Preface.

Samuel Rowland Fisher, the writer of the following Journal, was great-grandson to the Quaker John Fisher, who, with his wife Margaret, accompanied William Penn on his first voyage to America, in the ship "Welcome."

The original copy of this Journal is written in Samuel's own hand. On the flyleaf are signatures of four generations to whom the book has belonged: Thomas Gilpin, brother-in-law of the author; Deborah Fisher Wharton, daughter of the author; Joseph Wharton, grandson of the author, and Anna Wharton Morris, great-granddaughter of the author.

The "old gaol" described in the Journal was not the prison at Sixth and Walnut streets, but a still older one that stood on the southwest corner of Third and Market streets.

Anna Wharton Morris.

Journal.

From the beginning of the 3rd mo 1779. I daily was informed by my acquaintance of a Letter of mine to
my Brother Jabez at New York being in the hands of Thomas McKean, called Chief Justice, & Jonathan Sergeant, called State’s Attorney, being also delivered to Joseph Reed & his Associates, called the Council of the State of Pennsylvania, also that the contents of it were variously told by sundry Others who had either seen or been informed of it—many acquaintance seemed very uneasy on my account, lest my life might be questioned on account thereof & I was often told that I should be taken up—but at least 3 weeks elapsed before it was put in execution—On the 30th of the Month as soon as I returned from the Youth’s Meeting at Market Street, I was informed that my Brother Thomas had received some hurt & whilst I was gone to see him, James Claypoole called at my father’s for me, & being told of my absence went away—My Brother told me, he with John James who were appointed by the Southern district Monthly Meeting for that purpose, had been to visit — Matlack, son of Timothy, on account of his having taken Arms under some of the present usurpers against the King & Government, that they had conversation with the son, who treated them civilly & were going away when Timothy came & after enquiring their business, & being told it, he gave them some little very abusive language & immediately taking up a Hickory Walking Stick, way lay’d them in the passage, gave them many hard blows over the head & shoulders, following them some distance in the street till he had broken his stick—On my return home I was told James Claypoole had called for me, & soon after eating my dinner, he came again abt. 2 O’Clk P.M. & informed me he had a warrant from Thomas McKean to take me before him, which he producing was as follows [text omitted in original] he took me in the presence of Fenwick Fisher, Samuel Emlen Jun., William Mathews, William Penrose & several Women friends from Hopewell Virginia, Ruth Jackson, Rachel Hollingsworth &
Sarah Brown—My Brother Miers walked with me to the house of Thomas McKean, who not being at home he told me I might go home and mentioned his intention of calling in the morning.

31st. Stay'd at home till abt 15 Minutes after 10 O’Clk & he not appearing went to Pine Street Meeting, where I had been about 15 Minutes, when he came in & spoke something which I did not distinctly hear, upon which I walked out & thought best to go with him notwithstanding his singular mode of procedure. Samuel Smith & my Brother Miers accompanied me to the house of Thomas McKean in Water Street above Arch Street where after his informing me of the cause of my being sent for touching a Letter which he had in his hand, I informed him I had never written any Letter which I was ashamed to acknowledge, nor had ever conveyed any Intelligence to the Britsh Army, neither meddled in any warlike Affairs in any shape, that I was principled against any such thing in my own Mind &c to the same purport—After which he reaching out the Letter, asked me if it was my writing, to which I replied I did not chuse to answer. Upon which he said I should put him to the necessity of sending for witnesses to prove the Handwriting & immediately demanded my Bro. Miers to give evidence thereon, but he refusing to comply, McKean threatened to commit him to Goal for the refusal & had wrote a few lines of his Mittimus, when he abated from the anger in which he appeared & desisted from writing, saying he would first try to get proof without my father or Brother, but in case of deficiency he should call upon them, tho’ my Brother said such a manner of procedure was not legal, after which he said he would summon some persons to prove the Handwriting at 3 O’Clk in the afternoon, when I must appear again. At 3 O’Clk Sacheverill Wood a person employed under Claypoole called for me, I walked with him & stopt in my way at the house of
John Drinker, from whence I was accompanied to the house of Thomas McKean by William Norton, John Drinker & Samuel Smith, where we found James Claypoole & four persons summoned there to prove the hand-writing viz: Andrew Doz, Paul Cox, Nathaniel Donnell & Sampson Levy & McKean informed me he had also summoned Timothy Matlack & my Brother Thomas. Timothy sent word in writing which he read to me, that he was engaged so that he could not attend & my Brother Thomas was unwell of the wounds given him by Timothy & had not been out since—Upon this he was preparing to administer the Oath to the persons he had summoned, when I asked him if I might read the Letter, which he refused or if I might hear it read which he also refused. I asked how then I was to know whether it was mine or not and assuring him that I would answer clearly either negatively or affirmatively—Upon this he rose out of his chair & said, Mr. Fisher I would have you to observe that you are not bound to answer, neither do I ask you to answer, putting the Letter into my hand, which after I had read I returned to him & told him it was mine or my writing & that the reason of my not chusing to answer in the Morning was not my own sentiments, but the advice of some of my friends, that I had never written any Letter I was ashamed to acknowledge & desired he would read the whole of it to the Company which he accordingly did—he said the whole tenor of my Letter carried an Air of disaffection & clearly shewed that I held myself a Brittish Subject, particularly naming that part touching the Congress Bills; the words Province and Lower Counties &c at a time when the Independence of the States was so firmly settled & acceded to by one of the greatest Powers in the World & he made little doubt but Spain by this time had acknowledged it—that my mentioning the price of Flour to be from 30/ to 35/ per cwt. clearly shewed I owned no other Money than
Gold & Silver, for it was well known that Flour at that time was from £12 to £14 per cwt. I gave him an account of my conscientious refusal of the Bills issued for carrying on this War, & the sufferings of my father, Brother & Self for the same which he said he never heard of, which seemed strange to me, as he was one of the Committee who advertised my Bro. & Self for our Refusal of the Congress Bills I also gave him an account particularly of our sundry other losses on account of our conscientious Nonconformity to the times, which also he said he knew nothing of—he asked if I was one of those who were sent to Winchester, I answered I was; then he said he knew nothing of me, but recollected my name being among those that were sent to Virginia I asked for a copy of my Letter but was refused—he demanded my giving Bail or entering into recognizance for my appearance at the next City Court so called to be held the 21st of next month, upon which I informed him I had objections in my Mind, which I could not get over because I was firmly persuaded I had done nothing worthy of any Punishment—he read many Law Cases in several Books & a paper called an Act against conveying Intelligence to the Enemies of the united States & of this State, which latter he said was what I might suffer under, if found guilty—he kept me probably about 2 hours after he had written a Mittimus endeavoring to bring me to consent to give Bail or enter into recognizance. Andrew Doz offered to be Bail for me, which I told him I could not accept of—John Ewing a Presbyterian Parson came in toward the latter part urged my giving security, & walking toward me, in a smooth soft tone told me, that the security was not demanded under any new Law, but by the Old Laws of Pennsylvania. At length about Sun Set I was dismissed & Ordered to Goal & the Mittimus given to James Claypoole, upon which I walked slowly down Water Street to Arch Street, where I turned up to
Front Street & halted with William Norton, Samuel Smith & my Brother Miers, till James Claypoole came up & told me I might go home, I suppose according to the Law under the King a Sheriff may let any prisoner go at Large at his own Risque & I am ready to conclude McKean & Claypoole were convinced of my Innocence for I was favoured to be quite easy in mind. I accordingly walked home not supposing any further Notice would be taken in the matter before the 21st next Month—

Copy of the Mittimus obtained of James Claypoole, 4 mo:

"Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, ss:

"The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the Keeper of our Goal for our City & County of Philadelphia, or to his deputy, greeting—

Whereas Samuel R. Fisher late of said City & County Yeoman, is arrested for attempting to convey Intelligence to Enemies of the United States of America & of us against the form & effect of an act of Assembly in such case made & provided—

And, whereas, the said Samuel R. Fisher hath confessed before Thomas McKean, Esquire, Chief Justice of our Supreme Court, that he did write a Letter dated 2 mo. 19th 1779, directed to his Brother Jabez Maud Fisher, New York and that the same was signed by him, wherein he gives Intelligence that within a week past he had been at the Western Quarterly Meeting much to his satisfaction where friends were much clearer of the Measures than any other circuit he was acquainted with & that they seem to gain strength by bearing a faithful testimony against the Currency issued for carrying on the present War as well as other parts of Friends’ known principles and Profession—

And also that the prospect of their not being sufficient
in some places of Grain for Bread till next Harvest seems well founded that flour sold there from 30/ to 35/ per cwt. &c. which said Letter was sent towards New York and intercepted in New Jersey—

We therefore command you and each of you that you receive him there to remain till he be delivered from your Custody according to Law, he having refused to enter into recognizance for his appearance at the next City Court of Sessions to be held for our said city.

Witness: Thomas McKean, Esquire, Chief Justice of our Supreme Court at Philadelphia the 31st of March in the Year of our Lord 1779—

Thomas McKean.’’

