

Philadelphia

A History of the City and its People

A Record of 225 Years



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ILLUSTRATED

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History of Philadelphia

CHAPTER I.

EXPLORATION IN THE DELAWARE AND SETTLEMENT OF THE CITY.

The history of Philadelphia is the history of a community which is probably richer than any other in America in associations and experiences tending to identify it with the country at large. It is a record which cannot well be kept within the confines of a small territorial locality, which the site of a city necessarily is, when it is remembered that for years it was the seat of a government deeply admired by the liberal philosophers of the civilized world; the meeting place of the Continental Congress, to which the delegates from all the colonies came during the Revolution; the city whence issued the Declaration of Independence and wherein the Constitution was framed; the capital of the country for ten years, until a place could be hewn out from among the trees on the banks of the Potomac for the new capital, and for a generation afterward the social, intellectual and financial centre of the Union.

However, wide as the scene may be, the figure of the city must loom above everything else when its picture is to be drawn, and, if it seem to be the "hub of the universe," as the narrative proceeds, this will be only because in holding the mirror up to truth Philadelphia is seen to occupy this position in reference to the rest of the country. It is in no mere antiquarian spirit of quest for separate or curious facts that this account will be rendered, but with some recognition of the philosophy lying back of what men and women for two centuries and a quarter have done within the limits of the most interesting of all our American neighborhoods.

It is sometimes said that Philadelphia's history was slow to begin in view of the settlements established at earlier dates on the Atlantic coast. St. Augustine (1568), Quebec (1608), New York (a trading post in 1613 and a city in 1653), Boston (1630), and other towns may boast of an earlier establishment, as a result of accidents to navigators or by favor of their natural location. The site of Philadelphia lay some ninety miles up a bay which narrowed into a river, not eagerly ascended by mariners who were few and unskilful. The tasks of the explorer on the intricate coasts of a great unknown continent were many, and the Delaware escaped intelligent attention for many years.

The first recorded visit of a European navigator to the waters which coursed past the site of Philadelphia on their way to the sea was made by Henry Hud-

son. This Englishman undertook several voyages to America, at first in the interests of the Muscovy or Russia Company, organized for the purpose of finding a northwest passage to India. He left Gravesend on May 1, 1607, with the intention of sailing straight across the North Pole to the lands which more than a century before had beckoned Columbus into the west. Frustrated in his purposes he returned to England in September. The next year he again went out for the Muscovy Company. This time he sought a northeastern passage to India, but was foiled by the ice which binds the northern coasts of Europe. His reputation as a daring explorer had spread to the continent, and in 1609 he took service with the Dutch East India Company, then only recently established. He left Amsterdam early in April of that year in a yacht or vlie boat, of about 80 tons, called the "Halve-Maan" (Half-Moon), which was manned by a crew of 16 or 18 Dutch and English sailors. Once more he set his eyes toward the northeast, but baffled by the ice headed his vessel for North America. He touched the coast of Maine in July and cruising south came to Virginia, where however he did not land. He turned north instead and on Friday, August 28, discovered what was later called Delaware Bay. After soundings were made the channel was thought to be too shallow for his boat. The land trended "away towards the northwest with a great bay and rivers," but the sand bars rendered entrance dangerous. He convinced himself that the road to China did not lie that way and skirted the coast of New Jersey, coming on September 3 within the shelter of what we now call Sandy Hook.¹

It was not until 1614 that another Dutch navigator, Cornelis Jacobsen Mey (whence Cape May) entered the Delaware, now named the Zuydt or South river, to distinguish it from the Nordt or North river, since usually called the Hudson. Meanwhile an English explorer, Lord Thomas De La Warr, on his way to Virginia in 1610, is said to have visited the bay. He attached his name to it in chronicles and in popular speech, and this was destined to cling to it despite the Dutch effort to introduce a different nomenclature. It seems likely that the "Onrust" or "Restless," the name given a vessel which was built on Manhattan Island, by a little party of Dutchmen, came well up the Delaware in 1616. It was a small boat of only 16 tons burden, admirably adapted for the examination of internal water courses, and it was in command of Cornelis Hendricksen. The bay and river were explored, the captain and his little crew landing at a number of places to report upon the nature of the country, its Indians, its animal and vegetable life, as well as upon the channel as a future entry-way for mariners. By some accounts which are, however, based largely upon surmise, he ascended the river as far as the Schuylkill's mouth. At any rate Mey, who returned to the Delaware in 1623, saw the site of the future city. He came out in the "New Netherland" with a party of settlers, as director-general or governor of the Dutch colonies in America. He left some of the families, who accompanied him, on the shores of the North river and brought the rest to the South river. A small party established themselves on an island in the Delaware near the present city of Trenton, N. J., and a stockade called

¹ *A Historical Inquiry concerning Henry Hudson* by John Meredith Read, Jr.

Fort Nassau was erected on the eastern bank of the river, at a point not far from where Gloucester now stands.

For many years after Hudson's voyage of discovery, the ships which were despatched to America from Holland came and went for the most part at the will of their individual owners. The question of forming a West India company, which would promote the territorial and commercial interests of Holland in the west, in somewhat the way the Dutch East India Company exercised control over trade and navigation on the opposite side of the globe, had been under discussion for a long time. The creation of this vast monopoly led to greater activity in the work of Dutch exploration and settlement in America, though by reason of the excellent harbor their attention was mainly directed to the North river. Now and again, however, ships sailed around to the South river. The experiment near Trenton came to naught and the settlement in a year or two was given up. Fort Nassau was abandoned to the Indians, with whom a trade in furs continued to be carried on by the shipmasters who found their way hither. Sometimes a garrison seems to have been left in charge, and the stockade was rebuilt and strengthened in 1633, by Governor Van Twiller, at so much expense that he was taken to task for the adventure.

The interest of the Dutch in this part of their domain which they called New Netherland had now increased materially, because of a grant of privileges extracted from the West India Company to any man who should bring out fifty adults within four years and establish a colony. He then became a patroon and could occupy a belt of land eight miles in length on each side of a river, or, if he should settle only on one bank, a strip sixteen miles in length and running into the back country indefinitely. He was offered other advantageous privileges, and it was under this arrangement that the unfortunate settlement was made at Swaannendael (The Valley of the Swans), near the present Lewes, Del.

David Pietersen de Vries, a Hoorn skipper, had sent out a party of emigrants with supplies, hoping to engage in fishing for whales, then abundant in the bay of the South river. They reached here in the spring of 1631. Palisades were built and the settlement was established hopefully, but just at the time that de Vries himself was about to come out in the following year, he received intelligence of the massacre of all his colonists. When he arrived it was a sorry scene which met his view. Ruin and death were spread around on every hand. Instead of seeking revenge, however, he aimed to conciliate the savages by bestowing presents upon them, and was successful in making a treaty of peace, the first to be arranged between white and red men on the banks of the Delaware. He came up the river in January, 1633,¹ and anchored on a bar on the New Jersey shore, exactly opposite the present city of Philadelphia. He was

¹ The author has made an effort in this narrative to begin the new year upon the first of January. Events occurring between that date and March 25—at which point, until 1752, the old year ended—are described as falling within the new year, as they would be at the present day. The eleven days which were dropped in 1752 when the calendar was reformed, are not added to the dates mentioned here prior to that time. While the author has wished to observe this rule, he is not certain that he has at all times succeeded in effecting his object, since he has naturally been unable to go to the sources of information in many cases and has been obliged to rely upon secondary authorities.

twice frozen up while cruising about on the lookout for whales, and saw many evidences of the warlike disposition of the Indians, at the time in a state of great unrest, in reference to one another as well as against white men. In a few months he sailed for home in complete discouragement, and there were no further efforts at colonization on the part of the Dutch, until after the arrival of the Swedes.

These came in 1638. The emigration was induced by the secession of William Usselinx, from the Dutch West India Company, which was not carrying out in America the purposes that some of its founders had in view. He was, anyhow, an adventurer, and as early as 1624 he went before King Gustavus Adolphus, at Stockholm, to advocate the organization of a Swedish West India Company. He was granted a royal commission to repeat in Sweden what he had been the principal instrument in doing in the Netherlands. The company was to carry Christianity, as well as settlers and merchandise to the South river. Gustavus was profoundly and nobly interested in the great scheme, to which he pledged a large sum of money. By an edict in 1627, citizens of all ranks were invited to subscribe to the enterprise and this they did, from prince to peasant, with much enthusiasm. But the Thirty Years War again drew the king to the continent, and in 1632 he fell at the battle of Lützen, bequeathing his American project to his little daughter Christina and his great Chancellor, Oxenstiern.

The military demands upon Sweden at this time were so far beyond her ability easily to satisfy them that there was little ambition left for a foreign colony. At Usselinx's suggestion, or by other mediation, the services were secured of Peter Minuet, who had been for several years Director-General of New Netherland at New Amsterdam. He had been dismissed in 1632, and was open to employment in connection with the Swedish West India Company. Two ships were fitted out, the "Kalmar Nyckel," (Key of Kalmar) and "Vogel Grip" (the Griffin,) which finally started from Gottenburg for America, late in the autumn of 1637. The "Key of Kalmar" was a man-of-war and the "Griffin" a mere sloop or yacht, capable of navigating shallow water in safety. The vessels arrived inside the South river capes some time in the spring of 1638. They passed up the river, between banks clothed with fresh bloom and verdure, to Minquas creek, later Christina and now Christiana creek, in honor of the young Swedish Queen, under whose auspices the expedition was fitted out. They anchored and landed at "The Rocks" at the foot of the present Sixth street, in Wilmington, Del. Minuet and his party built there a fort which they called Fort Christina, and named the settlement which they founded Christinahamn, or Christina Harbor. To the entire colony, which he came to plant, he gave the name New Sweden, just as the Dutch had called theirs New Netherland. Some tentative arrangements as to titles to land were concluded with the Indians.

As might have been expected the activity of the Swedes caused uneasiness among the Dutch. Their Fort Nassau had been attacked by a party of Englishmen in 1635 and captured, though it was soon retaken, and they felt that their tenure was less secure than ever, now that it was contested by colonists representing still another nation. The Hollanders kept up overland connection with New Amsterdam by way of New Jersey, and runners at once bore northward news



MAP OF NEW SWEDEN

of the coming of the Swedes. Protests were entered against the construction of the Swedish fort, but Minuet proceeded with his work without regard to them, and put forth shrewd and successful efforts to bring in to him all the peltry collected by the Indians, which had earlier gone to the Dutch. After manning and provisioning the fort and making other arrangements for the safety and prosperity of the colony, Minuet sailed for home in a few months, stopping on his way in the West Indies to barter his cargoes. He seems to have lost his life in a tropical hurricane, while temporarily on board a Dutch vessel, the "Key of Kalmar" and the "Griffin" reaching Sweden again after various adventures in southern and northern seas.

For the time being the relations of the Dutch and the Swedes were not unpleasant, a circumstance due beyond a doubt to the facts that there were so few of each people here, and that there were so many Dutchmen in the Swedish settlement at Christinahamm. Their interests had been allied in Europe and the rivalry was friendly in this new world to which both had come. Indeed a place was found for a large party of Hollanders, who a little later established a colony in New Sweden, not far from Christina, and its governor was a salaried officer of the Swedish crown. It was against the English that the Dutch directed their energies, and trading houses built by this people, at the mouth of the Schuylkill river and at a point in New Jersey, near the present Salem, were burned and the intruders unceremoniously driven out. The Swedes almost entirely monopolized the fur trade of the valley, though they were attacked by disease and there was some thought of abandoning the experiment.

Peter Hollandaer was sent out to succeed Minuet as governor. He was also a Dutchman. More colonists with cattle and farming implements arrived, and further progress was made in the work of reclaiming the wilderness, though the movement took on nothing like a national character, from the Swedish point of view, until John Printz, arrived in 1642. He was an enormous man, four hundred pounds in weight, according to de Vries, who, however, may not have had scales at hand when he made the estimate. He had been engaged in the cavalry service in Sweden, and had the bluff ways of a soldier. He arrived early in 1643, after a voyage of 150 days, with definite instructions as to the course of his administration. Resources were put at his command, and, though in a position by no means enviable, he set about his work with energy and some degree of intelligence. He established himself on Tinicum Island, where he built Fort New Gottenburg, which guarded a "handsome" mansion for his own residence called Printz's Hall. This was almost directly opposite the Dutch Fort Nassau, but he was not deterred by this consideration. He also built Fort Elsingborg, on the New Jersey bank, near the mouth of Salem Creek, and was in a position to halt any vessel whatever which came up the river. Moreover, he did not hesitate to exercise his authority in these respects, though he at the same time gave a care to the material interests of his colonists. Heretofore there had been only windmills; he caused to be erected a water mill, on what is now Cobb's Creek, and made to prosper the trade in beaver skins and tobacco. That he might have fuller command of the fur business he erected forts which entirely closed the Schuylkill, as the Dutch called the stream known to the Indians as Manayunk, and constituted himself a complete overlord of the colony.

The Dutch, not unnaturally, took offense at such exercise of authority in ground where they felt that they had prior rights. De Vries, who returned to the South river in 1643, and attempted to ascend it in his sloop, was brought to by the guns in the Swedish fort, and the agents of the New Netherland government, at Fort Nassau, were constantly protesting against Printz's unfriendly behavior. Once he ordered a Dutch trading vessel from the Schuylkill, threatening it with confiscation. A Dutch officer, in charge at Fort Nassau, who came to demand an explanation was sent away. Men on both sides were put in irons, some of them by Printz's own hands. He finally adopted the most drastic measures. He expelled from New Sweden every Dutchman who would not take an oath of allegiance to the Queen, stopped and searched all Dutch vessels coming up the Delaware, and barred them entirely from the Schuylkill.

When Peter Stuyvesant became Director-General at New Amsterdam, in 1647, Printz was confronted by one who would soon prove to be his match. In 1651 he came to the South river in person, to prove the right of the Dutch position. Both parties had been buying lands from the Indians and the titles, in the nature of the case, were much confused. Finally, Stuyvesant, not without protest from Printz, built another fort near Christinahamn, on the western bank of the river. This was called Fort Casimir. That the two peoples did not come to blows seems almost a miracle, but both lived in dread of English designs upon the Delaware and were discreet enough to nurse their mutual grievances in silence.

These conditions could not indefinitely continue. Printz sailed for home in October, 1653, leaving the colony in charge of John Pappagoya, his son-in-law, and it was not until the new governor, John Claudii Risingh, arrived in May, 1654, that the Swedes were again assured of vigorous direction. They were not numerous. Swedes and Dutch together, even after Risingh's arrival with some new colonists, numbered only 368 souls, though this total is believed to have taken no account of some who had made their way into the interior. The new governor had distinct instructions to cultivate a spirit of peace in New Sweden, but he no sooner came in front of the Dutch Fort Casimir than he demanded its surrender. He told those who appeared to inquire of the nature of his mission that it stood upon Swedish territory. Two guns were fired over the work, twenty armed men landed to seize and eject the Dutchmen, and the Swedes were supreme on the Delaware. Risingh had performed his conquest on Trinity Sunday; he therefore renamed Fort Casimir, Fort Trinity, and set about strengthening it against possible reprisals. He sent out for the Indian chiefs of the neighborhood, and loading them with presents renewed the national vows of friendship.

This was too much for Stuyvesant and also for the Dutch West India Company, which ordered the effectual punishment of the Swedes upon the Delaware. The first step was to seize a Swedish vessel in the North river and the governor made arrangements to despatch seven ships with 600 men, fully armed, to the South river, where they appeared before Fort Trinity on September 12, 1654. The garrison, numbering 30 or 40 men, was in command of Captain Sven Schute and he discreetly surrendered before a gun was fired. The Dutch now ad-

vanced upon Fort Christina, where Governor Risingh was stationed, and completely invested the place. He also was compelled to surrender for, as it proved, his fort was in a wholly defenseless condition, and his men were without ammunition. From this point the invaders advanced up the Delaware to Tinicum Island, Printz's old headquarters, destroyed Fort Gottenburg and twisted the necks of Madam Pappagoya's poultry. The Swedes, settled on the river banks, mostly came and took the oath of allegiance to the Dutch. Those who refused were dealt with harshly. Some fled to Maryland, while others were put upon boats and transported to New Amsterdam.

This was a sorry experience for the Swedes, but their stupid governor had brought them to their pass, and he in great anger and excitement went home leaving the colony to its fate. The South river now had a series of Dutch governors whose yoke, however, did not bear very heavily upon the conquered people. It was Stuyvesant's design to prevent further Swedish immigration, but he was not entirely successful. Even while the negotiations were proceeding in reference to a large number of colonists who had started on the "Mercury," before the news of the Dutch conquest was known in Sweden, the party were landed by the help of the Indians and served to swell that little body of husbandmen whom William Penn found on this ground when he came to establish his Quaker commonwealth.

The Dutch wished to keep the Swedes within a definite pale, preferably at Passayunk or Passyunk where the Indians would have welcomed them, but the governor did not succeed in confining them within any certain area, if indeed a serious attempt was ever made thus to oppress this industrious and peaceful people. Nevertheless, by mere natural gravitation, something like this result was achieved for the Dutch congregated around Fort Casimir, while the Swedes moved farther up the river. They settled in Upland, now Chester, and going north crossed the Schuylkill to occupy the lower part of the peninsula, formed by the junction of that river with the Delaware, where we meet them fairly in a history of Philadelphia. The titles to their lands were vague, but they had plantations which were diligently cultivated and their crops, together with the fur trade, insured them comfortable lives. The block house erected at Wicaco, for defense against the Indians in 1669, seems to have been converted into a church in 1675. Other churches further testified to the religious faith of the people. Their national sentiments did not disturb their relations with the Dutch director-general, who was a benevolent suzerain. Nor did their love of Sweden make them restless or conspiring subjects of the English crown, which they were soon to become as a result of events whereby Holland was entirely despoiled of her American settlements.

The Dutch formed a wedge between English colonies in New England and English colonies in Maryland and Virginia. That their claim to this valuable territory could be held without a contest was not to be believed. Already they were feeling the English pressure on the south, as well as on their northern borders. They were being pressed farther up the bay. The Dutch West India Company made over all its claims upon the South river to the city of Amsterdam, to which it was heavily indebted, a change of jurisdiction in no way increasing the ease of feeling of the colonists who were in constant dread of an

invasion from Maryland. Meanwhile the return to power of the Stuarts in England made the Dutch tenure seem still less secure, as the crown was quite determined to gain control of the entire North American continent. In 1664 King Charles II conveyed to his brother James, Duke of York, all New England, New York and New Jersey. The duke at once fitted out an expedition to expel the Dutch from their New Netherland, and sailing up before Stuyvesant's fort, at New Amsterdam, forced its surrender on September 9, 1664. From this time on its name became New York. Two frigates and some soldiers at once proceeded to the Delaware, where they brought up in front of the old Fort Casimir, now called New Amstel, whose garrison, unlike that at New Amsterdam, did not yield without a skirmish. Three Dutchmen were killed, while ten were wounded. It was an ill advised resistance, for the fort and the town were plundered and many of the people sold into slavery in Virginia. New Amstel was rechristened New Castle by the conquerors. The New Netherland settlements, both on the North and the South rivers, were now under English jurisdiction. A European war between England and Holland in 1673 led to another Dutch expedition to America. New Netherland was recaptured, but in the following year, when the peace was signed, each combatant was required to relinquish the territorial conquests which it had made from the other, and the English resumed their briefly interrupted rule.

Soon after he had received his patent, the Duke of York sold New Jersey, which was divided into East and West Jersey and commonly called the Jerseys, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. They promptly began its settlement by a useful class of English and Scotch immigrants, who came at first to the northern part of the province to be in proximity to the better guarded, more accessible and also more populous colony of New York. Some were members of the Society of Friends or Quakers, whose attention was now being drawn to America as a place in which they might worship God as their awakened consciences dictated. Through the death of Lord Berkeley, William Penn acquired a proprietary interest in New Jersey, as a trustee for a party of creditors, and thus the way opened for events which were soon to ensue on the western bank of the Delaware. While the country lying back from the river was not included in the Duke of York's grant, probably since it was a *terra incognita* in every sense of the word and accounted to be, therefore, of little worth, this fact did not deter the governor at New York from entering the Delaware and extinguishing Dutch authority on both sides of the stream. Titles to extensive tracts on the west bank were gained from the Indians, and it became an object of envious concern as soon as the proprietors of New Jersey began to people their province by settlers who entered it by way of Delaware bay.

In 1677 the "Kent" brought more than 200 passengers from London, who, landing at the mouth of Raccoon creek, afterward made their way in small boats up to Burlington. Salem was also being peopled by English emigrants, but the first English vessel and possibly the first vessel sailing under any flag to go up the river, past the site of Philadelphia, was the "Shield" from Hull, which reached Burlington in 1678. While tacking from bank to bank and shifting its sails to the wind, in order to overcome the current of the stream, it approached

the tree-covered bluff which the Indians called Cohoquinoque or Coaquanock,¹ now the active center of Philadelphia's water front. "Here," said one of the passengers prophetically, "is a fine place for a town."²

William Penn was born in London in 1644. His mother was a Dutch woman of no very great brilliancy and his father, Sir William Penn, was an admiral in the English navy who was so fortunate as to enjoy the esteem of King Charles II and his brother the Duke of York. The son had the up-bringing of a cavalier, but early gave evidence of a drawing to a life of piety. Alone one day, when still but eleven years of age, he was "suddenly surprised with an inward comfort and, as he thought, an external glory in the room, which gave rise to religious emotions, during which he had the strongest conviction of the being of God, and that the soul of man was capable of enjoying communication with Him." Thus early he felt himself called to a "holy life." Such experiences were not unusual in this time of Puritan and Quaker awakening, but they were not everyday occurrences among the higher classes of Englishmen. Young Penn's father, the admiral, was in no way pleased to see these signs of his son being carried off on the wave of this emotional religion, and at sixteen he was sent to Oxford where he became a student in Christ Church College. Here it was hoped he would be fitted for the life of a nobleman, but after two years he was expelled unable, as he afterward said, to exist "in the midst of that hellish darkness and debauchery." Although not yet a member of the Society of Friends, he began to consort with the Quakers, and put himself in the way of pursuing a life very different from that for which his father had designed him.

A few years before, the poor son of a weaver, George Fox, was visited by the sense of a divine mission, and he had raised up about him a sect which, if not yet numerous, went around propagating their doctrines in the spirit of the early martyrs. They refused to pay their tithes for the support of the established national church. They would not take oaths since the proceeding, in their view, was blasphemous. They wore their hats in the presence of all men; they uncovered only when they went to their God in prayer. "Thee" and "thou," which were reserved in England for inferiors, they used to every person, who was also called by his or her first name. Dogmas, ritual, sacraments, and the whole mass of confused paraphernalia, in which religion is sometimes dressed up in human presence, were cast out entirely, as was the hired priest. There was to be a return to the religion of the early Christian fathers, with silent worship which would be broken only by speech when God put it into man's or woman's head. These natural ministers of God were then to say what He willed them to say. They and all the members of Fox's sect were to heed an "inward light," shining out to guide them unfaillingly. The meetings were held everywhere in England. The preachers stood in the streets and fields gathering assemblages of

¹ A name variously spelled which seems, like others, by regrettable circumstances to have been entirely eliminated from our local place nomenclature. According to P. S. Duponceau, who made many interesting studies of our Indian tongues, the word meant "the grove of the tall pine trees."

² Proud, Vol. I, p. 150.

people around them, undeterred by the harsh laws, the lynx-eyed constables, the unjust judges and the vile prisons into which they were cast tirelessly.

It was a dark age in England, and one for which the Anglo-Saxon race may forever blush. For forty years the Quakers, as well as the members of other dissenting sects, suffered terrible personal cruelties at the hands of the government. Their homes were pulled down and their property seized. Thousands of them died in the foul jails, into which they were thrown with common thieves and murderers, to rot amid vermin and disease. Moreover, the early Quakers were, for the most part, ignorant people with whom it was no honor, in the view of such a man as Admiral Penn, for his son to associate. He beat the boy and turned him out of doors, although he was still not a member of the Society, and in the hope of putting other ideas into his head, sent him to the continent for travel and study. Upon his return he visited southern Ireland on business for his father. One day he went down to Cork, where he heard a sermon on the text, "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world."¹ He seems now to have made his choice between these two faiths, and at once embarked upon that course which constituted him one of its leading preachers and writers, and, by the establishment of a refuge for the sect in America, its greatest benefactor. He was disgusted with the vanity of the world and with "the irreligiousness of the religious of it."

In a raid upon a Quaker meeting in Cork young Penn was arrested, but he was soon released because of his position, and was recalled to London by his father, who again tried to rid him of his Quaker notions. Nothing would move him; he was now fully imbued with the spirit of the leaders of the sect. He was twenty-four years old and brought to the Society a great deal of what it needed, though affected to despise. Fox was an illiterate and ungrammatical man who preached, as have many after him down to our own day, that the Lord loved an empty vessel. He could then pour His own spirit into it to water the souls of the human family. Macaulay once said rather harshly: "Fox talked nonsense and some of his friends paraphrased it into sense." William Penn was one of these friends. He put the theology into orderly form, and by his education was enabled to give it such an appearance in the sight of people of more fastidious tastes as advanced it mightily in public favor. For his defense of his religion in *The Sandy Foundation Shaken*, in 1668, he was unceremoniously sent to the Tower where he was kept for nine months, with the prospect of dying there if he did not recant. This did not move him. "My prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot," said he, "for I owe my conscience to no mortal man." He whiled away the tedious hours of his imprisonment by writing his *No Cross, No Crown*, a discourse in which he aimed to show "the nature and discipline of the holy cross of Christ, and that the denial of self and daily bearing of Christ's cross is the alone way to the rest and kingdom of God." This became one of the best known of Penn's written works, which are of uncommon literary quality. Of *The Sandy Foundation*, Pepys remarked, "I find it so well writ as I think it is too good for him ever to have writ it." Robert Louis Stevenson loved Penn and carried a volume around the world with him.

¹ Fisher, *The True William Penn*, p. 104.



THE BLOCK HOUSE AT WICAGO



ARMS OF PENN



SCHUYLKILL AND DELAWARE RIVERS

From the Map of Peter Lindstrom, Swedish Engineer, 1655.

- A. Kackarleon, Ornebo Kylen-La Rivier du Nid des Aigles.
- B. Manawnek Eyland.
- C. Hollandaer Ky-La Rivier des Hollandois.
- D. Drufwe Eyland-Isle des Raisins.
- E. Aquikanaara Eyland.
- F. Horte Kylen-La Rivier des Ceris.
- G. Sineednigh.
- H. Sasacken.
- I. Gulneorening.
- J. Tekoke.
- K. Tetameckoneks.
- L. Arwames.
- M. Hackomenebackingh.
- N. Kanokanick-La Rivier des Peskozockaandigh.

Of *Fruits of Solitude*, a later book of reflections, this master of English style wrote: "There is not a man living, no, nor recently dead, that could put with so lovely a spirit so much honest, kind wisdom into words."¹

A very important ally indeed was this for the Quakers, yet withal Penn was in nowise offensive in advancing his opinions, and he continued on his own as on his father's account to enjoy the favor of his old friends. The Duke of York interceded and secured his release from the Tower, but in 1670 he was again arrested for preaching in the street, and was clapped into jail once more. He wore his hat in court and was fined. He would not pay, as it was against his principles to do so, but his father, who was on his dying bed, furnished the sum, and he was once more abroad. It was not for long, for at the end of 1670 he was again put into prison where he was to remain for six months among the common and dirty felons of the realm.

Upon his release, he went to the continent to recuperate, preaching as he went. His father had left him a fortune estimated to amount to £1,500 a year, a large income for the day, and he became engaged to and in 1672 married a Quakeress, Gulielma Springett, "in all respects a very desirable woman," a friend wrote, "whether regard was had to her outward person, which wanted nothing to render her completely comely, or to the endowments of her mind, which were every way extraordinary." It may be that Penn now had more interest than before in keeping away from the constables. At any rate, he formulated his great benevolent project of a commonwealth in America, wherein the Quakers, who were subjected to so much tribulation and distress at home, might enjoy religious liberty. The Puritans had found such a haven in New England where, free themselves, they cheerfully turned loose the imps of persecution upon other men and women. The Catholics had followed Lord Baltimore to Maryland. Fox and the Quaker leaders had for years had in view a colony for their suffering people and Penn, when he acquired an interest in New Jersey was not without hope that he could make that province a refuge for them. Some came to settle in West Jersey and even in East Jersey, but the number was few, and rather indifferent accounts were given of the natural resources of the region. It was in 1680 that Penn evolved the plan of taking American lands from the Crown in payment of a debt to his father, now with interest grown to £16,000. This was made up of money lent to his majesty by the admiral, and his arrears of pay in the king's service. It had been running on from year to year, and in friendship Charles II and the Duke of York agreed to give the son what he sought, a great tract of wild, unexplored land, whether valuable or valueless they knew not, running west from the Delaware. It was described as lying north from Maryland "bounded on the east by the Delaware river, on the west limited as Maryland, and northward to extend as far as plantable." containing, when its bounds were further defined, over 40,000 square miles, an area therefore greater than Ireland's and almost as great as that of England itself. It was the largest grant ever made in America to a single individual. It was also the only instance in which land was paid for in money, or what is equal to it, an unliquidated debt, since in the other colonies title was given in return

¹ Stevenson's *Letters*, Vol. I, p. 232.

for the mere service of settlement.¹ The king's direct interest ceased and Penn in return for two beaver skins annually and one-fifth of all the gold and silver which might be found in the territory, with the further condition that he would establish a government according the people a voice in their affairs in an elective legislative assembly, became a kind of feudal lord of the great domain.

The charter was signed at Westminster, not without many anxious delays, on March 4, 1681. Penn wrote at once to Robert Turner of Dublin: "After many waitings, watchings, solicitations and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England. . . . It is a clear and just thing, and my God that has given it to me, through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless it and make it the seed of a nation." The king graciously christened it Pennsylvania. Penn himself wished it to be called New Wales, a system of nomenclature much in favor at the time. There had been a New England, a New Netherland, a New Sweden, a New Jersey, and now he wished to have a New Wales. This suggestion having been rejected, he proposed Sylvania, a word which, like Utopia, seems to have been a spark from the idealist's forge. The king would add Penn to it, though the proprietor, fearing it would be looked on as a "vanity" in him, personally went to beg that it be changed and offered the clerk twenty guineas if he would "vary the name." Penn became reconciled only when he was assured that it was "a respect in the king," to his father, and upon further reflection that the word in Welsh signified a head or headland, "as Pennanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England." We have today such names as Penlyn and Pencoyd. Thus he took Pennsylvania to mean "the high or head woodlands."²

A month after he had received the charter, Penn dispatched his cousin, a son of his father's sister, William Markham, to his "new country" to serve as deputy governor until he could perfect his arrangements and follow. He also employed and sent forward surveyors to plat the land for coming settlers, and to lay out the city which it was his plan to found on the riverside. "Be sure," he enjoined his agents, "to make your choice where it is most navigable, high, dry and healthy; that is where most ships may best ride, of deepest draught of water, if possible to load or unload at the bank or keystone without boating or lighterage." If there should be a creek flowing into the river, and that creek should be navigable up into the country, so much the better would he like the site. These conditions were all met in Philadelphia. The land was high, dry and healthy. The water was deep in against the shore, and vessels could ride at anchor under the trees which threw their boughs out over the water. Finally a navigable stream penetrating the interior was found in the Schuylkill, of unforeseen importance in forwarding the growth of the city in later years when it was found that this stream led to wonderful beds of coal.

It was Penn's hope that each house should be placed in the middle of its plat, with gardens, orchards and fields around it. A home for his own use must be built fronting the river. It should be "a greene country town which will never

¹ Fisher, *The True William Penn*, p. 206.

² Hazard's *Annals*, p. 500.

be burnt, and always wholesome." The agents must take care, too, that "no vice or evil conversation go uncomplained of or unpunished in any; that God be not provoked to wrath against the country."

Penn advertised for settlers in England and on the continent, especially in Holland and Germany, where he had traveled, and preached to the people. He offered 5,000 acres in Pennsylvania for £100 in cash, and a rent of one shilling annually thereafter for each 100 acres. If the settler could not buy, he might hire 200 acres or less at one shilling per acre per annum. Penn called it "an holy experiment," and settlers were sent out as soon as they could be secured. These, according to expectation, were largely Quakers, as were those who accompanied Penn himself when in 1682 he was ready to make a personal visit to his province.

He sailed upon a little ship of 300 tons burden which left Deal near the end of August. It has never been definitely determined just how the ship's company was composed, a task which some investigator could very well pursue. It is known, however, that there were about 100 souls on board and that the vessel, after it was out at sea, was attacked by a scourge of smallpox whereof a third died to be cast into the deep. Without a medical science, or a quarantine system, or a ship architecture that provided for the observance of the simplest rules of cleanliness and health, it was a rare vessel which crossed the sea without untoward experiences affecting the life and health of its passengers. The ocean-going boats of the day were little larger than yachts or sloops. Men, women and children gathered up from various sources, were huddled together for a voyage that endured for from seven to twelve weeks through calm and storm, until the winds would carry them to their destination. The absence of fresh food, sickness, gradually developing squalor, and bad ventilation of the sleeping quarters were the least of the evils of a trans-oceanic trip. When contagious illnesses broke out, there was no way to cope with them, and they raged until they decimated the ship's list, those who retained their health serving of necessity as nurses and layers-out of the dead.

Such a voyage was that of the "Welcome," which arrived inside of the Delaware Capes on October 24, 1682. The vessel toiled up the river for three days until it reached New Castle. In two days more Penn and his fellow passengers were in front of Upland, where his cousin Markham awaited him. They were now about 15 miles south of Philadelphia, which was still to be seen only in the mind's eye of its founder. According to an old story (probably without foundation), the proprietor turned to a friend named Pearson, and asked him to christen the place to which they had come, and he said Chester, in honor of his native English city, the name it has ever since borne.

How Penn proceeded to the "great town" which he had planned farther north is a matter of dispute. It is believed, however, that he was rowed up in a barge past the low marshes which at high tide were submerged far inland, except for the nodding heads of the reeds; past the mouth of the little Indian river, which the Dutch had named Schuylkill, because to them, being half obscured, it suggested a hidden cove or bay; past the settlements of the Swedes, hewed out among the forest trees; Tinicum Island where Printz had held his reign, and the quondam Dutch Fort Nassau on the New Jersey shore, and up to Dock creek.

This rivulet now makes its way into the Delaware through the sewer which is laid beneath Dock street. Then and for long afterward boats came up it for a considerable distance in the way that water courses are used with picturesqueness and commercial advantage in Berlin, Hamburg and many other European cities. Here Penn saw a tavern, the Blue Anchor, which was owned, it seems, by Captain William Dare; and existed for the comfort of traders and settlers already on the ground, and visitors from Burlington and the settled parts of New Jersey. It was the principal landmark on the shore, a brick building about sixteen feet front by thirty-six feet long, in what is now Front street, one hundred and fifty feet north of the creek. Before it, a rude wharf ran out into the Delaware, and it is here that Penn is supposed to have come ashore.¹ Tradition has it that upon landing he, like a boy, leaped about the shore with the Indians as if they were play fellows. Penn was at last in the city of Philadelphia, that was not yet but was soon to be.

To what kind of a land had Penn come, and what did he behold here? The native people were objects of much curiosity to the English, as they had been to the Dutch and the Swedes. In turn the white-skinned visitors to these shores must have deeply awakened the interest of the Indians. Those who inhabited Pennsylvania belonged to a tribe known as the Leni Lenape, afterward generally called the Delawares. They were a cowed, resigned race, who had suffered a great loss of spirit by the punishment long before inflicted upon them by the Mengwe, or Minquas, or Mingoos, as they were called by the Dutch and English. They afterward figured in American history as the Five Nations, and a little later as the Six Nations. The Lenape were sparsely scattered over the country from the Hudson to the Potomac. They in general belonged to three clans, whose totems were the turtle, the turkey and the wolf, the first two dispersed along the coast, while the last, somewhat more given to warfare, lived in the interior. The Minquas roved over the Leni Lenape country at will, but it was in general to a peaceful aboriginal people to whom the Dutch, the Swedes and now the English had come on the Delaware.

Penn found them "generally tall, straight, well-built and of singular proportion." They had sharp little black eyes, and their faces were often very comely. He thought them kin to the Jews, descendants of the ten tribes who had come over by some means from Asia. The language which he tried to master, in order to speak directly with them without the mediation of interpreters, he greatly admired. The young were plunged into the rivers soon after birth to harden them to the lives which they must lead, and, laid upon boards, they were strapped to their mother's backs. The women stayed at home to till the soil. They carried the burdens while the men gave themselves up to hunting, fishing and idleness. They lived in rude huts made of mats of reeds or barks of trees, set upon poles hardly higher than a man. They ate game and fish, and the Indian corn which they ground in stone mortars and made into "homine" or cakes, whereof Penn found it "not unpleasant to eat." They also raised peas and beans which entered into their diet. They greased their persons with bear's

¹ For an account of this Blue Anchor Tavern and the other inns which bore the name on or near the site, see *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XX, p. 427.

fat, and used little other "defence against sun or weather," though they often threw skins of wild animals over their shoulders and around their loins. Their weapons were long bows and arrows pointed with flint, since they knew nothing of metals or the art of making them.¹

The Dutch and Swedes had introduced liquor among the Indians, and they were much debauched by its use, often then becoming violent against one another and white men. John Crips wrote from Burlington in 1677: "The Indians are very loving to us, except here and there one when they have gotten strong liquors in their heads, which they now greatly love."

The Burlington Friends held a meeting with them in order to abolish the evil when one of the kings said: "The strong liquor was first sold us by the Dutch; and they were blind; they had no eyes; they did not see that it was for our hurt. The next people that came among us were the Swedes who continued the sale of these strong liquors to us; they were also blind; they had no eyes, they did not see it to be hurtful to us to drink it, although we know it to be hurtful to us; but if people will sell it to us, we are so in love with it that we cannot forbear it. When we drink it it makes us mad. We do not know what to do; we then abuse one another, we throw each other into the fire. Seven score of our people have been killed by reason of the drinking it since the time it was first sold us. Those people that sell it are blind; they have no eyes. But now there is a people come to live amongst us that have eyes; they see it to be for our hurt and we know it to be for our hurt; they are willing to deny themselves the profit of it for our good. Those people have eyes; we are glad such a people are come among us!"

An agreement was made, the Indians pledging four belts of wampum, to seal up the cask. "It must be made fast; it must not leak by day nor by night; in light nor in the dark."²

Penn wrote to the Earl of Sunderland on July 28, 1683, reporting his prohibitory regulations: "They [the Indians] are an extraordinary people; had not the Dutch, Sweeds and English learn'd them drunkenness (in wch condition they kill or burn one another), they had been very tractable; but rum is so dear to them yt for 6 pennyworth of rum, one may get fur from them yt five shillings in any other commodity shall not purchase. Yet many of ye old men, & some of ye young people will not touch with such spirits; & because in those fitts they mischief both themselves and our folks, too, I have forbid to sell them any."³

It is frequently said, especially by the anti-Quaker historians, that it was most fortunate for Penn and his reputation as the leader of a peace-loving people that his lot fell among a nerveless tribe of Indians. Elsewhere his diplomacy and the Quaker policy of dealing justly and benevolently by the aborigines might have been less glorified in history. They must have met offense with defence, or suffered persecutions worse than those from which they had fled in England.

¹ Penn's Letter to the Society of Traders in 1683.

² Woodward and Hageman's *History of Burlington and Mercer County, New Jersey*, p. 115.

³ *Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, II, pp. 246-47.

There is a great deal of purpose in the observation, though the facts should not rob Penn and the Quakers of the credit of entertaining the wish, and of putting forth the endeavor to act fairly toward their new neighbors. The Dutch and Swedes had been singularly free of clashes with the native people on the Delaware and few now disturbed the Quaker plans of colonization and settlement.

"You are our brothers, and we are willing to live like brothers with you," said a chief in a council with the white men at Burlington. "We are willing to have a broad path for you and us to walk in, and if an Indian is asleep in this path, the Englishman shall pass by and do him no harm; and if an Englishman be asleep in this path, the Indian shall pass by him and say 'he is an Englishman; he is asleep, let him alone, he loves sleep.' It shall be a plain path; there must not be in this path a stump to hurt our feet."¹

The early settlers were inconsiderate enough to introduce among the Indians guns and powder and shot, as well as strong liquors, and in 1671 several white men were killed on the New Jersey side of the Delaware. It is an informing evidence of the temper of the chieftains that they themselves undertook the punishment of the offenders. They sent messengers to fetch one of the guilty.

"Do you wish to kill me?" he asked his visitors, who were his friends.

"No," was the answer, "but the sachems have ordered that you shall die."

"What say my brothers?" he inquired.

"They also say that you must die," was the answer.

"Then," said the Indian, "kill me," and with this he was shot through the body, the messengers finishing him with their tomahawks. The corpse was taken down to Wicaco and New Castle, where it was hung in chains as an example to the tribe.²

While by the European practice, which Penn adopted, nothing was held to belong to the Indians—the territory inhered to the crown by right of conquest—he busied himself, as indeed had the Dutch and the Swedes, in making arrangements with the kings for the cession of their lands. This was a mere measure of policy to cause the Indians to believe that their rights were not being disregarded, and with a view to strengthening the tie of friendship and peace. Penn attended many councils of this kind, one of which—in Shackamaxon, an Indian village in a district now known as Kensington—under the elm tree, immortalized by much tradition and the well known picture of Benjamin West, in which the founder's figure is so curiously maligned, is thought to have been held in June, 1683. Unfortunately, everything relating to the treaty made under the elm tree, still rests solely upon legend. One of the first tasks of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, after its formation in 1825, was in reference to this subject. Roberts Vaux collected the testimony of such old residents as Judge Peters of "Belmont," Deborah Logan and Nicholas Collin of the Swedish church.³ The question was again discussed in 1836, when the society appointed P. S. Duponceau and J. Francis Fisher to report upon a communication from

¹ *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties*, p. 115.

² Westcott in *Sunday Despatch*, Chapter VII.

³ *Memoirs of the Society*, Vol. I, 2nd edition, p. 89.



PENNS' TREATY WITH THE INDIANS UNDER THE ELM IN KENSINGTON.
After Benjamin West

John F. Watson, the diligent annalist.¹ The discussion was continued in 1857 when Granville John Penn, a great grandson of William Penn, then in Philadelphia, gave the society a belt of wampum which he said had been "presented by the Indian chiefs to the founder of Pennsylvania at the great treaty which was held at Shackamaxon in 1682."²

The king in these meetings sat in the middle of "an half moon," made up of the members of his council which sometimes numbered two hundred men, "the old and the wise of the nation." When the terms were arranged, one rose to say that "the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light." Then the Indians were addressed by another speaker, and they were told, says Penn, "to love the Christians and particularly to live in peace with me and the people under my government; that many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before, and having now such an one that had treated them well they should never do him or his any wrong." The men shouted at the end of every sentence and said "amen, in their way." Thus did Penn, by his kindness, consideration and finesse, bind the Indians to him, and the friendships which he made while in America were long remembered for the advantage of his city and his colony.³

Though the Dutch and Swedes had preceded Penn in the Delaware by more than fifty years, they had not gone far with the work of civilizing the wilderness. Upon his arrival, he found that the Dutch inhabited "mostly those parts of the province that lie upon or near to the bay." They had a church at New Castle. The Swedes were on "the freshes of the river Delaware," and had three places of worship, at Christina (Wilmington), Tinicum and Wicaco. "They are," said Penn, speaking of the races collectively, "a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in culture or propagation of fruit trees, as if they desired rather to have enough than plenty or traffic." Their houses were full of "fine children," and they won his admiration for their vigor and thrift. A number of English families had found their way to the west bank of the Delaware from the Salem and Burlington settlements in New Jersey, and between the time of Markham's and Penn's own arrival, several vessels had come in with English colonists. These established themselves for the most part on the land included in his grant from King Charles, which had now been extended by the acquisition of the territory at present included in the state of Delaware. This gave him command of the country all the way to the sea, and seemed to rid him of a threatened dispute with Lord Baltimore over the possession of it.

¹ *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 129-99.

² *Publications*, Vol. VI, p. 207. It was Voltaire who described this treaty as "the only treaty between those nations [the Indians] and the Christians which was never sworn to and never broken." J. F. Fisher but expressed the view of others, when speaking of West's picture in 1836 he said:

"In the celebrated picture of the treaty under the elm, our Pennsylvania painter, besides his unpardonable misconception in representing the graceful and athletic Penn at the age of thirty-eight as a fat old man of a very ordinary appearance, has put him and his companions in dresses which, if they ever wore at all, they certainly did not till nearly thirty years after the settlement of Pennsylvania."—*Memoirs*, III, 2d. Pt., p. 76.

³ Letter to Society of Traders.

In all this belt on the west side of the Delaware there were, when Penn came, probably not above two thousand white people, of whom 200 families of, say, one thousand souls were Swedes.¹

Until Markham's arrival the government under authority of the Duke of York, derived through the governor at New York, was administered by courts made up of five or six justices of the peace, three of whom constituted a quorum. The principal of these was situated at New Castle. One court north of this at Upland gave supervision to the affairs of the settlers on the ground at present comprised within the limits of Philadelphia, while, for a time at least, there was a third jurisdiction south of New Castle at the Whorekills, on Cape Henlopen, at or near the present Lewes. In 1677 there were on the tax list only 75 adult males above Bow creek, the line which now divides Philadelphia from Delaware County, nearly all Swedes. This meant a population of from 150 to 200. There were but 136 men of taxable age north of Marcus Hook. There were then under the jurisdiction of Upland court about 600 persons—men, women and children. In the same way it is computed that there were some 1,250 persons in and around New Castle. Upland and New Castle courts shortly before Penn's arrival were converted into counties of indefinite limits. Upland extended toward the north as far as Trenton to include a justice who came from the Falls of the Delaware, and would have gone farther into the wilderness to bring white men under its authority. The population was tending up the river and just before Markham came the court, "for ye most ease of ye people," was moved to Kingsesse, or Kingsessing, a village west of the Schuylkill within the present bounds of Philadelphia, near the Delaware County line.

It was a very primitive government with broad powers. Its officers under the justices were a clerk to keep the records, a high sheriff, under-sheriffs, constables, overseers of roads and fences, and surveyors. The houses were low huts of logs, the chinks of which were filled with mortar and mud, and they were all set near the margins of the rivers or creeks which furnished the principal avenues of communication from place to place. Roads were being built, but they were not available for wheeled vehicles, of which in the entire colony there were probably none, barring a few rude farm wagons or carts. To connect the towns, however, the courts early resolved that the owners should clear a course through their lands ten feet wide. The trees were to be cut off close to the ground, and those on either side of the way branded at least once a year, so that the traveler should not lose his way. Men walked, drove their domestic animals or rode horseback over these cleared paths. There were no taxes for the support of the highways; the citizens were required to work upon them in person, in order to keep them in repair, under the supervision of the overseers. Bridges were to be built "over all marshy, swampy and difficult dirty places," but these structures were few and were for the most part only logs thrown across creeks, or laid upon bogs. When George Fox traveled through the country in 1672, he and his companions crossed the Delaware in Indian canoes, their horses swimming behind them. They stopped on an island opposite Burlington, to rest their animals and then proceeded to the other shore. Thus they got over

¹ Westcott in *Sunday Despatch*, Chapter XI.

most of the deep streams. They waded through the shallower ones and rode in their dripping clothes until they could be dried out in front of a fire of brush and faggots, enkindled by striking two stones together.

Communication at this time was maintained principally by water. The Swedes were skilful navigators, and came to church at Tinicum and Wicaco in canoes and shallops. They anchored at the riverside, and with guns on their shoulders conducted their families to the log houses in which they worshipped. The furs with which they covered themselves, after the supply of clothing which they had brought with them from Europe was depleted, were hung upon neighboring fences or clumps of bushes until the service had ended, and they were ready to return home. These churches were the principal meeting places of the people. Here the court made its proclamations and posted its notices. There was no jail and when offenders were to be punished, otherwise than by fines, which it was difficult to collect, the method was likely to be by the whip. A young man who had gone mad was turned over to the court, and it built a log house in which to confine him as a public charge. The wolves which had been hunted by the Indians for their pelts grew more numerous as the aborigines receded, and as the settlements came to include domestic animals. The flocks and poultry yards were so tempting that a bounty of 40 guilders, about 20 shillings, was offered for each head or scalp, and this plan leading to no great success, the court ordered 52 "wolf pits or trap houses" to be set.

Two or three water mills were running, and perhaps a wind mill or two. To them the settlers took their grists to be ground, returning with the meal. There was also a saw mill to cut up the logs which were felled in the forests. A few hatters, tailors, carpenters and other mechanics were included in the population. There were bound white servants, as well as some black slaves, who had been introduced into the colony by the Dutch early in the history of the Delaware. These were sold or transferred under the surveillance of the court.

To the Indian crops of maize and tobacco, which the white settlers adopted to their profit, came several from seed brought from Europe. Wheat, rye, barley, oats and a number of vegetables, known to the colonists at home, were successfully propagated. There were in the forests wild grapes which made excellent wine, and Penn saw therein the prospect of a profitable industry. He found, too, very good wild peaches which were much cultivated on the Indian plantations. They were procurable "by bushels for little." When the juice was expressed it made a "pleasant drink." There were other wild fruits and berries—white and black mulberries, plums, strawberries and cranberries, which came chiefly from New Jersey. A Quaker in Burlington found them "better to make tarts than either gooseberries or cherries," and they were used, as today, for a sauce to accompany poultry and meat. The woods were full of fine trees some of which bore nuts. The black walnut, several kinds of oaks, chestnut, poplar, ash, beech, sassafras, hickory, cedar, gum and pine abounded. From a poplar tree Penn had a canoe scooped out, and it was so large that it would hold four tons of bricks. Laurel was everywhere, and upon its green leaves the deer fed when the ground was covered with snow, and they could not graze upon the meadows.

The land was bright with flowers. From the time the arbutus pressed its pink blossoms through the mould, while the snow still lay on the northern slopes of the hills, until the frosts fell in the autumn, nature provided a grand variety of bloom. The air, Penn wrote, was "sweet from the cedar, pine and sassafras, with a wild merrle yt all send forth a most fragrant smell which every breez carries with it to ye inhabitants where it goes."¹

The land, the air and the waters were full of animal life, ready for man's use. Barring the wolves there were few species that were noxious. Bears, foxes and rattlesnakes were not unknown, but they fell to the portion of those who penetrated the interior. The settlers on the Delaware knew of the existence of bears, principally by the skins which were brought in for sale by the Indians. That there were troublesome insects needs not to be said. A fort on the New Jersey side of the Delaware once had to be abandoned because of the mosquitoes. The deer were everywhere and venison was the delight of the colonists. It was better than in England said a Burlington man, "for it eats not so dry but is full of gravy, like fat young beef." There was also the elk "as big as a small ox,"² rabbits, squirrels, the raccoon, and beavers whose burrows filled the banks of the streams, so abundant that the skins were in common use as currency. Edible wild fowl, as well as birds, which had no use as food, were seen on all sides. The wild turkey, which Penn says reached a weight of 40 or 50 pounds, was fine game for the hunter. Markham wrote home: "Partridges I am cloyed with; we catch them by hundreds at a time." The fish at some seasons crowded the rivers. "Alloes as they call them in France, the Jews Alice and our ignorants shads," Penn wrote³ seemed literally to press the banks of the Delaware. They could be scooped up by the hand by men in boats. Herring could be shovelled up out of the smaller creeks. Rude traps were made and set in the streams, and the catch was often smoked, or pickled and put away in salt and vinegar in barrels for use in winter time. It was soon discovered, however, that some species could be taken even at that season. The Swedes laughed at the English for these attempts, but seeing that they were successful also went out whenever the Delaware was not actually bound with ice, and cast their rude nets. Eel and catfish were plentiful in many places. Sturgeon played in the river in summer. "Mighty whales roll upon the coast near the mouth of the Bay of Delaware," said Penn in describing the attractions of his colony to prospective settlers in Europe.⁴ Eleven had been caught and worked into oil in a single season. It had earlier been one of the purposes of the Dutch settlers upon the Delaware to shoot and harpoon these animals. Crabs and many shell fish were noted with interest, especially the oyster, which amazed Penn by its size.—"monstrous for bigness," he wrote the Earl of Sunderland,—as well as for its excellence when stewed.

Pheasants lived in the brush. Wild pigeons flew in flocks, which darkened the sun, and often so low that they were killed with sticks to be cured for win-

¹ *Memoirs of Historical Society*, II, p. 245.

² Penn to the Society of Traders.

³ *A Further Account of the Province of Pa.*

⁴ *A Further Account.*

ter use. The marshes and water sides yielded rail and reed birds in profusion, geese and ducks of several species, plover and snipe. The swan, too, was seen here in winter on which account the Dutch had named their ill-fated settlement "Swaanendael," and the white cranes rose from the marshes in clouds. The eagles soared in the sky, and alighted now and then upon a dead branch of some lofty tree.

The domestic animals of Europe were being successfully propagated. Horses were so numerous that after Penn's arrival in 1682, or early in 1683, two ships laden with them and with pipe staves were despatched for sale in the Barbadoes. The Swedes were fond of horses. It was only a few years later that one of their pastors at Wicaco accused the young men of coming to church to race their mounts rather than in the spirit of religion. Neat cattle thrived as did goats, sheep, pigs and European poultry of all species. The soil was turned by rude ploughs which were usually drawn by oxen, and hoes and other simple utensils were used in cultivating and garnering the crops.

In short, as Penn said, the settlers on the Delaware found "the air sweet and clear and the heavens serene." There was "no foul, thick, black weather, like that which was driven in on the northeast winds of England." Instead it was "dry, cold, piercing and hungry."¹ His experience was like that of the Burlington Friends who said: "The country and air seem to be very agreeable to our bodies and we have very good stomachs to our victuals." Markham had fixed upon Upland as the most available place for a government until the new city should be made ready for colonists. Here Penn probably spent most of the winter of 1682-83, and it was one of the severest within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. For much of the time the Delaware was frozen from shore to shore. Wild animals came up to the doors of the cabins for food, and it was an experience the like of which Penn had never had. His enjoyment of its novelties seems to have been great, in spite of the unavoidable discomfort of such a season in the ill-built houses which were at hand to shelter him and the other colonists. The Quakers assembled for religious worship in the homes of their leading members. There were meetings for a time in the "Court House" in Upland which, however, was a mere stockade for defence against the Indians. The cold winter was followed by a very hot summer, so that Penn could aptly say of the weather that it was "constant almost in its inconstancy."

The founder's commissioners had been instructed to lay out a city of straight and regular streets, reserving spaces for markets and squares. The site selected was a quadrilateral piece of ground, extending from the Delaware to the Schuylkill. The frontage on each of those rivers was about one mile and the distance east and west between them two miles, or, to be quite exact, 2.15 miles. It was at first intended that the city should cover 10,000 acres, but this tract contained only 1280. For every 500 acres of country land purchased from Penn, the buyer was to receive ten in the "great town," but with this reduction in its area no such arrangement could be carried out, for which reasons the Liberties were created and some of the purchasers received their bonuses in the Northern

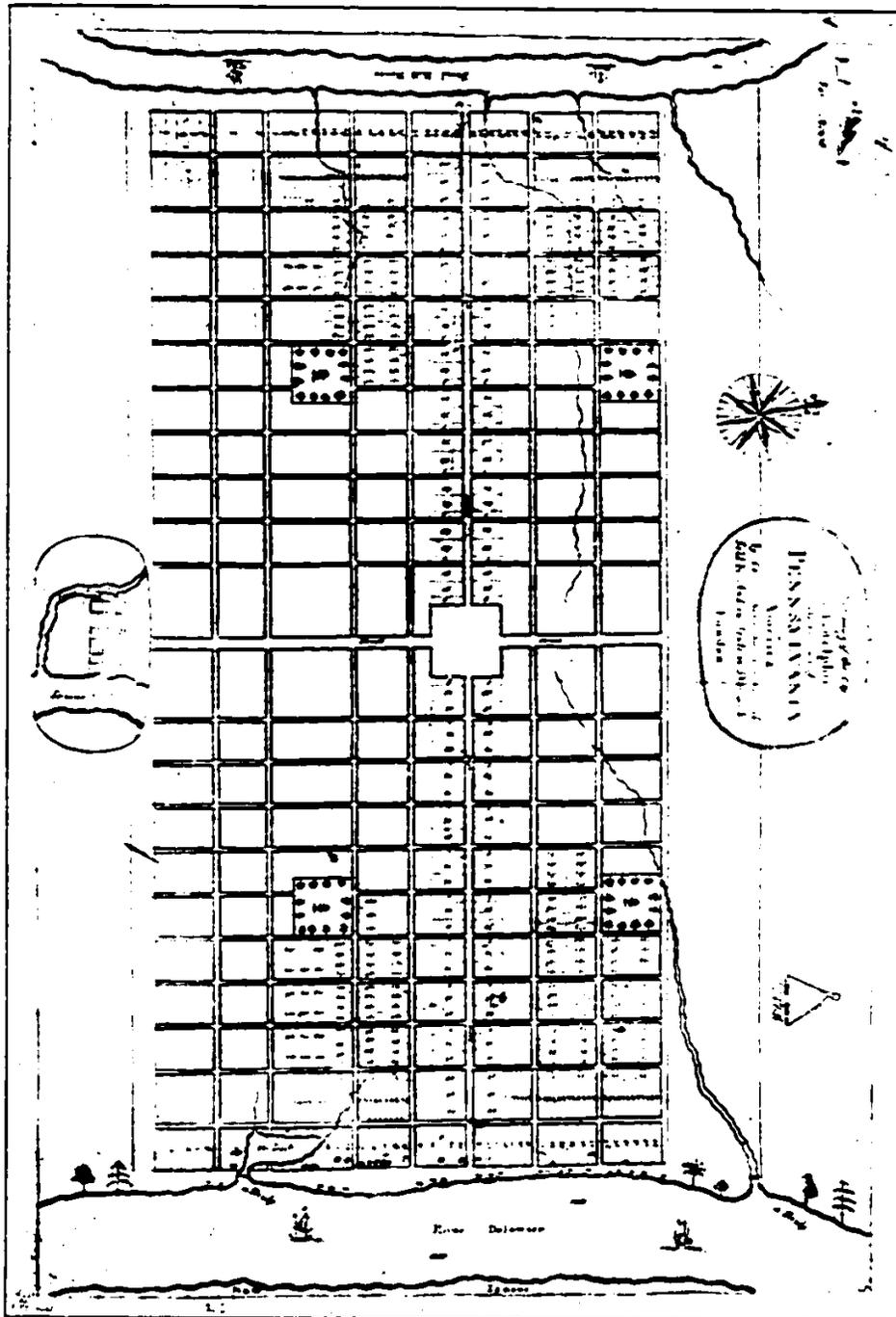
¹ Penn to the Society of Traders.

Liberties, lying north of the city, and others in the Western Liberties beyond the Schuylkill. Thomas Holme, Penn's surveyor-general¹ had carefully observed his instructions as to a regular scheme. The early charts show the town to be a perfect checker board, and later changes did not very much alter its character in this respect. The northern boundary was Vine street; the southern boundary Cedar, now South street. A long street extending from river to river, one hundred feet in breadth, was to be called High street, i. e., Main street, a name which appeared in the street nomenclature of most English towns,—afterwards inadvisedly changed to Market street, because of the markets which were held there. A Broad street of like width was located to run from side to side in the middle of the plat. Where High and Broad streets intersected was a square of ten acres, at each angle of which it was proposed to erect "houses for public affairs."—a state house, a market house, a schoolhouse and the chief meeting house of the Quakers. Each of the four quarters into which the plat was divided was then supplied with a square of eight acres, those which in the east are known as Washington and Franklin squares, and in the west Logan and Rittenhouse squares. Washington and Rittenhouse squares were just two blocks south of High, and Franklin and Logan squares two blocks north of that street. Washington and Franklin squares were five blocks east of Broad, which was as early as 1684 moved farther west to become the Fourteenth street instead of the Twelfth street and Rittenhouse and Logan squares five blocks west of Broad street. There was a Front street on each river shore, and the cross streets parallel with them ran to Broad as a centre. There were Second and Third streets from the Delaware, and Second and Third streets from the Schuylkill. In all there were just ten cross streets and a water front on each side of Broad. All the streets except Broad and High streets, were to be fifty feet in width. The regularity of the scheme was painful. It did not at all admit of the beauty which comes of variety, and none was intended. It was the kind of a town which an entirely unimaginative man could lay off on a sheet of paper with a rule and a piece of lead.

Some of the names which his commissioners had given to the streets Penn himself changed for his love of the trees which grew near them. Thus Valley became Vine street, Pool became Walnut street and Wynne, Chestnut street. Mulberry, at first Holme street, later became Arch because of an arched bridge crossing it at Front street; Sassafras became Race street because of the fast horses which were often tried there for their speed; Cedar street, on the extreme southern boundary, became South street because it was the southernmost street on the plat; and when the name of High street was changed to Market there was purpose in the rhyme of our grandames:

"Market, Arch, Race and Vine,
Chestnut, Walnut, Spruce and Pine."

¹ Holme seems to have been an Englishman, though he was a prominent Friend in Ireland at the time of his appointment by Penn, on April 18, 1682. A few days later he sailed with his family for America in the ship "Amity," and Penn found him here. He died in 1695.—See *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XIX, p. 413; XX, pp. 128 and 248.



THOMAS HOLME'S MAP OF PHILADELPHIA
The First Survey

That was the Philadelphia of the Colonial period, of the Revolution, of the days when the city was the capital of the United States, and during the first half of the nineteenth century—indeed for nearly 172 years, or until the consolidation of the various outlying suburbs in 1854.

Just when or how the city came to receive its name is not a matter of recorded knowledge. It seems certain, however, that it was Penn's own early choice¹ having been suggested by passages in Revelations² which refer to Philadelphia in the province of Lydia in Asia Minor. The place was the seat of an early Christian congregation. It had the further attraction for the founder in signifying brotherly or sisterly love. He, of course, lived in the Scriptures and knew them well. They gave to him, as to Abraham Lincoln and many others, his excellent command of the English tongue, and his literary works abundantly reflect his mastery of biblical history.³

While it is said that at some points the water of the Delaware was deep up to the tree-covered cliffs there was at many places a bank and under it a wide low shelving beach. The top of the bank had been laid out as Front street. As there was yet an inadequate number of houses for the colonists, they formed burrows or caves in this sheer surface, until their homes could be made ready for them. Sometimes these were but half excavated, being topped with boughs or thatch. In less than a year after Penn's arrival, or in August, 1683, the town had come to contain some 75 or 80 cottages. All seem to have been small, but a number were of stone with good cellars while not a few were of brick or of heavy timber frames filled in with brick. The value for building purposes of the clays underlying the city was already beginning to be understood. Indeed, the "brickeries" soon became so numerous, and the product so cheap and "exceeding good" that those who had built of wood regretted it. Lime for mortar was at first obtained by grinding oyster shells. Three hundred farms were laid out around the city and work was begun upon Penn's own house. It was of brick, two stories in height, with an unobstructed view of the river which it faced, standing on a plat of high ground, between Front and Second streets and below Market street. Since the founder later presented it, and its surrounding area, to his daughter Letitia it was usually known as the Letitia House. Threatened with oblivion, it was removed in 1883 to Fairmount Park, where it stands on a knoll near the Girard Avenue Bridge.

Until this building could be completed, Penn in 1683 occupied the house of Thomas Fairman, north of the city, in Shackamaxon, standing near the great elm under which the historic treaty was made with the Indians. Fairman was a Friend who probably first came to Burlington. He removed to the west bank of the river, and he was well settled in his home before the arrival of Penn. He took a prominent part in the early affairs of the colony and gave up his house to the governor until another could be found. Penn rode into

¹ "And thou, Philadelphia . . . named before thou wert born!"—Penn's letter to Thomas Lloyd in 1684.

² i, 11 and iii, 7.

³ See Jenkins' *Memorial History* for a discussion of the origin of the name of the city, p. 36.

the town upon a horse, or more often, perhaps, used a boat upon the Delaware. The streets were still principally seen on paper. The first grand juries busily employed themselves with the effort to remove the stumps of trees from the highways. In March, 1683, two overseers were presented for neglect of their duty in this respect in the Front street.¹

Paths led to the Swedish homes south of the city, in Wicaco, scattered around their church. There were Indian trails through the woods to the Schuylkill, especially to what later came to be known as Gray's Ferry, long a high road for the white as for the red man, to the south and west. The way from this point through the city and up toward the Delaware Falls, was already called the "King's path" or "King's road." The first grand jury of the county in 1683 asked that this road "from Schuylkill * * * to Neshameny Creek may be marked out and made passable for horses and carts, where needfull." Bridges or ferries over even the smallest streams lacked, and it was urged that they be provided at the earliest possible date.²

The new city moved on apace. In 1684 Penn wrote that they had already had a "fair," and there was a weekly market "to which the ancient, lowly inhabitants come to sell their produce to their profit and our accommodation." In 1685 there were two fairs in a year and semi-weekly market days.

The Indians offered an entire deer for 2 shillings, a hindquarter for 6 pence.³ A large wild turkey was to be had for one shilling; all kinds of fish and game, together with furs, fruits, berries and other natural products were preposterously cheap. Six shad or rock fish could be had for 12 pence delivered at the door. The large oysters were sold at 2 shillings a bushel, beef was 2 pence a pound, pork 2½ pence, veal and mutton 3 or 3½ pence. Good butter and cheese came from the dairies at low prices. Grains were not so cheap. Oats brought 2 shillings a bushel, maize 2 shillings 6 pence, rye 3 shillings, wheat 4 shillings. A cow with a calf at her side sold for about £3, a brood mare for £5, and a yoke of oxen for £8. Manufactured articles, especially if they must be imported, sold at great prices. Iron was worth from 32 to 40 shillings a hundred, while steel brought 1 shilling 6 pence per pound. An ordinary laborer received 1 shilling and 6 pence for his day's wages; a carpenter 3 or 4 shillings, and a tailor 5 or 6 shillings a day. So many settlers had arrived in 1683 that the colony, including the country around New Castle, was now thought to contain 4,000 souls.⁴

The population had also begun to be increased by native births. Already in December, 1680, John Drinker had been born in a log house near what is now Second and Walnut streets. He lived to be 102 years old, or through the Revolutionary war; was four times married, and had a multitude of children. Once while in England Franklin was asked to what age men lived in America. He replied that he could not tell "until old Drinker died." John Key, famous as the "first born man-child" after Philadelphia was laid out as a city, made his

¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXIII, pp. 403-5.

² *Ibid.*

³ Fifteen pence in the province passed for one old English shilling.

⁴ Penn's estimate in his letter to the Society of Traders.

appearance in 1682, in a cave near the Pennypot, an ale house which soon arose at the foot of Vine street, and which derived its name from the fact that beer was sold there at a penny a pot.

For the purposes of government, no plan separate for the city was at first devised. It had been Penn's concern, immediately upon obtaining his grant from the king, to evolve for his colony a political scheme which would conduce to the well being of the people. He consulted Algernon Sydney, Benjamin Furly, and other friends with a view to profiting by their advice. Many drafts of a constitution were made. The proprietor was practically free to do what he liked. It was specified in the charter only that he should give the people a share in making their own laws. The plan finally resolved upon included a governor and a governor's council, which was made very numerous. It comprised 72 members and, in addition to large executive powers, was an aristocratic upper house with the sole right of originating legislation. There was then the popular representative assembly to accept or reject the proposals of the upper house. The general provincial government had six local or county governments. Three of these were in Pennsylvania—Philadelphia to include the city and surrounding districts, running indefinitely up the Schuylkill valley, Buckingham or Bucks, lying to the north, into which the Quaker settlers pressed, and Chester lying south and extending from Upland westerly without certain bounds. The other three, for a long time popularly called the "territories" or the "lower counties," New Castle, Kent and Sussex, were created from Penn's later grant. They are the present counties of the state of Delaware.

The county governments were modeled after the governments of the counties of England with which the people were familiar. The seal of Philadelphia became an anchor, of Bucks County a tree and a vine, and of Chester County a plow. The counties were subdivided into townships for greater local convenience. A number were formed in Philadelphia County. The Germans who came in under Francis Daniel Pastorius were given a township northwest of the city. Nicholas More, a London physician, took up a large tract of land called Moreland Manor, north of the city. Bristol adjoining Germantown, and Eyberry, Dublin and Oxford, up the Delaware, also became townships very soon after Penn's visit to his colony, as did Plymouth up the Schuylkill on its east bank, and Merion, across that river on its west bank, both now in Montgomery County.

The discovery was soon made that Penn's scheme of government was very defective in several essential respects. The council was too large by reason of "the fewness of the people, and their inability in estate and unskilfulness in matters of government," and by the so-called Act of Settlement, it was reduced to three members for each county. The assembly of 200 became a body of 54, nine members from each county, and soon after, under the new form of government or constitution, adopted in April, 1683, of 36, six members from each county, chosen by the people from among themselves and to be men "of most note for virtue, wisdom and ability." The political system now bore a physical resemblance to that of the other colonial governments of America, and it continued to serve the needs of the people with some essential changes of form, in 1696 and 1701, until it was swept away by the Revolution.

Though it was to be apostrophized by Voltaire and the French Liberals in the next century, it was in no wise a remarkable form of government. The laws enacted under it breathed a spirit of benevolence as compared with the legislation of most other European colonies, which were established on this continent. But as the years proceeded, all tended to conform to common standards of humanity and enlightenment. The Quakers were without cruel or revengeful instincts. Unlike the Puritans of New England, they did not become grand inquisitors of other men's consciences as soon as their own were free from barbarous penalties and restraints. Their hearts were kind, their ways peaceful and the colony became a salutary example in justice and mercy to the inhabitants of other British provinces in America.

Yet it must be known that all things are comparative, and that even with much moderation of the rule and procedure common to the time, some punishments which would now seem harsh were meted out by the magistrates. A very important reform was effected in the matter of prisons. The dark, dirty, infested gaols of Great Britain were left behind the Quakers when they came to America. It was specified that all prisons should be workhouses. One was to be erected in each county, at least twenty feet square. Until this requirement could be complied with, a "cage seven foot high, seven foot long and four foot broad" seems to have become the first jail in Philadelphia.

However humane the prison arrangements may have been, there was much confinement of men and women for very trifling misdemeanors, and indeed oftentimes merely when they sought their own blameless amusement. It was easy to libel a governor or magistrate. Culprits of both sexes were freely whipped and gagged, and at least one person was tried as a witch. "As careless and corrupt administration of justice draws the wrath of God upon magistrates, so the wildness and looseness of the people provoke the indignation of God against the country." All practices, therefore, which excited the people "to rudeness, cruelty, looseness and irreligion" were to be "discouraged." Officers of the government could be only those who "profess and declare they believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, the Savior of the world." If a man should swear by the name of God or Christ, he was to be fined four shillings, or be confined in the house of correction at hard labor for five days, to be fed only upon bread and water. To swear "by any other thing or name" led to a fine of half a crown, or three days in prison at hard labor with bread and water. For "speaking loosely and profanely of Almighty God, Christ Jesus, the Holy Spirit, or the Scriptures of Truth" the penalty was the same as swearing by God; and there was similar punishment for him who should "curse himself or another or anything belonging to himself or any other." He who challenged or accepted a challenge to a duel was to be fined £5, or go to prison for three months at hard labor. For the pledging and drinking of healths, since it "may provoke people to unnecessary and excessive drinking," an offender was fined five shillings. The months and days were to be designated as in Scripture, "and not by heathen names as are vulgarly used."

Those who frequented "such rude and riotous sports and practices as prizes, stage plays, masques, revels, bull baitings, cock fightings" or similar amusements,

could expect a fine of 20 shillings or ten days at hard labor from the Quaker magistrates. Five shillings or five days in prison was the price for "playing cards, dice, lotteries or such like enticing vain and evil sports and games," as it was also for drunkenness. For lying it was half a crown or three days at hard labor. Already in England Penn stipulated that on "every first day of the week, called the Lord's day, people shall abstain from their common, daily labor that they may the better dispose themselves to worship God according to their understandings," and there was punishment in store for those who did not give faithful observance to the Sabbath day. In 1683 the grand jury presented the master of a ship lying in the Delaware for firing off a gun on Sunday.

An adulterer or adulteress was to be publicly whipped and put to prison for "one whole year" at hard labor or "longer if the magistrate see meet." For a second offense the penalty was imprisonment for life. For sodomy the culprit could be made to forfeit one-third of his estate, and was then whipped and put into prison for six months. The second time he went to jail for life. For rape there was a like penalty. A bigamist was imprisoned for life at hard labor "to the behoof of the former wife or children, or the former husband or children." Incendiaries went to prison for one year, and received corporal punishment at the will of the court. For "clamorous scolding or railing with their tongues" offenders were imprisoned for three days, and this seeming to fail, to the end that "the exorbitancy of the tongue may be bridled and rebuked," the assembly in 1683 provided that the scold should stand "one whole hour in the most public place" with a gag in his or her mouth.

Thieves, whether of "living goods" or "dead goods," should make "three-fold satisfaction and receive corporal punishment not exceeding 21 stripes." Forcible robbery called for four-fold satisfaction and the same number of lashes. For the second offense the culprit was to make satisfaction as before, and be "soundly whipt not exceeding 31 stripes," upon the bare back in the most public place, in the sight of the sheriff or other magistrate before whom the sentence was passed.

The stealing of hogs was a particularly common and at the same time grievous offense. The thief must pay three times the value of the animal to its owner. If he repeated the offense he must make like pecuniary satisfaction and go to prison for six months at hard labor. For the third offense the penalty was to pay the same sum and "be whipt with 39 lashes on his or her bare back, well layd on, and be banished out of the government never to return again."

To speak slightly of an officer of the government brought on the speaker a penalty of not less than 20 shillings or ten days' imprisonment at hard labor, and it increased according to the nature of the offence and the dignity of the magistrate against whom the remark was directed. Whoever stirred up hatred of Governor Penn by speech or writing should be whipped and imprisoned, and if he attacked the body or designed an attack on the body of the governor, he should suffer "perpetual imprisonment." A man named Anthony Weston in 1683 presented to the council a paper which was held to be disrespectful to the government. He was said to be "guilty of great presumption and contempt."

and he was given ten stripes on three successive days at "ye market place on market days," at "twelve of the clock at noone."¹

Murderers should, "according to the law of God, suffer death."

When the number of stripes was not designated by the law, it should never be allowed to exceed 21, and it was provided that gaolers should not "oppress their prisoners and that all prisons shall be free as to room, and all prisoners shall have liberty to provide themselves bedding, food and other necessaries," except when the nature of the punishment would not admit of this liberty.²

In February, 1684, Governor Penn and his council heard the charges against Margaret Mattson, a Swede, and Yeshro Hendrickson, apparently a Dutch "vrouw," whom their neighbors accused of being witches. The Mattson woman came to trial first. She was said to have used her evil power upon several cows and some calves, which it was alleged she had threatened to send "to hell," to the great annoyance of the owners of the animals. The grand jury, after deliberating upon the case, "brought her in guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in manner and form as she stands indicted," whereupon her husband gave a bond of £50 for her good behavior for six months, while Hendrickson pledged a like amount in his wife's behalf.

It may be said that such laws, judged by the standards of this day, were in many ways far from liberal and humane. But the general spirit of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania was free, and it at once became a haven for the oppressed of all nations, especially if they suffered for their conscience's sake. It was specified "that all persons living in this province who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society shall in no ways be molested, or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever."

This was an expression of Penn's own spirit, as the founder of Pennsylvania. It was an invitation to men of every faith to escape European oppressions and seek homes beyond the sea. The Welsh can scarcely be differentiated from the English. The Penn family itself came from Wales, or the Welsh border as the name proves, and there was as much reason there as in England for the Quakers to remove to America. All alike suffered the persecutions prescribed by the laws for non-conformists. Some Welshmen, indeed, had preceded Penn to America. Some had accompanied him on the "Welcome" and many followed him, being cordially greeted in the colony. They were given excellent high lands beyond the Schuylkill. What was called the "Welsh Tract" embraced 40,000 acres, and the owners set to work industriously to clear farms for themselves in the timber in Merion, Radnor and Haverford.

¹ Weston, it would seem, was a disturbing factor in the colony on other accounts. He was presented by the Grand Jury in 1683 for selling liquor without a license.—*Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXIII, p 405.

² *Great Law* adopted at Chester, 1682, and additional laws approved by the next following Assemblies.

In Philadelphia and parts of what are now Delaware and Montgomery Counties they did a vast amount to civilize the wilderness, and these first comers, with hundreds of families which followed them, infused into the population a Celtic influence that will never be effaced.

Some Frenchmen who seem to have been Huguenots, fleeing from the restraints of conscience, also appeared and were naturalized under the liberal laws of the colony,¹ but their number was not and never became large. A much more important movement was that which was begun when a German, Francis Daniel Pastorius, with nine servants and companions arrived in Philadelphia on the "America," from Deal, in August, 1683.

William Penn by his travels in Holland and Germany had awakened much interest in those countries in himself, in Pennsylvania and in Quakerism, especially among the Mennonites. Founded by Menno Simons, a pious sectarian, born in Friesland in 1492, their faith was in several essential ways not very different from that of the Quakers. For example they were non-resistants and non-combatants. They would not take oaths. They believed that baptism was vain unless it was accompanied by sincere repentance. They were simple and plain in their dress, speech and behavior.² Penn and other Quakers travelling upon the continent made easy converts of them. If they heard eagerly of the new religion they also welcomed the news of the Quaker commonwealth which was to be established beyond the sea. Their lands had been trampled over by the contending armies of Europe during the Thirty Years War. Incredible outrages were perpetrated upon them by dastards who assumed to act as agents of the church. They had been subjected to cruelties and persecutions which should make the very name of Christianity blush to crimson to this day, and it was not difficult to induce them to leave their homes in quest of fairer skies.

Pastorius was not of this people. Indeed he was not avowedly a member of any one of the numerous sects in Germany which arose in protest against the old systems of religion, though he knew of the progress and spread of their teachings, and had much sympathy with them. "The one absorbing desire of Pastorius in leaving his native land," says Professor Learned, his biographer, "was that he might escape the vanities of the old world and lead a quiet and Christian life in the wilds of America."³ He was a remarkable emigrant. Born in 1651 he enjoyed the best educational opportunities which the age and country afforded. His father was a learned man and the boy studied at Altdorf, Strasburg, Basle, Jena and at schools and universities in other places. Upon his travels he had met Dr. Spener and other Pietists. They had determined to purchase lands in Pennsylvania and Pastorius became their agent. This German company, usually called the Frankfort company, because the members met in that city, instructed him to make the arrangements in their name. He went down the Rhine, meeting in Kriegsheim and Crefeld a number of men who were soon to follow him to America, visited Benjamin Furly, Penn's friend

¹ Jenkins, p. 62.

² Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown*, p. 10.

³ M. D. Learned's *Pastorius*, p. 116.

and representative at Rotterdam, and then crossed to England. In London before his embarkation he took up 15,000 acres for the Frankfort partners, later increasing that amount to 25,000 acres, more land, says Pennypacker, than was conveyed by Penn to any other single purchaser.¹ It was nevertheless not a very hazardous speculation, since for the 15,000 acres the Germans paid only £38 sterling, or at the rate of five shillings for every one hundred acres.

Pastorius had an eventful voyage. A whale got under the "America," the vessel upon which he sailed, and caused it to tremble in every joint; storm and tempest beset him and his fellow travelers. They were buffeted about the ship as it rocked and rolled on the waves. One night the carved lions on the ship's clock were thrown down upon him, and again he fell heavily because of a sudden lurch of the vessel. The company, numbering 80, were nearly all down on their backs by illness and accident. The foremast was snapped off in a high wind, yet the voyage was completed in ten weeks. A vessel which left Deal at the same time was two weeks longer at sea.

The arrival in Pennsylvania of one of so much learning, a little ponderous with the weight of Germany though it was, was a subject of much satisfaction to men like Penn and Thomas Lloyd, the able Welsh Quaker, who by pleasant chance came over on the same vessel. The German scholar amused himself on the way by conversing in Latin with Lloyd and by inditing verses to the Welshman's pretty daughters, for eight or nine of his children accompanied him to America. He wrote in eight languages: Greek, Latin, German, French, Dutch, English, Italian and Spanish with almost equal fluency, though he was to find little employment for them in the land to which he came. Upon his arrival, he met Penn and made arrangements for locating the land of the German company. It had been stipulated that it should adjoin a navigable stream, but all the eligible sites upon the Delaware and upon the Schuylkill below the falls were assigned to other purchasers. Above the falls he might have taken the ground at present occupied by Manayunk and Roxborough, but the rocky cliffs of the Wissahickon looked forbidding, though he was not without an impression that the slopes could be well utilized for the culture of the vine. He was in the midst of his negotiations with Penn when, in October, thirteen German families, composed of thirty-three persons, arrived on the "Concord." These included the Op den Graeffs and emigrants of such names as Tunes, Tyson, Kunders, Lucken and Streypers. They were Mennonites, or Quakers recently converted from the Mennonite faith, and came from Crefeld, on the lower Rhine near the borders of Holland. The active spirit in this movement was Jacob Telner, who himself did not arrive until later.

The "Crefelders," like the "Frankfurters," had made large purchases of land from Penn as a result of his travels on the continent, but unlike them sent forward colonists to support the undertaking. Before the Crefeld party had yet arrived, Pastorius had busied himself with the construction of a dug-out or cave, "half under the earth and half above," on the Delaware river bank. His windows were of oiled paper, and to the home, such as it was, he welcomed the settlers, some of whom he had met on his way down the Rhine to Rotterdam

¹ *Settlement of Germantown*, p. 28.



W. M. D. M.

and London. Twenty of them one time found shelter under his roof. They decided to join their interests, and Pastorius, taking 3,000 acres for the Frankfort company, and the same number for the Crefelders, arranged with Penn for a German township on "rich black earth," east of the Schuylkill, and about "two hours" northwest of the city. There were "pleasant springs" on the tract, with a meadow which would afford good pasturage for horses and cattle, and it was well covered with timber. Lots were surveyed and laid out on October 24, 1683, on a main street 60 feet broad, with cross streets 40 feet in width. Each family was given an estate of three acres, and the colonists drew for their respective pieces of ground in Pastorius's cave. Some seem to have gone out to occupy their land at once and lived in cellars and partially finished log cabins during the winter. Pastorius planned a "tile bakery," or brick kiln, for, said he, "as long as we bake no stones our building is entirely of wood;"¹ but it was not early completed, if at all. He, with several of the settlers, remained in Philadelphia, going backward and forward as the weather permitted. Writing to Germany in the spring of 1684, he said that "they have, by repeated wanderings back and forth, made quite a good road." His trail through the woods was the forerunner of the Germantown Road, now Germantown Avenue, which soon became one of the important highways into and out of Philadelphia. When the settlers were all in place—Pastorius and his party and the Crefelders—there were forty-two men, women and children who constituted his "Germanopolis." These were the people who left their native land—"their dear German land"—

"And where the wild beast roams
In patience planned
New forest homes beyond the mighty sea
There undisturbed and free
To live as brothers of one family."²

During the next year or two several more families came from Crefeld, and also a few from Crisheim, Krisheim, or Kriesheim (now Kriegsheim), a Quaker outpost on the upper Rhine near Worms, a name which has permanently attached itself to a stream flowing into the Wissahickon. The Crefelders in particular were of note as weavers of linen, and some at once gave their attention to the growth of flax, which they converted into good cloth. Nearly all the emigrants, including Pastorius, became Quakers upon their arrival in Pennsylvania. At first gathering for worship in the house of one of the settlers, they, in 1686, built a little "church,"³ which was affiliated with the English Friends' meetings, and this was the beginning of those pleasant and harmonious relations between German and Quaker, of so much meaning to the early history of the colony.

Thus Pennsylvania had become a true refuge for men of various tongues and races, when Penn was called away from his province in 1684, in order to defend his territorial interests in England against the claims of Lord Baltimore,

¹ Pennypacker, p. 96.

² Whittier's translation of Pastorius's lines in the *Germantown Grund und Lager Buch* in "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim."

