens to Peter Force, February 23, 1846, PPF.
28. Simon Stevens to Peter Force, June 23, 1846, PPF.
29. Simon Stevens to Peter Force, July 23, 1846, PPF.
30. Carolyn Hoover Sung, "Peter Force," quotation from Digital Dissertations – Full Citation & Abstract.