I usually rode many times a week sometimes every day to my father’s Farm distant four Miles, having the Care of management of it & as I afterwards understood that Timothy Matlack having observed me riding out was much displeased with it & on seventh day the 3d of the fourth Month, Jas. Claypoole not being in town, he sent a Messenger on purpose with a Letter to Germantown to him, charging him with Neglecting to put the Laws in Execution and directing him to come to Town and put me to Goal, in consequence of which John O’Kelly employed under Claypoole called at my father’s for me & I being at the Farm he was told I should be at home in the Evening & on my return about Dusk O’Kelly addressed me as I entered the Door & told me I must either give Bail or go to Goal, I informed him he already knew I could not give Bail, & asked him if he had any Orders, he told me he had and produced the Mittimus. I told him I should be glad to be informed if any fresh directions were given relative to me & requested him to go to Claypoole & enquire whether he had any fresh Orders, telling I refused not to go to Goal, accordingly he went & shortly returned with Sacheverill Wood, the person whom T. Matlack had sent to Germantown, with the above men-
tioned letter which he produced, Upon which I washed myself & Before I could get away James Claypoole appeared, seemingly very anxious for my being in Goal, whither I was conducted by Claypoole, O’Kelly & Wood, between 8 & 9 O’Clk, where I was put into a Room of the Goalers without the prison & my friends had access to me freely from early in the Morning till Bed time & I was neither locked, barr’d nor bolted, but used frequently to go without the Goal Door in the Evening & John O’Kelly came once & after asking me whether I had been to see my father & my answering negatively, Offered at any time to go with me to see him, he being ill & confined during most of the time of my 3 weeks imprisonment, during which James Stephens who had been appointed to attend the Bridge at the Middle Ferry on Schuylkill & examine all persons going in or out, while the Britsh Army lay in & near the City, was tryed for his Life at what they call the Supreme Court being charged with what they call Treason & honorably acquitted, Samuel Garrigues Senior was also tryed for the same thing & acquitted, but not so honorably, on account of his having taken the Test made by the present Powers and producing Evidences in his behalf of things not consistent with the Trust reposed in him by the Britsh. William Whitefield & George Harding were also tryed for going about with the Britsh Soldiery to collect the Fire Arms of the Inhabitants, the first was acquitted & the latter found guilty on the Morning of the 8th of the fourth Month, & either that day or the next, John O’Kelly informed me he would be condemned & reprieved either in the Dungeon or at the Gallows, but relied upon my prudence not to inform Harding or any of his connections thereof. I occasionally had some conversation with Harding in the Goal Yard & found by his account he had not taken the Test, nor ever had any thing to do with the present System carried on in America—In
the same Room with me was a Person who assumed
the title of Baron de List & also said that he was a
Colonel in the German Troops in Britsh pay & was
taken prisoner while the Britsh Troops lay in this
City, he is a person of what is called a polite Educa-
tion abt. 22 Years of age, spoke broken English, put
in here for debt, upon inquiry I found him to be a
deserter and no higher than a Corporal, & a very loose,
disorderly Man, after being about 12 days with me,
the Goaler Stokeley Hossman took some offence at some
words of his & removed him within the Goal, admitting
him sometimes a few hours in my Room. I was fa-
vored with my health & my mind in a good degree sup-
ported under my tryals, the Goaler is a very rough, hard-
hearted Man & seems to have as strong a delusion of
the present times as any person I have ever met with,
so that I had great occasion to be continually watching
my words & actions; his Wife is a kind, affectionate
Woman & always treated me with respect. Once in
conversation with some others who were very open
against friends & others, that could not join in the
Measures, she said that they were not bad people—it
was only a difference in sentiment—I continued in
Goal till about 4 O'Clk P. M. of the 24th of the fourth
Month, when James Claypoole called and took me to
the Court house. My Brothers Thomas & Miers, Ben-
jamin Wynkoop, John Parrish & Joseph Bringhamurst,
who were sitting with me at the time walked with me
to the Court House where Isaac Howell, John Ord,
Plunket Fleeson & Benjamin Paschall sat on the Bench.
John Ord asked me if I would give security for my
appearance at next Court, I answeerd I could not do
it & they could not be ignorant of my being already 3
weeks in Goal on account of my refusal to enter into
recognizance & that it was a conscientious matter with
me. John Ord then said I must go to Goal. I told
them my refusal did not arise from a desire to absent
myself, for that I should not go away. William Lewis & Andrew Robeson, two Lawyers, urged the hardship & unprecedentedness of sending a Person back to Goal who was ready for tryal, upon which I desired them to take notice that I had spoke to no person whatever or Council, nor desired any to speak on my behalf & the Lawyers continuing to go on, I again repeated that no Lawyer was desired to speak for me. John Morris who officiated instead of Jonathan Sergeant, who is called State's Attorney, seemed displeased at my saying it was a conscientious matter with me & that I would not give nor let any person give security for me, as there were several of my friends present & calling to my cousin B. Wynkoop asked him to be security, but he knowing my sentiments refused, & Benj. Paschall spoke to me, saying Sammy, you say you don't intend to go away, & I told him I did say so, & that I intended to follow my lawful concerns & should go out of town whenever I had occasion, or this purport, upon which Plunket Fleeson said: Mr. Fisher, the Court has nothing further to say to you, but I not moving for some minutes, he repeated nearly the same words, upon which I walked back to the Goal & there told Stokely Hossman that I was ordered to go home, upon which he said, I thought you would comply to the Court. I told him he was mistaken that I had not complied. He then said I cannot let you go without orders. I told him it was not material, I was easy to stay, for that I had come to Goal from the Court house to wait till a person came to take home my Bedding &c. However shortly after he said, I can take your word, I told him I should stay till my things could be taken away. soon after came James Claypoole & told Hossman in my hearing, that I had entered into recognizance, upon which I asked him how he could say so when he knew the Contrary, upon which he immediately said, well then you said you would not go away. I stayed
till all my things were sent home & then I told Hossman who had not said a word about his fees, that I could pay no fees, he said he knew it, then I said I have not money with me but as thou put me in One of thy Rooms without the Prison, I mean to call & make thee a compensation for the use thy Room, Chairs, &c—he said it was very well. Tis most probable if Jonathan Sargeant had not this day been engaged at what they call the Supream Court, where David Franks was having a Tryal, he would had me tryed & John Morris being an acquaintance of mine & lately one of our Society, I believe did not chuse to be active therein. I omitted in its due place to mention that as soon as Claypoole had conducted me from the Goal into the Court house, John Haley, called Clerk of the Court, read to me the following paper (a copy of which some of the Lawyers had taken & sent to me in the Goal some days before) and being demanded to answer guilty or not guilty, I said I am entirely innocent.

"City of Philadelphia, ss: April Session, 1779.

"The grand Inquest for the City of Philadelphia upon their Oaths & Affirmations do present that Samuel R. Fisher, late of the City aforesaid, Merchant, on the 2nd day of February in the Year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred & seventy nine, at the City aforesaid and within the Jurisdiction of this Court, & within this State, little regarding the Laws & Acts of the general Assembly of this Commonwealth & not fearing the penalties therein contained, did then & there attempt to convey Intelligence to the Enemies of this State and to the United States of America and to that End and there did falsly and traitorously, maliciously & advisedly, write & cause to be written sundry Letters & writings containing Intelligence to the Enemies aforesaid, and did then and there attempt to convey & send
the same to the Enemies aforesaid, to wit, to Jabez Maud Fisher, one of the Enemies aforesaid, then being at the City of New York & within the actual dominion of the King of Great Britain and then and there did also in the further prosecution of the said false and traitorous intention and attempt falsely and traitorously, maliciously & advisedly write & cause to be written, One certain Letter & writing of Intelligence aforesaid & the same so written did attempt to send & convey to the said Jabez Maud Fisher then being at the City of New York & within the actual dominion of the King of Great Britain, the tenor of which said Letter & Writing followeth in these words viz.

To Jabez Maud Fisher, New York.

Philad. 2d Mo. 19th 1779.

Dear Brother—

My last to thee was of the 6th Instant p. P. Rice I also wrote a few days before p. _______ Edwards, who was a returning Prisoner, both which expect have reached thy hands some time ago, none have reached our hands from thee of later date than the 26th Ult. p. Wilson. Within a week past I have been at the Western Quarterly Meeting much to my satisfaction, where friends are much clearer of the measure than any other circuit I am acquainted with, and they seem to gain strength by bearing a faithful testimony against the Currency issued for carrying on the present War, as well as other parts of friends known principles & profession.

I should be glad thou would inform me what thou can of Thomas Carrington, where he was when thou left England and whether thou hast heard any thing of him since thy coming to New York, as his family & friends would be pleased to hear from him, if any letters are on this side for his Wife or Thomas Wood-
ward to whom he commonly writes I should be glad thou would forward them.

Our friend Nicholas Waln has laid the concern of his mind & draft to visit friends in England before our last Monthly Meeting, yet it does not seem probable he can be ready to embark till after our next Yearly Meeting—At the Quarterly Meeting in Chester County I met with Cousins Fenwick & Isaiah Rowland, with many other of our relatives from the lower Counties, where all our acquaintance are well & pretty quiet, except that their Goods & Effects are seized for taxes laid by the present powers there, the same is done also in many parts of the province, tho I know not of any friends effects being taken in this City or County, except for Militia fines & Substitute Money so-called.

Thou hast doubtless heard of T. Eddy being taken up in Jersey. He gave Bail to appear at Court and returned home with the Loss of every thing to a considerable amount. I think it may be well to be very cautious indeed of sending any thing for our family, perhaps to omit it entirely for the present. The Leather thou mentions long since to have sent I hope remains in thy possession, as we should be sorry for a miscarriage of it, I should like to have Silk Sagathy enough to make me a Summer Coat, but I never seemed easy to send for any thing. We have nothing here that I know of very material or interesting lately—The prospect of there not being sufficient of Grain for bread till harvest seems well founded. Flour now sells from 30/ to 35/ p. ct.

We all continue to be favored with health & a good degree of patience, which hope may continue till we are favoured to meet again.

Thy Affectionate Brother,

Samuel R. Fisher.
Dear Brother:

The above I wrote intending for another Conveyance, but as this seems likely to reach thy hands sooner, I thought of adding a few lines to inform thee how anxiously I am at heart concerned for thy welfare in every respect, my mind being frequently impressed with a feeling for thy situation, that I cannot well express in words at present—Acquit thyself with uprightness & Integrity to the feelings of thy own Mind & thou will thereby experience a support which will surmount every thing that is permitted to assault thee—With this thou will receive an answer to thine to me of the 2nd Instant, whereby thou will be at liberty to embark as soon as convenient. May the blessing of heaven attend thee on the Voyage, inform me p. what Vessell thou goes. We shall be anxious to hear of thy Arrival.