³ "Kirchlein für die Gemeinde," wrote Pastorius.

which, if they had been allowed, would have robbed him even of Philadelphia itself. His cousin Markham had gone back to London, but sent such poor accounts of the state of the dispute that he felt it obligatory to return and give personal direction to the business. He had now sold considerable tracts, both in and around the city. The Swedes kept their accustomed place on its southern outskirts. The axes of the Welshmen could be heard in the timber beyond the Schuylkill. The Germans were in their poor huts in Germantown. Quaker farmers were clearing away trees and brush, plowing, hoeing and seeding here and there up the Delaware, on the banks of the Schuylkill and in other parts of the colony into which they had pressed with industry and courage. The roads were being improved and travel from place to place was made easier. There was "a king's highway" from the falls of the Delaware to the southernmost parts of Sussex County, which the people were called out by overseers in each county to keep in repair. "All trees, stubbs and stumps" must be removed so that it be freely passable for horses and carts, though this was a requirement which was not early complied with and the subject called for later admonition. "Small creeks and rivers that are difficult or apt to be high by sudden rain," and which, therefore, could not be conveniently forded, must be spanned by bridges at least ten feet wide with a rail at each side. Over the Delaware, the Neshaminy, the Schuylkill, the Brandywine, and the Christeen, the counties must establish ferries at their own expense, or find contractors willing for the prospective profit to maintain the service. The legal charge over the Delaware ferries at the Falls and near Burlington was two pence a passenger; over the Neshaminy, a penny; over the Schuylkill, two pence for one person and "a pennie apiece for all passengers above the number one"; over the two southern streams, two pence. Crossing the Delaware, "oxen, bullocks, cows, heifers, horses or mares" must be paid for at the rate of four pence each, while on the Schuylkill, the Brandywine and Christeen, the fee was two pence. Sheep and hogs were carried for a penny on the Delaware, a half penny on the other rivers. To swim an animal over the stream in defiance of the ferryman's rights availed nothing. The owner must pay, as though it had been conveyed in the boat. A postal service had been established and once a week couriers were carrying letters from Philadelphia to Chester for two pence; to New Castle for four pence, and to Maryland for six pence. The rate to the Falls of the Delaware was three pence. That the governor should have the earliest knowledge of news to his peril or advantage every justice of the peace, sheriff or constable in the colony must immediately dispatch such letters or advices to the next officer, within three hours under a penalty of twenty shillings for each hour's delay. Man or horse could be pressed into the service at two pence per mile, to be paid out of the "public stock."

Penn himself began the construction of a great house. He had reserved a number of tracts in different parts of the province as manors—one, called in honor of his wife's family name, Springettsbury, directly north of the city, between Vine street and the Liberties. This contained 1,830 acres, and extended from river to river. According to Pastorius, the proprietor at one time planned the erection of a house on one of the beautiful eminences overlooking the Schuylkill above the falls, where he was "to set up for himself a little domin-

ion." But he chose to build instead upon his maror of 6,000 acres in Bucks County, which he called Pennsbury. This was situated four miles north of the present Bristol—about twenty miles above Philadelphia—on the Delaware, down to which there was a broad walk between poplar trees. Some of the material for the construction of the house is said to have come over with Penn on the "Welcome." The foundations were laid, and he was pleasantly employed with the plans for building the mansion, its stables, its brew and bake houses, and other outbuildings, and in laying out the garden, vineries and orchards, when he was called back to London. He left the enterprise in the hands of his steward, James Harrison, in the hope of returning to it much sooner than the fates allowed.

In the city itself the kilns of bricks were smoking, the timber men felling, the carpenters hammering and cutting. The noise of business filled the air. The London Society of Traders was given the entire strip of land from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, bounded by Pine and Spruce streets. The lower portion near the Delaware, was rather higher than the surrounding ground, and it soon came to be known as Society Hill, a name the origin of which in time was forgotten. Many have believed that it was somehow a certificate of the social character of those who resided in its neighborhood.

The most valuable lots were those on Front and lower High streets. In 1685 Penn wrote that the worst piece of ground was four times, and the best forty times more valuable than when he had laid out the city.¹ The "bank lots" running out over the beach to the waterside east of Front street were being sold for the erection of wharves. A street 30 feet wide was located under the bank. It came to be known as King street, and after the Revolution as Water street. At first no owner was permitted to erect a house whose top would project over four feet above the bank, but in a few years the restriction was removed and buildings arose here and there to obstruct the view of the river for those who had placed their homes where they thought the outlook would always remain unobstructed. The principal landings for boats, even after the wharves began to be built, were at the Blue Anchor Inn, a little above the mouth of Dock creek, and at the Pennypot House, at the foot of Vine street, where there was a gully with an indented shore, whence its original name Valley street.

There was an incessant coming and going of sloops, ketches and smaller craft on the river. Ships of more than twelve tons burden were early required to pay a penny a ton to defray the cost of placing buoys in the channel to mark it, "notwithstanding," as the assembly discreetly explained, "the bay and river of Delaware is greatly commended of those that are acquainted with ye same." A rope walk had been laid out, and there an enterprising man made cordage for shipping. A few boat builders plied their trade profitably. Clay was shaped and burnt into earthenware. Pipe staves, coopers' timber and hoops were manufactured and exported to other markets. Bark was used by the tanners. Pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine were extracted from the pine trees. There were bakeries, the size of whose loaves must be weighed and the bread seized if it were not as the law prescribed. Officers inspected the quality of pipe staves and the

¹ *Further Account.*

pickling and heading up in barrels of beef, fish and pork. There were seven "ordinaries," or taverns in the city of Penn, where good meals were served at six pence. These must be licensed by the governor, and if any publican charged a guest more than 7½ pence for a meal, which must consist of beef, pork or "such like produce of the countrie and small beer," he was fined five shillings. A traveler on foot could be charged not above two pennies a night for his bed, while a horseman must be lodged for nothing. The latter, however, could be made to pay six pence a night for "his horse's hay or grass." Molasses beer, which was usually flavored with sassafras or pine, the inn keeper could sell for not more than a penny a quart, and beer made of barley malt, at first for not more than two pennies, and later three pence a quart under penalty of forfeiting five shillings. Its use increased and a large brew house had been erected by William Frampton on Second between Walnut and Spruce streets. The inn-keeper who put water into his rum or brandy must forfeit it and pay treble its value to the government. At nine o'clock in the evening officers visited the various ordinaries and any person who was not a lodger and entitled to stay for the night was packed off to his home.

The number of slaves and indented servants increased with the population. Even mechanics were held to service for terms of years and, at a time when the conditions of life were uncertain, seemed to prefer to bind themselves to labor in return for their lodging, clothing and food. Debts variously created were paid in this way. Children were bound out at an early age, and the entire lower orders of mankind were held at the will of a master class. There were many provisions of law to govern the relations of master and servant. No one could go out of his province or county without a pass. Runaways must be returned under severe penalties to those to whom their service was due. They were cast into prison if they wandered from their homes, and such regulations as survived in the south until the Civil War were in force in the Quaker colony. Any servant coming into the province without an indenture, if he should be 17 years of age or over, must serve for five years. If under 17 he should be free at 22. At the expiration of his term of service he should receive a paper certifying to his discharge and an outfit consisting of "one new suit of apparel, ten bushels of wheat or fourteen bushels of Indian corn, one axe, two howes, one broad and another narrow."

The scarcity of currency caused the assembly to declare various kinds of produce legal tender "between man and man." Thus wheat, rye, maize, barley, oats, pork, beef and tobacco were, in October, 1683, made current at their market prices. Hemp was made a legal tender at four pence and flax at eight pence per pound, rather by way of a bounty for the encouragement of the growth of these crops. It was another curious experiment in political economy when the assembly resolved that if produce of any kind came into the colony from any outside source, except from West Jersey, it should not be sold until after five days "to the end that those that live remotely may have notice thereof and be supplied as well as others near at hand."

Horses, cows, bullocks, goats and hogs were still running at large in the streets, and corn fields around the houses must be fenced in for the safety of the crop. For the protection of the community it was stipulated that swine

must have rings placed in their snouts so that they would not root up the gardens and pastures, but by 1690 they had become so troublesome that the assembly passed a law prohibiting the running at large of either hogs or goats "between the Delaware and Centre," that is Centre Square, an interdiction which extended from the northern to the southern limits of the city or from Vine to South streets, over the entire area. They were now banished beyond Broad street where they could feed upon the acorns under the oaks at will.

When Penn departed from the colony in 1684, 357 houses had been built and he learned by correspondence the next year that the number had increased to 600. Some of these were three stories in height, with pretty balconies. Many were "brave brick houses."¹ In 1685 it was computed that 90 ships had arrived in the Delaware in the past three years which, with 80 passengers upon each ship, Penn believed to indicate a grand total of 7,200 people. If the Swedes numbered 1,000, as the accounts seem to show, the entire white population of the colony upon the west bank of the Delaware, from Cape Henlopen north to the falls, was now between 8,000 and 9,000 souls.

The so-called Bank Meeting-house, 50 by 38 feet, on the bank between Race and Vine streets, was already in use. As it was the largest building in the city the assembly held its meetings there. The council probably sat in the Letitia House. A large brick meeting-house 40 feet broad and 60 feet in length was being built in Centre Square. "Many hearts and hands" were at work upon it. The Quakers loyally contributed their services to rear this place of worship, as they assisted one another at their house-raising and at other tasks too great for a few. It was a project, however, born of excessive confidence in the growth of the city. The building was in a natural forest of oaks and hickories,² and it was too far from the town for use. Those who attended it met deer and wild turkey on their way, and after a few years it disappeared. Further to hasten development a "Centre Fair" in August³ was established. But it was slimly attended and must soon be given up.

The education of the people was not neglected. Care was taken that the young should not grow up without a knowledge of their letters and the ability to put their hands to some pursuit which would make them self-supporting. "To the end that poor, as well as rich, may be instructed in good and commendable learning, which is to be preferred before wealth," it was provided that parents and guardians under a penalty of £5 should cause children "to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the Scriptures and to write by the time they attain to twelve years of age, and that then they be taught some useful trade or skill, that the poor may work to live and the rich, if they become poor, may not want."⁴ That means should not lack a school was established. At a council held on December 26, 1683, it is recorded: "The Gov'r and Prov'nl Council having taken into their Serious Consideration the

¹ *Further Account.*

² Watson, Vol. I, p. 391.

³ The fairs at the market place were held in May and November.

⁴ These last phrases are Penn's and are found in the Laws which were passed in England.

great necessity there is of a Scool Master for ye Instruction & Sober Education of Youth in ye Towne of Philadelphia Sent for Enock Flower, an Inhabitant of said Towne who for twenty year past hath been exercised in that care and Employnt in England, to whom haveing Communicated their minds he Embraced it upon the following Termes: to Learne to read English, 4s. by the Quarter, to Learne to read and write, 6s. by ye Quarter; to Learne to read, Write and Cast acco't, 8s. by ye Quarter; for boarding a scholler, that is to say, dyet, Washing, Lodging and Scooling Tenn pounds for one whole year."

Flower opened his school at once in a house built of pine and cedar planks, but he died in 1684 and the work remained for other masters.¹

Thus stood Philadelphia and Pennsylvania when Penn left them in August, 1684. He embarked on the ketch "Endeavour," with no intention of a long absence from his colony. He had gained the good will of every inhabitant. The Indians knew him to be generous and just. English and German alike regretted his departure, as they had need to do in the light of their unhappy experiences of the next few years. "The said William Penn," wrote Pastorius in 1684, "is loved and praised by all people: even the old, vicious inhabitants recognize that they have never seen such a wise ruler."² He left the government in the hands of the council, whose president was Thomas Lloyd. From his vessel, as he sailed down the Delawarc, the Quaker proprietor sent to the people this parting message of love, prayer and advice:³

"DEAR FRIENDS: My love and my life is to you, and with you; and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out, or, bring it to an end:—I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me, and near to me, beyond utterance. I bless you, in the name and power of the Lord; and my God bless you with his righteousness, peace and plenty, all the land over. Oh, that you would eye him, in all, through all, and above all the works of your hands; and let it be your first care, how you may glorify God in your undertakings: for to a blessed end are you brought hither; and if you see and keep but in the sense of that Providence, your coming, staying and improving will be sanctified; but if any forget God, and call not upon his name, in truth, he will pour out his plagues upon them; and they shall know who it is, that judgeth the children of men.

"Oh, now you are come to a quiet land, provoke not the Lord to trouble it: And now liberty and authority are with you, and in your hands, let the government be upon his shoulders, in a.l your spirits; that you may rule for him, under whom the princes of this world will, one day, esteem it their honor to govern and serve, in their places. I cannot but say, when these things come mightily upon my mind, as the Apostles did, of old, 'What manner of persons ought we to be, in all godly conversation!' Truly, the name and honour of the Lord are deeply concerned in you, as to the discharge of yourselves, in your

¹ Jenkins, p. 61.

² In these terms did Pastorius allude to the Dutch and the Swedes for whom he had no admiration.

³ Proud, Vol. I, pp. 289-90.

present stations; many eyes being upon you; and remember, that, as we have been belied about disowning the true religion, so, of all government, to behold us exemplary and christian, in the use of that, will not only stop our enemies, but minister conviction to many, on that account, prejudiced. Oh, that you may see and know that service, and do it, for the Lord, in this your day:—

“And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been, to bring thee forth, and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee!

“Oh, that thou mayst be kept from the evil, that would overwhelm thee; that, faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness, thou mayst be preserved to the end:—My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayst stand in the day of tryal, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power;—my love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eye!—the God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee, to his glory and thy peace.

“So, dear friends, my love again salutes you all, wishing that grace, mercy and peace, with all temporal blessings, may abound richly among you;—so says, so prays, your friend and lover in the truth,

“WILLIAM PENN.

“From on board the Ketch Endeavour, the Sixth month, 1684.”

CHAPTER II.

WHILE PENN WAS AWAY.

Penn's return to England brought him once more to his family after nearly two years' absence from them. It is believed that they would soon have come out to Philadelphia if circumstances had permitted him to remain. He had, of course, a wish to see them. He also felt a desire to forward and defend the interests of the Quakers in England, who were without a useful friend at court, while he continued to reside abroad. But the consideration which compelled his going away was the dispute over the southern boundary of his province. "I hear he [Baltimore] is gone for England," wrote Penn to the Duke of York before his departure from America. "I am following him as fast as I can."

His visit to his colony had been a delight. "I have not missed a meal's meat or a night's rest since I went out of the country," he told a friend; but he returned to great vexation.

Penn had been in England only a few months when the infamous and pleasure-loving King Charles II died, and the crown passed to his brother, the Duke of York. Charles seems to have been secretly a Catholic; his brother, who came to the throne as James II, openly confessed the Roman faith, to the vast displeasure of the people. A king who publicly went to mass and embraced all the forms of a church which was so hateful to the great body of Englishmen, was not to be tolerated. He kept himself on the throne for two or three years which, however, were marked by some of the most hideous chapters in British history. It was a time of difficulty for Penn who, on his colony's account and by reason of the new king's friendship for his father, the admiral, which had never been forgotten on either side, maintained pleasant intimacies with the court. As might have been expected, his attitude was much criticized, and it was one quite impossible to reconcile with his character, as we like to view it in Pennsylvania.¹ Quaker though he was, it was alleged that he had become, or was in the way of becoming a Jesuit. His denials did not avail. His interest, if not his sympathies, kept him at King James's court, performing services without honor, either to him or to his sovereign.

Penn's financial position, by reason of his province in America, was by no means good. Independent of the boundary disputes, no matter how they might

¹ See, for example, the early chapters of Macaulay's *History of England* which can be attacked for their hostile spirit but not for their principal facts and tendencies. Macaulay has been reviewed many times by writers more friendly to Penn. See, for example, the Appendix in Dixon's *Life*.

be decided, he was running behind. He was selling his land too freely and cheaply to profit by his great grant. In 1686 he complained that he had spent on his colony £5,000 more than he had received from it, and, by what would seem to have been bad management, was turning over at no gain to himself lands which soon yielded fortunes to other men. His position in reference to the king was calculated to win him royal favor in matters which needed it.

The news of the accession was received in Philadelphia in May, 1685. The method of announcing an event of this character was not yet attended with great ceremony. Thomas Lloyd, as president, read to the council a statement of the death of Charles and the coronation of his brother, and at nine o'clock the next morning the new king was proclaimed "in the Front street upon Delaware river, over against the governor's gate." It would seem from this description, that the people had assembled before the Letitia House. A bell was rung, and the clerk of the council read the proclamation which was in these terms:

"We, the president & the provincial Counsell accompanied with the representatives of the freemen in Assembly and divers magistrates officers and other persons of note, do in duty and in concurrence with our neighboring provinces sollemnly publish & declare that James duke of york and albany by the decease of our late sovereigne Charles the 2nd is now become our lawfull leige lord & king James the 2nd of England Scotland franc & Ireland & amongst other of his dominions in America of this Provinc of Pennsylvania & its Territory king to whome we acknowledg faithfull & constant obedienc hartily wishing him a happy raigne in health peace & prosperity.

And so god save the king."¹

Thus the new reign was begun, Penn, in letters which soon came to the province, cautioned his agents to let "no indecent speeches pass against the government," because of the king's open Catholic alliances, and if they much or little offended does not appear.

The boundary dispute involved two principal questions—the possession of the lower counties and the location of the southern line of Pennsylvania. The first of these questions was heard in 1685, before the Lords of Trade and Plantations, who on November 7, arrived at a decision, the king promptly approving it. They came to the conclusion that the tract did not belong "to my Lord Baltimore," to Penn's great gratification. He wrote to the president and council in Pennsylvania, asking that the news be communicated to the people "in wisdom, avoiding indecent joy."

But there was little gained. The question was reopened and difficulties multiplied. Penn's heart was much disturbed concerning the position of the persecuted members of his sect in England and Wales. There were still in the prisons, in 1685, 1,460 persons, and many had died in the vile dens, all for no other offence than their refusal to take oaths and to adhere to other established forms and rituals not in harmony with their religion. Some had been confined for ten or fifteen years. It was in part, at least, due to Penn's influence over the king that early in 1686 he released all the Quakers imprisoned for their conscience's sake, a service which does not seem the less important when it is

¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine* XXVIII, p. 242.

known that it was part of a general jail delivery, bringing out to the light James's fellow Catholics, as well as the persecuted sectaries.

Indeed Penn was now a courtier, a confidant of the king, who was so much disliked by the people and who was so soon to be a king no longer. They met in private it is said, spending many hours together in conversation while peers and other weighty persons cooled their heels without, awaiting the favor of an audience.¹ The landing of the Duke of Monmouth, the natural son of Charles II and his attempt to seize the throne, which led to a general drawing and quartering of those suspected of a part in the affair, seemed not to shake Penn's fealty. Nevertheless he was not too secure, even in his person, in spite of his closeness to the throne. Constables still were sent to "pull him down" while he was preaching. "I have been thrice taken at meetings," he writes the steward of Pennsylvania, James Harrison, "but got off, blessed be God." Penn's faith in his monarch was unshaken, though all England was being gradually captured for the Pope. One arbitrary act heaped upon another in behalf of Rome led to no change of front. The Quaker seems merely to have deluded himself. He displayed as little shrewdness in this matter as in many others. He loved a friend, let that friend do what he would. He even wrote in the king's defense and while on a journey on the continent, at the royal request, visited the Protestant Prince William of Orange, who had married James's daughter Mary, the heir to the throne, unless he should later have a son, to discover, if he could, what would be that prince's attitude toward the Catholics. Nearly all England could see what Penn did not, and when the birth of a son to the Queen was announced, in 1688, the time for a revolution was at hand. William of Orange landed and took the throne with little opposition, while James, abandoned by army, navy and court, found a refuge in France, where for the rest of his days he was a pensioner of his friend and fellow in religion, Louis XIV.

Penn was now, if possible, in a worse position than before, especially as he chose to keep up communication with the king in exile. His wife went over to France yearly to carry James tokens of devotion from the friends of the Stuarts in England. Much of the time he was under surveillance by the government. Before the privy council he said:—

"He had done nothing but what he could answer for before God and all the princes in the world; that he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life and had never acted against either; • * * that King James had always been his friend and his father's friend; and that in gratitude he himself was the King's, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest."

In the spring of 1690 a letter from James to Penn was seized by the government. In it the royal exile asked the Quaker "to come to his assistance in the present state and condition he was in, and express the resentments of his favor and benevolence." Penn was again brought before the privy council. When asked why King James had written to him, says Croese in his *History of the Quakers*, he answered that "he could not hinder such a thing." Being further questioned what "resentments" these were which the late king seemed to

¹ Fisher's *True Wm. Penn*, p. 257.

desire of him, he answered "he knew not, but said he supposed King James would have him to endeavor his restitution, and that though he could not decline the suspicion yet he could avoid the guilt, and since he had loved King James in his prosperity he should not hate him in his adversity, yea he loved him as yet for many favors conferred on him, though he would not join with him in what concerned the state of the kingdom."

The examination lasted for two hours in the presence of King William of Orange. Penn was held under bond for a time, but was not deterred from going to meet James in Ireland, when he invaded that island with a body of soldiery, in 1690. This caused his arrest and imprisonment. It was plainly now a war between the Protestant powers of Europe, with William at their head, and France. Penn could not be convicted of plotting against William in favor of James, but shortly after the funeral of George Fox, at which he preached, he went into enforced hiding and for three years was, to use his own words, "hunted up and down and could never be allowed to live quietly in the city or country."¹

Meanwhile what befell in his province on the Delaware? It was constantly on his mind and he had the daily wish of returning to it, but seems to have had a greater interest in England, and doubtless a greater need of remaining there. He was living expensively, driving a coach and four and indulging in various extravagances. Indeed he seemed to know no other way and Quaker simplicity was to him a phrase without its meaning in his private life. His representatives in Pennsylvania made drafts upon him which he could not meet. "I am sorry," he wrote to James Harrison, "that the public is so unmindful of me as not to prevent bills upon me that am come on their errand, and had rather lost a thousand pounds than have stirred from Pennsylvania. * * * James send no more bills, for I have enough to do to keep all even here, and think of returning with my family, that can't be without vast charge." He was sending over large numbers of wine grape vines, and giving minute directions about the management of the estate at Pennsbury, which he hoped soon to be able to enjoy. "There is nothing my soul breathes more for in this world, next to my dear family's life," he wrote, "than that I may see poor Pennsylvania again." But he would not come, he said in one of his letters, "to act the governor and keep another family and capacity upon my private estate. If my table, cellar and stable be provided for, with a barge and yacht or sloop for the service of governor or government," he continued, "I may try to get hence."

The city and the colony advanced in his absence, but the people were torn by trivial political dissensions. The course of events in England, and the knowledge of Penn's position in reference to the crown little conduced to the prosperity of the province. The proprietor lost favor among his colonists by his Jacobite connections, and still more (since this was brought directly home to them) by his tactlessness in sending out a deputy governor, who was entirely unsuited for his tasks. The leading man of the province undoubtedly was Thomas Lloyd, though with Pastorius, the two Francis Rawles, Phineas Pem-

¹ Fisher's *True Wm. Penn*, Chap. XIX.
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berton, Tobias Leech, Nicholas More and William Markham it contained a number of citizens who rose above the level of mediocrity.

Lloyd, upon whom much devolved in Penn's absence, by reason of his office as president of the council, came to Philadelphia, as we have seen, on the ship with Pastorius. He was accompanied by eight or nine children, some of his daughters being young women to whom Pastorius addressed odes, by way of diversion during the voyage. They are today the grandames back to whom are traced several leading Philadelphia families. Lloyd was a Welshman. He came from Dolobran, in Montgomeryshire, where he was born about 1640, into a family which traced its descent from Edward I. He had been educated at Jesus College, Oxford, and was a distinct acquisition to the colony. He was a Quaker, being like Penn one of the sect's principal recruits from the British gentry.¹ Penn welcomed him to Philadelphia gladly, and very soon after his arrival he became a member of the council. Now, since Penn's return to England, he was the one, above others, to whom the proprietor looked to give wise direction to the politics of the colony. His influence, however, did not suffice to prevent turbulent disputes.

Francis Rawle, Sr., was a member of an old family in Cornwall, who sailed in 1686 from Plymouth, with his son Francis, then twenty-three years of age. They were Friends, and came to Pennsylvania to avoid the persecutions which they and those of their faith were compelled to suffer at home. That they were not without some riches is shown by the fact that five servants accompanied them to Philadelphia. They settled on land purchased from Penn in Plymouth, named for the city which they and their friends knew and loved in England, and they became the support of the Quaker meeting in that township. Francis Rawle, Sr. was an aged man when he came to the province, and he died in 1697. His son Francis in 1689 married a daughter of Robert Turner, a wealthy linen draper of London, already a factor of importance in Philadelphia. It was this Francis Rawle who, from 1720 to 1725, published essays bearing on the prosperity of the colony, the first treatises on the subject of political economy to be issued in Pennsylvania.

Tobias or Toby Leech emigrated from Cheltenham in England, and established his home in what became Cheltenham township in Philadelphia, now Montgomery county. He attained prominence in the assembly. At the time of his death he owned 2,700 acres of land in the colony.

Phineas Pemberton, the founder of the Pemberton family in Pennsylvania, came from Lancashire in 1682, his wife being the daughter of Penn's agent, James Harrison. His son Israel became a wealthy and prominent merchant of the city.

Not all of those who had come into the colony were Quakers or friends of the Quakers. Nicholas More and Patrick Robinson were two men, as Penn said, "esteemed the most unquiet and cross to Friends." More, who had been a physician in London, was president of the London Society of Traders, which had made large purchases in Pennsylvania, and he bought a tract of land from

¹ Keith's *Provincial Councillors*.

Penn on the northern border of Philadelphia County. He arrived in a vessel which came soon after the "Welcome." For a time he was speaker of the assembly and then became chief-justice, and it was while he was in this office, in 1685, that the assembly, dissatisfied with his behavior as a judge, charged him with malpractice of some kind, preferring an action for impeachment. Robinson, who was clerk of the court, refused to produce the records upon which the proceedings were to be based. The quarrel was petty and unseemly in all its details. It appeared to be a contest between Quaker and non-Quaker, and when it was reported in England did nothing to increase the good opinion in which Penn hoped that the colony would be held.

In the summer of 1685 he wrote to Lloyd and the councillors: "I am sorry at heart for your animosities. Cannot more friendly and private courses be taken to set matters to rights in an infant province whose steps are numbered and watched? For the love of God, me, and the poor country be not so governmentish, so noisy and open in your dissatisfaction."

To Lloyd, the quarrelsome disposition of the people not abating, Penn wrote from Worminghurst in November, 1686: "I am extremely sorry to hear that Pennsylvania is so litigious and brutish. * * * O that some one person would in ye zeal of a true Phineas and ye meekness of a Christian spirit together stand up for our good beginnings, and bring a savour of righteousness over that ill savour. * * * O, Thomas, I cannot express to thee ye grief yt is upon me for it, but my privat affairs as well as my publick ones, will not let me budge hence yet, tho I desire it with so much zeal and for yt reason count myself a prisoner here. * * * It almost tempts me to deliver up to ye K— and let a mercenary govert have the taming of them. O where is fear of God and common decency? Pray do wt thou canst to appease or punish such persons, and if in office out with ym forthwith. * * * It you have any love to me and desire to see me and myn with you, O prevent these things that you may not add to my exercises."

He believed that 15,000 persons had been kept from Pennsylvania and were gone to Carolina instead, because of the angry disputes of the people. To James Harrison he wrote a few days after he had dispatched the above letter to Lloyd: "I am very much afflicted in my spirit that no care is taken by those that have a concern for the Lord's name and truth, by persuasion or authority, to stop those scurvy quarrels that break out for the disgrace of the province. There is nothing but good said of the place but little that's good said of the people. I beseech thee as a brother, and as thou and the rest must answer it to God, a few of you get together, thyself, T. Lloyd, A. Cook, J. Simcock, T. Jenny, William Yardley, &c. and see what is wrong; and in God's name exhort and in the king's name and myn, as his governor, charge at peril that a better course be taken to end and prevent such disputes. One speaks so ill of t'other that I should be at a stand who to write to but for my inward sense and belief. Dear James, this has struck back hundreds and is £10,000 out of my way and £100,000 out of the country's."

In the hope of bringing things into better order by a firmer control, Penn early in 1687 decided to take the executive function out of the hands of the

entire council and fix the responsibility upon five men, Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas More, who had not lost the proprietor's favor if he had forfeited that of many in Pennsylvania; James Claypoole, Robert Turner and John Eckley. The commissions for these men did not arrive until February, 1688, when More and Claypoole being dead their places were taken by John Symcock and Arthur Cook. These five men were to see that the provisions of the charter in reference to the government of the colony were respected. Penn would have attention to duty in both the council and the assembly. As for the councillors, of whom he had had accounts, he would "no more endure their most slothful and dishonorable attendance, but dissolve the same without any more ado." Lloyd as the senior commissioner presided, but he was displeased with the new arrangement and resigned, whereupon Penn gave the government into the hands of a deputy, brought on from New England, John Blackwell.

"For your ease," he wrote the five commissioners, "I have appointed one that is not a Friend, but a grave, sober, wise man. He married old General Lambert's daughter, was treasurer to the Commonwealth's army in England, Scotland and Ireland. * * * Let him see what he can do a while. I have ordered him to confer in private with you, and square himself by your advice. If he do not please you he shall be set aside."

The man was a complete disappointment, as any wiser than Penn might have foreseen. He appeared in Philadelphia in December 1688. This was the ominous year in English history and one of Blackwell's first acts was to announce the birth of a male heir to the Stuart king, known to history as James III the Pretender,¹ and set aside a day of thanksgiving. None yet knew that this event was to precipitate the Revolution, exile James, becloud the future of Penn and put in doubt the proprietor's title to his province. On February 23, 1689, in the middle of the night, a messenger brought to Philadelphia the news of the accession of William and Mary. It was the October following, however, before the magistrates of Pennsylvania took any action on the subject which had so vitally changed the course of events in England. Then an official notice was received from Whitehall ordering the colony to make ready to assist in a war against France. It seemed to be time at last to proclaim the new monarch. A declaration of the fact was made in Philadelphia and copies were sent to the sheriffs of the respective counties which could be done with better grace than obey the summons to a war with the French. As is truly said, this was the beginning of that pertinacious conflict between the crown and the assembly of Pennsylvania, which continued until the back of the Quaker majority was broken, and the non-resistant influence in the government of the colony was disposed of, nearly 70 years later.²

Blackwell was not only not a Friend, he was a soldier by profession. He answered to the title of captain or colonel. He quarreled with Thomas Lloyd and everyone else of any consequence in the province. He was voluble, foolish

¹ Usually called the "Old Pretender," and not to be confused with his son, the "Young Pretender," the "Prince Charlie" who once aroused so much ardor in some parts of Scotland.

² Jenkins, p. 94.

and obstinate. The council was in continual turmoil. The lieutenant governor defied the assembly and it defied him. The weather was too hot for him, he was tormented by the mosquitoes and he found the cost of living so high (he could "live better at halfe the charge in London") that he begged to be relieved of his post. When he would not go to the council room, because it was "too strayte and close for him," the councillors were obliged to repair to his lodgings, which were at the home of Griffith Jones, who for a time entertained him "on trust." "I am very ill dealt with," he complained to Penn. "The climate is over hot for my constitution and age; and the hosts of musquetos are worse than of armed men, yet the men without Armes worse than they. * * * I hope that by the first travelling Season youl Come and dismisse me." The people had "not the principles of govermt amongst them, nor will be informed."¹

A very real bone of contention, beside which all else was mere jealous bickering, was found in the proposal that the colony should prepare for defense against the French. Already in the summer of 1689 the governor had laid before the council a communication calling attention to the danger from "ye French and Indians in conjunction with ye Papists, for ye ruine of ye Protestants in these parts." It was rumored that an alliance had been formed between the French and Indians on the frontier and the Catholics in Maryland, a movement intended to reduce the inhabitants of Pennsylvania "to ye see of Rome." The Quaker councillors discredited the reports and refused to be moved by them.

So, too, when the word came from Whitehall in October, officially advising them of the impending war with France one after another counseled inaction or delay.

John Symcock saw "no danger but from bears and wolves: we are well and in peace and quiet." John Hill said—"If we put ourselves in arms the Indians would arise against us, suspecting we intended harm to them. I desire therefore that we may forbear till we heare out of England." Griffith Jones thought that the taxes, of necessity imposed by a military policy, "would be looked upon as very grievous and burdensome." The belief was expressed that if trainings were ordered not one in five men would attend. Only two or three favored a militia and, while the subject was still being angrily discussed, Blackwell, in January, 1690, was recalled, "'Tis a good day," said this weary public servant. "I have given and doe unfeignedly give God thanks for it." It was a good day, too, for the people of Pennsylvania who fully reciprocated the sentiments of their governor.

Upon Blackwell's withdrawal, after 13 months of disturbed service, the council was asked to choose three persons from among themselves, any one of whom the proprietor might commission as a deputy governor, if they desired such a governor, or the executive power might return to the council under a president. "What Ever you do," said Penn in the letter accompanying the instructions to the councillors as to how to proceed upon Blackwell's discharge, "I desire, beseech and charge you all to avoyd factions and parties, Whisperings and reportings, and all animosities, that putting your Common Shoulder to ye Publick Work, you may have the Reward of Good Men and Patriots." The council chose to have no

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, VI, p. 363.

governor and at once elected Thomas Lloyd to be its president, thus bringing to the head of affairs the man who probably best represented the dominant Quaker sentiment in the province. He had been the leader of the opposition against Blackwell during the brief administration which had just come to an end.

But the plan of having 18 deputy governors again seemed to fail, especially as the lower counties were in almost open revolt and wished a government of their own. In 1692, therefore, Penn made Thomas Lloyd deputy governor for Pennsylvania and William Markham, deputy governor for the "territories," and there was one more change. In ten years the system of government had been altered six times. First there had been a deputy governor, William Markham. Then Penn officiated in person. Then the executive department was vested in the entire council. Soon it passed to a commission of five men. Then came the administration of a Cromwellian soldier, called from the Puritan precincts of New England, which was followed by the reinstatement of the council. Finally there was a single governor in the shape of Thomas Lloyd.¹ It was a remarkable series of shiftless adventures which spoke ill enough for the talent of Penn in the political field. Soon now the system was to be changed again, though this time over the head of the proprietor.

Penn's conduct in England in reference to James and the plots in which he was supposed to be concerned for the return of that monarch to the throne caused the king to seize Pennsylvania, and to undertake the work of converting it into a royal colony. The ostensible excuse was the fact that the province would take no measures for its own defense. It was likely at any moment to fall into the hands of France, because of the strife and dissension in the population which had sprung up in the governor's absence. A patent was, therefore, issued late in 1692, to Benjamin Fletcher, who was serving as governor of New York and he was asked to take control. On the 26th of April, 1693, Fletcher, bearing the title of "captain general and governor-in-chief of the province of New York, province of Pennsylvania and country of New Castle, and the territories and tracts of land depending thereon in America," arrived in Philadelphia. He was conducted by the sheriff to the market place which then, as later, was on lower High street and there the letters patent of their majesties, the king and queen of England, were read to the people. He invited Thomas Lloyd to assist him in the work of government, an honor which the eminent Quaker declined. William Markham was willing to become the lieutenant-governor and preside when Captain-General Fletcher was in New York. Few of the Quakers would accept office. Fletcher repealed many of the laws under which the colony had earlier acted and made various changes in the political system that were not relished by the inhabitants. He demanded men and money for the war against the French and Indians on the frontier, but was stoutly resisted by the assembly at every point. Penn had no intention of giving up his province and told Fletcher to move cautiously. He had not been legally dispossessed and he would not be if he could avoid that end. He wrote to his friends to insist upon their rights "with wisdom and moderation, but steady integrity."

¹ *Fisher's Colony and Commonwealth.*

In a little while Penn passed out from under the cloud in England, and on August 20, 1694, the king issued letters patent restoring him to his rights in America. In March, 1695, the Fletcher administration was brought to an end. It had continued nearly two years. Thomas Lloyd was now dead. Therefore Penn's cousin, Markham, was appointed deputy governor, and kept the colony on a tolerably even keel until the proprietor could arrange his affairs to come out in person late in 1699.

In 1696, after a serious dispute with the assembly, Markham had been obliged to grant it larger powers in a constitution which is generally known as "Markham's Frame." By this instrument the assembly as well as the council could originate legislation and the members were given the right "to sit upon their own adjournments." The number of representatives from each county was reduced, and restrictions were placed upon the suffrage. While Penn had not ratified these changes in his system of government, they seemed to be valid, and the question of confirming them, with many more problems, faced him in his turbulent colony when he returned to it after his absence of fifteen years.

The colony by this time had grown, though the few years past had not yielded that rapid change in its appearance and that increase in its population of which there was at first promise. Penn's various vicissitudes in England, the disturbing war with France, which interfered with commerce and colonization, the frequent changes of government in the colony, and the trifling disputes in which the people indulged and which were magnified many fold by the time the news of them reached Europe, were some of the influences combining to prevent the best results in Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, much was being achieved. There had come to Philadelphia such men as David Lloyd, an able Welsh Quaker, a lawyer (not related to Thomas Lloyd), soon to play a leading part in the political affairs of the colony; Samuel Carpenter, a sagacious man, well known as a merchant and capitalist, "who did more to build up Philadelphia during thirty years than any other person;"¹ Edward Shippen, a Yorkshireman, who had gone to New England in 1668,² where Puritan persecutions of the Quakers would not allow him to remain; William Trent, a native of Scotland, a local merchant and banker, later the founder of Trenton;³ John Moore, descended from a John Moore knighted by Charles I, an aristocratic Englishman who came first to South Carolina and reached Philadelphia before 1700; William Bradford, the first printer, and George Keith, a schoolmaster and a religious controversialist, who was soon to lead a schism in the Society of Friends.

¹ T. Westcott, *Historic Mansions*, p. 41; named with Girard by Watson—"He was the Stephen Girard of his day in wealth and the William Sansom in the improvements he suggested and the edifices which he built."

² Born in 1639; he was twice whipped and otherwise annoyed while in Boston, and sought refuge here with a fortune estimated to amount to some £10,000 sterling in 1693 or 1694.—*Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXVIII, p. 396.

³ Trent bought and sold tobacco, skins, cordwood, flour, corn, negroes, salt, anchors, brandy and all kinds of colonial produce. These were shipped out of the Delaware to other markets. In 1714 he bought a tract of land in New Jersey, where soon grew up a village called Trent's-town or Trent-town, now Trenton.

That the community was not in all ways appreciative of its most useful citizens, a charge sometimes made against it to this day, is clearly shown by its treatment of William Bradford. He could be less well spared than the disputatious Scotchman whose cause he espoused. Bradford made his appearance in Philadelphia in 1685, with a letter from George Fox "to set up the trade of printing Friends' books." The mantle of Quakerism did not rest upon him very heavily, but he nominally adhered to this faith. He was about 22 years old. He had lately married a daughter of Andrew Sowle, a well known printer in London, and came out to pursue that trade in America. His press was undoubtedly the only one then set up anywhere on the American continent between Boston and Mexico City.¹ "For the ease of Clarks, Scriveniers, etc.," he would print "blank bills, bonds, letters of attorney, indentures, warrants, etc. and what else presents itself." It was impossible that he should be let alone at a time when it was so enjoyable an exercise to scan and censorize printed matter. His first issue seems to have been a pamphlet of twenty pages, the "Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense, or America's Messenger, Being an Almanack for the year 1686," which he published for Samuel Atkins. Bradford had stated in this almanac—

"Hereby understand that after great charge and trouble I have brought that great art and mystery of printing into this part of America, believing it may be of great service to you in several respects."

His supply of type was not large so that he must use figures and letters of various sizes with small artistic effect; but this mattered little. His offense was that either he or Atkins had spoken of the proprietor as "Lord Penn." Among the interesting features of the Almanac was a chronology stating the number of years since various events had occurred, for instance,—

"The Flood of Noah 3979."

"The building of London 2793."

"The building of Solomon's Temple 2702,"

"The building of Rome 2438."

"The beginning of government here by the Lord Penn 5."

When this came to the notice of the authorities Atkins was told to "blot out ye words Lord Penn," which he seems to have done, for in the copy of this pamphlet in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, they were made entirely illegible by a well irked quid. Bradford was ordered not to print anything henceforth "but what shall have lycence from ye Council."

He soon engaged in what would have seemed to be an entirely innocent exercise, if it were not a distinctly useful service, the printing of the frame of government. It was during Captain Blackwell's administration. The publication, the governor said, was dangerous in that "there seemed to him to be severall things therein conteyned which, though they might be fit for the people of this province to know (and that they might do by having resort to the keepers where it was lodged) but would be of ill consequence to be known to others, and possibly might bring the proprietor's title into question." Bradford was

¹ Jenkins, *Memorial History*, p. 361.

called before the council and underwent an examination in which the "thees" and "thous" that were used little tempered the bitterness of the dispute.

In 1688 he issued proposals, the first to be made in America, for printing a "large bible" which, if the Quakers had subscribed for it, would have brought much credit to the colony. This, however, they did not do and he was left to other employments with his press.¹ At his next passage with the government, Bradford quit the colony.

Although there had been legislation requiring parents to educate their children, no effectual means were provided until the establishment in 1689 of the school, later located on Fourth street below Chestnut, where it remained for many years. Penn advised the step in a letter to Thomas Lloyd and the result was a public grammar school which was the ancestor in a direct line of the Penn Charter School of this day. It was incorporated by the council of the province on February 12, 1698, as "the public school founded in Philadelphia at the request, costs and charges of the people of God called Quakers." Because "the prosperity and welfare of any people depend in great measure upon the good education of youth and their early introduction in the principles of true religion and virtue, and qualifying them to serve their country and themselves, by breeding them in reading, writing and learning of languages, and useful arts and sciences suitable to their sex, age and degree; which cannot be effected in any manner so well as by erecting public schools for the purposes aforesaid." Penn granted the "overseers" charters in 1701, 1708 and 1711.² The seal of the school was, or a little later became, the Penn arms. Beneath the design upon an open book, were Greek words meaning "Love ye one another." Around it all was the motto—"Good instruction is better than riches." George Keith, a Scotchman, who had been teaching for a while in West Jersey, was brought on to become the master of this "public school," as it was called. It was not public in the present accepted sense; the instruction was never or rarely free, though Penn had benevolently contemplated teaching without price for the children of the poor, and made some concessions to Keith in return for this service, if he chose to perform it. He was given a house near the school for his residence, a salary, and a share if not all of the profits, together enough, it would seem, to have made him content with his place. He, however, was disputatious, especially on theological topics, and soon gave up his school in favor of Thomas Makin, known in the literary annals of our city for some indifferent verse, to lead, if he could, the entire Society of Friends over to his views. He advocated almost precisely those doctrines which the Friends had come to think their own when Elias Hicks and his followers appeared more than a century later, to be so much criticized by the main Quaker body.³

Keith insisted upon a fuller recognition of the divinity of Christ, asserting that the inward light was not enough for the salvation of any one, and called to the discussion all of the dialectical skill and much of the rancor of a Scotch

¹ An Address by John William Wallace.

² Proud, I, pp. 343-45. The quoted words are from the preamble of the charter of 1711. 1711.

³ Fisher, *The Making of Pennsylvania*, pp. 50-51.

controversialist. Fox now being dead, he seemed to wish to make himself the leader of the sect. He used the most abusive language in his references to leading Friends and to the magistracy. The Quakers, barring a few, would then have none of it, though a very great number in the fullness of time came to adopt his views on the subject of Christ's position in the religious scheme. Such a reformer now was a voice crying in the wilderness. The converts that he gained in a little time went off with the older sects, and Keith himself, who soon visited England, returned later as a priest of the Established Church.

In the course of his campaign he published many pamphlets, and William Bradford became involved in the unfortunate affair. The printer had not felt the hard hand of the law for some time, not since he had incurred the displeasure of the government because of his connection with Daniel Leeds' almanac. This publication was said to contain "light, foolish and unsavory paragraphs," and for that reason he had been obliged to surrender to the authorities all unsold copies of the pamphlet in order that they might be destroyed. Now, in 1692, his name appeared on Keith's appeal to the Yearly Meeting. It was entitled "An Appeal from the Twenty-eight Judges," and on the charge that it was a malicious and seditious publication the sheriff visited Bradford's printing house, seized him and his types and sheets, and escorted him to prison. An innkeeper who offered a few copies of the book for sale was also taken into custody.¹ Opprobrious names passed from side to side while the culprits awaited trial for several months at the hands of the Quaker magistrates. Bradford skilfully conducted his own case but the jury disagreed, though left for a long time in a cold room without food or tobacco. His release came with the advent of the royal governor Fletcher, and a little later in the year 1693, invited to New York, he went thither, his departure leaving Philadelphia for several years without a press. Such was the treatment which a Quaker printer, armed with a letter from George Fox, received at the hands of the Quakers in Pennsylvania.

Bradford while here interested himself in the establishment of a paper mill, and had associated with him as its active head William Ryttinghuisen, or Rittenhouse, a Mennonite preacher who had come hither from Holland. He was the great-grandfather of David Rittenhouse, whose ingenuity as a mathematician and an inventor would bring the name so much distinction during the Revolutionary period.² The mill was built in 1690 in a little glade, the path of a rivulet called Paper Mill Run, which goes to join the Wissahickon through what

¹ A man named John Macombe sold two of the Appeals at cost, 2d each, for which he was imprisoned, though the Mayor, Humphrey Morrey, offered bail. He was not allowed to go home to take leave of his family, though "his wife was but two days delivered of a child and in danger of death by a flux, and another of his family sick also that dyed a short time after."—Daniel Leeds, *News of a Trumpet*, p. 84.

² William Rittenhouse was the first bishop of the Mennonite Church. He died in 1708 and was succeeded by his son Claus (Nicholas) whose death occurred in 1734. The latter's son William was the third Germantown paper-maker of the name. William's brother Matthias early abandoned the paper-making trade and purchased a farm in Norriton township near the present Norristown, where his son David Rittenhouse, the astronomer was born.

is now a part of Germantown.¹ The paper was made from rags, pounded laboriously by the aid of trip hammers in iron or stone mortars. The pulp was then moulded into sheets. It was a work of many days to produce even a small quantity. From this mill Bradford received his paper while in Philadelphia and even after his removal to New York. A freshet in the stream from which it got its power destroyed the little establishment in 1700, but it was rebuilt and continued its honorable history for more than a century.²

Germantown had become a flourishing community. The township contained four sections. Germantown proper was penetrated by the Main Street, now Germantown Avenue, and ran north and south between what are at present Mannheim Street and Washington Lane. North of it lay Cresheim; still farther north, Sommerhausen (now Chestnut Hill) and Crefeld. Thus the German names which the settlers had left behind them, were perpetuated in their home over the sea.

Pastorius and his first settlers found their numbers augmented by new German and Dutch emigrants, largely drawn from the ranks of the Mennonites. In addition to its paper mill, the community had gained a grist mill. This was established about 1683, by Richard Townsend, an English millwright, who came with William Penn on the "Welcome." He set up his stones under a shed about a mile northeast of Germantown, on Wingohocking creek where he ground meal for the colonists. The mill was known afterward as Roberts's mill. The Germans, as well as other settlers for miles around, Mr. Townsend was later wont to relate, carried their corn to him in sacks upon their backs, since there were then so few horses and oxen in the neighborhood.³

In 1691 sixty-four men in Germantown were naturalized by Governor Thomas Lloyd and became British subjects. In that year the town was incorporated as a borough, under a special charter which was granted it by William Penn, and was henceforth entitled to act by the name of "the Bailiffe, Burgesses and Comonalty of Germantown in the County of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania." Pastorius became the first baliff. A seal was adopted showing the kleeblatt or clover leaf. In one branch of the trifolium was a cluster of grapes, in another a flax blossom, and in the third a weaver's spool, with the inscription "Vinum, Linum et Textrinum," indicating, said Pastorius, that the people of the place "live from grapes, flax and trade."⁴

The linen weaving industry went forward favorably, but the chief market which was found in the semi-annual fairs in Philadelphia, yielded the people little. An effort had been made to plant grapes with a view to pressing wine, and the town was still in the first stages of its enthusiasm for this prospect. John Holme in his verses about Philadelphia wrote:

¹ *Literary History of Philadelphia*, p. 26.

² Horatio Gates Jones's history of the mill.

³ It is said that there were only two grist mills of earlier foundation in the colony; that of the Swedes on Cobb's Creek, and that on Frankford Creek also of Swedish construction—later immortalized in the legend of Lydia Darragh.—Keyser, *Historic Germantown*, p. 40.

⁴ Learned's *Pastorius*, p. 160.

“Here are some Jarmans up and down,
 Besides the settlers of a town.
 A town here is that’s long and large
 All builded at the cost and charge
 Of those stout Jarmans, who can work
 As hard as slaves under the Turk,
 Although here’s no need of such toil
 We live in such a fertile soil.”

Flax, Holme said,

“Grows so well in this land
 That from one acre some have found
 Their drest flax worth at least eight pound.
 If linen weavers do come here
 Of wanting work they need not fear.”¹

Richard Frame, in similar doggerel verse, writing at about the same time, also took note of Germantown. He said,

“The German-Town, of which I spoke before
 Which is at least in length one Mile and More
 Where lives High-German People and Low Dutch
 Whose Trade in weaving Linnin Cloth is much,
 There grows the Flax, as also you may know,
 That from the same they do divide the Tow;
 Their Trade fits well within their Habitation
 We find Convenience for their Occupation
 One Trade brings in imployment for another,
 So that we may suppose each Trade a Brother;
 From Linnin Rags good Paper doth derive,
 The first Trade keeps the second Trade alive;
 Without the first the second cannot be,
 Therefore since these two can so well agree
 Convenience doth approve to place them nigh
 One in German-Town, ’tother hard by.”²

The Germantown community, under the direction of Pastorius, was very forward in moral and intellectual movements and won immortal distinction through its early protest against slavery. Most of the early settlers were Friends, though

¹ “A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pennsylvania,” in *Bulletin of Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, December, 1847.

² *A Short Description of Pennsylvania*, by Richard Frame.

they were followed by many Mennonites, who after meeting for a time in Pastorius' common church or in private houses, shortly followed the example of the Friends and built a meeting house for their own uses.¹ At the monthly meeting in April, 1688, the German Quakers made a declaration "against the traffic of men's body." "Is there any," asked Pastorius and his associates in the inquiry, "that would be done or handled at this manner? viz., to be sold or made a slave of for all the time of his life? How fearfull and faint-hearted are many at sea when they see a strange vessel, being afraid it is a Turck, and they should be tacken and sold for Slaves in Turckey. Now what is this better done as Turcks doe? Yea, rather is it worse for them wch say they are Christians, for we hear that the most part of such Negers are brought hither against their will and consent and that many of them are stollen. Now tho they are black we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves as it is to have other white ones. * * * To bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will we stand against."

There was much more statement of this kind. The utterance rang with moral resentment and it was sent to the Monthly Meeting at Dublin, to go in turn to the Quarterly Meeting in Philadelphia by which it was referred to the next Yearly Meeting. Although there were relatively few slaves in Pennsylvania the Friends were not ready to approve of the protest. The Yearly Meeting declined giving "a positive judgment in the case, it having so general a relation to so many other parts; therefore, at present they forbear it."²

The Germans in Germantown gained as neighbors in 1694 a number of curious religious celibates who settled on the western banks of the Wissahickon, "in Rocksborrow" (perhaps because of fox burrows among the rocks) or Roxborough, as we know it today. They were Pietists, the product of that movement some of whose representatives had supported Pastorius in the Frankfort Land Company. They naturally visited him first but found Germantown much too worldly for their tastes. The members of this curious group, which was under the leadership of Johannes Kelpius called themselves "The Contented of the God-Fearing Soul," but were known to others usually as "The Society of the Woman in the Wilderness." They wore long, coarse robes and equipped with pilgrim staffs presented a distinctly monk-like appearance. They believed in a millenium and wished to pray in the silent places, until they should be caught up into Heaven. They lived in caves, among the rocks, under the hemlocks, in the wild fastnesses of the Wissahickon which rose not far away to tumble down through its gorge into the Schuylkill. Its name in the Indian language means catfish creek, and to this day the inns beside it are famous for this fish. Kelpius and his band built a kind of hermitage or tabernacle, whence Hermit's Lane, the ruins of which were still standing in the early part of the nineteenth century. They were seen by George Lippard as he explored the Wissahickon glen for material for his weird tales. Whittier wrote of—

¹ The Friends built the first sectarian meeting house in Germantown in 1683. The Mennonites erected a log church in 1708.

² Michener, *Retrospect of Early Quakerism*, pp. 334-35.

"Painful Kelpius from his hermit den
By Wissahickon maddest of good men"

who hid—

"Deep in the woods where the small river slid
Snake-like in shade."

These mystics were men of learning, as well as piety. They came out of the German schools and practised astronomy, alchemy and medicine. Those of them who remained in or around the monastery came to be known in the neighborhood as the "Hermits of the Ridge." When they were finally dispersed at least one of their number, Dr. Christopher Witt, passed to Germantown, where he gained more than a local reputation as a botanist.

It was a rare community over which Pastorius, the "Pennsylvania Pilgrim," whose deeds Whittier has so poetically commemorated, became the ruling spirit. He was not supported by the land company which had sent him out to America and his own pecuniary success was slight. He followed the business of a scrivener, a conveyancer and a school-master. He wrote the many languages of which he had command, not seldom in verse—

"Dutch, English, Latin like the hash
Of corn and beans in Indian succotash,"

and left to his heirs among other manuscripts a great book, called the "Bee Hive." It is an encyclopedic compendium of curious knowledge, which he indited for the benefit of his children, and it is now on deposit with the University of Pennsylvania. This was the "ponderous book," his "Rusca Apium,"

"Which with bees began
And through the gamut of creation ran."

South of the city there were such villages as Wicaco, Passyunk and Moyamensing, variously spelled by the Indians from whom the words were derived. Wicaco where several Swedes had settled seems to have meant "a dwelling place;" Passyunk "a level place—a place below the hills," and Moyamensing, by one authority "a place of meeting," and by another "a pigeon roost," since it was once a haunt for wild pigeons.¹ Beyond the Schuylkill another Indian name was to be preserved—Kingsessing, meaning "a place where there is a bog." In the north several villages and streams held their aboriginal designations, as Shackamaxon, "a place of eels;" Cohocksink, "pinelands;" Wingohocking, "land in a valley;" Pennypack, "deep, dead water;" Tacony, "a wood, or an uninhabited place," a general name at one time given by the Swedes to Philadelphia and the land lying north of it. They did not sound so well to many as the new English names,—Northern Liberties, Dublin, Oxford, Byberry, Moreland, Frankford, Darby and "Fayre Mount," a steep hill on the Schuylkill, but most of us at this day would be

¹ Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*.

glad if more of the musical syllables of the Indians had been handed down to us, and that those which reached the threshold of the present generation, such as Wicaco, Shackamaxon, Kingsessing and Passyunk could somehow be revived and established permanently in our municipal vocabulary.

The Friends in Philadelphia and its neighborhood were rapidly increasing the number of their meetings. The Bank Meeting-house which was of wood, was probably still standing. It seems to have been pulled down soon after Penn's arrival, and the Centre Meeting was moved into town and set up on that site.¹ In 1695 and 1696 the so-called "Great Meeting House," at the southwest corner of Second and High streets, was built. It cost more than £600 and it was the largest audience chamber which yet was at hand in the colony. Wherever a few Quaker settlers were established they met on First Days in some private home until houses of worship could be erected. In the immediate neighborhood of the city, when Penn returned to the province in 1699, there were, in addition to the Germantown meeting, meetings for the Welsh Quakers at Merion, Haverford and Radnor. The Merion meeting house, which is still standing in Lower Merion township in Montgomery County, on the "old Lancaster Road," near Narberth station on the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad, was partially built in 1695. Accepting this as its date, it may be considered to be the oldest house for religious worship in existence in Pennsylvania.² The Haverford meeting house, not to be confused with the newer one at the college, is ascribed to the year 1700, taking the place of a building which had been set up in 1688. A meeting house was built in Radnor in 1693. Its place was taken in 1718 by that still standing on the "old Lancaster Road" south of Villa Nova station in Delaware County. There were also meetings at Darby, at Chester, and at two or three points farther south and west in Chester County. Up the Delaware river there were houses in which the Friends gathered at Trenton Falls, at Neshaminy, at Byberry, at Oxford and at Abington. Some were merely log cabins, chinked with mud and covered with bark. In them "the spirit was moved" and many bore testimony for the Lord in the honest Quaker way.

There were at first two Yearly Meetings, one at Philadelphia and the other at Burlington. In 1685 the Friends of New Jersey and Pennsylvania united and thenceforward, until 1760, they met in alternate years in the two places. After 1760 the Society convened at Philadelphia annually and in the autumn until 1799, when (since this was the season in which the yellow fever raged in the city) the date was changed to a spring month. The Quakers deeply impressed their moral views and social customs upon the life of the colony. Their meetings urged that the young should not lay wagers, wrestle, or challenge one another to run races. "It is also a very evil thing and hateful to God and all solemn people for children to answer their parents again forwardly or crossly. * • • They have taken

¹ *The Fourth and Arch Street Meeting*, George Vaux, pp. 14-18. Mr. Vaux's date for the removal, 1698, is a little too early. The Centre Meeting is mentioned in the charter of Philadelphia of 1701.

² See *Bi-Centennial Anniversary*, a volume published in 1895 by the Friends' Book Association; also *Bean's History of Montgomery County*, p. 928, which, following Dr. Smith, gives 1713 as the year of erection of the present meeting house.

pains and care for you when you were young and helpless, and so ought you to do for them when they are old, if there be need." The Yearly Meeting was pained to hear the children of Friends making use of "the world's language, as you to a single person." Members should not apprentice their children to "such as are not Friends," lest they be led away from truth. They should not "suffer romances, play books and other vain and idle pamphlets in their houses or families" to corrupt the minds of their children.¹

All "who make mention of the name of the Lord" were enjoined not to offend "in wearing superfluity of apparel * * * but that all may be kept within the bounds of moderation." There should be "no immoderate and indecent smoking of tobacco." No one should ride or go in the streets with a pipe in his mouth for it "was very unseemly and not at all like Truth."² Friends who did not come to service regularly were visited by delegates from the meeting, and those who evidenced a "sleepy, drowsy spirit" were told that they were "great lets and hindrances to the work, as well as great weights and burdens to the faithful."³ They would be admonished at the end of the meeting by Friends appointed for that purpose, if they fell asleep or disturbed the services by coming in late. Neither should any Friend err by calling "the days and months contrary to Scripture * * * by the names of the idol gods of the heathen," and they must adhere to "the plain Scripture language of thee and thou."⁴ The Society also gave its testimony against "tattling, tale-bearing, back-biting, whispering and meddling themselves in other men's matters where they are not concerned." Disputes should be referred to "the judgment of two or more honest Friends." Going into debt was discouraged and suits at law were never to be undertaken until after the question at issue had been submitted to the meeting. Collections were made for the relief of the poor and the Society always gave a care to the condition of its members lest they come to want. Marriage was seriously entered into and accomplished under the direction of the meeting. The intentions of the man and the woman were duly published, and, standing up together, they made their mutual vows, without the mediation of any priest or magistrate. The man spoke after this fashion:

"Friends, you are here witness, in the presence of God and this assembly of his people, I take this maid, Margaret Matthews, to be my loving and lawful wife, promising to be a true and faithful husband unto her, till death shall us part."

The woman then in like manner declared:

"Friends, before God and you his people, I take John Pemberton to be my husband, promising to be a loving and faithful wife till death shall us part."

As a further confirmation of the marriage a certificate was signed by the two persons, and by the assembled witnesses of the ceremony. Every proper effort was made to prevent the marriage of Friends by "priests," or with the world's people. Such as offended were admonished, and if they did not make

¹ Michener, *Retrospect of Early Quakerism*, pp. 143-44.

² Yearly Meeting, 1694.

³ Michener, p. 179.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 195, 197, 201 and 252.

amends they were disowned and lost their places in the Society. Flirtation and careless attentions were discouraged. "It is unbecoming those who profess the Truth," said the Yearly Meeting in 1694, "to go from one woman to another and keep company and sit together, especially in the night season, spending their precious time in idle discourse and drawing the affections, one of another, many times, when there is no reality in it." All were exhorted to be "careful in these weighty matters, and that both males and females be clear of one before they become concerned with another."¹ Nevertheless, with every care some marriages had proven "hurtful," and still greater caution was advised from time to time by the monthly and quarterly meetings. Very early steps were taken against feasts at marriages and funerals. Members were urged to break away from "that offensive and unsuitable custom of large provisions of strong drink, cakes, etc." It was complained that invitations were sometimes issued to more than could come together in the house and in the houses of the neighbors. "The very streets and open places" were made use of "for the handing about of burnt wine and other strong liquors." Such indecencies were frowned upon by the Friends.

They also "had a concern upon them" in regard to "drinking to excess." They bore testimony against the "vain custom" of drinking healths which gave encouragement to this vice. Challenging to fight, the keeping of "vain or loose company in fairs, markets, drinking houses or any other places," were condemned by the meeting. Penn wrote from London complaining of "the number of ye drinking houses and looseness that is committed in the caves," which, after they had served their purpose as the first houses of the colonists, had been occupied by squatters who applied them to immoral uses. He wrote to the "magistrates" to "purge those caves in Philadelphia."

A number of leading inhabitants in a petition to the council, in 1695, found that not all "the ordinaries and tipling houses" were in good hands. This tended to the "debauchery and corrupting of youth." They found too that Indians went "reeling and bauling on the streets, especially at night, to the disturbance of the peace of this town." They were also concerned that "a check be put to hors racing which begets swearing, blaspheming God's holy name, drawing youth to vanaty, makeing such noises and public hooting and uncivil riding on the streets. Also that fiddling, dancing, gameing and what else may tend to debauch the inhabitants and to blemish Christianity and dishonor the holy name of God may bee curbed and restrained both at the fairs and all other times."

The two "witches" who were brought before the council of the province for trial during Penn's first visit attested to the ignorance and superstition which pervaded many classes of the people. More "witches" appeared in 1701. A strange woman in town was seized with a sudden illness while in the company of Robert Guard and his wife. Several pins, it was alleged, were "taken out of her breasts." Two neighbors charged the Guards, since they were present, with being the "authors of the said mischief," but the case was so absurd in the sight of the council that it was dismissed.² In 1695 the Concord Quar-

¹ Michener, p. 225.

² *Col. Records*, II, 20.

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terly Meeting testified against any who made use of "rhabdomancy or consulting with a staff." Astrologers and sorcerers had come into the province to practice their art. They were not only dealt with by the meeting but one was brought before the grand jury. His books were seized and destroyed, and he was fined and made to promise that he would "behave himself well for the future."¹

"Whether we have much of this world or not," the quarterly meeting concluded, "whether we get of it or not * * * we shall be content without such unlawful looking * * * by running to inquire of the astrologers, magicians, soothsayers, star-gazers, or monthly prognosticators which of old could not tell their own events (neither can they at this day)."

It was in Chester County also that a woman was complained of for going to a priest to be married in her shift. There prevailed a superstition that if a widow married "only in an under garment" she and her husband would not be held accountable for her former husband's debts.²

Red strings were tied to the horns of cows to keep the witches away. There were "witch doctors," several of whom in Germantown are said to have enjoyed "high repute."³ The "divining rod," nothing else than the fork of a sweet apple tree, was generally used to find suitable spots for the sinking of wells or deposits of precious minerals. Houses were "haunted," ghosts appeared, the moon had its influence upon man and his movements, diseases and pain were attacked by incantations, powders and other doses made by old women, and life from birth to death was one body of superstition.⁴ Such ignorance needed some sound direction, and it came principally from the religious influence of the Friends which was everywhere predominant.

Whatever their excellencies, their moral code gave the life of the people a very sober hue. Sundays were silent. Men were fined for racing horses and firing guns on that day, and even for going abroad with a yoke of oxen and a wain. In 1703 four barbers were presented by the grand jury "for trimming people on first days of the week commonly called Sunday." In 1702 a butcher was punished "for swearing three oaths in the market place," and for "two very bad curses," on another occasion. In the same year, several men who went out "disguised in women's apparel" and women "maskt or disguised in men's cloathes" on Christmas eve were indicted. So, too, was the "ordinary keeper" who suffered the "masqueraided persons" to "dance and revel" in his house. It was all "to ye grate disturbance of well minded persons," to the "staining of holy profession and incoringding of wickedness"; it propagated "ye throne of wickedness amongst us."⁵

The Swedes still maintained their houses of worship, and the Church of England men were becoming so numerous that they were erecting a building in which to hold those services that seemed good for their souls.

¹ Smith's *History of Delaware County*, pp. 193-4 and Michener, pp. 364-66.

² Michener, p. 230; cf. Watson, ed. of 1830, p. 650.

³ Hist. Soc. *Memoirs*, VI, p. 199.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 377.

⁵ *Collections of Pa. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 258, *et seq.*

For fourteen years, from 1677 onward, the Rev. Jacob Fabritius preached for the Swedes. He was a Hollander and spoke in his own language which the settlers, by long association with the Dutch on the Delaware, very well understood. During nine of these fourteen years of service the poor man was entirely blind.¹ It was apparently of him that Whittier wrote in "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim."

"Haply, from Finland's birchen groves exiled
Manly in thought, in simple ways a child,
His white hair floating round his visage mild,

The Swedish pastor sought the Quaker's door
Pleased from his neighbor's lips to hear once more
His long disused and half forgotten lore,

For both could baffle Babel's lingual curse,
And speak in Bion's Doric, and rehearse
Cleanthes' hymn or Virgil's sounding verse,

And oft Pastorius and the meek old man
Argued as Quaker and as Lutheran,
Ending in Christian love, as they began."

Finally Fabritius died and the people, left without a clergyman, appealed to Sweden. The king, Charles XI, was moved to his duty and put them under the care of the archbishop of Upsala. The negotiations occupied months, running into years. In 1696 three missionaries were sent out. They were Andrew Rudman, Eric Biork and Jonas Auren, the latter simply to view the country and return with a report. A large quantity of Bibles and other religious books accompanied them. They had divers tedious and unpleasant adventures before they reached America. They left Sweden in the summer of 1696, but found no passage in London until the following February. They were landed on the coast of Virginia, and came up in a shallop, first to the church on Christina Creek. It was surrounded by low land which was often overflowed by the river so that the parishioners must wade up to their hips to reach it. Steps were immediately taken to build a new one on higher ground. The first stone was laid in 1698 and the next year, on Trinity Sunday, it was dedicated. Of this church, which is still standing in Wilmington, Biork became the pastor.

Proceeding up the river the missionaries were welcomed by the Swedes who resided in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. Arrangements were made to erect a suitable church building there. Since 1669 the settlers in this section had been worshipping in the old block house at Wicaco, a half mile below the city. The pastor's house, however, was situated four miles south at Passyunk, that is near the present Point Breeze. As the people were scattered, some of them coming sixteen miles to church, there was a serious dispute as to the location of

¹ Clay's *Annals of the Swedes*, p. 38.

the new building. Some favored Wicaco and some Passyunk. Finally it was decided to choose the site by lot. After prayer and the invocation of God's blessing, Rudman, to whom this congregation was assigned, wrote the words Wicaco and Passyunk on slips of paper, shook them in a hat and then threw them upon the ground. He picked up that one on which Wicaco appeared. Contention now ceased, all joined in a hymn of praise, the bricklayers and carpenters who had erected the church at Wilmington were called to the work and Gloria Dei, or the Old Swedes' Church of Wicaco, later Southwark, and since 1854 Philadelphia, was built. Some of the material in the old church at Tinicum was brought up and used in the construction of the new building. It was partially completed when Penn arrived in 1699 and was dedicated during the next year in the presence of a large congregation, which included many of the English from Philadelphia.

The church was an almost exact reproduction of the one in Wilmington, except that it was to have a belfry as soon as enough money could be raised to complete it. Thus, said Biork in one of his letters to Sweden, "we have completed the great work and built two fine churches, superior to any built in this country." The English, so much richer than the Swedes, wondered at what had been done. The governors of Virginia and Maryland, with their suites, visited the churches and joined in the general admiration.

The missionaries paid their respects to Governor Markham, who accorded them every kindness and encouragement.¹ They found that their people were prosperous husbandmen, ready to contribute of their means for religious purposes. They had not forgotten their own language and spoke it perfectly. They lived in even greater concord with the Indians, Mr. Biork believed, than did the English.² The number of Swedish-speaking people upon their arrival, Mr. Rudman said, was about 1,200.³

Already they had little outposts in the interior. There were settlements in New Jersey, up the Delaware near Bristol and in the Schuylkill valley, where services were sometimes held in the houses of the settlers, the clergymen traveling from one to another to encourage the people to good lives. It was not until about 1765, however, that separate Swedish church buildings, for the outlying congregations, were erected at Kingsessing and at Upper Merion on the Schuylkill, nearly opposite the present Norristown. With three churches in the neighborhood they were organized as the "United Swedish Lutheran Churches of Wicaco, Kingsessing and Upper Merion called Gloria Dei, St. James and Christ Church." At this time the religious influence of the Swedes in Pennsylvania reached high tide.

In 1695 the Church of England made a beginning in the city. A number of Englishmen, some of whom were probably Keithian Quakers met, elected a vestry and arranged to purchase a plot of ground in Second street below High. The deed declares that it is designed "for a church and cemetery or churchyard, and the church and other premises are to be perpetually appropriated and

¹ Clay's *Annals*, p. 64.

² *Ibid.*, p. 67.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

used for the public worship of God, and for the better instruction of the people inhabiting Philadelphia, in the true Christian religion, as it is professed in the Church of England, and established by the laws of said realm, and to no other use whatsoever." Within a year, it is said, the church was finished. It is believed to have been of brick. Watson draws upon the recollection of a very old negro woman to show that the ceiling might be touched by the lifted hands. The bell was placed in the crotch of a neighboring tree. The account is discredited in several particulars, though the edifice was undoubtedly plain. It soon had a belfry and it served a growing congregation well until 1727 when the present structure was built around it, or replaced it on the same site. Beginning with 50, the first pastor Rev. Thomas Clayton, who was sent out by the bishop of London, increased his congregation to 700 persons. He was followed in 1700 by the Rev. Evan Evans, who travelled over the province in behalf of the church. He could speak to the Welsh beyond the Schuylkill in their own tongue, and he was making distinct inroads upon Quakerism when Penn arrived for his second visit. Christ Church was the only Episcopal church in America between New York and Maryland.¹

The families who were drawn into it stood for the moods, customs and philosophies of the world and formed the basis for our colonial "society." To them art, music, literature and civilization had an interest which the Quakers could not feel and they pressed on until they came to possess an influence over the community, tending to raise it to metropolitan dignities. Their houses, their furniture, their apparel, their equipages, their entertainments lent a brilliance to the life of the city which kept it abreast of the great world outside.

The Friends' meeting, situated about nine miles from the city in Oxford township, which was strongly Keithian in its sympathies, went over to the Church of England about 1698. It took the name of Trinity Chapel or Trinity Church, and was the first of a series of congregations which testified to the spread of Episcopalianism in outlying neighborhoods.²

The Baptists were also establishing their faith in Pennsylvania and some of Keith's converts embraced this religion. They had only itinerant preachers. In Philadelphia they met with a few Presbyterians in a store. When the latter got a pastor of their own, the Baptists removed to Anthony Morris's brew house under the Bank, where they worshipped for many years. The Presbyterians had gathered strength enough in 1704 to build the church in High street west of Second street, afterward so long commonly known as the "Old Buttonwood Church."

And what of the city itself at this time, in 1696 and 1700?

"The young city round whose virgin zone
The rivers like two mighty arms are thrown
Marked by the smoke of evening fires alone,

¹ *Memorials of Christ Church* by Benjamin Dorr; *Historical Account of Christ Church*, 1695-1841, by the same author.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 279.

Lay in the distance, lovely even then,
 With its fair women and its stately men
 Gracing the forest court of William Penn.

Urban yet sylvan; in its rough hewn frames
 Of oak and pine the Dryads held their claims
 And lent its streets their pleasant woodland names."¹

Thompson Westcott believes that there were still not more than 700 houses in Philadelphia, although Gabriel Thomas, that humorous and flattering observer, stated the number to be 2,000.² If this estimate is large enough, which it probably is not,³ advancement in fifteen years had been slow. The number in 1685 we have seen was given as 600 and Richard Morris wrote to Penn in 1690 that it was 1,400.⁴

Anyhow, the city had a sounder and more substantial appearance. Dug-outs and shanties had given way to brick houses, some of them of considerable size. There were such edifices now as Edward Shippen's "great house" in Second street, below Dock, on the west side. It then lay out of town, for Gabriel Thomas described its situation as "near the capital city." It was surrounded by gardens and orchards.

Samuel Carpenter had built the "Slate Roof House" in Second street below Chestnut street, a famous landmark of the city until it was torn away in the middle of the nineteenth century (1868) to make a place for the Corn Exchange building. It was later sold to William Trent, the founder of Trenton in New Jersey, and then passed to that important Quaker leader, Isaac Norris, who occupied it until he built and removed to "Fairhill" in 1717. He had come in 1693 from Jamaica where his father had perished in the great earthquake of the previous year. Richard Whitpain's "great house" stood on the east side of Front street below Walnut. The assembly sat here from time to time. It was built of shell lime, and under the influence of the weather it early fell down. Robert Turner, the enterprising merchant and a conspicuous leader of the colonists, had a large house at the southwest corner of Front and Mulberry streets. Anthony Morris, the Quaker brewer who was born in London in 1654 and came to Philadelphia after a brief residence in Burlington, resided in a mansion on a lot of ground facing Front street between Chestnut and Walnut streets. Similar evidences of prosperity, wealth and confidence in the security of the place appeared upon all sides. Wharves were built under the Bank large enough to accommodate ships of 100 tons, and boats no longer landed only at the Blue Anchor inn and the Pennypot house. On one of the quays a crane was seen. Some granaries and storehouses were proof of an export and import trade, and thirty carts were found in the city, some of them drawn by four or five horses each. Slate had

¹ Whittier in "Pennsylvania Pilgrim."

² History in *Sunday Despatch*, Chapter 42.

³ Jenkins' *Memorial History*, p. 121.

⁴ *Pa. Mag.*, IV, p. 200.

been discovered and gave its name to the Slate Roof House. Limestone also was being quarried, and it was no longer necessary to resort to oyster shells.¹ It was burned near Plymouth, and a road was built thither on the east bank of the Schuylkill, the fore-runner of the so-called Ridge Road, located on the ridge which divides the waters of the Schuylkill and the Delaware, and then crossed the Wissahickon, following the crest of another ridge, whereon the village of Roxborough was later placed like a "Stringtown on the Pike." There were prophets who were certain that asbestos would be found in profitable amounts. Thomas spoke of "that wonder of stones the salamander stone, found near Brandywine River, having cotton in veins within it which will not consume in the fire though held there a long time."² Holme too had seen it:

"I saw a man who broke it and did pull
Out of it something like to cotton wool.
He set it all on fire and let it burn—
I thought it would soon into ashes turn.
But pulling 't out it did appear again
As 't was at first, without legerdemain."

Explorers in plenty were going off into the interior and returning with stories of their discoveries. There was isinglass or mica to be used for window panes. "Loadstone" and "iron stone" and "pretty stones to set in rings," were found, while gold and silver, of course, were pursued with much interest and curiosity. The sugar maple was tapped and there were visions of a great industry in the forests—

"For in the pleasant, warm and lovely spring
When flowers grow and birds do sweetly sing
These lovely trees do flow out amain
With liquors sweet as juice of sugar cane.

* * *

This needs no slaves to plant, weed out and bind
Nor cart nor horses to bring home to grind;
No windmills for to squeeze the liquor out—
Pierce but the tree the sugar it will spour,
In one night's time enough to fill a tub."³

¹ John Holme, "A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pa.—"

"A few years since, it's known full well,
Here lime was burnt of oyster shell,
No limestones in those parts were found.
But since by searching in the ground
Great store was seen in a short time,
On which some now make good stone lime
Which in its goodness doth excell
That which was made of oyster shell."

² *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania and West Jersey in America.*

³ Holme's "True Relation."

The trees in some parts of the city were being cut down by timber thieves, and Penn wrote from England ordering his agents to put a stop to the practice. When they were felled an undergrowth of bushes appeared and this was calculated, he believed, to "harbor vermin and loos and evil persons." It also deprived the cattle of pasturage since they could before roam about under the trees and feed. The owners were obliged to brand their cows which were also usually belled. For example, one owner would have a "slit in the top of the near year" of his cow or steer; another "a crop in the near ear and a hole in the far ear." The locusts at times descended upon the country like a cloud. Once they made such a noise that the settlers could not hear the cow bells in the woods. Hogs and poultry fed upon the insects and the Indians boiled and ate them.¹

The "King's Great Road" along the coast pursued its way north out Front street and through Frankford to the Falls and New York, and south as a rule by the "lowermost ferry," later known as Gray's Ferry, from which a road led to Cedar street, the most southern street in Philadelphia, for that reason soon called South street. There was also a ferry over the Schuylkill, from 1685 on, at High street, which was generally used by the Welsh whose lands lay beyond. They were constantly in need of coming to the markets, fairs and elections and, until their own meeting houses were built, to First Day and midweek worship. The ferry was kept by one Philip England against whom many complaints were lodged, on the score of his inattention to duty. Passengers were obliged to wait too long for his boat. Another ferry was established by the Welshmen, therefore, just north of the city limits. England appealed to the law saying that he had a monopoly of the business and he was for a time upheld by the council. Soon, however, the competitor must be recognized. The High street ferry was known as the "Middle Ferry," that farther north the "Upper Ferry," and Benjamin Chambers' or Gray's Ferry, as it came later to be called, the "Lower Ferry."

It was a difficult matter to keep the roads in a definite place. Penn wrote in 1689 that he had heard of their being "turned about by the planters which is a mischief that must not be endured." They must be "straight and commodious." If a road went through an owner's tract of land, and it was not for his convenience to have it there, he turned it out upon another's property. It needed more law and authority than were yet at hand to protect the public interest in so small a matter as the location of a road.

The young city had had several fires, and steps were soon taken for the protection of property. In 1697 each householder, under penalty of fine, was directed to keep "a swab at least 12 or 14 feet long, as also two leathern buckets, to be ready in case of accident by fire." The swabs were to be soaked in water and

¹ The testimony is of a little later date, 1715, but the Rev. Andreas Sandel, the Swedish minister, wrote in his diary on May 9 of that year: "In this month some singular flies came out of the ground; the English call them locusts. * * * When they began to fly, they made a peculiar noise, and being found in great multitudes all over the country their noise made the cow-bells inaudible in the woods. * * * Swine and poultry ate them, but what was more astonishing when they first appeared, some of the people split them open and eat them, holding them to be of the same kind as those said to have been eaten by John the Baptist."—*Pa. Mag.*, XXX, pp. 448-49.

pressed upon the burning roofs and cornices to prevent the spread of the flames. The buckets were all thrown out of the windows at the call of fire and were assembled at the nearest pump. Chains of people were then formed to pass the filled buckets up to the fire, and, after they were emptied, return them for a re-filling. "Six or eight good hooks for the purpose of tearing down houses in case of fire" were provided at public expense.

In 1696 the assembly went so far as to provide that "no person shall presume to smoak tobacco in the streets either by day or night." Any one violating the law should forfeit twelve pence for each offense, which was to be applied to the purchase of "leather buckets and other instruments or engines against fires." House owners were also compelled to keep their chimneys clean. As all burned wood, there were large accumulations of soot which in a high wind was likely to take fire and blaze out at the top. No one could "burn his chimney out" to clean it, since that was a menace to the community, and there was at once an occupation for the chimney sweep. The town now furnished occupation to many classes of people. There were merchants and shopkeepers, master butchers, master carpenters, master tailors and their apprentices, tanners, curriers, cordwainers, potters, tallow chandlers, pewterers, braziers, watchmakers, goldsmiths, saddlers, woolen weavers, maltsters, coopers, bakers, brickmakers, bricklayers, painters, plasterers, barbers who were also chirurgeons, and many other kinds of artificers and trades folk.¹

Town life centered at the market which was held at first in the wide and grassy High street, where it was crossed by Front street. About 1693 it was moved out to Second street² where wooden stalls were erected with a "bell house," in which the "clark of the markt" had his offices. Markets were regularly held on Wednesdays and Saturdays, though the venders, if they wished, might attend on other days for the sale of "flesh, fish, tame fowl, eggs, butter, cheese, herbs, fruits, roots, &c." Nothing could be sold elsewhere in the town under penalty of forfeiture of the goods, one half of which would go to the poor and the other half to the "clark," who must be paid certain fees by the venders in any event.

The market was opened by the ringing of the bell from six to seven in the summer, and eight to nine in the winter. Nothing but "flesh" could be sold before this hour "unless it be for his Excellency the Governor-in-Chief, or Lieutenant-Governor," who always had the first choice of what was offered. If any dealer "cheapened" his wares on his way to market or until two hours after the bell rang, he was fined.³

The market was the gathering place for all classes. The country people, men and women, came hither with their produce; if from a distance, usually on horses across whose backs huge sacks or panniers were slung. Thus a farmer went to town, his head protruding above his poultry, pork, butter and flax. Even live calves and sheep were sometimes seen in the baskets. If vehicles were used, they were at first sleds dragged over the clearings that served for roads, or wagons

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, Vol. IV, p. 194.

² "In ye High Street where ye Second Street Crosses it and in no other place."

³ *Pa. Mag.*, XXIII, pp. 408-9.

made without iron whose wheels were cross sections of logs placed clumsily on the ends of heavy axletrees. The Indians trudged in with their roots, berries, maize, skins and baskets. Gabriel Thomas says that twenty bullocks were slaughtered in a week to supply the Philadelphia market. In the market place public proclamations were made by the criers, and near by was the prison where men and women often in full view of the people were whipped, or otherwise suffered the legal penalty of their offenses. The moderation and mercy which were to mark the system of punishment in Pennsylvania were found rather impracticable and there had been some reaction. Indeed the Quaker law-givers and magistrates were never so mild as tradition supposes them to have been. Some time between 1686 and 1702¹ a prison was erected in the middle of High street, east of Second street, therefore east of the new market stalls and the bell house. This house of punishment took the place of such "cages" as may earlier have been in the service. There the whipping post must have stood and the stocks and pillory, if they had yet been erected. Already mention was made of the stocks in Germantown and in Bucks and Chester Counties, where the government was quite as strongly under the Quaker influence. The insufficiency of advice and admonition in causing the people to become more orderly, together with the introduction into the colony of unruly classes of immigrants seemed to make more severe punishment necessary. Once at Chester, a servant for counterfeiting pieces of eight stood at the pillory on "two several court days" for three hours each day, "with a paper of his crimes written in capital letters affixed upon his breast." Another time a married woman who in the view of an inquisitorial grand jury had had a child too soon after wedlock was compelled to stand up beside the whipping post, with these words written upon a paper upon her breast: "I stand here for an example to all others for committing the most wicked and notorious sin of fornication."² Men were already being whipped "at the cart's tail" for petty thefts, that is they were chained or otherwise tied to the back of a cart and while it was drawn through the streets they were lashed by a constable who followed, with a heavy leather whip. Men and women were sold into years of servitude for small offenses, the court being particularly unpitying if they belonged to the servant class.³

The already severe laws did not prevent stealing and the assembly in 1698 took further steps toward making the people honest. If the value of "living goods" or "dead goods" which were stolen reached or exceeded four shillings the thief must now pay the owner four times the amount, and receive 21 lashes on the bare back. Furthermore he or she, as the case might be, was to wear a badge for six months. It was to be a "Roman T, not less than four inches in length each way and an inch in breadth," and red, blue or yellow, as the court should direct, with a view to making it as different as possible from the color of the wearer's outer garment. It must be fastened "upon the outer part of the left arm betwixt the elbow and shoulder at all times whenever he or she

¹ Westcott, Chapter 34.

² Smith's *Delaware County*, pp. 174, 186.

³ Smith, p. 179.

shall travel or be seen from his or her habitation or plantation where he or she shall live, on every day from sun rising unto sun setting." This was all to be done under penalty of banishment from the colony. For stealing five shillings' worth a second time the thief was to receive 39 stripes "well laid on" and quit the government forever.¹

A watch was now regularly established. The city was thus guaranteed some protection against Indians, wolves, fires and the machinations of criminals. The watchmen or constables, if need arose, could instantly gather a posse of the people. The hue and cry was raised and an offender was brought back to justice at the seat of his crime, even from distant points, every one, constables and bystanders, pursuing the felon with loud clamor.

In 1697 a volunteer militia organization was formed over the heads and against the protests of the Quakers for the purpose of defense during the first French and Indian war. It was called an association, as were many similar organizations which followed it, in order not to offend the Quaker scruples needlessly. Militiamen in Pennsylvania, up to the Revolution, were known as "associators."² The company was rather ineffective. A "sham militia," an unfriendly informant called it or another company which soon followed it. It numbered not more than thirty or forty men "to compleat which forces they drained the gaol of some, borrowed some servants and others, and after all" the writer continues, "the scandalous ragged regiment had not above six swords amongst them, no shoes or stockings and finding themselves exposed and ridiculed the lieutenant governor was ashamed of his militia, so they are dismissed and never appeared since."³

It was under the royal governor Fletcher, in 1693, that an effort was made to improve the postal system. Routes were to be opened from New England to Virginia and Andrew Hamilton, who had been one of the proprietors of East Jersey, and later for a time governor of both the Jerseys, was appointed "post-master general in these parts." The assembly fixed the rates which he might charge for conveying letters as follows:

- To New York, 4½ pence,
- To Connecticut, 9 pence,
- To Rhode Island, 12 pence.
- To Boston, 15 pence,
- Beyond Boston, 19 pence,
- To Lewes, Maryland, and Virginia, 9 pence,
- To all points within 80 miles of Philadelphia, 4½ pence.

He had free passage for his post-riders across all the ferries in the colony, and agreed to keep up constant communication, "to the end that mutual correspondence may be maintained, and that letters may be speedily and safely despatched from place to place." It became necessary, however, to offer still more

¹ *Charter to Wm. Penn and Laws of the Province*, p. 275.

² Westcott, Chap. 42.

³ *Pa. Mag.*, XXIV, p. 74.

favorable terms to Hamilton. He said that he could not carry on the service for these fees, and in 1697 they were raised to the northern colonies, as follows:

- To New York, 8 pence,
- To Connecticut, 1 shilling,
- To Rhode Island or Boston, 18 pence,
- Beyond Boston, 2 shillings.