Brother Thomas has thoughts of sending Billy Logan to New York to go with thee. I have some doubt of his being able to do it in time to reach thee, however, I have told him it will not do for thee to wait for him, if a Conveyance thou art free to embark in presents. I have also mentioned to him the propriety of committing him here to a person in whom he can confide that will undertake to go with him to England & take the whole Care of him—Brother thinks with me that thou must not be delayed by this circumstance, as conveyances suitable are not frequent.

If thou leaves anything behind thee, forward me a List of them with information in whose hands they are—

"Against the duty of his allegiance, against the form of the Act of Assembly in such case made and provided, & against the peace & dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,
Witnesses

Jona D. Sergeant,
James Claypoole Esq Sworn" Atty. Gen'l.
On first day Morning the 25th of 4th mo. I unexpectedly attended the funeral of Israel Pemberton, who died the 22nd & a few days after I was riding out of Town I met Joseph Reed in the Street & he looked very earnestly at me, so that I was apprehensive I should be again sent to Goal, & the more so as Benjamin Paschall told an acquaintance of mine that he expected blame for permitting me to have my liberty, & from this time I very rarely rode but walked many times in a week to & from my father's farm, being still constantly pressed with such a weight, as much as I could well bear, which remain'd with me till 5th day the 22nd of the 7th month 1779 I walked to the farm in the Morning & about noon my Brother Thomas came out for me & I came to Town with him about 3 O'Clk being sent for I walked up to the Court house, where John Ord, Isaac Howell & Benjamin Paschall sat on the Bench, when John Haley again read the paper called the Bill of Indictment & told me I had plead not guilty. I answered I had said I was entirely innocent, which he acknowledged. Then John Ord said, Mr. Fisher are you ready for your tryal? I said I have nothing to do with the Tryal & if you will try me it must be your Act & I cannot see how you can try me, as I have never taken the Test, upon which John Ord said, Mr. Fisher, you despise the Authority of the Court. Jonathan Sergeant, called States Attorney, whom I dont recollect ever to have seen before, asked me whether I had any objections to any of the Jury. I told him I had nothing to do with the Tryal, after which they were sworn & Sergeant produced my letter & asked me whether it was mine. I told him I wrote it & delivered it open to John Montgomery, a Clergyman, who had a pass to go into New York & that he told me before I wrote the whole of it & at the time I delivered it to him, that he would deliver it & all
others that he undertook to convey, to the Commanding Officer at the Lines for examination & that under this clear expectation I sent the Letter, desiring him to inform me how & in what manner he came by the Letter, and where it had been stopt, he acknowledgd himself at a loss therein. Notwithstanding my owning the letter he sent for Thomas McKean, Andrew Doz & John Ewing to prove my confession thereof, most probably expecting to find something I had said when at McKean’s that might tend to criminate me. When he was about to swear McKean, I told him I did not desire any qualification to be taken concerning me & could take his word for any thing he said, but Sergeant seemed angry at my saying so, & said, if you can take his word the Court will not; upon which he was sworn, when he related the most material parts of what passed, as he thought, nearly as I have related above.

Andrew Doz appeared & excused himself; John Ewing appeared & was sworn, he seemed somewhat confused, but upon my asking him if he did apprehend he came in toward the Conclusion, when little passed but about my giving Bail or entering into Recognizance; he said it was so. Sergeant asked him if he heard me acknowledge the letter. He said he did not. Sergeant then with the Letter in his hand said I had given a false representation of the Quakers, for to his own knowledge they were generally on their side, a very few only excepted; That the part of the Letter concerning Nicholas Waln was innocent & it had been well for me if the other parts had been as free of exception; that it appeared I was longing for the Onions & Garlick of Egypt; that many said they were very desirous of peace, whose desires meant nothing short of a close union with & as it were hugging Great Britain in our Arms again; that I was giving the Enemy very material Intelligence in respect to the Scarcity of pro-
visions; that indeed it had been very alarming before the late harvest, & that he believed many of the disaffected had been greatly disappointed in their desires on that account, that the unrelenting Enemy might thereby make the more easy conquest, but that as providence had blessed the late Harvest with Abundance, there was now no fear on that head; he inferred that I was accessory to the destructions of the towns on the Coast of Connecticut, by encouraging the Enemy and expatiated very largely thereon as it were laying the whole of it to me, (alluding to an expedition from New York under Sir George Collier, by which several towns &c were destroyed, the News of which came to town a day or two before) & also said that if the Enemy had not been encouraged by our Intestine Enemies, they would long ago have given up the matter of Independence.

William Lewis, a Lawyer formerly under the King, who had taken the Test to the present Rulers & plead under them several times, was desirous of speaking in my behalf, but was not permitted because I would not allow him to be my Council, on which account some pains was taken by John Ord & others & time spent to persuade me to say he was my Council, but I told them I could not consent thereto. I told them there were several persons present that knew I had given the letter open to John Montgomery & that Montgomery frequently said he would carry none but what were open & should deliver all to the commanding officer at the Lines; but that I could not consent that any person should take a qualification theron on my behalf, upon which much time was taken & many things said by John Ord & his Companions to induce my consent thereto, as they said nothing could be said thereon without, but I continued unshaken in my sentiments thereon & they were about to proceed without, when some of the 12 Men desiring the persons might be qualified &
they themselves being anxious to speak what they knew, they were qualified—One of them that he was present & saw me deliver a Letter on the 23rd of February last to John Montgomery, unsealed & open; the other that he saw me deliver a Letter at the same time, not observing whether sealed or not, but that he many times heard John Montgomery, who lodged at his house, express his determination not to carry any sealed letters & to deliver all he had to be inspected before he entered the British lines. Upon which I said I did not apprehend myself a person of any uncommon abilities, perhaps inferior to most present, but I must be judged to be a Blockhead indeed to undertake to convey intelligence in an open letter with my name signed to it, & send it subject to inspection before it could enter the British Lines, & that I never had either inclination or intention to convey any intelligence to the British Army; that if I had been desirous of doing such things, I had frequent opportunities by persons going privately, who offered to convey letters for me, but not knowing their Errands & concluding a letter free of exception sent privately might when discovered in these times be made a pretence to injure me, I carefully avoided writing by those who had not passes,—that I did believe it would be as easy to prevail upon any there present to convey Intelligence to the British Army as upon me, for if I had chose to do such things I could safely have done it in another language or in Characters, without any name, so that if discovered, no difficulty could arise to me, & lastly that if the contents of my letter were in their view offensive, it could not by them be called intelligence to the Enemy, as it was subject to be stopt before it could enter the British Lines.

Sergeant immediately said, he tells you he never has conveyed any intelligence, but he seems to know so well how it may be done, that there is reason to believe he
may have done it frequently. He then read a printed paper called the Act of Assembly, by which they were trying me, & by which I was told I was liable to forfeit half my Goods & Chattles, Lands & Tenements & to imprisonment during the War. I told them of the Losses my father, brothers & self had suffered on account of our not contributing the profits on our Goods to the Town of Boston & on account of our refusal of the Congress Bills, to a very great amount, so that I could not certainly say I had any property at all, as my father had never given me any thing—that my refusal of the Congress Bills had in every instance been attended with Loss to me, & the only benefit that had yet arisen was that I had been instrumental thereby in saving the property of some Orphans to whom I administered in the year 1774, whose Monies I had lately reced in Gold & Silver & they had lately return'd to England & that John Pringle & Blair McClanahan knew those Orphans & the truth of what I said thereon. They were about to finish when I asked for my letter & began to give my reasons for writing the letter to my Brother, viz:

That my Brother Jabez had been a long time absent from home & now was likely to be longer separated from us, that our Conscientious refusal of the Congress Bills being known to him & not having originated from their present depreciation, but from the first issuing of them when they passed equal to their nominal value in Gold & Silver & being now upwards of 4 years standing, I thought it might be some consolation to him to know that we had some Companions, tho' the number of refusers compared with the whole of the people was very small.

That most of the relatives of our family lived in the lower Counties & it was natural for me to inform my Brother of their health & situation in the present Calamities. That the Leather spoke of in my letter
was Boot Legs & Vamps of a late invention of Splitt Skins, which the Inventor had sent as a present to my father & brothers. That my brother Jabez had wrote me of friends in England having entered into large subscriptions for the benefit of friends here & that he should be glad to have it in his power to inform friends there what prospect there might be of relief being wanted & I was desirous he might know our wanting or not wanting relief would depend upon the ensuing harvest.

With respect to Billy Logan's being sent to his Mother, application had been made for liberty for his going to New York & it was refused.

After which Sergeant gave the 12 Men my letter & the paper called the Act of Assembly, by which they were trying me, & some Constables were sworn to keep them without Meat or Drink, when they went upstairs & I was told I might go home & return at 7 O'Clk that evening, which I accordingly did, but upon my return in the Evening & waiting about an hour, the 12 Men being sent to, word came from them, that they were not agreed, upon which I was told to come again at 10 O'Clk next morning.

7 mo. 23.—I went to the Court house about 10 O'Clk. a great number of the violent party came there, in a little time the 12 Men came down & delivered a paper in which they had agreed that I was not guilty of holding a Correspondence inimical to the Independence of America, but Sergeant would by no means admit of its' being received & they were sent back & the Constables ordered to keep them as before & I was told to go to a friends house near & they would send word when I was wanted. About half past 11 I was called when the 12 Men returned & delivered verbally the same Judgment they had given before in writing, at which Sergeant seemed very angry. I then mentioned their unfairness in not taking their Judgment, & my
Brother Miers spoke a few words, purporting that by legal usage I was cleared of the matter laid against me. Isaac Howell immediately joined in sentiment with my Brother, when Sergeant being much displeased with his speaking, said tis strange that Mr. Fisher will not allow he has any Council & here Council will be speaking on his behalf. I then said I had not objected to my Brothers speaking, upon which Sergeant said he shall speak but he must first be qualified (meaning take the Test to the present Rulers) & looking to those on the Bench Isaac Howell said, Yes, Yes; which put a final stop to my Brothers saying anything.

Then Sergeant tried if he could get some of the 12 Men to dissent from the Judgment, when one or two of them drew back a little, upon which they were ordered out again, tho' John Brooks said you may as well keep us here, for if we are kept six days & nights more I can never agree to any thing else without wronging my Conscience, yet they were sent out. By this time the spirit of rage & violence appeared, some threats were thrown out against my Brother for attempting to speak by some Committee Men & tis very probable that threats were made use of to the 12 Men for they returned again in about 1½ hours absence, & being all asked separately every One said Guilty; upon which Sergeant asked John Ord whether they would pass sentence then or take time; John Ord said they would take time & told me I might go home & come again in the Morning. I went home, got my dinner & in less than two hours was sent for to the Courthouse to have sentence passed upon me. I went up there & John Ord asked me, Mr. Fisher have you any thing to say why sentence should not be passed upon you. I only said, I have much to say, but tis like attempting to throw feathers against the wind. Jno Ord then said you are sentenced to the forfeiture of One half your lands & tenements, Goods & Chattles & imprison-
ment during the War & you are committed to the Custody of the Sheriff. (I well understood that he meant my going to Goal seeing that however some moderation appeared with those on the bench, some of the Committee or Constitutional Society so called had freightened them & Sergeant continued very violent), I said I should be glad you would speak plain & say whether I am to go home or go to Goal. Upon which Ord said again, you are committed to the Custody of the Sheriff. Upon which John O'Kelly said Mr. Claypoole is sick & cannot attend, I should be very glad to let Mr. Fisher go home, but what shall I do with Mr. Burns, pointing to him & saying there he is, he won't let me, upon this Sergeant said, come Mr. Kelly enough of that, let us hear no more of that, by which it clearly appeared that a Mob party had prevented the 12 Men from exercising their own Judgment & those on the Bench from shewing any Moderation, for it was evident that Burns had been sent by the party to make their Wills be put into execution.

I was conducted by Kelly to Goal about 5 O’Clk. 23d of 7th mo. & put into the same room I had been in before, where my friends had access to me & I the liberty of the Goaler’s Rooms till the afternoon of the 3rd of the 8th month, when Cadwalader Dickenson, a Shoemaker & a very active Statesman of the present times came in & Stokeley Hossman, the Goaler, asked me to walk into a Room & set down with Dickenson, of which I took no notice till he repeated it much louder, when I complied, Hossman handed me a Chair & presently after brought a Glass of Drink. I told them I did not chuse to drink. Dickenson (who was one of the 12 Men that brought in Abraham Carlisle Guilty) observed as it were to me what a pity it was that there should be such a difference amongst Neighbours & fellow Citizens in sentiment, & how happy we should be if we could all unite with one Mind &c. I took no more notice of his
Conversation apparently than if I had been asleep—he soon grew tired and went away. Shortly after which Hossman conducted me within the Goal & shewed me a large Room, which he said was to be my apartment, adding that it was the best in the house, which I afterwards found to be true.

I was desirous of knowing the reason of my being moved here, but could not fully find it out. Hossman said it was his own Act, but withal gave me to understand that some had thought I had too much liberty. Probably Dickenson was the cause of my removal.

It seemed a little hard at first, but in a few days I found myself much better satisfied in my room alone than I had been in Hossman’s Room. Sometimes my friends could not readily be admitted as there was no Turnkey for some days till the 9th of this month when Peter Todon was hired by Hossman.

On the first of this month Marshall a Presbyterian Seceder preacher, preached in the Yard to the prisoners. I was within hearing & out of sight during the time.

On the 2nd & 3rd of this month there was town Meetings in the State-house & great Strife between those called the Constitutional & Republican Societies, in which the former got the better of the latter.

Here I met with George Harding who had been taken out to the Gallows with a Rope about his neck to be hanged about the beginning of last fifth Month & just as he was about to step into the Cart, he was reprieved & brought back again. He was the only person I had any freedom of communication with & serves as a Companion for me in the day time when I have not my friends with me. He appears a sober Man, has gone thro’ much tryals from the present powers & is now confined without knowing when or how he may be pardoned or discharged.

On the 22nd of the 8th Month George Duffeild, a
Presbyterian preacher of Pine Street Meeting house, preached to the prisoners in the Yard (I staid in my Room).

8th mo. 26th.—Ten of the Men confined here for various misdemeanors were taken by a Guard from this Goal & put on board the Congress frigate Confederacy now lying at Chester.

I enjoyed much calmness of mind & a secret support which was cause of great satisfaction, particularly in my solitary evenings, for which I have great reason to be thankful tho the prospect on the part of the British Subjects was very gloomy, as there was great rejoicings in town at several times on account of the french taking two british Isles in the West Indies & some of Washington’s Army taking Stony Point fort on the North River, with about 400 Brittish prisoners, whom they marched into this City.

During the Yearly Meeting, which began the 26th of the 9th mo: a great number of friends called to see me, some that I had no knowledge of. Their visits were very acceptable & the more so not One of them said anything in censure of my Conduct, which I concluded in my Mind carried with it a Sympathy for me, & that if I was acting on mistaken principles, some of them would have had to give me a hint of it; this conclusion on the visits of so many friends served as a support against the Censures of some of my friends in the City, which sometimes was hard to bear, very hard indeed, that those very men who should have used their kind endeavours to strengthen me, should bear hard upon me.

On the 27th 9 mo: One of the militia of the City so called (who came to see Joseph Wirt, who had been sent here the 25th Instant & is shortly to be tryed for Treason as they call it) told T. Wirt in my hearing that the Militia were about to take up all the Tories & Quakers & would certainly create a most dreadful scene
in the City, that they had chosen a Man out of every Company for that purpose & given them the name of the Committee of Privates, that they would begin that afternoon; I have no reason to disbelieve him. Providentially they were not permitted to disturb the Yearly Meeting, during which I was informed that it had been considered in Congress to take up friends & prevent their holding the Meeting & also that the Crier had publicly cried in some parts of the City that the Quakers had agreed in the Yearly Meeting to acknowledge & accede to the Independence of America, & this was so much talked of that some of the Tories seemed afraid of the Truth of it & were very inquisitive to know whether it was well founded.

On seventh day the 2nd of 10th month, Joseph Wirt, who when in Goal seemed in fear of their taking his life, was taken to the State house & acquitted & the next day he came to see George Harding & myself.

I had ——— Sweres two or three Nights in my Room & John Hastings a Sea Captain for about a week, all the rest of the time from the 3rd of 8th mo: to 4th of 10 mo: I was entirely alone in my Room, which was locked up about Sunset & open about Sun Rise.

Here is a most dissolutely wicked Company of Men & Women & I am thankful in being hitherto preserved from being tainted with it & may that divine hand which has hitherto preserved & supported me continue to protect me from the many snares which await my Steps, for I am clear beyond all doubt that nothing short of that divine Arm can carry through the many tryals which now fall to the Lot of the Inhabitants of this Land.

The Yearly meeting concluded on second day at noon the 4th of the 10th month, at the breaking up of which John Drinker was taken from Pine Street Meeting house, the Committee of Privates now beginning the matter they had intended a week before; they ransacked
Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher.

Joseph Wirt's house to find him to no purpose, while some of them went to Mathew Johns's near the Swedes Church & finding him stacking Hay, they ordered him down & marched him with them. They also took up Buckbridge Sims & Thomas Story, which four they marched separately to Burns's Tavern on the Commons, from whence they were brought into the City under Guard. The Militia by this time had collected at the house of James Wilson, Lawyer, the S. W. Corner of Walnut & third Streets, for some of the Republican Society & others understanding themselves to be upon the list of those that were to be apprehended, had assembled with Wilson armed & determined not to be taken, so that there soon began a fierce firing & it is generally allowed the Militia began first, who probably had done much more Mischief had not their Powder & Ball been shortly expended. I heard the noise & could see part of the Mob from the Goal Window. Several were killed and others wounded. I could only learn the names of three killed. —— Campbell, called a Captain in the Invalids in the house, a Negroe Lad & George —— a Barber in the Street, this latter I had known to attend to shave people in the Goal, & who I am credibly informed called out to his neighbours that day in Cherry Alley to turn out & bring their Spades with them for they were to hang & bury the Tories. He was a very strongly deluded man, both as to the present measures & his own Condition, for I once heard him say in conversation with some in the Goal, that he was certain his peace was made & his Salvation sure, so that he had no concern about it & this not long before his death. At the same time he was a Man much & frequently addicted to Excess in drinking & also as I was informed had been very abusive to Abijah Wright, when in this Goal, who was hanged for being a Guide to some of the Brittish Army while they lay in this City.
From the Goal I saw Joseph Reed, Timothy Matlack, James Claypoole & John O'Kelly on horseback come down Market Street, the two first with drawn Swords in their hands, they rode round the corner of third Street & proceeded to Wilson's house, where with a number of those called the City Lighthorse they dispersed & took up those called Militia, some of whom they brought to Goal & soon returnd to Market Street, at the corner of which I saw them meet some of the Militia, who had got two brass field pieces & were going with them to join their Companions, with much difficulty Reed, Matlack, Claypoole & Kelly, with sundry assistants forced the Militia into Goal, not without many strokes of their Swords & taking hold of the horses led away the field pieces. Reed's party with the Lighthorse were frequently putting some into Goal this afternoon till the number amounted to 27. Reed's party all went away, when an attempt was made by a collection of people in the Street to break the Goal & let out the Militia & had not Hossman got a hint of it & very suddenly shut the Outer Door they might have accomplished their purpose, but in a little time some Lighthorse returned & a parcel of the Bucks & Blades of the town were stationed under Arms, also some Artillery Men & field pieces, both which remained all night, as it was said a party from Germantown were coming to assist.