The postage on letters to or from places within a radius of eighty miles was increased from 4½ pence to 6 pence. The postmaster was to receive £20 in silver money of the province annually for three years for his further emolument.

CHAPTER III.

PENN'S SECOND VISIT, RETURN TO ENGLAND, AND DEATH.

The misfortunes which had befallen him, and the anxieties and sorrows which he had suffered since he had left the province in 1684 were not without marked traces upon Penn's appearance and character, when he returned in 1699. He had at last made his peace with the crown, though it proved not to be an enduring one. He had arranged his own pecuniary affairs so that they seemed somewhat less pressing but when these things were in a way to be put into better order his wife, the lovely Gulielma Maria Springett, had died. This was in 1694. Of seven children three survived her—Springett, the eldest son, who was afflicted with consumption and followed his mother to the grave in 1696, in his twenty-first year; Letitia and William Penn, Jr. In 1696 Penn had tried to make good his loss by marrying a second time, choosing Hannah Callowhill, a daughter of Thomas Callowhill, who was a merchant in Bristol. She and her children at her husband's death became the proprietors of Pennsylvania.

Penn left Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, on the ship "Canterbury" on September 3rd, 1699. He was accompanied by his second wife and by his daughter, just coming into womanhood, Letitia, or "Tishe" as she was known familiarly and lovingly to him. The voyage was tedious and unpleasant. Three months, September, October and November, were spent upon the sea. On the last day of November the ship came up to Chester. It was welcomed by a discharge of cannon, wherein a gunner had his hand shot off, an injury from which he died in a few months, after receiving at Penn's expense, the best surgical aid, which the times afforded. The proprietor went ashore meeting the widow of his old friend Robert Wade, and Thomas Story, an able English Quaker, who had lately come to the colony and whom Penn was glad to find here.¹ In a day or two he boarded the "Canterbury" again and on the 3rd of December, which was the first day of the week, they appeared in front of Philadelphia. Landing they were greeted by a large crowd of the inhabitants of the city, of high and low estate, who followed at the proprietor's heels as he went to pay a visit to Markham, and then proceeded to afternoon service in the new meeting house at Second and High streets. There he preached and appeared in supplication, giving thanks for his safe arrival and calling down God's blessings upon his province. He was invited to take up his abode at Edward Shippen's "great house" where he remained for a month. At

¹ Thomas Story was born in England in 1662. He came first to the southern colonies on a preaching tour. He married a daughter of Edward Shippen.

the end of that time he removed to the Slate Roof House which had been hired from Samuel Carpenter. It served his purposes well. It was the largest house in Philadelphia, a "singular old-fashioned structure, laid out in the style of a fortification with abundance of angles, both salient and re-entering." Its two wings, the description continues, "projected to the street in the manner of bastions to which the main building, retreating from 16 to 18 feet, served for a curtain."¹ The extensive gardens, enclosed by high walls, contained, like Shippen's gardens, a number of primeval pine trees which had escaped the timberman's axe. In this house John Penn, "the American," as he was afterward called, the first of Hannah Penn's children, was born at the end of the January following the proprietor's arrival.

Thus the winter passed, and it was a sad one in many families. Philadelphia during the summer preceding Penn's arrival had been visited by the first of those recurring epidemics which in 1793 reached such a degree of malignity, that it threatened to wipe the city entirely from the map. It was popularly known as the "Barbadoes distemper," since it seemed to come up the river in ships from the West Indies. It was in reality the yellow fever, or something so nearly akin as to be indistinguishable from it at this distance of time. Two hundred and fifteen persons laid down their lives before the malady abated, a deadly draught upon the still small population. Isaac Norris, writing in September to Jonathan Dickinson, who was then in Jamaica, said: "There is not a day or night has passed for several weeks but we have the account of the death or sickness of some friend or neighbor. It hath been sometimes very sickly, but I never before knew it so mortal as now. About ten days ago, there were reckoned nine persons lay dead at the same time and I think seven or eight this day lay dead together. * * * All business and trade down. This is quite the Barbadoes distemper; they void and vomit blood. This has been, about harvest time, the hottest summer I ever felt; several died in the field with the violence of the heat."

Thomas Story wrote in his journal that "in this distemper had died six, seven and sometimes eight a day, for several weeks, together. * * * Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord. Great was the fear that fell upon all flesh. * * * Every face gathered paleness and many hearts were humbled and countenances fallen and sunk, as such that waited every moment to be summoned to the bar, and numbered to the grave."²

Since the epidemic came on a ship, or ships, a law was passed by the assembly in 1700 to prevent "sickly vessels" from landing their passengers and goods before they had "lain some time to be purified." No infected ship was to be permitted to come within one mile of Philadelphia or any other port in the province or its "territories." Masters must show "bills of health." They would receive licenses to unload their passengers and cargoes from the governor and council in Philadelphia, and from the justices of the peace at Chester, New Castle and other landing places.³ Some of the victims of the fever were undoubtedly buried west of the Schuylkill, where there were two tracts set aside for the interment of the

¹ Graydon's *Memoirs*.

² *Life of Thomas Story*, p. 224.

³ *Statutes at Large of Pa.*, Vol. II, p. 80.

dead. One was near the river, north of the present Race street, the other farther south on the river bank just above the landing stage of the High street ferry.¹ Many interments from 1690 on were made in the Friends' burial ground at Fourth and Arch streets, and the bones of some who died of the fever must rest here, where, a century later, was built a meeting house, still standing today, a sentinel to guard the unmarked graves of a multitude of early Philadelphians. Much of the ground has had two layers of graves placed in it and in some parts there are three. Perhaps the mortal remains of 20,000 persons have been jumbled together in this small intramural enclosure.²

The funerals of this day included the conveyance of the body upon a bier, which rested on the shoulders of bearers, usually four in number, selected from the friends of the dead. The coffin, since it must often be taken along winding paths, was likely to be swung upon poles so that the carriers could make their way more conveniently. When roads were built, and the distance to be traversed was great, it was "corded on to a thing like the bottom of a single horse chaise."³ The procession was on foot and horse, and sometimes attained great length. At a funeral at Uwchlan meeting in Chester County, 500 attended, mostly on horseback. "Full half" of these were women who habitually rode to meetings, hitching their "creatures," as they called them, to fence rails or trees to stand until service was at an end.⁴

Sometimes there were funerals also upon the rivers. In 1703 when a woman and two of her servants were struck by lightning, and killed, the corpses were attended by thirty boats and four hundred people. Preservatives were unknown; in warm weather, the dead must be interred at once. There is an account of a prominent Philadelphian who died one day in 1704 and who "because of his corpulency and the heat of the season" was buried the same evening.⁵ As late as the summer of 1783, a man "eat his breakfast and at seven o'clock in the evening he was buried" for similar reasons.⁶

Among the prominent members of the Church of England there were sometimes interments at night, which were made imposing by torchlight processions.

The entire city was kept sadly employed in the summer and autumn of 1699 in burying relations and friends. Their loss was greatly mourned when Penn arrived, and it was a work of some time for him to institute those measures which he hoped would conduce to the greater social and political peace of the colony.

Already elements, soon to prove very hostile to Penn and his interests, were becoming active in the city. The Quakers were sufficiently disturbed by the secession of Keith and his following, and by the efforts of Fletcher and Markham, who did not share their peaceful dispositions, to induce them to assist the crown in its war against France by pledges of money and men. Now Colonel Robert Quarry or Quary, appeared upon the scene. He was appointed from

¹ Thompson Westcott, Chapter 47.

² George Vaux, *History of Arch Street Meeting House*, p. 28.

³ *Pa. Mag.*, XVII, p. 458.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Penn-Logan Correspondence*.

⁶ *Pa. Mag.*, XVII, p. 379.

London as judge of the admiralty, an independent royal court directly and solely responsible to the king, whose duty it was to adjudicate questions arising in the collection of the crown revenues and the management of navigation in these parts of North America. His commission dated from about 1697, and he had jurisdiction over both New York and Pennsylvania.

Quarry had earlier been the governor of South Carolina and was a member of the council of at least four of the American colonies at the same time. He had a bitter enmity toward all proprietary governments against which he lodged every manner of complaint in London. He particularly opposed Penn's government on the ground ostensibly that it lacked a militia to safeguard the interests of Britons settled in the colony and desirous of carrying on trade with it.¹ Penn was kept busy answering the "black and venomous" charges which this man forwarded to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Foreign Plantations.²

Quarry saw his opportunity in the prevalence of piracy. Many of the privateers who had preyed upon the commerce of France and Spain in the long wars with those countries, at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, were unwilling to go home when they could no longer follow their old pursuit, and they quite naturally turned to unregulated outlawry. They pillaged, murdered and robbed almost at will, especially when they met galleons laden with rich cargoes from the Orient. They established magazines for their stolen goods in Madagascar and on other islands and coasts, where they traded what had come into their possession for bread, meat, tobacco and rum from America. The pirates, and those who trafficked with them, decked themselves out in the finery of the East and defied the customs officers, coming and going mysteriously. The most famous of them all was Captain Kidd. Two others, a little later very well known in this neighborhood, were Avery and Blackbeard (Edward Teach). Kidd, at least, was disposed of by being captured near New York, in June, 1699. He was taken to London and hanged in chains at Execution Dock in March, 1701.

Many pirates landed and hid their plunder on Long Island and in New Jersey, and there was no one to say them nay, since it was impossible to police these wild coasts. New York and other American towns gave them shelter. It was charged that they were being protected in Philadelphia also. Some did come into Delaware bay, if, indeed, they did not appear in the city itself. There were rumors now and again of their approach. These romantic figures, in red and blue coats, trimmed with cloth of gold, flourishing gem-studded pistols and knives, were in everybody's mind. Tales were told of buried treasure which boys look for sometimes to this day, and some suspects were arrested and imprisoned. But Philadelphia lay too far away from the sea to make the adventure of coming in quite safe, and it was very wide of the truth when, Quarry alleged that Pennsylvania had become the "greatest refuge for pirates and rogues in America." Governor Markham's daughter had married one of the buccaneers and he himself was said to have an interest in their operations. Quarry's representations were

¹ See Ames in *Pa. Mag.*, XXIV, p. 61.

² *Memoirs of Pa. Hist. Soc.*, II, pt. 2, p. 191.

such that the Board of Trade instructed Penn to remove his governor,¹ although it could have been shown that the proprietor's industrious enemy was also acting in complicity with these desperadoes of the sea.

It was this man who chose to make himself the leader of an aristocratic Church of England party in Philadelphia, which would antagonize the Quakers on religious grounds, and forward the design to take the province out of their hands, and convert it into a royal colony. Quarry found an active aid in John Moore, the advocate of his court, and when Penn came they were in open hostility to Markham and the locally installed magistrates acting under the proprietor's authority.

Another discordant factor was found in the democratic popular party led by David Lloyd. For a speech in a piracy case in which he "insolently ridiculed the admiralty commission and his majesties effigies affixed to it in open court"² he was for a time held in much ill favor in the colony. He was a demagogue, but he boasted of a large and troublesome following.

It was Penn's duty to find the means of pacifying these influences so inimical to his interests. Both Quarry and Moore were in the crowd which came to welcome him when he landed in Philadelphia, and their greeting seemed to be cordial. While he could remain in the colony his presence and his management sufficed to allay acrimony. He soon caused to be passed a stringent law against piracy, saying that it was "to the horrid scandal of the English nation." Masters of vessels must declare who were their passengers before landing their ships. Strangers were watched and pursued with redoubled vigilance. Those who had in their possession "East Indian, Arabian or other foreign goods or coins" were to be brought before the magistrates.³

Penn's visit to the province was crowded with conferences, meetings and grants, which were intended for the people's good. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania and the lower counties had come to number perhaps 20,000, and he moved about among them, convening the assembly now at Philadelphia and again at New Castle, travelling into the interior to view the country and speak with the Indians, preaching everywhere in the Quaker meetings. The people were encouraged and assured by his being among them, though many enmities were only sleeping to be reawakened when he should again be out of sight.

He now had the opportunity of enjoying Pennsbury upon which so much care, trouble and money had been expended in his absence. In the spring of 1700 he and his family removed from the city thither. The liquors which he had sent out to age could now be drunk. Many of the grape vines which he had forwarded to be planted by his steward, James Harrison, while he lived, and then by his successor, John Sotcher, were now in a bearing condition. He was certain that Pennsylvania would become famous for its wines. Not only at Pennsbury, but also on a tract of ground "at the Schuylkill," called "The Vineyard," south and west of the present Ridge avenue, later covered by the village known as Francisville, he carried out his experiments. He engaged a French viniculturist. "If wine can be made," he wrote of this undertaking, "it will be

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXIV, p. 77.

² Board of Trade to Lord Justices, *Pa. Mag.*, XXIV, p. 77.

³ *Laws of 1700.*

worth the province thousands by the year." But the Frenchman died and the hope of the proprietor was frustrated.¹

At Pennsbury Penn had a landscape gardener who was instructed to plant and domesticate many kinds of wild flowers. The orchards were bearing fruit. In all about forty acres were cleared and under cultivation. The mansion was furnished handsomely, with furniture, tableware and draperies which had been imported from Europe at large expense, and Penn lived more sumptuously than any of the colonial governors.² Yet it was a wild, isolated seat. It must have been a deep-rooted love of country life which induced our English ancestors, when their substance permitted it, to establish fine country homes ten, twenty and even thirty miles from the city to which there were at first no fit roads. Pennsbury, it is true, could be reached by the river way. The estate stood on the waterside, and it was thus in a six-oared barge that the owner usually passed back and forth. The craft seems to have had a sail, so that the wind, if it favored, might assist the rowers, and an awning to keep off the rain and the rays of the sun. Sometimes the council was taken up in the barge for a meeting at Pennsbury. Penn himself rode much on horseback. He brought out to the colony blooded horses, and thoroughly explored the woods which backed the mansion. He could make many miles in a day over the rough trails, and gained an intimate knowledge of the topography and the superficial resources of the country. He led a lordly life according to the Quaker standards of our time, importing butter and cheese from Rhode Island and coffee, tea, chocolate and other then very expensive luxuries from the European markets. He himself drank costly wines, and no guest was in danger of going away from his table thirsty. His dress and that of his family was not very much restrained by his religious principles, and if the following account from a very unfriendly source be true, he assumed the true air of a proprietor:³

"Our present governor, William Penn, wants the sacred unction tho' he seems not to want majesty for the grandeur and magnificence of his mien * * * The gate of his house (or palace) is always guarded with a janissary armed with a varnished club of nearly ten foot long, crowned with a large silver head embossed and chased as an hieroglyphic of its master's pride. There are certain days in the week appointed for audience and as for the rest you must keep your distance. His corps-de-garde generally consists of seven or eight of his chief magistrates, both ecclesiastical and civil, which always attend him, and sometimes there are more. When he perambulates the city one bare-headed, with a long white wand over his shoulder, in imitation of the Lord Marshal of England, marches gradually before him and his train and sometimes proclamation is made to clear the way."⁴

It is probably not surprising that Penn's wife and daughter were not enamored of the life which they must lead in the land to which he had brought them.

¹ Westcott, Chapter 53.

² Fisher, *Colony and Commonwealth*, p. 27.

³ Much concerning the private life of Penn will be found in *Memoirs of Pa. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 67.

⁴ A pamphlet "News from Pennsylvania," published in London, 1703.

Though he seems to have had side-saddles and pillions for them to ride, a coach, a calash and a sedan chair, probably the only one except Franklin's which was ever used in Philadelphia, they found few pleasures or satisfactions in their sojourn here. They enjoyed the fairs and the Indian canticoes but the novelty passed. Their dislike of America can have added nothing to Penn's comfort of mind and just when he thought he would be able to spend a considerable time, if not the rest of his years, in the enjoyment of his colony he was to be urged to put the sea between it and him again. "I cannot prevail on my wife to stay and still less with Tishe," he wrote on September 8, 1701. "I know not what to do."

The state of his case before the king grew dark, and called for his return as during his first visit. A powerful movement which Quarry still aided as best he could, was on foot to effect the annexation to the crown of the several proprietary governments in America, and Penn made ready to sail, hoping that the way would somehow open for his early return. "I confess I cannot think of such a voyage without great reluctancy of mind," said he, "having promised myself the quietness of a wilderness, that I might stay so long at least with you as to render everybody entirely easy and safe for my heart is among you as well as my body, whatever some people may please to think, and no unkindness or disappointment shall (with submission to God's Providence) ever be able to alter my love to the country and resolution to return and settle with my posterity in it; but having reason to believe I can at this time best serve you and myself on that side of the water, neither the rudeness of the season nor the tender circumstances of my family can overrule my intention to undertake it." The season proved less rude than was supposed and the proprietor, his wife Hannah, Letitia and little John, "the American," reached home by a voyage which was accomplished in a surprisingly short time, about four weeks.

Before his departure Penn gave the colony a new constitution and the city a charter. As we have seen the frame of government extracted from Markham in 1696 had not been confirmed by the proprietor. Though the province had been permitted to act under it, now, upon his arrival in person, he assumed absolute power and told the assemblymen to prepare a new constitution. They incorporated in it the main provisions of the Markham amendments which were at last to have the validity of his distinct approval.

The subject had been under discussion in the assembly from the time of Penn's arrival, but little progress was made with it. Everything was in suspense when it was announced that he must return to England. The assembly then was hurriedly convened and the result was the constitution of 1701. Its principal features were as follows:

The legislative power was vested in an assembly elected by the people annually, on the 1st day of October, four members being returned from each county, that is from Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks and the three "lower counties," a house in all of 24 delegates.

This assembly could originate bills, and sit upon its own adjournments, that is it could not be dissolved by the governor or any power outside of itself. These

were rights which had been won from Markham in 1696 and were now confirmed by the proprietor.

The provincial council as a body, elected by the people, which it had been since the establishment of the colony, was abolished. In its stead was set up a council of proprietary advisers, who consulted with the governor and who were appointed by the proprietor, an aristocratic influence which continued until the whole system was swept away by the Revolution.

The long pending question of separate government for the "lower counties" was submitted to the will of the people of those counties. If at any time within three years they wished to avail themselves of the opportunity to part from the Pennsylvania counties, and signified this wish by not returning their representatives to the assembly in Philadelphia, they might have a government of their own. They at once chose this course, and the assembly in accordance with an alternate provision of the charter was thenceforward composed of eight members from each of the Pennsylvania counties and two from the city of Philadelphia, a house of 26 members.

The conditions affecting elections which had been established in Penn's absence and were re-stated by the assembly, meeting at New Castle in 1700,¹ were now confirmed in the charter. No man could vote unless he was a native, or a naturalized English subject owning fifty acres of land "well seated," twelve of which he had cleared, or was otherwise worth £50 in the lawful money of the province. This, of course, excluded slaves, servants and large numbers of the poorer classes of men. Members of the assembly were to have six shillings a day for their services, (the speaker 10 shillings) and three pence a mile, both going to and returning from the meeting place.

The principal authorities in the counties continued to be the justices of the peace and there was a provincial court to which appeals could be made, afterwards called the supreme court, with original jurisdiction in certain great matters. This consisted of five members with a prior or chief justice who was entitled to preside. The judges met in Philadelphia and from time to time went out on circuit to hear cases in other counties. During the seventeenth century neither the county courts nor the provincial court could boast of a single justice who was learned in the law. All were men who must rely upon their general information and common sense.² Sheriffs and coroners were elected by the people, and if they were satisfactory to the governor were confirmed and established in their offices by him.

The earlier charter rights as to liberty of conscience in religious matters, subject only to the proviso that officers of the government should profess their belief "in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world," were continued and confirmed.

The whole charter was given at Philadelphia under William Penn's "hand and broad seal this twenty-eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and one, being the thirteenth year of the reign of King

¹ *Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, p. 24.

² *The Constitution, Jurisdiction and Practice of the Courts of Pa., in the 17th Century*, by Lawrence Lewis, Jr.

William the Third over England, Scotland, France and Ireland, etc., and the twenty-first year of my government.”

Thus were nearly all of Penn's chimerical political views upon which he had spent a good deal of youthful enthusiasm, swept away. A system of government which in some way answered to the actually developed needs of the people was established in its stead.

Thus was that form given to the government of Pennsylvania, which it continued to possess with too little popular satisfaction until 1776.

Another parting act of the proprietor was the granting of a charter to Philadelphia. The city seems not earlier to have had a separate political organization, standing under the special care of the governor and council, in somewhat that way in which the affairs of Washington are administered by Congress. It was the capital town and, in spite of other surmises and suppositions, it was not fairly started on its history as a municipality until 1701.

An effort was early made to incorporate Philadelphia as a borough. For example on July 26, 1684, it is recorded in the journals of the council that Thomas Lloyd, Thomas Holme and William Haigue were appointed “to draw up a charter for Philadelphia to be made a Burrough, consisting of a mayor and six aldermen.” Nothing seems to have come of this,¹ as no more is heard of the matter. It is probable that Penn planned to grant the city a charter before his departure the first time, but concluded that its fate would be quite as happy in the hands of the council. However, there was discovered about 1886, among the papers of Colonel Clement Biddle, a distinguished Revolutionary soldier, a charter for Philadelphia, bearing the date of May 20, 1691. It was executed while Thomas Lloyd was deputy governor, at the time of the separation of the lower counties, and just before the province was seized by the crown. Penn by this instrument appointed Humphrey Morrey, a cousin of Edward Shippen and a well-to-do merchant of Philadelphia, who had come to the city from New York in 1685, to be the mayor,² John Delavall recorder, and David Lloyd town clerk and clerk of the courts. The justices of the city, Samuel Richardson, Griffith Owen, Anthony Morris, Robert Ewer, John Holmes and Francis Rawle, Jr., were appointed aldermen, while the following twelve citizens were named as common councilmen: Samuel Carpenter, Thomas Budd, John Jones, John Otter, Charles Sanders, Zachariah Whitpain, John Day, Philip Richards, Alexander Berdsley, James Fox, Thomas Paschall and Philip James.

The mayor, recorder, alderman and common councilmen were created “one body corporate and politic in deed and by the name of mayor and commonalty of Philadelphia in the province of Pennsylvania.” These officers were to be self-perpetuating in that they were to meet on the first Monday in April each year to choose their successors. The mayor, recorder and aldermen constituted the city's court of justice. The council, sitting with the mayor, the recorder and the aldermen were to pass such “reasonable laws, ordinances and constitutions (not repugnant to the laws of England or of this government)” as should to them seem “necessary and convenient for the good government” of the city. They

¹ Westcott's History, Chapters 25 and 26.

² J. Granville Leach in *Pa. Mag.*, Vol. XVIII.

were given control of the markets and the fairs.¹ Later evidence lacks and we do not know what became of the government which was established by this charter. It is likely that it was swept away by Governor Fletcher² and that when he vacated his post the city returned to the care of the provincial council. At any rate when grievances were to be redressed the appeal was made to this authority. We hear nothing more of the mayor and the aldermen. Penn addressed the governor and council when he had any wish to communicate concerning the city. The journals of the council show that it was attending to those matters which the charter of 1691 had specifically confided to new officers.

It is, of course, conceivable that written evidence later to be found may point to some regularly organized city government before 1701, barring the brief administration of Humphrey Morrey, but it is not now at hand nor does it seem at all probable that there was any. The Philadelphia charter of 1701 bears October 25th as its date, therefore three days before the charter of privileges was given to the colony. It was cast upon the general lines laid down in 1691. It provided for

A mayor, Edward Shippen;

A recorder, Thomas Story;

Eight aldermen, Joshua Carpenter, a merchant, brother of Samuel Carpenter; Griffith Jones, also a wealthy merchant; Anthony Morris, the Quaker brewer; Joseph Wilcox, the rope maker; Nathan Stanbury, Charles Read, Thomas Masters, a large land owner after whom Master street is named; and William Carter;

Twelve common councilmen, John Parsons, William Hudson, William Lee, Nehemiah Allen, Thomas Paschall, John Budd, Jr., Edward Smout, Samuel Buckley, James Atkinson, Pentecost Teague, Francis Cooke and Henry Badcocke.

These officers were constituted a body corporate, "the mayor and commonalty of the city of Philadelphia." Thomas Farmer was appointed sheriff, and Robert Ashton town clerk and clerk of the courts.

It was a close corporation as before. The mayor, the recorder, the aldermen and the councilmen annually met to elect their own successors, filling vacancies, if any arose, from the well established freemen of the city. The mayor, recorder and aldermen were made trial justices "to hear and inquire into all and all manner of treasons, murders, manslaughters, and all manner of felonies and other crimes and offences, capital and criminal, whatsoever, according to the laws of this province and of the kingdom of England, with power also to hear and determine all petty larcenies, routs, riots, unlawful assemblies; and to try and punish all persons that shall be convicted of drunkenness, swearing, scolding, breaking the peace or such like offences which are by the laws of this province to be punished by fine, imprisonment or whipping." They also had authority to abate nuisances, prevent encroachments upon the streets and other common rights and ways. They might erect "a gaol or prison and courthouse," when they saw fit. They should nominate and appoint the clerk of

¹ Allinson and Penrose, p. 45.

² See Pennypacker in *Pa. Mag.*, XV, p. 344.



Seal of Philadelphia, 1683



Seal of Philadelphia, used from 1701 until 1789



Seal of Philadelphia used from 1789 until 1874.



Seal of Philadelphia used after 1874

FROM "PHILADELPHIA; ITS FOUNDING AND SEALS."

the market who should assize bread, wine, beer, wood and other products sold in the market. The mayor and other officers could be removed by the corporation for misbehavior. They could be fined for refusing to serve in the posts to which they had been chosen, the mayor not above £40, an alderman not above £35 and a common councilman not in excess of £20.

The common council would meet from time to time at the call of the mayor, the recorder and three aldermen. The mayor, the recorder and the aldermen were to sit with the councilmen at their meetings. They were to pass "reasonable laws, ordinances and constitutions," as by the charter of 1691. No one could elect or be elected unless he had the property qualifications laid down for the voters in the province at large. The market days were legally set for Wednesdays and Saturdays; the fairs were to be held at the market place in May and November.

There is reason to suppose that the corporation was immediately formed, though the minutes of the common council prior to 1704 have never been discovered. This city charter, like the charter of the colony, continued in force until the Revolutionary war.

When Penn departed in the "Dolmahoy," on November 2nd, 1702, he left behind him as his deputy Andrew Hamilton, who had been the colonial postmaster. Markham was in disgrace because of his suspected connection with the pirates, and anyhow was at times incapacitated by his old enemy the gout. The following were appointed to be councillors: Edward Shippen, John Guest, Samuel Carpenter, William Clark, Thomas Story, Griffith Owen, Phineas Pemberton, Samuel Finney, Caleb Pusey and John Blunston.

But more important to Penn than Hamilton or many governors was his secretary, James Logan, who had accompanied him to America, and who was now to remain here and represent the proprietor's interests faithfully and ably for many years. This unusual man who entered so largely into the history of Pennsylvania and its capital city was born in Ireland, in 1674, though his parents were Scotch people. His father was a Church of England clergyman, but joining the Friends became a school teacher. Penn had met young Logan in Bristol, which was the home of the Callowhills, and which soon gave its name to a town, earlier called Buckingham, near Pennsbury in Pennsylvania. The Logans had fled from Ireland by reason of the emeute there in connection with the attempt to restore James II to the English throne, and the young man was in need of employment. Penn's patronage was very much appreciated and the civility was repaid the proprietor many times over in loyal service.

Logan was without a doubt the most learned man which the province knew in its early days. Thomas Lloyd and Thomas Story were cramped by their theology. The Swedish pastors and the "Hermits on the Ridge" carried the same burden. Pastorius was made heavy and quaint by the German schools. Logan had acquired Greek, Latin and some Hebrew, it is said, before he was 13 years of age, and soon gained the fluent use of several modern languages. He also had a broad, sane, human view of life. He added to his information as long as he lived and was an ornament to the colony and to America. His attainments were not of so transcendent an order as to have made him greatly

eminent in Europe, but here he was deservedly held in the highest regard. Penn wrote his final instructions to Logan, who had been appointed secretary of the province and clerk of the council, ("my receiver and secretary," the proprietor calls him) from on board the ship as she lay in the Delaware on November 3, 1701: "I have left thee in an uncommon trust with a singular dependence on thy justice and care which I expect thou wilt faithfully employ in advancing my honest interest * * * Give my dear love to all my friends, who I desire may labor to soften angry spirits, and to reduce them to a sense of their duty; and at thy return give a small treat in my name to the gentlemen at Philadelphia for a beginning to a better understanding for which I pray the Lord to incline their hearts for their own ease, as well as mine and my friends. * * * But my dependence is on thy care and honesty. Serve me faithfully as thou expects a blessing from God or my favor, and I shall support thee to my utmost."

Upon Penn's departure Logan rendered him by post the fullest and most confidential accounts of the progress of affairs in his colony,—the state of its politics, the machinations of his enemies, the management of his estates, the resurvey and sale of lands, the collection of quit-rents, the operations of his flour mills, with much personal gossip about his friends. The young man was esteemed by the other members of the Penn family, with whom he corresponded from time to time also. To him Penn poured out his pecuniary anxieties and distresses. One wrote to another with frankness and zeal not entirely Quaker-like, of the "baseness" and "villany" of this or that man who was active in opposing their interests. Logan was urged to prompt and large remittances, for Penn's financial misfortunes were full upon him after his return. "Guineas melting four, five, six a week and sometimes as many in a day," he complained on one occasion. On February 24, 1703, the proprietor wrote, "I never was so low and so reduced."¹ When money could not be procured for rents and on account of sales Logan took wheat, flour, bread, tobacco, bear and buck skins, beer and even silver plate—indeed whatever could be converted into money. Penn especially besought his agent to send him bear skins as they were in much demand in London, bringing at one time 20 shillings apiece. Merchandise thus collected was often turned to cash account in Barbadoes, but the collections of all kinds were not large enough to make good the loss of the rents on his Irish and English estates, because of the disturbances of the time, the extravagances of his family and the outlays which were required to protect his interests from the attacks of those who misrepresented him to the crown.

Governor Hamilton, of whom so little is known except that he was no kin—in any case no near kin—of the Andrew Hamilton who later attained so much distinction in the colony, was not long to continue at his post. He did not live in the city, coming on only as occasion required it. His home seems to have been at Amboy, N. J. At any rate he was taken ill there and died there of a fever in April, 1703, Logan going on to be present at the funeral. It was several months before Penn could be heard from, though he was early

¹ *Penn-Logan Correspondence.*

advised of the occurrence by ships sailing from different ports, and meantime Edward Shippen, president of the council, served as the colony's chief executive officer until John Evans, a young man whom the proprietor unwisely chose for the post, came in February, 1704.

Evans for some reason "arrived late at night, unheard to all the town," writes Isaac Norris, "when we were big with the expectation of a queen's governor." The next day his commission was "published at the market place in solemn form and order, the said governor being present, and attended with the council of state, the mayor, aldermen and council of Philadelphia city, the principal officers, gentlemen and inhabitants of the place, from whence returning to the council chamber, the governor took the chair and held a council."

This was an auspicious beginning, but in Evans, Penn was once again deceived. He judged human nature ill. The man was but twenty-six years of age and he was chosen, it seemed, because it was supposed that he would be a companion capable of exercising a restraining influence upon William Penn, Jr., who went out with him for a season of moral recuperation in Pennsylvania. This youth was the proprietor's only surviving son by his first wife. Although married and with a growing family, he had been going to rack and ruin with what his father called too much "top company" in England. The trouble had begun during the latter's absence in Pennsylvania, and he felt it a dear price to pay for a foreign colony, which had caused him worryment enough on other accounts. It was believed that if the boy could be separated from his idle fellows, and thrown upon his own responsibilities he would gain a more sober view of life.

Unpleasant accounts of him had preceded his going. It was said that he dressed to excess and that he carried a "poking iron" at his side, which the young man in a letter to Logan emphatically denied.¹ Over here he was commended to the particular care of the provincial secretary, who was asked to bring him under the influence of several solemn old Friends in Philadelphia. Unfortunately, the experience was of small avail in mending the young man's habits. He had been assigned to a place in the council but before long the molasses beer, or some other colonial drink, completely undid both him and his friend the governor. These "two scamps," as Fisher appropriately describes them,² one night assaulted the watch in a tavern. The indignity was resented. Young Penn called for pistols but the lights were put out and Alderman Wilcox, under cover of the darkness and confusion, gave the young reprobate a sound thrashing. Both the magistracy and the Quaker meeting tried to deal with the heir to the province, but he accepted none of it. He resigned all claims to Quakerism, ostentatiously embraced the English church, and went back home no better for the visit, after having in many ways scandalized the name that

¹ The wearing of swords, usual at the day among the cavalier class, was of course very distasteful to the Quakers. One of the first grand juries in Philadelphia in 1683 presented "as a grievance"—"That men do come into Court armed with swords and guns, especially one young man whose name we know not."—*Pa. Mag.*, XXIII, p. 404.

² *The True William Penn*, p. 366.

he bore and the colony, which it was so devoutly hoped would communicate some of its prim spirit to him.

Very soon after Penn's return, in the spring of 1702, William III died to be succeeded by Queen Anne, the younger daughter of James.¹ She seemed to share her father's kindly feelings for Penn, and the change was doubtless of advantage to him in reference to Pennsylvania. Yet the movement to take all the American colonies out of the hands of their proprietors, and turn them over to the crown moved on apace by the aid of much dishonest conspiracy. The abolition of the proprietorship in the Jerseys boded ill for Penn, especially as Quarry on one side and David Lloyd on the other constantly fomented trouble. Hamilton just before his death seems to have been on the point of favoring the enemy. Quarry addressed companies of men at the inns in Philadelphia. He and the church leaders wrote and sent representatives to England, spreading reports of misgovernment in Pennsylvania in the hope that the Quaker régime could be brought to an end.

Since 1697 there had been peace between England and France, but now hostilities were resumed. The news of the war was received and announced here simultaneously with the news of the accession of the queen, in July, 1702. Governor Hamilton exhorted the people to meet and enlist themselves under officers for their own defence, and George Lowther, a young English lawyer, who had lately arrived in Philadelphia, was appointed a captain. The unfamiliar sound of beating drums was heard in the town but few volunteers came in and these were of a "meaner sort than he expected." Such as could be obtained were marched through the streets in the hope of securing accessions to their ranks, but the project had to be given up, the blame being placed upon the shoulders of the Quakers by the churchmen, while by Logan and some others the leaders of the church party were held responsible. They had used influences to prevent the success of the undertaking in order to have to tell in England another story to the discredit of the Quakers. Penn wrote to Logan with some feeling on January 22nd, 1703, saying that Quarry was the "greatest of villains whom God will make I believe, in this world for his lies, falsehood and supreme knavery."²

Finding that the colony was not to be seized Penn, pressed by his creditors almost to bankruptcy, endeavored to sell it to the crown for a good price. Indeed he did not abandon this hope until death. In 1704 he wrote to Logan:

"O Pennsylvania what hast thou cost me? Above £30,000 more than I ever got by it, two hazardous and most fatiguing voyages, my straits and slavery here, and my child's soul almost * * * In short I must sell all or be undone, and disgraced into the bargain."

Lloyd was raging in the assembly, swaying the members at his will by his demagogic oratory. He had been befriended by Penn when he came to the colony a poor young man, but he was of "a revengeful, bitter nature and the

¹ His queen, Mary, the elder daughter, had died in 1694, six years after the Revolution.

² *Penn-Logan Correspondence*, II, p. 289.

greatest obstinacy."¹ He was far from an honest antagonist, but under cover of acting in defence of the people's rights he made head against the proprietor. The assembly refused to vote money for the deputy governor's salary and imposed upon Penn other costs of administration which he was far from able to bear. Lloyd finally, on his own responsibility, wrote and sent to England an offensive address, pretending that it had been passed by the assembly. Here he went too far. There was a reaction at the next election; Lloyd and his party went down in defeat, and Evans, whom Penn continued to support in spite of shortcomings which had long since been patent, was in authority until the commission of a gross piece of stupidity. In 1706, in pursuit of his unpopular efforts to organize a military company he practiced a trick upon the Quakers. While the May fair was in progress in the city he caused a messenger to arrive on a foaming steed with news that the French were coming up the Delaware. He himself buckled on a sword, and mounting a horse besought the people to arm themselves for their own defence. By such action he succeeded in creating much excitement. The shipping was driven up the rivers and creeks, and valuables were buried in the earth, but the hoax was soon discovered. Evans recruited only a half dozen men from the Quaker ranks by his *gauche* device, and ruined himself as a governor. Lloyd returned to power and in due time a new governor came out in the person of Colonel Gookin, though Penn was very difficult to move. Once a friend always a friend was his rule, and it seemed to be impossible for him to act as he should toward this man and other men, however, vilely they deceived him.

He had been swindled by one Ford with whom he had entrusted his English and Irish estates, and was run into debt for a large sum. Indeed, at this faithless servant's death his wife and son set up a claim to all Pennsylvania and had Penn arrested at the meeting in Grace Church street, in London. The bailiffs would have taken him from the gallery if his friends had not intervened, promising his surrender at the conclusion of the services. He was confined in the Fleet prison for nine months, or until a sufficient sum could be raised to buy off his prosecutors. It was while he was in the gaol that an address came to Penn from the assembly demanding the dismissal of Evans from the deputy governorship. Some of his influential Quaker friends visited him to insist upon the removal, and the proprietor was at length compelled to yield, but in favor of one who proved to be a not much better choice.

The laws gained in vigor upon Penn's second visit and there were introduced many new punishments, such as branding and castration. As the colony grew older the population received infusions from the vagrant and criminal classes of Europe and the other American provinces. In an effort to put a deterrent upon wrong-doing the Quaker assembly, inferentially with Penn's approval, fixed several severe penalties,—for instance, adulterers after they had three times offended, having been whipped and imprisoned for their earlier crimes, were to be branded on the forehead with the letter "A." A man convicted of rape was to receive 31 lashes on his bare back and go to prison for 7 years at hard labor. The second time he was to suffer castration and be branded

¹ Fisher, *Colony and Commonwealth*.

with the letter "R" on his forehead. For "sodomy and bestiality" there was imprisonment for life and a whipping every three months during the first year of incarceration. If the offender were a married man he should also be castrated. The thief who failed to wear the Roman "T" upon his arm should for his first neglect have 21 lashes; for his second the letter should be burned into his forehead, and he should be banished. House robbers were to be whipped on the bare back and sold into slavery. If the offence were committed at night they should be branded on the forehead with the letter "T." Such laws¹ little comported with the spirit of Quakerism as it later came to be understood, and they were so brutal and out of harmony even with English procedure that the crown soon caused them to be repealed.

Other penalties were only a little less severe in proportion to the offenses. If a man had two wives, or a woman two husbands, he or she was to be imprisoned for life at hard labor. For assaulting or menacing a parent the punishment was six months at hard labor and 31 lashes on the bare back.

A great many efforts were made to have men tread the straight and narrow way on those subjects which had been treated more liberally by law at the founding of the Quaker commonwealth. "Whereas the sins of cursing and swearing are odious and abominable to Almighty God and all good men, and may draw down God's judgments upon any nation, country or province, where such grand offenses go unpunished," the assembly of Pennsylvania framed this schedule of penalties:

First offense: A fine of five shillings, for the use of the poor, and five days at hard labor on bread and water.

Second offense: Six shillings or six days.

Third offense: Ten shillings or ten days.

Fourth offense: Punishment at the discretion of the county court; a fine not to exceed £5 or hard labor for two months. The man should then be deemed a "common swearer" and be whipped with the promise of succeeding lashes, to the number of 21, every three months during the sitting of the court for seven years.

Many minor offenders were punished in the stocks, which included a pillory, and the laws against gaming and betting were made more severe. No one must introduce, or "at any time exercise any prizes, interludes, stage plays, masks, revels, bull baitings, bear baitings, cock fightings, dog matches, cudgels, back-sword or throwing at cocks." No tavern keeper should indulge in or around his inn playing at "cards, dice, lotteries, rowley powley, loggats, shove groat, shovel board, billiards, cales (kayles), clough cales (clesh kayles), nine pins, nine holes, quoits, bowles, half bowles, or any other kind of game whatsoever now invented or hereafter to be invented."

The Sunday law which was strict had some regard, nevertheless, for the convenience of a people who knew nothing of the principles of refrigeration in the summer months. Its provisions were not intended "to prohibit the dressing of victuals in families, cookshops or victualing houses, or watermen land-

¹ See *Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, 1700-12.

ing their passengers on the first day of the week," or butchers killing and selling their meat, or fishermen bringing in their catches on Sunday mornings in June, July and August, or the crying of milk before nine in the morning or after five in the afternoon. Tippling in ale-houses on Sunday was not permitted. They were to be searched and offenders brought out and put in the stocks. Travellers and regular lodgers, however, could be served with drink "in moderation for refreshment only."¹

The Society of Friends which later played so prominent a part in the abolition of slavery, and so freely asserted the absolute equality of white and black men was yet little wrought up on this subject. As we have seen the protest of Pastorius and his colleagues in Germantown in 1688 brought no response in the higher Quaker meetings. Penn himself had a number of negro slaves and, while he had intended to free them by his will, they were, as a matter of fact, bequeathed to his heirs at his death. Many prominent Quakers were in the same position. Governor Markham, although not a Friend, at his death left both negro and Indian slaves. The meeting, whatever its attitude regarding outright abolition, was not without a concern for the condition of the negroes already here, their continued importation and the enslavement of the Indians, and much advice was given to the members year by year for fifty years, as to their conduct in these matters. Penn on his second visit wished that the blacks might attend religious worship and they were assigned to separate benches, a practice against which at least one of the Quaker leaders so deeply protested that he went over to their corner and sat with them. There were separate meetings for the negroes for a time, but as this kind of quiet waiting upon the spirit was in reality not consonant with the African nature few ever came voluntarily into the Quaker fold.

There is little to be said in behalf of the Quakers as abolitionists in these early years in Pennsylvania. There was no such thing as equality under the law for the negro. The treatment accorded him was confessedly very unequal. No one could carry on trade with a white or black servant without the consent of the master, unless he were ready to forfeit to the owner three times the value of the goods purchased. If the servant were white he should make satisfaction twice over to his master at the end of the period of his service, but if black "he or she shall be severely whipped in the most public place in the township where the offense was committed."

As barbarous as were the laws for white men they were still more indefensible when applied to the blacks. Not only for murder but also for rape, buggery, burglary "and other high and heinous enormities and capital offences" a negro was punished by death. If he should attempt rape he should be castrated, a punishment later reduced to branding a letter "R" on his forehead and exportation. If he carried "guns, swords, pistols, fowling pieces, clubs, or other arms or weapons whatsoever without his master's special license for the same," he was entitled to 21 lashes on his bare back. If more than four negroes were seen together on Sunday or any other day, whether for a religious meeting or other purpose, they should be given 39 lashes each.

¹ *Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, p. 176, Law of Session of 1705-06.

If a negro stole more than £5 worth he was to receive 39 lashes, be branded on the forehead with a letter "T" and be exported by his owner out of the province, never to return. If it were a smaller theft he was to be whipped not in excess of 39 stripes at the discretion of the magistrate.

In 1708 two negroes who had been convicted of burglary were condemned to death. The owners did not wish to lose their property and petitioned the governor and council for a change of verdict. This was granted on condition that on three successive market days they should have their arms extended and tied to a pole running across their necks. The men then should be attached to a cart, which should lead them from the market place up the length of Second street and down Front street, to the drawbridge over Dock creek. They should be severely whipped all the way, as they passed, upon the bare back and shoulders. Meantime and afterward they should lie in irons until their owners had the opportunity to sell and transport them out of the province.¹

Import duties were laid on "wines, brandy, rum, spirits, butter, cheese, cider and negroes." The tax on each negro was 40 shillings. Later in 1712 in an effort to stop the traffic and prevent any increase of the slave population the duty was raised to £20 a head, except upon negroes who were to be transhipped in twenty days, but the queen annulled the law. There were so many blacks in the province, it was complained, and they were so often hired out for wages by their owners that white men could not find employment as well as formerly. The reduction of Indians to slavery was to be discouraged, because it gave offence to them and provoked them to wrath against the colonists.

It must be said in extenuation of such procedure, which seems incredibly savage in the cool of a later century, that there had recently been a servile insurrection in New York and there was constant dread of a negro uprising in Pennsylvania, more to be feared in the minds of the people, it would appear, than an Indian war.

Nor was there now much to boast of on the subject of religious liberty, at least from a Catholic point of view, for in January, 1706, the following "declarations" of "Christian belief" were prescribed for assemblymen:

"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and solemnly declare before God and the world that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Queen Anne. And I do solemnly profess and declare that I do from my heart abhor, detest and renounce as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and position that princes, excommunicated or deprived by the Pope of any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, superiority, preeminence or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual, within the realm of England, or the dominions thereunto belonging.

"And I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God profess, testify and declare that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any trans-substantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any per-

¹ Westcott, Chap. 59, quoting from Proceedings of the Council.

son whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous.

"And I do solemnly in the presence of God profess, testify and declare, that I do make this declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by the English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever; or without thinking I am or may be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons or power whatsoever should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

"And I, A. B., profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ His Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed forevermore; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration."¹

It was during Penn's second visit that a night watch was established for Philadelphia. The city was still obedient to the authority of the governor and council who in July, 1700, appointed an officer "to go round ye town with a small bell in ye night time to give notice of ye time of ye night, and the weather, and if anie disorders or danger happen by fire or otherwise in ye night to acquaint ye constables thereof."²

This was the beginning of the cries, which continued well on into the nineteenth century and which beguiled many a wakeful night for our grandsires, such as "Eleven o'clock and all's well," "Past twelve o'clock and a starry night," "Three o'clock and a glorious starlight morning." Fires, the results of battles, and other important pieces of news were announced in this way up and down the streets, the house-holders throwing up their windows and rushing out of their doors at the alarm. The "old cage" was converted into a watch house, to which it is presumed unruly persons might be taken until they could be regularly committed to prison. The watchmen carried painted staves which were paid for out of the public stock and later, if not at first, were equipped with lanterns in which candles burned. These officers, each night were "set" by and served under the constables, and constituted the police force of the city. They were in the beginning chosen from the citizens who took turns at the service. In 1704 it was ordered that the inhabitants be divided into ten parts or groups. Each was to furnish a certain number of persons to "serve upon the watch." Nine persons, besides the constable, were to attend each night. The service had a semi-voluntary and irregular character until 1750.

A distinct effort was put forth to improve the appearance of the city, so much so that every house-holder in Philadelphia, as well as in New Castle and Chester, was asked to plant "one or more tree or trees, viz., pines, unbearing

¹ *Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, pp. 219-20.

² Westcott, Chapter 51.

mulberries, water poplars, lime or other shady and wholesome trees" before the door of his house, at a distance not exceeding eight feet from the front line of the edifice and "preserve the same," to the end that the town may be "well shaded from the violence of the sun in the heat of summer and thereby be rendered more healthy."

That the roads and streets might not be abused it was provided that carters should not drive teams in Philadelphia "above three horse beasts at length." If their burdens were too great they should arrange their horses or oxen in pairs. The "common carters" of the city after 1712 were to contribute their services free of cost four days in a year, if the mayor required it, for the repair of the streets and wharves.

No one was allowed to ride at a gallop in the built-up parts of the city. Teams or drays must not be driven at a trot through the streets. Dogs which went at large—and the grand jury in 1702 found that there were "unnecessary multitudes of doggs needlessly kept in this city"—were liable to be killed and their owners fined. No one should cast any rubbish into the streets. Necessary, indeed, were provisions calculated to impress the people with the public character of these highways. In November, 1703, the grand jury indicted an alderman, John Jones, "for encroachment on Mulberry street by setting a great reed or hay stack in the said street for these two years last past and making a close fence about ye same."¹ Guns must not be fired from vessels lying in the harbor after eight o'clock at night or before daylight without license from the governor, lest it disturb the rest of the citizens.² There had been an unpleasant experience of this kind in August, 1700. Some guns had been discharged in the harbor, frightening women and children and several Seneca Indians who had come to the city to treat with the government. There were now a few coaches, chariots and chaises in Philadelphia, as rates were fixed for these vehicles at the ferries. The owner of a coach or chariot must pay a shilling to cross the Schuylkill, and of a chaise four pence. Arrangements were made to "grub" and clean up the city over its entire area, from the Delaware to Broad street, and put it in "English grass," which would be "a great use and advantage to the inhabitants keeping cattle therein."

It was a distinct encroachment, however, upon the sense of order and beauty when one of the four squares, which had been designed for common use as a park, was in 1706 converted into a burying ground. Washington Square, as it later came to be, was turned over by Penn for the rent of one ear of corn, payable on the first day of March annually, to the city corporation as a place of interment for the poor. The area was then some distance out of town and the prospect of its being needed for its original use was not great. It soon won the name of Potter's Field and for a century received the mortal remains of those who had no claim to burial in other ground.

In 1705 the city was divided into ten wards as follows: Dock ward—From Delaware to Seventh street, and south of Walnut to the southernmost limits of the city; Walnut ward—From Walnut to Chestnut, between the west side of Front

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXII, p. 496.

² *Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, p. 419.

and the east side of Second inclusive; Chestnut ward—From Chestnut to High street, between Front and Second; Lower Delaware ward—From Front street to the Delaware, from Walnut to High, both upon and under the Bank; Upper Delaware ward—From Front street to the Delaware, from High to the northernmost limits of the city; High street ward—From High to Mulberry, between Front and Second streets; Mulberry ward—From Mulberry to the northern limits of the city, between Front and Seventh streets; North ward—From Mulberry to High, between Second and Seventh streets; Middle ward—From High to Chestnut, between Second and Seventh streets; South Ward—From Chestnut to Walnut, between Second and Seventh streets.

These wards did not cover the entire territorial area of the city, but only its populated portions, and some even then must have had very few inhabitants. It may be safely inferred from this arrangement that there were no houses whatever beyond Seventh street; there were few beyond Third street and such as may have been built out so far were between Arch and Walnut streets. A pool of water stood at the head of Chestnut street where it was crossed by Fifth street, which marked the boundary of the city in that direction. Only a few blacksmith and wheelwright shops, brick kilns and hog pens lay beyond. The city still stood "upon the bank," a few hundreds of houses scattered along the river shore from Vine to South street.

The domination of Philadelphia over the other counties of the province, both in wealth and population, was seen in the apportionment of the burden of making up £2,000 for Governor Penn, as a testimony of the "sincere respect and gratitude" of the people in 1700.

The counties were to contribute as follows:

Philadelphia	£1,023
Bucks	225
Chester	325
New Castle	182
Kent	139
Sussex	106

The values placed upon land were still incredibly low. In 1702 nearly an entire block between Third and Fourth streets, and between Spruce and Walnut streets, was leased to Edward Shippen as a pasture field, at a rental of 15 shillings per annum, on condition that at the end of 51 years he would yield up the tract, "well sown with English grass or clover seed" and the appertaining fences. In 1704, Philip England, the Schuylkill ferryman, rented 24 acres situated west of Broad street and crossing both Chestnut and High streets, for 20 shillings a year. As late as 1718 Jonathan Dickinson purchased 1084 acres in the manor of Springettsbury, including the old Vineyard estate and the present Lemon Hill, a part of a tract which was later occupied by Robert Morris, under the name of "The Hills," for £1,200, but little more than £1 per acre.

Philadelphia then had one and sometimes two town bulls to which the citizens could breed their cows. They were kept at the common expense and there are

frequent allusions to this socialistic enterprise in the minutes of the common council.

The surrounding country, if not the city itself, was "haunted" by black birds and crows "to the great prejudice, hurt and annoyance" of the inhabitants. The assembly appointed officers in each county to give bounties for and receive the heads of these birds. Three pence a dozen were to be paid for blackbirds and three pence for each crow. The incursions of wolves on the outskirts of the city were still not unknown. Bounties continued to be paid for their heads at the rate of 10 shillings for a dog wolf and 15 shillings for a bitch wolf. If any one would agree to make it his business to hunt down wolves, at least three days in a week, he would be given 25 shillings for each animal he should catch. Red foxes later became so troublesome that a bounty was also offered for their heads.

Of coins there was a great variety, many coming in from the West Indies and other places by the ships which ascended the Delaware. There were pieces of eight and dollars which if they were of fifteen pennyweight passed at seven shillings. An inferior coin was the "Peru piece of eight" which, if it was of not less than twelve pennyweight, was worth six shillings, also the value of the "Lion or Dog Dollar," so called because of a figure stamped upon it. There were half pieces and half dollars, double bits at 20, single bits at 10 and half bits at five pence.

A little later there were reals, double reals and half reals and pieces of eight of Seville, of Pillar and of Mexico. Only much legislation establishing standards of weight could regulate such a currency.

The danger of the escape of slaves and bonded servants, as well as the fear of the coming in of vagrants and criminals on the ships and overland from other colonies—together with the consciousness of a very inefficient police system—led to the protective device of passes. The regulations in regard to these grew more strict. If any person came to lodge at an inn and he could not produce a certificate of his character he was not to be received. If he escaped before his arrest could be effected he was to be pursued by hue and cry until he was apprehended.

Nor could one go out of the province without a pass. Anybody intending to depart must publish his or her intention "on the door of the county court * * * thirty days before his or her departure, and shall have a pass under the county seal."

Elections were held only at the county towns. The voters of both the city and the county assembled in Philadelphia and the first of October was like a fair day. The townsmen, as well as the farmers over the Schuylkill, up the Delaware and out at Plymouth, gathered at the market-place where the sheriff, or in his absence the coroner, attended as judge of the election. He appointed his clerks and the votes were received on written tickets. If the man were illiterate he might state his choice verbally. The polls were open from ten in the morning until two in the afternoon, and if all who came to vote could not do so on one day the election was continued into the next. Then the box was opened, the votes recorded and counted, and the result announced. Election notices were posted upon trees on the main roads and on the doors of the court houses and meeting houses.

The yellow fever, which had swept the city in 1699, was little worse than the smallpox which came in the summer of 1702. "But a few houses in town are or have been clear," Logan wrote to William Penn. Indeed there was no protection from this or other "mortal distempers" of many kinds to which the human race is prone when it has no sanitary, quarantine or other medical oversight. Large numbers of men and women were pitted with the pox and it was considered a virtue in a servant to be well marked. He was then fortified against future attacks of the disease. Agues, fevers and other disorders with which the doctors of the day knew not how to cope made health a chance, and life itself a matter of appalling uncertainty.

Presumably Philadelphia had a post office, though where it was situated may not be known. The earlier arrangements for the shipment and receipt of letters and parcels probably did not include a house devoted to this use. By a law of 1700 it was provided that "one general letter office be erected and established within the town of Philadelphia." From this office "all letters and packets whatsoever" were to be "with speed and expedition" sent away, and at this office "all returns and answers" were to be received.

The rates established in 1697 were in general confirmed, though the postage on a letter to Maryland or Virginia was increased to eighteen pence, (as much as to Boston) and it was provided that if any one allowed a letter to remain in the office for 48 hours the postmaster should send it to whom it was directed and collect an extra penny. Upon each letter coming in by sea from foreign parts the postmaster in Philadelphia was to receive four pence, and captains of vessels must deliver their packets to him, or to his agents, and to no other person. There had been great complaint among merchants that advices intended for them had been committed to "ignorant and loose hands." A monopoly was created for seven years and no one else under the penalty of a fine of £40 should "presume to carry, recarry or deliver letters for hire * • * or set up or employ any foot post, horse post, packet boat or conveyance whatsoever" for a similar purpose.

However much was paid for the service it was wretched. From the end of March to the beginning of December it required four weeks for a letter to pass from Williamsburg, in Virginia, to Boston and during the winter twice that time was consumed. In the winter of 1703-4, which was the coldest ever yet experienced by the people of the city, the snows were so deep that there was only one post. This came from Boston. The weather "bound up men in their habitations." Not only was communication overland out of the question but navigation also was interfered with. For weeks the Delaware was frozen tight, the people crossing it on foot, on sleds and on horseback with perfect freedom. At the best of times many letters were lost at sea and two or three copies of important communications were often sent by the various routes—from New York or Virginia, as well as from vessels bound out of Philadelphia, and perhaps too, by Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, or over some other West Indian port, wherewith the colonies were in close commercial relations.

In 1700 wheat had risen in price until it was sold for 5s. 6d. a bushel. As the bakers were disposed to take advantage of the people's necessities and unduly diminish the weight of their loaves the assembly took the subject in hand and pre-

pared a schedule of prices and weights to be observed by the assize officers. In Philadelphia, after the incorporation of the city, the mayor himself seems to have gone into the shops to see to the enforcement of the law. Three kinds of bread were baked in three kinds of loaves. There were "white," made of good fine flour; "wheaten," made of middlings; and "household" or home-made bread, made of "ship stuff;" and these were in one penny, four penny and ten penny sizes. The law prescribed that when wheat should sell at three shillings a bushel the penny white loaf or roll should weigh ten ounces Troy, the penny wheaten loaf 15 ounces and a fraction, and the penny household bread 23 ounces. By a table providing for the rise in the price of wheat to 6s. 6d. a bushel, the sizes of the loaves were proportionately diminished. Two-thirds of the bread seized for deficiency of weight was to be turned over to the poor, while the rest went to the assize officer for his pains.

The laws earlier passed in regard to the prevention of fires were confirmed in all that related to buckets, hooks and swabs. The prohibition against smoking in the streets was continued. No one was to keep in house, shop or any structure whatsoever, unless it were removed at least forty perches from other buildings, more than six pounds of gunpowder at any one time. Complaint was made that householders fixed their hay and reed stacks near their dwelling houses and this practice was accounted a menace to the city by a grand jury, in 1702. In 1700 the assembly prohibited the building of bonfires, both because it was a menace to property and savored of revelry. In 1705-6 the putting off of rockets, wild-fire and squibs in towns or near buildings was placed under a ban, and in 1710 the manufacture and sale of fireworks, as well as the machinery for their manufacture, was interdicted under severe legal penalties.

The hogs which had already been banished beyond the "Centre" were now entirely barred from running at large anywhere between the Delaware and the Schuylkill. They had had rings in their noses to prevent them from rooting up the streets, gardens and pastures. Yokes or three-cornered wooden bows had been put upon their necks to keep them from breaking through the fences, but they were now altogether forbidden to roam.

Charles Gookin, who came to take Evans's place on the last day of January, 1709, was also a military man. He answered to the title of colonel, and, as might have been expected, Penn was infatuated with him. He was proclaimed, as Evans had been, in the presence of the council, the officers of the corporation and many prominent citizens, all of whom formed a procession in the street. The assembly which he met was still bitterly anti-proprietary under Lloyd's leadership, but Gookin seemed conciliatory and gave promise of being a more tactful man than his predecessor.

Lloyd and his party were carrying on a dispute with Logan whom they proposed to impeach and then arrested, though they were not able to hold him in prison, because of Gookin's interposition in his behalf. The secretary of the province had conducted his case with all his accustomed skill and determination. He had been planning a visit to England for several years, and but for Penn's repeated injunctions that he remain to defend the proprietor's interests, and the suggestion made now and again that he (Penn) was himself likely to return to



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America to end his days in his colony, he would have earlier embarked. In 1709 he in person laid before the proprietor the matters in dispute between him and the assembly. Lloyd had gone too far in his attack on Logan. He was overwhelmingly defeated at the election in October, 1710, and he left the city to take up his residence in Chester.

For a little while there was to be comparative quiet, something that the colony had not known at any time except during Penn's brief visits. Why there should have been so much contention among a few thousands of men, most of whom belonged to a sect whose principles called always for concord, unity and peace, is not easily understood. Not a single question in dispute was large enough to awaken our sympathies upon either side at this day. No issue of the least importance, so far as appears at this distance of time, divided the people, except the imposition upon them of two or three stupid governors, a wrong of which they made, however, comparatively little account. Perhaps Penn perceived the true cause of the distemper. He wrote to Roger Mompesson, when appointing him chief justice, early in 1705:

"There is an excess of vanity that is apt to creep in upon the people in power in America, who having got out of the crowd in which they were lost here, upon every little eminency there, think nothing taller than themselves but the trees, and as if there were no after superior judgment to which they should be accountable; so that I have sometimes thought that if there was a law to oblige the people in power, in their respective colonies, to take turns in coming over for England, that they might lose themselves again amongst the crowds of so much more considerable people at the custom house, exchange and Westminster Hall, they would exceedingly amend in their conduct at their return and be much more discreet and tractable, and fit for government."¹

Logan remained abroad for more than a year and his return to America did not long precede the paralytic stroke which robbed Penn of his mental vigor. The great Quaker had been plagued by his colony, by his creditors in America and at home, by a wayward son, by his daughter Letitia's husband, William Aubrey, who pressed cruelly for his marriage portion, and by his second wife and her many children. It is not to be wondered at that he bent under it, especially as he seemed not to be a man to whom business was an easy thing. He wished to end his life in America but his family were not willing to come. He had inquired about Pennsbury and urged that good care be given to his home. Now and then he asked Logan to send him blue and yellow birds that he might have them in cages in England to remind him of Pennsylvania, fine furs (for muffs, petticoats, cloaks and counterpanes) and "green wax so easy to get," as well as more important products of the colony. He wrote frequently of his hope to come out soon but he was always disappointed, and now the last prospect faded away. He was stricken on August 4th, 1712, while writing a letter to Logan, at a time when he was in the midst of arrangements for the sale of Pennsylvania to the crown for £12,000, whereby he hoped to obtain a sum of money large enough to relieve his pressing financial necessities. It was not his first attack but this

¹ *Penn-Logan Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 374.

time his mind yielded. From this point on until his death, six years later, he went about like a child. Taken to meeting he now and then uttered a few sentences that were clear. He was passive and sweet of temper, but he was totally incapacitated for any serious attention to his business affairs. More than ever did the cares and responsibilities of Pennsylvania devolve upon James Logan, but fortunately the times were better and the relations of the people more happy. The long war with France and Spain came to an end in 1713 and commerce revived. Merchant ships could sail the seas without the escort of a fleet. Cargoes were sent out and ordered in with less fear of their capture. The wrangling of Churchmen with Quakers over militia companies and war taxes could be suspended. It was a blessed respite for which the colony had great need.

In August, 1714, Queen Anne died and the Elector of Hanover became "King of Great Britain, France and Ireland." The news did not reach Philadelphia for many weeks, but on October 27th the market place witnessed another scene with which it was now becoming familiar. George I was proclaimed king by the high sheriff in the presence of Governor Gookin, his council, the mayor, the aldermen, the common councilmen and a crowd of citizens. After this ceremony had ended Richard Hill, the mayor, handsomely entertained the chief participants at a dinner, at a cost of £30, 10s. of which he himself paid £15 and the city corporation the remainder.

It was a very puerile and impotent government which Penn had created for Philadelphia. It was constantly necessary for the mayor and the aldermen to put their hands into their own pockets to forward public undertakings. A grievous defect of the charter was found in the fact that the city had no proper sources of revenue. The proprietor took money from the inhabitants; the assembly had taxing powers, but the corporation possessed as good as none. The citizen who was chosen to be mayor was fined if he refused to serve. For a time the members of the common council were fined for absence from its meetings and there were other money penalties, which, however, it was difficult to collect. It was often necessary to remit them or to take small sums on account and the rest in promissory notes, on the plea of the poverty of those upon whom the penalties had been laid. There was besides the "chimney money," which came as fines upon those who, contrary to law, allowed their chimneys to burn out at the top to the menace of the city. There were "freedoms" which were sold from time to time, and which created free men and free women thus conveying the right to be elected to the common council and some privileges as shop-keepers and master workmen, copied from Europe, which rapidly tended to become useless and vague. The chief source of income seems to have been the hire of the stalls in the market which were the subject of a jealous regulation. The corporation was indebted to its most menial servants for their wages and very necessary improvements, even of a simple kind, were long delayed because of the expense.

There were few salaried officers. The recorder, who sometimes acted also as town clerk and had important judicial functions received a small sum. The treasurer of the city at first served without remuneration but was later granted ten per cent. of the sums committed to his charge for his trouble. The servant and general handy man of the council was the beadle, who went about the city to col-

lect the cow tax, summoned the members, opened and closed the doors of the meeting room, lighted the fires and brought in the candles. He combined in his person at times the duties of the crier, whose function it was to go about the streets proclaiming the laws, publishing "freedoms" and other announcements which are today made known through the newspapers. He told the householders to tie up their dogs and advised the magistrates of burning chimneys. His voice was often heard in the market place. The beadle carried a bell and once in 1713, when William Hill was holding office, he broke it while "in a heat," giving out the report that "he would continue no longer at the place." Afterward, having expressed "a great deal of sorrow for his so doing," he was reinstated in his post.¹

The common council until 1710 met around in the ale houses, as did the justices, when they came together four times a year to hold the county courts. Other counties had their court houses and it was accounted a good deal of a disgrace that nothing had been done to provide a proper meeting place for the magistracy in Philadelphia. It was desired that the city and county should unite and divide the expense of erecting a building which would serve the double purpose of a town hall and a court house. The agitation began in 1708, and was accompanied by an unseemly dispute between the people of the "city" and the "country," the latter wishing to link with the project an appropriation for two bridges, one at the "town's end and the other at Frankford." The inhabitants of the city said that these bridges were no affair of theirs and offered to build their own town hall, which they succeeded in doing at an expense of £616 by means of a special tax, fines, forfeitures and popular contributions. The edifice was projected in the middle of High street, the east end being on a line with the houses on the west side of Second street. It stood upon arches which were supported by brick pillars. The basement was open and it was rented out to a "vendue master" who here cried sales. The council prohibited public auctions at any other place in the city. It was surmounted by a cupola containing a bell. There was also a town clock upon this building, or on the market house, and on the side toward Second street, which it faced, there was a balcony to which steps wound up from the level of the street. Under these a shop was built and let out for the profit of the corporation. This balcony soon became the place from which governors addressed the people, preachers preached, stump orators harangued their audiences, and criers promulgated the laws after the bell had been rung and the people were summoned to attend. Into the house, small as it was, were soon crowded the assembly, the provincial and county courts and the city corporation, while market men and women pressed about its walls. The beadle was instructed to keep the horses off the pavement which surrounded the building, but it was a busy place put to all kinds of uses on market and court days and at fair times when the entire street, to the river, was filled with men, women, children, animals and vehicles.

Encouraged by this success the city council almost immediately gave its care to a new market house. The money was to be raised by each alderman subscrib-

¹ *Minutes of the Common Council*, p. 92.

ing £5 and each common councilman one half that amount. This building, which was to be placed west of the town hall, was designed particularly for the butchers with whom there had been trouble for many years. They persisted in the unwholesome practice of slaughtering their animals in front of their stalls. They were once ordered to kill and dress their meat on the other side of the river in New Jersey, but it seemed impossible fully to enforce the rule and their blood and garbage continued to litter High street. When a market man would not pay his rent his stall was "pulled up" or "plucked up," which apparently meant that his blocks, tables and whatever else he kept there were seized by the clerk of the market. The old shambles at the east end of the court house running down to the prison remained, but no "beef, veal, mutton, lamb or pork" could be sold there on any account.

The city council also had a concern for the poor, and there were various suggestions for workhouses and other measures promising relief. The corporation was to some extent excused from immediate action by a movement undertaken by the Society of Friends. In 1713 they founded their almshouse which afterward became quite famous, and which stood on the south side of Walnut street between Third and Fourth streets, out near the Potter's Field. The plan called for many small segregated buildings in which the poor might be kept and employed, if they were able for employment. The first group was built on a green bank somewhat back from the street. The front row, later a well known landmark of the city, was not put up until 1729. While primarily intended for members of the Society they were a large element in the town and, as others seem not to have been entirely barred from the advantages of the institution, it served an excellent purpose.

Prison arrangements also claimed the attention of the corporation. If there had before been stocks, that is pieces of timber containing holes in which the legs of a culprit might be clamped, they had given out. It was resolved in September, 1705, that there should be built "a pair of stocks with a whipping post and pillory, with all expedition."¹ In 1709 the order was repeated² and soon after this time they were probably erected beside the prison, which itself was much complained of. Several times it had been declared a "public nuisance." Criminals confined in it escaped. A lot had been purchased for a new jail at the southwest corner of Third and High streets, but there was no money to erect a suitable building. Again a public subscription was recommended by the common council. This was in 1713, but it was ten years before a new prison was built.

The term of the mayor was one year, but he might be reelected. The place was given to one of the leading aldermen.

The first mayor under the charter of 1701 was Edward Shippen, who was reelected in 1702.

The second mayor was Anthony Morris, the Quaker brewer.

In 1704 Griffith Jones was elected to the office. He was a Welshman of considerable property.

¹ *Minutes of the Common Council*, p. 28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

In 1705 Joseph Wilcox was mayor. He had a rope walk and accumulated a competency in that business. Wilcox was a son-in-law of Griffith Jones and he was a brother by marriage of both Edward Shippen and Anthony Morris, which led Logan to remark to Penn that the office was held in one family.¹

In 1706 Nathan Stanbury was elected; in 1707 and 1708 Thomas Masters, who came to Philadelphia from Bermuda about 1700, owner of the "Masters' estate" in the Northern Liberties, and of a stately house at the southeast corner of Front and Market streets, built in 1704; in 1709 Richard Hill, a merchant born in Maryland, who first married a daughter of Thomas Lloyd and secondly a daughter of Nathan Stanbury, a predecessor in the office; in 1710 William Carter; in 1711 Samuel Preston, who also married a daughter of Thomas Lloyd; in 1712 Jonathan Dickinson, the distinguished Quaker preacher and writer; in 1713 George Roche, a rich planter who had come here from Antigua; in 1714 Richard Hill was again chosen and this time served for three consecutive terms; in 1717 Jonathan Dickinson was reelected and served for two terms.²

These were all men of substance and character, and able to advance the city money in loans when it required the favor. The honor of the office, none of them coveted. Even the fines of from £20 to £40 which were imposed upon those who, being chosen, refused to serve did not suffice in at least two cases—Thomas Story and Isaac Norris—to compel attendance upon the duty.

Writing and printing made little progress in Philadelphia after the banishment of William Bradford. A few years subsequent to his departure a Hollander, named Reynier Jansen, set up a press. He seems to have had the favor of the Society of Friends which Bradford also was supposed to have enjoyed, and he was entrusted with the work of printing for the meeting. One of his issues was a curious book by Jonathan Dickinson who has been spoken of as having several times occupied the mayor's office. He was an English Quaker, who reached Philadelphia with his family and slaves by way of Jamaica, about 1696. On his way hither he was wrecked on the coast of Florida, escaping the "devouring waves of the sea" and the "devouring jaws of inhumane cannibals." He, in holy faith, attributed the survival of himself and the companions of his perils to a higher power, and he wrote an account of his adventures under the title of "God's Protecting Providence Man's Surest Help and Defense in Times of the Greatest Difficulty and most Eminent Danger."

Another austere moralist who came to Philadelphia in 1700 or 1701 was Thomas Chalkley. He was a mariner who joined his voyages with the business of preaching to the heathen in many parts of the world. He was long absent from Pennsylvania on his journeys. He lived in a brick house on Frankford Creek and later in "Chalkley Hall," a mansion still standing near the site of his first home. This "old Abraham of Quakerism" inspired Whittier to a poem. He kept a journal which was later published by the Friends. He was a very rigid moral guide, who denounced playing cards as "engines of Satan," declaring too that "as many paces or steps as a man or woman takes in the dance, so many

¹ *Penn-Logan Correspondence*, Vol. II, p. 119.

² Jenkins, *Memorial History*, pp. 184-86.

paces or steps they take toward Hell." Of a literature, or even a press in anything more than a very simple mechanical sense, the colony still had none.

Such merriment as the town could produce centered at the inns and it was these that caused the Quakers most concern. Constantly there was difficulty concerning the licensing of the ordinaries. Many of them were in existence, especially in the neighborhood of the market place. The country people tied up their animals at the taverns, and were themselves supplied here with meat and drink at abounding tables. All exhibited signs, as in England. To the Pennypot and the Blue Anchor were added many more early in the eighteenth century, such as the Plume of Feathers, on Second street, to which James Logan took the aldermen and councilmen when he wished to give them a dinner; the Prince Eugene, also in Second street, a well known hostelry of its day; the Pewter Platter in Front street above High street; the Fountain in Front street, and such taverns as the Crooked Billet, long a well known house on the water side; Star and Garter, Three Tuns, White Horse, Boat and Oars, Bear, and Nicholas Scull's George Inn at Second and Mulberry streets. At the best of these houses good wine was to be had—Sack, Canary and Madeira, in addition to West India rum, imported brandies and several home-brewed beers.

There was also at least one coffee house, in Front street near Walnut, established primarily to serve the still rare drink which was made of the coffee berry brought from Arabia. At the "Coffy House" Quarry held forth to the "expecting crowd."¹ Like tea, coffee was still only a drink for the well-to-do except in sips.

In the taverns—and in many private houses as well—the floors were bare or sanded, and on the heavy tables and buffets were pewter plates and rude crocks of earthenware. Meat and vegetables were boiled in copper kettles, on cranes and hooks, in the large fireplaces which were filled with blazing wood. Roasting was done in these open fires on spits. Bread was usually baked in large quantities in a brick oven built outside of the house, while smaller bakings were performed in Dutch ovens covered with red hot coals.

The shops, of which there were an increasing number, also bore signs. David Evans had "good olives and capers" at the Sign of the Crown. "All kinds of gloves—hard, gummed and glazed," were sold at the Lion and Glove, and there were merchants at the People's Arms, the Scales, the Sun, and the Rose and Crown.²

¹ The coffee house had only recently made its appearance in London. The first had been set up in the time of the Commonwealth by a Turkey merchant who had acquired this Mahometan taste. The fashion soon spread. "Every man of the upper or middle class went daily to his coffee house to learn the news and to discuss it. Every coffee house had one or more orators to whose eloquence the crowd listened with admiration. • • • Foreigners remarked that the coffee house was that which distinguished London from all other cities; that the coffee house was the Londoner's home."—Macaulay, chapter on "State of England in 1685."

² This was a mere following of the general custom in England. Macaulay says that signs were used because the houses were not numbered. Furthermore, few could read. "It was necessary," therefore, "to use marks which the most ignorant could understand." These "painted signs" gave "a gay and grotesque aspect" to the streets. The walk from

In the cloth shops there were kentings and cambrics, dowlas, muslins, broad-cloth, duffels, worsted camlets, ha-thicks, druggets, osnaburgs, saggathies, shalloons, fear-nothings, tammies, duroys, beggars' velvets, mixed crapes and frieze. In these stuffs men and women of the better classes were attired, and nearly all of them were imported from England. Only the simplest home-spun fabrics came from the looms of the housewives here. In this home-spun and in leather and furs the poor were *entirely* dressed. The styles of England were followed only distantly in the American colonies early in the eighteenth century, especially in this Quaker commonwealth and it was a very small group which concerned itself with them. The governor and two or three citizens connected with the Church of England may have habitually carried swords, but this was a far from usual sight in the streets of Philadelphia.

The colony was being entered now by large numbers of Germans, mostly of the servant class who added nothing to the richness of the life of the people. Indeed their coming tended greatly to its plainness, when not to its squalor and vulgarity. Very pronounced became the contrasts of the classes and farther than ever away seemed the dream of popular equality with which the "holy experiment" was so cheerfully begun by the young proprietor when he came upon the "Welcome." Up to 1702 it is thought that there were only about 200 German families in Pennsylvania¹ but now they were arriving in vast numbers.

The settlers in Germantown were probably a very small influence in starting the great movement from the Palatinate and Switzerland to Pennsylvania, though the village was increased in size by it. Many found their way thither to get Pastorius's advice as to their place of future settlement. There they met those who understood their language, and while a number of families remained on the spot, others pushed farther inland to remote parts of Philadelphia, now Montgomery County. Many were Mennonists, who after 1708 had a meeting house in Germantown.² In 1717 the Dunkers began to appear in the city. They were accompanied or followed by other varieties of Anabaptists. "Herewith comes Palatines," wrote Penn to Logan on June 26th, 1709, "whom use with tenderness and love and fix them so that they may send over an agreeable character; for they are a sober people, divers Mennonists, and will neither swear nor fight." While the German movement was begun in response to a desire for religious freedom, it soon passed these bounds and became a speculative enterprise of ship masters, who basely sent agents through the valley of the Rhine to give the people glowing accounts of America. Thousands poured into Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Without resources of any kind they were packed like inanimate things into vessels and carried over to Philadelphia, where they were sold to years of servitude for the profit of the captains, who had conveyed them hither. Under the guise of recouping themselves for the cost of passage they welcomed the purchasers who came

Charing Cross to Whitechapel lay "through an endless succession of Saracen's Heads, Royal Oaks, Blue Bears and Golden Lambs, which disappeared when they were no longer required for the direction of the common people."—Chapter III, on "State of England in 1685."

¹ Fisher, *The Making of Pa.*, p. 91.

² Smith's *Mennonites in America*, p. 112.

down to the waterside for bond servants. Poor Irish were also arriving and they were sold out to service by those who brought them here in the same manner. The traffic in the Germans, at a somewhat later date, caused Logan and the English leaders great alarm. There was fear that Pennsylvania would become a German colony.

Governor Gookin developed a stupidity which almost equalled that of his predecessor in office, young John Evans. There were many who thought that his mind was deranged, and he himself suggested it by way of apology for one of his awkward acts. He, of course, ran counter to the assembly as well as to public opinion by his insistence that the crown should receive military aid from Pennsylvania. To this he added a dispute about the taking of oaths which outraged Quaker principles. Gookin stubbornly held that the old act of affirmation was repugnant to the laws of England. There was apparently no reason why a Quaker might not answer "Yea" or "Nay" to the query "Dost thou declare in the presence of Almighty God the witness of the truth of what thou sayest?" or "Dost thou, A. B., solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm," etc., etc.? or "I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely promise and declare that I will be true and faithful to King George; and do solemnly, sincerely and truly profess, testify and declare that I do from my heart abhor, detest and renounce as impious and heretical that wicked doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever," etc., etc.

But Governor Gookin insisted upon the oath instead of the affirmation, and by his course, as was intended, the government was thrown into the hands of the non-Quaker element. No Quaker could hold office; he also could not serve as a juror or testify in criminal cases. This brought all political activity to a standstill in a community like Philadelphia. The action of the courts was suspended. On July 2nd, 1715, Logan wrote: "We have no courts, no judicial proceedings these two years past." "We have now no justice administered," Isaac Norris reported at about the same time, "and everybody does what is right in their own eyes."

Penn herself was entirely incapacitated for any care over his province. His wife had sturdily set about the task of looking after its interests and acquitted herself capably, now that responsibility devolved upon her. She was aided by the advice of Thomas Story, at the time in England, and she resolved upon the removal of Gookin. Logan was writing to her constantly with his usual sagacity and all the faithfulness of a real friend. "I am a poor helpless woman," she wrote from Ruscombe, the retreat in which Penn spent his declining years, "confined to the country, having my head and hands over full of my family affairs and troubles that attend me here."

The choice of a successor to Gookin was fortunate. It fell upon William Keith, who seems to have inherited a baronetcy about 1720, to be known henceforward as Sir William Keith, and he went out to be deputy governor with the proprietor's commission and the approval of the crown. Though he was "pretty much a stranger" to her, Hannah Penn was pleased by his prudent conduct and obliging behavior. She declared him to be "an understanding man."

On the last day of May Governor Keith reached Philadelphia, to be proclaimed with the usual ceremonies at the court house, which now served instead of the market place. He too was addressed as colonel. Like every governor which Penn or his descendants ever sent out from England, he was a soldier and a man without sympathy with the principles of the Society of Friends. To what accident or design such treatment of the colony was due cannot be known. While Penn himself presided over the destinies of Pennsylvania, it can perhaps only be explained by his incapacity for making happy or successful arrangements in any business which came into his hands. "Gentle and manly"¹—almost womanly—he was, but worldly wise he can not be accounted to have been.

Penn's life faded out as his mind had gone before and he died peacefully on July 30th, 1718, at the age of seventy-four years. While the event marked no distinct change in the course of affairs in Pennsylvania it is a convenient point for ending an old and beginning a new period in the history of Philadelphia.

¹ Jenkins, *Memorial History*, Vol. I, p. 173.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CITY UNDER HANNAH PENN.

Of Penn's first family of children none remained but Letitia who had married that "scraping," and to her father very disagreeable man, William Aubrey, and William Penn, Jr., the young reprobate who had disgraced himself and the name he bore while out in Pennsylvania, and now for several years had continued his dissipations and extravagances at home. By his second wife the proprietor had six children, John "the American," as his father and others afterward generally called him, born in the Slate Roof House in Philadelphia; Thomas, Hannah, Margaret, Richard and Dennis, of whom Hannah and Dennis died at an early age.

The proprietor's will had settled upon the children by his first wife English and Irish estates justly ample for them, and Pennsylvania was to be the property of the widow and the issue of her body, the oldest of whom, John, was now about nineteen. This arrangement was displeasing to young William Penn, who regarded himself as the heir presumptive to the colony.

Governor Keith announced the news of Penn's death in Philadelphia in November 1718. It appears from letters of Jonathan Dickinson and William Penn, Jr., supporting a statement of the annalist Watson, that there was a kind of mock funeral in which the militia participated, an inappropriate and distasteful performance it may be thought from the point of view of the Friends.¹ How many soldiers appeared there is no way to know but Logan said, as early as 1704, that there were three good companies of volunteers in town. If there were 100 or 200 men ready to take up arms the number would seem large. On April 28th, 1719, the governor laid before the provincial council a letter of instruction from William Penn, Jr. He presumed to re-commission Keith who was to announce "in the most public manner" his "accession to the government of the province and counties."

The communication seems to have been received very seriously, but the council wisely decided to await further advices, and in due time the provisions of Penn's will were sustained in the English courts. William Penn, Jr., continued his riotous living in the continental cities, and died in a French town two years after his father, a moral and physical wreck.

Keith was a north of Scotland man. Before coming to Pennsylvania he had been engaged for a time in the English colonial service in the south. While there

¹ Thompson Westcott, Chap. 65.

he had occasionally visited Philadelphia where he commended himself to Logan, Norris and other trusted men in the city, upon whose advice the appointment was very largely made. His course was in striking contrast with that of his predecessors. When he came, knowing that it was harvest time, he refrained from calling together the assembly until the farmers had taken in their crops. When the members did reach town they reminded him that "seed time" was at hand, and they were soon allowed to go home on this account. Indeed, the attitude of the governor was deferential at all points and while he represented the proprietary interests, which were believed to be grinding and selfish—now since Penn was gone more than ever so—he sometimes seemed to put himself upon the popular side, thereby increasing the respect in which he was held. Until 1726 he continued to be the deputy governor, serving under Hannah Penn, the sole executrix of the estate and guardian of the children, with Logan, as secretary of the province and agent on the ground, acting the part of the sage adviser. It was, as Fisher says, "probably the only instance in history of a woman occupying the feudal office of lord proprietor of such a great province."¹

Keith was freely voted money by the assembly which he seemed to captivate completely. Unlike any of his predecessors, even more was given than he asked for his services, and in 1718 he bought a large estate of 1,200 acres at Horsham, in Philadelphia, now Montgomery County. Friends were settled in this neighborhood and although now, with better means of transit, accounted a great distance from the city for a country home it satisfied the governor's tastes. It was not farther away than Pennsbury. In 1722 Keith built the large stone mansion, still standing, which afterward came to be known as "Graeme Park." There he lived in greater style than any one who had yet come to the province except Penn himself. He had 17 slaves, four coach horses and seven riding horses, and he drove up and down the York Road in his equipage, attracting the notice of the poor people who stood agape by the way. His wife, when he married her, was a widow, Ann Diggs by name, and she had a daughter, also Ann Diggs. They were accompanied to the colony by a young Scotch physician, Dr. Thomas Graeme, who soon after their arrival made the daughter his wife in Christ Church. He became a prominent figure in Philadelphia and at length the owner of the Horsham estate, to which his name yet clings. The church party was much strengthened by Keith's coming to the colony. Christ Church had already enjoyed official favor; indeed it had received a silver service from Queen Anne. Keith now had constructed for himself and his family a special pew, which was always to be known as the governor's pew.

The city was going forward in many ways and it was ceasing, in some particulars at least, to be the provincial village which it had all along been. Pigs no longer ran about in the streets and in 1712 goats, which had become very numerous and troublesome, were ordered to their pens. If they were found at large they were gathered up and were forfeit to their owners like hogs, one half of the proceeds going to the captor and the other half to the poor.

Householders were paving in front of their dwellings with "pibble stones" from the bottom of the creeks and rivers, the beginning of the use of cobble

¹ *Pa., Colony and Commonwealth*, p. 67.

stones, which were seen on so many of the city's highways up to within a comparatively recent time. These, it was complained, were "very much damnified by the excessive weight of carriages," and the discussion continued as to the proper weight of the loads to be conveyed by the carters, draymen and porters. Wood, pipes of wine, hogsheads of rum, sugar and molasses, salt, grain and flour were the heaviest materials transported by these public burden bearers. In some places bricks were used in the walks beside the streets and even in the cartways, which, in 1719 made these so scarce for building purposes, that their price rose to 28 shillings a thousand. Householders were ordered to keep the streets clean in front of their homes.