A little before dark John Drinker, Buckridge Sims, Thomas Story & Mathew Johns came into my Room & informed me they had been under Guard in the Street near Wilson's house during all the firing & were afterwards taken out a second time to Burns's Tavern & from thence had been on their way home by order of some of the Lighthorse, but accidentally meeting Joseph Reed in Arch Street, they were by him ordered to Goal, as he said for the safety of their own persons from violence.
The 27 Militia Men, so called, were in a Room directly under us very noisy & turbulent, so that we were not fond of going much out of our Room; the City being in great confusion & many speaking very free against Joseph Reed for his Conduct toward the Militia, so called, whom it seems most probable & I have no reason to doubt Reed had encouraged to take up friends & the tories not expecting any opposition, but very providentially it had not been permitted during the Yearly Meeting, & when it did break out, those called the Militia having mixed in their list of friends or others called Tories some of the Republican Society, so called, who would not be taken caused this disturbance, whereby the Stroke was almost entirely diverted from the quiet & best part of the Inhabitants of the City, who could not be objected against on any other account, but their attachment to the Cause & Government of Great Britain.

The 27 Men under us continued very noisy all night & the Morning of the 5th they were let out about noon by order from Reed & his Companions, who began to be alarmed for their own safety, as I was informed, for many in the City spoke very free against him & 'twas said threatened to shoot him.

The 27 Men as soon as they got into the Street drew up in a line, gave three very loud Huzzas & then walked home, being first told it was expected they would each enter into recognizance to appear at Court.

Those called the Militia, as I was informed, were desired to meet the next day at the State house, where Jos. Reed with several of his partizans & some Presbyterian preachers, in very mild and humble terms harangued them in order to pacify them & remove the great uneasiness which spread amongst them.

Some persons on behalf of the prisoners in my Room called on Jos. Reed many times, without being able to see him for several days, he was always either sick or
not to be spoke with, most probably conscious that this late affair had much shaken his authority in the minds of the people & the utmost of his artifice & deceit, with that of his emissaries was now necessary to be exerted.

10th mo: 8th, John Drinker, Buckridge Sims, Mathew Johns & Thomas Story sent word to James Claypoole that they desired to speak with him on account of its being propagated in the City that they are prisoners by their own Consent, in order to know on what ground they are detained here.

Claypoole came accordingly & said he had been with Jos. Reed on the occasion & was authorized to say that for the preservation of the peace of the City it was determined that their confinement should be continued untill the return of Thomas McKean (now at Lancaster holding a Court of Oyer & Terminer, so called) or untill Reed who is now sick should so far recover as to give further attention to their case, & also said that Mittimus’s for their imprisonment would be made out; he added that the resolution for their detention was made two days ago & confirmed by preemptory orders from Reed this morning.

B. Sims acknowledges he consented to go to prison for one night, being assured that nothing was meant thereby but the safety of his person from violence. About 3 O’Clk the Goaler came & read a letter from Timothy Matlack to him, containing nearly the same as Claypoole said in the morning & setting forth that suspicions having generally prevailed among the people respecting them, ought to induce them to submit to a few days confinement for their own safety & in consideration of the hurry & disturbance of the times, which engaged the attention of those who should take notice of their case. A copy of this letter was demanded of Hossman, but he refused & read it again.

10th mo: 13th.—John Drinker discharged by orders from Jos. Reed. in consequence of the application of
some friends. Reed's letter of discharge for J. D. said that the other gentlemen were to apply for discharge by their friends in the same manner, which was accordingly done by several on behalf of each.

B. Sims was discharged 10 mo: 14—the application on behalf of Johns & Story tho' repeated for many succeeding days was to no purpose, Reed alledging that suspicions were entertained against them.

10 mo: 16.—John Drinker's bedding remained in our room & I understood that the Goaler the evening he was released threatened him before he got out of Goal to lock him up again on account of his refusal to pay Turnkey fees, yet he did let him go, probably then determining to keep his bedding till the fees were paid. J. D. sent for his bedding to no purpose & wrote a letter to Stokeley demanding it without any effect.

The wife of Dr. Chovet hearing of it came here with a servant for it this day & having paid the fees Hossman came up with her into our room & demanded our shewing J. D's. bedding. I fully knowing J. D's. sentiments on this head declined shewing it as did also Mathew Johns & Thomas Story; upon which Hossman said he wondered Mr. Drinker had not sent for his bedding, adding I have not detained it—finding we did not tell he got angry & said Mr. Fisher I have shewn you much favour, but now I will take another course. Chovet's wife asked which were our several bedding & having by that means of some present found which belonged to J. D. I told Hossman I had received a Letter from J. D. by which I knew he had an objection in his mind against complying with such unjust demands, that I had an objection myself & therefore could not do any thing to give countenance thereto, he was in liquor & very angry & went away so.

There was now much talk in town of an intended invasion of New York and the Militia (so called) of the city & province were ordered to be in readiness to
join Washington’s Army, who was to attack New York by land, while the Count de Estaing with a french fleet were to make an attack by water. Many Shalloops & Schooners were loaded with potatoes, Turnips, Onions & other vegetables, Beef, Pork, flour Bread &c for the french fleet & sent down to Reedy Island, many hundreds of Cattle, Sheep & Hogs were driven down to Cape May & Cape Hinlopen, to be ready for De Estaing & there were daily rumors of his being on the Coast, as well as some account of his intended attack upon Georgia.

The following was delivered at my fathers for me, as a similar one had been at the time of my being confined in the Mason’s Lodge previous to my being sent to Winchester. What views they could have in thus notifying a prisoner tis difficult to say, unless it might be merely to have a pretence to obtain the fine they had fixed for non-Compliance.

“Philadelphia 16th October 1779

“Sir
You being drawn in the second Class of Capt. William McCullough’s Company & Colonel Sharp Delany’s Battalion. You are hereby desired to parade at the State house Yard on the 20th Instant at 10 O’Clock with your Arms & accoutrements agreeable to the Militia Law of this State: Therefore fail not.

Take Notice an Appeal will be held at the same time & place.

By order of Sharp Delaney, Esq., Col.

William McCullough, Capt.

To Mr. Sam’l Fisher.”

10th mo: 18th.—Peter Miller who had been taken up some time before & given Bail in forty thousand pounds to appear & take a tryal for Treason, so called, was taken up again by a Special writing from Jos. Reed & his Associates & brought to Goal & by his own re-
quest put into my Room. He had been long sick and when brought here was scarcely able to come, & while in Goal he had a very bad fever, so that being a very gross Man our Room was very offensive, which with Peter's wife's very assiduous exertions & applications brought about his being let out again upon a fresh Bail of forty thousand pounds to appear about the 20th of next month.

The same evening upon hearing Peter Todon come upstairs and open the door of George Harding's room, called to him to open our door, which he did & informed us that a pardon was come for Harding, conditioned that he left the State (as they call it) immediately & if he returned back to suffer death. He took his leave of us & went home that Evening & stayed till next evening, when I heard he went into the Jerseys, leaving his wife & Children, as she was sick & could not be moved. George Harding's Houses & Lots had been confiscated & sold about a Month before.

The reports of De Estaing's being hourly expected on the Coast, as well as of his being in Georgia, continued daily circulating & great preparations for Washington's attack upon New York still went on.

The Goaler from the time he said he would take another course with me to the 19th Inst. was very fickle in admitting or not admitting our friends to see us, on which day a paper was pasted up purporting that Intrigues were carrying on among the prisoners & that no person whatever should be admitted within the Goal, nor even to speak with us at the Grate, without a written Order from the President or Council, the chief Judge, a Justice or the high Sheriff &c signed by James Claypoole, so that not one of our relatives or friends were admitted till the 2nd of 11 month (about 14 days) except Peter Miller's wife & Children on account of his Sickness, tho in a few days our friends were allowed to speak with us at the Grate at which we received our
victuals till the 11 mo: 2nd—no application was made for admittance in consequence of the above paper. Some of my relatives came almost every day to ask admittance & were sent away.

In the evening of 11mo: 1, Mathew Johns spoke to Hossman of the great hardship of sending away his wife &c, when Hossman told him that there had been Letters & Intrigues carried on. I happened at this time to come within hearing & believing he alluded to the Letter I had from J. Drinker, I stept up & told him that I knew of but one Letter that had come into our Room & that was a very proper One from J. Drinker concerning his bedding, which he had detained; he immediately said he had not detained it. I said I knew he had. He then repeated that he had not detained it. I then told him I knew what was true & what I could prove, Upon which he dropt it & said pray what are you here for. I answered him for doing justly, upon which he said, Then hold to your Sentiments & walked off.

Whether mine or Mathew Johns’ conversation, or the repeated solicitation of our friends tended most to produce a Change I cannot say, but on the morning following our friends were admitted freely.

About the 28th of the 10 mo: Dr. B. Rush, who came to see Mathew Johns, who had a sick fit & was some days ill, gave us an account of the total defeat of De Estaing & Lincoln in the attack upon Savannah in Georgia, which I thought remarkably providential in preventing the french from getting footing on this continent, it afforded me much satisfaction, hoping it may materially tend to disunite the French & Americans & to bring the latter to a sense of their Error & restore peace to the Inhabitants of this Land; not that I have any desire to promote War, but providence has permitted the Calamities of it to overspread the Land as a Judgment upon us for our many transgressions, & who can be an indifferent Spectator that considers what
amazing difficulties, hardships & spilling of Blood, with
the lives of many Martyrs for a great length of time
have been passed thro in the reformation from Popery
& that so great a delusion should have overspread this
Land, as that the Leaders here should join themselves
to such a restless, deceitful, persecuting Power as
France, who certainly could not embark in such a plan
with the Americans with any other view than to get
the Country to themselves & thereby to establish their
power, Religion & Persecution therein & I cannot be-
lieve that those who have now set themselves in Power
have any other views towards France than to deceive
them by specious appearances & get them to join in help-
ing them to throw off a Connection with Great Britain,
& if it were possible for America to get from under the
King & Government, the Rulers here would then show
France that they are equally insincere & treacherous
with themselves, if they did not exceed any people that
ever undertook to Rule in the violation of Justice, in
persecution, Oppression & the laying waste of every-
thing that is truly virtuous & praiseworthy—we have
already seen much more of these things than any of us
would have expected a few years ago from any people,
more especially from the descendants of those who call
themselves Protestant Reformers from the Errors of
Popery—there is doubtless a very great & general de-
basement of the principles of some of the people in all
religious Societies in this Country, but there is none of
them whose leaders had any hand intentionally to join
in the measures which have been persued, except the
Presbyterians, who have long secretly been meditating
their favorite plan of establishing their religion & Poli-
ticks without being subject to any kind of restraint from
any King or Kingly Government, & therefore they have
to answer for being the Instruments of involving these
Colonies in the present Calamities, & there is one thing
will destroy their Character very much with all other
Protestants, which is the building an Altar in One of their Meeting houses & having the popish Mass performed there. I have made this small digression in order to shew upon what principles my sentiments of the present Rulers here & of the Connection with France are built & founded.

11 mo: 15—John Reynell, John Morris, Nicholas Waln & Joseph Brinthurst, being a Committee of Pine Street Monthly Meeting, came to see me. We had not much conversation on the cause of my being here, they appear to have some friendship for me & I hope we parted mutually in a kind disposition.

11 mo: 16—Robert Knox, a member of the present Assembly called & informed Mathew Johns that he had been endeavoring as a neighbour to get him released & Jos. Reed had given orders for his release upon his giving security for his future good behavior, to which M. Johns said I cannot give security unless I am informed what offence I have committed; then Knox said you must remain here, & John Jones, commonly called Bully Jones, who came in with him, said I have done my endeavours, I think you stand in your own Light.

11 mo: 17. Mathew Johns by the advice of Dr. Rush having applied for a writ of Habeas Corpus under the present Rulers, was taken to Thomas McKean & nothing appearing against him he was discharged & Thomas Story finding Mathew Johns had succeeded made the like application & 11 mo: 19 was taken to Thomas McKean & discharged, so that I am now again alone in my Room.

11th mo: 20th. About 3 O'Clk in the morning I was awakened by a person calling Capt. Hossman, which I understood to be on account of some of the Prisoners breaking Goal, & when my door was opened I heard that six had escaped by cutting a hole in the Garret floor & the Roof above & from thence from house to house to a Shed about 10 feet from the ground.
11 mo: 23. Thomas Morgan, who had been some days in Goal, was put into my Room by Hossman. I found him to be a person somewhat insane, had a great inclination for Strong drink, tho' he could get none. I understood he had abused his wife much, who had procured him to be put here. He would mostly sit in one position all day & say very little, at times he looked wild & would break out in fits of Laughter.

11th mo: 25th. Benjamin Horner was put into my Room, being this day taken out of Market Street Meeting & carried to Thomas McKeen on suspicion of passing counterfeit Congress Bills, which he told me he had taken of Thomas Watson, Junr., who I understood to be taken & now in another Room. McKeen ordered B. Horner to Goal.

11 mo: 26th, at night Horner & Watson were both conducted to Thomas McKeen, who examined them separately. He told Horner he had heard him called a man of good character, but that he was too intimate with that great Tory John Drinker. Horner was sent home & Watson brought back & put into my Room.

11 mo: 27. Joseph Pritchard was brought into my Room, having been this day tryed at what they call the Supreme Court, for having been employed by the Britsh when in this City to attend at the Middle ferry on Schuylkill to inspect all persons going in or out of the City & was also charged with having since used words greatly derogatory of the present Rulers & being by the Jury, so called, found guilty of Misprision of Treason as they term it, he was sentenced to the forfeiture of half his Lands & Tenements, Goods & Chattles, & imprisonment during the War without Bail or Mainprize. McKeen in the course of the tryal told Joseph Pritchard that he had attended every Court at Chester as a Spy for the Quakers, tho' he had never been there but once; he also expatiated largely on their Independence being most firmly fixed & established
& was very bitter indeed in many expressions against him.

The Scheme of Washington's attack upon & the great expectations amongst the people for some time of his shortly being in possession of New York entirely disconcerted & no more talked of, on account of Prevost's victory at Savannah & those called the militia that had been ordered to be ready were not wanted.

11th mo: 29th. While Jos. Pritchard's Wife was here, James Claypoole, Tom Elton, William Heysham & John McCullough broke into Joseph Pritchard's dwelling house & took an account of all his moveables that were there; & on the day following they came again with porters and carried off almost every thing, except a Table, a few Chairs, some books & other small matters, to a house in Spruce Street, near Second Street, where they were publickly sold by Thomas Hale & Robert Smith, appointed by the present Rulers for the Sale of what they call confiscated Estates.

12 mo: 4. About 2 O'Clock John Elmslie & Daniel Dawson came into our room & told us they were prisoners, relating as follows, that some time in the summer they were notified that they were named for Constables, of which having taken no notice further than to signify their refusal to the persons who called on them to appear at the City Court, so called, in the 7 mo: last; they were this day taken up under a writing called a warrant from Thomas McKean by Alexander Carlisle, called head Constable & conducted by him to the Court house before Thomas McKean & William Augustus Atlee. John Elmslie was first called upon touching his neglect of serving the Office of Constable. He said he had formerly satisfied that office & that by former custom he was exempt from serving again till every man in the ward had served. McKean was very angry & would not give him time or Opportunity to speak & shew how he had satisfied the office.
Daniel Dawson was then asked why he had not attended the Courts as a Constable, & answered that he could not serve that office for ten Years past. McKean asked why, & Daniel said he thought it not lawful for him. McKean asked if he had taken the Oath & Daniel said that no man had a right to demand an Oath of another. McKean said I have a Right, adding I will commit you to Goal during the War, if you give me another word. Daniel said he did not mean to offend any Man. McKean said it was a religious duty to fill up the civil offices. Daniel said he had a desire to keep his hands clean & wished others to do the same. Security being demanded, or that they would enter into recognizance for their appearance at the next Court & they refusing, were conducted to Goal by Thomas McKean's Order, who said he would send them there to cool. John Elmslie chose to mention his having satisfied the office formerly, as he thought he might thereby be the more readily clear, at the same time he expressed himself clear of any leaning to, or approbation of the present Rulers & not satisfied to do any thing under their authority.

The custom of appointing constables in this province formerly was that any person named by the preceding constables was liable to pay a fine of five pounds in case of their being appointed by the Court & their refusing to serve; they were seldom appointed unless present, but the Court sometimes would send the Staff to absent persons as a token of their being appointed, when they must serve or pay the five pounds. Elmslie & Dawson were neither of them present, nor had the Staff been sent to either of them.

Many friends for many days together came to see Elmslie & Dawson & some advised them to enter into recognizance rather than lay in Goal, but they did not see the propriety of it. Some friends of the Middle & Bank monthly meetings came to visit them & each of
them went separately to Thomas McKean, the first on account of Elmslie & the latter of Dawson, but without having any reach upon McKean, who charged them with contempt of authority & seemed much chafed by Daniel Dawson's expression about clean hands, saying it meant or implied his being a corrupt Judge & said by neglect of the attendance of the Constables at Court, there had been nobody but the Judges to take care of the prisoners; on this account I had heard they were determined to make some examples. If McKean had not been carried away with a delusion, he might have profited by his observation of their being no person to officiate as Constables & have concluded that it mostly arose from a general disapprobation of their cause & System. McKean could not be brought to say anything more to the friends than that he would release them upon their entering into recognizance.

Thomas Watson, Junr. was taken out of our room & put into the Room where G. Harding had been, in Company with Peter Musick &—Earhart, who were charged with making & issuing Counterfeit Congress Bills. After about ten days Earhart was released upon bail & Watson & Musick were put into a room on the Criminal side, where they had not been many days before Musick was discovered in an attempt to escape by cutting the Bars of the Window & they were both in consequence thereof put in Irons & kept every night in the dungeon, which seemed very hard & affecting, especially to Watson, who is about 20 Years of age & tenderly educated.

12 mo: 18th. Nicholas Waln called to see me & informed he had just been with Joseph Reed on my account, who had said I must draw up a paper addressed to himself & Council in order to obtain my liberty & Nicholas urged it very close upon me that I must do it. Whether he had given Reed expectation that I would do it I cannot say, but I informed Nicholas I could not do it with ease to my own mind. We could not by any
means unite in sentiments, yet I am conscious of not harbouring in my mind any the least ill will or unkind disposition towards him or any other of my friends.

I forgot to insert in due Course that Thomas Morgan who the longer he stayed discovered the more marks of insanity, yet not so as to be troublesome, was taken out of Goal by his Wife 12 mo: 10.

12 mo: 24. John Reynell, Nicholas Waln, Joseph Marriott, Thomas Hallowell, Joseph Bringhurst & John Haughton came to see me, being a Committee of Pine Street Monthly Meeting, who informed me they had come to a solid Judgment in my case, which was that I must sign & send a paper to the President & Council couched in such terms as I thought would give colour to their unjust proceedings against me. I told them I could not do it, that I believed myself innocent & therefore could not make such an acknowledgment to them. N. Waln said I had been legally tried & found guilty & therefore he could not see how I was innocent.

Joseph Bringhurst said he thought I had done very wrong in mentioning N. Waln's intended visit to England, seeing he did not as yet proceed & it was exposing the matter in public.