The facilities for protecting the city from ravage by fire were somewhat extended. Greater encouragement was given to those who should be willing to sink wells and put in "public pumps." Many, if not all of these, were worked by windlasses raising wooden buckets by ropes, and the owners of them were to "receive such rents from the neighborhood for their drawing of water as they can agree for."¹ No new wells should be dug, however, unless "the place be viewed and allowed" by the mayor and recorder and at least three aldermen. Some of these pumps were in the middle of the streets. One in this situation, in Front street, was condemned as "a publick and common nuisance" in 1718.

In 1718 the common council bought a fire engine from Abraham Bickley for £50, paid out of the "chimney money." It was not received until the next year and seems to have been the first machine of its kind in use in Philadelphia. It was certainly the first which was owned by the city. Great difficulty was experienced in guarding it from the weather and it was soon damaged beyond repair; if indeed it ever was of any particular service at a fire.

The prohibition of the smoking of tobacco in the streets was continued, and it was provided that there should also be no smoking by the butchers in the markets in protection of these buildings.

After 1721 there was a regulation against breaming ships with blazing fire in the docks or at the wharves of the city, except in such places as the mayor and the commonalty might set aside for this use. Nor should any one heat with blazing fire "any pitch, tar, turpentine, rosin, oil, tallow, or any sulphurous matter" for use on a ship except in these places.

Moreover there should be no fire except a candle on any ship in the harbor after eight o'clock in the evening, unless by the mayor's permission "in case of sickness or any other extraordinary emergency." There was to be no discharge of guns or other firearms in the city without license from the governor, and the stringent laws against the manufacture, sale or offering for sale of squibs, ser-pents, rockets or other fire-works were re-affirmed. White men were fined for the infringement of these rules, while negroes and Indian slaves were publicly flogged.

It was more in fear of fire than with a view to the protection of game that the assembly in 1721 passed an act declaring that "no person whatsoever shall presume to shoot at or kill with a firearm any pigeon, dove, partridge or other

¹ *Minutes of Common Council*, p. 98.

fowl in the open streets of the city of Philadelphia, or in the gardens, orchards or enclosures adjoining upon and belonging to any of the dwelling houses within the limits of the said city.”

In 1725 the law about the keeping of powder was altered on the strength of the erection of a public powder house. The city up to this time had no magazine for storing it. It was often kept on shipboard in the river, or in stores considerably removed from other buildings where it was constantly within reach of servants and sailors, who at this time were very largely negroes or white bound-men of various races and nationalities. Now William Chancellor, a sailmaker, at the request of a number of merchants, agreed to erect a powder house of brick or stone, well boarded and covered over, on a piece of ground acquired from Daniel Pegg. It was situated at the north end of the city, adjoining a swamp on the king's high road to Frankford and Bristol. In this house all the gunpowder imported to Philadelphia was to be stored. Chancellor was to attend from nine to eleven o'clock in the morning and from one to three in the afternoon to deliver it to the owners, and to be present at all times upon due notice to receive it for storage. He was to have twelve pence a barrel per month for his care of the combustible. No one else was to keep within two miles of the city more than twelve pounds in his possession at any time under a penalty of £12.

In 1721 steps were taken to bring into better order the business of keeping the chimneys clean. That the work should be done well James Henderson was licensed as a public sweep, on the condition that he would employ a sufficient number of hands to assist him. Wood was carted in from the country, winter and summer, and officially corded and measured. It was one of the heaviest burdens upon the roads which were so tenderly guarded by the common council. Since this was the only fuel the wide chimneys needed to be cleaned of soot every few weeks, and the dusky sweeps in their blackened leather breeches with their twig brooms, poles, ladders and bags were a familiar sight in the streets at all seasons of the year. In the winter time when the fires roared they plied a busy trade.

There were now better boats or flats upon the ferries and communication over the rivers was much improved, but passage across the Delaware to and from New Jersey was made at a discouraging cost. The assembly found it an important employment to grant these privileges to ferry-keepers, and to see that they faithfully did their duty by the community. The rights were monopolistic and were much valued by those into whose hands they came. Armstrong Smith in 1717 was given two ferry rights over the Delaware, one from or near the foot of High street in Philadelphia, to Cooper's Landing in New Jersey. that is, to what later came to be called Camden; another from his home adjoining the town boundary on the south, that is in or near Wicaco to Gloucester. He was commissioned to carry passengers and goods to Cooper's Landing at the following rates:

Single foot passengers	6 pence each
Three or more in a party	4 pence each
Horse and rider	6 pence each
Three or more in a party	each
Single ox or cow	6 pence each

Three or more together	1s.	each
Single hog or sheep	6 pence	each
Three or more	4 pence	each

To Gloucester as follows:

Single foot passengers	1s.	each
Three or more in a party	9 pence	each
Horse and rider	2s.	each
Three or more in a party	1s. 6 pence	each
Ox or cow	2s.	each
Three or more together	1s. 6 pence	each
Hog or sheep	1s.	each
Three or more together	9 pence	each

The grant was for seven years, and no one else was to keep a flat or canoe for crossing the river within the space of two miles north or south of these ferries. The Schuylkill ferry at High street was also put into better hands. In 1722 it was leased to Aquila Rose for 21 years. He was to get substantial boats fit for conveyance of footmen, horses and carts, make good causeways and landings on each shore and employ capable ferrymen. In return for this privilege there was to be no other crossing between Roach's and Blunston's, which seem to have been the names of the proprietors of the upper and lower ferries over the Schuylkill at that time. Rose was to collect the following fees:

Passengers	One penny each
Horses with or without packs	One penny each
Coach or chariot	One shilling..
Chaise (four wheels)	Six pence
Chaise (two wheels)	Four pence
Cart or wagon laden	One shilling
Cart or wagon empty	Six-pence
Sled laden or unladen	One penny
Cows whether boated or swum across	Three half pence
Hogs	One penny
Sheep	Half-penny

Rose was a printer who became clerk of the assembly. He wrote verse of an indifferent character, some of which has been preserved, and his death inspired a number of elegies by other poetasters. His ferry was the end of him, for in 1723 while building his causeways high water separated him from his boat.

" 'Twas then that wading thro the chilling flood
A cold ill humor mingled with his blood."

His funeral drew out a large number of citizens on horse and foot. The ferry was thrown into other hands. Earlier, under Philip England's manage-

ment, it had been the best crossing on the river, but it had fallen into much ruin, if not total disuse.

In 1720 a health officer was established for the port by authority of the provincial council. Regulations for the supervision of "sickly vessels" which had been suggested by the yellow fever visitation of 1699 were ineffectual, and Patrick Baird, chirurgion, was appointed to go aboard all ships arriving in the port to inquire as to the health of the passengers and crews before they should be allowed to land.

In 1718 arrangements were made for new market stalls. These were to be built at the west end of the courthouse, presumably to take the place of the butcher's shambles earlier placed there. The building was to be the width of the courthouse and ten feet high to the joists. It was to be paved with brick, have a plastered arched roof, and a clear walk inside of fourteen feet. The improvement would provide 48 new stalls, the number being reduced later to 30. Public subscriptions were invited but, as was usually the case, the burden fell upon the aldermen. Four men, Anthony Morris, Jonathan Dickinson, Isaac Norris and James Logan advanced £100 each upon the credit of the corporation and the work went forward under the direction of the mayor. Again it was stipulated that no meat should be sold on the ground east of the courthouse between that building and the prison, but that these old stalls should be let for the sale only of herbs, milk, butter and fish, of which determination the crier was ordered to give public notice on the next market day. The new stalls were rented at the rate of £3 per annum each.

Finally in April, 1723, the common council was ready to sell the old prison on High street, between Front and Second streets. It was purchased by William Fishbourn for £75 and he was ordered to tear it down at once and clear the street. A new prison had been erected by the county, on the ground at the southwest corner of Third and High streets, and thither the inmates were removed. The whipping post, the pillory and the stocks remained in the market place, east of the courthouse, so that the punishment by these means might continue to be as public as possible. The new edifice was of stone. It was a workhouse as well as a jail and the escape of prisoners from it was very much more difficult. Indeed two buildings are spoken of, one of which was used for the confinement of debtors, of whom there was a troop in each county, since not to pay one's debts was, and remained throughout the century, aailable offense.

Progress was further confirmed by the establishment in 1725 of what was probably the first transportation line. It consisted of a four-wheel chaise belonging to David Evans and ran from near the Three Tuns tavern, on Chestnut street between Second and Third streets, to Germantown, Frankford and Gray's Ferry, upon notice to the proprietor. The fare to Germantown for four persons was 12s. 6d. and to Frankford 10s. The trip to the lower ferry would be made for 10s. in the morning, or 7s. 6d. in the afternoon.¹

There were two or three bridges over Dock creek, which, while it had the appearance of an important water course near its mouth, at low tide and in

¹ Thompson Westcott, Chapter 71.

times of drought scarcely existed north of Walnut street. It had no great length at any time and was lost in the woods near Fourth and Market streets. At least one of these bridges, that at Front street was a drawbridge to let through sloops, and was built about 1700, while the others were high enough not to obstruct navigation. That at Chestnut street was some 15 or 20 feet above the bed of the stream.¹ A drawbridge was set up by private subscribers at Chester with the privilege of charging toll, which was probably the first incorporated toll bridge company in the colony.

Already there were signs of an exhaustion of the supply of deer and in 1721 it was enacted that hereafter they should be shot only from January 1st to July 1st, except by the Indians for their own use. Green deer skins or fresh venison found in any person's hands would be sufficient evidence to convict him of a violation of the law. No one should hunt on the improved or enclosed plantation of another without the owner's consent, nor on unenclosed lands without permission, unless the hunters were capable of voting for members of the assembly, that is, unless he should own 50 acres in his own right, or be otherwise worth £50.

Much attention was given to the business of making the tradespeople honest by law, and doubtless some good came of the effort to regulate qualities, measures, weights, and prices. In 1721 the assembly gave a care to the leather-working and shoemaking trades. It was alleged that the price of leather had become "very exorbitant and burdensome." Those using "the several crafts and mysteries" of leather-working abused their privileges. Officers were appointed thoroughly to try and test leather under pain of forfeiture, if it did not meet a definite standard, and the price was not to exceed nine pence a pound. Shoemakers must sew with "good thread, well twisted and made, and well waxed." They were not to "mingle the over-leathers," that is—to mix neat's-leather and calves' leather. They must not sell boots, shoes or slippers made of sheep-skin, bull-hide or horse-hide, or put into their manufactures that portion of the sole leather variously called "the womb's neck, shank, flank, powle or cheek." Men's shoes were to be sold at not above 6s. 6d. a pair, women's shoes at 5s., and children's at proportionate rates to be fixed by the mayor and aldermen. The officers to enforce this law were called "sealers and searchers," and leather not "sealed" was to be seized.

The next year molasses beer, which had been so generally used since the establishment of the colony, was legislated against. The brew, it was said, interfered with the consumption of malt and therefore with the growth of barley. No molasses, coarse sugar, honey, foreign grains, "Guinea pepper" or any impure, adulterant or makeshift was to go into a brew house. The brewer would be fined £20 for violating this law. It was hoped and expected that manufacturers henceforward would take "special care to bring their beer and ale to the goodness and perfection which the same was formerly brought to, so that the reputation which then was obtained (and is since lost) may be retrieved."

No miller was on any account to grind poor or unmerchantable wheat in any water, horse or windmill in the province. Pennsylvania was receiving a

¹ Souder's *History of Chestnut Street*.

bad name abroad by the exportation of inferior flours. Henceforth shipments were to be examined and the casks marked with a "provincial branding iron," exhibiting the arms of the colony with a large letter "P" on each side of the device. Counterfeiters of the iron were to be heavily fined, and, upon a repetition of their crime, they were to be stood up at the pillory for two hours on a market day.

Thus, too, butter, bread and other products of the colony were guarded by law. Weights and measures were tested to see that they were full. Wood cording was regulated to make certain that the buyer was not cheated. The "ordinaries" were again put under review. "Whereas," said the assembly in 1718, "it has been the practice of tavern keepers, ale house keepers and inn holders to exact excessive rates for their wine, beer, cider and other liquors, and also provender for horses, without regard to the plenty and cheapness thereof" the mayor, recorder and aldermen in Philadelphia were to set the prices four times a year, whereupon the crier should proclaim them in all parts of the city and post them on the courthouse doors.

The legal regulation of prices is a very obvious device of unlettered people and it prevailed in Pennsylvania for a century, at times to the great encumbrance of legitimate commerce. It was impossible for men to believe that when prices rose the movement was not due to some hocus pocus of the dealers in whose hands the goods were held, and recourse was had to laws and during the Revolution to street mobs.

There was also an organized attempt to preserve the breed of the horses of the colony. The woods were full of small, and as it seemed to many, indigenous ponies. They were of that type of which the Chincoteague pony of Virginia is a survival. It is surmised that they were of good stock, escaped from the Virginia and Maryland plantations, which had been crossed with ponies imported by the Dutch and Swedes, since the settlers had no method of impounding their horses. The product soon became wild and roamed the woods, degenerating in manners as well as in size.¹ As the later colonists also allowed their horses to run at large in the forests the breed was constantly undergoing contamination. In 1724, therefore, the assembly ordered all "stone horses" to be taken up "unless such horse be of a comely proportion" and "full thirteen hands high from the ground to the withers, reckoning four inches standard measure to one hand." The rangers appointed in the counties were to oversee this work. Small pony stallions were to be turned over for gelding at the owner's expense, and if no owner appeared they were to be sold.

Pounds were established in every county to hold stray horses, cattle and sheep. In the city there was a "general pound" for all "trespassing creatures" into which the various pounds of Philadelphia County emptied, and correspondence was kept up with the general pound keepers in Bucks and Chester Counties with a view to finding the rightful owners. If these could not be discovered by the marks on the animals and by notices in writing posted at the "most noted places" in the province the estrays were sold.

¹ Scharf & Westcott, Vol. I, p. 137.

Penalties and punishments were still cruel and they were being more frequently enforced and administered. At first they were for the most part a dead letter for lack of suitable gaols and punishing instruments. The government was passing more and more out of Quaker control. The admiralty court and the governor were, of course, wholly independent of the Quaker influences, and even the assembly was not entirely subservient except upon the subjects of militia service and oaths.

In November, 1720, the master of a schooner called the "Mayflower," and three sailors were tried before the court of admiralty for a mutiny on board the vessel. The prisoners were charged with having seized the owner and several who took his part, and then turning them adrift in a small boat on the high seas. William Asheton, the judge, sentenced the culprits to stand in the pillory with their ears nailed to the post for two hours on two market days. When they were taken down they were to be whipped on their bare backs, and after this receive 21 lashes at eight several places in the city, to be chosen and specified by the judge.

The judge of the same court, in 1722, now Roger Mompesson, sentenced two prisoners "for denying the king." One expiated his offense by standing under the courthouse for one hour on two market days, with pieces of paper affixed to his breast and back whereon these words were inscribed:

"I stand here for speaking contemptuously against my Sovereign Lord, King George."

The other was not so fortunate. He was condemned to the pillory in the market place for two hours on two market days. Afterward he was tied to the tail of a cart and paraded around two city blocks, while he was given 41 lashes on the bare back. In his sentence the judge said, "I conclude what I have said with the advice of one of the wisest of men: 'Curse not the king, no not in thy thoughts; for the birds of the air will reveal thy secret, and that which hath no wings will utter thy voice.'"

The pleasure of going to market was much interfered with by the sight of the poor victims of the law who must be punished for their sins here in public view.

From time to time a man went to the gallows. The original Quaker arrangements by which murder was made the only capital crime were much changed in 1718, when the English system of giving a culprit "benefit of clergy" was introduced, and the laws of the province were made to conform more generally to those of Great Britain. The list of the crimes for which the penalty was death was extended to include mayhem, burglary, stabbing, incendiarism, etc. But there was under some circumstances this mitigating provision, "benefit of clergy," that is—the exception for clergymen, afterward extended to all those who were able to read and who were called *clerici*, or clerk convicts. By the Pennsylvania law the "benefit" was extended to every one whether he could read or not. When this plea could be made, and was made, the man or woman was burnt by the gaoler in open court, as in Great Britain, while the public looked on at the writhing wretch under the branding iron. If the crime was murder "M" was put upon the brawn of the left thumb; if any other felony a "T" was

burnt in the same place. The convicted person was then sent to the workhouse for from six months to two years. If the offense were repeated he was hanged and was "without benefit of clergy."¹ In 1720 a man named Hunt was executed for counterfeiting Spanish silver coins. Convicts who were to be hanged were taken to the gallows tree seated on their coffins in carts, surrounded by jeering crowds, amid tolling bells. Arrived at the execution place, the carts were drawn from under them and they were left to dangle in the air, spectacles meant to instill a wholesome dread of crime in the popular mind.

Paupers, like criminals, were marked "to the end that the money raised only for the relief of such as are impotent and poor may not be misapplied and consumed by the idle, sturdy and disorderly beggars." This line of reasoning seems not very clear, but the object was to make poverty an open disgrace so that only the really needy would seek public charity. This would be done by the complete self-abasement of the poor, which was legally accomplished after June 24th, 1718, by causing every one who received relief, together with his wife and children, to wear badges upon their arms. This badge was to be a large Roman "P" and the first letter of the name of the county, city or other place whose ward the wearer was, cut in red or blue cloth, and placed on the shoulder of the right sleeve of the upper garment, "in an open and visible manner." Thus a pauper in Philadelphia wore two red or blue "Ps" upon the sleeve of his or her blouse. Neglect entailed a cutting off of the allowance, a term in prison and a whipping.

The lower orders of the population were a medley of slaves and servants in their dirty leather clothes, paupers and criminals with conspicuous badges on their arms, convicts branded on their foreheads and thumbs, and with welts on their backs. There were porters borne down with their great packs, and sweeps black with the soot of the chimneys. It is certain that life in Philadelphia at the beginning of the eighteenth century, except for a few, was not very luxurious or even pleasant from the point of view of this better day.

Mechanics and smaller tradespeople were marked by their dress and were not to be mistaken for gentlemen, as they are in this century, and when they were not in leather breeches they were likely to be dressed in brown osnaburg, a coarse linen so named because it was first made in Osnaburg, Germany. It sold for less than a shilling a yard, and was supplemented perhaps by some piece of discarded finery from the wardrobes of people of a higher class.

From the lists of those who were granted their freedoms in Philadelphia it is learned that there were now ship-wrights, boot-makers, tobacconists, joiners, "shop-keepers," carvers, saddlers, glaziers, barbers, tallow-chandlers, cutlers, wheelwrights, a "stable-keeper," wool-combers, chairmakers, plasterers, soap-boilers, bricklayers, mariners, cordwainers, slaughterers, pewterers, cabinet-makers, nailmakers, felt-makers, riggers, gloves, goldsmiths, pavers, potters, founders, sawyers, one "coller maker," white-smiths, watchmakers, clockmakers, block-makers, leather dressers, turners, clothiers, masons, braziers, one pharmacist, in addition to tailors, painters, bakers, carpenters, brickmakers, blacksmiths,

¹ *Statutes at Large*, III, p. 199.

tanners, curriers, ropemakers, brewers, coopers and the followers of trades which had flourished almost from the foundation of the city.

The "Black Laws" did not rapidly become more humane. It is true that there was a duty of £5 a head upon all imported negroes who did not come upon their "master's business,"¹ or were not to be reshipped, or were not sailors upon vessels meaning in due time to depart. But this law was made less with a view to discouraging the slave trade, which was the purpose of the law naming a higher duty, than for the revenue which it yielded. Slavery, however, continued to be well entrenched even among the Quakers. Leaders like those of the seventeenth century in Germantown appeared to call them to account, for the sin. John Woolman who had been born in New Jersey, by trade a tailor, went about among the Friends' meetings in undyed homespun bearing testimony against the "dark gloominess overhanging the land." Ralph Sandiford, a native of England who became a Friend and engaged in many trading voyages out of Philadelphia, settling at length to live in patriarchal simplicity on a farm near the city and dying here in 1733 at the age of 40 years, raised his voice against the negro trade.² Benjamin Lay of whom it will be convenient to say more at another place also preached to the meeting of its duty toward the black slave. But what they all said was of little avail. Several of the wealthy members were engaged in the West India trade and owned large numbers of negroes. Since the owner did not wish to lose the value of a slave and sometimes screened him in crime to prevent his punishment, it was enacted in 1726 that his worth should be appraised when he was executed and that the master be compensated accordingly out of the public stock.

The free negro was a troublesome man and his position was little if any better than the slave's. "Whereas 'tis found by experience that free negroes are idle, slothful people and often prove burdensome to the neighborhood, and afford ill examples to other negroes," the assembly resolved that any master or mistress who should emancipate a black slave should give surety in the sum of £30 to the county court, lest he should get sick or otherwise prove himself incapable of self-support.

A free negro who was able to work and neglected to do so, preferring to "loiter and misspend his or her time or wander from place to place," could be "bound out" to service by the magistrates. Children of free negroes were always put under the charge of the overseers of the poor to be "bound out" until the boys were 24 years old and the girls 21.

If any free negro gave shelter to a negro, an Indian, or a mulatto slave or servant without the master's leave, he was fined five shillings for the first hour and one shilling for each subsequent hour of the visit. If a free negro should trade with a slave he was to receive 21 lashes. When fines could not be paid by the negroes they were sold to service for a term long enough to pay all penalties and costs.

¹ When Queen Anne repealed the law of 1712 (*Stat. at Large*, II. p. 433), which had fixed the duty at £20 per head, the Assembly made the sum £5 per head, a rate continued for several years (*Stat. at Large*, III, pp. 117, 160, 238, 275).

² *Memoir* by Roberts Vaux.

Any minister or magistrate who married white and black persons was subject to a fine of £100. Whites and blacks cohabiting were heavily fined and sold to service, the white man or woman for seven years, the black for life. The children of such cohabitation were bound until they were 31 years of age. Any negro found tippling outside of his master's or mistress' house after nine o'clock in the evening, without permission of such master or mistress, would be whipped at the cost of the owner. If he were found ten miles from home without satisfactory excuse he was to be taken up, whipped and returned at the master's expense.

No master should give a negro liberty to seek employment on his own account, and no person, white or black, should entertain or harbor a slave "excepting in distress of weather or other extraordinary occasion" under a penalty of thirty shillings for each twenty-four hours.¹

The grand jury repeatedly recommended the erection of a ducking stool, an instrument of punishment in general use in other colonies whereby culprits, particularly scolding and drunken women, were strapped in a chair attached to the end of a lever set upon a pivot. Run up to the edge of a pond or stream the lever was lowered and the prisoner was doused in the water for her moral good. In January, 1717, the grand jury, through its foreman, William Fishbourn, declared:

"Whereas it has been frequently & often presented by Several former Grand Jurys for this City, The necessity of a Ducking Stool and house of correction, for the just punishment of scolding, Drunken Women, as well as Divers other profligate & unruly persons in this place, who are become a Public Nuisance & disturbance to this Town in Generall. Therefore, We the present Grand Jury, Do Earnestly again Present the same to this Court of Quarter Sessions for the City, desiring their immediate Care, That those publick conveniencys may not be any longer Delayed, but with all possible speed provided, for the detection & Quieting such disorderly Persons."²

In 1720 and 1723 similar recommendations were made, but it is unlikely that any such "public conveniency" was ever provided. Thompson Westcott says that the only sentence of this kind in Philadelphia was pronounced in 1769. A scold was ordered to be ducked at Market street wharf, but as there was no stool another punishment was substituted.³

What were the duties of an officer of the peace in Philadelphia in the curtailment of the liberties of the inhabitants is disclosed in a letter of instructions to Thomas Todd, constable of Mulberry ward and dated July 5th, 1722.

"Thou art principally to weigh and consider everything which may conduce to the glory of God, honour of the king and benefit of the inhabitants," the letter began.

"All manner of disorderly persons and practices" were to be suppressed upon Sunday, especially "in the time of Divine worship."

¹ Law of 1726, *Statutes at Large*, IV, p. 59.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXII, p. 503.

³ Chap. 740, quoting Goddard's *Chronicle*. William H. Loyd in a new book, *The Early Courts of Pa.*, finds some later sentences but doubts the application of the punishment, p. 89.

If persons were found tippling in the house of any innholder they were to be asked to disperse and go to "some publick worship." The name of the publican must be handed to a magistrate on the following day. Those who walked about the streets during church or meeting time were to be cautioned to the contrary. "Boys and others found gaming, either whites or blacks," were to be seized and put into the stocks "until worship time be ended." All negroes "walking about" at such time were to be similarly punished.

The constable could call people in the street to his aid for the suppression of disorder. "Lewd, scolding women" were to be taken before the magistrates. Tippling in private houses was to be interfered with, "for by such doings great want and poverty has come upon familys."

All who smoked, swore or were drunk in the streets must be arrested, as well as those who cast out "dirt, rubbish or carrion," if they did not upon notice immediately remove it.

At night the constable must see that the persons who were duly warned made their appearance, or sent their substitutes for the watch. Disturbers of the peace in the streets or taverns were, with the assistance of the watch, to be committed to gaol until the next morning. The names of all those who came to live in the ward were to be returned to the magistrates, the chimneys watched for fires, and those who sold strong drink to the Indians "found out," it "being an evil of very ill consequence" to the people.

In 1717 and 1718 there was a fresh visitation of pirates under the lead of Blackbeard, who had made himself the terror of America. Ships were brought to on their way in and out of the Delaware, sailors seized and hung to the yard-arms and cargoes stolen. Logan estimated the strength of the pirates at 1500. Several arrests were made and with a view to further captures Governor Keith equipped and sent two sloops down the river into the bay. The expedition cost £90 and yielded no results. The pirates were far too agile for any navy which the colony could then create. For several years this buccaneering at sea and along the coast continued with little abatement. A pirate named Low in 1723 held up the "Hopeful Betty" at the Delaware capes and robbed her of her cargo. This outlaw at the time was said to have had from £60,000 to £80,000 in gold upon his ship.

The distress of the period was so urgent that the colonists turned their attention to paper money, against the advice of such wise heads as James Logan and Isaac Norris. All protests and remonstrances were vain. Currency was very scarce. Although produce had for some time been resorted to as a medium of exchange in its stead, the inconvenience seemed too great to be borne. Creditors were unable to meet their obligations by a discharge of their debts in gold and silver and a law to issue paper bills to the value of £15,000 was passed by the assembly in 1723. This was Pennsylvania's first paper money. The bills were to be given out on the security of lands, houses, ground rents and silver plate of ample value, through a loan office. An accompanying measure reduced the rate of interest from eight to six per cent and creditors were given a stay, since "250 persons under arrest could not pay their debts in silver and gold, because none was to be had." The new bills were to be in denominations

of one shilling, two shillings six pence, 5, 10, 15 and 20 shillings. Upon each were printed the arms of Pennsylvania and the following words:

"This indented bill of.....current money of America, according to the act of Parliament made in the sixth year of the late Queen Anne, for ascertaining the rates of foreign coins in the plantations, due from the Province of Pennsylvania to the possessor thereof, shall be in value equal to money and shall be accepted accordingly by the provincial treasurer, county treasurers and the trustees for the general loan office of the Province of Pennsylvania, in all public payments and for any fund at any time in any of the said treasuries and loan office. Dated in Philadelphia, the....day of....in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three, by order of the Governor and General Assembly."

The bills were to be signed by Charles Read, Francis Rawle, Benjamin Vining and Anthony Morris, and the value of the property to be mortgaged was to be inquired into carefully by the trustees of the loan office, who were to be Samuel Carpenter, Jeremiah Langhorne, William Fishbourn and Nathaniel Newlin.

The loan was made for not longer than eight years at five per cent per annum, being payable in eight annual installments, whereupon the bills would be sunk and destroyed. The money was created a legal tender, as though it were specie or plate, with forfeiture in case of refusal to receive it. A counterfeiter was to be set upon the pillory "in some open public place, and there have both his or her ears cut off and be publicly whipped on his or her bare back, with thirty-one lashes well laid on." Moreover, he should forfeit "double the value of the damage." If not able to pay he would be sold into servitude.¹

One step in the direction of paper money usually calls for another, and at the next session of the assembly, in October, 1723, bills of credit of a total value of £30,000 more were authorized. The £15,000 had been "found by experience to fall far short of a sufficient medium in trade." The same general arrangements for issue through the loan officers were observed, with some changes in the wording and the devices upon the bills with a view to making counterfeiting more difficult. The term of this paper was extended to twelve years.²

In 1726 it was complained that outstanding bills were wearing out, on which account "many of them are scarce fit to pass," and that so many of the bills, issued under the fifteen thousand pound and the thirty thousand pound acts, were annually sunk and destroyed that the people would soon be reduced to "great straits and difficulties." Therefore, bills taken in during the next five years were to be remitted and £10,000 of new ones printed and put into circulation.³

As Logan had foreseen, coin now entirely disappeared. He wrote in 1724: "We have by reason of our paper credit no gold or silver amongst us passing, as but what comes is bought up as any other commodity, at the rate of

¹ *Statutes at Large*, III, p. 324.

² *Statutes*, III, p. 389.

³ *Statutes*, IV, p. 38.

3s. per pound or 15 per cent advance in exchange for paper; and as we have not coin we can have no bills, for the one is purchased with the other. To this unhappy state we are reduced by our paper money."

Moreover, it was an invitation for the city and counties to run into debt. Bills were paid out in the way of loans to Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester Counties for building roads, bridges and courthouses, and £300 were given to the mayor and commonalty of the city to be expended on wharves, the Dock creek bridges and what was probably the first sewer, laid down in Chestnut street at a cost of £5, 7s. 3d.¹

The swelling of foreign immigration, particularly from Germany, gave pause to many Englishmen in the colony and in 1717 Governor Keith addressed himself to the subject. The movement was now in flood and it was to continue with little abatement for thirty years. It began with the sects, at first the Mennonites and the Dunkers, then the Schwenkfelders and forty other shades and colors of the odd religions which were developed at this time by the mystical German mind. It came to include the Lutherans and members of the German Reformed church, usually a rougher and less acceptable class.

The Tunkers or Dunkers who followed the Mennonites, and sometimes also called Tunkards and Dunkards, or Tumplers and Dumplers, because of their practice of dipping or baptizing by immersion, were in many respects unlike the Mennonites. But like them and the Quakers they would not swear or fight, and were characterized by plainness of speech and living. Practically the whole sect emigrated to America between the years 1719 and 1735, a considerable number remaining in Germantown where they established a church.

These were followed in 1734 by the Schwenkfelders, followers of Kaspar Schwenkfeld, who also brought their entire body of members to Pennsylvania. Very few of the sectarians remained in Philadelphia city. They pressed up into the remoter parts of the county. The Schwenkfelders settled around the head of the Perkiomen, in a neighborhood which has remained to this day in the almost undisputed possession of German-speaking people.

German immigrants sooner or later filled the upper Schuylkill and the Lehigh valleys. Numbers of them pressed west into what in time became Lancaster County. Germantown served as the capital of this growing body of German people until after the Revolution, when they developed towns of their own, although their principal interests were always agricultural. They had come from the country. They were peasants in a land where men, women and children worked in the fields from sun-up until dusk, and it was this life which they were fitted to lead in America. Philadelphia was without attractions for them, and they left it almost as soon as they came, although some of the Lutheran and Reformed people settled in the city.

All the little principalities into which Germany was then divided and dissipated contributed colonists to America, and particularly to Pennsylvania. The most of them came, however, from the Lower Palatinate, an old fief on the upper Rhine, east of Alsace and Lorraine, while there were many also from the Upper Palatinate, lying to the southeast, on the banks of the Danube,

¹ Described by the clerk of the common council as a "common Shoar."

and, some, from the German cantons of Switzerland nearby. Thus it was that the German immigrants were called Palatines, whether from the Palatinate narrowly considered or not. Sometimes they were described as "Palatines and Swissers," a poor, helpless, despised people, whose children were sold into a kind of white slavery to pay the family's passage over, when they themselves were not condemned to years of service, in order to get free from the ship agents.

The British government lured them from their homes by pamphlets especially prepared for their reading, under the direction of Queen Anne. She and her ministers saw a danger in the depopulation of England for the advantage of the colonies and tried therefore to fill the country with foreigners. The book which was usually circulated in the Palatinate contained a portrait of the queen. The title page was printed in gold letters. They were for this reason called the Golden Books. At first the poor people who were uprooted from their homes were taken to England and shipped in this round-about way to America. Then the vessels took their crowded human cargoes directly from Rotterdam.

The Golden Books were followed by the "Newlanders" or "Soul-Sellers," who represented the shipowners. The whole country had been over-run by the French who visited it again and again with fire and sword in the name of Romanism, and the people who were ignorant to a degree were easily deceived by any specious tongue. Few could read or write. If possible a clergyman, or some one masquerading as such, was put upon each ship, since this trick was found to instill confidence in intending emigrants. On the way down the Rhine they were robbed at the many custom houses which the German princelings had set up on both sides of that river. When they reached Holland their small store of money was gone and they were ready to be indentured for their fares by the ship captains. They were packed into the little vessels, with their sea chests, and their tools and household utensils, without beds or any of the decencies of life. Sometimes, later in the century when the trade was at the height of its infamy, 500 or 600 were loaded upon one small ship. Small-pox and other contagious disease raged among the poor folk. It was not rare for one third of the passengers to die before the vessels reached Philadelphia. They were floating hospitals and pest houses. In one year, it is said on good authority, that 2000 Palatines lost their lives on the way over to Pennsylvania. The ship masters plundered the dead and appropriated the baggage in lieu of passage money, the hope of which disappeared when the man or woman who was to be sold was cast overboard. Mittelberger has told of one of these voyages in heart-rending terms:

"The filth and stench of the vessels no pen could describe, while the diverse diseases, seasickness in every form, headaches, biliousness, constipation, dysentery, scarlet fever, scrofula, cancers, etc., caused by the miserable salt food and the vile drinking water are truly deplorable, not to speak of the deaths which occur on every side. * * *

"Even those who escape sickness sometimes grow so bitterly impatient and cruel that they curse themselves and the day of their birth, and then in wild despair commence to kill those around them. Want and wickedness go hand in hand, and lead to trickery and deception of every kind * * * The wailings

and lamentations continue day and night, and, as one body after another is committed to a watery grave, those who induced their unfortunate companions to leave their old home in search of a new are driven to the verge of despair * * * It is little wonder that so many of the passengers are seized with sickness and disease, for, in addition to all their other hardships and miseries, they have cooked food only three times a week and this (it is always of a decidedly inferior quality and served in very small quantities) is so filthy that the very sight of it is loathsome. Moreover, the drinking water is so black, thick, and full of worms that it makes one shudder to look at it, and even those suffering the tortures of thirst frequently find it almost impossible to swallow it."¹

These were the German redemptioners, the indentured servants, who were condemned to serve under indentures for a term of years, to redeem themselves from the charges accumulated against them on the way to their new homes. Instead of finding a welcome when they came up the Delaware they were not unnaturally held at arm's length, because of the diseases which they brought with them, their great squalor and poverty and their foreign origin, likely it was believed to take the colony out of the hands of the nation which had founded it.

Logan wrote to England in 1717 of the Palatines:

"There are divers hundreds arrived here, who have not one word of English and bring no credentials with them—a method that we conceive is in no way safe for any colony, tho' we hope they may be honest men * * * As the number of these strangers has given some uneasiness to the inhabitants here and will increase it, if they continue thus their swarms, you will allow it, we hope, proper to be mentioned to you * * * This government must have that regard to themselves as not to be too free for the future in making the admission easy."

In 1727 he said that "at this rate you will soon have a colony here, and perhaps such a one as Britain once received from Saxony in the fifth century." So many thousands had come and were expected that he declared: "This [trade] must be prevented by an act of Parliament or these colonies will in time be lost to the crown. They are a warlike and morose people."

The sectarians were, of course, very far from being warlike. They objected to oaths and military service as strongly as the Quakers, and no great ardor for fighting distinguished the Lutheran and Reformed immigrants. Keith in 1717 reported the situation to the provincial council, and it was ordered at once that "all masters of vessels who have lately imported any of these foreigners be summoned to appear at this board, to render an account of the number and character of their passengers * * * That all those who are already landed be required by a proclamation to be issued for that purpose to repair within the space of one month to some magistrate, particularly to the recorder of this city, to take such oaths appointed by law as are necessary to give assurances of their being well affected toward his majesty and his government." Mennonites might

¹ *Journey to Penna. in 1750*. Substantially the same conditions prevailed in 1733, as appears from the letters of Johannes Naas in Martin G. Brumbaugh's *History of the Brethren*, p. 108.

affirm instead of taking the oath. The "naval officer" and the health officer superintended the landing of the passengers and their goods. If they brought disease they were kept at anchor down the river. In any case they must remain in the middle of the stream. The master must give an exact account of whom he brought under heavy penalty. By a later arrangement he must march the immigrants in a troop to the courthouse to take the oath. While they were ashore the bell was rung continuously. This ceremony ended, they were driven back to the river and were ready to be sold to the country people who attended and who should be willing to pay a few pounds to the ship captains for farm hands.

An advertisement in 1721 read:

"Thomas Denham to his good country friends advertiseth: That he has some likely servants to dispose of. One hundred Palatines for five years at £10 per head."

Many of the creatures looked like hunted animals. They were staring and wild-eyed and walked in huge wooden shoes, when not in their bare feet. Some of the men wore long, red caps and carried rude weapons. The women tied strings around their heads to keep their hair out of their eyes and were strange pictures of savagery. They spoke curious dialects which the educated Germans could not understand. Yet from these German redemptioners are descended many well known Pennsylvania families of this day.

In 1722 there was a suspicion that convicts were being brought into the colony from Germany and Ireland to be sold as servants. Indeed the statement was very positively made by the assembly that "persons trading into this province have, for lucre and private gain, imported and sold or disposed of, and daily do import and sell as servants for terms of years divers persons convicted of heinous crimes, who soon after their coming into this province do often run away and leave their master's service and commit heinous felonies, robberies, thefts and burglaries."

A stringent law was passed making still closer the examination of incoming cargoes of servants; requiring a buyer, under penalty of forfeiture, to get with each servant a certificate properly attested by a justice of the peace, and causing the ship masters to give bonds for one year to the provincial treasurer for the good conduct of suspicious characters.¹

Coming into the colony at the same time as the Germans were many Scotch-Irish, some of whom remained in the city, though most of them also passed on to the frontier. These people were in many ways antagonistic to the Quakers, and in a militant manner. They were Scotchmen, and in a few cases Englishmen, who had gone over to the north of Ireland early in the seventeenth century to take up the lands of Irish rebels on long leases. In faith they were Presbyterian, and the tenets of this rugged creed were interpreted and held by them in the literal sense. They had been accustomed to rough experiences. They had been fighting for their liberties and their lives in Ulster for which reason they were generally in England called Ulstermen, and they brought with them to

¹ *Statutes*, III, p. 264.

America all their native character for pertinacity and obstinacy. They came not only to Pennsylvania but also to other American colonies, and settled the frontier among the foothills of the Alleghanies, later leading the overflow into the great valley beyond.

The first of the Scotch-Irishmen reached Philadelphia around 1700, and they continued to come for forty or fifty years. Some went to the Lehigh valley, some to Bucks County, others out to what became Lancaster County, and when their number increased they swept into the Cumberland valley which became their stronghold in the middle of the century. They settled the ground out beyond that taken up by the Germans, among the wolves, the copperhead and rattlesnakes and the Indians, which to them were not more than wolves or serpents to be destroyed in the quickest and most effectual manner. Indeed they became the buffers, as they said they were, between the peace-loving Quakers and Germans and the Indians. They also became stirrers-up of constant strife with the savages whose land they grabbed as they needed it. It was love of religious liberty which had brought them to Pennsylvania, but the shot-gun and the powder-horn went hand in hand with the Bible, and they fought as they worshipped, grimly and stubbornly, their relations with the Quakers, who still retained control of the government, growing year after year more and more strained. Some of these people also became servants, but the Irish servant as a rule was a south of Ireland man. They had greater resources than the Germans, and would not be trodden down and imposed upon by the ship-masters. There was none of the worm in them, and they were ready to rest under no one's heel. The Scotch-Irish and English servants were constantly running away, and giving their masters the trouble and expense of trying to find them and bring them back to their ungrateful tasks.

The first American Presbytery, the Philadelphia Presbytery met in 1705, and this church soon became the principal power in Pennsylvania, next to the Quaker meeting.¹ In 1716 the Presbyterian Synod was formed being made up of four Presbyteries: Philadelphia, covering Pennsylvania and the Jerseys; Long Island; Delaware (called New Castle) and Maryland (Snow Hill), the latter soon being absorbed in that of New Castle. The synod included nineteen ministers.²

If the Philadelphians thought that they were to be rid of the Bradfords, after banishing the first of the name to New York, they seriously erred. In 1712 William's son, Andrew Bradford, who had been born here returned to his native city and opened a printing office. Reynier Jansen had died in 1706 and his types were probably taken over by Jacob Taylor who published an almanac. For all practical purposes, however, Philadelphia was without a printer until Andrew Bradford appeared. He was still a very young man, but he enjoyed the support of his father and obtained a good deal of work for his press. His most notable service was the establishment of the first newspaper, not only in Philadelphia but in the colonies anywhere south of Boston, the *American Weekly Mercury*. The *News Letter* had been published in Boston

¹ Fisher, *The Making of Pa.*, chapter on Scotch-Irish.

² Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church in America*.

since 1704, and the very day before Bradford's sheet made its appearance another paper began to be issued in that city, the *Boston Gazette*. Philadelphia therefore had the third newspaper on the continent.

The first number of the *Mercury* bears the date of December 22nd, 1719. It at first came out each Tuesday, but shifted its time of appearance to agree with the mails. In the beginning it was a little folio of two pages printed on a half sheet of pot, later filling three or four pages on a whole sheet, as the need arose. It contained principally foreign news in which the public interest was keen, both because the people had so lately come from Europe and because of political relations binding them to the older continent. There were few facilities for getting news from the other colonies. Then, and for long afterward, no editor gave any care to local happenings. These could be recounted by word of mouth long before the paper came out. It was easier for those who read badly to learn the neighborhood news in conversation than to struggle through a page of print. There were a few advertisements which were inserted in the form of "reading notices," as they would be described today. These usually related to the escape of servants and negroes whom their masters wished to recover. A few merchants also advertised what they had to offer to their customers, such as chocolate, tea, gunpowder, or a "likely negro woman." Bradford published his paper at the sign of "The Bible" in Second street, where he, like his fellow printers, sold pamphlets, books, stationery and at times other articles, such as whalebone, pickled sturgeon, geese feathers, and Spanish snuff. The price of his paper to those who were willing to "encourage so useful an undertaking" was 10 shillings, if they lived in Philadelphia, 15 shillings for New Jersey, New York and Maryland, and 20 shillings for Virginia, Rhode Island and Boston, where we can well imagine its circulation was small.

The attitude of the government toward the press had grown little more liberal. In 1722 Bradford was summoned before the provincial council for this publication:

"Our General Assembly are now sitting and we have great expectations from them at this juncture that they will find some effectual remedy to revive the dying credit of this Province and restore us to our former happy circumstances."¹

The publisher was obliged to declare that the item was inserted by an employe, without his knowledge. He was admonished to seek the permission of the government when he wished again to touch upon political affairs. A few years later, in 1729, he was put to jail for a publication which on its face today seems even more innocuous.²

Until 1728 Bradford had the field to himself as a newspaper editor in Philadelphia. Then Samuel Keimer began the publication of the *Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences and Pennsylvania Gazette*, always known as the *Gazette*. Keimer, was made famous principally by Franklin, who has a variety of allusions to the man in his *Autobiography*. He came to Philadelphia in 1722 and set up a printing press. He had a long beard like a Dunker, although he seems to

¹ *Andrew Bradford*, by Horatio Gates Jones.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

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have held some monkish French religion. His instincts were benevolent as was seen by his proposal to teach the blacks, with their masters' and mistress' permission, to read the Scriptures. He was a totally preposterous person, although his head held a good deal of curious learning, and he reprinted a considerable number of worthy books. Keimer believed in his newspaper undertaking. "The late *Mercury* has been so wretchedly performed," he said in his prospectus, "that it has been not only a reproach to the province but such a scandal to the very name of printing that it may, for its unparalleled blunders and incorrectness, be truly styled nonsense in folio instead of a serviceable newspaper."

He aimed to make his paper instructive, for which reason he started to republish Chambers Dictionary, and led off with the letter A. Here and there was found room for verses and puns by Keimer, who had an astonishing facility in making rhymes. At most he did not print more than 250 copies of his paper weekly, and it is doubtful whether Bradford's circulation exceeded two or three times that number.

Governor Keith, who had been thriving at so great a rate in his relations with the assembly had also managed to keep in favor with the proprietary interest. He at last rode for a fall. He undertook, in 1723, to dismiss James Logan as secretary of the provincial council, since Logan was dividing the council against him, appointing in his stead Patrick Baird, who seems to have been the citizen earlier designated to serve as the health officer of the port. Logan was not one to surrender calmly and he sailed for England to present his case to Hannah Penn. When he returned in August, 1724, it was with a letter to Keith from the executrix of the estate, plainly telling him his duty. "It is required," she said, "that thou advise with the council upon every meeting or adjournment of the assembly which requires any deliberation on the governor's part; that thou make no speech, nor send any written message but what shall first be approved in council, if practicable at the time, and shall return no bills to the house, without the advice of the council, nor pass any whatever into a law without the consent of a majority of the board."

Instead of heeding the admonition Keith chose to precipitate a contest over a question of constitutional right concerning the power of the council as a law-making body. He was supported by David Lloyd in this contention, but they lost the contest and on June 22nd, 1726, Major Patrick Gordon, an old soldier, arrived to take Keith's place as the governor. His commission was published at the court house and a new political order began. Logan was triumphant and Keith after trying to lead a popular revolt against proprietary rule returned to England. The deposed governor succeeded in having himself elected to the assembly and became a candidate for the speakership, but Lloyd who had taken his part a few months before wished no rivalry as a democrat and easily accomplished his defeat. It is said that Keith got but three votes, although he had made a "public entry into the city with about eighty horse, composed of butchers, tailors, blacksmiths, journeymen, apprentices and carters marching two and two," himself at their head, while some ships in the harbor fired their guns.¹

¹ Gordon to John Penn.



GOVERNOR GORDON



GOVERNOR KEITH



SLATE ROOF HOUSE, SECOND STREET ABOVE WALNUT AS IT APPEARED IN 1868

Keith had been living in a fool's paradise too long and his reckoning day had come. Although he had been liberally paid by the assembly he was hopelessly in debt, and he now had to leave his fine estate at Horsham and flee the country. His wife remained behind him and died in much poverty in Philadelphia, in 1740,¹ nine years before Sir William, who ended his misspent days as a debtor in the Old Bailey.²

Philadelphia had grown, but its population at the close of the Keith administration was certainly not more than 8,000 or 9,000. As late as in 1721 several bears were seen near the city. One was killed in Germantown and another in Darby, and game of tamer kinds flourished close at hand. According to George Warner who arrived in Philadelphia in that year, there were practically no street pavements except around the court house. High forest trees were standing even in High street as far east as Ninth street. As illustrating the social conditions of the city, when between Third and Fourth streets, on High street, Warner met a drunken woman who was so wild with liquor that he crossed to the other side of the way to avoid her. Even with the necessary consequent increase of prices by reason of the paper money issues wages were still not high. The bound servant at the current rate of sale, was accounted to be worth from £2 to £4 a year and his clothes, lodging and board. A free laborer who clothed himself earned from £10 to £20 a year which, at the lower of these rates, is less than a shilling a day. A maid servant was paid from £8 to £10 a year. In the country wages were lower than in Philadelphia. Negro slaves, usually brought from the West Indies, since those transplanted from Africa directly to these northern latitudes were difficult to acclimate, were sold at from £40 to £100 Pennsylvania currency. A black child from two to three years old was worth from £8 to £14. With bond servants as with slaves, however, there was constant risk of escape, and the newspapers were filled with offers of rewards for their capture. A Welshman who had run away and was advertised in the *Mercury* was "full faced, with hollow eyes and bottle nose. When he walks he stamps his feet." One slave could be told by the welts from a horse whip upon his back; another, a mulatto, owned in Virginia, by holes in the upper part of his ears, punched there by way of identification and punishment when he had run away before. Many were pock-fretten. An Indian woman was pitted in the face and "indifferent fat." Another servant had "long, thin, ill-shapen legs," and spoke broad Scotch. A north countryman who had escaped had the letters "S. P." "in blew letters" on one hand, and "blew spots" on the other hand; on one arm "our Saviour upon the cross." on the other Adam and Eve, "all supposed to be done in gunpowder." Some had scars and missing finger joints, and every physical characteristic and detail of dress was described.

The account given of three white refugees from Maryland causes marvel that the owner should wish them returned, since he could not hope to profit by them

¹ Lady Keith "lived immured in a small wooden house in Third Street between Market and Arch Streets with an old female attendant as co-npanion, refusing all communication with society, and reduced to great difficulties for subsistence." She was buried in Christ Church Yard. *Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, I, p. 457. William Rawle's account of the woman's unfortunate end is found in *Pa. Mag.*, XXIII, p. 533.

² *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1749, p. 524.

without the use of whips and irons. They were "all of a Newgate stamp"—the first "a thieving, sly fellow," the second, "a thieving, drunken, ill-natured fellow," the third, "a Scotch-Irish thieving, lying, saucy fellow." Some fled with women whom they called their wives, and carried away boats, horses, dogs and articles of clothing belonging to their masters. All the provinces of America became a hunting ground for escaped slaves and servants.

Prices in 1720 and 1721 were about as follows:

Flour	6s. 6d. to 10s.	per hundred
Tobacco	14s.	per hundred
Muscovado Sugar	40s. to 45s.	per hundred
Pork	45s.	per bbl.
Beef	30s.	per bbl.
Rum	3s. 9d.	per gal.
Molasses	1s. 6d.	per gal.
Wheat	3s. 3d.	per bushel
Indian corn	1s. 6d.	per bushel
White bread	18s.	per hundred
Middling bread	14s.	per hundred
Brown bread	12s.	per hundred
Pitch	16s.	per bbl.
Tar	10s.	per bbl.
Rice	16s.	per hundred
Gunpowder	L7, 10s.	per bbl.
English salt	3s.	per bushel
Brown Osnaburgs	12d.	per ell
Lime	15d.	per bushel
Tavern tobacco pipes	4s.	per gross

Bohea tea, then a great rarity, was sold only in two or three places, among others at times at Andrew Bradford's printing office. Once quoted at 22 shillings, it a little later brought 50 shillings a pound.¹

The paper currency, it was asserted by its friends, gave a great impetus to trade. Systematic attempts to raise hemp were begun, and the assembly offered a bounty of a penny a pound; silk culture already had its devotees, but both industries in due time were to go the way of flax and the wine grape. A substantial commencement was made with the iron industry which meant so much to the future growth of the city. The pioneer seems to have been Thomas Rutter, a smith of Germantown, who about 1716 started a furnace up the Schuylkill, at Manatawny, near the present Pottstown. There good ore was discovered, and in a short time several furnaces and forges were in operation in that neighborhood. The industry had attained such proportions in 1726 that the assembly thought it worth its while to forbid the selling of rum within two miles of the establishments unless with the owners' consent. The product was hauled to Philadelphia to be

¹ From prices current and advertisements in *American Mercury*.

sold to the blacksmiths of the city, or to be exported to the other colonies or to the West Indies. Jonathan Dickinson was very enthusiastic about it and wrote that "the best of Swede's iron doth not exceed it."¹

From 1719 to 1725 it is stated that an average of 118 vessels, say 5,000 tons of shipping, visited the port of Philadelphia in a year. In 1725 the total was 140 vessels of 6,655 tons. The ship-building business was gaining strength. Ten boats (458 tons) were constructed here in 1722, 13 in 1723 and 19 (959 tons) in 1724.

There was some lifting of the moral pall of Quakerism. The view of pleasure became less Puritan and under different influences various entertainments, earlier forbidden, were introduced. Lotteries were countenanced and a little later received positive public encouragement. In 1720 the *Mercury* advertised a brick house which was to be raffled off at the next autumn fair. There were 350 tickets at twenty shillings each. Indeed various amusements were planned to accompany the fairs and their number tended to increase year by year.

In 1722 a periwig-maker in High street, near the court house, advertised an exhibition, said to be arranged in the form of "the Czar of Muscovia's country seat with its gardens, walks, fountains, fish ponds, and fish that swim." In 1724, Governor Keith gave his patronage to a kind of circus on Society Hill, doubtless on a tour of the colonies. A seven year old boy danced and capered "upon a strait roap to the wonder of all spectators." A woman did a "jig" upon the rope "as well as any dancing master upon the ground." She could perform with baskets on her feet and iron fetters upon her legs. She could also walk upon the rope with a wheelbarrow before her. There was a clown called "Pickle Herring" who, it was assumed, was well known to the people, probably a fair-time character. The performance was concluded "with a woman turning around with a swift motion with seven or eight swords' points at her eyes, mouth and breast, for a quarter of an hour together," to the admiration of all that beheld the performance. The engagement was for twenty days in the evening, and must have been in a lighted room, which was called a "booth." There were seats on the stage as well as in the pit and the gallery. In 1726 the innholder of the well known Prince Eugene, in Second street, advertised for sale "a new billiard table." Thus in many ways the city was passing out from under the influence of the restrictive morality of those who had founded it.

As for the Friends themselves their views seemed to increase in rigidity, as the more liberal who dwelt about them gained an ascendancy. They still drank liquors freely and generally, and held slaves without that feeling of loathing for the custom which came later to distinguish the sect. They, however, were discountenancing burial plates on coffins and tombstones, even pulling up many stones which had been placed in their meeting-house yards, and which they earlier had not disliked. They were inclining also to greater plainness in dress. It is supposed by many that the austere Quaker of this day, attired according to an unchanging fashion, is nearly if not quite as he always was. The truth is that he at first placed no ban upon colors, or the gay details of costume. The dress

¹ Swank, *Progressive Pa.*, p. 185.

of the early Quaker was simply the dress of everyone, minus the extravagances in which the times indulged.¹ Since the costume of the day was elaborate so was the Quaker's elaborate, judged by any present standard. There was no confinement to browns and grays. Men had wigs and shoe buckles, and bright colored coats and waistcoats. Women wore garments of gay hues,² and while there was testimony in the meeting in favor of plainness, which, however, is entirely a relative thing, revolutionary results were not attained at once. A number of "woman friends" at the Yearly Meeting in Burlington, in September, 1726, addressed their "dear and well beloved sisters" on the subjects of dress and other female vanities. That "immodest fashion" of hooped petticoats was taboo, as was anything meant to give the effect of fullness, such as the wearing of too many skirts, which sprang from "the same corrupt root of pride." In their gowns there should be no "superfluous folds behind, but plain and decent," nor should they go without aprons or wear "superfluous gathers or pleats in their caps or pinnets." High head-dress and the laying of the hair over the forehead or temples ought not to be indulged in. Nor were red or white-heeled shoes or clogs, or striped shoes, to be worn by Quakeresses. Nor should they use "gawdy floured or stript calicoes & stuffs" in furnishing their houses, or take or give snuff in meetings, or flourish fans, so diverting to "spiritual exercise," or accustom themselves to going "with bare necks."³

The men who had been prominent in Philadelphia in its first years were now disappearing, as Penn himself had passed away. In 1712 occurred the death of Edward Shippen and Griffith Jones. Samuel Carpenter and Thomas Fairman of Shackamaxon, followed, in 1714; Humphrey Morrey, in 1716; Griffith Owen, in 1717; Pastorius in 1719; Anthony Morris in 1722, and Thomas Masters in 1723. The field was open for new leaders and they were coming forward. Easily the first of these were Andrew Hamilton and a young printer's apprentice from Boston, Benjamin Franklin.

Hamilton is supposed to have been a Scotchman. He came to Philadelphia about 1714, after a residence for a time on the eastern shore of Maryland where he had married a widow of high social position. He was a lawyer and at once won recognition in Philadelphia. In 1717 he became attorney general of the province and held many lucrative and responsible posts in the public service.⁴ He pleaded some of the most important cases at the bar for the next twenty years. Like Lloyd he identified himself with the popular interest as against the proprietors, and played an able and valued part in colonial politics.

Franklin began his never to be forgotten career in Philadelphia, in the summer of 1723. His entrance was effected by way of the Delaware river. He had come from Boston overland and, reaching Burlington, took a boat with some other young men, blistering his hands at the oars until night-fall, when they went ashore and slept around a fire kindled under a pile of fence rails. He landed at High street wharf about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, with a Dutch dollar and

¹ *The Quaker, A Study in Costume*, by Amelia Mott Gummere, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

³ *Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 506.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 1.

some odd pieces of copper. He had nothing but the clothes upon his back, and some shirts and stockings which expanded his pockets; his baggage was following him by sea. He visited a baker where he purchased three rolls of bread. Munching at one, the others under his arm, he went out Market street, being witnessed by Deborah Read, who was afterward to become his wife. He wandered into the Quaker meeting at Second and High streets, where he fell asleep. He sought work at his trade of Andrew Bradford, where it was denied him, and then went to call upon Samuel Keimer, who was setting up out of his head, directly into the stick, an elegy to Aquila Rose, the young ferryman, who had just been buried with so many civic honors. Franklin seems at once to have had the luck, which always attended him, of being noticed by prominent people. Governor Keith, in flowing wig and fine clothes, asked the young apprentice to drink a glass of wine with him, following the civility with an invitation to dinner. His profuse promises of money, credit and employment led to his visiting England in 1724, with a young companion, James Ralph, who remained in London to eke out a career as a literary hack in Grub street. When Franklin came back in October, 1726, it was to go straight forward on a career which rapidly led him to popularity and fortune, without a parallel in the history of the poor boy in the eighteenth century in America.

CHAPTER V.

PROGRESS UNDER THE YOUNG PROPRIETORS.

But Franklin's ascendancy was not yet gained and many adventures were first to befall the city. Governor Gordon, when he met the assembly for the first time in 1726 said by way of apology for himself, that he had been "bred to the camp, remote from the refined politicks which often serve to perplex mankind." He introduced many accompaniments of the camp, which in spite of the long line of military governors had never yet offended the Quaker quiet of the place. There was a flagstaff upon Society Hill which was the town common, and the British ensign was hoisted there on Sundays and holidays. This had been the extent of the city's offending. Gordon now undertook to observe the birthdays of the King and the Prince of Wales, and celebrated victories of the British arms by feasts, the drinking of healths, gun-firing, huzzaing, bonfires and balls. The governor and distinguished visitors when they entered or left the city were accompanied by cavalcades of citizens in coaches and on horseback. All these ceremonies required greater attention to deportment and dress, and Philadelphia came to have an erect, formal appearance which had not characterized it under the administration of any earlier governor.

Gordon began soon after his arrival by celebrating the birthday of the Prince of Wales, when the ships in the harbor were decorated. They fired their guns while many went to the governor's house to pour out their libations in honor of the heir to the British throne. At night a great number of candles were set at the windows of the mansion and there was a ball, the first to be given, it is believed, in the city. In the following May the king's birthday was celebrated in a similar way. Although it was a Sunday there was much drinking of healths by ladies and gentlemen who called upon the governor, and on Monday the festivities were renewed, concluding with a ball at night. In a few days George I died, although the news did not reach Philadelphia until August 31st. Then the accession of George II was duly proclaimed at the court house and his birthday, in October, regularly became a time of revelry. Indeed the celebration in October, 1727, occupied three days. The ship owners met at the house of William Chancellor, sail-maker and keeper of the powder house, in whose garden they planted 21 pieces of cannon. The mayor and the aldermen called upon "Lady" Gordon to present their congratulations. There was a ball which lasted until three o'clock in the morning. On the next day the mayor, and on the following day the grand jury gave feasts in honor of the occasion.

In 1729 when Gordon was returning from a friendly visit to the Indians at Conestoga, he was met at a considerable distance from the city by a number of

horsemen and they partook of a collation in the woods. Upon reaching the city limits the party was joined by several ladies and gentlemen in coaches, forming the largest procession which had yet been seen in the colony. The governor was the recipient of similar attentions when in 1733, after the death of Hannah Penn, he went to Virginia to obtain a new commission. It was a Sunday, but as he embarked on the schooner, "Lovely Hannah," attended by the mayor and corporation, guns were fired from the ships in the harbor amid the loud huzzas of the people. At Gray's Ferry upon his return he was met by a great cavalcade. Such customs were not only frowned upon by the meeting but were distinctly in violation of the old Quaker laws of the province, and they were of no utility in increasing the love of the predominant element in the population for the proprietors.

Nevertheless Gordon's administration was marked by wisdom, and it passed away peacefully and prosperously. The prudent executrix, Hannah Penn, had died as the result of a paralytic stroke in somewhat the same way as her husband in 1733, when her sons John, "the American," Thomas and Richard, who were obligated to make some money payments to their sister Margaret, now the wife of Thomas Freame, became the proprietors of the province. The chief of these young men was Thomas, both because of his business acumen and the length of time which Providence allotted him to serve as the feudal overlord of Pennsylvania.¹ He lived up to the verge of the Revolution. His arrival in the colony in 1732 was the opportunity for another civic celebration. The young proprietor landed at Chester and rode up, entering Philadelphia by the lower ferry. There he was met by the mayor and, it is said, 700 citizens. As he passed along, preceded by a sceptre, the ladies waved their handkerchiefs from the windows and balconies of the houses, bells were rung and the ships discharged their cannon. The city was full of Indians who were entertained by the fire engines which were "played" all afternoon. Feasts, the presentation of addresses, bonfires at night, were all intended to impress the proprietor with a sense of the popular devotion, and were expected to awaken on his side some sense of gratefulness and generosity. Less resulted from it than could have been anticipated, since he proved to be a man of warm concern for his own interests and without any great amount of public spirit. He came to study the colony and its people only to learn how to improve his own pecuniary condition, and was vastly successful in doing so. It was now beginning to be realized how very valuable were the American estates which Penn had bequeathed to his children, and the exhibition of a niggard quality in the owners, with the rapid development of democratic ideas among the people, was one of the principal factors in bringing about that state of public mind which made Pennsylvania so eager for the war of independence.

In 1735 Thomas was joined here by his brother John, his sister Margaret and her husband Thomas Freame. They were met and feasted in the same manner. John, although a native of the city, seemed to give little attention to its affairs, and went home in a year, to appear in the Maryland boundary case which still impended in a threatening way. Indeed there were boundary disputes with

¹ Born 1702; died 1775.

several colonies and for their care in these matters, at least, the proprietors were probably entitled to more gratitude in Pennsylvania than they commonly received.¹ Thomas Penn remained until 1741, that is for nine years, living quietly, attentive to his affairs and with no broadening of vision in reference to the proprietary relations toward the colony, to be shown either while here or after his return to England. His brother John died in 1746, and as Richard took no personal interest in the province Thomas Penn for many years was, in the view of the people, and in reality to all intents and purposes, the proprietor of Pennsylvania.

Gordon died in office in August, 1736 at the age of 73, and for two years the government was again in the hands of the council, of whom James Logan was the president. The place was then taken by George Thomas, a rich planter of Antigua, who answered to the title of colonel. He had been appointed in 1737, but his name was not at once confirmed by the crown. He did not come to take up the reins of office until the summer of 1738, and remained for eight years, several of them troubled beyond any which the colony had yet experienced, by reason of the English wars.

The city in this time had had many mayors, the traditions of the office being such as to keep it in the hands of very prominent men. The record in this narrative closed in 1719, with Jonathan Dickinson. The occupant of the office for the next three years was William Fishbourn, a native of Maryland, who had come to Philadelphia before 1700 and married a daughter of Samuel Carpenter. He was a Quaker merchant of wealth and influence, who was later connected with an unfortunate scandal concerning the management of the loan office of which for a time he was a trustee. James Logan was elected mayor in 1722 and served one year, to be succeeded by Clement Plumsted, a wealthy Quaker merchant. In 1724 Isaac Norris was elected and accepted the office, though he had on earlier occasions declined it. In 1725 the mayor was William Hudson, a Yorkshire man, who had a tan yard, and he was succeeded in 1726 by Charles Read, the father-in-law of Benjamin Franklin. It is thought that he was the first native Philadelphian to hold the office. His father bore the same name. Both were merchants, the son attaining a very prominent place in the community. He was the half brother of James Logan's wife, Sarah Logan, his election serving still further to confirm the impression that the government of Philadelphia was a close corporation in every sense of the word.

After him for two years the mayor was Thomas Lawrence, an associate of Logan and the Shippens in commercial enterprises. He, like Read, was a Churchman. For the next two years, 1729 and 1730, the mayor was again a Friend, Thomas Griffiths, an Irishman by birth and a merchant who had married a daughter of Isaac Norris. He was followed in office for two terms by Samuel Hasell² a Churchman of mercantile interests who had been in Barbadoes. In 1733 Thomas

¹ Fisher, *Pa., Colony and Commonwealth*, pp. 84-85.

² It is an interesting fact that Mr. Hasell was indicted by the Grand Jury in 1744 "as a magistrate who not only refused to take notice of a complaint made to him against a person guilty of profane swearing but (at another time) set an evil example by swearing himself."—*Pa. Mag.*, XXII, p. 498.

Griffits and in 1734 Thomas Lawrence returned to the office, while in 1735 the choice fell upon William Allen, who was to be so important a factor in the city for many years. He had been born in Philadelphia in 1704 and was still only thirty-one. His father bore the same name. They were Irish Presbyterians. The son had studied law in London but had commercial interests also. His marriage to Andrew Hamilton's daughter Margaret gave him notable family connections, and before long he was said to be the richest man in Pennsylvania.

In 1736 the mayor was Clement Plumsted again and in 1737 Thomas Griffits for a third time, while the next year Anthony Morris, the son of the first of that name, was chosen for the place. In 1739 Edward Roberts was elected. He was the son of a prominent Welsh Quaker preacher, who had settled in Merion and was brought to America while he was still only three years of age.

Samuel Hasell returned to the office for one term in 1740, as did Clement Plumsted in 1741, while the next incumbents were, in 1742, William Till, a Delaware planter, who had rather recently come to Philadelphia to engage in the export trade in tobacco; in 1743, Benjamin Shoemaker, a Quaker merchant born in Germantown; in 1744, Edward Shippen, a grandson of him who had been the first mayor under the charter of 1701, and a merchant in partnership at different times with James Logan and Thomas Lawrence; in 1745, James Hamilton, son of Andrew Hamilton, destined to reach greater distinction than his father; in 1746 and 1747, William Attwood, largely interested in the iron furnaces in the Schuylkill valley.¹

As earlier, great difficulty was experienced in getting the right men to occupy the mayor's office, and the fines which were imposed upon recreants did little to improve the situation. It was Attwood who proposed, therefore, that the mayor should receive a salary of £100 per annum, but even this device did not prevent young Anthony Morris from running away in October, 1747. Messengers were sent to his home and as far as Trenton, where it was supposed he had gone. The notice was read to his wife but she refused to receive it, and it was rather shrewdly concluded, since he could not be found, that he did not wish the office. Mr. Attwood was, therefore, prevailed upon to serve for another term. The salary, being found to be useless for the attainment of the end in view, was abolished after three years. It had been usual for a long time for each retiring mayor to give a feast, at considerable expense to himself, to the aldermen and the councilmen. James Hamilton upon finishing his term in 1746 omitted this ceremony, and instead set aside £150 as the nucleus of a fund to be used, when his successors had added to it, for the erection of an exchange similar to the Royal Exchange of London, or of some other public edifice. Several later mayors followed his example. In 1763 it was voted to take £500 from this fund to construct a building at the Front street end of the market, designed for the sale of roots and greens, and for an "Exchange."

In 1729 the movement for the erection of the State House was begun. The court house at Second and High streets did not suffice. It was pre-eminently designed for city and county uses, although the province had shared its advantages.

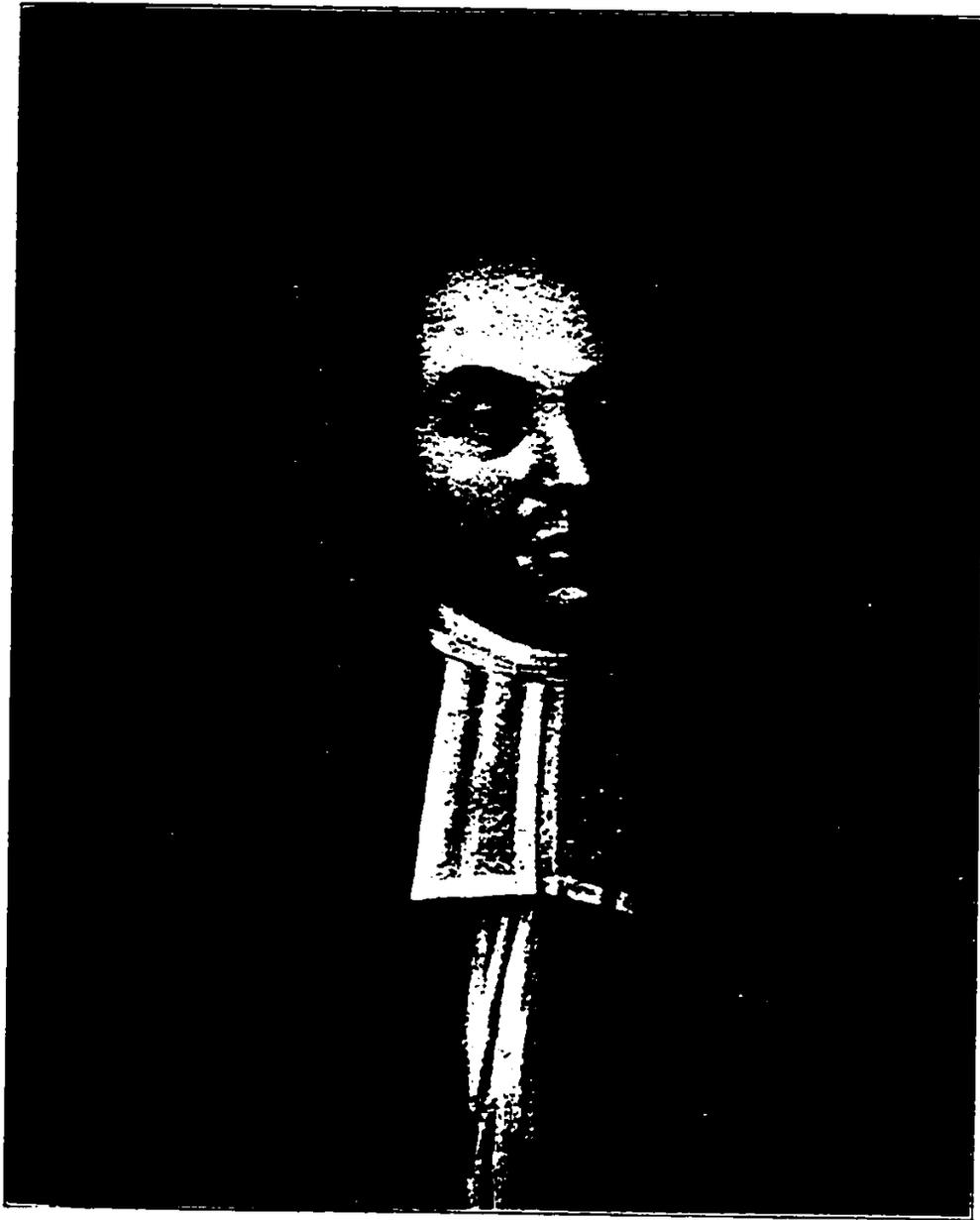
¹ Jenkins, *Memorial History*.

The assembly was already sitting, if indeed it had ever regularly used the hall, elsewhere. It threatened to remove to some other town in the state if a suitable meeting place was not provided. The first petition called for a building in High street, near the prison, and £2,000 were granted in the paper money bill of 1729 to Thomas Lawrence, Andrew Hamilton and Dr. John Kearsley for the erection of a "house for the representatives of the freemen of this province to meet and sit in general assembly in the city of Philadelphia."

In 1730 the trustees, of whom Hamilton was the leading spirit, purchased through and in the name of William Allen some lots facing Chestnut street between Fifth and Sixth streets. By 1732 the entire block on the Chestnut street side had been procured, and the actual work upon the edifice was begun, citizens attending for food and drink at a "raising," which was an occasion for much merrymaking. The trustees were not harmonious. Dr. Kearsley, like Hamilton, was a much respected popular leader. He had studied medicine in England and came to Philadelphia probably in 1711, when he was 27 years of age. In the assembly he was often so eloquent in the popular defense that he was taken up on the shoulders of the crowd and borne to his home.¹ He was a prominent member of Christ Church and had won much praise for his taste in architecture by designing its new building in Second street. He, however, opposed the Chestnut street site for the State House and disapproved of Hamilton's plans, so that the latter went forward practically without aid, since Thomas Lawrence also seems to have taken little part in the work. The progress was very slow indeed, because of the dilatoriness of the various mechanics employed upon the house, but in October, 1736, it was so far completed that the new assembly could meet down stairs. There or upstairs, in the long room known as the banqueting hall, William Allen upon his retirement from the office of mayor, gave a dinner in that year, but several years were yet to elapse before the building would be finished. In 1741 there was a frolic in connection with the raising of the tower, upon which the steeple was afterward set, wherein 800 limes were used for the punch, and one and a half barrels of beer were drunk, with 148½ pounds of beef, 61¾ pounds of bacon and large quantities of mutton, veal and venison.

It is stated that the assembly room was finally finished in 1745, 13 years after it was begun, and it was little, if any, earlier when the supreme court room at the west end of the hall, and the governor's council chamber in the second story were ready for occupancy. Hamilton was now dead, having received only criticism and blame for all his pains. The wings, called province hall, and connected with the main building by open arcades or piazzas were added, it is thought, in 1735 for use as offices to hold the documents of Charles Brockden, recorder of deeds, and of the register general; but they for a time refused to move into the apartments prepared for them, making the excuse that it was more convenient for them to perform their duties at home. They did not wish to transfer their papers which they said were perfectly safe where they rested. The ground lying south of the building was to be "a public open green and walk forever," but little was done toward its embellishment until after the Revolution. In 1736 the sites at

¹ *Pa. Gazette*, Jan. 16th, 1772.



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the Fifth and Sixth street corners, east and west of the State House, were offered to the county and the city, if within twenty years they would erect public buildings upon them.¹

At the same time that the assembly granted £2,000 to the trustees of the State House, in 1729, £1,000 were lent to the mayor and commonalty of Philadelphia for the erection of an almshouse. The plan for such a building had long been entertained. The need was somewhat satisfied by the Quaker Almshouse in Walnut street, but that was mainly for the relief of members of the Society of Friends, while the paupers were contributed principally by the emigrant ships which continued to bring their crowds from Germany and Ireland. There were also vagrants making their way into the city from other colonies, and all the legislation in regard to the granting and presentation of certificates, and the recording by public officers of arrivals and departures, could not avail to check the evil. Attempts were made to give a more drastic character to the laws, affecting the poor already here as well as those coming into the colony from the outside. Governor Gordon and his council bestowed much attention upon foreign immigration, and a bill was passed in 1729 levying a per capita duty of 40 shillings on any alien "born out of the allegiance of the king of Great Britain" coming into the province, and 20 shillings on each Irishman of the servant class.² Further efforts were made to bar convicts, and such as were aged, maimed, insane or promised in any way to become charges upon the community.³ The land chosen for the poor house was a green meadow, situated near Society Hill and extending from Third to Fourth, and between Spruce and Pine streets. It was nearer Third street which it faced, than Fourth street, and, begun in 1731, it was finished in the next year. The enclosure was walled or fenced in, and was entered by a stile.

The severe weather and the recurring attacks of epidemic disease were particularly pressing upon the poor, and again and again the sympathy of the wealthier was called out. The winters of 1727-28, 1732-33, 1736-37 and 1740-41⁴ were extraordinary. For weeks sleighs and sleds were driven between Philadelphia and Burlington upon the frozen Delaware; sometimes horses were galloped over the ice to New Jersey in order to establish a record for speed. When spring came at last, after the hard winter in 1733, two whales were one day seen spouting in the river in front of High street wharf. In the season of thick ice and deep snows, deer and other animals of the forest came into the farms on the outskirts of the city and ate fodder with the cattle. Many were found dead in the wood, and their carcasses saved the lives of some of the "back settlers" who were reduced nearly to starvation.⁵

¹ *An Historical Account of the Old State House of Pa.*, by Frank M. Etting, and Thompson Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*.

² *Stat. at Large*, IV, p. 136, repealed at the next session.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁴ This was long known as "the winter of the deep snow." It lay from four to five feet deep from Christmas to the beginning of March. The crust on its surface was so firm as to bear horses and sleds. It is said that those who cut down trees during this winter for fuel were surprised in the spring to see stumps standing six and seven feet high.—*Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, VI, p. 196.

⁵ *Pa. Weather Records*, *Pa. Mag.*, XV, p. 109.

Almost no progress was made in controlling contagious disease. Indeed the physicians were so ignorant of what they have later converted into a tolerably exact science that they did not even have names for the disorders of which men died in great numbers. Small pox, of course, was well known because of its great frequency and the marks which it left behind it; it was computed that 400,000 died annually in Europe in the seventeenth century from this fearful scourge, while it disfigured as many more.¹ What was not this was usually simply a "raging sickness," a "mortal distemper," the "Palatine distemper," or something quite as vague. Beyond a few herbs whose curative value was known to every housewife and even to the Indians, and a number of common drugs, medicine was for the most part mere comic quackery. There were "the right golden purging spirit of scurvy grass," and "the right and sovereign spirit of Venice treacle," made of the flesh of serpents; Jesuits' bark (Peruvian bark brought to Europe from South America by Jesuit missionaries); English saffron, worth its weight in silver; various kinds of snuff recommended for the headache, as preservatives for the eyes and for other uses. A "sneezing powder" was sold for a shilling an ounce.

A man who was a seventh son was ready to cure the "king's evil" in answer to that superstition. He also had an "infallible cure" for the bite of a mad dog. A charlatan drew worms from the teeth by "a certain black empiric," thus preventing the toothache. This craze swept the city in 1732. Another mountebank had a "Chinese stone" which applied to the wound would cure snake bite. If soaked in water the venom would be discharged and it could be used again and again indefinitely. He also had a powder which would relieve the pangs of rheumatism in 12 hours, and a "toothache bag" warranted in 24 hours to suck up the humor. Though his stone was said to be nothing more or less than a piece of deer's horn filed down, and the powder only the raspings resulting from the process he deceived numbers of people. There were many household remedies. For toothache a little juice of rue was recommended. It was to be dropped in "the contrary ear," the patient lying then on "that side as the tooth doth ache." A horse might be cured of the glanders by burning green ash twigs on a hearth, quenching them in a gallon of beer and pouring the brew down the horse's nostrils twice a day with a drenching horn. For piles earthworms should be washed in white wine until they were clean, dried between hollow tiles, powdered and mixed with hen's grease. The resulting ointment could then be applied to the affected parts.² There were directions for reviving the drowned, even when "they have been drowned many hours, sometimes several days."

Although many of the absurd remedies of this day were in general favor, it is to be remembered that at all times the best doctors have been in their practice guided by common sense, such as was not to be found in their books or their theories. This applies reasonably well to the early group of educated men who were the friends of Penn, and who being the most intelligent and generally the best bred men of his emigrants were those to whom he confided many offices

¹ *The Early Physicians of Philadelphia*, by J. J. Levick.

² Jerman's Almanac for 1760.

of trust not of a medical nature. At a later day doctors like Kearsley and his pupils were of course above the risk of recommending such foolish treatment to their patients, but the sympathy which they gave as they visited the sick was the most of what they had to offer to suffering mankind. Barbers and other inefficient persons still did much of the bleeding which was so universally resorted to. The tin signs of the professors of phlebotomy, exhibiting the figure of a woman in some fear as she awaited the application of the lancet, while a bowl stood nearby, were seen on the shutters of houses in all parts of the city. In 1788 there were still so many barber surgeons in Philadelphia, that they were assigned a place in the Federal Procession. Women in childbed were attended only by midwives. A bill of Dr. Jones for services rendered to John Russell in 1717 indicates the crude state of the profession: ¹

"to curing his Servants Knee.....	1£
to 2 vamitts for his 2 daughters	4
to Curing his mans foot	6
to curing his leg	6
to vamitt for sd man	2
to a vomitt for wife	3 6
to Curing his Daughters foot	3
to Curing her sore Eye	3

	£2.7.6"

The state of medical knowledge at the time may be judged of when it is learned that the British Parliament in 1739 paid an old woman £5,000 for her method of curing the stone. It was published then for the general benefit. It consisted of a powder, a decoction and pills. The powder was made of egg shells and snails, both calcined, a process for which minute directions were given; the decoction by boiling some herbs in water together with a ball consisting of soap, swine's cresses burnt to blackness and honey. These herbs were green chamomile, sweet fennel and burdock leaves, but the inventor averred that she sometimes used, and found quite as effective, mallows, marshmallows, dandelions, yarrow red and white, horseradish root and water cresses. The pills were made of calcined snails, wild carrot seed, burdock seeds and "ashen keys, hips and hawes" (the fruit or seed of the ash) all burnt to blackness, and soap and honey. A dram of the powder was to be put into a teacup full of white wine, cider or small punch and taken three times a day. After each dose a half pint of the decoction was to be drunk. The pills were used while the patient had painful fits. Five were to be taken in an hour.²

For a number of years Dr. Thomas Graeme, who had married the daughter of the wife of Governor Keith, and came to possess the estate at Horsham, which

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXIX, p. 111.

² *Pa. Mercury*, September 6th, 1739.

was now called "Graeme Park." had been the physician of the port. His watchfulness had been a great safeguard to the city. Supported by the assembly sickly vessels were kept in the river or sent out to sea headed for another place. Some simple rules as to fumigation were known and enforced. The space below decks was treated to tobacco smoke, or burning brimstone while the wood work was washed with vinegar. Clothing was spread out to be aired on the meadows south of the city, and the articles making up the cargo were allowed to rest until they were purified. In, or a little while before 1741, Dr. Graeme refused to serve any longer unless he could be paid. His salary had been in arrears for twenty years and, as a result of the quarrel his accounts had not been adjusted to his satisfaction. In 1741 a vessel came in with what was very clearly yellow fever. Before the disease could be arrested 500 had died. As a result of this experience steps were taken in 1742 to establish a better system. Once a kind of pest house had been improvised in an old tavern at Tenth and South streets. Now an island near the mouth of the Schuylkill river, known at different times as Fisher's, Province and State island, was purchased, including its buildings and the negroes on the plantation, for £1,700, and henceforward poor, suffering passengers seized with diseases at sea were put ashore at that place.

In 1747 there was another serious, though less severe visitation of the disorder. The summer was a succession of close, hot days with easterly winds, which made it impossible to cope with the fever, and again and again before the century had ended it came to deplete the population of Philadelphia. There were many theories as to the cause, not one of which was sound except that which connected it with incoming ships. The city, of course, was not generally drained and the water from the kitchens, pumps and manufactories found its way into the streams by overland routes when it did not sink at once into the ground to join them by subterranean channels. A few culverts and drains simply conveyed liquid filth where it still offended. There was a belief that many evils arose from the tanyards on Dock creek, which was already a foul, uncovered sewer, spreading out into a swamp near Society Hill. Here on both sides of the channel were slaughter houses, skinning troughs, lime pits and vast quantities of dry and soaking bark. The stream which had earlier been navigable up to Third street was "choked," while it was complained that the burning tan filled all the neighboring houses with offensive fumes. The tanners very naturally protested against the suggestion that they should remove outside the bounds of the city. They pointed to the fact that they followed their trade in New York and the cities of Great Britain without molestation, and the tan which they threw away furnished a cheap fuel for the poor. For the time they were triumphant and they continued in their place. But the belief that the fever epidemics emanated from Dock creek spread. In 1748 a report to the common council recommended that the channel be walled up and enclosed above the tide. The bottom, then, was to be dredged and cleansed to such a depth that it would always be covered with water. The creek was declared to be a "nuisance." It would be of "fatal consequence in preventing the growth and increase of this city by discouraging strangers from coming among us, or filling our own in-

habitants with fears and perpetual apprehensions while it is suspected to propagate infectious distempers." ¹

The proprietaries in England were appealed to for aid in removing the mud and filth in "the Dock," but they returned an evasive reply, and, as the city had almost no pecuniary resources, nothing immediately resulted from the agitation.

In 1730 Philadelphia was the scene of the most serious fire with which it had yet been visited. It broke out in a store near the river on Chestnut street. Consuming several houses there it leaped across King street (subsequently Water street) and up the bank, causing a money loss of £5,000 before it could be brought under control, a very large sum for the day.² This and other considerations led to some improvements in the extinguishing service, and a better enforcement of preventive regulations. The common council resolved upon the purchase in England of three fire engines at a cost of £50, £25 and £20 respectively. They also determined to order 200 leather buckets in England, the price of which when painted in oil colors with the owner's name upon them was 9 or 10 shillings each, and 200 buckets, 20 ladders and 25 hooks, with a number of axes, in this country. A property tax of 2d. a pound and a per capita tax of 8s. were laid to meet the expense. The next year two of these engines, with 250 buckets, seem to have been received on a ship and steps were taken to care for them. One engine was placed in a shed in the corner of the Great Meeting House yard at Second and High streets, and for the other a place was found under shelter on Francis Jones's lot at Front and Walnut streets. The old engine was assigned to a corner of the Baptist Meeting house yard on Second street, near Mulberry. A man was appointed to look after each engine. The buckets were hung up in the courthouse. In 1733 a fire engine was built in Philadelphia by Anthony Nicholls, of which much in praise was said at the time, although it proved to be unwieldy and too difficult of operation for any practical use.