John Reynell said in mentioning the Currency issued for carrying on the present War, I had passed a censure upon other friends; in which I believe they all united or said something in confirmation of it; to which I said that it was true & I had no intention of censuring any friends when I wrote; I told them I had been apprehended near nine months, been put to Goal for 3 weeks, been afterwards at liberty 3 months, tryed about 5 months ago, since which time I had been in prison & that till very lately not any of the Monthly Meeting had spoke to me as under any appointment, that if they had attended early to my situation they would have been better acquainted with it; that I should be pleased they would not press the matter upon me, as I was not un-
easy in my mind however hard my situation might appear. They told me if I did not comply with their advice I must be treated with for not complying with the solid Judgment of friends & I might be disowned as the Society were suffering thro’ me. I urged them severally to say whether this was the sentiment of each & I think they all said it was except John Reynell, who said nothing; I told them I could not be easy to comply with their advice, that if they did proceed to disown me I should put up with it as well as I could & not make use of any hard or angry expressions or conduct towards them, desiring they would, as I was not uneasy in my situation, let the matter lye quiet. Such a great difference of sentiment naturally caused some close & rather hard words, but I was favoured not to be any way raised with anger. The last words on my part at parting were that I had no hardness in my mind against any of them.

At this time I was unwell & continued so till new Year’s day when I was taken worse & kept my Bed several days.

On the 3rd of the 1st mo: 1780, My father, Brother Thomas & Samuel Smith went to Joseph Eeed & informed him of my situation, to see whether my sickness would have any effect; Eeed did not seem to doubt my being ill, but demanded a Certificate from a Physician of it. Dr. Abraham Chovet drew up a certificate this day purporting that my life was in danger, &c fuller than I was easy with, but I did not know the contents till it was sent by Townsend Speakman who called at Reed’s several times & not finding him left the Certificate.

My father & brother & Samuel Smith had a full conversation touching my Conduct & that of our family as to the present Rulers & our sufferings under them for several years past, as I was informed in every particular; Samuel Smith told Reed that Thomas McKean (when I was taken to him by Claypoole) said that he
had my Letter by him a month & had forgot it & signified he did not proceed against me of his own accord, as he was not so clear therein, but that some others thought different; Reed seemd much nettled with what McKean had then said & passd censures upon him for saying so. My father offered to come and lay in Goal in my stead till I am well, but no notice was taken of it.

About 7 O’Clk in the Evening of the same day James Claypoole with Dr. Frederic Phile came into our room after we had been locked up, Phile felt my Pulse & asked me how I felt, to which I answered, they then both went out of the room, when I heard Phile tell Claypoole I was very ill, upon which they came in & Claypoole said he had directions from the President to let me go home upon my giving Bail to return to Goal as soon as I was well. I told him I could not do it if they kept me in Goal till I was carried out, upon which they went away & on the day following Claypoole asked Woodrope Sims to give Bail privately & without my knowledge for my future good behaviour, as they call it, but Woodrope declined it with which I was pleased.

I continued mending slowly most of this month, the weather the coldest & of longest continuance that ever I remember; We have a very comfortable room & fare as well as can be expected in a Goal.

Several of my friends & my near Connections seem very much concerned lest the friends of Pine Street should proceed to deal with me, & very anxious that I may be rightly enabled to conduct myself towards them; for my situation is really critical & hard, yet I desire to be directed by that unerring Wisdom in my own mind, which alone can support & rightly direct my Steps lest I should fall, for as far as I know myself I should be willing to do & comply with anything my friends desire of me, if I thought I should afterwards have satisfaction of mind therein.

It may seem strange for a young person to remain
so long in confinement without any sort of employment. I could not think of any thing that seemed on all accounts agreeable & I have been the more easy in being idle because I have thought that very little business of any sort is carried on in this City at present in an honest manner & if I was out of Goal at present, I should not be willing to undertake any business to get money while I could do without it. I sometimes have employed a little of my time in making Pewter Spoons (it being a part of Daniel Dawson’s occupation) when we could get Old Pewter to make them.

1st mo: 27th. James Thornton, John Foreman, John Pemberton, Ezekiel Clever, Joshua Morris, David Bacon & Henry Drinker, being a Committee of the Quarterly Meeting, came to visit me, when I informed them fully how friends of Pine Street Meeting had proceeded towards me, at the same time I informed them that I could not be willing to do as they had required of me; they urged me much to send a representation of my case to the President & Council & gave me a draft of one which they had considered & agreed upon as proper. After perusing it I told them I could not be satisfied to address anything to the President & Council, for that when I was put into the Mason’s Lodge I was not easy to sign the first paper sent to them, because of acknowledging them, that I was desirous if anything was sent them, of addressing them by their names as Men & the Instruments of our suffering only, & not as Body I could have any thing more to do with than quietly & patiently to suffer whatever they were permitted to inflict upon me, that altho I afterwards signed the papers to the Council & Congress it was not in consequence of a change in my sentiments, but merely an outside Conformity to the Company I was in, & that if I had been alone I believe I should not have signed any such paper. I also added that the Form & Words of the paper they gave were not satisfactory, But that
I could willingly draw up a representation addressed to them as a Committee of the Meeting clear & full, or if they would approve of carrying a writing addressed to Joseph Reed such as I drew up satisfactory to myself, I would willingly do it; they did not clearly answer me, but left me to draw up a representation by the next Quarterly Meeting.

Thomas Watson's & Peter Musick's Irons were taken off, Watson put again into our Boom, but Musick still kept in the Dungeon.

1st mo: 31st. William Rush, Isaac Howell & John Miller, three of those call'd Magistrates Joseph Dean, the Goaler, & two others to me unknown came into our room. I suppose they were making a visit to the Goal. Isaac Howell had some conversation with — Emslie & Dawson, John Miller enquired of me concerning my health; After they left our room I spoke to the Goaler for permission for some of us to go out into the Street & bring in some firewood we had bought; He told me we should be permitted presently & I was returning into our room when Isaac Howell stopt me in the passage & said they had taken into consideration my poor state of health & had condescended to allow me to go to my father's house & be a prisoner there upon my giving security for my future good behaviour. I told him I was an innocent man & was not conscious of having misbehaved. He said I had all the Justice shewn me that was possible, that I had been tryed & found guilty. I said as for guilt I have none & as for Justice you should never make use of the word, you have not even the Shadow of it. He said I had plead not guilty, that if I had been mute it might have been otherwise. I said I did not plead but only said I was entirely innocent, that my letter would do me credit—he asked when or how—I said I believed a time would come when he might see that I was right & he was altogether in the wrong—That it was persecution in a great degree, that
I could not be satisfied in my mind to give any security if they kept me here till I was carried out; By this time he seemed tired of hearing me & walked into another room to his Companions—he appeard to me to be as dark & as much bewildered as any person I have conversed with & his being an apostate Quaker, still keeping to a plain Garb, caused me to speak the plainer to him as being a person whom I think to be in the very gall of bitterness.

2nd mo: 1st. A Woman who was prisoner in the room into which Isaac Howell entered to his Companions when he left me, told Joseph Pritchard that upon Isaac Howell's relating what I had told him, William Rush said, Then let him lay there & rot.

I continued low & poorly, anxiously desirous that I may not be imprudently tenacious of my own prospect respecting my own situation & that the friends of the Quarterly Meeting may see it as it really is.

Thomas Watson let out upon bail, soon after which Peter Musick with 3 thieves broke out of the Dungeon, Musick escaped but the others were all again apprehended in the City.

2 mo: 6. James Thornton, Ezekiel Clever, Joshua Morris, John Pemberton, Samuel Smith, David Bacon & Henry Drinker came to visit me again agreeable to the expectation given 1 mo: 27. They had a meeting with us all, after which they desired a private conference with me, as they had before, only my Bros. Thomas & Miers were present with them; I informed them I believed there was clearness & propriety in friends no way acknowledging the present Rulers, that they were permitted as a chastisement to us, & that the division & difference in the Conduct of friends was the only support of them in their power, & that if friends were brought to see it so & receive the Calamities now in the land in true patience & resignation, the time would come when these oppressors would vanish like smoak before
the Wind. Some of them advanced some arguments that friends might address the present Powers by their names as they had the Government in their hands &c. I told them their power was exactly of a piece & could not be seperated from their paper & Lamp black Bills, which are the greatest Cheat & have been productive of the deepest Calamities that could befall a Country—that I had heard of a paper lately sent by the Meeting of Sufferings to those who now undertake to make Laws, in which they had stiled them the General Assembly, which certainly was not true, as the generality of the people had cautiously avoided voting at Elections during these times & those who had not taken the abjuration & fidelity to those new undertakers at the helm were not permitted to vote if any of them had chose it. I added that I had drawn up a paper touching my Case addressed to Joseph Reed, which I was ready & willing to shew them, tho' no person had seen or heard it except my fellow prisoners. They desired to see what I had written. I handed it to H. Drinker who read it to them. I expressed my desire previous to its being read, that whether they thought fit to make any use of it or not, I was desirous the Contents should not be much talked of. After they had heard it they seemd better satisfied & said very little about the paper they had left with me. James Thornton expressed that he had felt his mind most easy not to urge anything upon me, & mentioned some prospect they had of going to Joseph Reed on my behalf. They did not take the writing I drew up, nor ask me for it, but I trust parted with me in some degree satisfied & I believe they were convinced that altho' I could not think with my friends of Pine Street Meeting, I had no hardness in my mind against any of them. These friends did not go to Joseph Reed or any other in my behalf—neither did they call to see me again; those of them who lived in the Country returned home as soon as the Quarterly Meeting was over; However,
my mind was much easier from this day & a great burthen removed.

Several of my friends & Connections were anxious that the Committee of the Quarterly Meeting might unite with me in sentiment, & the more so as some seemd to be watching for occasion to censurme; It is a great satisfaction to me that these are disappointed.