It was about this time that an agitation was begun for the formation of a volunteer association of citizens for the fighting of fires. Franklin was foremost in this movement. The association was organized on December 7th, 1736, and it was called the Union Fire Company. Its membership was limited to 30. It had an engine and each member bound himself to keep hanging up in his home six leather buckets and two large bags of "good ozenburgs or wider linen," with a running cord near the mouth to carry away to safety the goods in burning buildings. This paraphernalia was to be taken to the scene of a fire immediately upon hearing the cry, whether by day or night. The members were pledged to the common service which went unrewarded. They met from time to time to talk about the business in hand. At more or less regular intervals, the little engine, very feeble from our later point of view, was played to test its capacity, and the volunteer company was an important forward step. The Union soon had its full number of members and those for whom there were no places were advised to form another company, which they did in March, 1738. It was called the Fellowship.³ In 1742 the Hand-in-Hand was organized; in 1743 the Heart-

¹ *Minutes of Common Council*, pp. 495-96.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 472.

³ For an account of this company see *Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 472.

in-Hand; in 1747 the Friendship; in 1750 or 1751 the Britannia, and in 1752 the Hibernia. All except the Britannia, whose name rendered it unpopular during the Revolution, long continued in the service, playing most useful parts in the protection of property. They accumulated larger or smaller quantities of apparatus which they kept in warehouses and sheds and in the houses of the members. They were small and exclusive organizations of a social character. The most noted in this respect were the Hand-in-Hand and the Hibernia. The Hand-in-Hand company before, during and immediately after the Revolution was composed of members of much distinction. Preachers, professors, judges, doctors and leading business men were enrolled, among the number being Thomas Willing, Rev. Jacob Duché, Andrew Hamilton, Provost William Smith, Francis Hopkinson, Benjamin Chew, Rev. Richard Peters, Dr. William Shippen, Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, James Tilghman, Jared Ingersoll, Samuel Shoemaker, Dr. Thomas Bond, Dr. Phincas Bond, Robert Hare, Dr. John Redman, George Clymer, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Andrew Allen, James Allen, Edward Shippen, Rev. Dr. Samuel Magaw, John Cadwalader, Bishop White, Tench Coxe, James Wilson, Samuel Powel, William Bingham and Dr. John Morgan. In 1771 the company's rolls included almost the entire city corporation from the mayor downward.¹

The Hibernia was not much behind the other company. Among its members at first and afterward, were such citizens as George Bryan, James Mease, Blair McClenachan, Samuel Duffield, Sharp Delaney, Plunket Fleeson, William West, Robert Morris, J. M. Nesbit, John Nixon, Enoch Francis, Henry Hill, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Samuel Meredith, Samuel C. Morris, Samuel Jackson, Nicholas Biddle, later the famous president of the United States Bank; Jesse Waln and Joseph R. Ingersoll.²

There was much complaint of the chimney sweeps. Almost anybody without license of the mayor could undertake the business of cleaning chimneys and the work was often done very ill, so ill that one observer knew of foul chimneys burning "most furiously a few days after they were swept." Another prolific cause of fires was the practice which approached a necessity, since there was no such thing as a match or other easy method of kindling a flame, of carrying "living brands" and embers on shovels from one hearth to another in the same house or to a neighbor's house. Carpenters who piled their shavings in the street and burned them were admonished. Coopers and bakers were forbidden to work at their trades except in houses of brick and stone, with plastered ceilings and floors of earth, or, if of wood, of plank at least two inches in thickness. Fagots must not be kept within 100 feet of any house. A well founded conviction that there were not enough public pumps prevailed and steps were taken from time to time to swell their number.

Though the paper money was increased in volume by new issues until in 1740 the amount outstanding reached an aggregate of £80,000, prices did not rise to such a height as might have been expected. There was, of course, a very considerable depreciation on the basis of English pounds sterling. In 1741 an Eng-

¹ T. Westcott, *History of the Phila. Fire Dept.*

² *The Hibernia Fire Engine Company, Memorial Volume, 1859.*

lish guinea was exchanged for 34 shillings of Pennsylvania currency, but nothing was dear. Wages made almost no advance, a fact which was explained by the great number of laborers who were constantly landed at Philadelphia from the emigrant ships. The prices fixed by the assembly for the inns in 1731 could justify no complaint. A guest could get a quart of wine for two shillings, a gill of rum for two pence. Punch of rum was sold at one shilling four pence the quart, while arrack raised it to three shillings. Tiff or flip could be had at eight pence, and beer or cider at three pence a quart. A traveller paid at the rate of three shillings four pence for a bushel of oats for his horse, while he could get enough of the best English hay for a night for eight pence, or of "common hay" for four pence. At the tower raising at the State House ten years later the following prices were paid for various kinds of meat:

Bacon	7 d. per pound
Beef	3½d. per pound
Mutton	3½d. per pound
Veal	3½d. per pound
Venison	2 d. per pound
Fowls (presumably chickens)	2s. 3 d. per pair

Though fish and game continued to be abundant the colonists were not without fear that the great natural supply would be exhausted. The closed season for deer was extended. Squirrels, on the other hand, multiplied at such a rate, and did so much to "damnify the farmers and others by destroying their wheat, Indian corn and other grain" that in 1749 the assembly offered a bounty of three pence for each head or skin. But too many were received and the next assembly reduced the premium to three half pence.

The practice of catching fish in racks and weirs in the Schuylkill river was forbidden by the assembly by acts passed in 1730 and 1734. It was customary for the country people to build dams into which the fish were chased, amid much noise and merriment, by men riding horses in the bed of the streams and lashing them with brush. Not only were large quantities of fish captured in this way but the spawn was trodden under foot and destroyed. Furthermore the point was fairly made that the dams interfered with trade upon the streams. The settlers in the Schuylkill valley brought their corn to market in boats. Rafts of timber, boards and staves proceeded to Philadelphia by the river, and the iron of Manatawny and the lime of Plymouth sought passage by the same route. To the weir fishers up the Schuylkill this prohibition seemed an outrageous restraint. In April, 1738, constables who attempted to remove the racks at the mouth of the Mingo and Pickering creeks were set upon by mobs and were compelled to flee for their lives. They sought safety in Philadelphia and left the fishermen to their own devices.

The tide of immigration kept sweeping toward the west. In 1729 the Scotch-Irish had pressed so far inland that it was absolutely necessary to organize a new county. They could not with any convenience repair to Chester to vote or transact their business with the courts. The assembly therefore created the county

of Lancaster out of the "upper parts of the province of Pennsylvania, lying towards Susquehanna, Conestogoe, Donegal, etc.," and authorized its inhabitants to elect four assemblymen. This spirited and industrious population demanded a road to Philadelphia for their produce. They had no navigable water like the people of the Schuylkill valley. The roads through Chester County were at many places "incommodious." They asked, therefore, that a suitable road for their use should be laid out to run from the town of Lancaster to High street ferry in Philadelphia. Commissioners were appointed to view and determine the route, though it was 1741 before the highway was completed as it had been planned over its entire length, and it could be opened for use.

In such a community much rude lawlessness and impatience of restraint were certain to manifest themselves. Such numbers of Irish and Germans had now come into the colony and settled on the frontiers that outbreaks of various kinds were to follow in great number. A mob one night in 1726 burned the stocks and pillory in High street. In 1728 a number of harmless Indians were murdered at Manatawny near the iron works, but one of a series of atrocities which the Quakers so much deplored. In 1729 when some men of greater wisdom in Philadelphia opposed a further issue of paper money there was great clamor, and the country people threatened to march into the city and compel the assembly to adopt their views. The most serious clash came in October, 1742. For a long time there had been developing two parties which for lack of better names were called the city or gentlemen's party, and the assembly or country party. Their differences were of much deeper popular concern than the old differences between the colonists and the proprietaries, which had furnished David Lloyd with his stock in trade as a leader of the assembly, and which in a more commendable way had directed the course of Andrew Hamilton.¹

New issues were at hand and they were not disposed of until the Revolution. The Germans who had settled in the upper part of Philadelphia County were being naturalized and enfranchised, and they were becoming a subject for flattery on all sides with a view to gaining their support. The governor charged the Quakers with prejudicing the Germans against a militia law on account of its expense. The governor, the mayor and the aldermen and most of the men of substance in Philadelphia belonged to the city party and desired to elect their own candidates to the assembly, which they seldom did since they were habitually outnumbered. The Quakers, now led by Isaac Norris, the younger² were nearly always supported by the Germans. The elections for the eight assemblymen from Philadelphia County and two assemblymen, or burgesses as they were called, from the city took place at the courthouse. The voters were compelled to go up the narrow outside stairs to a window at which the tickets were taken. There had been conflicts before on these stairs, but in October, 1742, the proceedings as-

¹ In 1739 the latter retired from his post as speaker of the assembly, which he had held, with the exception of one term, uninterruptedly since 1729. He left it with a farewell address which afforded further evidence of his statesmanlike instincts.—*Pa. Mag.*, XVI, p. 5.

² The sixth child of Isaac Norris, the elder. He was born in 1701, and first entered the assembly in 1734. He came to the front as a leader of the Quaker party in 1739, four years after his father's death. He married Sarah, a daughter of James Logan.

sumed the appearance of a battle and it was ever afterward known as the "bloody election."

The riot was said to have been instigated by William Allen, while the mayor and others in authority were accused of looking on not without favor. With the excuse that violence was expected on the part of the countrymen some 70 sailors were obtained from the ships in the harbor and marched noisily through the streets. They were taken to the large Indian King tavern¹ on High street for drink and, with truncheons and great clubs found on the wharves, moved up to the courthouse with orders to "knock the Dutch off the steps," and "drive away the broad-brims and Dutch dogs." The leaders erred as to the temper of the "Dutch," who had come into town from remote parts of the county, from places now comprised in Montgomery and Berks Counties, and they fell upon the sailors furiously. The sheriff shouted his commands through a speaking trumpet from the balcony, which was the custom when a crowd was to be addressed. Some of the countrymen picked up constables' staves in the courthouse and rails upon which meat was hung in the market. Many heads were broken, some of them belonging to well known and highly respectable citizens and as Richard Hockley wrote to Thomas Penn, "blood flew plentifully about." "I never saw such havoc in my life before," Mr. Hockley's account continued.² Frightened at length by some Dutchman's cry that "the town was rose," the sailors were glad to make their way back to the ships. As many as fifty or sixty were captured and put into prison. The mayor, Clement Plumsted, who was much blamed, wished to be excused since he was "an antient man, afflicted with a distemper which scarce suffers him to walk," and the men who led the disturbance, which probably exceeded its expected bounds, were thoroughly discredited. Isaac Norris and the other candidates of the Quaker or assembly party were elected as before.

In 1730, 622 votes were cast in Philadelphia county and city; in 1750 the leading candidate on the assembly ticket in Philadelphia County, Isaac Norris, polled 1,799 votes. The election in 1750 lasted until midnight, and the votes could not be counted before six o'clock the next morning. The countrymen usually remained in the city for several days. Even if the balloting could be completed on one day it was well for them to await the announcement of the result before returning to their homes, and they did so amid a good deal of revelry. The *Mercury* said that upon the first, second and third days of October, in 1728, 4,500 gallons of beer had been drunk, and its consumption at election time tended to increase year by year.

¹ This tavern was now of much importance. In 1755 it was kept by John Biddle. Daniel Fisher, who took lodgings there in that year found him a "very civil, courteous Quaker." He said that the house was "of the greatest business in its way in the whole city." There was "a regular ordinary every day of the very best provisions and well dressed at 12d a head, that is eight pence sterling, the best of liquors proportionately moderate; and the best use taken of horses." At eleven o'clock a servant invariably informed the guests that no more liquor would be served that night. The Indian King was "a true specimen of what every house of entertainment should be."—*Pa. Mag.*, XVII, pp. 263-64.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXVIII, pp. 40-41.

The number of taverns had much swollen and in many of them there was conduct which was very distressing to the Quakers, and to other lovers of good order. The grand jury in 1744 observed "with great concern the vast number of tipling houses within this city, many of which they think are little better than nurseries of vice and debauchery and tend very much to increase the number of our poor. They are likewise of opinion that the profane language, horrid oaths and imprecations, grown of late so common in our streets, so shocking to the ears of the sober inhabitants and tending to destroy in the minds of our youth all sense of the fear of God and the religion of an oath owes its increase in a great measure to those disorderly houses." The constables reported upwards of one hundred licensed places in the city, which "with the retailers" made the number of houses wherein strong drink was sold, according to the computation of the grand jury, "near a tenth part of the city." In other words liquor could be purchased at one house in every ten of the houses in Philadelphia. This was "an enormous increase" of taverns. It was a proportion which was "much too great, since by their number they impoverished one another as well as the neighborhoods they live in, and for want of better customers may through necessity be under greater temptations to entertain apprentices and even negroes." So great a number of public houses were located around Third and Race streets that the neighborhood was commonly known by "the shocking name of Hell-town."¹

Men and women were being arrested constantly for selling liquor without licenses to do so. Tippling went on everywhere at births, weddings and funerals. The watch grew so drunken that they were of no use. Drink was given to servants and day laborers, and distributed free of cost at public vendues with the hope that those present would, if put in a good humor, bid up the prices of the wares offered for sale. The Quakers were beginning to bear testimony against the excessive use of strong liquor, but they had no objection to beer. Their only concern in regard to this was that the brewers should not make it out of molasses, which they still persisted in using in the place of malt.

The visiting of criminals, with what would now be regarded as cruel punishments, and the exhibiting of them to the people while their morals were undergoing legal correction seems to have brought about few if any good results. In November, 1730, an Indian who had been convicted of larceny stood for one hour in the pillory and received thirty lashes at the cart's tail. In the very cold winter of 1732-33, in January, a counterfeiter was stood up in the pillory. It was noted, as an extraordinary circumstance, that the boys did not throw snowballs or other missiles at him while he was in this painful position, usually a part of the punishment of an offender exposed in this way. His ears were cropped and he was soundly whipped.

A woman named Frances Hamilton was caught picking pockets in the market place in 1736. She was punished by being exposed upon the balcony of the court house, with her face to the pillory and the whipping post. Her hands

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXII, p. 498.

were securely tied to the rail and when she was taken down she was lashed upon her bare back in full public view. In 1739 a man and his wife had their thumbs burned in open court. Such demoralizing exhibitions were only one feature of a penal system which was crude in high degree. The prisons were so badly constructed that the inmates frequently escaped. The newspapers of the time contain many advertisements which describe and offer rewards for convicts who having beaten or bribed their gaolers gained their liberty to the terror of the population. When there was any allowance for feeding and clothing prisoners and for keeping them warm it was inadequate. In the cold winters the suffering was great among those who had no money to pay for their own fires and victuals, and the common council often voted to release men and women lest they perish in the jail. It was especially provided by law that prisoners held for debt should have the privilege of bringing to the place of their confinement their own bedding, linen and other conveniences, and they could purchase and keep in hand beer, ale, spirits and food. Indeed all prisoners seem to have had the opportunity to buy liquors and it was a perquisite of the jailer to supply their wants. The tavern in the Philadelphia jail became such a nuisance in 1729 that it was condemned by the common council and recommended to be suppressed.¹

The erection of the Christ Church building, which has come down to us of this day as a valued example of colonial architecture, marked the further development of the Church of England as a power in the city and the colony. As has been intimated it is very largely a monument to Dr. John Kearsley, one of the pioneers in the medical history of Philadelphia, as well as a leader in provincial politics. Christ Church had been increasing its congregation. It received royal favors. Its attendants included the governor and the official element sent hither out of England. The governor was often a member of the vestry. All of Penn's male descendants were Church of England men and the parish enjoyed every material advantage.

The original Christ Church building had been enlarged several times, notably in 1711, when it was entirely vacated for a season in favor of Old Swedes', which had been offered to the congregation for its temporary occupancy. About 37,000 bricks were used in these alterations. In 1727, under the ministry of Rev. Archibald Cummings, steps were taken toward further enlargements, but subscriptions were obtained with great difficulty, and it was 1744 before the church was finished. Even then the steeple was not in place. That ornament was not added until 1755.² In 1719 a piece of ground was acquired at Fifth and Arch streets, and from about 1720 onward interments were made there, the space in and around the church in Second street being insufficient for the use.

The progress made by the Episcopalians outside of the city was not very great, but in addition to Trinity Church, in Oxford, there were congregations at Evansburg (then called Montgomery) and White Marsh in Philadelphia,

¹ Minutes, p. 290.

² Dorr, *History of Christ Church*.

both now in Montgomery County, and at Radnor.¹ In the country the members were largely drawn from the Welsh settlements.

The Presbyterians had long since passed the point of meeting in the Barbadoes store at Second and Chestnut streets, as joint tenants with the Baptists. In 1704 they erected a meeting house on the south side of High street, between Second and Third streets, beside an alley which is now known as Bank street. It was surrounded by a number of fine buttonwood trees which caused it to be popularly known as the "Old Buttonwood." Its roof, it is to be inferred, was in the form of a dome, since Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveller describes it as "almost hemispherical." For many years Rev. Jedediah Andrews was its pastor.

The Baptists, when they left Anthony Morris's brew-house, in 1707, went upon the invitation of the Keithian or Christian Quakers, as they called themselves, to the meeting house of that sect, a small wooden building on Second street below Mulberry. It was supplied by preachers from Pennepeck which was the parent congregation. In 1731 the old edifice was taken down and a brick church erected in its stead.

The Friends, according to Samuel Bownas who visited the colony in 1722-28, had 13 meeting houses. Those in Philadelphia, at this time and for some years afterward, comprised the Great Meeting at Second and High and the old Bank Meeting in Front street. The manner of preaching and exhortation gave many of the members concern. for the Quaker form of religious service, then as later, afforded no protection against the voluble crank. The desire to talk was mistaken for a proper moving of the spirit, and admonition afterward by sober elders in the galleries, did not suffice to rid the meetings of this unwelcome breaking in upon the hour of worship.

As early as 1701 the Yearly Meeting established an agency "to review the ministers." It was complained that some were "using unseemly noises, tones and gestures and drawing their words at length with 'Ahs,' drowning the matter. Also placing things on the Lord when their words were not savory or sensible, with many needless repetitions both in doctrine and prayer."

There may be not much exaggeration in a story from Chester County of an old Quakeress who rose and said in a nasal song: "Dear Friends, since taking my seat among you my mind has been very much exercised in regard to three things. In the first place I have wondered why boys would throw stones at apples, for if they'd only let 'em alone they'd fall themselves. And secondly, I have been very much troubled as to why men will go to war and kill each other, for if they'd only stay at home and wait awhile they'd die themselves. And thirdly, I have been very much exercised as to why the boys will go to see the girls, for if they'd only stay at home and wait awhile they'd go to see them."

Another story, which is attributed to the Germantown meeting, does not more greatly impose upon credulity. A woman who had been told many times that she must not disturb the meeting again appeared and began a mumbling harangue out of an unsettled mind. Four members volunteered to remove her

¹ Old St. David's Church, still standing, was begun in 1715. The congregation is of older date. Its history runs back to about 1700.—*History of Old St. David's Church.*



SOUTHEAST VIEW OF CHRIST CHURCH. 1787

bodily from the house. To their surprise, as she was being taken out she shouted: "Our blessed Lord and Master was borne by one ass; I am carried by four. Blessed be the name of the Lord."

It was at this period that the colony was swept by its first great revival movement, and while a Quaker community might not be expected to be good ground for evangelists, impassioned declamation on the subject of religion was now to fill the air for several years. In September, 1734, Michael Welfare, "one of the Christian philosophers of Conestoga" appeared in the market place, "in the habit of a pilgrim, his hat of linen, his beard at full length and a long staff in his hand." He mounted an eminence and declared that he had been sent by God to reclaim the city and turn the people from the ways of wickedness into which they had been led. A crowd gathered around him while he preached with great vehemence.¹

Another odd religious orator was Benjamin Lay, who was born a Friend in England, in 1677. For a time he had been a sailor. He came to Philadelphia in 1731 after a residence of 13 years in Barbadoes. The Quakers disowned him, but he still affiliated with them. He lived for nine years in a cave on a piece of land situated between the Germantown and the York Roads near the village of Milestown now Oak Lane. Later he made his home with a farmer near the Abington meeting house in Abington township where he died in 1759. He often descended upon the city. He was only about four feet and a half high. With a long milk-white beard and his hunchback he was a figure familiar to the people.² One day in 1742 about noon time, when the Friends were returning from meeting, he mounted a butcher's block in Market street to bear public testimony against the vain habit of drinking tea, breaking with a hammer a quantity of tea cups which had belonged to his wife. The crowd threw him to the ground and carried off what was left of the china. Another time he stalked into the Yearly Meeting at Burlington with a bladder filled with the juice of the poke berry in one hand and a sword in the other. He ran the blade through the bladder sprinkling several old Quakers with the liquid and exclaiming, "Thus shall God shed the blood of those persons who enslave their fellow men." He was an uncompromising abolitionist and was long a thorn in the side of the Friends, who were still unwilling to go any farther on the subject of slavery than to advise their members against the importation of negroes or the purchase of newly imported slaves.

The principal moving powers behind this great movement of bringing people to account for their sins by violent harangues were George Whitefield, and the Tennents, particularly Gilbert Tennent usually known as "Hell-fire" Tennent. Whitefield was a great natural orator, the son of an innkeeper in Gloucester, England, where he was born in 1714. In the first year of the Georgian era he made his way to Oxford. Here he met the Wesleys from whom he later differed on the subject of the doctrine of election. Though he held a license from the Established Church, he was essentially a Methodist. He soon gained a reputation

¹ *Pa. Gazette*, Sept. 26th, 1734.

² *Memoirs of the Lives of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford*, by Roberts Vaux.

as an exhorter. Declaring that the world was his parish he, in 1738, when only 23, came to America, the first of seven visits which he made to this country. The years were 1738, 1739, 1744, 1751, 1754, 1763 and 1769. He died on his last journey at Newburyport, Mass., where he was buried beneath the pulpit of Old South Church, after having preached 18,000 sermons. He spoke on ship-board to soldiers, sailors, emigrants and all who would listen to him during his tedious voyages. He travelled from one end of the colonies to the other and was in and out of Philadelphia twenty times. Once he hired a house and resided here for a considerable period.

The Quakers were thought by Whitefield and the men who rose up in his train to be too "self-righteous." One of his followers, Rev. Samuel Blair, in speaking of Philadelphia's moral condition said,—“Religion as it were lay a dying and ready to expire its last breath of life in this part of the visible church.”

Whitefield first reached the city at 11 o'clock at night on Tuesday, November 2nd, 1739, after a ride of sixty miles through the woods. Instead of accompanying his ship up the river he landed at Cape Henlopen, and came overland, preaching on the way. On three successive evenings he addressed crowds estimated to contain from 6,000 to 8,000 people from the courthouse stairs. He spoke from a balcony in Germantown to 6,000 people, in the fields, from wagons, from horse blocks and from open windows. In April, 1740, his friends erected a stage for him on Society Hill. Here he preached at seven in the morning to 10,000 and at seven in the evening to 15,000 persons, all the time collecting money for his orphan house in Georgia. The churches in which he had earlier appeared were now closed to him and subscriptions were taken to erect a hall on Fourth street near Mulberry. It was vested in trustees for the use, as Franklin said, "of any preacher of any religious persuasion," though he should be a missionary sent to reclaim the Philadelphians by the "Mufti of Constantinople." It was called the "New Building" and Whitefield appeared in November, 1740, though the roof was not yet on and the crowd one morning had to gather at another place until the snow, which had fallen during the night, could be shoveled out.

The power of the man is difficult to understand but it was in some way hypnotic. He was of good height with small, lively eyes that had been rendered squint by an attack of the measles. His gestures and entire action were earnest and impressive, but in his voice lay his principal force. It ran up from a distinct whisper to a tone of thunder, which once when he was preaching on Society Hill, it is credibly stated, was heard at Gloucester Point, two miles away. When he spoke at the courthouse, High street was filled to the river. Men in a shallop on the Delaware heard the sermon and the louder tones were distinguishable in New Jersey. David Garrick said that Whitefield could make people weep or tremble by his varied utterances of the word "Mesopotamia." They behaved like mad creatures, drenched in tears, "at many places, crying and groaning for mercy till they nearly drowned his voice, wringing their hands, lying on the ground and sinking into the arms of their friends." The great preacher made men, women and children believe that they were going straightway to

hell if they did not repent at once.¹ Penitents followed him to his lodgings. When he left the city a crowd, the unregenerate called it "Whitefield's mob," followed at his heels.

He was accompanied on his soul-saving trips in the neighborhood by a cavalcade of horsemen who sang hymns as they travelled through the woods. When he and his train went by boat to places in New Jersey the music of psalms was heard upon the water. Those who had no horses followed him on foot in order to hear him again. Once when he was going to preach in Chester the ferries beginning at three o'clock in the morning, were filled with people who wished to arrive at the scene before he did. At another time in Chester, it is said that 1,000 persons in the audience were Philadelphians and the court must adjourn until his discourse had ended. Again some of his Philadelphia admirers followed him as far as New Brunswick. They would sit out in the rain for hours at a time under the spell of his sonorous preaching. Indeed it was often hard to disperse the crowds when he was done, and he was obliged to begin afresh. Many old sinners were "melted," as he called it. He took great delight in the conversion of a Philadelphian who, he said, "used to swear to ease his stomach," and who was wont to go on board the incoming ships and offer the sailors a guinea for each new oath. Franklin said of the revival: "It seemed as if all the world were growing religious so that one could not walk through Philadelphia in the evening without hearing psalms sung in the different families of every street."

A number of native revivalists of less power rose up in Whitefield's wake, preaching in the churches and often out of doors, on Society Hill and at other places. The chief of these was Gilbert Tennent who was a loud and violent apostle of brimstone. The Tennents were a remarkable family. There was the father, William Tennent, who established on the banks of the Neshaminy creek a log college, often known as the "cradle of Presbyterianism in America." He came to this country from Ireland in 1718, and trained many young men for the ministry, among them four of his own sons, Charles, John, William, Jr., and Gilbert. The last of these, "Hell-fire" Tennent, was an itinerant like Whitefield, sometimes accompanying the great English evangelist on his travels. He at length settled down at the head of a congregation in Philadelphia which met in the New Building. He was too uncompromising and radical for many older heads and he seceded from the regular synod, creating a division in the church already effected in England, into "Old Lights" and "New Lights." Whitefield was closely associated with the Tennents and this "New Light" element while on his visits to America and to him William Tennent of Log College seemed like an old patriarch, perhaps Zacharias, while his wife was likened to Elizabeth.

Another visiting preacher, almost as famous as Whitefield, arrived in 1741 in the person of Count Zinzendorf, the Moravian. Discarding his noble title he came as Lewis von Thürnstein, and had in view the large and important undertaking of uniting all the denominations under his own banner. A considerable number of Germans belonging to his sect had emigrated to this country, settling

¹ Tyerman's *Life of Rev. Geo. Whitefield*, Vol. I, p. 386.

in the Lehigh valley, principally in Bethlehem which became the Moravian capital. They had many odd views upon the subject of religion and lived according to a communal plan. Far above most of the other German sectarians who came into Pennsylvania in their intelligence and their standards of life, they developed their excellencies to a still higher point after reaching this country. Zinzendorf himself was aggressive and disputatious, and in Philadelphia placed himself at the head of a Lutheran congregation which had been meeting amicably in a barn in Mulberry street near Fifth street, with a German Reformed congregation, formed by George Michael Weiss who had come out with a body of Palatines in 1727. The leaders at Halle hearing of this action dispatched Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who arrived in 1742, and vigorously denied the count's right to care for Lutheran flocks in America. The church, a two-storied building at the southeast corner of Sassafras and Bread streets (between Second and Third streets afterward called Moravian alley) of which Zinzendorf had laid the cornerstone for the Lutherans in 1742 was made over to the Moravians, though their number did not much exceed thirty. Zinzendorf consecrated it in the following year.¹

For the Lutherans a new church, St. Michael's, through Muhlenberg's efforts was projected on a site near the barn. The cornerstone was laid in 1743, and the building was completed and dedicated in 1748.² Muhlenberg himself passed to the Trappe in what later became Montgomery County, where his old church, built in 1743, still stands. There he spent the most of his life. In 1745 he married a daughter of Conrad Weiser, German pioneer, friend of the Indians and the useful colonial agent in many negotiations with the tribes on the frontier. At the Trappe his three distinguished sons, Peter, the general of the Revolution, Frederick A., the first speaker of the national house of representatives and Gotthilf Henry Ernest, preacher and botanist, were born.

The German Reformed faith's first foothold in the colony was secured in Whitpain township, in what is now Montgomery county. There John Philip Boehm presided over a small congregation. Germantown also had a congregation, which in 1733 was able to obtain a church building. The principal impulse which the movement received, however, came from Michael Schlatter who was to the German Reformed what Muhlenberg was to the Lutheran church.³ He was born in Switzerland in 1716 and reached Pennsylvania in 1746, preaching to the flocks in Philadelphia and Germantown alternately. The Philadelphia congregation did not obtain a church building until 1747, after Schlatter's arrival, and it remained unfinished for many years. It was of stone, hexagonal in form, on which account it was sometimes called the "six-square Dutch Church," described by Peter Kalm as in the "northwest part of the town." Its site was the south side of Sassafras street, east of Fourth street.⁴

¹ This building was demolished in 1819.

² Torn down in 1871 because of a dwindling congregation.

³ Rosengarten, *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*, 2nd ed., p. 35.

⁴ Schlatter was Tory during the Revolution. His home "Sweetland" still stands in Chestnut Hill. He died in 1796. In his last years he was known as the "marrying parson." The number of young couples who came to him to be married is said to have been "almost beyond belief."—Keyser, *Old Historic Germantown*, p. 34.



ZINZENDORF



REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD



FRIENDS' ALMSHOUSE IN WALNUT STREET

Keimer had published only 39 numbers of his *Universal Instructor in All Arts and Sciences and Pennsylvania Gazette* when the paper was purchased by Franklin, who shortened its name to the *Gazette* and started it off on a notable career. The young printer had returned from his wild goose chase to London upon which Keith had sent him, a good deal enlarged by his experience. He had been writing for Bradford's *Mercury* and then formed a partnership with Hugh Meredith, one of Keimer's apprentices, for a general printing business at a shop they called the "New Printing Office." It was "in High street near the Market." They had projected a newspaper of their own, but Keimer learning of it anticipated them. They naturally thought no better of him for this action, ridiculed him out of public favor and sought the first opportunity to get possession of the property. Franklin said that the paper had never had more than 90 subscribers. Keimer had published Steele's *Crisis*, a translation of *Epictetus on Morals* and Sewel's *History of the People Called Quakers*, but his day was done. His money gone he was compelled to betake himself to the West Indies, where for a time he was the editor of a paper called *The Carribean*.

Franklin's progress was now rapid. He procured a font of German type so that he could print for the Germans. In May, 1732, he began to publish a fortnightly newspaper called the *Philadelphische Zeitung*, which was essentially a mere translation of the *Gazette*, by Louis Timothée who in his introduction in the first number of the paper, bearing date May 6, 1732, signed himself "L. Timothée Sprachmeister, Wohnhaft in Front street, Philad.," but the experiment failed for lack of the necessary number of subscribers. At least 300 were needed and not more than 50 were obtained up to the end of June, 1732.¹ In 1733 *Poor Richard's Almanac* made its appearance. The colonists almost from the beginning had had their almanacs, and Philadelphia in the eighteenth century became the principal center in America for their publication. It was an annual magazine, hung in the chimney corner to be thumb-marked and dog-eared by much reading and consultation from one year's end to the other. Not only was it a calendar of months, weeks and days, but also a compendium of more or less wise information about the motions of the sun, moon and stars with predictions concerning the probable state of the weather at distant future dates. This information was greatly valued by men and women who sowed and garnered their grains, planted herbs, gelded and sheared sheep and were themselves purged and bled according to astrological "signs." Further than this there were tables of kings, curious directions for curing many common kinds of disease with simples and other natural medicines, the dates of county fairs and the meetings of courts. It had been usual, too, to introduce verses and maxims here and there, as the convenience of the printer dictated. There had been, or were soon to be such almanacs as Daniel, afterward Titan Leeds', Taylor's, Birkett's, Jerman's, Poor Will's, Poor Robin's, Thomas More's, T. Godfrey's, Matthew Boucher's, Grew's, Andrew Aguecheek's and the almanac of A. Weatherwise, Gent., sometimes called Father Abraham's.²

Franklin's love of the curious well equipped him for the development of the almanac, and "Poor Richard" soon became famous for his sayings, even though,

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXIV, p. 306; XXVI, p. 91.

² From the author's *Literary History of Philadelphia*, p. 49.

as we now know, he usually borrowed and adapted them from foreign sources, a fact which he managed at the time to keep concealed from his readers. Such maxims as these became known in the household of every colonist:

"A fat kitchen a lean will."

"He that drinks fast pays slow."

"Tongue double brings trouble."

"He's the best physician that knows the worthlessness of the most medicines."

Franklin dissolved his partnership with Meredith in 1732, and until 1748 conducted the business alone. His entrance into politics made him clerk of the assembly in 1736, a post which he held for nearly fifteen years. This led to his becoming the public printer and postmaster, the latter connection being of great value to his newspaper. The post office for many years had been in charge of Andrew Bradford and its advantages had accrued to the *Mercury*.

In 1732 while Bradford was postmaster it was stated that, though the service had been established for 38 years, no effectual steps had been taken to develop it "to the southward of Philadelphia." The appointment of Col. Alexander Spotswood as postmaster-general led to an extension to Williamsburg, Va., which had so long been planned, with the promise at an early day of a post 100 miles further south to Edenton, in North Carolina. Bradford received the mail from the north every Wednesday, and despatched it by a rider who left Philadelphia between two and three o'clock the next morning. At eleven it reached New Castle, at six the Susquehanna river, where it rested for some reason until the following Monday when, in the middle of the night, it was started toward its destination by way of Joppa, Patapsco Ferry, Annapolis, Marlborough and Newport. By much night riding the postmaster at Williamsburg was enabled to "expect" the mail "every Thursday evening at six," a week out from Philadelphia. The southern post reached Philadelphia every Wednesday, and as this was the day for the arrival of the New York and New England mails also, it was a very interesting time in the city, and Thursday naturally became the day of issue of the newspapers.¹

Hues and cries could be "disperst" at each "stage office" at the price of one pennyweight of silver. It is not to be inferred from this that the mails were carried in stage wagons. A stage office was simply a relay station, an office at the end of one of the stages of the journey. The letters were carried in saddlebags and the rider drew a horn to announce his approach. But the service was far from reliable. Floods in the rivers, and snow and ice, and accidents of many kinds interfered. In November, 1737, Franklin announced that the post to Virginia was in the hands of a rider named Henry Pratt, who set out "about the beginning of the month" and returned "in 24 days." In 1738, during the winter, the northern post went out only once in a fortnight and the city was often without news from the outside world for still longer periods.

The first successful effort to establish a "stage wagon" service was probably in the summer of 1738 when it was announced that passengers would be carried twice a week at 2s. 6d. each from Trenton Ferry across New Jersey to Bruns-

¹ *Mercury*, July 20th, 1732.

wick, whence by way of the Raritan river there was water connection with New York. The wagon was "fitted up with benches and covered over so that passengers may sit easy and dry." Goods, parcels and messages were also carried by the undertakers at reasonable rates. A rival wagon was soon in service between Bordentown and Amboy Ferry "to be kept in order to carry passengers and their goods that hath a mind to transport themselves or goods to New York or eastward."

In 1750 Joseph Borden, Jr., started a stage service to New York from Crooked Billet wharf leaving the city every Tuesday, if wind and weather would permit. A boat took the passenger to Bordentown where he was placed in a wagon. He rode for two days to Amboy whence, on the following Friday, he went to New York by boat, the cost being no greater than by Trenton and Brunswick.

Franklin charged Bradford, while he had been postmaster, with having refused to carry the *Gazette*, but he, himself, was magnanimous. Both the *Mercury* and the *Gazette* were now delivered to their subscribers by the post riders. Nevertheless the *Mercury* declined in importance after Bradford lost his office, though it survived his death and did not cease to be published until 1746.

The *Gazette* was the principal Philadelphia newspaper as "Poor Richard's" was the best almanac, until William Bradford, Andrew's nephew, and heir to the business, the most useful of the name in Pennsylvania, started the *Pennsylvania Journal* in 1742. Franklin's interest at this time was turned to greater matters. In 1748 he formed a partnership with David Hall, and he himself practically retired from the printing business. Thus the *Journal* soon outstripped the *Gazette* in popular esteem and was enabled to become the leading newspaper of the city.

Though Franklin tried to print for the Germans they themselves were not idle, and had little use for his services. They set up presses both at Germantown and at Ephrata, in Lancaster county, and soon achieved very notable results.

A body of mystics, as odd as the Hermits of the Ridge, established themselves on the banks of the Cocalico creek. They were seceders from the Dunker church and were led by Conrad Beissel, an ignorant man who had been a journeyman baker in a small town in Germany. He came to Pennsylvania, perhaps in 1720, and gathered about him a number of celibates and monastics, both men and women, for whom cloisters were built at Ephrata. They wore long, coarse tunics or robes reaching to the heels, with friar's hoods. The material was wool in winter and linen in summer. They walked with their eyes fixed upon the ground, and when they came down to Philadelphia carried staves. Proceeding in Indian file they were much remarked wherever they appeared. It seemed to be a part of their religion to punish their bodies, and they slept upon wooden benches with blocks for their pillows, a custom which with other courses of discipline gave them pale faces and emaciated forms.

A friend of Beissel's in Germany, Christopher Saur (soon spelled Sauer and later Sower) had come to this country also, and after a short stay in Philadelphia settled in Lancaster county. There he became a farmer. His wife left him to join Beissel's mystics and he removed in 1731 with his ten year old son Chris-

topher, to follow a trade in Germantown. For a time he was a clockmaker, but the Dunkers, with whom he affiliated, urged him to set up a printing press. This was an important step in the history of the colony, for the Sowers became to the Germans what the Bradfords were to the English colonists. Their output included tracts and books. They soon had their almanac and in 1739 began to publish a German newspaper, *Der Hoch Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber*. Their greatest performance, however, was their Bible of which three editions were issued, in 1743, 1763 and 1776, before there was an English reprint on this continent.

The work was a quarto of 1,267 pages and it was finished laboriously in one year and a half. Nineteen years passed before the first edition of 1,200 copies was sold. Then the first Christopher Sower was dead and his son of the same name, who was a Dunker bishop, later suffering much as a non-combatant and for his alleged English sympathies during the Revolutionary war, was at the head of the printing house.

At first Sower printed for the Ephrata brethren who were a people of curious literary interest. He issued a collection of hymns, some of which these Mystics had themselves written, called *Weyrauch's Hügel* (literally Mountain of Prayer). But a dispute arose and the brethren determined to set up a press of their own. This they did and published a number of books, the chief of which was *Der Bluttige Schauplatz, oder Martyrer Spiegel*, the great "Martyr Book" compiled by Van Bragt, a Dutch theologian. It was a more or less complete, and entirely horrible account of the tortures which had been inflicted upon Christians in many lands, translated from Dutch into High German by a party of Beissel's monks. In point of size and on other accounts it was the most noteworthy performance in the early history of publishing on this continent.¹

The city was now coming to have a considerable number of men of opulence who boasted handsome country estates. James Logan continued to represent the Penn interests and had reached the first place in the esteem of the community. When the young proprietors themselves assumed authority his cares grew less. Recovering from the disappointment which he felt when Thomas Story was preferred over him by Edward Shippen's daughter Ann he eight years later, in 1714, married Sarah, daughter of Charles Read, the elder. Their oldest child, Sarah, married Isaac Norris, Jr., the astute leader of the Quaker party. About 1728 he built "Stenton," his home on Germantown Road, which still stands, a valued relic of colonial days. While the house was in course of construction Logan broke his thigh bone by a fall, and his accident rendered him a cripple for life. Henceforth he devoted himself to literary pursuits, and gathered about him a large library. He was widely read in classical as well as modern writings and translated, wrote and published a number of works. Among other services were a rendering of Cato's *Moral Distichs* into English verse and his translation of Cicero's *Discourse on Old Age*. He died in 1751 at the age of 77, being, as he deserved to be, one of the most honored of Americans. He was the principal patron of

¹ *Lit. History of Philadelphia*, p. 29.

learning in the colony and forwarded its intellectual progress in a variety of ways.

In the same neighborhood lay Isaac Norris's country seat "Fairhill." It stood on the Germantown Road east of the Fairhill meeting house, which had been built probably in 1707 to accommodate the Friends who had settled north of the city, and for whom the Germantown meeting was too distant. Norris erected this mansion about 1716. The gardens were fine and extensive. At his death, in 1735, Isaac Norris, the younger, and other members of the family continued to be identified with the estate. The traffic between "Fairhill" and "Stenton" was constant. The Logans and Norrises lived on the friendliest terms, and the families, intermarrying, had close social affiliations.

In 1744 the Wister house was erected in Germantown, the first country seat to be built in that village. Still standing as "Grumblethorpe," at 5261 Main street, it is one of the fine colonial landmarks of the city. It was built by Johann Wüster or Wister, son of Hans Caspar Wister of Hillspach, Germany. He came to America in 1727. He was preceded to this country in 1717 by his brother Caspar, who acquired property here under the name of Wistar. Thus the two branches of the family divided, and are Wisters and Wistars to this day.

The Rev. Richard Peters came from England in 1736 and for a time was an assistant at Christ Church. He then entered the provincial service, taking Logan's place as secretary of the council. Later he returned to the gown. His brother, William Peters, built "Belmont," probably in 1743. This home was beautifully situated on the west bank of the Schuylkill, and by subsequent improvements became a notable estate.

It was about 1735 that a handsome mansion, later made very historic, was built in the southern part of the city. This was the "Walnut Grove" of Joseph Wharton, sometimes called "Duke" Wharton because of his rather haughty bearing, a Quaker, the son of Thomas Wharton, who had come to Pennsylvania before 1688. He had amassed a fortune sufficient to support a country seat, which was built in the township of Wicaco upon the west side of Moyamensing road. South of the city, in that portion of the county which as early as 1703 was known as the "Neck"¹ were also the country seats of Joseph Turner, called "Wilton;" Israel Pemberton's "Evergreen," and John Kinsey's place "The Plantation," later the property of Israel Pemberton's son James Pemberton.

Andrew Hamilton's mansion, "Bush Hill," was situated on a tract of 153 acres taken from Penn's Springettsbury Manor, and granted to him by the family in return for his services to the proprietors. It lay north of Vine street and between the present Twelfth and Nineteenth streets. The mansion itself stood on a site now bounded by Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets, on the north side of Buttonwood. It was erected about 1740 and at Andrew Hamilton's death passed into the hands of his son, James Hamilton.

It is impossible to determine just when this family built the country seat known as the "Woodlands," but a large piece of ground was purchased west of the Schuylkill, in Blockley township, by Andrew Hamilton in 1735, and it is sup-

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXVIII, p. 236.
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posed that the work of construction was soon after begun.¹ The first building upon the site was taken away in favor of a handsomer one erected about the time of the Revolution.

"Springettsbury Farm," reserved from the manor for the Penns. lay west of "Bush Hill" and north of the present Callowhill street. Thomas Penn built a mansion here about the year 1739 (on or near the site of the present Preston Retreat). It was surrounded by tall cedar and catalpa trees, and though not so handsome as "Bush Hill" was long regarded as one of Philadelphia's fine country homes. It had a green-house filled with thriving orange, lemon and citron trees.

William Allen, Andrew Hamilton's son-in-law, established his home beyond Germantown, calling it "Mount Airy." It was three miles north of "Stenton" and nearly nine miles from the city, "at the further end of a village, two miles in length, called Germantown," as one visitor then described the town which had been founded by Pastorius;² or "a continued row of houses on each side of a public road for more than a mile and a half," to quote the language of another observer.³ It stood "close to a large much frequented road" and appeared "very naked, much exposed to the sun and to bleak winds."⁴

Anthony Palmer, a ship captain and merchant, who came to this country from Barbadoes before 1709, purchased large tracts of land north of the city, and by his energy and ability made himself a prominent figure in the politics of the colony. After about 1730 he fixed his home in the historic Fairman house at Shackamaxon on the Delaware, near the Treaty Elm. Near it he laid out a town which he called Kensington. He lived in much style, having a pleasure barge on the Delaware and a coach and four which he drove about town.

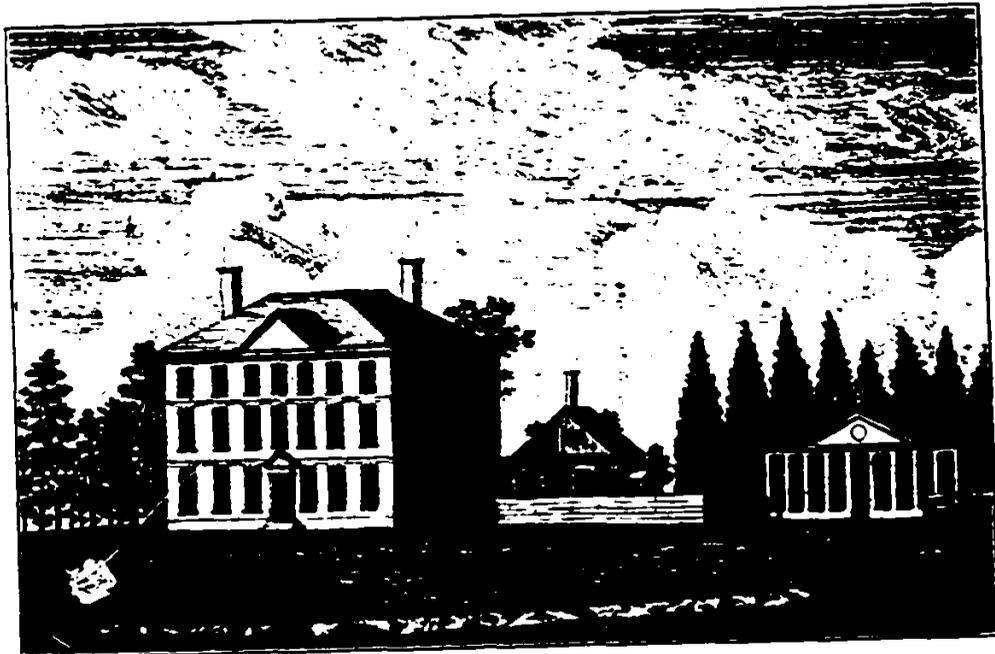
In the city itself a number of fine homes appeared, the property of men who had profited by the appreciation in value of real estate, or who carried on an import or export trade with Europe or the West Indies. In short, Philadelphia had become a colonial town in which King George might well have felt an honest pride.

¹ This statement is upon the authority of Thompson Westcott. J. F. Fisher asserts that the site of the mansion was acquired by Andrew Hamilton's son Andrew by marriage with a daughter of William Till.—*Pa. Mag.*, XVI, p. 2.

² Daniel Fisher, *Pa. Mag.*, Vol. XVII.

³ William Black, *Pa. Mag.*, Vol. I, p. 408.

⁴ From Fisher's description of his visit.



“BUSH HILL.” THE HAMILTON SEAT NORTH OF PHILADELPHIA

ZIONITISCHER

Weyrauch's Hügel

Oder:

Weyrhen Berg,

Worinnen allerlei süßliches und wohl riechen-
des nach Apoclyptischer Kunst zu bereiten
Kamp. Werk zu finden.

K. 1820

In allerlei Liebes- Wärtungen der in GOTT
gehilgen Costen, welche sich in vielen und wunderlich
gehilgen und lieblichen Tischen auf gebildet.

Als darinnen

Der letzte Kaff zu dem Abendmahl des groß
sen GOTTes auf unerschickliche Weise
trefflich aus gedendet ist;

Den Dienst

Der in dem Abend- Ländischen Welt- Theil als
des dem Übergang der Sonnen erwachte Kirche
GOTTes, und zu ihrer Erinnerung auf die
Güterreichste Zukunft des Weltengangs
aus Licht gegeben.

Veranstalt: Gedruckt bei Christoph Cour. 1739.

TITLE PAGE OF "WEYRAUCH'S
HÜGEL" SOWER PRESS, 1739

CHAPTER VI.

THE AGE OF FRANKLIN.

The city had now very clearly come into the age of Franklin. His own note became dominant in the life of Philadelphia. His practical common sense and his humor led a reaction against the austere, strait-laced view of the world which had so long prevailed, and his life became in a way a reflection of the times. Doings which had been subjects for serious sermons and rigid prohibitory laws among the Quakers were treated lightly, if not frivolously, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. For instance in reporting an attempt at suicide Franklin wrote:

"An unhappy man, one Sturgis, upon some difficulty with his wife determined to drown himself in the river, and she (kind wife) went with him, it seems, to see it faithfully performed and accordingly stood by silent and unconcerned during the whole transaction. He jumped in near Carpenter's wharf but was timely taken out again before what he was about was thoroughly effected, so that they were both obliged to return home as they came, and put up for the time with the disappointment."

There were, of course, many who still held very different views. One complained in 1738 of the great independence of the negro slaves. They met at night and on Sundays and were seen dressed in "silk gloves and petticoats, good Holland and cambric, laced shoes with silkclocked stockings, silver watches on their fobs and five pounds in their pockets, going to taverns, calling for bottles of wine and fresh lime punch." He believed that all the horrors of a servile insurrection would come upon the defenceless town as a result of these unseemly liberties. In 1741 it was accounted a great nuisance for negroes and servants, many of whom brought with them their pails from the evening milking, to congregate around the court-house at night. The common council ordered the constables to disperse the crowd a half hour after sunset. Objection was still made to barbers who shaved the people on Sundays, and vendues which were held in the streets at night, gathering disorderly companies of men. Lotteries which drew the people into games of chance were condemned, though only a little time would elapse until lottery tickets would be sold to raise money for educational, governmental, charitable and even religious purposes, under official patronage.

A dancing master appeared in Philadelphia in the summer of 1738 and offered at a house in Second street to teach "all sorts of fashionable English and French dances, after the newest and politest manner practiced in London, Dublin and Paris, and will give all young ladies, gentlemen and children (that please to learn

of him) the most graceful carriage in dancing and genteel behavior in company that can possibly be given by any dancing master whatever."¹

It is stated, though probably without definite confirmation, that May poles were now set up on the first of May on Market street hill at Front and Market streets, and before the blacksmith shops. They were decked with green boughs and gay ribbons, and as soon as a non-Quaker element of enough strength appeared in the population this pretty old English custom of ushering in the May was observed in Philadelphia.²

In or before 1740 several young gentlemen, drawn from that group of families which centered around Christ Church, established a dancing assembly. The members met to dance every Tuesday evening during the winter, and gave concerts from time to time throughout the year. One of Whitefield's followers, William Seward by name, in May, 1740, seeming to have judged the proceedings unholy—indeed he called them "devilish diversions,"—locked the door of the "assembly room, dancing school and music meeting." The young men broke it open and went on with their amusements as before.³

Out of these little village dances—they were not more—have come the assembly balls, invitations to which for many years have been the patents to nobility in Philadelphia society. Thomas Willing Balch, the historian of the assembly, states that John Swift was instrumental in organizing these dances. Mr. Swift and his brother Joseph Swift reached Philadelphia about 1738. The two young men, with a sister, were brought here from Bristol, England, by their father to be put under the care of a maternal uncle named John White, a merchant of the city. John Swift in 1740 was twenty years of age. From 1743 until 1747 he again resided in England, but returned to Philadelphia, and he together with John Inglis, John Wallace and Lynford Lardner⁴ organized nine dances during the winter of 1748-49, at which point the record of the assembly is usually held to begin. To these dances there were 59 subscribers at forty shillings each, in many cases heads of families, so that from 150 to 200 persons were qualified to attend.⁵

Richard Peters in describing the assembly in a letter to Thomas Penn dated May, 1749, that is for its first year then ending, said:

"By the governor's encouragement there has been a very handsome Assembly once a fortnight at Andrew Hamilton's house and store which are tenanted by Mr. Ingliss [and which] make a set of good rooms for such a purpose and consists of eighty ladies and as many gentlemen, one-half appearing every assembly night. Mr. Ingliss had the conduct of the whole and mannage exceeding well; there happened a little mistake at the beginning which at some other times might have produc'd disturbances the Governor [James Hamilton] would have open'd the Assembly with Mrs. Taylor [Undoubtedly Mrs. Abram Taylor, who was the daughter of the late Governor Patrick Gordon and wife of a prominent merchant, the partner of John White, and who could fairly be accounted the social

¹ *Mercury*, Aug. 31, 1738.

² *Pa. Mag.*, IV, p. 60.

³ Compare *Pa. Mag.*, XXIX, p. 240.

⁴ Indicted by the grand jury in 1744 for beating the watch.—*Pa. Mag.*, XXII, p. 498.

⁵ *Pa. Mag.*, XXVIII, p. 400; XXX, pp. 122, 374.

leader of the city.]¹ but she refus'd him I suppose because he had not been to visit her; after Mrs. Taylor's refusal two or three ladies out of modesty and from no manner of ill design excused themselves so that the Governor was little to his shift when Mrs. Willing now Mrs. Mayoress [Mrs. Charles Willing who was Anne Shippen, granddaughter of Edward Shippen, the first mayor under the charter of 1701] in a most genteel manner put herself into his way and on the Governor seeing this instance of her good nature . . . they danc'd the first minuet."²

The fifty-nine subscribers to the assembly of 1748-49 were as follows:

Alexander Hamilton, T. Lawrence, jr., John Wallace, Phineas Bond, Charles Willing, Joseph Shippen, Samuel McCall, Jr., George McCall, Edward Jones, Samuel McCall, Sr., R. Conyningham, Joseph Sims, T. Lawrence, Sr., David McIlvaine, John Wilcocks, Charles Steadman, John Kidd, William Bingham, Buckridge Sims, John Swift, John Kearsley, Jr., William Plumsted, Andrew Elliot, James Burd, James Hamilton, Robert Mackimen, William Allen, Archibald McCall, Joseph Turner, Thomas Hopkinson, Richard Peters, Adam Thomson, Alexander Steadman, Patrick Baird, John Sober, David Franks, John Inglis, R. Wiseheart, Abram Taylor, James Trotter, Samson Levy, Lynford Lardner, Richard Hill, Jr., Benjamin Price, John Francis, William McIlvaine, William Humphreys, William Peters, James Polyceen, William Franklin, Henry Harrison, John Hewson, Daniel Boyle, Thomas White, John Lawrence, Thomas Godons, John Cottenham, John Maland, William Cozzens.

Such names as Kidd, Mackimen, Sober, Wiseheart, Polyceen, Boyle, Godons, Cottenham, Maland and Cozzens, as Mr. Griswold observes in his *Republican Court*, would now hardly be known "even to antiquaries" in Philadelphia. He concludes with fairness that they were "strangers or temporary residents."³

In 1749 an English music master, settled in Fourth street, offered to give lessons upon "the violin, hautboy, German flute, common flute and dulcimer." Young ladies could be taught at home, if they preferred it, and he would "produce music for balls and other entertainments" for a price. There was also a professor of sword practice, which a correspondent of one of the newspapers denounced as a "detestable vice." Various curious objects were from time to time exhibited at the fairs and on other occasions. A lion was shown in 1727 to persons willing to pay one shilling each. In 1737 at the Indian King tavern there was exhibited a cat with two bodies grafted on a single head, and at the same inn in 1744 "a beautiful creature, but surprising fierce, called a leopard."

Another time in Second street there was shown "a strange and surprising creature called a mouse [probably a moose] about the bigness of a horse." It has, it was explained, "a face like a mouse, ears like an ass, neck and back like a camel, hind parts like a horse, tail like a rabbit and feet like a heifer." It could jump to a height of six feet. Camels, a camera obscura, and mechanical contrivances showing Joseph's dream in Egypt and other scenes, came now and then to beguile the tedious years for the colonists.

¹ "Universities and Their Sons."—*Univ. of Pa.*, Vol. I, p. 250.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXIII, p. 530; XXXIV, p. 243.

³ *Rep. Court*, p. 13; also *Public Ledger*, March 7, 1851.

By Thompson and Westcott's investigations it is made certain that a wandering theatrical company visited Philadelphia in 1749, playing here probably for several months; in what part of the city is not known but from the fact that the players passed on to New York, and as their movements there were less shrouded in obscurity, it is concluded that they were under the direction of an actor named Murray and Thomas Kean. A number of women appeared in the cast which produced such plays as *Richard III*, *Beau in the Suds*, *The Spanish Friar*, *The Beau's Stratagem*, *Love for Love*, *Stage Coach*, *Cato*, *Bold Stroke for a Wife*, *The Lying Valet*, *Hob in the Well*, *The Devil on Two Sticks*, *Busybody*, *Beggar's Opera*, *The Virgin Unmasked* and *The Walking Statue or the Devil in the Wine Cellar*. The company, after playing several weeks, seem to have been invited to leave the city, for the common council, taking the situation under its care on January 5, 1750, concluded that their doings were attended with "mischievous effects such as the encouragement of idleness and drawing great sums of money from weak and inconsiderate persons who are apt to be fond of such kind of entertainment, though the performance be ever so mean and contemptible."¹

These sentiments, however, could not long prevail and in 1754 an English company of actors under Lewis Hallam, who had been playing in the south and in New York, visited the city. Mr. Hallam is sometimes called the "father of the American stage." He and William Hallam, brothers of the well known Admiral Hallam, organized a company in London to plant the drama in America. William remained at home. The company was led by Lewis Hallam and his wife, both competent actors. They set up a house in Williamsburg, Va., where they first appeared in 1752; played later in towns in Maryland and in the city of New York, and then entered into negotiations for an engagement in Philadelphia. They were granted a license for their performances by Governor Hamilton, on the condition that nothing "indecent or immoral" should be given, and rented a large brick warehouse of William Plumsted under the Bank on Water street between Pine and Lombard, the latter a street recently laid out. The building ran through to Front street where there was an entrance by outside stairs.²

The room was specially fitted up for the engagement. It was called the New Theatre, and was opened on April 25th with a tragedy, *The Fair Penitent*, followed by a farce called *Miss in Her Teens*. Performances took place three times a week, beginning at 7 o'clock and the prices of seats were 6 shillings in the boxes, 4 shillings in the pit and 2 shillings 6 pence in the gallery. The engagement continued for 30 nights and covered the company's repertoire, which included most of the English stock pieces in which Garrick appeared. During this time a number of benefits were given, among them one for the charity school.

In 1755, Lewis Hallam died in the West Indies whither he had gone with his company of players. A little earlier his brother William had withdrawn his connection with the enterprise, and, the widow remarrying, her husband, David Douglass, an actor, became the proprietor. Under this management the company

¹ Thompson Westcott, Chapter 119.

² It was not destroyed until 1849.

For the **BENEFIT** of

Mr. Lewis Hallam,

By a Company of **COMEDIANS** from
L O N D O N,

At the **NEW THEATRE**, in Water-street,

This present Evening (being the Twenty-seventh of *May*,
1754) will be presented a **COMEDY**, called,

TUNBRIDGE WALKS;

O R,

The Yeoman of Kent.

The Part of *Woodcock* (the Yeoman of *Kent*) by Mr. *Malone*.

Reynard, } by { Mr. *Rigby*.
Loxworth, } Mr. *Miller*.

Captain *Squib*, by Mr. *Lewis Hallam*.

The Part of *Mr. Maiden*, by Mr. *Singleton*.

The Part of *Belinda*, by Mrs. *Becceley*.

Penelope, } by { Mrs. *Clarkson*.
Lucy, } Miss *Hallam*.
Mrs. *Goodfellow,* } Mrs. *Rigby*.

And the Part of *Hillaria*, to be perform'd by Mrs. *Hallam*.

To which will be added, a **BALLAD OPERA**, called,

The **COUNTRY WAKE;**

O R,

H O B in the **W E L L**

The Part of *Flora*, to be perform'd by Mrs. *Becceley*.

Sir Thomas Toffy, } by { Mr. *Clarkson*.
Friendly, } Mr. *Adcock*.
Old Hob, } Mr. *Miller*.
Dick, } Master *L. Hallam*.

Hob's Mother, } by { Mrs. *Clarkson*.
Betty, } Miss *Hallam*.

And the Part of *Young Hob*, to be perform'd by Mr. *Hallam*.

Tickets to be had at Mrs. *Bridges's*, in *Frost-street*, and of Mr. *Hallam*.

BOX 6s. PIT 4s. GALLERY 2s.-6d.

The Doors will be open'd at Five, and the Play to begin at Seven
a Clock. **PIFATREX.**

returned in 1759 and occupied a new frame building on Society Hill in South street, in Southwark, just outside the city boundaries, the first theatre deserving of the name in Philadelphia.

The Quakers, Presbyterians, Lutherans and Baptists sent their protests to the assembly. The Quakers considered the movement "subversive of good order and morals;" the Presbyterians "of most fatal consequence to the public weal." Though the assembly sympathized with the remonstrants the theatre was opened on June 25, 1759. Mrs. Hallam, now Mrs. Douglass, and her children, the chief of them the young Lewis Hallam who had accompanied his father to America at the age of 12, were still the principal members of the company, but the house seemed ill adapted for the use and it was closed after one not too successful season. When Douglass and his dramatic adventurers returned to the city about five years later it was to find the theatre applied to other uses, and he caused a new and much larger house to be erected farther west on South street between Fourth and Fifth streets, once more outside the limits of the city whose corporation was still cordially feared. The Quakers and Presbyterians renewed their protests. The Quakers in monthly meeting had heard "with real concern that a company of stage players are lately arrived in this city with intention to exhibit plays which we conceive, if permitted, will tend to subvert the good order, morals and prosperity we desire may be preserved among us." The governor was asked "to discountenance an evil so very obvious and ensnaring." Six hundred members of other religious societies in the city also expressed their "concern and regret." The theatre was denounced as an "inlet to vice and a degeneracy from that conduct in which the people have heretofore obtained the favor of God and regard of good men." The petitioners urged the governor "to suppress a design so repugnant to our Christian profession."¹

All appeals failed for on November 12th, 1766, the house of amusement, which was generally known as the South Street or Southwark Theatre, and was more or less regularly in use until the Revolution, was opened with the comedy, *The Provoked Husband*.² In August, 1767, a writer in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* computed that the receipts of the company were nearly £300 a week, and it seemed to the sober people of the town a vast extravagance, as well as an offense against the moral sense. Musical pieces, in addition to tragedies, comedies and farces were given and the education of a taste in the people, long entirely neglected, received an impetus which was soon pleasantly felt.

In 1751 the custom which had been introduced by the Germans, and carried on with zest by the slaves and servants, of "shooting out" the old year led to a popular protest. The last night of the year was made an occasion for general revelry. Evil disposed persons found it a time to hurl stones at the windows of those whom they disliked. Overloaded guns burst to maim the people, lighted wadding set houses on fire, and efforts, which, however, remained rather inef-

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXIII, pp. 267-68.

² Following Thompson Westcott, Ch. 207. Durang says that the opening was on November 21st with the tragedy *Douglas* and the farce *Catherine and Petruchio*.—Chap. 7.

fectual, were made to stop the abuse. The New Year's celebration was still an evil in 1774 and was made the subject of severe penalties.

Drinking had always been general, irrespective of race, religion or sex, but at this period it was accompanied by a kind of pomp which seemed to entrench it as an institution. On state feast days brandy and beer were distributed to the populace. When the Virginia commissioners on Indian affairs came to the city in 1744 they were welcomed at Gray's Ferry "with a bowl of fine lemon punch big enough to have swimm'd half a dozen of young geese."¹

Governor Thomas was a member of a club of gentlemen who met every night at a tavern around the "cheerful glass."² The Centre where the Quaker meeting and a fair had been so confidently placed in the first days of the city was still a half mile from town. The Centre House was a favorite resort for horsemen and pedestrians who found there for their amusement a billiard table and a bowling green. The inns everywhere indeed, were the meeting places of the people, and toasting and tipping and dining were general pursuits. Champagne, madeira, claret and punch were always served at the governor's house, by the mayor and on all occasions when honors were to be done to a guest. Tea had its place, the "fashionable warm water" as one man who was obliged so often to take it, described it, but in the company of ladies for the most part and in the afternoon. For many years the city had had one or two coffee houses, but the greatest of them all was the so-called London Coffee House, which William Bradford established at the southwest corner of Front and Market streets, in 1754. Unable to enjoy the advantages of the post office which Franklin continued to preside over, he started this enterprise as an aid to his newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Journal*, published in an adjoining house. The most interesting people of the city congregated here—merchants, ship captains, travellers from other colonies, provincial and crown officials. In front of the building slave auctions were held. On May-day the fishermen set up their May-poles on the ground. The Coffee House like the best of such places in London became a veritable clearing house for news of all kinds. "All Philadelphia ranged around this old building for a quarter of a century." It was "the pulsating heart of excitement, enterprise and patriotism."³

Associations of different kinds for the popular amusement were being formed. The English, Welsh and Scotch had their national societies in which dining and drinking were the principal ceremonies. The Carpenters' Company "for the purpose of obtaining instruction in the science of architecture and assisting such of the members as should by accident be in need of support, or the widows and minor children of members" was formed in 1724. It has had uninterrupted existence up to this day, and its hall was put to famous uses during the Revolutionary war.

Fishing is an ancient sport and a group of Philadelphians, numbered among its enthusiastic devotees, early in the eighteenth century established a house for their purposes at the place which has later come to be called the Falls of Schuylkill. This name, we are told by a traveller of the eighteenth century was "very

¹ William Black, *Penna. Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 242.

² *Ibid.*

³ Westcott's *Historic Mansions*, p. 75.

improperly given to a slight inequality in the level of the stream produced by pieces of rock of unequal size in the bed of the river." They were entirely covered at high water and small boats could then pass up or down along the east bank. For "beautiful scenery, romantic beauty and fine fishing" there was no place hereabouts to compare with this neighborhood, and the fishermen formed themselves into a club under the name of Fort St. Davids, since they were mostly Welshmen. They had the organization of a garrison in a fort. Their house which was built of hewn logs¹ stood on the east bank, and the buildings gathered around it constituted a village which was known as Fort St. Davids for nearly a hundred years. With the lapse of the organization some time after the Revolution, and its junction with a similar club, the Colony in Schuylkill, its house disappeared and thenceforward the town was called the Falls.²

The Colony in Schuylkill was established in 1732. In 1781, when Harp and Crown taverns were becoming Harp and Eagle taverns, and King George fire companies were rechristened Columbia or Independence companies, the Colony changed its name to the State in Schuylkill. Its house was below the Falls on the west bank of the river. It was built upon ground belonging to an estate known as "Eggesfield" or "Eaglesfield," just north of the present Girard Avenue Bridge. The erection of the Fairmount dam ruined the fishing in this neighborhood, and when this improvement was made, the house was taken down and carried to a site on the east side of the river near Gray's Ferry. It now stands on the Delaware river near Andalusia. This fishing company has often shared its fare with illustrious men. It is the oldest social organization in Philadelphia, and very probably in America.³

These changes in the city's social character, however, were of little weight in comparison with those effected by the military arrangements caused by the French and Spanish wars. The enlistment of companies of militiamen, the tramp of soldiers in the streets, the cannonading in honor of victories at arms, the coming in and going out of privateers by way of the Delaware river, made the Quaker city seem much unlike itself.

England had been at peace with the world for many years, and the consciences of the Pennsylvania colonists had been for a long while undisturbed by the demands for men and money for military uses. But now for twenty years to come the province was to be in the throes of a contest with the crown, and quarrels between parties of men at home very prejudicial to its best interests. In 1739 King George II proclaimed a war against Spain which continued for nine years. Before it had come to an end, hostilities, in 1744, were

¹ Described in *Pa. Mag.*, XXI, p. 417.

² Another club, the Mount Regale Fishing Company, of which less is known, also had a house near the Falls. Among its members in 1762 were Governor Hamilton, Benjamin Chew, George Clymer, Tench Francis, Henry Hill, John Inglis, L. Lardner, Thomas Lawrence, Robert Morris, John Penn, Richard Penn, Provost Smith, Charles Willing, Thomas Willing, Dr. William Shippen, Jr., Joseph Shippen, Edward Tilghman, the Allens, Richard Bache and others whose names distance in importance the names of the members of either of the other clubs.—*Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 88.

³ *A History of the Schuylkill Fishing Company, 1732-1888*; Westcott's *Historic Mansions*; Hagner's *Early History of the Falls of Schuylkill*.

declared against France, and although peace was nominally made in 1748 there was practically no rest on the American frontier until the French were overwhelmed by Wolfe at Quebec, in 1759. Indeed the depredations of the Indians continued for some years after this date.

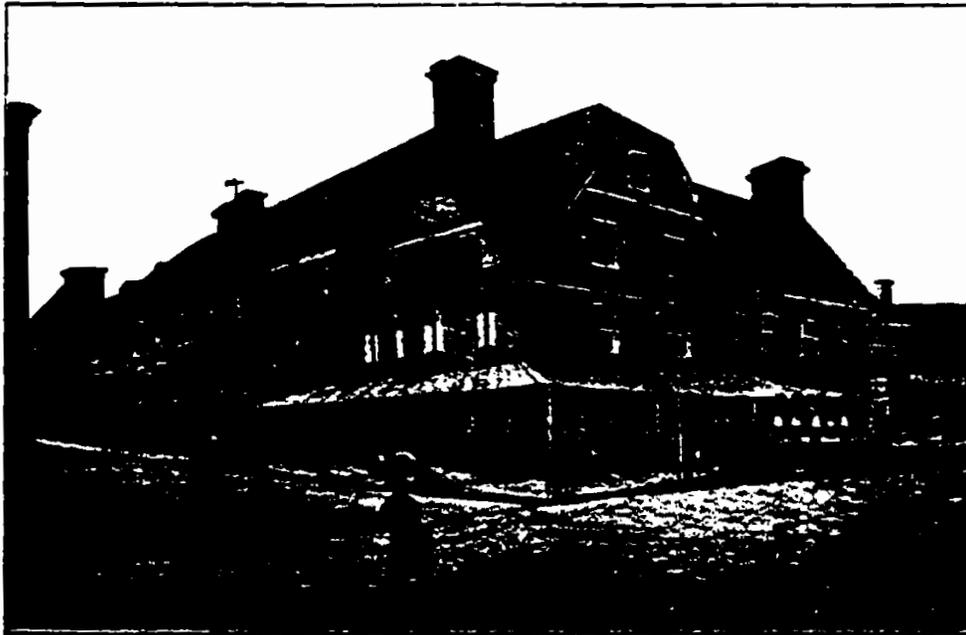
George Thomas had scarcely begun his administration when the war with Spain broke out. In the summer of 1739, through his influence, the first privateer which ever sailed out of Philadelphia was equipped to prey upon Spanish commerce. It was a sloop called the "George," and it mounted ten carriage and ten swivel guns. It was manned by volunteers who were signed for the service at the Crooked Billet tavern. This was not enough. The governor called upon the assembly for action looking to military defence. That body was in Quaker hands and it pointed to the fact that, since William Penn had granted the people entire liberty of conscience, no one could be compelled to go to war, or to pay the bills of war, if his religious convictions should prevent him from doing so with a clear mind. If defense was needed the colony would have to rely upon God and the king for, said the assemblymen—"Except the Lord keepeth the city the watchman waketh but in vain." A sum of money might be voted in the form of a gift to the king, as had been done during previous colonial wars, but nothing else was to be expected. As the governor rejected the suggestion this was the beginning of a violent discussion between him and the assembly. Meanwhile no bill left the assembly which had any connection with the common defence.

War with Spain was formally proclaimed at the courthouse on April 14th, 1740, in the presence of the governor and his council, and the mayor and the corporation. Liquor was distributed in quantities to the populace. Guns were fired from ships in the harbor and from Society Hill, where in the evening a great bonfire was lighted. Governor Thomas of himself had full authority to call out troops, and he issued a proclamation asking for volunteers for an expedition "for attacking and plundering the most important part of the Spanish West Indies." If any young Quaker gentleman would be pleased to enlist he might do so, with the full confidence that his name would not be revealed. The particular object of the foray was the island of Cuba whose charms for filibusters were depicted in bright colors. They might seize for themselves and their posterity "forever" money, plate, jewels, negroes, houses and plantations. "Would you make your names famous? Would you throw off your homespun and shine in silver and gold lace and embroidery? Would you grow rich at once? Would you leave great estates to your posterity? Go, volunteer in this expedition and take the island of Cuba!"

Recruits came in slowly and resort was had to servants. Special inducements were held out to "Germans, Swedes and Swissers," a measure for which Thomas was bitterly attacked. The assembly declared it to be nothing more or less than the unauthorized and indefensible seizure of private property. To take a servant without the consent of his master was taxation without popular consent. As many as seven companies were raised and quartered at the taverns outside of the city to avoid the disturbances which might arise, if they were massed in Philadelphia. The captains were Archibald Gordon, Thomas Freame,



FORT ST. DAVIDS, FALLS OF SCHUYLKILL. 1794



LONDON COFFEE HOUSE AT END OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

William McKnight, Thomas Laurie, William Thinn, Robert Bishop and Thomas Clarke. The men left in transports for the south, after having been reviewed by the governor, in September, 1740, their expenses being paid by bills drawn on the crown. In this body of troops it was computed that there were 300 servants of a value to their masters of £3,000, and at length £2,356, 3s. 1d. was allowed and paid out of the treasury of the province for 188 servants, said to have been taken from Philadelphia city and county, 19 from Bucks County, 58 from Chester County, and 11 from Lancaster County, in all 276 men.

These quarrels about the enlistments, and the appropriation of money for the support of the levies while the men were in the service of the king, had by 1743 brought the wheels of government to a complete standstill. The assembly's bills upon all subjects had been accumulating in the governor's hands. He refused to sign them. It in turn refused to vote him his salary, a state of affairs which brought its own remedy for a bargain was struck; one thing in a little while was exchanged for another and the situation became less tense.

During these wars the commerce of the port suffered seriously. Some valuable prizes were taken, not without many fatal adventures by the "George" and the other Philadelphia privateers which went out to assist that sloop, but the effect upon legitimate trade was very damaging. There was a large export and import business especially with the West Indies where trade was now least safe. Ships, snows, billenders, brigs, brigantines, cats, settees, xebecques, pinks, schooners and sloops came in and went out of the river to the number of about 400 in a year.¹ They were, of course, very small vessels as measured by the standards of this day, but the trade in which they were engaged was the principal basis of the city's prosperity and wealth. The exports of wheat, flour, bread and flax seed had increased from £62,473 worth in 1729 to £155,174 in 1750, and £187,457 in 1751. The imports from England alone (excluding Ireland and Scotland) reached a value of £156,945 in 1750.

Privateering is a game at which two can play with equal hope of success, and the Spaniards vigorously retaliated. In a few months, in 1742, 17 vessels bound to and from Philadelphia were captured by the enemy near the capes of the Delaware, and this licensed robbery on the high seas continued until the end of the war. It ruined some men and enriched others. In this way the foundations were laid for several Philadelphia fortunes. The volunteers upon the ships were offered liberal portions of the plunder and were given bounties for the loss of their limbs, eyes and joints.

The "George" was joined in 1741 by the "Dursley Galley" of 400 tons carrying about 50 men. A little later commissions were made out for the "Joseph and Mary;" the "Wilmington," of 24 carriage and an equal number of swivel guns, with blunderbusses in the tops and quarters, the crew numbering in all 150 men; the "New George," a rival of the famous privateer bearing the king's name now called the "Old George;" "Le Trembleur" or the "Quaker;" the "Tartar," a fine new ship promising more effective service than any of the old

¹ The average between the years 1749 and 1752 was 403. The clearances in 1723 had been only 85.

merchantmen which had previously been fitted up to harry the enemy's commerce. But this vessel of which so much was expected was to have a very ill fate. With flags flying from its peaks, guns roaring, drums beating and much hurraing and waving of handkerchiefs it started down the bay. Many citizens accompanied it to the capes, but before it reached there the wind overturned it and plunged the nearly 200 persons on board into the sea. Upwards of 70 were drowned and the disaster brought many sad days to Philadelphia. Efforts were made to raise the vessel, but they were all unsuccessful. The "Marlborough" of 230 tons; the "Cruiser," a snow of 200 tons; the "Warren," also a snow which carried 34 guns; the "Pandour" with 24 carriage guns and 30 brass blunderbusses, and other ships were added to the fleet. They largely employed themselves in West Indian waters and were often in the most dangerous situations. The sailors engaged in hand to hand struggles with other vessels and could have given useful points to Paul Jones and his crews of a later day. Often Spanish and French vessels were captured and brought into port. Sugar, cocoa, indigo, quicksilver, silver bullion, pieces of eight and other valuable plunder made the adventures as attractive as they were perilous.

In 1742 the "George," under its famous captain, John Sibbald, and its companion, the "Joseph and Mary," made captures which yielded them more than \$100,000. It was pointed out that the privateers, being absent on their own hunting expeditions were of no use for the defense of the colony, but suggestions that there should be a sloop of war in the bay brought no response.

The war with France had been begun even before it was officially proclaimed at the courthouse on June 11th, 1744. A description of the ceremony is left by William Black who attended it. He says: "At four in the Afternoon, they [the commissioners] with their Levee waited on his Honour, the Governor, in order to attend to the Declaration of Warr. A few minutes after we got to the Governor's came the Mayor, Council and the Corporation and then began the Procession. First the Constables with their Staffs, and the Sheriffs and the Coroner with their White Wands ushered the way, then his Honour, the Governor, with the Mayor on his Right and the Recorder of the City on his left hand, following them were Colonels Lee and Beverly [the Commissioners] and the Gentlemen of their Levee. Next was the Council and after them the City Corporation and then the Rear composed of Towns Gentlemen, etc., in this Order two and two we went with Solemn Pace to the Market Place where Secretary Peters proclaimed War against the French King and all his Subjects, under a Discharge of the Privateers Guns who had haul'd out in the stream for the Purpose; then two Drums belonging to Dalziel's Regiment in Antigua (then in Philadelphia with a Captain Recruiting) Beat the Point of Warr and then the ceremony concluded with God Save the King and three loud Huzzas. the commrs returned with the Governor in his Coach to his House where we follow'd and Drunk Tea, from thence to the Coffee House and then the Commissioners went with his Honour to the Clubb."¹

¹ The Beef Steak Club composed of several leading gentlemen who met in the Tun Tavern.

The contest continued between the governor and the assembly. He ordered all his majesty's subjects in the province capable of bearing arms to provide themselves with good firelocks, bayonets, cartouche boxes and powder and balls. A few more troops were recruited by beating drums in the sailors' quarters down near the river side, but the accounts which came home from the men already in Cuba were not favorable. Many fell ill of fevers and the booty which had been promised was not rich. The outbreak of war with France inclined attention in another direction, and particularly to Louisburg, on the coast of Cape Breton, the only French fortress of consequence in North America. The assembly, when urged to give its favor to the expedition, found an excuse for not doing so in the fact that it had been projected by Massachusetts without direction of the king. Nor had Pennsylvania or any other colony been consulted as to the wisdom of the movement. In July, 1745, an express rode into Philadelphia announcing the reduction of the fort by the forces in command of General Pepperell and Admiral Warren, and there was great rejoicing. Bells were rung, cannon fired, and healths were drunk to Admiral Warren and "the immortal General Pepperell" until the town was in a very happy state of inebriety. Men visited one another in their homes and shops to offer congratulations, and at night the houses were illuminated and bonfires were lighted. Once captured the post must be held and the assembly was a little moved from its formerly inflexible position. It voted £4,000 to be laid out "in the purchase of bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat or other grain to be used for the king's service as the governor shall think best." "Other grain," says Franklin, was understood by the governor to be "gun powder," and for this the money was used without offense to the scruples of the Quaker assemblymen. It was in precisely the same way that Franklin proposed to obtain money to buy a fire engine, presumably for his fire company and then apply it to the purchase of a great gun which he characteristically observed was "certainly a fire engine."¹

An appropriation of more than £4,000 was needed and was urged upon the assembly, but it held back, though in 1746 it struck a bargain with the governor, offering to vote an additional £5,000 "for the king's use," if he would increase the issue of paper money and take the sum in that form. This arrangement enabled Thomas to raise four companies whose captains were John Shannon, William Trent, John Deimer and Samuel Perry. They were to rendezvous at Albany and, under General Gooch, proceed overland to Canada. Each enlisted man before starting away was given a dollar and three pistoles in gold for the use of his family. Some recruits were also found for the West Indies; in all it is stated that about 500 men were obtained for the king's service in Philadelphia and its vicinity in 1746.

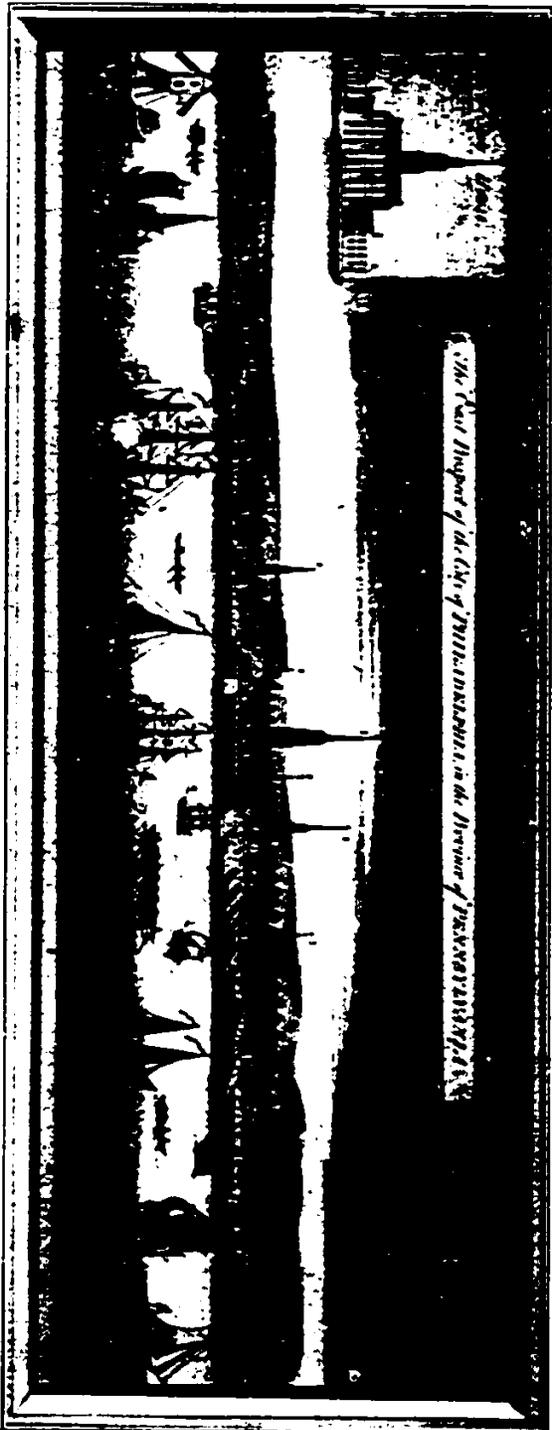
Thomas's struggles with the assembly came to an end in 1747. He resigned shortly after receipt of the news of the death of John Penn, "the American," who ended his life a bachelor at the early age of 46 years. The governor's retirement was prompted, he said, by the state of his health. He left the city under the friendliest circumstances. None of his predecessors had won the

¹ *Autobiography*, John Bigelow's edition, p. 271.

favor of the people so completely. He was presented with addresses. The mayor and the corporation entertained him at dinner in the well known Tum Tavern in Water street and he was accompanied to the "Greyhound," the ship in which he and his "lady" embarked, early in June, 1747, by the city authorities, the grand jury and many prominent people. His departure left the control of a difficult situation in the hands of the council whose president was Anthony Palmer. The entire summer and autumn of 1747 were marked by visits of French and Spanish privateers to the Delaware. They not only made their acquaintance with the channel and captured shipping, but they now and again landed to inflict indignities upon unoffending inhabitants. The assembly entirely refused aid. When it met it adjourned to re-convene several months hence, and it was in this emergency that Franklin came forward with his famous pamphlet "Plain Truth; or Serious Considerations of the Present State of the City of Philadelphia and Province of Pennsylvania, by a Tradesman of Philadelphia." He forcibly described the defenceless condition of the colony, attacking the Quakers on one side, and on the other the opulent but inactive and useless men who always opposed the Quaker policies. He spoke for "the middling people" saying that there were in Pennsylvania, exclusive of the Quakers, "sixty thousand fighting men acquainted with firearms, many of them hunters and marksmen, hardy and bold." The pamphlet had, to quote Franklin's words, "a surprising and sudden effect." Its result was the formation of an association for military purposes, he leading the movement. Articles were spread out for signature at the "New Building." In three days five hundred men offered themselves for the service.

Meanwhile a lottery was established for the purpose of raising funds. The list of managers included the names of William Allen, Dr. Kearsley, Thomas Hopkinson, Charles Willing, Edward Shippen and other prominent Philadelphia citizens. There were 10,000 tickets of which 2,842 were to draw prizes. The city took 2,000 tickets. About 70 old cannon were found lying around the wharves, though not all were fit for use; some more were borrowed and brought over from New York, Franklin says eighteen 18 pounders, but these were not enough and with the proceeds of the lottery an order was placed in England. Some, too, were sent out by the proprietaries who had been appealed to by the common council. Two batteries were built, one gratuitously by the house carpenters of the city between a Monday morning and a Tuesday evening on a wharf under Society Hill, somewhere near the foot of the present Lombard street. The greater or grand battery was placed below the Swedes' church on ground later used as the navy yard. This seems to have mounted more than 50 guns, while 13 pieces were placed in the city battery. These fortifications were made of timber or plank with breastworks, some ten feet thick, which were filled with earth solidly rammed down.

"Plain Truth" aroused a great pamphletary discussion in German and English. The preachers took up the cause, Gilbert Tennent delivering a sermon from the text "The Lord is a man of war." The Quakers and the non-combatant Germans issued essays with long and ponderous titles after the custom of the day. They were very much aroused in behalf of their principles. The



TAKEN BY SETTLERS AND HEAP IN 1733

Steeple: 1. Christ Church; 2. State House; 3. Academy; 4. Presbyterian Church; 5. Dutch Calvinist Church; 6. Court House.

meeting for sufferings which the Society of Friends had long before established, to receive the accounts of the trials and sacrifices made by their members in maintaining the faith was kept very busy with the affairs of those who refused to pay taxes to the government, and otherwise martyred themselves for their consciences' sake. In December, 1747, 600 militiamen met at the State House and marched to the courthouse, where they were formed into companies of which there were eleven, under the following captains: Charles Willing, Thomas Bond, John Inglis, James Polegreen, Peacock Bigger, Thomas Bourne, William Cozzens, Septimus Robinson, James Coultas, John Ross and Richard Nixon. Abram Taylor was elected colonel, Thomas Lawrence, lieutenant-colonel and Samuel McCall, major. The whole body at this time exceeded 1,000 men, and there were in addition nine companies from Philadelphia County, similarly organized and officered. From time to time they were drawn up at the State House or elsewhere in the city for review, when they fired volleys into the air. These men were called associators, a name which clung to Pennsylvania militiamen until the Revolution. At times of danger, in the summer of 1748, the men mounted guard every night at the lower battery and no boat of any kind was allowed to pass between eight o'clock in the evening and four o'clock in the morning. In case of alarm "well disposed persons" were asked to place lights in their windows and doors so that the militia could march more conveniently, since the streets yet contained no public lamps.

There was a real outburst of military enthusiasm, the first which the city had seen. The ladies made the colors for the regiments and collected money to buy their drums, halberds, half pikes and spontoons. Some of the devices painted upon the silk banners were very impressive. One showed a lion erect, a naked scimitar in one paw, the escutcheon of Pennsylvania with the motto "Pro Patria" in the other; a second, the figure of Liberty sitting upon a cube and holding a spear with the cap of freedom on its point, the motto being "Inestimabilis;" a third David as he advanced against Goliath and slung the stone, with the motto, "In nomine domine."

It is fairly certain that the men were not uniformed. All dressed as they had always dressed. A gentleman with a ruffled silk sleeve marched beside a servant in a coarse brown linen coat, in comfortable sense of harmony.¹ The "Otter," a British sloop of war arrived in the river and much was expected of the visitor. The captain was fêted and presented by the corporation with a pipe of wine, 8 loaves of sugar and 20 gallons of rum, but he proved to be a man of peace and expended his time in dressing up his ship instead of cruising for the enemy. President Palmer and the council revived with the assembly the question of fitting out an armed vessel at the expense of the province, but the Quakers again evaded the duty and news of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle came on the 24th of August, 1748, four months after it had been signed—before anything had been effected.

The associators laid down their arms and the privateers returned to the merchant service. At least one of the daring captains, Obadiah Bourne, of "Le

¹ Westcott's *History*, Chapter 103.

Trembleur," opened a tavern under that name, at the corner of Water and High streets, where for many years the loungers of the town met to hear the tales of his adventures with the Spaniards and the Frenchmen on the high seas.

Franklin's hand was seen again in very creditable ways in the promotion of learning in Philadelphia. He was himself less than a half educated man, even after a long lifetime of association with better grounded people. His curiosity, however, was restless and he had a sincere interest in all kinds of subjects. He was still a mere youth when, in 1728, he established the Junto. It was a debating club which met around at taverns, or at the homes of the members, usually once a week, and it led a continued existence for many years. His associates at first included Joseph Breintnall, a copyist, who wrote very indifferent verse; Thomas Godfrey, an ingenious glazier; Nicholas Scull, for a time surveyor-general of the province; William Parsons, a shoemaker; Franklin's partner, Hugh Meredith; Robert Grace, "a young gentleman of some fortune;" William Coleman, a merchant's clerk, and George Webb, a compositor of scholarly instincts. They met in a spirit of self improvement to inquire of one another whether the electric fluid and "elementary fire" were one and the same thing, and what becomes of all the water that flows into the Mediterranean sea.

Out of this club of inquisitive and ambitious young gentlemen of the "middling class" several things came, and first in order the Philadelphia Library, in 1731. Subscribers were obtained at forty shillings each. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Hopkinson, William Parsons, Philip Syng, Jr., Thomas Godfrey, Anthony Nicholas, Thomas Cadwalader, John Jones, Jr., Robert Grace and Isaac Pennington, were elected directors. This, as Franklin says, was "the mother of all the North American subscription libraries," which later became so numerous. The Junto was then meeting in the home of its wealthy member, Robert Grace, and, the need of books being felt, they obtained his consent to place them in a room under his roof until better quarters could be found. James Logan suggested the names of volumes which they should purchase in England, and they were accordingly obtained. In many ways he befriended the library company, and his interest in public reading rooms, led him shortly before his death to erect a building, one story in height with an attic, "in Sixth street over against the State House square," really at the northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. In it he placed many of his own books and opened it for public use. It was the first library to have a separate building in the American colonies. At his death his heirs, in pursuance of his wish, gave it to the city and, as the Loganian Library in 1792, when it consisted of 3,953 volumes, mostly classical, it was merged with the Philadelphia Library.

Louis Timothée, the "language master," who had been the translator of Franklin's unsuccessful German newspaper, was the first librarian of the Philadelphia Library, attending for a small fee for a few hours on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Only subscribers could withdraw books for perusal at home, but any "civil gentleman" might consult or read them in the library room. Following Timothée, Franklin himself was for a time the librarian, and the collection in 1740, upon invitation of the assembly, was removed to an upper room in the State House where it remained for more than thirty years.

Another product of the Junto was the American Philosophical Society whose existence dates from 1743. It sprang from a circular by Franklin entitled "A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America," and was to be composed of "virtuosi or ingenious men residing in the several colonies." They were to correspond with one another, establishing in Philadelphia a kind of clearing house for the information which they should bring to light. There were to be resident in that city at least seven members, a physician, a botanist, a mathematician, a chemist, a mechanician, a geographer and a general natural philosopher, besides a president, a treasurer and a secretary.

Franklin was already concerning himself with electricity. He had invented a stove which was made of iron plates, to be set in a fire place to conserve and distribute the heat, and which soon everywhere bore his name. It became very popular with the thrifty Germans who found that it burned less fuel, and that their wives and children could do more work in the house when they were not constantly turning their bodies to bring them near to the wasteful open fire. Franklin already had some authority as a "philosopher," therefore, and he became the secretary of the society. Thomas Hopkinson, an English lawyer who had come out to Pennsylvania about 1731, and who like Franklin was an experimenter in electricity, became its president and William Coleman who, at the beginning in the Junto, had been a clerk and was now a merchant, its treasurer, as he was for a long time also the treasurer of the library company.

The departments, into which it was conceived that the philosophy of the day might be divided, were in charge of Dr. Thomas Bond, physician, who was born in Calvert County, Maryland, and educated abroad, coming to Philadelphia in 1732; John Bartram, botanist, already widely known for the collection of trees and plants surrounding his home, beyond the Schuylkill near Gray's Ferry;¹ Thomas Godfrey, mathematician, who, in 1730, had noted the principle of the mariner's quadrant while putting in a pane of glass and, helped by James Logan to knowledge in a foreign book, had invented a device for establishing a ship's latitude and longitude at sea, soon stolen by Hadley, an instrument-maker in London, and sold under his name; Samuel Rhoads, mechanician; William Parsons, geographer; and Dr. Phineas Bond,² general natural philosopher, who was Thomas Bond's brother and also a respected physician. The name of a chemist lacked and one was not immediately chosen to represent this field of knowledge.

The farthest reaching activity of Franklin at this time, however, as it proved, was the part he played in connection with the school which later became the

¹ John Bartram, was a Quaker farmer, born in Darby in 1699. He called himself a "ploughman." He educated himself laboriously until he came to understand the plants which grew everywhere around him. He bought at sheriff's sale a tract of land on the Darby road near his birthplace, and in 1730 began to construct with his own hands the hewn stone house which still stands in the "garden."

² Dr. Thomas Bond was born in 1712 and died in 1784. Dr. Phineas Bond was born in 1717 and died in 1773. The latter married Williamina, a daughter of William Moore of "Moore Hall," and was therefore a brother-in-law of Provost William Smith. Dr. Phineas Bond is not to be confused with his son Phineas, 1749-1816, who was Tory during the Revolution and was British Consul in Philadelphia for a number of years after the war.

University of Pennsylvania. When in 1740 the admirers of Whitefield erected for his use the "New Building" on the west side of Fourth street, just below Arch, they combined with the idea a scheme for a charity school, "for the instruction of poor children gratis in useful literature and the knowledge of the Christian religion."¹ It may possibly have been suggested by Whitefield's orphan house in Georgia. Whatever was in mind little came of it. The "New Building" fell into the hands of Gilbert Tennent's New Light Presbyterian congregation, later called the Second Presbyterian Church. Meantime Franklin and some of his friends had formed a plan for an academy. The city was not without its schools, the chief of which was what later came to be called the Penn Charter School. When George Keith left it that school had passed into the hands of Thomas Makin, who wrote English and Latin verse, and it had a long line of devoted masters. But it was entirely under the control of the Friends. There were also private masters. One of the Swedish ministers eked out a living by giving instruction to the young men of the city, and there were opportunities, limited though they might be, for those who wished to bring their children up in the way they should go without sending them back to England or Germany.

However, a number of the teachers belonged to the hated Catholic church. A motive of many who had the plans for the new academy in hand was found in the fact that the country was "suffering at present very much for want of good school masters, and oblig'd frequently to employ in their schools vicious imported servants, or concealed papists, who by their bad examples and instructions often deprave the morals or corrupt the principles of the children under their care." There was need for something which would be undenominational—that is Protestant—and which would at the same time go more deeply into the subjects to be taught. For some time Franklin had been revolving this idea in his restless mind, and in 1749 he published a pamphlet called "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania." He had the advice of several men and particularly of the Rev. Richard Peters, who had followed Logan as the secretary and business agent of the Proprietaries in Pennsylvania. Subscriptions promising an income of £800 annually for five years were obtained and a constitution was adopted which was signed by twenty-four leading citizens, who are entitled to be called the founders of the school,—the venerable James Logan, whose death occurred the year in which the school was opened; Thomas Lawrence, merchant; William Allen, lawyer and merchant; John Inglis, merchant; Tench Francis, the son of a distinguished prelate of the church in Dublin, a lawyer who had come to the city from Maryland, at the time attorney-general of Pennsylvania; William Masters, a landed gentlemen; Lloyd Zachary, physician; Samuel McCall, Jr., merchant; Joseph Turner, mariner, merchant, and manufacturer; Benjamin Franklin; Thomas Leech, a son of Toby Leech, an associate of Penn; William Shippen, the elder, physician; Robert Strettell, a Quaker merchant, an Irishman by birth; Philip Syng, an intelligent silversmith; Charles Willing, merchant; Dr. Phineas Bond; Richard Peters; Abram Taylor, merchant; Dr. Thomas Bond; Thomas Hopkinson; William Plumsted,

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXII, p. 499.

merchant; Joshua Maddox, merchant; Thomas White, father of Bishop White and of Mrs. Robert Morris, who had lately come to Philadelphia from Maryland; and William Coleman.

Franklin became president and Coleman treasurer of the board. Several suggestions in regard to a building were made, but since the Whitefield church was greatly in debt and the plans for a charity school had never been carried out, the trustees of that enterprise and the trustees of the academy were brought together, probably through the activity of Franklin as he himself leads us to infer. The name now became "The Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia." Tennent and his Presbyterians were warned out at the end of three years, and they erected a new church at the corner of Third and Mulberry streets. The city corporation in 1750 granted the school £200 at once and £100 a year for five years, and gifts came in from other sources. The hall was divided into two stories and partitioned off into rooms available for the separate classes. A belfry was erected. Though the building was not yet ready for use the academy was formally opened with a sermon by Richard Peters, to a crowded audience on January 7, 1751. The scholars met their teachers for a time in a large house in Second street, contributed by William Allen. The head of the school was called a rector and the first to occupy the office was David Martin, of whom nothing is known except that he came from a neighboring province and that he died the next year. Other teachers were Theophilus Grew, who had arrived in Philadelphia from Maryland, in 1742, since which time he had taught a private school, being well known as a mathematician; David James Dove, a tutor who had just arrived from England; and Charles Thomson, who later went to the Penn Charter School and long afterward was the distinguished secretary of the Continental Congress.

Martin's place was taken in 1752 by Rev. Francis Alison, a Presbyterian preacher and educator for some time settled in Chester County, while Dove who preferred to conduct a private school was succeeded by the Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley, who had been a Baptist preacher but was now experimenting with electricity, antedating Franklin with the suggestion for the lightning rod.

The academy gained over one hundred pupils in the first nine months of its career, each of whom paid £4 per annum for his tuition and 20 shillings more as an entrance fee, together with a proportionate share of the expense of "firing in the winter season." The trustees, as they were bound to do, opened the charitable school in the summer of 1751 and it was at once started on its benevolent course. A year later reading, writing and arithmetic were being taught to 100 poor children from eight to thirteen years of age.

Little enough progress was made, however, until the academy passed into the hands of a remarkable Scotchman named William Smith. He came to this country in 1751 as a tutor to two boys in New York. In 1753 he published a pamphlet called "A General Idea of the College of Mirania," some mythical Utopian place, and when it fell into the hands of Franklin and Richard Peters they wrote him to say that he would find his Mirania in Philadelphia. They invited him to come to the city, which he did, and after a visit to England he returned to settle here in the year 1754, being assigned the subjects of logic,

rhetoric, ethics and natural philosophy. The school had been chartered by the proprietors in 1753, but in 1755 it received another charter and was raised to the rank of a college, with power to grant degrees. Its full name became the "College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia," and its officers were a provost and a vice provost, to which places the trustees elected Rev. William Smith, and the old rector Rev. Francis Alison. The masters henceforth were to be called professors, and all taken together they constituted a faculty.¹

Whitefield and other preachers continued to address their audiences in the building from time to time, according to the terms by which it had been acquired, though there were coming to be halls which were more commodious. In 1756 the great evangelist wrote: "The house is now by consent become an academy as well as a preaching place, and when I was last at Philadelphia I heard several youths speak in it so oratorically as could have delighted even a Cicero or a Demosthenes." In 1764, while he was visiting the city, he preached to the students at the beginning of their new term upon the invitation of Provost Smith. The "head gentlemen" of Philadelphia were present and he declared the college to be "one of the best regulated institutions in the world."²

There was still another institution whose establishment was forwarded by Franklin. This was the first hospital of the city, the Pennsylvania Hospital, which was chartered in 1751. A petition signed by many leading citizens stated that the number of lunatics in the province had so much increased that they were a danger to themselves and a terror to others. If they were given medical attention many could be cured. There were also numbers of poor in the province languishing out their lives, "tortured perhaps with the stone, devoured by the cancer, deprived of sight by cataracts, or gradually decaying by loathsome distemper." These all should have the free "assistance of physic and surgery" in a properly endowed hospital, which did not exist, though operations had been performed from time to time in the almshouse. The assembly was prevailed upon to make an appropriation of £2,000 for the benefit of the institution so soon as a like amount should be subscribed by the people, after Lloyd Zachary³ Thomas Bond and Phineas Bond had offered to attend the patients gratis for three years. On July 1st, 1751, such progress had been made with the project that a meeting was held at the State House and the following board of managers was elected: Joshua Crosby, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Bond, Samuel Hazard, Richard Peters, Israel Pemberton, Jr., Samuel Rhoads, Hugh Roberts, Joseph Morris, John Smith, Evan Morgan and Charles Norris. John Reynell was elected treasurer of the hospital. The proprietaries were asked for a lot upon which to erect a building, but that which they offered, a portion of what is now

¹ "Universities and Their Sons," *University of Pa.*, by E. P. Cheyney.

² Benjamin Marshall, son of Christopher Marshall, the diarist, wrote to a friend on November 12, 1763: "George Whitefield is now here, he preached a few days ago at the New Baptist Meeting-house. He don't preach near so often nor is he near so much followed as formerly, he is so very fat that thee would hardly know him, he being as fat as almost anybody here."—*Pa. Mag.*, XX, pp. 205-6.

³ Lloyd Zachary was a native of Boston, although his mother was a Philadelphian, a daughter of Thomas Lloyd. He studied medicine with Dr. Kearsley. He was born in 1707 and died in 1756.

Franklin Square, was claimed by the city as a public common and it adjoined the brickyards where stagnant water stood, making the situation very unhealthful. The politeness, therefore, was rejected and a house on the south side of Market street, above Fifth street, on the outskirts of the city was rented for temporary use. The hospital was opened on February 10, 1752, with Zachary, the two Bonds, Thomas Cadwalader,¹ Thomas Graeme, John Redman,² and Samuel Preston Moore in attendance. These good men not only served the patients free of charge but paid out of their own purses for the drugs and medicines, which were used. Thus was another excellent undertaking of vast influence in effecting the public betterment started upon its way. At the end of two years it was stated that sixty persons had been cured of their disorders, while many others had received material relief. In 1755 the managers purchased for £500 a piece of ground in Pine street, extending from Eighth to Ninth street, and the remainder of the plot facing Spruce street which still belonged to the Penn family, was soon presented to the institution, thus giving it the entire square now occupied by the buildings. The cornerstone of the first edifice was laid on May 28, 1755, amid ceremonies so important that work in the schools of the city was suspended. The patients were removed to the new building in December, 1756.

In a little while lectures and demonstrations were given in the hospital and elsewhere in the city, and the foundations were laid for Philadelphia's later fame as a center for medical education. Most young men who wished to follow physic or surgery had been trained in the office of Dr. John Kearsley, and then went abroad. They were still, until after the Revolution, as were the lawyers who wished to gain any degree of proficiency, constrained to attend European schools, but there were signs of better things. Dr. Thomas Cadwalader opened a course of lectures in Second street, above Walnut, in a building later razed to make a site for the Bank of Pennsylvania. In 1762 Dr. William Shippen, Jr.³ announced a course of anatomical lectures. The first of these was delivered at the State House, but he afterward removed to Fourth street, above Market, where in the rear of his father's house he had what was called an anatomical theater. The bodies of criminals and suicides were sent to his dissecting table. Dr. Fothergill, of London, forwarded him a collection of anatomical drawings and models which were later deposited with the Pennsylvania Hospital.

The city by this time, from 1750 to 1760, enjoying a sustained though gradual growth, had come to contain some 15,000 inhabitants. In 1741 there were 1,621 taxable persons, about 1,200 of whom were settled north of Chestnut street. But one hundred and eighty-three resided in the entire area below Wal-

¹ Thomas Cadwalader (1707-79) was a son of John Cadwalader, a Welsh "school master" who came to this country with William Penn on his second voyage to Pennsylvania in 1699. He first settled with the pioneers from Wales in the tract beyond the Schuylkill and was married in the Merion meeting in 1699. He became a freeman of the city in 1705. (Keith's *Provincial Councillors*, p. 371). The son studied medicine here and abroad and was one of Philadelphia's distinguished physicians in the eighteenth century.—*Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 262.

² John Redman (1722-1808) was a native of Philadelphia, a pupil of Kearsley. He studied for a considerable time in Europe and had a long and honorable career as a physician.

³ Born in 1736; son of Dr. William Shippen, the elder. His father gave every care to his education at home and he was sent abroad for several years to study under eminent medical teachers.

nut street, a number which included the occupants of the buildings located on the south side of that highway. Outside of the city, in Philadelphia County, there were 3,422 taxable persons in forty-seven townships, of which Byberry in the north had fifty-two; Bristol, also in the north, sixty-four; Blockley, west of the river, seventy-two; Germantown one hundred and sixty-eight; Kingsessing, fifty-nine; Passyunk and Moyamensing, seventy-eight; and Roxborough, thirty-eight.

In 1751 the number of taxables in the city and county had increased to 7,100. It appears from the petition for batteries and forts sent to the king by the city corporation in 1744, that there were 1,500 houses and about 13,000 people in Philadelphia, but a careful computation by wards in 1749 gave the city and its north and south suburbs—that is, immediately north of Vine street and south of South street—2,076 dwelling houses. The south suburbs became so populous that in 1762 they were erected into the district of Southwark, the people having again gone to England for a name instead of using the old Indian *Wicaco*. The streets running south were continued through the district, and it seemed to be an integral part of Philadelphia. Nevertheless, there were many who still thought Penn's paper plans entirely chimerical. A city stretching from river to river with its centre square, and the two squares east and the two squares west of Broad street, were mere dreams of a hopeful speculator in wild lands. Nearly seventy-five years after the town was founded Governor Thomas Pownall, here in 1754, wrote that many who had paid Penn nearly as much for lots on the Schuylkill as on the Delaware front, had lived to repent of it. "That this town should ever have such extent [from the Delaware to the Schuylkill]," he observed, "is almost impossible; it does not extend one-third of the way; those, therefore, who bought these lots on a speculation were much deceived."¹

As for the colony at large, Provost Smith, of the college, let it be known in England, in 1755, that the population was about 220,000. It had doubled in twenty years. He estimated that one-third of these were Germans, two-fifths Quakers, and more than one-fifth Presbyterians, with a few Baptists. Franklin, a little later, was wont to state that one-third were Quakers, one-third Germans, and one-third Scotch-Irish, a sufficiently fair division for every practical use. The Irish and German elements still swept out toward the frontier, the movement reaching its height about 1750. The entries at the port for some years attained astounding proportions. The conditions affecting this immigration became so wretched that in January, 1750, the assembly passed a law specifying that no captain should import into the Delaware "any greater number of passengers in any one ship or other vessel than such only as shall be well provided with good and wholesome meat, drink and other necessaries . . . during the whole voyage." Each passenger above fourteen years of age so carried should have a space "at least six feet in length and one foot six inches in breadth." Captains offending against this law, on the subject of overcrowding, were to forfeit £10 for each passenger over and beyond the number which could be properly accommodated.² In 1765, when the need had nearly passed, the assembly made further stipulations. The length and breadth of the space allowed to each

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XVIII, p. 211.

² *Statutes at Large of Pa.*, Vol. V, p. 94.



SCULL AND HEAP'S MAP OF PHILADELPHIA, 1750

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passenger had already been specified; the height of the bunk, it was now stated, should be at least three feet nine inches in the fore part of the vessel, between decks, and two feet nine inches in cabin and steerage. Not more than two persons should be placed in a bed unless it were a parent with his or her children. Each master must provide his ship with a "well recommended surgeon," and a chest of medicines, to be administered free of cost to the sick, under penalty of £100. Twice a week during the voyage the vessel should be "thoroughly smoked by burning tar between decks," and "well washed with vinegar." Drink and provisions should not be sold at a profit greater than 50 per cent, and other measures were taken to guard the passengers from unjust exactions, and their unwilling sale into bondage.¹

The formation of Lancaster County in 1729 with its four representatives in the assembly, was followed by the creation of York County in 1749, "westward of Susquehanna and southeastward of South Mountain" with two members of assembly; and Cumberland County in 1750, "westward of Susquehanna and northward and westward of the County of York," with two assemblymen. These southwestern counties served the convenience of the Scotch-Irish. In the north and northwest the German settlers were at a serious disadvantage because of their need to come to Philadelphia or Bristol to vote, for jury service and for trials in the courts. The town of Reading had been laid out by the Penn family in 1750. It then contained two houses. Two years later, in 1752, it had 150 buildings and was the home of 106 families of 378 persons, and the new county of Berks, entitled to one member in the assembly, was formed. Chester and Lancaster counties, as well as Philadelphia County contributed to this result. The change materially affected Philadelphia which was now definitely bounded on the north and was made to include only the area covered by the present Philadelphia and Montgomery counties. In 1752 the northwestern part of Bucks County was formed into a new county called Northampton, with one member of the assembly.

The city corporation pursued its way, exercising the rather limited powers with which it was clothed with dignity—leasing ferries, wharves and market stalls, hiring out the Potters' Field, what we now know as Washington Square, as a pasturage, and performing its judicial functions. Now and again it remitted a woman's fine on condition that she "ship herself off from this province and do not return to it again," or "on her being shipt off to Pensacola." A man would be excused if he should agree to go "beyond sea." The meat butchers were cheating their customers by the use of steelyards; they must hereafter employ scales and weights. The shad and herring brought to the markets in summer stunk and were offensive to the fine people whose homes overlooked the scene. The fish must be confined to the wharves or to the fish market already, or a little later established at Front street and Dock creek near the drawbridge. The semi-weekly markets, on the whole, were exceptionally good. William Black, who visited Philadelphia in 1744, wrote that on these days "you may be Supply'd with every Necessary for the support of Life thro'ut the whole year, both extraordinary good and reasonably Cheap; it is allow'd by Foreigners to

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 432.

be best of its bigness in the known world, and undoubtedly the largest in America. I got to this place by 7; and had no small satisfaction in seeing the pretty Creatures, the young Ladies, traversing the place from stall to stall where they cou'd make the best market, some with their Maid behind them with a Basket to carry home the Purchase. Others that were designed to buy but trifles as a little fresh butter, a Dish of green Peas or the like had Good Nature and Humility enough to be their own Porters."¹

In 1755 Daniel Fisher came, and visiting the market, spoke of the "vast concourse of people" who attended, "buyers as well as sellers." Sheepshead arrived from the seacoast "quite through the Province of New Jersey not less than 70 miles land carriage" to be sold for 18d. each. Butter could be had at 8d. a pound. There was good milk at a penny a pint for sale in the market, though it was generally brought mornings and evenings to the people's doors.

In 1742 iron chains were stretched across the streets to prevent the traffic of horses and wagons in the market place from sunrise until 10 o'clock in summer time, and until 11 o'clock in the winter months. A number of new stalls east of the court house, primarily for the use of sellers coming from New Jersey, whence their popular name the "Jersey Market," had been built, and, to accommodate the residents of those portions of the city situated below Dock creek, a new market was placed in Second street, south of Pine street, in 1745. It was designed to be an "ornament" to that part of the city as well as "a great conveniency to ye inhabitants." The money was advanced by Edward Shippen and Joseph Wharton. So much did the market dominate High street that everyone came to know the street by this name. There is no record of this use in an official paper, however, until it occurs in the minutes of the common council in 1760.²

Annually the aldermen and common councilmen elected the mayor and repaired to the governor for his swearing in, a formal social ceremony which made the city's life more picturesque than it later came to be. Aldermen who had been fined £30 for refusing to serve were now usually obliged to pay £40, and not infrequently two or three would be selected and mulcted before one willing to wear the honor could be found.

The entire yearly income of the city in 1747 was only £308 16s. aside from fines and forfeitures, and it enjoyed a very slow increase. There was little room for extravagance, and none was indulged in. The public whipper, known to everyone as "Daniel," whose full name was Daniel Pellito, seems to have performed his service for a few gifts. In 1748 he received a suit of clothes, a hat, and shoes and stockings, which cost the city £8 1s. 5d. In 1753 he was voted a salary of £10 a year. Only £25 a year were paid to Samuel Garrigues in 1762 for his various duties—"overlooking the corders of wood and taking care of the public wharves and fire engines, and for sweeping and cleaning the market and ringing the market bell."³ It was 1763 before the salary of the recorder, the

¹ *Pa. Magazine*, Vol. I, pp. 405-6.

² p. 668.

³ *Minutes of Common Council*, p. 677.

presiding law officer of the mayor's court, a place occupied by the leading lawyers of the city, was raised from £25 to £75 per annum.

The progress made with paving, except as it was done by the individual owners of property in front of their own houses, was not great. In 1762 parts of Second street were gravelled, but for the most part, instead of making hard roads, efforts were directed toward reducing the weight of the loads of the teamsters and increasing the width of the tires of their carts. In 1763 it was resolved that they should henceforth measure seven inches, a rule stoutly and it would seem successfully resisted by the carters of the city, for the width was soon reduced to four inches. The streets in wet weather were miry swamps, because they were not paved and were not properly drained. There were footways in front of the houses set with brick or square flat stones which were put in place by the owners. On the street line there were posts, usually of timber, fixed in the ground to keep off the wagons. Steps were taken now to light the city. A candle in the window for a departing friend and a watchman at the corner with a lantern would no longer suffice. Some were beginning to hang out lamps or lanterns in front of their doors. In 1749 a meeting of householders who had adopted this policy was held at the Widow Pratt's tavern and arrangements were made to hire a lamplighter, which was done at the rate of 3s. 9d. a month.

For a long time the night watch had been inefficient, but the city corporation being unable to lay a tax, appeal must be made to the assembly. Action was postponed and delayed until the conditions could be well borne no longer. Citizens who were warned by the constables to attend not unnaturally shirked the duty. They sent boys and town loungers as substitutes when they paid any attention whatever to the summons. The collection of watch money was well-nigh impossible. The result was a service in the hands of men who tumbled all night in the taverns and were a greater menace to peace and good order than those against whom they were expected to be a guard. The manifest solution was a "stated watch" properly hired, and early in 1751 the law was passed. Under the direction of the constables they were to "keep watch and ward" throughout the city, going their rounds at regular intervals, apprehending "all night-walkers, malefactors, rogues, vagabonds and disorderly persons," and immediately alarming the inhabitants at sign of fire or "other great necessity." With this provision was coupled another for "enlightening" the streets, lanes and alleys by "a sufficient and convenient number of lamps." Proper persons were to be hired for lighting, trimming, snuffing and supplying them with whale oil. The lamps were first used in October, 1751. At the beginning the globes were round. They were sometimes hung out from buildings; at other times set up in the streets on poles or on the pumps. A quantity of oil was kept in a vault under the meat market, where it emitted a stench unpleasant to the neighborhood. It smoked so fearfully that the flame was often entirely obscured, and it was on Franklin's suggestion, he tell us in his *Autobiography*, that the lamp of four separate flat panes was introduced, with openings above and below, so that a draft might be obtained. Then, too, said this practical mentor of the town, if the glass were struck and broken it would be less expensive to replace one pane than an entire globe. Severe penalties were prescribed for mistreating

the lamps or extinguishing the lights, as there were also for carrying away the handles of the town pumps, putting stones in them and otherwise rendering them unfit for use. Servants and slaves were given twenty-one stripes for these offenses and placed in the workhouse on a diet of bread and water for three days. The number of pumps at this time was increased as a further precaution against fire, several private pumps which the owners would not keep in repair being seized for town use.

The mayor in 1748 was Charles Willing, the son of an English merchant. He arrived in Philadelphia when he was in his eighteenth year, and married into the Shippen family. It was this man who discovered the abilities and promoted the ambitions of Robert Morris, making him a member, with his son Thomas Willing, of a firm which prior to and during the Revolution was one of the foremost in the colonies. In 1749 the mayor was Thomas Lawrence, who had first been elected to the office more than twenty years before. The next year the choice fell upon William, son of Clement Plumsted, who was followed in office by Robert Strettell, who had mercantile interests of importance. Then came in order Benjamin Shoemaker, Thomas Lawrence, Charles Willing and William Plumsted, all of whom had earlier served in the place. For two years, in 1756 and 1757, the mayor was Attwood Shute, an Episcopalian, as were so many of the officers of the city. In 1758 the common council elected Thomas Lawrence, the eldest son of the previous mayor of the same name, a merchant like his father; the next year another merchant, John Stamper, grandfather of William Bingham, of whom much more will be heard; in 1760 Benjamin Shoemaker; then Jacob Duché, son of a French Protestant emigré and father of Jacob Duché, who later figured as the chaplain of the Continental Congress; in 1762, Henry Harrison, a public-spirited citizen of the day; in 1763, Charles Willing's son, Thomas Willing; in 1764, Thomas Lawrence, the second, again, and in 1765 and 1766 his younger brother, John Lawrence. Thus the corporation continued to be almost a family possession. It never got very far away from that group of society which on Sundays attended at Christ Church. It had gone entirely out of Quaker hands.

The State House had been very slow to assume its final form. In 1750 steps were taken to continue the tower and erect the steeple in which a bell was to be hung. The superintendents of the building at this time were Isaac Norris, Thomas Leech and Edward Warner, and in October, 1751, they wrote to Robert Charles, the colonial agent in London, asking him to procure and ship "a good bell" cast by "the best workmen," having upon it "shaped in large letters" these words from the 10th verse of the 25th chapter of Leviticus: "Proclaim Liberty through all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." Its weight was to be about 200 pounds and it was to cost approximately £100. The bell came in August, 1752, by Captain Richard Budden, who regularly ran a vessel between Philadelphia and London, called the "Philadelphia Packet." It was on his ship that the principal passengers and many articles of freight arrived in the colony. Somehow the metal was cracked by a stroke of the clapper while it was being tested for its sound. Captain Budden would not agree to return it, wherefore two men in Philadelphia, named Pass and Stow, made a mould,

broke up the old bell and adding some copper to the mixture cast a new one successfully. The bell was raised with much lime punch, a barrel of beer and a large quantity of bread and roast meat early in 1753, but it, too, did not contain the proper ingredients, and a few weeks later it was cast over again, when it was restored to its place and remained there, to perform a service since much advertised during the Revolution. A clock by a local maker was put up on the State House soon after the bell was hung. By further purchase of land the yard behind was extended to Walnut street, and it was enclosed by a high brick wall. A gate on the Walnut street side afforded an entrance from that direction, but the grounds were little improved and they afforded little pleasure to the lover of a pretty walk until after the Revolution.¹

Christ Church, too, was soon to receive its steeple, and in this structure was placed a peal of bells to supersede its smaller bells. A traveller remarked "a little inconsiderable steeple" upon the edifice in 1750. The erection of a higher one, according to the original plans, was urged. James Hamilton, Richard Peters, Dr. Kearsley and others subscribed money which was held by Jacob Duché, the treasurer of the fund, until it accumulated sufficiently to justify the step. Lotteries were resorted to in 1752 and in 1753. Managers were appointed, tickets sold at four pieces of eight each, and the sum was finally completed.² "A ring of eight bells" were ordered in London, the tenor to be of about 18 hundred weight. They were cast at a bell foundry there, weighed all taken together 9000 pounds and were brought in by the trusted Captain Budden free of charge, for which civility they were always afterward rung upon the arrival of his ship in port. They were hung by a man who stipulated that his compensation should consist of their being muffled at his funeral, a wish that was complied with. The chimes were the wonder of the town and their fame spread over the province. They were rung on the evenings preceding market days for the enjoyment of the country people, who twice a week crowded into the city to sell their produce, and often the gaping yeomanry invaded the church to beg the ringers to show them the source of the fine sounds.³

The city now had six steeples which the mariner could distinguish as he came up the river—those on the State House and on Christ Church, which were of the greatest height, the little unfinished spires on Gilbert Tennent's Second Presbyterian church, on Mulberry street and the German Reformed church on Race street, and the belfries on the courthouse and the college. If the steeple of Christ Church had been completed a little earlier the world would in all likelihood have been deprived of Franklin's picturesque experiment with the kite. He sent this messenger into the clouds in a thunder storm in 1752, because there was at that time no spire in the city of sufficient height to which he could attach a metal point to catch the lightning and lead it down to the earth.

The Friends increased their numbers in Philadelphia. They built a new meeting house on Society Hill, between Front and Second streets on Pine street,

¹ *History of Independence Hall*, by D. W. Belisle.

² *Dorr's History of Christ Church*, pp. 101-2.

³ The custom of ringing the bells of the church on Tuesday and Friday evenings continued to be observed until 1871.—*Pa. Mag.*, IV, p. 169.

which was commonly called the "Hill Meeting." The edifice was so far completed in 1753 that the Yearly Meeting could be held there in September of that year. In 1755, the "Great Meeting House" at the southwest corner of Second and Market streets was pulled down to make way for the "Greater Meeting House" erected on the site. In 1763, a new edifice, used principally for business meetings, was built on the east side of Fourth street below Chestnut street, adjoining the school which William Penn had chartered sixty years before.¹

The growth of the Society, however, was not proportionate to that of the other religious bodies. The Church of England element crowded Christ Church, and steps were taken to accommodate the southern part of the city by the erection of a new house of worship at Third and Pine streets. The site was the gift of the proprietaries and on September 4, 1761, St. Peter's Church, as it was called, was opened with a sermon by Provost Smith. One government sufficed for both churches, which were controlled by "The Vestry of the United Congregations of Christ Church and St. Peter's in the City of Philadelphia." In 1762, Rev. Richard Peters, who had preached as an assistant at Christ Church for a few months after his arrival from England in 1736, having now left the employment of the Penns, was elected rector of the united congregations. He was a man who was most highly regarded and for years had been a citizen of light and leading, so that his election brought great strength to the two churches. He had assistants, and he himself preached from the pulpits under some alternating arrangement which gave general satisfaction. The ceremony of opening St. Peter's included a procession in the street of the clergy, the vestrymen, the questmen, the church wardens and other officials from Christ Church, to the governor's house, where he and his council joined them and accompanied them to the new edifice. Third and Pine streets was then a little settled part of the city. The streets approaching the church were still so bad in 1768 that much complaint was heard. In wet weather the members could scarcely make their way to it.

All the denominations at this time were disturbed by the Whitefield movement and the Methodist agitation. As the Presbyterians were divided so did the Episcopal church suffer what was near a schism. The Rev. William McClenachan, who had been for a short time an assistant at Christ Church, got into one of those ecclesiastical quarrels with which the times abounded. He withdrew and found many followers. He preached at the State House in the open air, being not afraid to violate the conventions which bound more conservative clergymen. His admirers, under his leadership, built a church which was called St. Paul's, on the east side of Third street below Walnut street. It was opened on December 20, 1761, soon after St. Peter's. But McClenachan's health failed and in 1765 he removed to Maryland, where he died. The congregation later drew nearer to the Episcopal church, and lost that independent character which had at first distinguished it.

The Presbyterians also directed their attention to the southern portion of the city and preparations were made for the establishment of a church in that

¹ George Vaux, *Arch Street Meeting House*, pp. 20-23.



OLD SWEDISH CHURCH, 1828
Drawn by Thomas Sully

district. The First church on Market street and the Second church, Gilbert Tennent's on Mulberry street, were not very near together on doctrinal points. The Third church was to be "Old Light," an outgrowth of the Market street church which though the galleries had been enlarged, was still too crowded. The new building was placed on the south side of Pine street, near Fourth street, and it has long been known to Philadelphians as the "Old Pine Street Church." It was completed in 1769 and it kept up a stirring contest with its parent on Market street during the pastorate of George Duffield, just prior to the Revolution. One party locked the doors; another forced them; there were law suits and, since the members were of combative, unyielding stock, the name which it won of "the fighting church" seemed very apposite.¹

Although galleries had been added to St. Michael's Lutheran church, its congregation became so large that the audiences flowed over into an adjoining building used as a schoolhouse, and then into the academy in Fourth street. At length in 1766 a lot was secured at the southeast corner of Fourth and Cherry streets in the neighborhood of St. Michael's. The section of the city north of Arch street was then the stronghold of the Germans. Zion Church, 70 by 108 feet, was erected on the site; 525,000 bricks were used in the work. The roof and ceiling were supported by eight Doric columns. The building was consecrated in June, 1769, and it was regarded for many years as "the largest and handsomest church in North America." Its interior was burnt in 1794, but it was rebuilt and reconsecrated in 1796.

The Wesleyans or Methodists were later in becoming established in the city. Some missionaries came here from England, preaching from the State House steps and from the judge's stand at the race course at Centre Square. A little congregation met in 1767 in a sail loft near the Dock creek drawbridge, but it was subsequent to 1770 when the "preaching house," as it was called, afterward known as St. George's church was erected on Fourth near Sassafras street.² These people had the zeal of Whitefield and Tennent.

The churches of this time usually contained high-backed wooden pews in which short men and women, and children were lost to sight. There were no stoves, and when they were introduced they were so inadequate in heating capacity that women brought their foot-stoves with them. These were small boxes of wood and perforated tin. In the casket was placed a vessel containing embers from the hearth which retained their heat for a considerable time. For service at night tallow candles were burned, and it was necessary for an attendant to go around among the sconces three times of an evening to snuff the wicks.

The lottery which had been viewed as an institution of the devil on all sides, and particularly among the Quakers, now found growing use. The prohibition seemed nowhere to be respected, and in the middle of the eighteenth century the selling of tickets and drawing of prizes was so general that sober people took alarm. Not only were there city and state lotteries, but many which

¹ *A History of Old Pine Street*, by H. O. Gibbons.

² Still standing, the oldest Methodist church in the United States.

were projected in neighboring provinces invaded Philadelphia and invited public patronage. The first one of importance, as has been noted, was for the benefit of the association battery in 1747 during King George's war. Then there was a series of lotteries for the academy and the charity school; to erect the steeple and purchase a chime of bells for Christ Church; to raise 3,000 pieces of eight to finish the steeple on the Second Presbyterian church; for raising the debt on St. Peter's church; to enlarge Old Trinity church at Oxford (Frankford); to complete St. Paul's church on Third street; to erect a pleasure ground and baths, an enterprise against which many good people protested as an ungodly scheme;¹ for selling 46 acres of land on Petty's island in the Delaware; for paving the streets of Philadelphia; for building a bridge over Octarora creek, and for many other purposes.

Indeed nearly all classes of the people except the Friends, who consistently bore testimony against the practice, gave their support to the lottery, and the buying and selling of tickets, turning the wheel and awarding prizes were among the chief businesses as well as amusements of the day. In 1759 the assembly declared the lottery, whether public or private, a common nuisance. A penalty of £500 was imposed upon the man who should erect one, and £20 upon him who should advertise or offer tickets for sale.² Repealed by the king, because the law also forbade stage plays, it was re-enacted in 1762 without the offending feature and became a law. Exceptions were made only for those lotteries which should be authorized by the British parliament or by the assembly of Pennsylvania, which continued to grant the privilege under definite restrictions for many years.

The establishment of Berks County, and the increase of the population of the region bordering on the Schuylkill river, rich as it was in mineral and other wealth, early made the use of that stream a necessity. It had always been navigable for canoes, flat-bottomed boats and rafts. After an inspection of the stream it was concluded that the channel could be improved at little expense, and made suitable for boats bearing 4,000 pounds. Very active in this movement was James Coultas, a public-spirited man who leased one of the Schuylkill ferries.³ Before the sources and banks of the stream had been denuded of their trees, and the water on its way to the Delaware was abstracted for various uses, it flowed in greater volume. Even in very dry years it would be a highway for large boats, if it were swept of fishing dams, if rocks were blown up, beds of gravel and trees removed, and it were "cleared, scoured and deepened." Coultas proved that large boats could be navigated through the falls at Fort St. Davids. Some dams must be constructed, "pens" made for the locks and a tow-

¹ If baths were necessary they ought to be connected with the hospital; as for walking, why not try the State House green?

² *Statutes at Large*, Vol. p. 445.

³ His niece married one of the George Grays of the lower ferry. He built himself in 1741, a country seat called "Whitby Hall," west of the river, on Gray's Lane, northwest of the Darby Road. It was called this because Mr. Coultas had been born near Whitby in Yorkshire, England. He was High Sheriff of Philadelphia County in 1755-58 and died without issue in 1768. This fine Colonial mansion, at his wife's death a year later, passed into the possession of the Grays.—*Col. James Coultas*, by R. P. Robins.

path laid out, but on the modest scale on which these were planned it was computed that only a comparatively small sum need be expended to open the way between Reading and Philadelphia to boats of a much larger size than those hitherto in use. A number of private subscriptions were made to commissioners, appointed by the assembly in 1761 to receive them, and with public aid something was achieved in the direction of an improved commerce between Philadelphia and the interior over this route. The work, however, went on slowly and many years passed before a good and practicable canal system was devised. It was pointed out that sixteen dams, each six feet in height, would give Philadelphia slack water navigation all the way to Reading. The cost of hauling freight between the two places, which was then 50 shillings a ton, could be reduced to 15 shillings. But this meant the ruin of the fishermen. Shad and other fish from the deep water went up to spawn. The dams would entirely prevent this movement and deprive the population of a food hitherto much relied upon. Already there were laws relating to the catching of fish, and prescribing a closed season for oysters in summer time, and there was much fear lest what had earlier been so abundant would soon no longer be at the people's doors.

The Dutch in the earliest days of the colony had introduced some of their *oiling* methods along the Delaware. The English and Swedish colonists, around the mouth of the Schuylkill, and on that extended portion of the river shore called Point-no-Point, afterward Richmond, in the Northern Liberties, made much progress in reclaiming "marshy and drowned lands." Fine dry meadows were formed where a rich soil had earlier been at the mercy of the tide. But the cooperation of the owners was essential if anything of large worth was to be accomplished. The banks, dams, sluices and flood-gates must have common managers with power to expend money out of a common fund, and about 1760 many laws were passed by the assembly creating these local drainage corporations. Thus an enlarged area of the most fertile soil in the immediate neighborhood of Philadelphia was brought under cultivation, while the salubrity of the air and the general appearance of the city's approaches was at the same time materially improved. The higher land had long enjoyed a fine reputation for its beauty, because of the practice of allowing the poor to cut off the lower boughs of the trees and clear away the underbrush for fagots, to be carried to their cabins and burned. A green carpet of grass thus grew under the trees, since the sunlight could get in, and the forests wherever one would wander were pretty groves.

CHAPTER VII.

PARTY STRIFE.

After Governor Thomas's departure from the province, in the midst of the disputes with the assembly on the subject of military appropriations, and a short period of government by the council, under the presidency of Anthony Palmer¹ its senior member, the lieutenant-governorship, on November 23, 1748, passed to James Hamilton. The son of Andrew Hamilton, enjoying the confidence of both the proprietaries and the people of Pennsylvania, his appointment was welcomed very cordially. He was proclaimed with many complimentary ceremonies, but he remained in office a little less than six years, convinced in his own mind at the end of that time that he could no longer be useful at his post. His term of service covered a period of comparative peace. The home at "Bush Hill" enabled him to keep up all the display which had come to be characteristic of the office. The birthday of the king was celebrated there with ceremonies expressive of the popular loyalty, which were likely to be followed by a ball at the State House in the evening and a supper in the "long gallery," to which the principal persons of the city were invited. Earlier held on October 30, in 1752 the celebration was set forward to November 9. In that year there was a change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar. The year 1752 began on January 1st instead of March 25th. January, instead of March, became the first month of the year, and 11 days were dropped in order to rectify the account. This was accomplished in September. The third day of that month became the 14th. From the 2d of September the almanacs for 1752 pass to the 14th.

Governor Hamilton's contests with the assembly were principally on the subject of a paper currency, whose volume they wished to expand at a rate which seemed dangerous to the proprietors and other sober heads. But war again impended, and these difficulties were sorely complicated by the old military issue. Unable to accomplish more, he left his post in 1754 and made way for Robert Hunter Morris, a son of Lewis Morris, chief justice of New York and New Jersey, and governor of New Jersey from 1738 until his death in 1746, thus escaping the most serious political crisis through which the colony had yet passed.²

¹ The merchant who lived in the Fairman house at Shackamaxon, and the founder of Kensington.

² The Morrises of Morrisania, New York; Robert Hunter Morris himself was born in Morrisania in 1700. He was chief justice of New Jersey for nearly thirty years, covering the time that he was governor of Pennsylvania. He held his office in New Jersey until his death in 1764. This family produced Lewis Morris, the Signer, and the eminent and valuable Federalist of the post-Revolutionary period, Gouverneur Morris.

The French from their bases in Louisiana and Canada laid claim to all the territory drained by the Mississippi and the Ohio, a preposterous pretension in the view of the English. The establishment of such claims would have confined the British settlements to a narrow belt of country on the Atlantic seaboard. This was not to be thought of. The British frontiers were already being extended far toward the west. The Indian trade was being carried farther and farther into the interior, and daring men stood at the outposts of settlement ready to cross the mountains where the French, aided by the Indians, in whom they had fomented fierce enmity toward the English people, were ready to contest possession of the ground. Hamilton was reprovved from England for the policy in Pennsylvania which, under the influence of the Quaker majority in the assembly, remained wholly inactive in the face of serious danger. He chose to retire before his power and popularity were wholly gone, and trouble was at hand in an acute form.

The Indians had been sending their representatives to Philadelphia for many years. Sometimes they came in large delegations which it was expensive and difficult to deal with in a proper way. While James Logan was president of the council they established a camp on the grounds at "Stenton." Several conferences were held in the Great Meeting House of the Friends at Second and Market streets. At various times they slept in the State House, but they were dirty visitors upon whom it was as unpleasant as it was necessary—in the interest of peace and amity—to attend. Their chiefs were heard; food, drink and presents were lavished upon them, and they were sent back in a good humor to their homes which were being pressed farther and farther into the west. It was very important to secure and retain the good will of the Six Nations; if possible, to enlist them in a war against the French. This would in a measure obviate the need of Pennsylvania's conducting hostilities on her own account. The shrewd plan sounds like Franklin's. It was his paper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which on May 9, 1754, had published the eloquent picture of a serpent, of which New England was the head and South Carolina the tail, cut into separate parts, and beneath them the words, "Join or Die." He, now, with John Penn, a son of Richard Penn, who had come out in 1752; Richard Peters and Isaac Norris, speaker of the assembly, were commissioned to proceed to Albany and meet the Indians, as well as representatives from the other colonies with a view to a confederation against the French. The Six Nations, by dint of diplomacy, helped on by gifts, were induced to promise that they would live in peace with the English, and on July 4, 1754, Franklin's plan for a colonial union was adopted. It provided for a president-general, serving under the crown, and a grand council chosen by the assemblies of the various colonies; but the suggestion was premature, and it came to naught.

One of Governor Morris's first acts upon meeting the assembly was to announce that the king had determined to send two regiments of troops from Ireland. They were to be reinforced in America and about two thousand men were expected from Pennsylvania, together with victuals, transportation and other supplies necessary for the prosecution of an active campaign against the French. Such news aroused no enthusiasm in the Quaker majority, which still dominated the assembly. The disputes over the issue of paper money, the taxation of the

proprietary estates and questions of right and privilege continued, so that no practical favors were officially bestowed upon the expedition which General Braddock, a stolid British braggart, came out to lead. Through private endeavors, largely Franklin's, horses and wagons were found in the interior, while some recruits were beaten up in Philadelphia. The settlers in Lancaster County, for whom the western road was laid out, brought their produce to the city in Conestoga wagons. The Conestoga country had become famous in the negotiations with the Indians. It was early occupied by sturdy colonists, who reared a fine breed of draught horses. Without waterways to Philadelphia, four or five of these animals were attached to a peculiar kind of long wagon covered by canvas, stretched over hickory bows, and for more than one hundred years a steady train of these vehicles brought the grain and other produce of the western and southwestern counties into Philadelphia by way of the Lancaster Road.

It was to the Conestoga teamsters that Franklin appealed for the transportation of Braddock's baggage and commissary train, and he met with a patriotic response. The expedition deserved a better fate, but on July 18, an express arrived by way of Maryland, announcing the defeat and flight of the English and colonial forces. "The consternation of the city upon this occasion," a visitor then present relates, "is hardly to be expressed," but advices continued to be vague until the arrival of the Lancaster post on July 23d, when the people's worst fears were confirmed. Mobs assembled and would have destroyed the Catholic church but for the pacific influence of the Quakers.¹ £50,000 was voted "for the king's use," but as before, the bill named conditions which were objectionable to the proprietaries and the quarrel was still in progress when the remnants of Braddock's army straggled into town. They encamped between Pine and Cedar (South) streets, west of Fourth street, arriving in the latter part of August. They were shown every kindness by the women of the city who nursed the sick and wounded. Apple pies and rice puddings were made for them in quantities and the soldiers spoke in the highest terms of this attention, since they had so long lived largely upon animal food. The officers while they were here arranged a ball in the State House in honor of General Johnson's victory over the French at Lake George, bonfires were kindled in the camp and before their departure, which was effected about a month after they came, a "grand review" was given, to the delight of all the townspeople whose religious sentiments did not subdue their interest in martial show.

The driving in of the troops left the western frontier entirely defenseless and the anger at the inactive Quaker assembly increased, especially among the Scotch-Irish. They were as belligerent as the Quakers were peaceful. They had pressed out to the borders of civilization and were a buffer for those who in safe places preached Christian charity and forgiveness. The population of the new counties was increasing, and yet they had only ten votes as compared with twenty-four for the old counties of Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks, and

¹ "The mob here upon this occasion were very unruly, assembling in great numbers with an intention of demolishing the Mass House belonging to the Roman Catholics, wherein they were underhand excited and encouraged by some people of higher rank." But the Quakers, moderate and tolerant, intervened. "The Magistrates met and with a good deal of difficulty prevailed with the mob to desist."—Daniel Fisher's Diary; *Pa. Mag.*, XVII, p. 274.

two for Philadelphia city. Lancaster County had but four representatives; York two, Cumberland two, Berks one and Northampton one. The apportionment was beginning to seem very unfair and the Quakers were on the verge of being deposed in the assembly, as they had already been in the council and the city corporation. Their power would go never to return, and the government of Pennsylvania would pass entirely into other hands. William Penn's male heirs were all Church of England men, and on the subject of a war with France and Indian outrages, which were at the very doors of the people, the Quaker assemblymen got into such a position that enough of them were obliged to resign to put the house into other control. William Moore, of Chester County, told the governor in November, 1755, that 2,000 people in that county were preparing to march upon the city if their lives and property were not defended by the province. Conrad Weiser, the German leader, stated that a similar movement was contemplated in Berks County, and the temper of the Scotch-Irish in the west was very well known. The city corporation in alarm begged the assembly to take action at once. "In the most solemn manner," said they, "before God and in the name of all our fellow citizens, we call upon you, adjure you—nay we supplicate you, as you regard the lives of the people whom you represent, to give that legal protection to your bleeding country, which ought to be the chief object of all government at such a perilous juncture as this." Not only was there danger from mobs, but the city was certain to become the haven for the poor from outlying portions of the colony. The "back settlers," driven from their homes, would fly to the "shelter and charity" of Philadelphia. Such an outburst of public sentiment caused a relaxation of principle on the part of the assembly. Money was appropriated "for the king's use," and a militia law was passed by which eight companies were formed in the city wards, three in Oxford township, two in the Northern Liberties and one in Passyunk. The "Association" was now given a legal position, but some of its members opposed the plans for the new organization and formed themselves into independent companies of foot, horse and artillery.

The disputes, racial, religious and political, led to pamphletary warfare without a parallel. Some very plain truths stated in an essay in England by Provost Smith, of the College of Philadelphia, while he was abroad in 1755, entitled, "A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania," fanned the controversy into flame; and bitterness, instead of Quaker love, possessed every element of the population. The old Lenape, so long the white man's friends, debauched by liquor and deceived by traders and land agents, had become very dangerous neighbors. Early in 1756 the governor set a reward upon the heads of two Delaware chieftains. A little later bounties were offered for the scalps of all Indian men or women which should be brought into the government posts, and war was declared against the entire tribe. This barbarous course was generally disapproved, and it but served to increase the unpopularity of Governor Morris, already so great that his dismissal was devoutly wished for. It had been proposed to get rid of the Quakers in the assembly by the old plan of requiring an oath to which they could not subscribe, but a compromise was effected in London. Leading Friends in the meeting there undertook to arrange for the resigna-

tion of several members. Two delegates were sent over to America to urge the course, and in the summer of 1756 six Quakers, three from Philadelphia, two from Chester and one from Berks County, withdrew. At the October elections several declined to be candidates. More resigned when the assembly met with the understanding that "the ministry requested it."¹ Thus it was that the house passed out of the hands of the Friends under the quite vain belief that it would be a step toward more harmonious government. The influence of the Quakers in Pennsylvania was exercised henceforward in channels which were mostly non-political, though many of their members continued in or were returned to power, and there were times when the assembly was still largely dominated by their opinions.

The bitterness which many expressed toward the Friends, however, was nothing to be compared with the ardor of hate touching the Roman Catholics. There had been unspeakable loathing for them outside of Quaker ranks since the time of King James II. The distrust was now increased in the belief that they were friendly to the French. The most rigid oaths were prescribed to prevent the introduction of any papal influence. No "papists or reputed papists" were permitted to join the militia companies in 1757. Their houses were to be searched for arms and gunpowder, and if any were found they were to be seized and forfeited, all of which did not prevent this people from being heavily taxed for the support of the war. Under such a policy the church had not thriven in Pennsylvania. A few Catholics had come and kept up their religious observances from a very early time. In some year after 1730, probably in 1732, a little "mass house," or one-story chapel, was established by Father Greaton on Walnut street, in the shadow of the Friends' almshouse. This was the beginning of St. Joseph's church, which later became a very prominent religious landmark of the city, and is still so, hidden away though it is in a block of buildings south of Walnut street between Third and Fourth streets to be entered through Willing's alley. In 1763 St. Mary's church was erected, on adjoining land farther south, and some progress in spreading the faith was achieved by faithful priests. A few of the Irish immigrants were Romanists, and the Germans contributed members to the congregation. How great a commotion they were able to cause is shown by passages in a letter of Thomas Penn's agent, Richard Hockley, to the proprietor on November 1, 1742. There were then "two priests in town beside the old one, and two young German Jesuits that live in Conestogoe," who, however, denied that they were Catholics. Two Catholic families had come in from the West Indies, and twelve more were expected during the summer of 1743. A stranger from Carolina who had gone into the chapel was compelled to kneel "at the elevation of the host." Mr. Hockley himself, in company with "young Mr. Willing" attended to see for himself, but was shown "into one of the uppermost seats," and his opportunities were not large. His principal discovery was that the congregation had built a "handsome pulpit," and had "a crimson velvet cushion and cloth with gold fringe." He thought it his duty to drop this hint to Thomas Penn, "for they are become a great Buggbear to several people,

¹ Jenkins, *Memorial History*, p. 277.

and whether or no 'tis true policy to suffer these people to go on and flourish in the manner they do if it could be prevented." ¹

How small a number of adherents the church could muster, both relatively and absolutely, may be understood when it is known that the governor of Pennsylvania, in 1757, officially reported that there were in and around Philadelphia only 150 English and Irish Catholics—72 men and 78 women—and 228 German Catholics—107 men and 121 women. The whole number in the colony he found to be 692 men and 673 women, in all 1,365 persons in charge of four priests. They were enough, however, to cause great misgiving on the part of many, though they had been admitted to no part whatever in the business of government. They were looked upon as French agents and spies, surreptitiously conspiring to turn over the province to a hated church, and on this account there was far from a warm welcome awaiting three sloops laden with the Acadian exiles in the autumn of 1755.

These poor folk were descendants of Frenchmen settled in Acadia, or Nova Scotia, when it was captured by the English in 1713. They had refused to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain without an assurance that they would not be called upon to assist their new mother country in a war against the old. Now accused of aiding the French, they were dispossessed of their lands, and came south to beg the bounty of the English colonists. It was difficult to know what to do with such a people, but they were finally landed at the pest house on Province Island and put under guard. They numbered 454 persons. Anthony Benezet, a French settler in Philadelphia, of philanthropic instincts, appealed to the assembly in their behalf and it responded charitably, a process which needed to be repeated for many years. They remained here, and under the name of the "French neutrals" were a charge upon public and private charity until the Revolution. At least \$20,000 were voted to them out of the public purse prior to the war, to say naught of the amounts contributed toward their support by private bounty. They would not disperse, and indeed no township outside of the city would receive them. If they were scattered they could only be regarded, said one writer, as "so many scorpions in the bowels of our country." They would not permit their children to be bound out to service for fear they would pass into Protestant families. Many died of the small-pox. All suffered from hunger, poverty and cold. Some leaders who were under suspicion were shipped to England where they were probably enlisted as sailors on British men-of-war. They lived for the most part in a row of frame huts on the north side of Pine street between Fifth and Sixth streets, generally known as the "neutral huts."² These seem to have been erected on ground charitably donated for the use by Samuel Emlen, a prominent Quaker, with money collected from the people by the Acadians' tireless friend Benezet. Here the exiles eked out an existence by making wooden shoes and linsey cloth woven from rags which they collected in the streets of the

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXVIII, pp. 42-43.

² Compare "The Acadian Exiles in Pennsylvania," by William B. Reed, *Publications of the Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, VI, p. 285.

city.¹ Their memory will live for Philadelphians, indeed for the entire English speaking race, in Longfellow's *Evangeline*. The girl had come to

“—that delightful land which is washed by the Delaware's waters,
Guarding in sylvan shades the name of Penn the apostle,”

and ministered, a sister of mercy, in the midst of a pestilence, to poor dying souls in

“—the almshouse, home of the homeless,”

there to discover Gabriel on his dying pallet.

“Distant and soft on her ear fell the chimes from the belfry of Christ Church,
While, intermingled with these, across the meadows were wafted
Sounds of psalms that were sung by the Swedes in their church at Wicaco.”

We instinctively look for them

“Side by side in their nameless graves”

where

“Under the humble walls of the little Catholic churchyard,
In the heart of the city, they lie, unknown and unnoticed.”

The Jews were not nearly so unwelcome an ingredient in the population as the Catholics. They were, it is true, very far from numerous. They seem first to have formed a congregation in 1747 which at once, or a little later, came to be known as *Mikveh Israel* (Hope of Israel). The members met in Sterling alley, which ran from Cherry to Race street between Third and Fourth streets. This room being insufficient in size, another was secured in the same neighborhood about 1774. It was not until after the Revolution that the synagogue was built on the north side of Cherry street, west of Third street. The Jews who came to Philadelphia at this time were principally exiles from Spain and Portugal, who had fled from cruel persecution with almost nothing but the clothing upon their backs. Several, such as David Franks, Barnard and Michael Gratz, and the Levys, attained prominence long before the Revolution. David Franks and Samson Levy had such social prominence in 1748 that they were numbered among the subscribers to the dancing assemblies. The first named came to Philadelphia from New York soon after 1738, and seems to have been the king's agent for Pennsylvania, as his father, Jacob Franks, had been the royal representative in many matters, in America in a larger territorial field. He married a Miss Evans, but he seems himself to have remained a Jew, if perhaps of somewhat lax attachment to the synagogue. One of his daughters was an admired Tory belle in the city during the Revolution; another married Andrew Hamilton,

¹ *A. Beneset*, by Roberts Vaux, p. 87.

grandson of the first of that name and nephew of the governor, and became the mistress of "Woodlands."

Samson Levy and the members of his family amassed wealth and were respected in the community before 1750. They purchased ground for a family cemetery on the north side of Spruce street between Eighth and Ninth streets as early as 1738. The Gratz brothers, Barnard and Michael, were importing and Indian traders very favorably known in mercantile circles in the city. They purchased ground adjoining the Levys for burial purposes, and the two plots taken together were used as a place of sepulture by the Mikveh Israel congregation.¹ It had been customary in Europe as a mark of disrespect to fire at targets and shoot deserters at the gates of the Jewish cemeteries. Philadelphia exhibited no better manners. In 1751, Nathan Levy advertised for knowledge leading to conviction of those who had been shooting at marks on the fence which separated the ground from the street. Indeed the fence had been destroyed by those whom he politely called "sportsmen," as a tombstone had been also, and a wall was set up to protect the cemetery from vandalism in the future.² The British while occupying the city during the Revolution are said to have shot renegades at the gate of this burying ground.

The Indians had never been so troublesome as they were now after Braddock's defeat. They considered that they had absolute license to burn and kill at will, and whatever the reason, whether because of outrages committed upon them by frontiersmen, as the Quakers said, or by reason of their own evil instincts, which was the belief of every Scotch-Irishman, there was need for the application of armed force. The governor in person superintended the erection of forts and blockhouses on the frontier, and an extensive scheme was devised for the popular defense. Franklin in the depth of the winter went into the Lehigh valley, where the Moravian village of Gnadenhütten had been burnt, and its inhabitants murdered by the savages. He seems to have conducted his expedition with the shrewdness that characterized all his movements, and after superintending the construction of some forts returned to be elected colonel of the city regiment.

In March, 1756, the men were drawn up for review on Society Hill. The streets were full of marching companies with their hautboys, fifes and drums, their hatchetmen, artillery wagons and ammunition carts. They stopped in front of Franklin's house where volleys of musketry were fired and cannon were discharged until the reverberation broke some of the glasses of his electrical machines. Finally, in the summer of this year, after all these preliminary amenities, war was formally declared between France and England. In this province the proclamation was made first on July 30th at Easton, whither the governor had gone, and it was republished in Philadelphia with appropriate accompanying ceremonies on August 12th.

¹ H. S. Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*; Max J. Kohler, *Rebecca Franks*; H. P. Rosenbach, *Jews in Philadelphia Prior to 1800*. A list of those interred in this ground will be found in L. H. Elmalch and J. Bunford Samuel, *The Jewish Cemetery*.

² Morais, p. 200.

It was but a few days after this date, on August 20, 1756, that the unpopular administration of Governor Morris came to an end. He was followed by Colonel William Denny, who was received with many demonstrations of pleasure, not because of anything that was known in his favor, but in protest against the man who was gone. He was met at Trenton by a large body of citizens. Soldiers welcomed him at the county line, and by the time he had reached the city the cavalcade was one of the largest which Philadelphia had ever seen. Salutes of musketry and artillery, bonfires, dinners and entertainments made him seem like some conquering hero returned home. Yet he proved to be a more obnoxious governor than Morris. His rigid obedience to the wishes of the proprietors, whose unpopularity steadily increased, and his manifest lack of good sense in dealing with the colony set the people generally against him. It was seen now that it was not the Quaker assembly which was at the root of the trouble, but the influences emanating from the Penn heirs in England. Franklin had been a member of the assembly since 1751, and found as little good in their rule as anyone else. Direct government under the crown would have been preferred by a vast majority of the colonists.

The situation was not improved by the governor's threat to billet the king's troops upon the citizens. This was a most offensive suggestion and protest against the practice later became a feature of most of the American bills of rights. For a long time it had been customary to impose soldiers upon the various inn-holders in and around the city. It was said that there were 117 of these in Philadelphia in 1756, but the allowance was so small, four pence a day for a private foot soldier, that many of the tavern-keepers said they would surrender their licenses rather than lodge and feed the troops. Then, said the governor, they must be quartered in private houses. At length a guard room, store room and hospital were established in empty buildings and the troops were scattered about without bringing the dispute to any uglier issue. The next year, 1757, the Barracks were built in the Northern Liberties, at about Second and what is now Green street. They were to be large enough to accommodate 5,000 men, but it is certain that at first, at least, they were not so extensive.¹

The people were not idle on the subject of their own defense. Privateers were fitted up and a frigate called the "Pennsylvania," purchased for the use in New York, was sent out to cruise around the Delaware capes to protect the commerce of the port. The city was now for several months virtually a military camp. Officers strode the streets. Grenadiers and Highlanders filled the taverns. The Associators in their plainer dress, which seems to have consisted of a bright colored regimental coat, often of green faced with red, red waistcoats and buckskin breeches, manoeuvred and exercised until the town's Quaker character nearly faded away.

Every victory on the field of war was noisily celebrated. News of the reduction of Cape Breton came early in September, 1758. Opposite the city stood an island which in Penn's day had been a mere shoal. At low water it extended up the river nearly to Kensington. Here in 1746 Harding and Son had built a hexag-

¹ Westcott, Chapter 142.

onal windmill, a landmark for many years, whence the name Windmill Island. It is credibly stated that grain was sometimes carried on horseback down the sandbar which had formed between Cooper's Ferry and the north end of the island.¹ This shoal played an important part in the celebration arranged in honor of the fall of Louisburg. "A floating castle, erected on stages," was attached to the island. It was finely illuminated. Rockets were shot up in "showers." Cannon were discharged and a band of music played "Britons Strike Home."² The "feu de joye" was by this time a French phrase, the meaning of which everybody had come to know, and the amount of liquor that was drunk in honor of victorious commanders defied ordinary calculation.

In June, 1758, Colonel Montgomery's 62d Regiment of Highlanders arrived in ten transports and were marched to their camp north of the Barracks, going on to the west in a few days. In November the 17th Regiment of foot under Brigadier-General John Forbes came to Philadelphia to take up their quarters in the Barracks, the officers' lodging at such taverns as the Three Crowns, the Indian King, the Fountain, the King's Arms, Hendrick, King of the Mohawks and the Indian Queen. Forbes himself died in the city in March, 1759, to be buried in Christ Church with a military funeral such as the townspeople had never seen before. The strength of the French influence in America was broken by the victory of Wolfe at Quebec, but the event had scarcely been celebrated when Governor Denny was replaced by James Hamilton. His return to the post was very welcome to the province, and once more promised an administration in fuller sympathy with the aims of the people. He was proclaimed on November 17, 1759, and remained in the place until November, 1763, during which time the war with France was brought to an end.

In January, 1761, news came of the death of George II, and on the 21st day of the month his son George III, the last king of England to receive the homage of the people of Philadelphia, was proclaimed at the court house before a great crowd in which mingled many gaily dressed British soldiers. It was another characteristic colonial holiday with military salutes, bell-ringing and general merry-making.

The war with France was complicated in April, 1762, by the proclamation of a new war with Spain, which extended the operations of the privateersmen. This gave fresh impetus to the military demands of the British government. Not only were recruits asked for for the provincial forces, but Pennsylvania was appealed to for 482 men for the regular army. Such a pretension of right to levy upon the colony for soldiers to fill up the British army was resented, but the issue never advanced beyond the chronic stage of a dispute between the governor and the assembly, and the signing of a preliminary treaty of peace between England and the French and Spanish governments on November 3, 1762, turned the public mind to other subjects for quarrels.

¹ Later called Smith's Island for the family which long owned it. A canal was cut through it in 1838 for the passage of ferry boats and it was entirely removed in 1894 as a part of the great plan of clearing the Delaware of obstructions to navigation.—*Pa. Mag.*, XXII, p. 423.

² Drummond, *Early Music in Phila.*, p. 46.

The war had no sooner ended than the Indians were found to be leagued together against the settlers for a general campaign of devastation on the frontiers. The Scotch-Irish and the Germans were in close quarters with the savages who raided the borders, committing shocking barbarities. The Scotchmen and Irishmen, not very temperate in spirit under any circumstances, set out to avenge a number of notorious outrages, by action no less black. A number of men of Paxton or more properly Paxtang¹ and Donegal townships, in the upper part of Lancaster County, armed themselves in December, 1763, with the purpose of killing every Indian within their reach. Several sects, and particularly the Moravians, had sent their missionaries into the "back country" to Christianize the natives. Some of the Indians who had been brought under these religious influences were settled in a village at Conestoga. When the men were mostly absent the "Paxtang" or "Paxton Boys," as they were generally called, fell upon those who remained. A number were killed. Those who escaped were taken to Lancaster for official protection, but the mob rode up to the jail, broke it open and massacred several more of these friendly people.

In November, 1763, 127 Indians under the faithful Moravian minister, Bernhard Adam Grube, were transferred to Philadelphia to save them from the angry frontiersmen. They were not at first made very welcome. They were taken to the Barracks, and then to the pest-house on Province Island, where the Acadians had been sheltered the previous year. Grube, writing on November 11, said: "The rage of the people in Philadelphia is indescribable, and we had to stand for hours before the Barracks and be insulted. Thousands followed us through the city." At the wharves the visitors were put on boats, and reached the island in the night.² The "Paxton Boys" threatened to march to Philadelphia and attack the Indians there, where they were "living in butter at the expense of the country."³ Such threats aroused the English element in the city, and increased public sympathy for the refugees. The people in the winter of 1763-64 were in a state of great excitement. The pamphleteers again broke out into warfare. The western men said that the government took no account of their serious situation. They had no suitable share of power in the assembly. Laws were made and money voted for the eastern counties while the "back settlers" were left to defend themselves and their children at their own expense. The Quakers lived in security and wealth, out of reach of danger. They should have some care for other men whose lives were as valuable as their own.

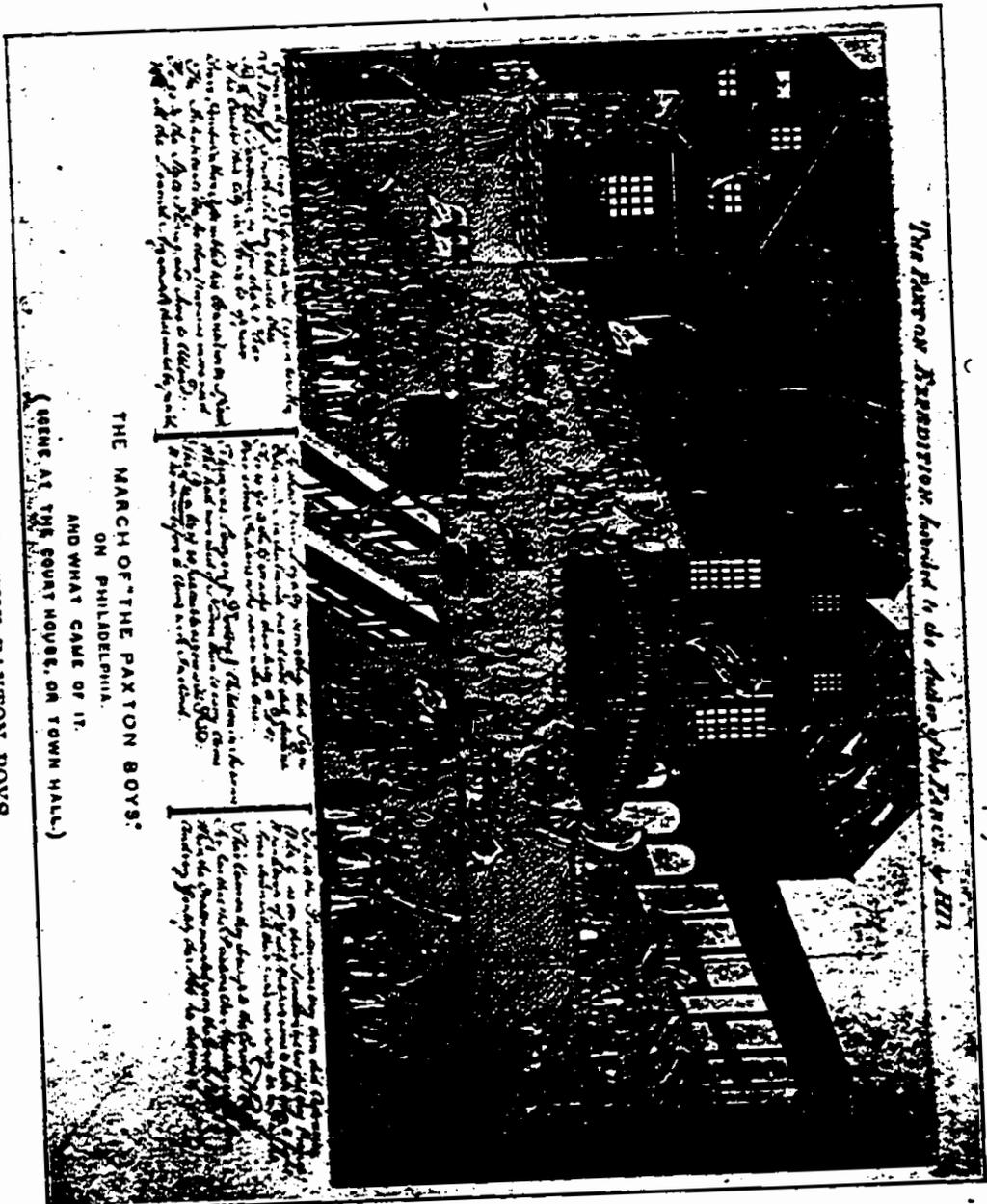
Early in January it was announced that a large mob was being collected in the west to descend upon Philadelphia. The Indians asked to be shipped to England with their priests, and the governor determined to send them to New York, and eventually to Albany, under guard of a company of Highlanders; but that colony refused to receive them and after having gone as far as Amboy they were obliged to return to the city. They were then housed in the Barracks in the

¹ This name was applied to a district of which Harrisburg is the present center. The old Paxtang church (Presbyterian) three miles from Harrisburg, founded before 1730, was long an outpost of civilization in Pennsylvania.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXV, p. 17.

³ H. M. Muhlenberg's Diary.

The Paxton Expedition headed to the residence of John Hancock in 1774



On the 18th of January 1774 the British troops marched from the city to the residence of John Hancock in the city of Philadelphia. The British troops were led by General Braddock and consisted of about 100 men. They were met by a large crowd of people who were gathered to see the British troops. The British troops were very angry and they began to shout and yell. They were very loud and they were very angry. They were very angry and they were very loud. They were very angry and they were very loud.

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THE MARCH OF THE PAXTON BOYS.
ON PHILADELPHIA.
AND WHAT CAME OF IT.
(SCENE AT THE COURT HOUSE, OR TOWN HALL.)

MARCH OF THE PAXTON BOYS
A Broadside of the Time

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Northern Liberties. The soldiers were ordered to shoot any one who threatened to do their charges harm.

Every express from the west brought rumors of the coming of the mob. Some accounts said that the party consisted of several thousand persons. Cannon were brought out, loaded with grape, and made ready for use. The Barracks were entrenched and fortified; even Quakers, it is reliably said, provided themselves with firelocks, and during one stormy night, the militiamen occupied the Quaker meeting house at Second and Market streets.¹ Spies were sent out into the country to report the approach of the enemy, and a system of signals and alarms was devised, so that the inhabitants could be aroused at a moment's notice. It was a Sunday night when a rider, his horse in a foam, brought the news of the approach of the "back inhabitants." The watchmen "knocked violently" at every door and shouted up and down the streets: "The Paxtang boys are coming!"² Drums were rattled, bells were rung and soon the entire city tumbled out of bed. The people were ordered to place lights in their doors and windows. The boats at the ferries over the Schuylkill had been secured, but the Lancaster County men went up the river to Swedes' Ford and proceeded to Germantown. Their number had been greatly exaggerated. There seemed to be not more than two hundred of them—Scotch-Irish frontiersmen, on horseback, dressed much as were their hated neighbors, the Indians. They wore "shoepacks," moccasins soled with pieces of heavy leather, and long hunting shirts often fringed on the skirt. A cap of raccoon or bear skin, and sometimes a loon skin, completed the costume. The men carried tomahawks, pistols and cut rifles. A committee went out to confer with them and gave a hearing to their grievances. A few made their way into town before their return, behaving civilly enough, but the air was full of alarms and the equanimity of the people was restored only after many days.

The poor Indians while in the Barracks were attacked by the small-pox, and more than fifty were buried in a corner of the Potter's Field, now Washington Square. The British officers prosecuted their campaign against the savages on the frontier as far west as Detroit, with some support from Pennsylvania and the other colonies. A schedule of bounties for scalps was re-established at the rate of 134 pieces of eight for every male Indian above ten years of age, and 50 pieces of eight for every female above that age; 150 and 130 pieces would be respectively paid for males and females who were brought in as prisoners, so that there was a slight advantage in taking them alive. The "Paxton Boys" were in some degree conciliated, but they still manifested their dis-

¹ H. M. Muhlenberg, who gives a most excellent account of the proceedings in his Diary, from the German frontiersman's point of view, and one for that reason not very friendly to the Quakers, writes: "It was by many old people looked on as a wonderful sign to see so many old and young Quakers marching about with sword and gun, or deadly weapons so-called. What increased the wonder was that the pious lads in the long French, Spanish and Indian wars had such tender consciences, and would sooner die than raise a hand in defence against these dangerous enemies, and were now at once like Zedekiah, the son of Chanaanah (Kings 22), with iron horns rushing upon a handful of our poor distressed and ruined fellow citizens and inhabitants of the frontiers."—*Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, VI, p. 75.

² Wm. Rawle's Recollections, *Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, IV, p. 41.

content by acts in defiance of government. In May, 1765, George Roberts wrote to Samuel Powel: "They have not only destroyed a quantity of goods going towards Pittsburg on behalf of the crown, but give interruption to travelers on the frontier, and even chastise any persons who dare pass without their permission." Mr. Roberts found that the course was favored by the heads of the "kirk" and he concluded, with true Philadelphia Quaker loyalty: "Had I any number of children, I would sooner bring them up to the implicit belief of the Alcoran than make them Pennsylvania Presbyterians, for I believe no group of mortals under heaven merit the course pronounced in Scripture against the 'stiff-necked and rebellious' as this people."¹

The dissatisfaction with proprietary rule was now intense. In the autumn of 1763 young John Penn, Richard's son, who had resided in the province for some time, acquainting himself with the situation, took James Hamilton's place as governor and continued in the post, except for an interval from 1771 until 1773, when his brother Richard was here, until the Revolution took the government out of the hands of the Penn family. As early as 1757, in order to bring their situation to the attention of the crown, the colonists determined to send commissioners to England. This was a bold movement. Isaac Norris and Benjamin Franklin were chosen for the work, but, Norris declining, Franklin went alone to create an impression which was as advantageous for him personally as for the people of the province, whose cause he was sent to plead. He remained in London for five years to receive attentions which had never before been bestowed upon an American. He was regarded as one of the world's greatest philosophers and it was a wonder that he returned home at all, but in the autumn of 1762 he arrived in Philadelphia again to take up the regular course of life, we may believe reluctantly, in a very provincial city, wherein admiration of him, if it were great, was by no means unanimous. During his absence he had been elected and re-elected to the assembly, just as though he had been at home, and upon his return he was voted £3,000 for his services to the colony.

The views of the proprietors as to the relations which they could maintain with the colony underwent some amendment. But another mission was organized in 1764, when the people in Pennsylvania had come to be plainly divided on proprietary and anti-proprietary lines. Franklin had been defeated for the assembly in 1764 on the anti-proprietary issue, but he was sent abroad soon after to continue the negotiations for turning over the government to the king. It is to his credit, probably, that he did not press the point very vigorously. Issues arose little calculated to make a closer drawing toward the crown a pleasant thing to contemplate, and in the colony's service and for his own honor and pleasure Franklin remained in England this time for a period of ten years.

Undoubtedly the first man in the province in every intellectual sense was Provost William Smith. Of strong opinions and combative to a fault, he had his enemies. They increased as he mingled in political life and found an outlet for his active mind in all manner of affairs, not in a strict sense germane to a teacher's calling. He was one of the most admired of the town's preachers, and was constantly sought after because of the readiness and force of his speech in

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XVIII, p. 41.

other causes. For a long time he had been taking the part of the Presbyterians and the other resistant elements in the province. William Moore, a judge in Chester County, whose seat was "Moore Hall," about 25 miles north of the city, on the Schuylkill river,¹ had issued a manifesto harshly criticizing the Quaker assembly which on its side had charged him with "divers misdemeanors and corrupt practices." Moore responded that the attack upon him was "from beginning to end one continued string of the severest calumny and most rancorous epithets, conceived in all the terms of malice and party rage, exaggerated and heaped upon one another in the most lavish manner."

The provost was then publishing a paper for circulation among the Germans and he caused Moore's appeal to be inserted in its columns for which offense he was arrested at the London Coffee House, tried for libel and committed to prison, where he continued to teach the pupils who followed him to hear his lectures. Judge Moore was also imprisoned and, as a result of an acquaintance so oddly begun, the provost was soon engaged to marry his daughter Rebecca, who was a frequent visitor to her father in the jail. Finally, gaining his release Smith went to England to present his case to the king and it became celebrated on both sides of the sea.² He received honorary degrees from Aberdeen, Oxford and Dublin and was the devoted patron of learning in every guise. He was soon graduating from the college such young men as Francis Hopkinson, Jacob Duché, Paul Jackson, Nathaniel Evans and John Morgan. He extended his favors to Benjamin West, Thomas Godfrey, Jr., and Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson, and with him as a center the city was for the first time in its history the home of a group of men and women possessing an honest interest in intellectual affairs. The humorous curiosity, the satisfaction with a result if it increased his own renown, and the wholly practical turn given to research by Franklin, were foreign to this little body of men who had an interest in literature, science and art for their own best sakes.

In October, 1757, Smith began the publication of a literary magazine, called *The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies*. It was printed by the Bradfords presumably for "a society of gentlemen," which in reality consisted of Provost Smith and the young men he had gathered around him. The province had not yet had a successful magazine. Franklin had pro-

¹ William Moore and his family were of types perhaps nearer the English nobility than any other seen in colonial Pennsylvania. He was a descendant of Sir John Moore of Berkshire, knighted by Charles I. His grandson, John Moore, settled in 1680 in South Carolina, coming to Philadelphia before 1700. Here he was King's Collector of the Port. He bought a large quantity of land on Second, north of High street, and was one of the pillars of Christ Church. He sent his sons to England to be educated at Oxford. A grandson became the Bishop of Virginia; a granddaughter married Lord Erskine, the Lord High Chancellor of England. John Moore's son William was born in Philadelphia in 1699. He was graduated at Oxford, and upon his return to America married Williamina, daughter of the fourth Earl of Wemyss whose family had been exiled because of his sympathy for the Pretender. At his marriage, William Moore was presented by his father with 1200 acres on the Schuylkill which he tilled with the aid of slaves and indentured servants. He built a large manor house called "Moore Hall," and was always known as William Moore of Moore Hall.