The following is a Copy of the Writing I had drawn up—

“Friend Joseph Reed

I now address myself to thee, as being at the head of affairs here, in order that thou mayest let all those who have been any way instrumental in the treatment I have received, or who have it in their power to be instrumental in my release, have the opportunity of candidly judging thereon.

Lest it should be concluded or inferrd from my quietly & silently bearing my altogether unjust impris-onment for upwards of six months past, that I feel some uneasiness of mind, I now take the freedom to inform thee that I am entirely conscious of having given no just occasion to any man or body of men to be thus treated & I am thankful in mind that I not only feel this con-sciousness during my present confinement, but that I felt it before my being sent a prisoner to Winchester & since during the Calamities, which have attended the Inhabitants of this Land, (before blessed & favourd beyond most others). And that however irksome a long confinement may appear I have sometimes been ready to conclude that I have enjoyed more freedom & ease of mind than many others that are not thus restrained, yea & much more than I myself should have enjoyed had I been at liberty on terms not satisfactory to the feelings of my own mind—

And further, I have not been without thoughts, that thou & such others as now bear rule in this City, who
are informed of the cause & nature of my imprisonment, are fully satisfied of my innocence as to the matter wherewith I am charged, but seeing my letter upon the face & during the whole tenor of it, pronounces me to be inimical to the cause of America as you term it, you seem determined thus unjustly to treat me, (I might have said persecute me, but that I would chuse to avoid pronouncing it under that term in order that unprejudiced persons may the more fully exercise their judgments thereon) in expectation that I might be reduced to the hard necessity of complying with what I knew to be wrong in order to obtain my liberty.

And as I would not wish to deceive thee, I now candidly & without reserve inform thee, that the sentiments contained in my letter to my brother at New York, upon which I have been apprehended, tryed, sentenced & confined are consistent with the feelings of my mind upon the most solid consideration I have been capable of & that at all times since I have been called to account under thy authority for the same, & that I cannot deviate therefrom with peace to my own mind; at the same time I assure thee, that I have studiously endeavoured in my several letters to my brother to avoid giving offence to any & this I think must clearly appear when tis considered that the letter in question was sent open & subject to inspection before it could go into New York.

Yet under the sentiments above expressed, as far as I know myself, I am clear of meddling in any warlike affairs & that if I thought I had thus deviated, I should be desirous of acknowledging it to my friends, by whom I am held as a member & in public, as soon, if not before it was laid to my charge, as having been therein led away from my principles & profession, in order to remove the censure I had thereby occasioned, as far as in my power,—here also I may observe the reasons for the general tenor of my conduct, the loss of my property
with that of my father & brothers rather than contribute One pcent thereof to the town of Boston to a very large amount, because we should have looked upon ourselves by that act as parties to every thing done there, & that it was also contrary to friends principles against putting down & setting up Governments & the promotion of War in the Land—these same reasons hold with respect to the refusal of the Congress Bills, fully & clearly as to being parties to what might be transacted, setting up & pulling down Governments & the promotion of War in the land—Thou mayest remember my being advertised with my Brother as Enemies to our Country for the refusal of said Bills in 2 mo. 1776 & our store & books shut up & we forbid any intercourse or transactions in the way of our business & that our Stores were at two other several times broken open & our Goods taken & carried off to a considerable amount, we not being easy to act therein contrary to what we thought right.

All this suffering & loss of property, I trust I have born without murmuring or making use of any ill or abusive language to or against the persons active therein & I can safely say that I am better satisfied with my losses, yea much better, than if I had avoided them under a Compliance with what I did & do believe would give cause of great uneasyness to my mind.

Can therefore any unprejudiced man or men believe that I should thus quietly be made willg to partake of such a variety of embarassments, difficulties & loss of property merely from a spirit of Obstinacy, surely nay, for even admitting that thou had a clear sense & understanding that I am wrong, even then common charity & a disposition entirely clear of persecution, would induce thee to look at me with compassion as a person carried away with a delusion & endeavour by moderation & calm reason to convince me that I am in the wrong.

And I do most candidly & sincerely inform thee that
I have carefully endeavoured so to conduct myself as to give no occasion of offence to any where I could do it, with ease & satisfaction to my own mind & where I could not, quietly to suffer, thereby to convince those who have been the cause of such suffering at least that I had no evil intention towards them therein.

And as I believe thou art a man of understanding (tho to my knowledge I never exchanged a word with thee) thou mayest readily conclude, that if I had not a religious scruple in my mind against a conformity to the times, I might have passed thro the world without any of the very great hardships imprisonment and as far as I know, total loss of my property, previous to my being apprehended on this matter, at the same time observing that if I had got above those Scruples I might not only have avoided all I have suffered, but possibly by continuing to trade, have acquired something considerable thereby, & I may inform thee that from the commencement of the present rulers, I have thought it right not to carry on any trade, hoping that I may not want the necessaries of life, before I may have satisfaction of mind in some honest business.

I could give thee my reasons for writing the several parts of the letter, but as I gave them fully & clearly to the persons who undertook to try me, I apprehend thou hast heard them. I may repeat that as the letter was open and sent subject to inspection it cannot by you be called Intelligence to the Enemy & therefore that I am held a prisoner for my private sentiments only, nearly the same as if I had delivered it to thee or any other person for perusal before I had sent it, & had been apprehended thereon: And when I was apprehended & conducted to Thomas McKean, I there freely & clearly acknowledged that I wrote the letter in question, well knowing myself to be clear of just occasion of offence, & he amongst other things told me he had had the letter by him a month, that he had forgot it & that it had given him much more trouble than it appeard to give me &c
—Had I been disposed to convey intelligence to the
british Army, or anything of that nature thou mayest
readily conclude me to be void of common understand-
ing, to sign my name to such a thing & send it subject
to inspection before it could enter the brittish lines.
Several times I have had offers of having letters con-
veyed to New York by persons going privately, but be-
ing unacquainted with their Errands & knowing that if
I wrote by such persons and the contents of my letters
were free of exception, yet I might be supposed by per-
sons anxious to take some exception however clear to
be concernd in any thing they were pleased to imagine
in case my letters were found in such hands.

I understand some of those who were active in trying
me, have said that if I had employed Council I should
have been cleard & that the manner of my conduct was
somewhat offensive in my refusal to give bail for my
appearance at their Court, for my informing them when
there, that I did not see how they could try me, as I had
not taken the Test; that I had nothing to do with the
tryal & that it must be altogether their doings, if they
would proceed therein. My not employing Council in
my defence, my not consenting to the qualification of
some persons to give evidence in my favour & sundry
other matters less material; I then thought & still am
clear in the rectitude of my proceedure on this occasion,
thsome who I have no doubt are my friends have told
me that if I had employed Council, there remains no
doubt but I should have been cleared & this seems in
some degree confirmed by the twelve Men upon the de-
livery of their conclusion, saying that I was guilty
of holding a correspondence inimical to the independ-
ence of America, by which if there had been any justice
or fairness they would have discharged me as clear of
what I had been charged with, yet the twelve men were
sent out a second time, as what they had delivered did
not please; they returned a second time with the same
determination; yet they were sent out the third time
(tho one of them said if we are kept six nights more I can never say any other without wronging my conscience) and upon their return they being all seperately asked said Guilty; What means were used to produce this or whether any I do not certainly know, only this I am informed that nine of them were of the judgment they gave the first & second time & some of them had said if they knew as much then as they do now of the rights of Jury Men, they would not have altered their verdict, & very few, if any at all of them had ever served under the character of Jury Men at any court before; And I also understand that they are desirous of petitioning my release if I would give them any encouragement so to do, which I have avoided, not knowing exactly what they would ask for, and not chusing to dictate to them, as I cannot be easy to go out of Goal under any other Idea, than that of an innocent man & further—I may add that I have several times been informed that I might be released upon giving security for my future good behaviour, as you call it; Thou mayest rest assured that as I am not conscious of having done amiss, I have a scruple in my mind against giving any manner of security & I hope I may be preserved to bear patiently my confinement, till those who are the cause of it, or have it in their power to discharge me, may see & assert my innocence or until I may be otherwise providentially restored to my liberty—for as far as I know myself, I would wish to acknowledge any errors I may commit on any occasion: here also I may insert that I have been informed that James Claypoole spoke to an acquaintance of mine, desiring him to give security, privately & without my knowledge for me, which I mention that thou mayest not be deceived in case any such thing should be again attempted; that I have desired none of my friends or acquaintance may in any shape become answerable for me, & I believe none will meddle with it as they are acquainted with my sentiments thereon, viz: that I am not easy to come out un-
less I am entirely cleared & therefore I would wish no further attempt of the kind, but that every thing touching me might be acted in the same open manner in which I now address thee.

And I would wish thee to lay aside prejudice & to consider me as a person who believes himself not carried away by a delusion & whose desire is not thus to make himself noted by suffering but to pass along as much unnoticed & retired from public view as possible, & that anything that has tended to bring me into notice, has arisen from my desire to act such a part, as will afford me, satisfaction & no other motive, & if thou can get clear of prejudice thou mayest be ready to adopt the wise Council of Gamaliel Acts V, 38 & 39, "And now I say unto you, refrain from these men & let them alone; for if this Counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it lest haply ye be found even to fight against God"—

I would not have thee to conclude from my citing the above that I am desirous of giving matters a high Stamp, I have avoided it as much as the nature of the case will admit, & barely supposing me to be desirous of acting the part of a true & honest man, I may have liberty to apply it.

I would further remark that no malice remains in my mind towards any person who have been the cause of my suffering nor am I much solicitous for my release, knowing that if I act with integrity I shall have peace of mind be my lot where it may & if I am mistaken in thinking that some of the present rulers believe me to be innocent, I hope they will all be convinced & direct my discharge accordingly, endeavoring to consider my case as if it were their own—And observing that my health is considerably impaired by my Confinement

Thy Real friend,

Samuel R. Fisher."

2 mo: 6, 1780.

(To be continued.)