² *Life and Correspondence of Rev. Wm. Smith, D. D.*, by Horace Wemyss Smith.

posed one in 1740, but the idea was carried to the Bradfords and in February, 1741, the first number of *The American Magazine, or a Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies* appeared. Not to be outdone Franklin three days later issued his *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle for all the British Plantations of America*, but neither publication had a long life. Indeed, Smith's magazine which was printed by William Bradford at the Coffee House was continued for only a year, but in that time it gave much encouragement to native letters.

Francis Hopkinson, the son of Thomas Hopkinson, already composing music and writing verse; Thomas Godfrey, Jr., son of the inventor of the quadrant, a poet and the author of *The Prince of Parthia*, presented in 1767 after his death by the stock company at the South Street Theatre, the first play by an American writer to be given on any American stage; Nathaniel Evans, Godfrey's friend, who went to England to receive orders in the Church of England and returned to take up his work as a missionary, with his residence at Haddonfield, N. J.; Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson, daughter of Dr. Thomas Graeme, who lived at "Graeme Park," Governor Keith's old Horsham estate, the writer of much verse and the friend of all literary undertakings; Jacob Duché who, like Evans, went into the church, becoming an assistant of Rev. Richard Peters and writing a volume of essays called *Caspipina's Letters* by one "Tamoc Caspipina," a name formed from the first letters of the words describing his office, "The Assistant Minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's in Philadelphia, in North America;" Benjamin West, who came up from Chester County and soon made his way to England to gain training as a painter—these were all aided and befriended by Provost Smith. In his magazine he declared West "an extraordinary genius." He edited, after their too early death, the poems of Godfrey and Evans and gave through the college a real impetus to the intellectual civilization of the neighborhood and of the country at large, a service which by ill fortune has sometimes been so sparingly performed under later administrations. A laudable effort was made by the early Philadelphia poets to celebrate the streams, forests and pastures roundabout. One wrote of the Schuylkill:

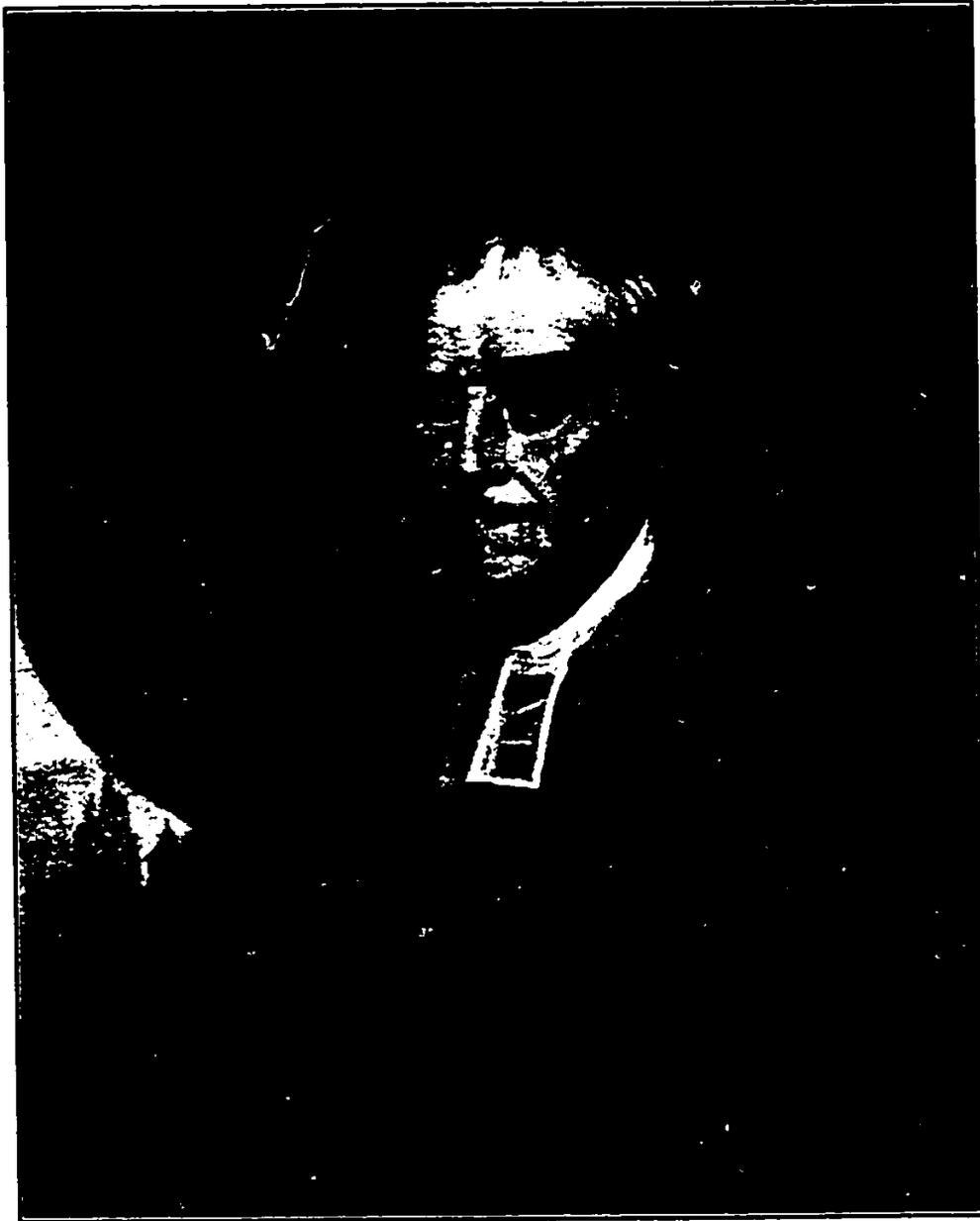
"O happy stream! had'st thou in Grecia flowed
The bounteous blessing of some watery god
Thou'd'st been; or had some Ovid sung thy rise
Distilled perhaps from slighted virgin's eyes."

Nathaniel Evans asked

"O! Pennsylvania shall no son of thine
Glow with the raptures of the sacred nine?"

He aspired

"—to wake the rural reed
And sing of swains whose snowy lambkins feed
On Schuylkill's banks with shady walnuts crown'd,
And bid the vales with music melt around."



PROVOST WILLIAM SMITH AT THE AGE OF 75
From a Gilbert Stuart engraved by John Sartain

One of the most remarkable of the school's graduates was John Morgan, whom some have called "the founder of American medicine." He, at least, played a very valuable part as one of the founders of medical education on this continent. Up to this time physic and surgery, and even the business of the apothecary, were much confused. All three functions were likely to be performed by one man, and, of course, as has been previously noted, in the crudest way. Quackery had thriven, and would continue to flourish in very amusing forms. It was supported by a mass of superstition which was particularly strong in the German settlements. Even under the best advice patients were bled, blistered, and dosed with mercury. A slice of bacon bandaged to the throat was a common remedy for some complaints. Richard Hockley, a Penn agent in Pennsylvania in 1742 sent back to England two dried rattlesnakes which were to be powdered in a mortar, and mixed with wine or rum. Snaken two or three times a day for four or five days the preparation was supposed to have quite marvelous medicinal powers.¹ The "Book of Cookery" used by Martha Washington at Mount Vernon contains a recipe for keeping "the teeth clean and white and to fasten them" made up of cuttlefish bone, white wine, plaintain water and the "spirit of vittorell." Two remedies for consumption were "capon ale" made from "an old capon with yellow leggs," and "cock water" for which the cook took a "red cock" which was pulled alive and whipped until it be "dead allmoste." The fowl was then cut up into four quarters "while he was alive" and elaborately treated with sack, herbs, currants, dates, etc. The wife of the great Virginian also knew how to make a cordial powder which was held to have very lively curative properties. Into it she worked powdered "crabbs claws soe far as they are black," "seed pearle," "red corral," "crabbs eyes," white amber, hartshorne, a small quantity of "ye scull of a dead man calcined," "gallingall angelico roots," "cocheneale," "cast snakes skines," musk, "amber greese" and saffron.²

There was a comical belief in the curative power of some waters, often of the commonest sort. Certain wells in the city were believed to contain what was near to the elixir of life, and many springs were patronized for their healing properties. Tents and wooden sheds were erected around them. A spring at Gloucester and another at Bristol drew many to them. A place, pretentiously called "Bath" was started in the Northern Liberties upon a farm west of Second street, near Cohocksink creek. The Yellow Springs, among the hills, north of the Chester valley, for a century a very famous resort for Philadelphians, were visited as early as 1722, and there were many other places in the interior whose fame spread among the colonists.³

Beginning about 1730 the doctors inoculated for smallpox, the system of giving the disease to patients artificially being much practiced until vaccination took its place in 1803.⁴ The process, however, was costly, about £3 per person, and the poor continued to be victims of the contagion as before. Furthermore,

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXVIII, p. 27.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 436.

³ "Contributions to the Medical History of Pa.," by Dr. Caspar Morris, *Memoirs of Historical Society of Pa.*, I, p. 347.

⁴ *The Early History of Medicine in Philadelphia*, by George W. Norris.

the treatment met with the greatest hostility on moral as well as other grounds. Sermons were preached upon the subject. It was argued that it was "a presumption to tempt the Almighty by inflicting distempers without his permission." It was "an unjustifiable act and an infliction of an evil, implying a distrust of God's overruling care, to procure a possible future good." Inoculation, nevertheless, made headway, and societies and private hospitals were established to aid the poor in this battle against what was, with the yellow fever, the greatest enemy of the colony. These two foes together took more life than all the French, Spaniards and Indians against whom so many wars had been proclaimed at the court house, and little enough had been done to subjugate them. In 1762 the yellow fever again visited the city. One thousand persons died before its ravages could be checked¹ and August and September, in years that were fetid and hot, were nearly always likely to be crowded with deaths.

In 1762 a law was passed to provide for the systematic cleaning of the city once a week. On Fridays the householders must sweep the filth on their footways into the streets, and it would be gathered up on that or the following day by the hired scavengers. Garbage and like material could be brought out at the same time to be carted away, as it would be without cost if it were the product of a common housekeeper and did not arise from trade. It was believed that disease often resulted from the pollution of the wells, and distillers, soap-boilers, tallow chandlers and others were forbidden to discharge their "foul and stinking liquors" into the kennels of the streets, or to let it anywhere sink into the ground. Carrion and filth should not be hauled out to fester on the commons or be dumped into the Dock, whose upper parts had become an offense to the nostrils of every passer-by. All agreed that this creek was a prolific source of disease, especially when the tide was out and the bed of the stream lay baking in the sun. The bank holders were instructed to erect stone walls for the confinement of the channel, and at length, in 1765, the creek between Walnut street and Third street was ordered into an arch, to be covered with earth and used as a street. Thus, without proper sanitary regulations, the first step was taken in depriving the city of what might always have been a serviceable and an ornamental water course.

Though distinct progress was being made in the battle with disease there was immediate need for the education of the people and of men capable of teaching and advising them. Young men who wished to practice medicine or surgery had been educated by a kind of apprentice system in the doctors' offices in Philadelphia, preferably in Dr. Kearsley's. The more fortunate went abroad to study with the Hunters in London, or at Edinburgh which was the leader at the time among European medical schools. Thus had such as Thomas Cadwalader, Lloyd Zachary and John Redman prepared themselves for the profession.

John Morgan was the son of a merchant in Philadelphia. His father was of Welsh descent and, after graduating at the college in 1757, in its first class, he at once took up the study of medicine. Serving for a time as surgeon to the colonial troops in the French war he went abroad and received the doctor's degree from Edinburgh in 1762. Subsequently he traveled for a season in France and Italy and returned to Philadelphia in 1765, a thoroughly well educated phy-

¹ Thompson Westcott, Chapter 270.

sician. He married a sister of Francis Hopkinson and held a high social position. He made a proposal to the trustees of the college for the establishment of a medical school. They at once elected him to be professor of the theory and practice of physic, it has been said, "the first medical professor of the first medical college of the Continent of North America, or indeed, in the Western hemisphere,"¹ though the claim is likely to be contested by the friends of Dr. William Shippen, Jr., who, as we have seen, had earlier begun his courses of lectures, and for some time had been advocating the establishment in America of medical schools.² Dr. Shippen now immediately offered his services to the trustees and he was appointed professor of anatomy and surgery. The prejudices of the ignorant were greatly wrought up when it was known that human bodies were being dissected in the school. Ghoulish stories about the robbery of graveyards were diligently circulated. Even stout denials did not avail, and it was only after an exhumation in at least one case that the public was reassured. Once Dr. Shippen's house was mobbed and he barely saved his anatomical collections.³

In 1768 Adam Kuhn,—descended from a Suabian family, settled in Germantown—who had been thoroughly educated abroad, was chosen professor of *materia medica* and botany, and in the following year a notable name appeared in the faculty, that of Benjamin Rush. As professor of chemistry, his first appointment, and in another chair he served the university for the long period of forty-four years. He was born in Byberry of a Quaker family which had emigrated with William Penn. Graduated at Princeton in 1760 he had later studied medicine at the best schools in Europe. Combining literary gifts with scientific knowledge, he at once became a marked figure in the city.

Lectures given at the Pennsylvania Hospital forwarded the work of the medical school and the institutions were at the time closely allied, especially in clinical work. The hospital was filled with patients who offered to students the widest opportunities for observation and experience. To its staff were added not only Shippen and Morgan, but also Cadwalader Evans, Charles Moore and Adam Kuhn. Thus another step forward on the subject of education was taken, and a beginning was made in a work which has long given the city world-wide distinction.

A useful secondary school was instituted in Germantown in 1760. This was the Germantown Academy, situated on a road leading toward the Schuylkill, later and still named in its honor Schoolhouse Lane. Christopher Sower and other leading German citizens favored the undertaking, though it also had several

¹ *The Journal of Dr. John Morgan of Philadelphia*, pp. 31-32.

² It is difficult to say when Dr. Abraham Choquet began his lecture courses, but probably not until about ten years later. This very eccentric Frenchman, who was a marked figure in the early medical history of the city, came hither from the West Indies. He was 86 years old at the time of his death in 1790. His home was in Race Street near Third Street. He was reading lectures in 1774, while John Adams was here, for two half joes for a course which extended through four months. He had a museum of skeletons and waxen anatomical models said to have been "much more exquisite" than Dr. Shippen's at the Hospital. The collection later passed to that institution, and still later to the University of Pennsylvania.—John Adams, *Works*, II, p. 397; Christopher Marshall's *Remembrancer*, Appendix; Th. Westcott, chap. 411.

³ Carson, *History of the Medical Department of the University of Pa.*, pp. 81, 217.

English sponsors. The pupils were to be taught in both languages, under a common direction. The managers had a joint purpose in view, for which reason it was at first called the Germantown Union Schoolhouse.¹ David James Dove, who had been for a time at the academy in Philadelphia, was now employed as the English master at the Germantown school. This man, after his departure from the school which later became the University of Pennsylvania, had taught privately. He was to last little longer now than before. A competent teacher he assuredly was, but he had traits which unfitted him for harmonious dealings with other men.² The school exchanged "one eccentric character for an equally peculiar man"³ in 1763 when Pelatiah Webster became the master of the English classes. He had been born in Connecticut, and was a graduate of Yale. His retirement followed in two or three years, and he went into business in Philadelphia near the Delaware front, where he was when the delegates came to the Continental Congress. He gave attention to political economy, and by some is accounted to have been an influence in shaping the federal government in 1787. The Germantown Academy has been in continuous service since the day of Dove and Webster, barring six or seven years during the Revolutionary war.⁴

That the popular interest in learning and scientific achievement was extending is shown by the action of a number of merchants and other public-spirited individuals in fitting out an Arctic expedition in 1753, under Captain Charles Swaine in command of the schooner "Argo." This little vessel set sail from Philadelphia in March, with the purpose of discovering the "northwest passage." After reaching 63° north latitude, it was compelled to return by reason of the ice. No benefits ensued except the exploration and charting of the Labrador coast. Another expedition was undertaken for the subscribers in the following year, but it was no more successful, and the attempt was not renewed by a Philadelphia ship for many years.⁵

The excuse for racing horses is that it tends to improve their breed. The prizes which are awarded are incentives to care in the selection of stock by the owners, and this was urged in defense of the heats which were run at the Centre House at Centre Square, described in 1755 as "a half mile or more from the nearest building in the city." The tract seems to have been laid out before or around 1750, and while it may have shocked some of the Quaker sensibilities, the indulgence became very popular. The entries were made at the Indian Queen or another of the city taverns and the races were semi-annual, in May and

¹ Hannah Callender speaks of a trip on August 26, 1761, to Germantown, where she observed the "new college, a neat building for the education of youth." The school was opened on August 10, 1761.—*Pa. Mag.*, XII, p. 448.

² Judge Richard Peters, of "Belmont," who had been a pupil of Dove's at the Philadelphia Academy, in recalling his old master wrote to Reuben Haines in 1823: "He was a sarcastical and ill-tempered doggelizer. He was in the habit of shewing me his productions in Hudibrastic. * * * He was called Dove ironically, for his temper was that of a hawk and his pen was the beak of a falcon pouncing on innocent prey."—*Pa. Mag.*, XVIII, p. 120.

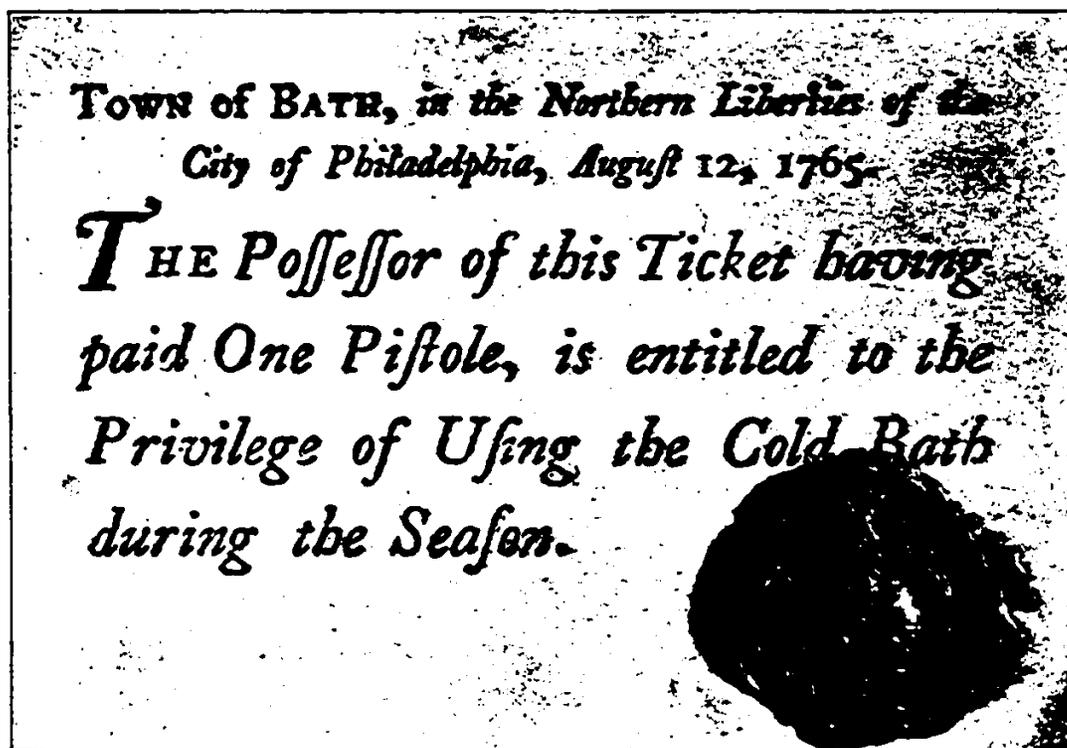
³ *History of the Gm. Academy*, p. 73.

⁴ Sidney George Fisher, *Centennial Anniversary Address*, April 21st, 1860, and the *History* published on the occasion of the 150th anniversary in 1910.

⁵ *Pa. Mag.*, XXXI, p. 419.



GERMANTOWN ACADEMY IN 1859 WHEN THE SCHOOL WAS 100 YEARS OLD



SEASON TICKET FOR THE BATHS AT BATH

September or October, and sometimes, though not always, may have been arranged in connection with the fairs. In 1766 the Jockey Club was formed, "to encourage the breeding of good horses and to promote the pleasures of the turf." It had about 80 members, and its first president was Richard Penn who had arrived in the colony with his brother John three years before. The members subscribed a certain sum annually, and purses reaching a value of 100 guineas were made up. A city plate of £50 contributed by the vintners and innkeepers was also competed for by those who were interested in this sport.¹

Some of the same gentlemen in 1766 formed a fox hunting club. It had about "16 couple of choice fleet hounds." An old negro named Natt was installed as the whip, and a group of the town's young aristocrats in dark brown cloth coats with dragoon pockets, buff waistcoats and breeches and black velvet caps, chased foxes in the neighboring country on Tuesdays and Fridays. The club was later known as the Gloucester Fox Hunting Club, because the members usually crossed the river and rode in Gloucester County, New Jersey.²

The fairs in May and November drew to town many buyers and sellers of dry goods, hardware, toys, jewelry, cakes, fruit and other useful and useless kinds of merchandise. Indeed, it is said that at such times "the whole country was collected" in the market place. Then came, too, many strolling entertainers and on-lookers, frequently no valuable infusion into the population. The form of proclamation was as follows:

"O Yes and Silence is commanded while the Fair is proclaiming upon pain of imprisonment.

"A B Esquire, Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, doth hereby in the King's name strictly charge and command all persons trading and negotiating within this Fair to keep the King's Peace.

"And that no person or persons whatsoever presume to set up any booth or stall for the vending of strong liquors within this Fair.

"And that no person or persons presume to bear or carry any unlawful weapons to the terror or annoyance of his Majesty's subjects, or to gallop or strain horses within the built parts of this city.

"And if any person shall receive any hurt or injury from another let him repair to the Mayor, here present, and his wrongs shall be redressed.

"The Fair to continue three days and no longer.

"God save the King."³

The dates of the fairs in the different towns were arranged so that they did not as a rule conflict, and the business of exhibiting albinos, dwarfs and various kinds of human and animal deformities at these times furnished lucrative employment to many people. Showmen of various kinds—piemen, hot gingerbread men, ballad singers and most of the figures of the St. Bartholomew fair of England, of which the American fair was an outgrowth or at least a colonial imitation, were inseparable accompaniments of this semi-annual festival in Philadelphia.

¹ Keith's *Provincial Councillors*, pp. 425-26.

² *Memoirs of the Club*, published in 1830.

³ *Minutes of the Common Council*, pp. 569-70.

The young men and women came on horseback. Coats were tied behind the saddle to save them during the ride. White stockings were covered by a second pair of blue yarn, for protection. Lighter shoes, for dancing at some of the inns at night, accompanied the rustic to the fair grounds,¹ and it was his principal outing of the year.

The young bloods of the city on the other hand found entertainment in visiting the fairs in the country towns. William Hamilton, nephew of Governor James Hamilton, while at Lancaster wrote: "There is to be fine fun here with the Dutch girls tomorrow, it being Lancaster fair, when they will come in from all quarters."²

Whether the fairs were of any practical use in improving the breed of horses or other animals, or in advancing the commercial interests of the colony by the development of intercolonial emulation may be doubted. Anyhow, there was more traveling, there was more hauling of goods, and the means of communication between the separate colonies were being improved. In 1752 the trip to New York still occupied three days. The stage boat left the Crooked Billet wharf every Wednesday, wind and weather permitting. On Thursday "a stage wagon with a good awning" conveyed the passengers from Bordentown to Perth Amboy. After staying all night at "a house of good entertainment" there, they boarded another stage boat and proceeded to New York, entering the White Hall slip near the Half Moon Battery. The route by New Brunswick was still in use and in 1757 stage wagons set out from the sign of the George, at Second and Arch streets, and from the Death of the Fox, in Strawberry alley, conveying the passengers overland to Trenton ferry. In 1759 there was a stage line from Daniel Cooper's ferry, opposite Philadelphia, by way of Mount Holly to Sandy Hook. It was not until 1766 that the time between the two cities was reduced to two days by John Barnhill, in a coach which he called the "Flying Machine." Rival lines were established by ambitious drivers and in 1771, during the summer, the time was cut down to a day and a half.

With the south communication was as a rule partially by water—down the river to New Castle or other places where stage wagons attended to convey passengers or goods to the "Head of Elk," which was an entrance to all the settlements upon the sinuous shores of Chesapeake Bay. Going west there were no public conveyances. For freight, communication was by Conestoga wagon where there were roads, or pack horses where there were only bridle paths. A writer speaks of 500 pack horses at one time in Carlisle on their way to Shippensburg, Fort Loudon and places in the west. "It was no uncommon event to see 50 or 100 pack horses in a row" at Mercersburg, "taking on their loads of iron, salt and other commodities for the Monongahela country." From five to a dozen horses formed a train, and were tethered by a hitching rope one behind another. A single driver directed the animals. The horses were equipped with pack saddles made of four pieces of wood notched and fastened upon their backs. Each carried about 200 pounds weight—bar iron, bent in the middle and hung

¹ *Memoirs of Hist. Soc.*, II, p. 173.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXIX, p. 145.

across, bales of dry goods, creels of wickerware holding bed clothing and sometimes babies, farm implements, gunpowder, charcoal, hardware, salt, spices and even glass, which, however, was so difficult to convey that few of the frontier cabins boasted of window panes. If glass had ever been in use, once broken it was nearly impossible to replace it, and the open spaces were likely to be filled up with boards or cloth.¹ The "lead horse" was fitted up with bells to announce the approach of the train. As late as in 1784, says Swank, the cost of freight carriage by pack train from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was twelve and a half cents a pound. In 1786 the price was \$10.50 a hundred weight. In 1784, \$249 were paid for the transportation of a ton of goods on horseback from Philadelphia to Erie.²

It was a trip from Philadelphia to Pittsburg in the summer of 1773 of which General John Lacey wrote: "We met many travellers who were all on horseback, the roads being so bad no loaded waggon was able to pass them. Altho a considerable trade was carried on, all the goods, or nearly so, were transported to and from Lancaster, Carlisle and Pittsburg on pack horses, great droves of which we met and passed on their way to and from these places with Dry Goods, Furs, Deer, Bear and other skins."³

A passenger for the west could go alone on his own horse, or accompany a pack train, as he chose. He needed to be well armed. Matthew Clarkson rode from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt in 1766 in twelve days. The road at some points was "nothing but hills, mountains and stones," and at few places did he find tavern accommodations for himself, his servant and his animals.

In the immediate neighborhood of the city, there was in 1760 a four-wheel carriage, with a good awning over it, which three times a week made the journey to and fro the same day between the King of Prussia Inn at Germantown, and the George in Philadelphia. It was recommended by the owner to those who were "inclined to take an airing." The stage boat to Wilmington in 1760 ran only once a week. Until long after the Revolution the traveler might much better ride his own horse, unless he were going to New York, with which city competition induced by much traffic had led to the establishment of a tolerably reliable public stage service.

¹ *Harriet Martineau*, II, p. 25.

² Swank, *Progressive Penna.*, pp. 103, 110.

³ *Pa. Mag.*, XXV, p. 6.

CHAPTER VIII.

RESISTING THE CROWN.

A rugged spirit of independence was bred in the people of Pennsylvania. The very variety of racial and religious elements led to the development of an aggressive character in the population. Peaceful as the Quakers seemed to be they conducted a long and successful political contest against their enemies in the assembly. They waged war in print unceasingly when their principles were in any way assailed. The wits of all parties were kept keenly alert in defense of their own particular interests and these considerations for three-quarters of a century, in a colony which was dedicated to liberty from the days of its foundation, yielded a race that was at once ready to resist the slightest evidence of exaction or imposition on the part of the British crown. The people had been deeply involved in controversies over the subjects of justice and right as between the older eastern and the newer western counties. They had sent commissioners to England to protest against minor inequalities of taxation which were to the advantage of the proprietaries, and upon this issue the people of the entire province were divided into political parties. They had been ready to throw themselves into the arms of the king rather than submit to injustice at the hands of the sons of William Penn, and they were soon quite as ready to denounce him when they believed that their rights were put in jeopardy by the English government.

For some time a curiously short-sighted effort had been made to throttle manufacturing industry in America. That industry had not reached any particular height of development. There were two or three little forges and steel furnaces, and Germantown was becoming famous for its woolen stockings, which were sent to all parts of the colonies. In 1757 it is said that 60,000 pairs were made in the village. England's restrictive policy was inaugurated in 1749 by an act of parliament "to encourage the importation of pig and bar iron from his Majesty's colonies in America and prevent the erection of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel in any of said colonies." Though the government was not able to enforce its oppressive regulations it continued with more or less determination to assert its right to restrain the people of the colonies so that they would be compelled to buy their manufactured goods in Great Britain.

In April, 1751, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* contained a spirited protest against the shipment of English convicts to America. "These are some of thy favors, Britain!" said this writer. "Thou art called our mother country but what good

mother ever sent thieves and villains to accompany her children; to corrupt some with their infectious vices and murder the rest? What father ever endeavored to spread the plague in his own family? We do not ask fish, but thou givest us serpents, and worse than serpents! In what can Britain show a more sovereign contempt for us than by emptying their jails in our settlements."¹

In return for such attentions the *Gazette* suggested that the Pennsylvanians should send back a lot of rattlesnakes to be let loose in St. James' Park and other pleasure gardens, particularly those belonging to English noblemen.

The experience with the billeting of troops upon the people and other restrictions, which had been suffered during the French wars, were also remembered without an increase of the feeling of love or loyalty for England; but these were not now the main subjects for popular remonstrance.

At a meeting of merchants in Philadelphia (at a somewhat later date, April 25, 1768) there was complaint concerning the prohibition of steel furnaces. It was regarded as a particularly onerous and foolish regulation, since there were not above five or six such furnaces in England, so few that the demand at home must be supplied by imports from Germany. As iron was produced in America, and nails, hoes, stovepipes and plates must be used in America, it was accounted a great burden to pay freight upon the raw material to England and the charges back again upon the manufactured products. Yet just this did it mean when parliament prohibited the setting up of forges and slitting mills. The forbidding of an export trade in hats, of the carrying of native wool and woollen goods from one colony to another, of commerce with foreign countries, except by way of England, and divers unreasonable restrictions were the subjects of general remonstrance. Added, as another subject for protest, was "the emptying their jails upon us and making the colonies a receptacle for their rogues and villains—an insult and indignity not to be thought of, much less borne without indignation and resentment."

These trade restrictions were altered by law from time to time, but the existence of an interfering spirit, with the purpose of treating the inhabitants as inferiors to obey, serve and enrich the mother country, was not to be mistaken.

The first great explosion came in 1764 upon receipt of the announcement that parliament would pass an act requiring stamps to be purchased and affixed to paper used in the colonies in commercial transactions, lawsuits, real estate transfers, inheritances, etc., etc. The temper of the people was immediately communicated to Franklin in London. Protests were generally registered against the bill and the agitation so far succeeded that it was laid aside until the following year. The measure was passed, however, on March 22, 1765, and it was announced in due time that John Hughes, a member of the assembly and a friend of Franklin, had been delegated to distribute the stamps in Pennsylvania and the three lower counties. The "great philosopher" had procured this appointment, and he barely escaped consequences fatal even to his exalted reputation. If the commissioner in London had supposed that this policy on England's part would be acquiesced in by his fellow-Philadelphians he misjudged their temper com-

¹ April 11, 1751.

pletely. It was some time before he heard the last of the accusation that he had somehow connived at the scheme to lay the very hateful tax. The act was to go into effect on November 1, 1765.

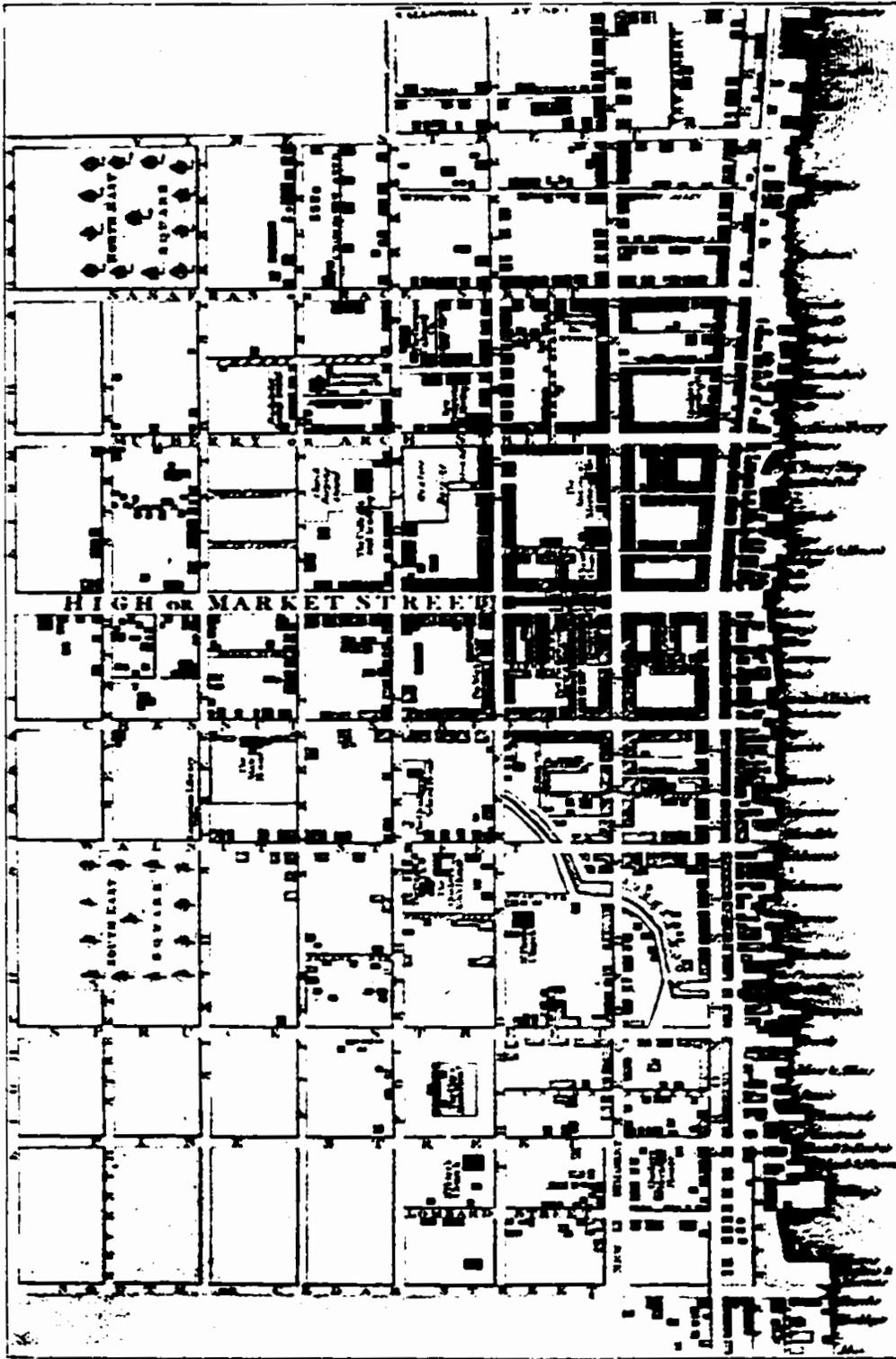
The assembly meantime had resolved¹ that it was "the inherent birthright and indubitable privilege of every British subject to be taxed only by his own consent or that of his legal representatives," that "the only legal representatives of the inhabitants of this province are the persons annually elected to serve as members of assembly," and that the taxation of the people "by any other persons whatsoever" was "unconstitutional and subversive of their most valuable rights." Hughes was denounced on all sides. On October 5th the "stamp paper" which he was to sell arrived in the "Royal Charlotte." She was escorted by the British sloop of war "Sardine." The citizens were in a great state of excitement, and as the head of the vessel was seen coming around Gloucester Point all the ships in the harbor flung out their flags at half mast, and the bells on the State House, on Christ Church and throughout the city were muffled and tolled. Sable negroes beating drums, which were trimmed with crape, were sent through the streets and processions of men and boys attended at the funeral of liberty.²

Hughes, who had been burned in effigy, was regarded with more compassion than earlier, because of the report that he was confined to his house by illness. A great meeting of citizens assembled at the State House and determined what it would be well to do under the circumstances. The discussion led to the appointment of a committee, of which Robert Morris, William Bradford, Charles Thomson, James Tilghman and others were members, to visit Hughes and request him to resign his office. He declined this invitation, but assured the gentlemen that he would do nothing to carry the law into effect until it was generally complied with in the other colonies. The meeting remained in session, being harangued by popular speakers until the return of the deputation. The answer was not considered satisfactory and Hughes was informed that he would have until the following Monday to put himself into a better frame of mind. Then the stamp agent made a reply in writing to the crowd which had reassembled to receive it. It was greeted by three huzzas, but a little reflection seemed to convince the people that the expression of their joy was premature. Their attitude was such indeed, that the stamps were taken from the "Royal Charlotte" and put upon the "Sardine" for safekeeping.

The merchants of the city, to the number of nearly 400, signed an agreement not to import any more merchandise from Great Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed. They were to countermand all orders for goods which could be countermanded, and owners of vessels already cleared out were to bring back only "coals, casks of earthenware, grindstones, pipes, iron pots, empty bottles, and such other bulky articles as owners usually fill up their ships with." The retail dealers made similar declarations. The people resolved upon economies in order to avoid the use of imported goods, and domestic industries of many kinds were

¹ On Sept. 21, 1765. *Votes of Assembly*, V, p. 426.

² H. M. Muhlenberg's description of these events may be found in *Memoirs of Hist. Soc.*, VI, p. 78.



PHILADELPHIA, FROM A MAP MADE IN 1762 BY MATTHEW CLARKSON AND
M. BIDDLE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

established. Men and women clothed themselves in homespun. They said that they would eat no lamb in order to increase the flocks and keep down the price of mutton and wool. They would drink no foreign beers. There were protests against expensive funerals, especially the "sumptuous pall which six persons are obliged to support." "The sun of liberty is now set," said Charles Thomson; "you must light up the candles of industry and economy."

The colony had become the home of a number of lawyers of the type to whom constitutional and legal controversy was a perpetual delight. Some of them had been bred for a time in England, whither the best of the American publicists of the Revolutionary period had gone to be educated. For longer or shorter terms they were students in the Temple.

Some of these lawyers held such places in the colony, in relation either to the crown or to the proprietors, that they were barred from part in the contest soon to begin so actively. William Allen of Mount Airy, himself possibly little skilled in the law, carrying on private trade while, from 1750 till 1774 he was chief justice, was not tempted by temper or interest to enter the controversy. Nor were his three sons, John, Andrew, and James, all bred to the law in London.

In a similar way Edward Shippen, the great grandson of the first of that name (the mayor of 1701), trained in England in the same excellent manner, was not very free to speak. Since 1752 he had been judge of the admiralty court in Philadelphia.

The founder of the Ingersoll family in Philadelphia, Jared Ingersoll, held a crown office. He was a Yale graduate and came to the city from Connecticut in 1770 when he was a man near fifty, to serve as commissary or judge of the court of vice-admiralty and appeals for the Middle Colonies. He had been the stamp agent in Connecticut in 1765 and enjoyed no more favor at the hands of his fellow colonists than had Hughes in Philadelphia. His sympathies were now to be wholly with the crown.

Attached to the crown in interest, too, was Benjamin Chew, who had come to the city from Maryland. The Chews enjoy the distinction of having been settled longer in America than any other colonial family in Philadelphia. The emigrant ancestor was John Chew who reached Virginia about 1624. Benjamin Chew's great-grandfather, Samuel Chew, removed to Maryland as early as 1648. His father, also Samuel Chew, was a physician and had a seat on the West river. There the son was born in 1722. He was brought up a Quaker and was entered as a student at law in the office of Tench Francis, also come from Maryland, fairly reputed to be in the middle of the eighteenth century "as well trained a lawyer" as the province had yet known.¹ Mr. Chew in 1761 built "Cliveden," his country seat in Germantown, made very famous during the Revolution. He succeeded his master as attorney-general and in 1774 took the place earlier held by William Allen as chief justice.

¹ Keith's *Provincial Councillors*, p. 327. Horace Binney in his "Leaders of the Old Bar," *Pa. Mag.*, XIV, p. 2, thinks him "the first of our lawyers who mastered the technical difficulties of the profession." Francis was the son of a prelate in the Irish church and died in 1758.

Official relationships did not impose restrictions upon the movements of others whose training in the law had been quite as good. With ambitions to satisfy which very probably could not have been satisfied under the crown, they embraced the cause of the colonies with zeal. Such lawyers were John Dickinson, who was the son of a wealthy Quaker in Maryland and his wife, a sister of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, and who came to Philadelphia about 1755;¹ Joseph Galloway, also a native of Maryland;² John Ross and his half brother, George Ross, the latter principally associated with the town of Lancaster in which he made his home;³ Thomas McKean of Scotch-Irish stock who, though a native of Chester County in Pennsylvania, early removed to Delaware, dividing his interest between that state and Philadelphia for many years;⁴ James Wilson, a Scotchman, born near St. Andrews in 1742, who came to Philadelphia in 1766 and studied law with John Dickinson; Joseph Reed, a native of New Jersey, and a Princeton graduate who after practicing for a time at Trenton determined to make his home in Philadelphia; James Tilghman, a native of Maryland, who reached Philadelphia about 1760 soon to be made an agent for the Penn estates and to gain prominence in many fields.⁵

Not all of these opposed the course of Great Britain. Interest or conviction kept some faithful to the proprietaries or the crown. A few who at first actively espoused the popular cause later abandoned it, but on which ever side they stood this very able element in the population made it a period for energetic dispute about rights, privileges and liberties. John Dickinson, of Quaker blood though he was, was at this time foremost in advocating resistance. A circular, believed to have been written by him, was distributed in the midst of the excitement over the Stamp Act to create a great sensation. It was eloquent. "Rouse yourselves, therefore, my dear countrymen," he said, "think, oh, think of the endless miseries you must entail upon yourselves and your country by touching the pestilential cargoes that have been sent to you. Destruction lurks within them. To receive them is death. It is worse than death—it is slavery." No one did touch the cargo in the Delaware. To avoid the tax some of the almanacs for the year 1766 were published as early as in July, 1765. Public offices were closed and legal proceedings were for a considerable time practically suspended.

¹ He married Mary Norris, daughter of Isaac Norris, the younger, of "Fairhill" and soon closely allied himself with the politics and society of the city.

² He was a son of Peter Galloway of Anne Arundel County, and after 1757 became a power in the assembly of which he was for a long time speaker. He married Grace Growdon, daughter of Joseph Growdon of an old English family with a seat at Trevoise in Cornwall, which became the name of their new home in Bucks County, where they early purchased about 5,000 acres of William Penn.

³ Both the Rosses were born in Delaware, John in 1714 and George in 1730. They were sons of a Scotch Presbyterian minister, who later went over to the English Church. John was very eloquent and was the rival of old Andrew Hamilton in his skill as a lawyer. He later gave his principal attention to business affairs.

⁴ He married a daughter of Joseph Borden of Bordentown. Francis Hopkinson married another daughter.

⁵ Of an old Kentish family. His grandfather, Richard Tilghman, a surgeon in the English navy, settled on the Choptank river in 1661.

The issues of the newspapers preceding the fatal first day of November appeared in mourning. Bradford's *Journal* was "expiring in hopes of a resurrection to life again." It was filled with emblems of death and destruction. But only one number was missed, since none of the "horrible stamp paper" was to be had. Stamped newspapers from the West Indies, where the lamp of liberty did not burn so brightly, and other documents which had paid the tax were publicly burned at the Coffee House. Organizations of men and women called "Sons of Liberty" and "Daughters of Liberty" were formed, and mobs could be gathered together for a demonstration at almost any moment. A congress of delegates was called to meet at New York and John Dickinson and George Bryan, among others, were appointed to attend. It did nothing but send its remonstrances to England. Other ships laden with stamps followed the "Royal Charlotte" and their cargoes, as they arrived, were put on the "Sardine." That sloop continued to hold its place in the river until news of the repeal of the offensive law was received on May 20, 1766. The welcome word came by the brig "Minerva." A citizen who went aboard her hurried ashore with an official copy of the act which was read at the Coffee House amid loud demonstrations. The town was beside itself with delight. The crew of the brig received presents. Captain Wise was escorted to the Coffee House where he was made to drink from a great bowl of punch and take away with him a gold laced cocked hat, for was he not the first to bring the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act? The populace made itself merry with beer which was given away by the barrel, and built bonfires out of wood which was also distributed free.

Next day, in the afternoon, a dinner at which 300 men sat down was given in the State House, where even the captain of the "Sardine" was a guest. Twenty-one toasts were quaffed in deep draughts to the king and queen, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and "the glorious and immortal Mr. Pitt," might "the illustrious House of Hanover preside over the United British Empire to the end of time." A cannon in the State House yard fired salutes, and everyone agreed by way of a demonstration of "affection to Great Britain," on the 4th of June next, "the birthday of our most gracious sovereign George III," to dress himself in "a new suit of the manufactures of Great Britain" and "give away his homespun to the poor." In the evening more bonfires were lighted, the bells were rung and the people drank public beer.

The king's birthday this year was a greater occasion than ever before. The celebration began in the morning. A smack and a barge, finely decorated, sailed up the Schuylkill and anchored opposite the place on the bank of the stream where the festivities were to take place. Simultaneously an old barge fixed in a cradle on four wheels, and similarly decorated, was drawn through the streets by "seven stately horses." Ship carpenters were placed at the oars and several musicians played under a canopy. Salutes were fired from time to time as the barge passed to the grove on the river side where tables were set for 430 persons. There was much firing of guns, drinking of healths and singing of "God save great George our King," "She comes, Queen Charlotte comes," "Fame, let thy trumpets sound," and a song which seems to have been written for the occasion. It concluded as follows:

“Happy! happy! we
 In George our father and our King
 True born sons of loyalty;
 Hark; the hills and valleys ring,
 Heighten joy, now let’s be gay,
 This! this is sure the King’s birthday.”

Chorus

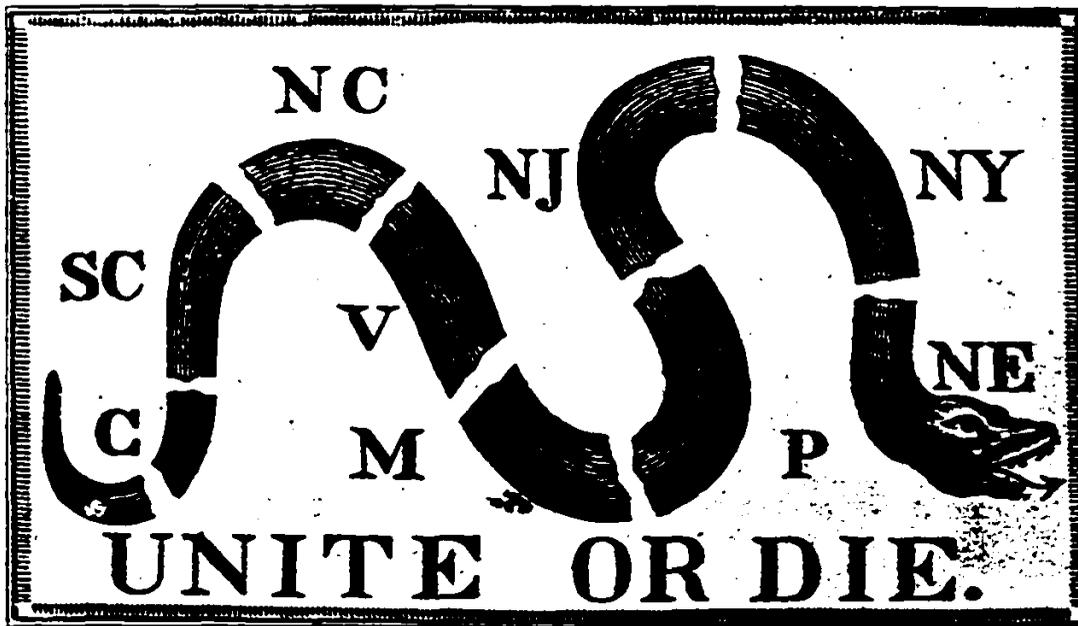
“Drink and set your hearts at rest,
 In George, our King, we’re ever blest.”

A toast was drunk this time to “our worthy and faithful agent, Dr. Franklin.” At night there was a procession to the place appointed for fireworks and great numbers of rockets were exploded into the air. It was accounted to have been “the most agreeable entertainment” ever participated in by so large a number of people in America.

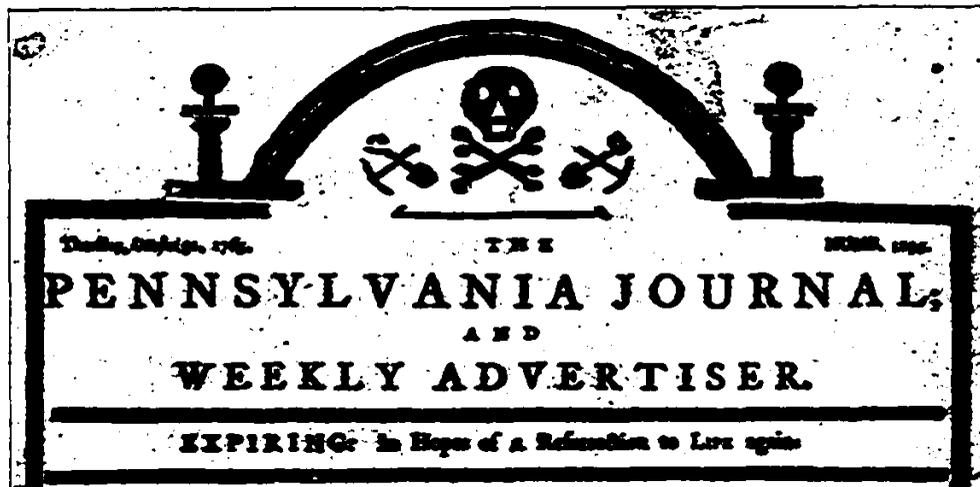
Such proceedings should have insured King George of loyal acquiescence in Philadelphia for a long time to come, but punch and beer, and bonfires and song were soon forgotten. The repeal did not evidence any material change of feeling in Great Britain. Franklin wrote to Charles Thomson on September 17, 1766, that it was “imputable to what the profane call luck and the pious call Providence;” not anything more.¹ It was soon seen that, though the ministry had given up the Stamp Act, they were determined still to tax the colonies. This course would be salutary if it were but to make them comprehend that they were a part of the British Empire. On June 29, 1767, therefore, parliament passed a law levying duties on paper, glass, painters’ colors, lead and tea imported into America. Excitement was again intense and it was on this wave of commotion that John Dickinson launched his famous “Letters of a Farmer of Pennsylvania, to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies.”

The deep and general interest in public questions led to the establishment of several new papers. Franklin’s *Gazette*, now published by Hall and Sellers, and Bradford’s *Journal* were not sufficient. They could not represent every shade of political feeling and satisfy every popular need. In January, 1767, the first number of the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* appeared. It was published by William Goddard, a New Englander who had lately come to Philadelphia. This journal was the head and front of contention while it throve, but in 1773 it was forced to suspend and Goddard was thrown into prison for his debts. As controversy thickened and the day of Revolution appeared other journalistic experiments were tried, the most successful of which were the *Pennsylvania Packet*, first issued on October 28, 1771, by John Dunlap, a strong and useful paper for many years; the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, established in January, 1775, by James Humphreys, Jr., and the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, which made its appearance at about the same time, with Benjamin Towne as its publisher. It was issued three times in a week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The older papers continued to

¹ *Memoirs of Hist. Soc.*, VI, p. 124.



DEVICE AT THE HEAD OF THE "PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL" IN 1775



TITLE AND HEAD OF THE "PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL" AT THE TIME OF THE STAMP ACT

come out only once a week. It was also the first evening paper to be printed in Philadelphia.

Dickinson sent his letters to the *Chronicle*. The first appeared on December 2, 1767, and they were continued weekly for twelve weeks. Sound in learning and clear in style they were calculated to create a profound impression. He concluded one of the articles, the seventh, as follows:

"Those who are taxed without their own consent expressed by themselves or their representatives are slaves. We are taxed without our own consent expressed by ourselves or our representatives. We are therefore slaves

Miserabile vulgus
A miserable tribe."

The letters were reprinted as soon as they appeared in all except four of the newspapers of the colonies from New England to the Carolinas. They passed through several editions in pamphlet form and were translated and published in France. The author's recognition was immediate. He was thanked by a Boston town meeting and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Princeton college which named him the "Pennsylvania Farmer" in his diploma.

Despite these evidences of the temper of the people the British government did not amend its course. In an address in 1768, again attributed to Dickinson, the people were enjoined never to forget that "our strength depends on our union, and our liberty on our strength. United we conquer, divided we die." The duties on paper, glass, paints, lead and tea were continued. The merchants revived their non-importation resolutions and efforts were made to manufacture silk, china, glass, wooden buttons, paper-hangings and woolen cloth, few of which met with more than the most trifling success. Now there was a dinner at one of the taverns at which toasting was given a different turn. The struggles of Pasquale Paoli in behalf of liberty for the Corsicans had become a subject of much interest to the Philadelphians and they determined to celebrate his birthday. The assembled company drank 44 times to such sentiments as these:

"May Great Britain always be just and America always free."

"Liberty to mankind."

"May the glorious spirit of Corsica animate America to the latest posterity."

"A speedy export to all the enemies of America without a drawback."

"May the illustrious House of Brunswick be as auspicious to the liberties of America as it has been to those of Great Britain."

With the development of this spirit there was conflict continually with the British customs officers. Smuggling grew apace. "Informer" became as hateful a name as "Tory" was a little later, and there were tar and feathers, a cart and a crowd of hoodlums to follow it, for every man who aided and abetted the revenue officers. Indeed, there were self appointed committees and mobs to care for many things—for merchants who violated the trade agreements, for forestallers or dealers who held and exacted exorbitant prices for goods which, when foreign commerce was interfered with, very naturally became scarce in the market.

It seemed impossible for the British government to understand that it was not the amount of the tax but the principle which offended the colonists. In 1769 the ministry reduced all the duties five-sixths and in April, 1770, abolished them altogether, except that upon tea which remained as before, 3d. a pound. It was estimated that only about 200 pounds of tea were used in a day in Philadelphia. The consumption in the entire colony probably did not exceed 400 pounds daily.¹ Though it had been selling at 3s. 6d. a pound the forestallers had raised the price to 5 shillings. Many had foresworn its use entirely and the efforts to keep it out of the colony were systematic and at times forcible.

The collector of customs, John Swift² obtained a schooner which cruised in the Delaware on the lookout for smugglers. One night in November, 1771, the captain caught sight of a light brig and a pilot boat standing up the river. The customs' officers boarded the pilot boat and met there four men and a boy who were ordered to open the hatches. They refused and the boat with its cargo, which was found to consist of 36 boxes of tea and some claret and gin, was seized. The revenue schooner was lashed to the prize and proceeded up the river. Being obliged to anchor near Red Bank, because of low water, the officers were surprised in a few hours to see bearing down upon them another pilot boat. Warned to stand off it came up to the king's vessel when 30 men with blackened faces sprang on board and with clubs, muskets and cutlasses belabored the crew. Some were seriously injured. All were thrown into the hold, the schooner was run on a bar where the rigging and sails were cut up, and the tea boat was released. The act was so generally condoned that no one was punished or even apprehended for perpetrating it, although the king's officers offered a reward of £200 sterling for information which would lead to the arrest of the culprits. They wrote in November, 1771, immediately subsequent to the outrage that they had "much reason to believe" that the offenders were some of "the principle merchants in this city in disguise," which was doubtless the reason that they were obliged to add in February, 1772: "We have very little expectation of ever discovering the persons concerned." The commissioner of his majesty's customs in America was even compelled to pay the doctors' fees for "curing the heads" of his hapless servants at the port of Philadelphia, and the incident came to an end.³

All this time the Barracks in the Northern Liberties were occupied by Scotch, Irish or Welsh regiments. The 42nd Highlanders made a very long stay in Philadelphia. General Gage paid two or three visits to the city and the people

¹ These figures are entirely at variance with some said to have been furnished by Samuel Wharton, at the time, in London, another of the Wharton brothers to whom a part of the cargo of the "Polly" was consigned. He declared that the use of tea particularly of the "black sort" was "so common and fashionable" in America that it was usually drunk twice a day. It was in general use even on the frontiers. Indeed the Indians—the Mohawks and Canajoharies in New York and the Delawares on the Ohio,—were named as large consumers. He computed that at least 2,000,000 Americans drank tea daily and that they yearly used not less than 5,000,000 pounds. (*Pa. Mag.*, XXV, p. 139.) Such a statement seems quite incredible and if it were ever made, very little entitled to belief.

² The founder of the dancing assemblies; collector of the port from 1762 to 1772.—Balch, *Pa. Mag.*, XXX, p. 134.

³ *Pa. Mag.*, XXX, pp. 147-49.



THE PATRIOTIC AMERICAN FARMER.
 J-N D-K-NS—N ESQ^r BARRISTER at LAW:

*Who with Attic Eloquence and Roman Spirit hath asserted
 The Liberties of the BRITISH Colonies in America.*

*'Tis nobly done, to stem Taxation's Rage,
 And raise the thoughts of a degenerate Age;
 For Happiness and Joy, from Freedom Spring,
 But Life in Bondage, is a worthless Thing.*

Printed for & sold by R. Bell, Philadelphia.

FRONTISPIECE OF EDITION OF JOHN DICKINSON'S "LETTERS FROM A FARMER"

Portrait engraved by Norman

seemed still to believe themselves loyal British subjects. The assembly appropriated a sum of money to make the Barracks more habitable. The ground was not drained and in wet weather it was a bog, half a leg deep with mud, but some improvements were effected. It was the delight of the townspeople to go out to this Camptown or Campingtown, as it was called, see the soldiers in their bright uniforms, particularly the Scotsmen in their plaid kilts and hear the regimental band play "Hearts of Oak," or the inspiring "Grenadiers' March," the latter already two centuries old.

The rescue of the tea boat in the river led the British government to place a stronger ship there, and its officers were very active. "They fire at, bring to, ransack and swear and tear at every vessel, shallop or flat that they can lay their eyes on," complained a writer in Bradford's *Journal*, "stopping men in their lawful business, putting his majesty's subjects in fear of their lives and liberties, and in a most underhand manner take every low means to gain intelligence."

Such disturbances, however, were all very trifling in comparison with those which were planned in 1773, when Great Britain undertook forcibly to introduce tea into the colonies through the East India Company, which had large amounts—one authority says 17,000,000 pounds—in store in London awaiting more favorable days. News of the intended dispatch of a number of cargoes created the greatest excitement. The newspaper writers and the pamphleteers again broke out into angry controversy. A great meeting of citizens was held at the State House on October 18, 1773, in which it was again resolved that taxation without representation would lead to intolerable slavery. The sending of the tea "subject to the payment of duties on its being landed here" was "a violent attack upon the liberties of America." The consignees who were to receive the tea, the chief of whom were two solid Quaker firms, Thomas and Isaac Wharton and James and Drinker,¹ were asked to resign their offices, as the stamp master had been. A committee sought them out, and by suasion and threat accomplished the object very promptly and effectually.

The movement was directed from the Coffee House. The tea consigned to Philadelphia was shipped in the "Polly" under Captain Ayres. She was expected to arrive in the middle of November, but her sailing had been delayed and more time was given for the arrangements making to receive her. A "committee for tarring and feathering" was formed, and it issued broadsides to the Delaware pilots, warning them not to touch her. Their only duty was "to give the merchants of the city timely notice of her arrival." The pilot who should dare to serve her captain would be "marked for his treason." "Like Cain, he will be hung out as a spectacle to all nations, and be forever recorded as the damned, traitorous pilot who brought up the tea ship." At first described as a "three decker," the committee learned later that she was "an old black ship without a head or any ornaments," of about 250 tons burden. Captain Ayres

¹ The members of these firms were passed by now and reserved for suspicion and persecution during the war. Thomas Wharton and Isaac Wharton were sons of Joseph Wharton, called the "Duke," proprietor of "Walnut Grove." The firm of James and Drinker was composed of Abel James and Henry Drinker, Quaker merchants, well known in the city.

was a "thick, chunky fellow," who had been in Philadelphia at the time of the Stamp Act, and should have known better than "to have expected that we would be so mean as to suffer his rotten tea to be funneled down our throats with the parliament's duty mixed with it." The captain was also addressed. "We must tell you," said the committee, "that the Pennsylvanians are to a man passionately fond of freedom, the birthright of Americans, and at all events are determined to enjoy it, that they sincerely believe no power on the face of the earth has a right to tax them without their consent." He was told that he had been sent on a "diabolical service."

"What think you, captain, of a halter round your neck, ten gallons of tar decanted on your pate, with the feathers of a dozen wild geese laid over that to enliven your appearance? Only think seriously of this and fly to the place from whence you came. Fly without hesitation, without the formality of a protest, and above all, dear Captain Ayres, let us advise you to fly without the wild goose feathers."

It was believed at this time that there were not more than 25 chests of tea in the city. The price had now risen to six shillings six pence, and would have gone much higher but for the notice given out by the committee that the names of retailers who asked more would be posted at the Coffee House. The "Polly" did not reach Chester until Christmas day, when an express was immediately despatched with all speed to Philadelphia. On December 16, Boston had thrown her tea into the harbor, and the news of this adventure which Paul Revere, a young Boston merchant who made many rides in the interest of American liberty, brought to Philadelphia on December 26,¹ increased the people's excitement. Committees were despatched to Chester and Gloucester Point to intercept and, if he were in an amiable mood, to reason with Captain Ayres. The Chester committee found him gone, but the other succeeded in hailing him. He was invited to come ashore, which he did at once, to pass into a great crowd. Only a few boys offered him any harm, and as he was under the protection of the citizens he made his way to Philadelphia, where the next day, on Monday morning, December 27th, he met the largest number of people which had ever been assembled in the city. They filled the State House yard, and swarmed the neighboring streets to the number of eight thousand, "to consider what is best to be done in this alarming crisis." They resolved that Captain Ayres should not proceed farther up the river, but that he should send his ship down to Reedy Island on the next tide—that he himself should be permitted to remain in town until the next day, to replenish his stores, and that he should then betake himself, with his vessel and his tea, out of the river and bay at once. A committee of four gentlemen was appointed to see that these things were done in entire accordance with the popular direction.

Captain Ayres offered no resistance to the plan after he was informed of the temper of the city. His ship weighed anchor in two hours on its way out of the river, and the captain followed in a pilot boat the next day from Arch street wharf, whither he was attended by a great company of people; and thus happily

¹ *Life of Colonel Paul Revere*, Vol. I, p. 131.

worse happenings were avoided.¹ The Earl of Dartmouth wrote to Governor John Penn of "the insult that has been offered to this kingdom by the inhabitants of Philadelphia," but they were now a very determined people. Franklin in England these many years, had conducted himself with great shrewdness and skill. His conduct in his examination by the House of Commons on the subject of the Stamp Act was masterly from every point of view. He had now unfortunately involved himself in the case of Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts, whose counsel was a Scotch barrister, Alexander Wedderburn. This man, superserviceable in the Tory interest, made a fierce attack upon Franklin before the privy council and discredited the colonial commissioner with the government to such an extent that he prepared to return home. When the news of this assault upon their fellow citizen reached the Philadelphians on May 3, 1774, they made effigies of Wedderburn and Hutchinson, pinned insulting labels upon the figures and carted them through the streets. After being jeered and taunted by the populace for three hours they were taken to the Coffee House, hung on an improvised gallows tree and burned on a pyre made of fagots upon which powder had been spread. A vast crowd attended and would not disperse until the last ember had been consumed.

Boston's particular offense in destroying the tea led to the closing of the port of that city and in May, 1774, Paul Revere again rode into Philadelphia requesting some expression of the popular feeling on the subject, so that Massachusetts would better know what attitude to assume. In 1773 several enterprising Philadelphians had built the City Tavern on the west side of Second street, above Walnut street, at the corner of what was later called Bank alley, and still later Gold street. It was regarded as the largest inn in the colonies. It contained a number of club rooms which could be thrown into a hall fifty feet in length. Opened early in 1774 it soon became so prominent a resort that the star of the London Coffee House, long in the ascendant, began to wane. It was for this tavern that a meeting was called to make reply to Boston through Paul Revere. Charles Thomson was so much overcome by his excitement on this occasion, it is said, that he fainted and had to be carried out.² Another committee was appointed,

¹ The Polly carried away, also, it is interesting to note, a chariot which was being imported from England by Thomas Wharton, one of the tea consignees, and a bell which had been purchased abroad for the Germantown Union Schoolhouse.—*Pa. Mag.*, XXXIII, p. 324; *Hist. of Germantown Academy*, p. 97.

² Charles Thomson, who has already been mentioned several times, was an Ulsterman. He was born in County Derry and came here at 11 years of age with his brothers and sisters. His father died when the vessel was within the Delaware Capes but the captain, against the family's protests, insisted upon casting the body into the sea. They were set ashore to do for themselves, and Charles, as we have seen, became a teacher in the Academy and later in the Friends' Public School in Philadelphia. He was always in delicate health. George Roberts wrote to Samuel Powel, in 1764, of Charles Thomson, "who, poor fellow, has been some time fighting for life with a powerful consumption that he appears like a skeleton in old tapestry." (*Pa. Mag.*, XVIII, p. 38.) Yet as Jenkins notes he lived 23 years longer than George Roberts and 32 years longer than Samuel Powel. (*Memorial History*, p. 325.) His fortunes were much advanced by his marriage in 1775 to Hannah Harrison, daughter of Richard Harrison, a Quaker tobacco planter of Maryland whose second wife was a daughter of Isaac Norris, the elder. He purchased 700 acres in Merion

consisting of John Dickinson, Provost Smith, John Nixon, Joseph Reed, Thomas Mifflin and others, and resolutions were adopted which, while recommending "prudence and moderation," assured the Boston leaders that Philadelphia would continue to stand firmly for "the cause of American liberty." It was determined to appeal to the governor to call a special session of the assembly but, as was probably foreseen, he did not accede to the suggestion. Money and goods were collected for the assistance of the oppressed citizens of Boston, interesting evidence of this being found in a paper circulated among the German farmers of Philadelphia County, who subscribed as they were able. There are such items as "2 bushel waytzen," "ein bushel und halb korn," "ein hundert waytzin mehl," or perhaps five or ten shillings in cash.¹

On June 1st, the day the Boston Port Bill was put into effect the shops and stores were generally closed. Vessels in the river displayed their colors at half mast. Most of the churches were open and sermons were preached to the people. Though Christ Church was not one of these, some unauthorized persons entered the steeple and tolled the bell. Another meeting of the citizens was called for the State House on June 15th, a general colonial congress was recommended, committees of correspondence were formed and there was set up extra constitutional machinery of government which soon took affairs out of the hands of the governor and the assembly. Many leading names were found upon these self-appointed committees. The various counties of Pennsylvania were asked to send their deputies to a provincial conference which met in the hall of the Carpenters' Company, on Chestnut street between Third and Fourth streets. Thomas Willing was chairman of this meeting, and Charles Thomson, secretary, and the assembly was appealed to, to appoint, and it did appoint, six men to represent the province in the Continental Congress, which came together in Carpenters' Hall on the 4th day of the following September. Thus was the movement for union and for organized resistance in union definitely begun, and the people of Philadelphia were in the midst of events, which rapidly led to a Declaration of Independence from Great Britain and a long war.

The city corporation continued to perform the part, rather small though it was, to which its charter had assigned it. The mayor elected in 1767 and 1768 was Isaac Jones, a merchant who had married a daughter of Robert Stretzell, a previous mayor. The choice the next two years was Samuel Shoemaker, son of Benjamin Shoemaker, an earlier incumbent of the office. He was a Quaker of mercantile interests, and became during the war a pronounced friend of the crown. In 1771 and 1772 John Gibson, another merchant, was chosen; in 1773 William Fisher, a Quaker who had amassed wealth in business; in 1774 Samuel Rhoads and in 1775 Samuel Powel, a graduate of the College of Philadelphia in one of its first classes. He married a daughter of Charles Willing, being therefore a brother-in-law of Thomas Willing. From him comes the name "Powelton"

and removed with his slaves to his new estate which he named "Harriton." Hannah (Harrison) Thomson, a granddaughter of Isaac Norris and a great-granddaughter of Thomas Lloyd, brought her husband into close connection with the best family traditions in Pennsylvania. (*Pa. Mag.*, XIII, p. 449.)

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXVIII, pp. 242-43.

in West Philadelphia, which was the site of his large estate. Thus to the end of its career the city government which Penn created was a kind of office-holding guild, as rich in dignity as it was limited in its uses and powers. The "middling people" who now came forward, so long denied their fair part in the political scheme, were as glad to sweep away the mayor and his board of nobles, as the aristocratic council and the misrepresentative assembly, and there was revolution soon on every hand.

Yet, distinct improvement was made in the material condition of the city. Major Robert Rogers, who published his *Travels in London*, in 1765, said that Philadelphia then contained 4,000 houses, and had a population of about 20,000. This estimate covered the northern and southern suburbs. In 1769 a careful enumeration was made, and it was found that the ten wards contained 3,318 houses, while the Northern Liberties up to Second Street Bridge over Stacy's Run, and Southwark down to a road called Love Lane contained 553 and 603 houses respectively. In all this was a total of 4,474 and meant a population, doubtless, of somewhat more than 20,000.

The public almshouse on Spruce street, behind the Quaker almshouse was now very much crowded. In rooms ten feet square there were sometimes four, five or six beds. It was felt, too, that there should be a workhouse so that the paupers could support themselves by weaving and other employments, and with a view to finding space for the new building, which soon won the name of the "Bettering House," a site was procured in the block bounded by Spruce and Pine streets, and Tenth and Eleventh streets. There were really two buildings, one for the idle poor and the other for those who were able to work. The establishment was opened in October, 1767, with 284 inmates, the number being increased in the following January to 368.

The insane poor were for many years given over to the care of the Pennsylvania Hospital. When John Adams visited the institution in 1774 he saw "in the lower rooms underground the cells of the lunatics, a number of them, some furious, some merry, some melancholy." Afterward he was taken to the "sick rooms" which were "very long, large walks with rows of beds on each side, and the lame and sick upon them; a dreadful scene of human wretchedness."¹ The situation was essentially the same as when Manasseh Cutler came 13 years later. At that time there were about 40 women in one and some 50 men in another room. The maniacs were in the lower story which was "partly underground." The cells were about ten feet square and "as strong as a prison." In the door of each there was a hole "closed with a little door secured with strong bolts." Through it food was introduced. Between 20 and 30 men and women, bereft of their reason, slept here on straw. "Some of them," Mr. Cutler says "were extremely fierce and raving, nearly or quite naked; some singing and dancing; some in despair; some were dumb and would not open their mouths; others incessantly talking." Yet it was supposed that they were being afforded "every possible relief in the power of man."²

¹ *Works*, II, p. 359.

² *Life, Journals and Correspondence*, I, pp. 280-81.

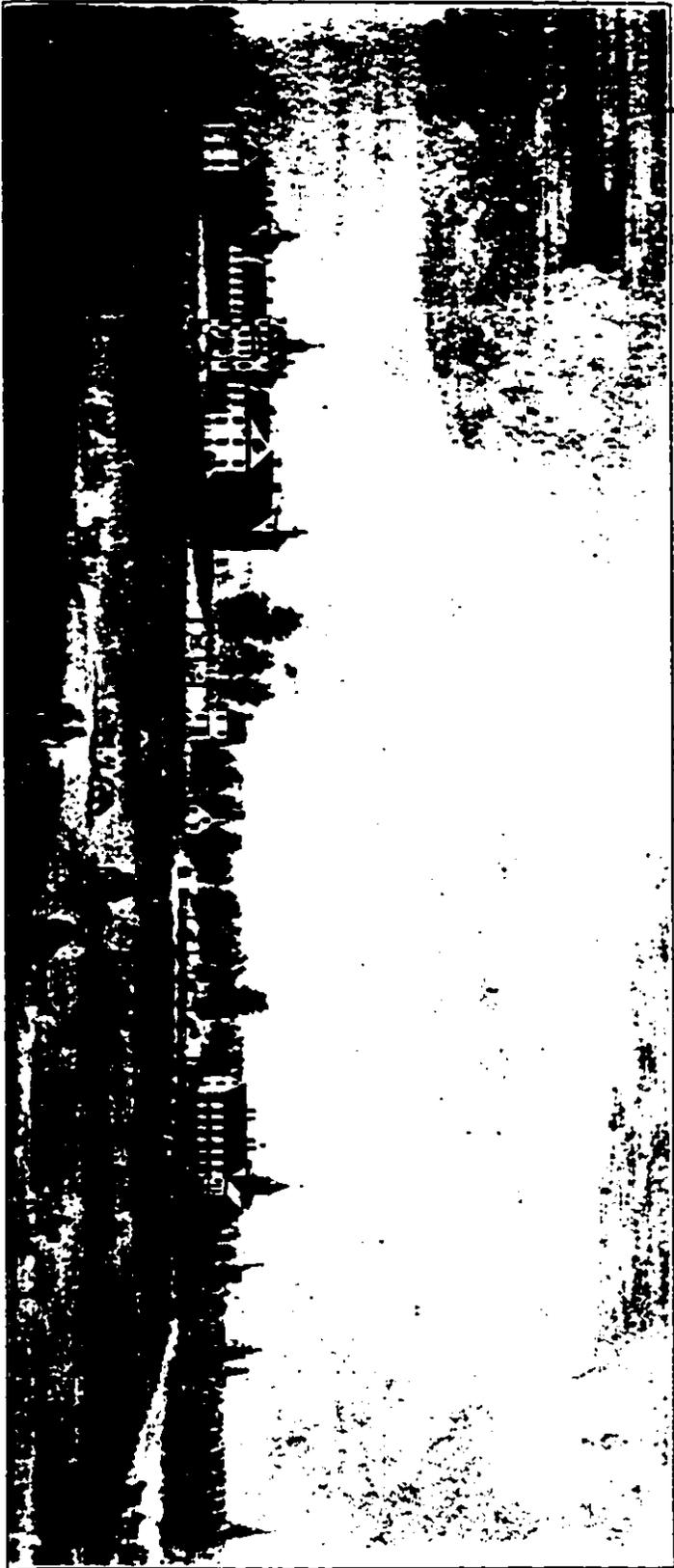
In 1772, Dr. John Kearsley, who had reached the age of 88 years, more than sixty of which had been spent in the colony, died. He left a sum of money for the establishment of Christ Church Hospital which, however, was not to be a hospital for the sick but a home for the aged and destitute. The will was contested and the legacy was not made available until after the Revolution when, the fund augmented from another source, the institution was placed upon its feet.

The poor system was very much better than the prison arrangements. They had become vile in the extreme, principally because of the continued belief that the persons kept thus in confinement should pay for their own food, clothing and fires. The government's corrective duty practically ended in lodging the violators of its laws. The debtors were in a terrible condition. They, of course, had no means else they would not be in their plight. In 1770, several died of starvation. It is said that some were entirely naked. They slept in the cold rooms in the prison at Third and Market streets without bedding. They had no resource except public charity. Yet as many of the debtors had friends of substance in the community they were probably in a better condition than the unfortunates who were imprisoned for crime. There were cases of men and women at first sentenced to short terms who were practically condemned for life because of their inability to pay their jail fees. In March, 1772, it was said again that three had died in prison for lack of food and contributions were taken up for those who survived. The prisoners' unkempt heads were often seen at the windows watching like fishermen the baskets which they had let down with strings to the street in the hope of securing alms from passers-by.¹

The Market street jail had become too small and a site for a new building was obtained at Sixth and Walnut streets, fronting the State House yard and flanking the Potters' Field. A large, rough stone edifice, 184 feet in length, was erected here in 1774, with apartments on the back of the lot on Prune, now Locust street for a workhouse, later famous as the place of confinement for poor debtors. The court was enclosed by a high stone wall. A building of this kind in close proximity to the State House, which became the particular home of liberty, created no very favorable impression upon the minds of the delegates to Congress from the other colonies. As they passed under the wall, here as at the Market street jail, baskets and caps at the ends of long poles were extended from the barred windows by the prisoners begging for charity. The hands of criminals were still burnt while they howled with pain in open court. They were still whipped. Their ears were still cut off to be nailed to the pillory as a warning to other men.

The mayor, the aldermen and councilmen continued to employ themselves with the ferries, wharves and markets. The entire income of the corporation in 1770 was less than £800 a year, and £200 of this came from the much used Middle Ferry over the Schuylkill at Market street. In 1773 it was resolved to lengthen the market and erect a number of stalls between Third and Fourth streets, but the citizens whose houses fronted the proposed building formed a mob, carried away the stone and lime put there for the work and pulled down the lime house. The work, therefore, was given up. It was represented that the

¹ Recollections of an Old Inhabitant, *Public Ledger*, Aug. 30, 1850.



VIEW OF THE BETTERING HOUSE (AT THE LEFT) AND THE PENNSYLVANIA
HOSPITAL (AT THE RIGHT)

semi-annual fairs had become "not only useless" but "real nuisances." The city now contained shops for the sale of all kinds of merchandise, and the corporation having as little authority in these as in other premises petitioned the assembly to abolish the institution. But before this could be effected the Revolution drew on and the fairs came to an end temporarily perforce on that account.¹

The city was entered by many roads which were full of wagons bearing goods in and out, and of horses heavily laden with saddle bags, panniers and packs. Now and then a chaise or a chariot passed,² but the greater number of people, both men and women, in travelling from place to place rode horseback. A post boy or an "express" possibly hurried along the road. The taverns and inns which dotted the way on both sides every few miles furnished meat and drink for man, and refreshment for his steed. Teamsters drew up here at night filling the road and the fields with their wagons. Some of these inns gained a very wide reputation, and there was a general desire to reach their signs before nightfall.

More traffic moved in and out of the city by the Middle Ferry and on the Lancaster Road than over any other avenue. The rapid development of the west and southwest, and the total absence of communication with this region by water made it a busy highway. Lancaster as early as 1755 was described by a traveller as "a pretty considerable town."³ The condition of the road was much complained of. It was also crowded and it was demonstrable that for these reasons much trade that should have come to Philadelphia was being diverted to Baltimore. This was particularly true of the country west of the Susquehanna. The ferries were bad, and the roads leading south which were in better order were to be preferred. Some repairs were made before the Revolution and suggestions had gone so far as to include a pike here, and a canal to join the Delaware and the Chesapeake. Indeed, there was a thought that a canal route might be found between Philadelphia and the Susquehanna and surveys for it were actually begun.

The other roads, also much travelled, were those leading north out of Front street, through Frankford, the seat of the old Jolly Post Tavern, and Bristol to Trenton Ferry and New York; the Gray's Ferry Road, which led to Chester and the south; the Ridge Road, the principal wagon way to the populous settlements up the Schuylkill valley;⁴ the Germantown Road leading through that village

¹ By some it has been assumed that the fairs in Philadelphia were finally abolished with the Revolution but there is proof that they were revived afterward, existing probably until 1787.—Old Inhabitant's Reminiscences in *Public Ledger*, Aug. 30, 1850; *Pa. Mag.*, III, p. 152.

² These were owned by the wealthy. There were, it is said, 37 four-wheel coaches, chariots, landaus, and chaises in the city in 1761. Among the owners were the proprietor, the Governor, Chief Justice William Allen, Dr. Thomas Bond, Benjamin Chew, David Franks, the widow Francis, William Logan, Joseph Galloway, William Moore, the widow Masters, William Peters, Abram Taylor, Joseph Turner, and Thomas Willing.—*Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 375.

³ "Increasing fast and growing rich; a manufactory here of saddles and packsaddles, also of guns; a very considerable stage town, in the way by two roads, to the back-road and Indian country; about 500 houses."—Governor Pownall, *Pa. Mag.*, XVIII, p. 214.

⁴ Usually called the Manatawny or Reading road. It pursued its way north through Barren Hill and Plymouth Meeting to the Perkiomen. Iron came down from the furnaces at Manatawny by this route. It was an important artery of commerce, also, for the Penn-

and eventually to Bethlehem and the Moravian towns in the Lehigh valley, and the York Road which left the Germantown Road near the Rising Sun Tavern and proceeded up to Abington, the Red Lion (now Willow Grove) and the Crooked Billet (later Hatboro) to a landing on the Delaware four miles above the present New Hope, another route to New York. The latter was also the high road to Easton. Teams came from and went to that place over it. Raftsmen who had floated timber down the Delaware, returned to the forests by this route.

The Schuylkill ferries were supplied with boats so well arranged for oars, it was said, that a boy could paddle a team from one shore to the other.¹ Later there were ropes, and a flat was drawn back and forth by this means, but they hindered navigation and sometimes they were cut. The assembly passed a law requiring the ferry men to slacken and sink their ropes as vessels approached. When it was possible the boatmen should take down their masts and pass underneath.

Carriages of all kinds and wagons, wains, carts, drays, etc., were to be registered and numbered conspicuously on the outside of each shaft in figures of tin or copper two inches in length. The mayor and aldermen fixed the rates for haulage. The various vehicles were assigned to definite standing places when they were unemployed, and there were penalties for their drivers to pay if they refused to obey the summons of a citizen. They must keep off the brick sidewalks, and on no account "go faster than a slow pace or trot within the built parts of the city." To prevent wood from falling off their wagons into the street the owners were required to provide hewn standards marked with the initials of their Christian and surnames.

In 1767 there were 320 public lamps, 120 town pumps and 54 other pumps in the streets, alleys and lanes of the city. There were 18 night watchmen, for whose convenience some watch boxes were provided at the corners of the streets. The watch-house was still at the old courthouse in Market street, where a constable attended each night to set the watch—that is to assign the men to and send them out on their respective beats. He was also to take care that they give attention to their duties. The watch was continued from ten to four o'clock, from March 10th to September 10th, and from nine to six during the rest of the year.

sylvania-German market people and in the autumn and winter, after the threshing was done, for farmers bringing in their grain to be ground at the Wissahickon mills. There were times when the road was filled with wains, and when grain was scarce the millers not infrequently went out to meet and chaffer with the wagoners. This rapid stream lent itself well to the uses of the manufacturer who was dependent upon water for his power. It is stated that before the Revolution there were eleven mills with as many dams in the wild valley of the Wissahickon. There was an oil mill, a fulling mill, and a paper mill, but the rest were grist mills for grinding grain. Robeson's near where the creek emptied into the Schuylkill above the Falls was one. Gorgas's was another, while that of Thomas Livezey, established as early as 1745, was very well known. Livezey was a Quaker who raised grapes and pressed wine as well as ground grain. He sank some barrels of a valued vintage in his dam while the British occupied Philadelphia during the Revolution, and took them up again after the war.—*Pa. Mag.*, XII, p. 366.

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XVIII, p. 212.

In 1772 there were seventeen rounds or beats. Two watchmen remained at the watch-house with the constable of the night.

Now and then complaints were heard of "useless and mischievous dogs." They ran out at travellers and destroyed sheep, and with a view to reducing their number, in 1772, a tax of one shilling was laid upon the householder having one dog and two shillings for each additional animal. If the owner were unmarried, however, the rate was five shillings, a kind of bachelor and spinster tax which considerably swelled the fund. The money was expended to indemnify sheep men for damage to their flocks.

Little improvement was made in the method of coping with fires, though several new volunteer companies, such as the Vigilant, Sun, Neptune, Queen Charlotte, afterward Fame, and King George III, afterward Delaware, were organized. In all there were 18 before 1776. In April, 1771, there was a disastrous fire in Front street in which four lives were lost. At this time all the engines in the city, six in number, were employed in playing their streams, and it was noted that one which had been constructed in Philadelphia performed better than the London machines.

In 1752 the first fire insurance company was formed. It was called the Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses against Fire, Franklin being one of its promoters and directors. It was, of course, as its name implies, a mutual company. Its seal was four hands clasped, and it came commonly to be known as the "Hand-in-Hand" company. In 1768 it was incorporated by the assembly. In addition to the services in its regular line of duty it in 1764 set up 29 stone mile posts on the New York Road as far as Trenton Ferry, and next year marked the road to Maryland and Virginia, down to the Pennsylvania state line, in the same way. In refusing to insure wooden houses and in denouncing the dangerous practice of smoking meats in the rooms of dwelling houses it materially contributed to the safe-guarding of property.

The chimney sweeps were now registered and licensed with a view to giving the householders more honest service, and as a protection of the common interest. The sweeps were obliged also to furnish the names of their servants and negroes, and place their registered numbers on their own caps, and those of all their employees, in figures of tin or copper so that they could be recognized. The charge for cleaning a chimney of one flue was to be 9d.; if there were two funnels, 15d.

The city and county elections held for so long on the same day, October 1st, at the old courthouse, were separated by act of assembly in 1766. The population had so much increased, it was said, that all who should have voted did not now have an opportunity. Many, after waiting a long while, left the polling place in disgust. The election officers, too, in their haste, could not scrutinize the tickets. Nearly 4,000 votes were cast at the election in October, 1764.¹ It was arranged, therefore, that the county election should be held on one day and the city election on the next, unless that day fall on a Sunday when the vote would be taken on Monday instead. The courthouse being so small it was more than once the

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XX, p. 207.

scene of rather serious riots, and it was decided to remove the polling place to the State House. The elections were held in the larger precincts for the first time in October, 1766, when there were nine windows at which the ballots were received.

The placing of signs in front of shops became so great a nuisance in 1769 that the pavements were ordered to be cleared of them. They extended on posts and boards far into the streets. The desire of the various dealers to force themselves upon public attention led to grotesque results. There were such shops as the Green Stays, the Whalebone, Two Bibles, Lock and Key, Crown and Cushion, Golden Heart, Ship Aground, Blue Wig, the Unicorn, Sugar Loaf, Boot and Spatterdash, Bell and Looking-glass, Green Frying Pan, Golden Pelican, Three Wise Men of the East and two or three hundred more. The law now prescribed that no shopkeeper should put up a sign which extended more than six inches from the wall of his house.

The agitation against slavery gained something in earnestness though little that was practical was yet done. Slaves were often sold at auction at the Coffee House and elsewhere in the city. Many continued to be held in and out of Philadelphia. The newspapers contained such advertisements as these:

"To be sold by the subscriber in the borough of Lancaster a likely negroe wench fit for town or country business, about 27 years of age. She has a likely child which will not be sold with her; her breeding fast being the only reason of her being sold. Enquire of Matthias Slaugh."¹

"To be sold a likely, healthy negro boy about 14 years of age. Has had the small-pox and measles. Country born and fit to wait on a gentleman. Apply to Ulrick Riegert, in the Borough of Lancaster."²

"To be sold by Stocker & Fuller, and to be seen at Mr. Daniel Cooper's Ferry, West New Jersey, opposite the City of Philadelphia, a parcel of likely negroes."

"Just imported from Barbadoes in the ship William & Mary, George Nicholson, Master, and now lodged at Mr. Daniel Cooper's Ferry on the Jersey shore, a negro man and two negro boys who are to be sold by Willing, Morris & Co. The purchaser to pay the duty lately imposed by Act of Assembly if brought into this province."

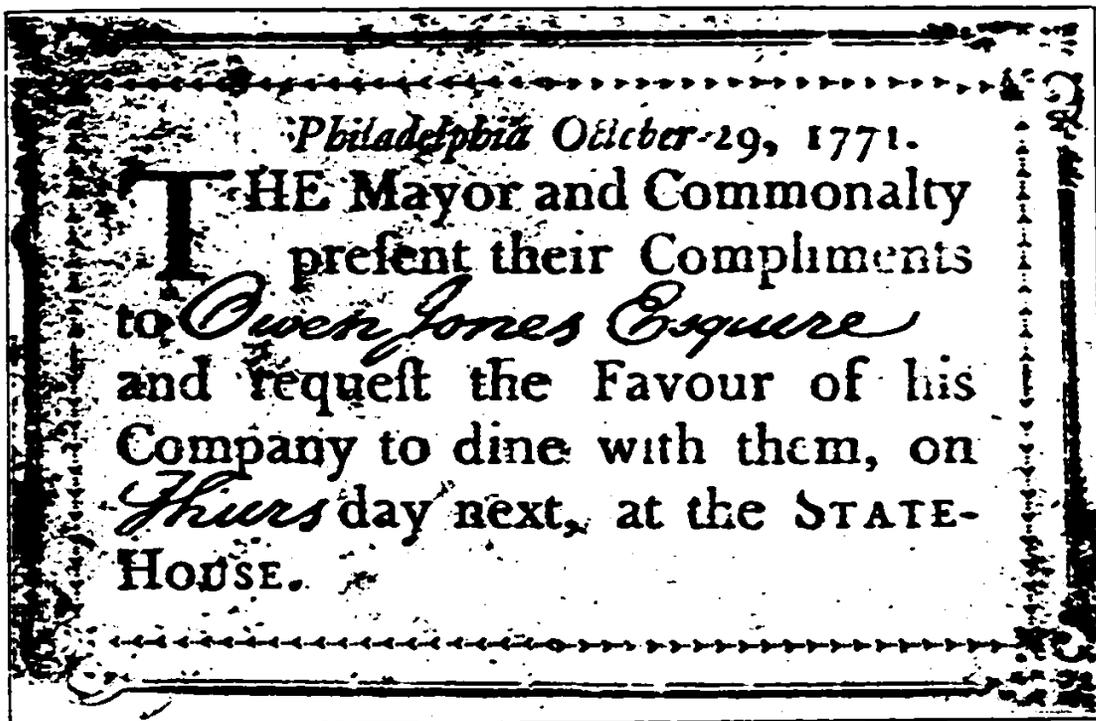
Some of these slaves could not speak English. Their tongues were still thick with the dialects of Africa. Their skins were as black as ebony. They had the faces and demeanor of savages. The new law of 1761, to which allusion is made in the advertisements and which imposed a duty on slaves imported into Pennsylvania, leading dealers to keep them across the river in New Jersey, was enacted not wholly without corrective purpose. The tax was fixed at £10 a head if the negroes were to remain in the province.³ In 1773 the assembly made the law of 1761 "perpetual" and laid an additional per capita duty of £10 upon imported slaves, a total of £20 on each incoming negro.⁴ Although several at-

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 14, 1761.

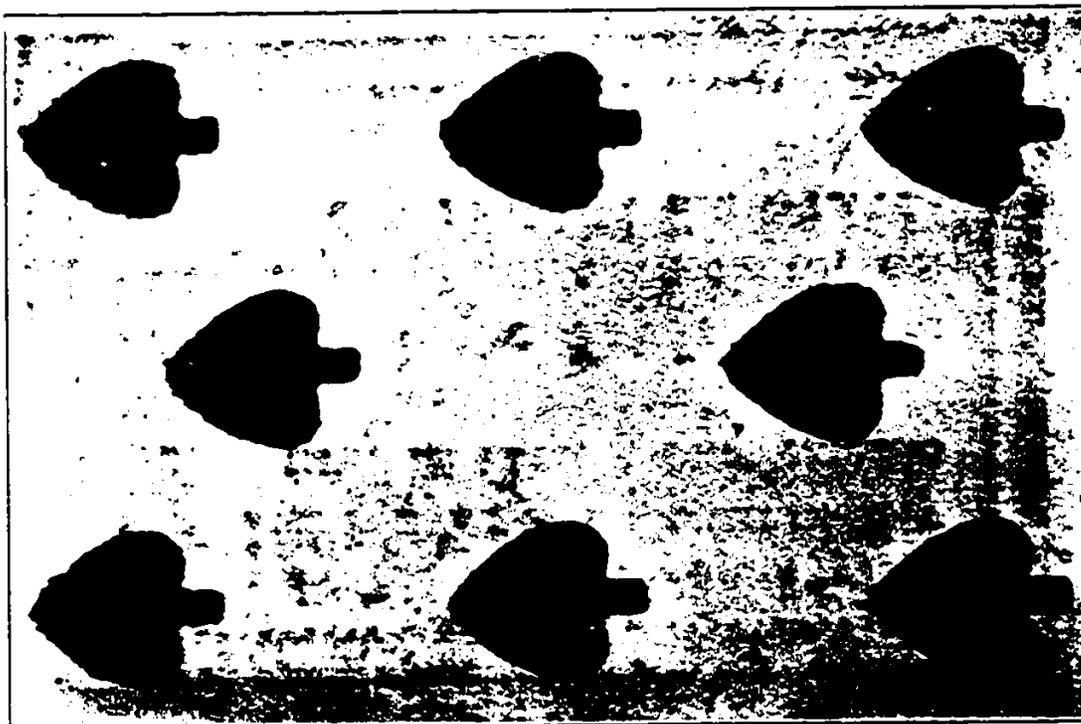
² *Gazette*, May 21, 1761.

³ Law of March 14, 1761, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. VI, p. 100.

⁴ *Statutes at Large*, VIII, p. 330.



INVITATION TO A DINNER AT THE STATE HOUSE
(Printed on a playing card)



BACK OF THE SAME INVITATION.

tempts had earlier been made by the assembly to impose a heavy tax upon imported slaves they had been liable from 1729 until 1761 to a merely nominal duty of £2 each. Now there was really some moral awakening, especially in the Society of Friends which had been so slow to move, considering its later very radical attitude. A number of meetings in Chester County, which was very forward in the movement, were taking advanced ground.

Some Quaker leaders had borne testimony against the holding of human beings in bondage, but nearly a hundred years had passed since the protest of Pastorius and the German Quakers in Germantown had been sent to the Yearly Meeting, and still nothing was officially said except in regard to the importation of negroes and the extension of the wrong. Woolman, Lay, Sandiford and others had preached the sin of slave owning, and now new leaders appeared both within and without the Quaker ranks. Woolman's voice was silenced only by death which did not occur until 1772. Warner Mifflin (first cousin of General Mifflin of the Revolution), a Delaware Friend whose ancestor John Mifflin owned the estate called "Fountain Green" on the east side of the Schuylkill river, later incorporated in Fairmount Park, freed his own slaves before the Revolution and made long journeys from state to state to persuade others to follow his example.¹ The ablest and most useful friend of the slave in Pennsylvania during this period, however, was Anthony Benezet. This single-hearted philanthropist was of French Huguenot blood—the son of John Stephen Benezet. He was born in France in 1713 and arrived in America with his parents when he was 18 years old. He had become a Friend in England. Here he essayed the life of a teacher, for a time in the Friends' Public School; then he started a private school for girls. For many years he supported an evening school for negroes and aimed to improve the condition of the blacks by education. He spoke, wrote letters and tracts, subsidized Franklin's almanacs in the interest of anti-slavery, in order to disseminate his philanthropic views more widely,² and in a great variety of ways, until his death in 1784, forwarded the abolition movement.

Such activity at last had its effect. Beginning in 1754 the Yearly Meeting made declarations calculated to discourage slave-keeping, as well as slave-dealing. In 1774 there was to be "speedy and close labor with such members "as continued to disobey earlier admonitions and the disownment of slaveholders was being seriously discussed. In 1776 it was reported by the Burlington monthly meeting that "a considerable number" of the slaves heretofore belonging to members under its jurisdiction had been set at liberty. In 1778 several members were expelled from the body in the city and its neighborhood for slave-owning, and a little later the meeting could declare that there were "no slaves owned by its members," though this was not before the entire system had been put on the way toward extinction by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a happy result brought about in March, 1780, and then less, as will later be seen, because of the teachings and preachings of the Friends than the triumph of the doctrines of the French Revolution, at that time pervading the air.³

¹ *Life and Ancestry of Warner Mifflin* by Hilda Justice.

² *Armistead's Life of Benezet*, p. 58.

³ *Bowden's History of the Society of Friends in America*, Vol. II, p. 214.

The Philosophical Society, which Franklin had founded in 1743 as an outgrowth of the Junto, had not succeeded. He was preoccupied with political and other interests, and the project was not revived for more than 20 years. In 1769 there were two rival philosophical societies of one of which James Hamilton was the president. They were consolidated in that year under the presidency of Franklin, who though still abroad, and despite his absence from the city, covering the greater part of the time, continued to hold the office for 21 years, or until his death in 1790. The scientist of this day chuckles at such science as that which found expression in this society, but its membership came to embrace Americans eminent in many fields, while it gained a number of distinguished foreign correspondents. Skeletons of curious animals, tusks, antlers and "grinders" came pouring into its museum. Thomas Jefferson, long the society's president after Franklin's term had ended, described "certain bones of a quadruped of the clawed kind" found in western Virginia. Another member offered an Indian legend of "the big naked bear" whose heart was so small that the arrow could seldom find it. It could be slain only by a blow deftly dealt upon its backbone. Other philosophers gave accounts of "amphibious serpents," "one partridge with two hearts," whose entrails unfortunately were left on a dish and were devoured by a dog before they could be properly examined," "the numb fish or torporific eel," and "a living snake in a living horse's eye."

More scientific and more useful were the society's efforts to encourage silk worm culture and the survey of a route for a canal to join Chesapeake and Delaware bays. Best of all were the observations of the transit of Venus so successfully made in June, 1766, through telescopes mounted in the State House yard, at David Rittenhouse's home, near Norristown, and at Cape Henlopen. These results were so good that they called forth the praises of European astronomers.

In 1771, Christopher Colles, an ingenious Irish inventor, came to Philadelphia and advertised that he would erect mills, hydraulic engines, etc. There were at the time only three engines in the American colonies, two in New England and one in New Jersey, all imported and all in the pumping service. Colles lectured before the Philosophical Society on engines and proposed to build and actually did build one in connection with a distillery in the city. It was examined by a committee representing the society, but while it moved, some parts of it were found to be defective owing to the difficulty of procuring the necessary materials in this country. Colles afterward removed to New York, but he is to be credited with having built the first steam engine in America, and some of his discoveries precede in date those which brought so much fame to James Watt.

The society also interested itself in political philosophy and became for many years the head and front of the radical French movement in this country.

CHAPTER IX.

WAR AND INDEPENDENCE.

James Hamilton in the summer of 1775 said in the presence of James Allen that he could remember the time when he "knew every person, white and black, men, women and children in the city of Philadelphia by name."¹ This day had now passed. When the delegates from the various American colonies came to the first Continental Congress in 1774, they found Philadelphia a city containing from 20,000 to 25,000 people. While this number may seem not large, it was sufficiently so to constitute the town the most important place in America. Moreover it was centrally situated within reach of south and north alike, then an even greater consideration than at a later day, since the distances must be covered either by slow sailing boats or upon horseback over rude roads and unbridged streams, at some seasons afloat with ice and at others in dangerous flood. It, too, as has been seen, was the home of a people very forward in opposition to English exaction. It was widely famous abroad, and its reputation was soon to be very much increased, especially in France, as the seat of a government believed by liberal enthusiasts to be both philanthropic and wise. It is not likely that John Adams or any New Englander felt that Pennsylvania had lessons to give the eastern colonies in such matters, but Voltaire and the philosophers who trod in his ways were untiring panegyrists of the Quaker political system.

The city had more fine buildings and institutions, and more of what passes under the name of "society" than any of its American rivals. The eyes of the delegates from the other colonies were constantly being opened by what they saw here, and their presence for many years, or until the capital was removed to the new Washington city in 1800, added to the interest and distinction which Philadelphia enjoyed. The city boasted many fine homes. Franklin, before going abroad on his prolonged English mission in 1764, had built himself a house in a block between Third and Fourth streets, north of Chestnut street. The Masters house stood on the south side of Market street, between Fifth and Sixth streets. Governor John Penn's brother, Richard Penn, who had also recently served as governor now occupied it. It was described as "a magnificent house." It later had a series of famous tenants, serving Washington as his home while he lived here as president of the United States. There was a house next door nearer Sixth street which was built before the Revolution by Joseph Galloway, a leader in the assembly. Thomas Willing and his two sisters,

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, IX, p. 185.

Mrs. Byrd of Westover and Mrs. Samuel Powel, had three handsome homes between Third and Fourth streets, the tract running from Willing's alley down to Spruce street. Then there were the houses of John Cadwalader, son of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, on Second street, described by John Adams in 1774 as "a grand and elegant house;"¹ Archibald McCall, the leading East India merchant of the day on lower Second, at the corner of Union street; John Lawrence at the northeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, later the home of Mr. Duponcean; Edward Shippen on Fourth street; Anthony Duché at Third and Pine streets; William Logan, a son of James Logan, on Second street. The Joshua Carpenter house, later to have a series of distinguished occupants, including the French Minister Luzerne, was placed in the square bounded by Sixth and Seventh and Market and Chestnut streets. Benjamin Chew's city home, the Willing house which had been built for Mrs. Byrd, had "a grand entry and staircase," and contained "elegant and most magnificent chambers." Benjamin Rush lived on Water street. "From the windows of his back room and chamber" he had "a fine prospect of the Delaware river and of New Jersey beyond it."² The homes of George Clymer, Thomas Mifflin and other Philadelphians were also admired by John Adams and the visiting delegates to Congress. The town was well supplied with residences of brick, with broad gardens around them, in which the opulent shipping merchants and the agents of the crown and of the proprietors, made their homes, giving the place an air of general prosperity, if not of splendor.

The surrounding country was dotted with comfortable seats. "Cliveden," the house which Judge Chew had built for himself in 1761 in Germantown, and "Mount Airy" of the Allens beyond were but two of several in that direction. "Fairhill" of the Norrises, now by his marriage the home of John Dickinson,³ and "Stenton" of the Logans stood nearer the city. "Bush Hill" of the Hamiltons and "Springettsbury" of the Penns lay northwest of the centre, while beyond Thomas Willing's partner, Robert Morris, had a farm which he called "The Hills," now "Lemon Hill." North of this on the Schuylkill, Captain John Macpherson, a Scotchman, who had been a very successful privateer in the French wars, in which he was wounded so often—nine times it is said,—that he remained but a thing of human shreds, had built "Mount Pleasant," a colonial monument still standing within the boundaries of Fairmount Park.⁴ Still farther north on a headland beautifully surveying the river stood "Laurel Hill," now also included in the limits of the park, and strangely disguised as the "Randolph House,"⁵ the country home of Francis Rawle⁶ until he died in 1761,⁷

¹ *Works*, II. p. 361.

² The quoted words are from the *Diary* of John Adams.

³ "A fine seat, a beautiful prospect of the city, the river and the country, fine gardens and a very grand library."—John Adams, *Works*, II. p. 379.

⁴ Born in Edinburgh, a descendant of a ferocious Highland clan. "Nine times wounded in battle," wrote John Adams in 1775 after dining at "Mount Pleasant." He had had "an arm twice shot off," and had been "shot through the leg." The house according to some judges was "the most elegant seat in Pennsylvania."

⁵ Glenn, *Some Colonial Mansions*, Vol. II.

⁶ Grandson of Francis, the author of the essays on political economy.

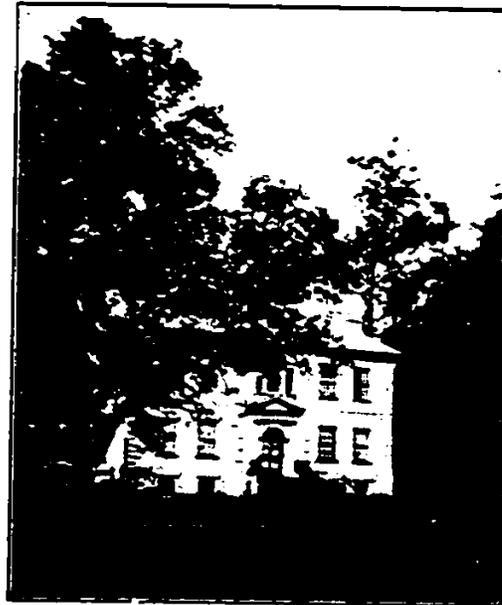
⁷ William Rawle, to become a more distinguished bearer of the name than any of his forerunners, was but two years old at the time of his father's death.



CARPENTER MANSION IN CHESTNUT STREET



CHARLES THOMSON



"MOUNT PLEASANT"

and then of his widow who, since 1767 had been Mrs. Samuel Shoemaker. Beyond the river were the "Woodlands" of the Hamiltons; "Whitby Hall" of James Coultas; "Harriton" of the Harrisons; "Belmont," of the Peters,¹ and adjoining it, about where Horticultural Hall now stands, the new mansion of Governor John Penn, who had married a daughter of Chief Justice Allen of "Mount Airy," called "Lansdowne"—at first "Landsdown" or "Landsdowne." This was probably the most pretentious mansion in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. It was completed in the first years of the Revolution.

The banks of the Delaware above the city were utilized also. There Lynford Lardner had built a home which he called "Tacony." The Walns had a seat east of Frankford. In the south, in Moyamensing and Passyunk, there were Wharton's "Walnut Grove" and a half dozen notable estates with fine buildings upon them, and on all sides, for many miles, there were places of interest and importance testifying to the wealth of the community. "The nobles of Philadelphia," John Adams called them in a letter to his wife in 1774; and well did they deserve this name, opening their homes and loading their tables in a welcome to the visiting representatives of the other provinces. When he departed in October, it was from "the happy, the peaceful, the elegant, the hospitable and polite city of Philadelphia."²

Not only were these homes handsome of appearance to outward view, but many were finely furnished. Since little was made in America, and the owners were often identified with the import trade, the drawing-rooms were not filled with the tasteless things that later crowded them. "Rich," "splendid," "elegant" are the words which were used to describe the interiors of the homes of Philadelphia's leading families. The dinners which occupied the afternoons of the delegates, made the fare of New England seem very plain. Again and again did John Adams in his *Diary*, speak of the "splendid feasts" and "mighty feasts;" the "turtle and every other thing;" the "curds, creams and jellies" the "sweetmeats of twenty sorts," the tarts, fools, trifles, flummery, floating islands and whipped sillabubs; the Parmesan cheese, the almonds, melons, pears, peaches and raisins; the claret, Madeira, Burgundy, punch, porter and beer.

The dress of the people, except among the Friends, came to comport closely with the fashions of England. A few umbrellas had begun to appear in the streets. Earlier a thick coat, or perhaps an oiled linen cape, had been thrown over the shoulders in time of rain. It is said that the handsome young Dr. John Morgan in 1771, was the first to make use of an umbrella in Philadelphia, as he went about on his visits to the sick, and it was a sight which was generally remarked. The first of these odd devices were very large and clumsy. They were made of coarse, oiled linen, stretched over and supported by rattan sticks.

¹ "The tasty little box of the last gentleman [Mr. Peters] is on the most enchanting spot that nature can embellish, and besides the variegated beauties of the rural banks of the Schuylkill, commands the Delaware, and the shipping mounting and descending it. From hence is the most romantic ride up the river to the Falls in which the opposite bank is likewise seen beautifully interspersed with the country houses of the opulent citizens of the capital."—Notes of Translator of Chastellux's *Travels*, I, p. 301.

² *Works*, II, p. 402.

Pennsylvania's delegates to the Continental Congress, who had been appointed by the assembly, in response to an imperious popular demand, were Joseph Galloway, Samuel Rhoads, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphreys, George Ross and Edward Biddle. John Dickinson, the "Pennsylvania Farmer," of whom so much was expected on the radical side, was later added to the number. They met with the delegates from the other provinces early in September. Peyton Randolph of Virginia was chosen to preside; Charles Thomson, who was called "the Sam Adams of Philadelphia," and the life of the cause of liberty, was elected secretary. The State House was then occupied by the assembly and after a preliminary conference at the City Tavern, as to a proper meeting place, it was decided to go to the hall which had just been erected by the Carpenters' Company. There the Philadelphia Library had recently taken its books, having found the quarters in the State House too narrow for the collection; and this seemed an added reason why the place might be suitable for the use of the delegates. It was on the third day of the session in this building that Jacob Duché, the assistant minister at Christ Church, delivered the prayer that touched everyone so deeply and made for himself a reputation as a patriot, which he later preferred to renounce. President Randolph had in obedience to desire, waited upon the young clergyman, and he appeared, as John Adams says, "with his clerk and in his pontificals." He read several prayers, and the 35th Psalm, then striking into an extemporaneous supplication "which filled the bosom of every man present." Even in his own Massachusetts Mr. Adams had never heard "a better prayer or one so well pronounced."

In the intervals when they were not being dined and wined by the generous inhabitants—the climax of the entertainment was reached at a dinner in the State House which was attended by 500 persons—the delegates resolved "that no obedience was due from the province to the late cruel, unjust and oppressive acts of the British Parliament; but that they should be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration." The people were urged to contribute of their substance for the relief of the distressed people of Boston. It was determined that the import trade with Great Britain should cease on December 1st next, and that nothing should be exported to that country or her dependencies after September 10, 1775, unless she should earlier grant her American colonies a redress of their grievances, and with a view to gaining this end addresses and memorials were prepared to be forwarded to England. All the members present signed articles of association, pledging themselves to support the sentiments to which the Congress had given expression, and, after being about two months in session, adjourned to meet on May 10, 1775.

The toasts at the dinner at the State House, and at the collation at the City Tavern with which the session was closed, indicate the spirit of the time:

"May Great Britain be just and America free."

"May the cloud which hangs over Great Britain and the colonies burst only on the heads of the present ministry."

"May no man enjoy freedom who has not spirit enough to defend it."

"May the sword of the parent never be stained with the blood of her children."

It must be said in favor of those delegates, who later refused to go the full length of violent revolution, that the dominant note in the first Congress was union for denunciation of a "wicked ministry." The crown over and above all this, and English allegiance generally, were thought of with reverence. Other occurrences were necessary to bring Congress to its next step.

These were to follow with unlooked for rapidity. The agencies for putting a stop to the importation of British goods were established in the form of committees of well known citizens. A sub-committee to sit daily at the Coffee House was formed. Inquiries were made and shipments opened, inspected, seized and sold. The committeemen, now as before, were supported by mobs which could be collected on short notice anywhere, so nearly unanimous was public feeling, especially among the lower orders of the population wherewith successful revolutions are sustained.

The practice of smuggling continued to thrive. In September, 1774, the British customs officers had seized a number of hogsheads of sugar on board of a schooner in the river. No duty had been paid upon it and it was put in a storehouse in the Northern Liberties. There a crowd of men armed with clubs and staves fell upon the king's officers, who were beaten off while their assailants made away with the sugar. The action of the committee in officially excluding British importations gave encouragement to general defiance of the revenue agents. In February, 1775, a tidewaiter named Welch attempted to seize a schooner bound into the Delaware from France. He went ashore for aid, but finding no one to assist him he returned to the vessel, when the captain turned and carried the man down the bay. He was set ashore near the Capes and the ship made its escape. With a view to enforcing British authority there was placed in the Delaware a royal armed schooner called the "Diana," which greatly annoyed shallops and small craft. Almost open warfare was maintained on the customs line from the mouth of the Delaware to Philadelphia for many months.

The committees supported by public opinion did not content themselves with their efforts to stop importations from Great Britain. Renewed attention was bestowed upon the subject of native manufactures. Americans were encouraged to deny themselves foreign luxuries,—wear their own fabrics, play with their own playing cards, burn their own spermaceti and drink their own porter. A prohibition was again put upon the slaughter of sheep, so that the flocks would increase and wool be at hand for the spinners and weavers.

On April 24, 1775, at five o'clock in the evening, an express rode down the Frankford Road with the gravest news from Massachusetts. He bore the following paper which had been five days on the way:

"Watertown, Wednesday morning [April 19] near ten of the clock. To all friends of American liberty be it known that this morning before break of day a brigade consisting of about 1,000 or 1,200 men landed at Phip's farm, at Cambridge, and marched to Lexington, where they found a company of our colony militia in arms, upon whom they fired without any provocation, and killed six men and wounded four others. By an express from Boston we find another brigade are now upon their march from Boston, supposed to be about 1,000.

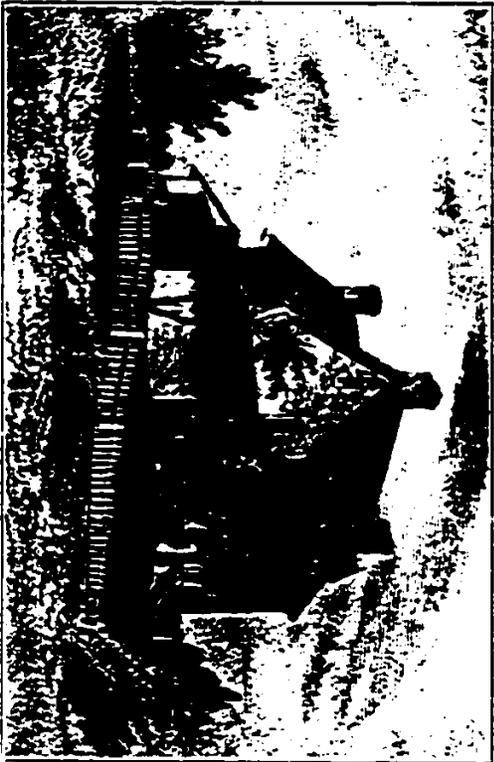
The bearer, Trail Bissel, is charged to alarm the country quite to Connecticut and all persons are desired to furnish him with fresh horses as they may be needed. I have spoken with several who have seen the dead and wounded.
* * * "

The communication was signed by one J. Palmer. It was passed on with the proper attestations of the local committeemen, through Brookline, Norwich, New London, Lynne, Saybrook, Killingworth, East Guilford, Guilford, Brandford, New Haven and Fairfield where a post-script was added. This was dated Thursday afternoon and had come in over another route by a second express. It described subsequent events, including the British advance to Concord to destroy the provincial stores and their return to Boston, harried by the farmers, who upon hearing of the outrage, gathered in from all sides. Thus the news came to New York, where a committee appended a signature. It had reached there at two on Monday morning, April 24th, arriving at Princeton at six a. m., and Trenton at nine a. m., whence it was forwarded as "an account of the Battle of Lexington" to Philadelphia, to which it came nine hours later.¹ The word spread everywhere. It is said that the Society of St. George was assembled at a dinner at which Robert Morris was presiding. When the news entered the hall the guests were so greatly excited that they upset the table. The town scarcely slept that night. The next morning a great mass meeting was held in the State House yard. It is estimated that 8,000 people again pressed into this enclosure, and they agreed that they would band themselves together for defense.

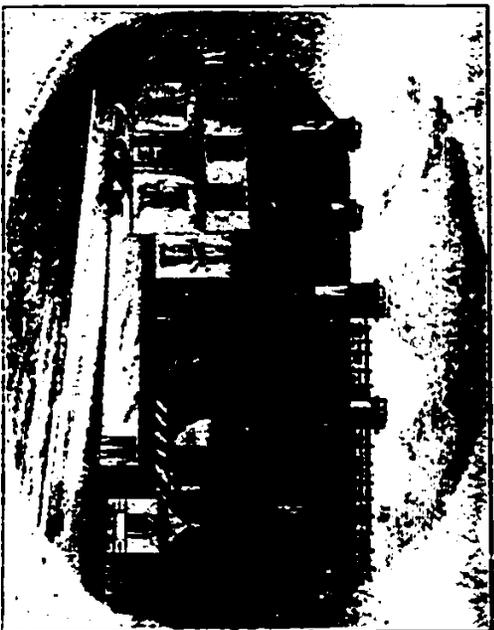
The committees of inspection and correspondence were now confronted by graver duties. They began the collection of fire-arms from householders and led the movement for the enlistment of troops. There was a stampede of volunteers who were soon put in charge of drill-masters. The Philadelphia Association was composed of three battalions, the first under John Dickinson, the second under Daniel Roberdeau, the third under John Cadwalader, as colonels. They together numbered about 1,500 men. There were besides an artillery company of 150 men with two 12-pound and four 6-pound brass field pieces, "several companies of light infantry, rangers and riflemen" and, to be more famous than them all, a troop of light horse under Abraham Markoe, organized in the preceding November by the young men of several of the leading families of the city, believed to have been the earliest military body formed for the purpose of gaining American independence. This was the company of horse now so long known as the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry, or more often merely as the First City Troop.² In all, these organizations numbered about 2,000 men. They were soon neatly uniformed, the infantry in dark brown homespun faced with red, white, yellow or buff, according to the battalion, with white vests and breeches, white stocks, half boots and black knee garters. The coat was short, falling little below the waistband of the breeches, while the hats bore a ribbon varying in color with the battalion and closing in a rosette out of which a tuft of fur, made to resemble a buck's tail, rose to a height of six or eight inches.

¹ For facsimile of this paper see *Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 257.

² *History of the First Troop, Phila. City Cavalry*, 1874.



"HARRITON"
The home of Charles Thomson



RESIDENCE OF GEORGE CLYNER
In Chestnut below Seventh street



RESIDENCE OF JAMES WILSON
(Fort Wilson) at Third and Walnut streets



DUCHE HOUSE IN SOUTH THIRD STREET
Later the residence of Thomas McKean

The large cartouche box bore the word "Liberty" and the number of the battalion upon it in white letters. It was hung by a broad white strip of horse hide, as was the bayonet on the other side, the straps crossing over the breast. The riflemen were accoutred like the Scotch-Irish rangers of the frontier in long frocks of tow-cloth and carried tomahawks stuck in belts.

Some of these troops appeared to welcome Benjamin Franklin who arrived in the city early in May, the hero of two continents. His usefulness had ended in Great Britain, and his counsel would be of immense moment at home in determining the future course of the colonies. The "Associators" also assembled to welcome the delegates to the second Continental Congress, the date of whose meeting had been set for May 10th. Many, though not all, of the delegates from Virginia, the Carolinas and Maryland, came up in a cavalcade and were met about two miles from the city by a body of troops, accompanied by a band of music, and a vast number of people on horseback and in coaches and chairs.

A few days later the eastern delegates were received with similar ceremonies. The procession was led by a squad of military men with drawn swords. These were followed by two or three hundred gentlemen on horseback. Then came John Hancock, a greatly esteemed popular figure at the time, and Samuel Adams, "in a phaeton and pair;" after them John Adams and Thomas Cushing in "a single horse chaise." New York and Connecticut delegates were also in the party, while at least a hundred carriages brought up the rear. The procession advanced "with a slow, solemn pace." As it came into the city all the bells were set to ringing and chiming. The streets were filled "with people of all ages, sexes and ranks." The Massachusetts men were honored beyond all others, for they came from the colony which had shed its blood for the people's liberties. Galloway, who already felt those drawings toward England which would prevent his going farther on the way that Congress laid down, was allowed to withdraw from Pennsylvania's delegation, as was Samuel Rhoads who was serving as mayor of the city. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Willing, James Wilson and John Morton were added to it and became valuable counsellors in a great emergency.

The most important service performed by this Congress, as it proved, was the choice of one of its members, George Washington, of Virginia, to be Commander-in-chief of the Continental armies. There were other aspirants for the post, but he fortunately was elected by a unanimous vote, at once donned his uniform and made his first appearance in his new rôle in public on June 20, 1775, when he reviewed the city associators on the commons near Centre Square. The next day he set out for the American camp at Cambridge, being escorted on his way as far as Kingsbridge, N. Y., by Markoe's company of light horse. In November Mrs. Washington, who was generally called Lady Washington—the people being not yet very well confirmed in their republicanism arrived in the city. She was met at the Schuylkill ferry by the troops, and a ball in her honor, at the City Tavern, was proposed. Since "vain amusements" at such a time were deprecated by wise persons, the enterprise was given up, and in a few days she passed on to join her husband, being accompanied for a considerable distance by a body of associators.

Meantime, measures continued to be taken for the public defence by the committees in Philadelphia, and a general provincial committee of safety, with large military powers was formed under the presidency of Benjamin Franklin. There was a lively scurrying about for weapons, and saltpetre with which to make gunpowder. A premium was offered to those who would undertake its manufacture. A factory was projected. The earth in old cellars was dug up and treated for nitre. For lack of a proper magazine powder was stored for a time in the new Walnut street jail. In August, 1775, there were only 2,244½ pounds of powder in hand. Two thousand pounds were forwarded to New York for the Canadian expedition, but Franklin, discovering that the need had been supplied from another source, sent an express after the wagons, overtaking them at Newark, whereupon they returned to Philadelphia. Later two tons were sent to General Washington at Cambridge. Arrangements were made to manufacture firelocks and foundries for casting cannon received encouragement. Franklin proposed the use of pikes in lieu of better weapons. Orders were sent to Spain and Holland for arms, medicines and other supplies. Lead for bullets was so scarce that the committeemen went around to the houses to examine clocks and windows. If the weights were of lead they were removed with the promise of iron weights to take their places. Lead spouting and bits of that metal scattered about the wharves were seized and converted into balls. Women busily employed themselves preparing bandages and lint for the wounded.

The river gave Philadelphians much concern. It was known that the British would send up their frigates before long. Indeed they already harried commerce in the neighborhood of the Capes. Unless something effectual were done the city itself would be at their mercy. The forts were in no posture of defense, but works were built in a few months at several places, notably on Mud Island, (later called Fort Island, and still later Fort Mifflin) and at Red Bank. Many boats were needed and the shipbuilders were employed in the construction of gondolas and galleys. In sixteen days, it is said, Emanuel Eyre had one of these, the "Bulldog" afloat;¹ thirteen were ready for service by September, 1775, at a cost approximately of £550 each. They were propelled by oars. Each boat carried two howitzers, besides some swivel guns, muskets and pikes, and a force of 53 men. Dr. Benjamin Rush, the young physician, of whom so much was to be heard, became the surgeon of the fleet. These vessels, to which accessions were made from time to time, had as auxiliaries a flotilla of fire rafts and a floating battery. The main reliance of the port, however, was the blocking up of the channel. The idea of a boom was discarded in favor of chevaux-de-frise, large pieces of timber thickly traversed by long wooden spikes pointed with iron. After 40 vessels were allowed to depart two tiers of these were sunk near Mud Island in September, 1775, a third being added at a later date. Two more were placed in the stream opposite Marcus Hook. Three old hulks were also sunk and the buoys were removed. The channel was now very intricate and

¹ Emanuel Eyre and his brother John were shipbuilders of Kensington. They were sons of George Eyre, an English shipbuilder who settled in Burlington in 1727. The name was associated with this business in Kensington for many years.

circuitous and only ten pilots were let into the secret of navigating it, a tolerably good precaution, as it seemed, against the near approach of British men-of-war. A large number of privateers were fitted out to prey upon British commerce, in which service such young men as the first Stephen Decatur, Thomas Truxton, Richard Dale, Nicholas Biddle, and others to whom fame was later to come, distinguished themselves, and, throughout the war, the city was a busy centre for the operations of these boats. Many prize vessels and cargoes with their prisoner crews were brought into Philadelphia. On the other hand many American ships were taken, and the import and export trade was rendered dangerous and uncertain to the last degree.

Congress, as well as the state, formed its arrangements, for naval defence and many of these centred in Philadelphia. The redoubtable Captain Macpherson, of "Mount Pleasant," who bore the marks of so many wounds, desired the appointment as Commander-in-chief of the fleet. He had a son, Major John Macpherson, who was killed in the little American army, before Quebec, and another son William Macpherson, for some years in the British service, who early exchanged the red coat for a Continental uniform, and after the war became the commander of the famous "Macpherson Blues."¹ But the old fighter was not appointed, the choice falling in November, 1775, upon Ezek Hopkins. Commodore Hopkins went out of Philadelphia a few weeks later on the "Alfred," an East Indiaman, of 200 tons burden, which John Paul Jones, a young Scotchman for some time in the colonies, had made ready for sea under the direction of a committee of Congress. He became its lieutenant, and awaiting the arrival of his captain, Dudley Saltonstall, a New Englander, on December 3, 1775, boarded the boat off Chestnut street wharf and "flung out the first American flag ever shown on a regular man-of-war." This is believed to have been a banner exhibiting a pine tree, at the foot of which was coiled a rattlesnake with the legend "Don't Tread on Me." The device was not of his choice. He knew not whose it was. As for himself, he "could never see how or why a venomous serpent could be the combatant emblem of a brave and honest folk fighting to be free."²

The serpent, however, was an ancient emblem. Cut into sections with the motto "Join or Die," it had appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* during the French and Indian War. In 1775, a similar picture with the legend "Unite or Die" was placed at the head of the *Pennsylvania Journal*. Other vessels accompanied the "Alfred" down the river, but they were all frozen up at Reedy Island, and really did not effect their departure until the following February. Then thousands attended and shouted their acclamations, and a flag of thirteen red and white stripes, such as Washington had used at Cambridge, was unfurled.

¹ *Mount Pleasant and the Macphersons.*

² *Paul Jones, Founder of the American Navy*, by A. C. Buell, Vol. I, p. 49. Much of this matter regarding Jones seems to be supposititious and traditionary. Buell has been shown to be entirely untrustworthy, but similar allegations are made by other writers. C. O. Paullin, a careful naval historian, writes: "On December 3, 1775, John Paul Jones hoisted the Continental flag on board the "Alfred," Hopkins' flagship, the first Continental vessel to fly the colors of the new nation."—*The Navy of the American Revolution*, p. 55.

The first prisoners of war arrived in Philadelphia in October, 1775. They were men cast away on Brigantine beach. Falling into the hands of the Jersey people they were sent to Congress in Philadelphia, where they were confined in the old prison at Third and Market streets. In the next April Captain John Barry, a native of Ireland, earlier in the merchant trade, said to have been the first Catholic appointed to the service,¹ brought in some prisoners as a result of the first naval engagement of the war of any importance. His vessel was the "Lexington" and the action took place outside the Capes.

While the cause moved on apace there were more than a few who refused to be carried along in the anti-British current, and to coerce them, many characteristic steps were taken. People at once became Whigs or Tories, that is liberals in favor of the defense of America's rights to the uttermost, or sympathizers in some degree with the hated English Tory Ministry.² The Quakers for the most part found it impossible to view the prospect favorably. Their entire body of principles was a protest against militarism, and they saw the very foundations of the commonwealth, which they had established on this continent, shaken by the storm of approaching war. While the governorship, the council, the city corporation and even the proprietorship itself had passed out of their hands, they still had their influence in the assembly which, with everything else, was likely soon to be swept away in favor of they knew not what. They were, moreover, for the most part, people of substance, gained by trade and the investment in land. Political and commercial interest therefore, as well as moral principle, led to great caution on the subject of a separation from Great Britain, if not to positive opposition to the movement. Leaders of the Society of Friends were laboring with their members in order that they might be guided by that "wisdom which is from above, which is pure, peaceable, gentle and full of mercy and good fruits." But it was not possible to hold ail to peaceful ways, especially the young men who were in many instances, fired with the ardor which they saw exhibited around them. Samuel Wetherill, Jr., among others, protested against the general attitude of the Society. He was a speaker in its meetings. He had been born in Burlington in 1736, and came to Philadelphia as a boy. Just before the outbreak of the war, he had joined with Christopher Marshall and others, in the establishment of a factory for weaving jeans and fustians. He thought in the matter of the dispute with England that the Friends ought to be "as watchmen on the walls, and that there is something due from us both to the king and to the public cause." He was bidden to go his own way by the meeting in 1779. One after another the offending members were disowned. By their action they were accounted to have made themselves unfit longer to be in union with the Society. Wetherill and several of the "Whig," "Fighting" or "Free Quakers," in 1781, took steps to organize a meeting of their own.³ At first they worshipped

¹ Griffin, *Commodore John Barry*, p. 24.

² "Tories, under which name," said James Allen, truthfully in his Diary, "is included every one disinclined to independence, though ever so warm a friend to constitutional liberty and the old cause."—*Pa. Mag.*, IX, p. 193.

³ Among the members curiously enough were both Betsy Ross and Lydia Darragh.—*History of Free Quakers*, by Charles Wetherill, p. 20.

in private houses and in the College building. They entered into correspondence with the meetings of Free Quakers in other parts of the country, and soon, after trying vainly to secure a house from the Society from which they had been expelled, purchased a piece of ground at the southwest corner of Fifth and Arch streets, where they erected a plain two story building. The tablet on the north end of the house, which still stands, bears these words:

"By General Subscription
For the Free Quakers, erected
In the year of our Lord, 1783,
Of the Empire 8."

A member was asked why this allusion to the "Empire" was made. He answered: "I tell thee, Friend, it is because our country is destined to be the great empire over all this world."¹

Denied burial places in Quaker ground, the assembly in 1786, further to endorse the patriotic sentiment which had actuated members of the society when they renounced the principles of their fathers, and buckled on their swords in defense of national independence, gave them several lots on the west side of Fifth street below Locust street, but the meeting has long ceased to exist. Clement Biddle died in 1814; Samuel Wetherill, Jr., the principal preacher of the little society, at a ripe age in 1829; Timothy Matlack, in 1829, at the age of 100 years, and Betsy Ross in 1836. John Price Wetherill, Samuel's son, worshipped here almost alone for several years, and closed the meeting finally in 1836. It is within very recent years that the burying ground has disappeared in response to the material needs of the crowded portions of a great modern city.²

The Quaker situation became particularly distressing when military taxes were indiscriminately laid upon the people, and all males capable of bearing arms between the ages of 16 and 60 years, clergymen and servants only excepted, were called to enlist in the public defense. The attitude of the members of the meeting made them now the most unpopular of men, and they underwent much real suffering for their consciences' sake.

For the most part, however, English sympathy, at any rate, until independence was declared, when many could keep silent no longer, was expressed only in whispers. Those who were not so discreet were made to recant publicly in writing. They were often brought before assembled mobs to whom their statements were read. If they had "vilified" Congress, they were compelled to say that they were "sincerely sorry;" that the fact that they had made such remarks gave them "extreme pain." They were induced to "solemnly declare" that no such sentiments would be entertained by them in the future. Some, however, met with much less considerate treatment. Leigh Hunt's father, Isaac

¹ *History of Free Quakers*, p. 39.

² The Free Quakers have been made to figure in a prominent way in the novels of Dr. Weir Mitchell, notably in *Hugh Wynne*.

Hunt, a lawyer in the city, who had married a Miss Shewell, a sister of the wife of Benjamin West, was known for his British sympathies. In 1775 he took up the case of a man who was supposed to be acting in violation of the resolves of Congress in regard to the importation of British goods. He was summoned before a committee and treated it so superciliously, that a number of associators went to his home one day and put him in a cart. The vehicle, preceded by a drummer and a fifer, playing the "Rogues' March," was paraded through the city attended by a great crowd. In front of the Coffee House, having probably had enough of the adventure, he stood up in the cart and acknowledged his wrong in such terms that the Whigs were prevailed upon to protect him from further abuse, though he was obliged to repeat his apologies at every street corner on the way home. The cortège happened to stop in front of the house of Dr. John Kearsley, Jr., nephew of Dr. John Kearsley, architect of Christ Church. He had a lively temper and was Tory to the backbone. Throwing up his window he pointed his pistol toward the crowd, snapping it twice, though without effect. A number of armed men entered the house to seize him, and he was severely wounded in the hand by a bayonet. With this member still bleeding he was put into the cart where Hunt had been, and taken to the Coffee House amid the jeers of the crowd. He would make no retractions, and the mob would have tarred and feathered him but for the restraining influence of some of the associators. After conducting him home, his windows were broken and other damage was inflicted upon his property. Hunt later left for England where he became a clergyman. Kearsley determined to send an account of his treatment to London. His letters, sewed up in the garment of a woman, were intercepted on a ship near Chester, and being read were found to be very uncomplimentary to the Whigs, who were called a "pack of cowards." He himself had made 5,000 run by snapping his pistols at them. Worse than all this he had sent a map of the Delaware river channel and other material calculated to damage the popular interest. He was made a prisoner and taken for confinement to York County where he died during the war.

Indeed, there were soon so many political prisoners that Congress was tendered the use of the new jail at Sixth and Walnut streets, and the civil offenders of the city and county were carried back to Third and Market streets. Tories from other colonies were brought to Philadelphia for safe keeping. There were prisoners taken in war to be guarded. Many complaints arose concerning the consideration accorded the Whig prisoners, especially during the occupation of the city by the British troops, but it does not appear that the other side was treated with a much greater magnanimity. The recrimination in war on this subject is mutual. All along the suffering of civil prisoners in the Philadelphia jail had been incredibly severe, and it was not to be expected that any exceptions at a time like this would be made in favor of British soldiers, or American Tories who happened to be confined there. With a view to ameliorating the general condition and keeping the prison administration free at least from the scandal of starvation, "The Society for the Relief of Distressed Prisoners" was formed in 1776. It fitted out a number of covered wheelbarrows. On the tops of these were painted the words "Victuals for the Prisoners." They were passed

through the streets from house to house for the leavings of the tables of the well-to-do, and carried food to the men who for crime, or debt, or political opinion reposed in the gaols of Philadelphia.

There was no motion for concession in England and there was also no relaxation in the work of military preparation in Philadelphia, all of which indicated, said a writer in the *Pennsylvania Journal* "that the citizens of Philadelphia are upon a footing with the foremost of the colonies in resolving to die freemen rather than be slaves." Two more battalions of associators for local defense were organized early in 1776, the Fourth and the Fifth, the latter being composed of riflemen and called a "shirt battalion" because of the frocks which they wore. One battalion had been furnished to the Continental army, and four more were organized in January, 1776, Anthony Wayne of Chester County, taking command of one of these.

Always a contentious scene Pennsylvania was so now more than ever before. One man distrusted another. This or that committee contained members who were suspected of being not fervidly loyal. John Penn, the governor, had English sympathies of course, as had most of the officers of his appointment, including the Hamiltons, the Allens, Benjamin Chew and James Tilghman, though he in his own person preserved an appearance of neutrality which it must have been difficult to maintain.

The old assembly was being urged on by a public opinion which it was impossible to disobey, and in the early stages of the contest it had voted money and pledged aid with something near to zeal. But the fire was spreading daily. A little power in the hands of those not accustomed to exercise it bred a desire for much more, and with committees, mobs and companies of soldiers ruling in defiance of the constitution, all of them being supported in whatever they should do by considerations of higher patriotism, against which there could be no appeal, the assembly was marked for destruction. With it would go the proprietors, the governor, the council, the aristocratic city corporation and everything that savored of royalty and class.

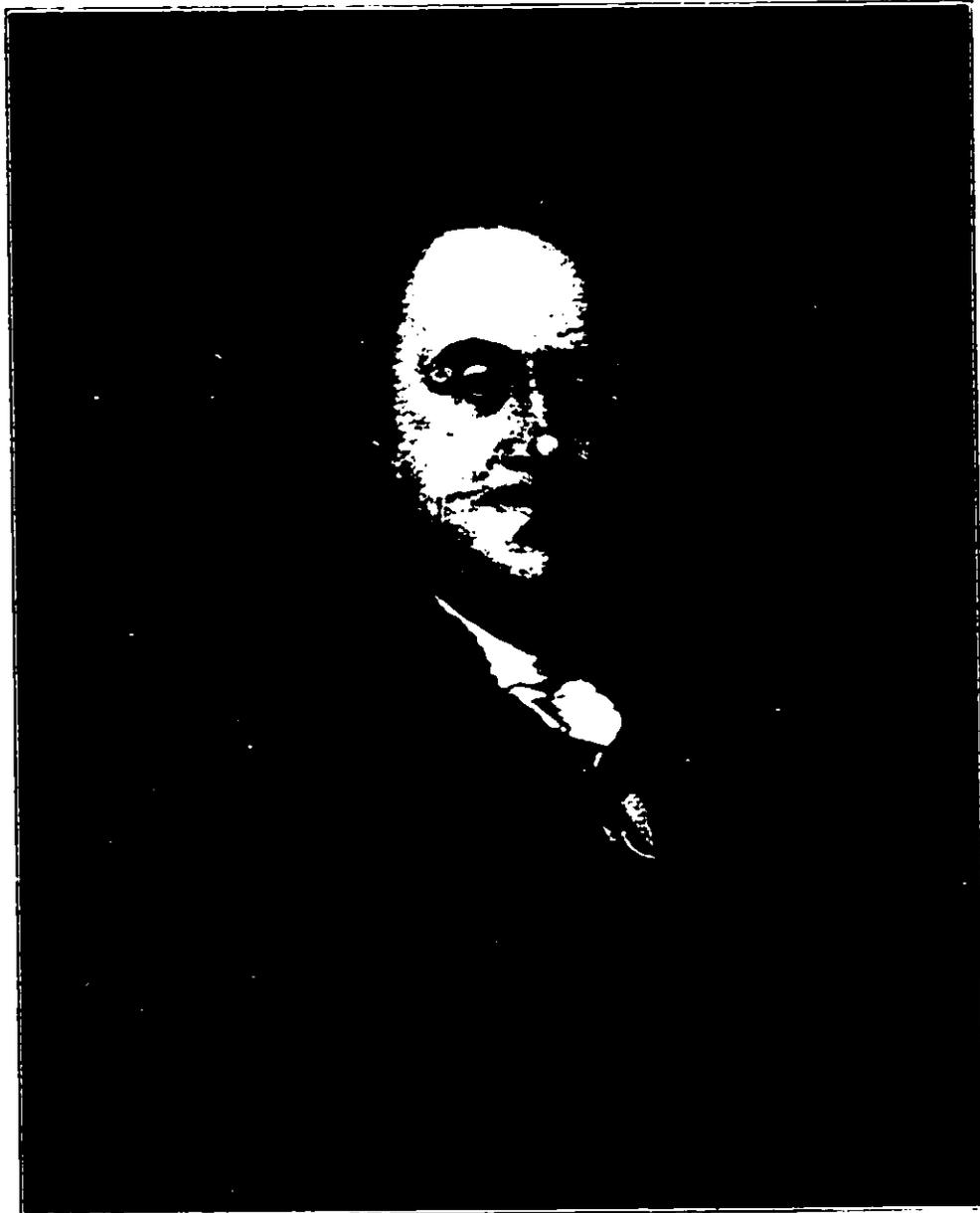
The way was well prepared for the downfall of the assembly. It had clung to its powers selfishly and with small show of justice to the north and west, where the population had been increasing at an astonishing rate. A fresh movement of Ulstermen had set in, and no matter how recent their arrival they were fine recruiting ground for an army which was to fight against Great Britain. In 1771 Bedford County, with one representative, had been created out of the western part of Cumberland County. In 1772 parts of Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Northampton and Bedford Counties were formed into Northumberland County which was also given one representative. The next year, still farther west, Westmoreland County, with one representative in the assembly, was organized by a curtailment of the bounds of Bedford County. There were now eight new counties in the province, but all told their representation was only 15 members, as against 26 for Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks Counties and Philadelphia city. The assembly did not mistake the signs when on March 23, 1776, it made a new apportionment of representatives, giving Lancaster six instead of four, York, Cumberland and Berks four instead of two each, Northampton four in-

stead of one and Bedford, Northumberland and Westmoreland two instead of one representative. At the same time, however, the city's representation was raised from two to six burgesses. The three old Quaker counties, with the city, still had 30 delegates as compared with 28 for the German and Irish counties. It was a niggard as it was a belated adjustment of the relations of the sections, though it approached a fair regard for the distribution of population.

There was no stopping the career of such democrats as the colony was coming to contain, and they would be satisfied with nothing short of an early declaration of independence for the United States, and an unchecked system of direct government, such as was later concentrated in the hands of the French convention, for Pennsylvania. The movement was in the hands of a small junta of which one of the most active, as well as the most ignorant, unscrupulous and irresponsible members was Thomas Paine. They used the now famous name of Franklin, who was so unskilled in political philosophy that he seemed to favor the undertaking, and soon made the government of Pennsylvania the bane of its own sober citizens and the pattern for the leaders of the French Revolution.

Paine had come to Philadelphia largely through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin to serve as a pamphleteer for statesmen and ministries, and a general literary starveling and handy man. He arrived in the United States in 1774 and found employment on the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, published by Robert Aitken, destined to enjoy a very brief life. Brandy was a part of Paine's equipment as a writer, as necessary to him as a pen. It stood beside him whenever his prosperity would allow, and when used put his whole intellectual system into a glow. Early in 1776 he of his own motion, or upon some one's order, wrote a pamphlet entitled "Common Sense." There was in Philadelphia at this time a Scotch publisher and bookseller named Robert Bell. He reprinted a number of important works and was widely known for his book auctions, then an innovation in the colonies. He first advertised "Common Sense" on January 15, 1776, and it was soon selling so rapidly that not enough paper could be had to supply the demand for it. A second edition was announced on January 29 and with it originated a dispute between the author and his publisher as to a division of the profits. The pamphlet was a presentation in a bold way of the arguments in favor of a declaration of independence from Great Britain, and, coming at the ripe moment, it created a vast amount of attention and was undoubtedly of great influence in crystallizing public opinion in favor of that movement. A large number of pamphlets followed "Common Sense," notably "Plain Truth,"—which took the name of Franklin's famous pamphlet of 1747—a statement on the other side written, some have thought, by one of the Allens.

"Cato," "Rationalis," "Candidus," "Cassandra," "Moderator" and all the rest of the pamphleteers again came forth and bitterly discussed the subject until Congress took the recommended step in the ensuing July. Paine in this writing had the support and advice of Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Sam Adams and some others, though what he had to say about the form of government for Americans, which was to have an important bearing upon ensuing political events in Pennsylvania, was developed in conference with a little group of democratic idealogues in Philadelphia. Included in it were principally Timothy Matlack, a



Benjamin Franklin

Free or Fighting Quaker, who ostentatiously wore his sword in the streets, as he explained, to defend his liberties; George Bryan, an Irishman, filled with antipathy to the English form of government with its three separately constituted departments, executive, legislative and judicial, and its two houses of Parliament; James Cannon, a teacher in the college, who in revolt against his calling denounced "all learning as an artificial constraint on the human understanding," and Dr. Thomas Young. These men, with possibly a few others, under Franklin's protection, kept up an agitation which soon bore fruit.

They had been waiting restlessly for the resolution of Congress on May 10, 1776, "that it be recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the united colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs has been hitherto established, to adopt such government as shall in the opinion of the majority of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and of America in general." This was the signal for the county committees of inspection, or observation, or correspondence, as they may have been called, to unite in the election of delegates to a provincial convention. The movement was started by a great meeting in the State House yard at nine o'clock on the morning of Monday, the 20th of May. Four thousand persons stood in the rain and listened to Colonel Thomas McKean and other speakers. The assembly was to be trusted no longer and it was resolved to call a conference to meet at Carpenters' Hall on the 18th of June. This soon adjourned, the session ending with a dinner at the Indian Queen in Fourth street, where there were toasts to Congress, General Washington, "The free and independent states of America" and "The friends of Liberty in every part of the world." Colonel McKean presided over the conference and it was resolved to call a convention to establish a new state government which should meet on the 15th of July. The proceedings were hurried through in order to forestall the assembly, should it make proposals of its own for a new constitution. The elections were in the hands of the associators, "the men who wore leather aprons" and the old and more substantial elements in the province which had earlier controlled its politics were sent to the rear. Such "silk stockings" as came forward to participate in the movement were entirely outnumbered.

Benjamin Franklin was elected to and accepted the presidency of the convention which met in the State House. It took entire control of the political affairs of the province or state, as it was now to be called, and the old government, not without some feeble protestations on the part of the assembly, was superseded. Its resolves in regard to both state and local matters prevailed. It formed an executive committee under the name of the council of safety which was to take the place of the older committee of safety, some of whose members were accused of too little zeal for the American cause. David Rittenhouse, the astronomer, descended from the old paper manufacturer on the Wissahickon, was very forward on the radical side; he was made its chairman. The convention passed ordinances, appointed justices of the peace and created agencies of government to take the places of those which had been abolished. Finally, late in September, it adopted its curious constitution, which Paine and his junta, only one or two of whom were members of the convention, had prepared in conference outside, and

imposed it upon the new state. The government which was established was wholly without checks or balances of any kind. It was founded on the idea of the "return to nature" of Rousseau, in whom and his disciples in France some of the Pennsylvanians were thoroughly steeped. The representative system was to be discarded and in its place should be set up a government as close to the ideal, seen in the picture of a number of peasants making their own laws by the uplifting of their hands under an oak tree, as the conditions of a more intricate social life would permit.

The main feature of the government was a single house of assembly, annually elected, to consist of six members from Philadelphia city and from each of the eleven counties, until there could be an enumeration of the taxable inhabitants of the state when there would be an apportionment based upon population. Governor was a name too suggestive of royal rule. Instead there would be a plural executive, a supreme executive council, made up of one member from each county elected by the people for three years, one third of the number being chosen annually. A president and a vice-president were to be elected from the council by ballot in a joint meeting of that body and the more numerous assembly. This council had no veto power. The judges of the supreme court, who were to be appointed by the council, and the justices in the counties, who were to be elected by the people, could be removed by the assembly for misbehavior. Thus, an independent judiciary was rendered impossible. Indeed, there was practically no check of any kind upon the assembly of one house, except a fantastic council of censors, which was to meet every seven years to review the work of the period gone by and determine whether the constitution had been "preserved inviolate in every part." Useless indeed this was, for the censors were without authority then to act upon their findings and enforce their resolves. From the first the constitution had arrayed against it practically all the men of wealth and learning in the state, such as James Wilson, John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Thomas Willing, Thomas McKean, F. A. Muhlenberg and George Clymer, but it survived every attempt to change it until 1789, a useless makeshift at a season when the city and the state were the most of the time governed, in so far as there was government of any kind, by armies and mobs.¹

Meantime Congress urged by a public opinion, rapidly growing in strength, had formally declared the colonies free and independent states. On June 7th, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, in obedience to the instructions from his colony—the last advices received from the assembly by the Pennsylvania delegates bade them "dissent from and utterly reject any propositions, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from our mother country,"² offered the following resolution which was seconded by John Adams:

"Resolved, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

¹ *The Referendum in America*, 1900.—first two chapters; also a later study "The Council of Censors" in *Pa. Mag.*, XXII, p. 265.

² November 9, 1775.

A committee to frame such a paper was appointed, consisting of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; John Adams of Massachusetts; Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania; Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York. The brunt of the labor was borne by Jefferson who had taken apartments in the second story of a new brick house belonging to a young German bricklayer named Graff, situated at the southwest corner of Seventh and Market streets. Here he found lodgings, usually walking down to the City Tavern, on Second street, for his meals. It was a quiet neighborhood and was almost, if not quite, the last house to the westward in the city. Here the Declaration of Independence was written.

On June 14 the assembly of Pennsylvania, seeing the unpopularity of its attitude, withdrew the instructions to its delegates forbidding them to favor a separation from Great Britain, though it still spoke guardedly. The provincial conference, called to prepare a plan for forming a new state government, adopted a very different tone. It charged King George III with "oppressions unparalleled in history," with purchasing foreigners "to assist in enslaving us, with inciting negro slaves and the Indians to insurrection in a manner unpracticed by civilized nations." In this course the king seemed to have the support of parliament and the nation, who were lost to a sense of "justice, patriotism and magnanimity." The conference, therefore, expressed its desire—many of the words being underlined to emphasize them—"unanimously * * * to concur in a vote of the Congress declaring the united colonies free and independent states." No colony had spoken more forcibly, and such support from the people among whom the Congress sat strengthened its resolution. On July 2d Lee's motion was adopted and it was John Adams's belief that this would be the nation's independence day—"to be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival, commemorated as the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty from one end of the continent to the other, from this time forward evermore."¹ The declaration itself was now discussed and on July 4th it was adopted, with instructions that copies of it be forwarded to the several states, and to the army so that it could be proclaimed to the troops.

As has been said, the Declaration of Independence on the 4th was "merely the assignment of reasons, for an act which had been previously determined upon." This day, however, became the day for the nation's celebration largely, unless signs fail, because of the vivid language in which the reasons for the separation were expressed. The paper powerfully impressed the people. It gained acclamation in France and to many seemed to mark a new birth for the human race.

At the time, however, absolutely no notice was taken of the action of Congress. No diarist of the day sees fit to mention any public demonstration. All was quiet around the State House. No boy shouted to a gray-haired man in the steeple, "Ring, grandpa, ring." That is a story out of the fecund fancy of

¹ This was also the opinion of others. Dr. James Clitherall wrote in his Diary under July 2, 1776: "This glorious day that threw off the tyranny of George III and greeted the Colonies as free, united and independent states, I left Philadelphia," etc., etc.—*Pa. Mag.*, XXII, p. 472.

George Lippard, a popular Philadelphia novelist of the middle of the nineteenth century. The bell was silent. It was the 8th of July before anything unusual occurred. Then, the council of safety of Pennsylvania having resolved that the Declaration should be publicly read by the sheriff, or some one designated by him for the task, a crowd assembled in the State House yard. The choice of the sheriff was John Nixon, who mounted the wooden stand which had been used by the American Philosophical Society for its observations of the transit of Venus, in 1769, and read Jefferson's words amid much acclamation. In the afternoon the five city battalions were mustered on the commons near Centre Square, and the Declaration was read to them. In the evening nine associators, appointed for the purpose, tore down the king's arms which had been set up in the court room in the State House and burned them, amid the hoots and jeers of the populace. Bonfires were lighted and the bells of the city, among them that in the steeple of the State House, bearing the words out of Leviticus placed there so prophetically, "Proclaim Liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," were rung. That was the sum total of the service of the "Liberty Bell" in connection with the Declaration of Independence. Nor did the signing of the declaration take place in the manner in which the ceremony is so often portrayed. That, too, is an invention pure and simple. It seems certain that not one member signed the paper on July 4th. Many did not append their names until the following August. Indeed a considerable number who enjoy the distinction of having their names appended to the instrument were not members of Congress on the 4th of July.

The Pennsylvanians were not marked by great zeal. The members representing this province were John Morton, John Dickinson, Robert Morris, James Wilson, Benjamin Franklin, Charles Humphreys, Edward Willing, Thomas Willing, and Andrew Allen. They were the appointees of the conservative assembly. Edward Biddle was ill and soon died. Andrew Allen drew back in alarm and with members of his family, became an open friend of the crown. Thomas Willing and Robert Morris believed that a declaration would be premature. John Dickinson, of whom so much was expected by the radicals because of his "Farmer" letters, disappointed them and opposed the step. Charles Humphreys also demurred. This left but Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, of Chester County, for some time speaker of the Pennsylvania assembly, and James Wilson, a majority of those present both on July 2d and July 4th, to vote for the measure. Only Dickinson and Humphreys voted against it, the others absenting themselves from the sessions.

The provincial convention to adopt a constitution for Pennsylvania meanwhile assumed the power to appoint a new delegation for the state in Congress. The members named on July 20, 1776, were: Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, James Wilson, Dr. Benjamin Rush, "a gentleman of a very ingenious turn of mind and of elegant accomplishment," said John Adams; George Clymer, George Ross, John Morton, James Smith and George Taylor. Not one of those who had opposed the Declaration was returned to Congress by the convention, except Robert Morris, whose great influence and popularity led to his reappointment. "I did expect my conduct on this great question would have procured my dis-

mission from the great council," he wrote to Joseph Reed. He had the opinion, however, that it was "the duty of every individual to take his part in whatever station his country may call him to in times of difficulty, danger and distress. I think," he continued, "that the individual who declines the service of his country because its counsels are not conformable to his ideas, makes a bad subject. A good one will follow if he cannot lead." All these new members from Pennsylvania signed the Declaration, though only Franklin, Morris, Wilson and Morton had been present at the time of its adoption. Five members who were then in Congress from the state, Dickinson, Willing, Biddle, Allen and Humphreys never signed it.

While the Declaration of Independence undoubtedly advanced the views of many, it estranged others and sent them entirely over to the Tory side. The city was put into the hands of military guards. The efforts to establish a government under the new state constitution did not at first succeed. Assemblymen were elected but under the leadership of John Dickinson, who thereby in one more way alienated his friends among the radicals, many refused to take their seats or have anything to do with a system of government which they believed to be a thing wholly of iniquity. Town meetings were held, speeches delivered. It is likely that the constitution would have been changed at once but for the rumors, followed by a persistent conviction, that Sir William Howe, in command of the British troops in and around New York, contemplated a descent upon Philadelphia. The city became in truth a military post, recruits coming here from the interior to be drilled, and passing north or south to take their places in the armies which were organized to oppose Great Britain. The Barracks in the Northern Liberties were filled to overflowing. Many of the men must be quartered in the College, in churches and in vacant dwelling houses. From the reveille at break of day to the retreat at eight, and the tattoo at nine at night the men went through their various evolutions.

Their comforts were not many. They slept upon canvas beds stuffed with straw. Their bedsteads, if they had any, were of pine. Their tents were made of old awnings and sail cloth gleaned from the wharves. Their firelocks were hung up on racks with wooden pins. They cooked their simple meals in iron pots. They, however, had a good deal of enthusiasm, at least until their supplies ran low and they were asked to re-enlist without having been paid for their past services. The privateers were capturing some precious cargoes of sugar, rum, logwood, mahogany, tobacco, oil, ivory and iron, and, evading the British vessels at the Capes, made their way through and around the dangerous chevaux-de-frise into port, to invigorate the business community. Sick and wounded soldiers were brought down in wagons or in shallops on the Delaware and were put into the Pennsylvania Hospital—this overflowing, into one wing of the Bettering House which was set aside for that use.

An express service was organized to apprise the city of Howe's approach and there was much alarm as the winter came on. His outposts were met with in New Jersey, only a few miles from the city. They had been seen in Burlington and even in Riverton and Mount Holly. Shops and schools were closed and the associators rallied for earnest service. Household goods were sent off in every

direction—up the Manatawny and Bethlehem Roads and out the Lancaster Road, all of which were full of horses, wagons, women, children, servants and live stock in search of safe retreats. Muhlenberg, the Lutheran leader at the Trappe, notes in his *Diary* on December 7: "Today many teams loaded with furniture and people flying from Philadelphia have passed the house." On December 13 he wrote: "During the whole day wagons have been passing with goods, and men, women and children flying from Philadelphia."¹ To James Allen who entered the city after this hegira of its inhabitants, it seemed almost deserted; it resembled a Sunday in service-time. The Quakers were "almost the only people determined to remain."²

Muhlenberg had gathered under his own roof "22 souls," and in an adjoining small house, he found a place for "a fugitive family of nine souls from Philadelphia with their bedding and furniture."³ Thus were the homes in the interior of the state occupied by the city's unfortunate and now thoroughly frightened people.

Military stores of all kinds were hurried into the back country for safety. Ship captains were ordered to be ready to get away and out of the river and bay, or else take refuge up the creeks. The state records were carried to Lancaster and Congress, in affright, on December 12 adjourned to meet in Baltimore on December 20,⁴ leaving a committee of which Robert Morris was the moving spirit to look after the affairs of government in its absence, a duty which he performed with a bold and enterprising hand.

Howe boasted that he would eat his Christmas dinner in Philadelphia. Washington, very anxious for the safety of the city, put it under the care of Israel Putnam, an ignorant Yankee farmer, who by accident and a little stage play became a hero in Massachusetts in the first days of the war. He arrived in Philadelphia early in December, 1776, and set up a quantity of defenses north of the city, from which direction Howe was expected to approach. He enforced upon the city strict military regulations. Any one in the streets after ten o'clock at night, barring physicians and others supplied with passes from headquarters, was to be arrested and taken to the guard-house by the picket. A town major was appointed, and clothed with absolute powers. Civil government ceased to exist and was practically unknown to the people of the city for the ten years following. For firewood timber was cut in the Penn woods west of Broad street, against the protests of the proprietary agents. A floating bridge of boats was constructed over the Schuylkill at High street, in order that there might be an avenue of escape in case of need. Great activity everywhere prevailed until after the brilliant actions in which Washington repulsed the enemy around Trenton at Christmas time, when in more security, the city gradually resumed its accustomed pace. Six stands of captured colors were brought in under escort, amid much popular rejoicing, and as many as 900 of the hated Hessians passed through the city on their way to places chosen for their confinement in Lancaster. They

¹ *Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, VI, pp. 154-55.

² *Pa. Mag.*, IX, p. 195.

³ *Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, VI, p. 158.

⁴ *Journals*, VI, p. 102.

were drawn up in a line two deep, on Front street from Market to Walnut street. "Most people seemed angry," said one observer, "that we should think of running away from such vagabonds." Men brought their families back to their homes and reopened their shops. It was to be far from a pleasant winter, though fear of the British could be temporarily dismissed from the mind.

Small-pox and other camp diseases broke out and with a population swollen by soldiers who came in from all sides to be fed, clothed and armed there was great pressure upon the resources of the city and the generosity of its inhabitants. Supplementary hospitals were hurriedly improvised but there seemed no way to check the mortality, in spite of the devotion of the physicians and the untiring attentions of the women in providing the sick with soups and other foods meant to tempt the appetite. Hundreds were taken out to be buried in the Potters' Field, the south-east square, beside the prison. Great shallow trenches, twenty by thirty feet, were dug along the line of Walnut street, as well as on the southern side of the square to hold the coffins of the dead. In July, 1777, John Adams visited the place. He never in his "whole life was so affected by melancholy. It was enough to make the heart of stone melt away." Upwards of 2,000 soldiers, according to grave-diggers' accounts, had been buried there. "Disease," said Adams, "has destroyed ten men for us where the sword of the enemy has killed one."

Congress, although many of its members were greatly dissatisfied with Baltimore as a place of residence, did not return to Philadelphia until early in March, 1777.¹ Meantime a feeling of so much confidence was engendered in reference to the British that in February the friends of the new state constitution were enabled to put it into operation. The "Supreme Executive Council" was organized by the election of Thomas Wharton, Jr., a cousin of Thomas Wharton to whom the tea was consigned, as president and George Bryan as vice president. If Mr. Wharton was not to bear the title of governor he was at least to be inaugurated with something like regal show. The ceremony took place on the 5th of March. The various dignitaries proceeded from the State House to the old court house in Market street where the clerk of the assembly officially proclaimed "His Excellency, Thomas Wharton, Jr., Esquire, President of the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania, Captain General and Commander-in-Chief in and over the same."

A large crowd attended and there was much huzzaing. Wharton and the principal officers rode their horses. Thirteen pieces of cannon, which had been captured from the Hessians at Princeton, proclaimed a military salute and the day ended with an entertainment at the City Tavern, where toasts were drunk with salvos of artillery to "the United States of America," to Congress, to the state, to General Washington, to "the memory of the brave patriots of all ranks who have gloriously fallen in the country's cause," and to several other suitable sentiments.

The supreme executive council at once appointed a board of war and a navy board to take charge of the state's military interests on land and sea. But the government commanded no respect among citizens who were the bone and

¹ *Journals*, VII, p. 169.

sinew of Pennsylvania. An effort was made to identify these men with the Tories. The fanatical advocates of the constitution called themselves Whigs, and otherwise endeavored to discredit their opponents, who took the name Republican. The Constitutionals, as they were commonly known, strove for their principles with the zeal of the disciples of some religious or philosophical cult, which in truth they were. They were the deluded victims of a creed which was later to flower and die amid dreadful strife in France. Only Washington, Hamilton, Adams and Robert Morris, protected by the saving Anglo-Saxon sense of the people saved America, as we shall see, from a nearly similar experience.

Congress found in April, 1777, that "the executive authority of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania is incapable of any exertion adequate to the present crisis." Such a statement from such a source gave added strength to the movement for an amendment of the constitution, and on June 17th the assembly itself went so far as to recommend a plebiscite or referendum, probably the first to be proposed in America, on the subject of changing the system of government. Officers, called commissioners, in each township, borough or ward were to go about from house to house all over the state and take the votes of the freemen of Pennsylvania. The ballots were to be placed in boxes or bags and if, upon counting them there proved to be a majority in favor of a convention, one should be called and the constitution should be revised. The activity of the British army prevented the vote from being collected and when it was again proposed that the sense of the people should be obtained in 1779, the assembly in the face of large numbers of petitions repented of its resolve, and still nothing was done.¹

The fear of the occupation of the city by the British, which rose and fell throughout the autumn of 1776 and early in 1777, the event becoming certain later in that year, made the Whigs more than ever suspicious of all whose loyalty was not above dispute. Entirely proper considerations from the military standpoint were confused with others, however, because of the singular ignorance of the people concerning all economic questions. The mob which assumed to decide who was and who was not a Tory made common cause against forestallers or engrossers, as the people called merchants who held goods and fixed prices dictated by the regular laws of supply and demand; and against men who refused to accept the Continental and state paper money at its face or some other value arbitrarily named. A lottery had been held at the college as one method of raising money to aid the army. Loan offices wherein it was hoped that the people would pledge their savings in return for interest-bearing certificates issued on the credit of the Congress, were opened. But reliance was mainly placed on large and repeated emissions of paper bills whose value rested on nothing but the promises of a loosely made government which was fighting for its life against great odds. Few wanted such money no matter how vociferous their enthusiasm for American independence. The mobs, however, said that it was a duty to receive it. In Pennsylvania, as in most colonies, there were tender laws obliging a creditor to take worthless paper in discharge of a debt. Woe to him who was seen offering or receiving specie in trade. In addition to all this, in order that commodities should not be made scarce and dear for military use, exportation abroad, or from

¹ *The Referendum in America*, pp. 50-52.

one state to another was prohibited. With public opinion at this point the carrying on of business, on anything like business principles, was out of the question. It became as precarious as was the life of the soldier, and brought less acclamation from the crowd.

Naturally every imported commodity grew scarce. The foreign trade had been interfered with ever since the passage of the Stamp Act. With communication uncertain at the best of times, markets isolated, and capital far from plentiful, the prices of such goods always fluctuated widely. In January, 1776, it was stated that "some persons had formed the cruel design of adding to the sufferings of their fellow citizens by collecting great quantities" of salt, rum, sugar, molasses, cocoa, coffee and spices, "and exacting exorbitant prices for them." Accordingly the committee fixed a schedule of rates at which these things should be sold:

- Common best India rum, 4s. 6d. per gallon.
- Molasses, 2s. per gallon.
- Coffee, 11d. per lb.
- Cocoa, £5 per thousand.
- Chocolate, 16d. per lb.
- Pepper, 5s. per lb.
- Loaf sugar, 14d. per lb.
- Lump sugar, 10d. per lb.
- Muscovado sugar, 6s. per hundredweight.
- Lisbon salt, 4s. per bushel.
- Liverpool salt, 5s. per bushel.
- Jamaica spirits, 5s. 6d. per gallon.

Those who should violate this schedule were to be "exposed by name to public view as sordid vultures who were preying on the vitals of their country in time of common distress." Some dealers who were caught were obliged to make public apologies and recantations. Such devices were, of course, powerless to change the natural currents of trade. In May, 1776, the committee itself raised the price of coarse salt to 7s. 6d., and fine salt to 8s. per bushel. The scarcity of this commodity early caused the Philadelphians great inconvenience. "The people push and jostle one another," wrote Muhlenberg late in 1776, "wherever there is the smallest quantity to be found about town." Efforts were put forth to extract it from sea water on the New Jersey coast but they did not succeed. In November, 1776, Muhlenberg complained that wool was three times as dear as before the war had begun. Shoes had risen from seven shillings, six pence, to fifteen shillings a pair, linen from three to twelve shillings a yard, meat from five pence to ten pence a pound, butter from one to two shillings a pound. Salt, however, which had cost two shillings a bushel had risen to twenty-five shillings and was scarcely to be had at that price. Those who had it were accused of hoarding it, and the committee in Philadelphia seized over 4,000 bushels belonging to the Shewells and 3,000 bushels in the hands of Joshua Fisher and Sons. These firms had been told by the regulators what they might ask and take for their salt and they had not complied with the rules. It was therefore seized at the publicly

fixed price and apportioned to the people of the city and county, and neighboring parts of New Jersey. Some green tea which was imported in defiance of the resolutions of Congress was thrown into the river at Vine street wharf. Several tradesmen who refused to take the Continental bills were published as "enemies to their country and precluded from all trade or intercourse with the inhabitants of these colonies."

This baying at the moon, on the part of those who were more fervid than wise, proving ineffectual, the next step was to tar and feather, to banish, to imprison and to hang the offenders. This was done with great liberality upon provocation which in many cases was much too slight. These outrages did not reach their height until after the British occupation, but already they were well under way. A man named Price who abused Congress and said that he wished "the Continental powder wagons could be blown up" was put in prison in company with others convicted of words and acts which seemed inimical to the public interest. Clubs of Tories, it was complained, met at the inns at night and sang "God Save the King." The keeper of the City Tavern was made to give the names of the offenders who had gathered at his house, the leading chorister being Joseph Stansbury, a china dealer. Soon the jails were full and it was necessary to confine prisoners in the Masonic lodge rooms and in other buildings taken for the purpose. In March, 1777, a deserter from a Pennsylvania regiment was shot upon the commons. An Englishman who had offered to bribe some Delaware pilots was hanged in the same place and there were other executions meant to be of salutary effect.

The association system of obtaining soldiers was so imperfect that in 1777 the assembly passed a militia law. One of its provisions was that all the white male inhabitants of the state above the age of 18 years should subscribe to the following oath:

"I———do swear (or affirm) that I renounce and refuse all allegiance to George the Third, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors; and that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent state; and that I will not at any time do, or cause to be done, any matter or thing that will be prejudicial or injurious to the freedom and independence thereof as declared by Congress; and also that I will discover and make known to some one justice of the peace of said state all treasons or traitorous conspiracies which I now know or hereafter shall know to be formed against this or any of the United States of America."

This, together with the entire course of events, made the situation of the Tories and the Quakers, which were so much confused with them, very difficult. The public feeling against them underwent no amelioration. The coaches of their wealthy leaders were seized for public use. Soldiers were quartered upon them in spite of their protests. James Allen's chariot, while his wife with her four-year-old daughter and a friend were on their way to visit Mrs. Bond, was stopped by militiamen. The soldiers beat the driver with their muskets. They pushed their bayonets into the vehicle, piercing it in three places and broke the glass of its windows. Indeed they attempted to upset it while the ladies were still

inside.¹ The houses of suspects were searched for blankets, lead and other things which could be put to military uses. They were constrained to illuminate their homes on the 4th of July and days set aside for the celebration of victories. If they did not accede their windows were broken by mobs. On the 4th of July, 1777, the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, when the ships and galleys were drawn up in the Delaware with their colors flying, a Hessian band by some irony being impressed into service to supply the music, many outrages were committed upon the property of the Quakers and Tories. A lot of waggish fellows at one house broke all the windows except thirteen panes in honor of the thirteen states. Some Quakers were drummed through the streets, with mobs following them, for refusing to bear arms. A list of about 200 disaffected persons was prepared, it is said, preparatory to their arrest and deportation.² Howe from around Trenton invited those who wished to come under his protection to do so, and several prominent men, among them Joseph Galloway, and some of the Allens of "Mount Airy," availed themselves of the opportunity at once.

Congress itself took steps to have a number of the more prominent Quakers, such as the Pembertons, the Fishers, the James (John and Abel), Henry Drinker, and some members of the Wharton family, apprehended and put under guard. The state government gleefully set itself to the appointed task. The papers of the suspects were to be seized and a large committee was appointed to give effect to the resolve. At the same time several other well known men, Quakers and non-Quakers, were ordered to be taken into custody, including Provost Smith of the College, where troops were being quartered, in punishment for his offenses; Rev. Thomas Coombe, rector of Christ Church; Samuel Shoemaker, Thomas Gilpin, Dr. Adam Kuhn, Hugh Roberts, Joseph Fox, Samuel Emlen, William Drewitt Smith, Phineas Bond, son of Dr. Phineas Bond, lately deceased; John Hunt, Thomas Pike, the fencing master³ and Thomas Asheton. In all forty-one, nearly all men of wealth, reputation and family position were proceeded against. Some escaped by taking the oath of allegiance or by other means.

Those who were arrested were carried to the Free Mason's lodge. It was determined to transport them to Staunton, Va. The south had sent a number of its prominent Tories to the city. The Philadelphians would now return it some of their own. On September 11, 1777, twenty⁴ were loaded into wagons and to the

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, IX, pp. 195-6.

² *Pa. Mag.*, IX, p. 193.

³ "His laced hat and red coat," says Alexander Graydon, who met the party in Reading, "were to be seen strikingly in contrast with the features and plain drab-colored garments of the rest of the assemblage." He greatly shocked his Quaker companions in Virginia who were constantly engaged in religious service, two or three good preachers being included among the exiles. Finally Pike made his escape and presumably found his way into the British army.

⁴ Those who made this historic journey were: James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, Thomas Fisher, Samuel Fisher, Miers Fisher, Thomas Gilpin, John Hunt, Charles Jervis, William Drewitt Smith, Charles Eddy, Thomas Pike, Owen Jones, Jr., Edward Pennington, William Smith (broker), Elijah Brown, Thomas Affleck. Samuel Emlen escaped the same penalty because of sickness.—*Pa. Mag.*, XXXIV, p. 67.

music of drum and fife, with an escort of troopers, "a spectacle to the people," they were taken with their baggage to Reading. Here stones were thrown at them and friends who came to visit the travellers in the house in which they were quartered for the night were "violently pulled away, struck and stoned."¹ The cavalcade made its way across a ford in the Susquehanna, and southward by an interior route to Winchester.² All except a few, who would not receive Continental paper money and were accused of keeping up a correspondence with their friends, remained in Winchester and its neighborhood, though some grew ill and two, Thomas Gilpin and John Hunt³ died of ill usage and exposure. The measure was considered very harsh and it reacted against those who had initiated it, but the exiles continued under guard in the south until 1778. Then it was determined to let them return to the state. They were allowed to pass through the American lines and rejoined their families in Philadelphia while the city was still occupied by the British army.

The Rev. Mr. Coombe after having been marked for banishment to St. Eustatia seems to have remained in or near the city under parole; Provost Smith, whose College was closed, lived quietly on an island in the Schuylkill river near Norristown.

Most of the proprietary and crown officers and the members of their families had fled as a result of the treatment accorded them by the mobs, seeking refuge inside the British lines or in small country places likely to afford a safe retreat. Congress on July 31, 1777 took in hand those that were still within reach, and recommended the supreme executive council of the state to place them on parole.⁴ William Allen, the old chief justice seems to have gone to England. James Allen, the only son who did not avail himself of the protection of General Howe, owned considerable tracts of land in Northampton County. Under parole he and his uncle, the governor of former years, James Hamilton, found shelter there, where however, they lived in "perpetual fear of being robbed, plundered and insulted."⁵ Governor John Penn, Benjamin Chew, who had been chief justice, Edward Shippen, judge of the admiralty, Jared Ingersoll, commissary of the court of vice admiralty and appeals, James Tilghman and a half a dozen others of more or less prominence were dealt with by the state government. It was proposed to send Penn and Chew to Virginia, but they gave their parole to remain at the Union Iron Works in New Jersey, and thither they went. Mr. Shippen retired to his home near the Falls of Schuylkill and was put under a pledge not to depart from the estate. Ingersoll was to join the exiles in Virginia, but was allowed to return to the state from which he had come six or seven years before,

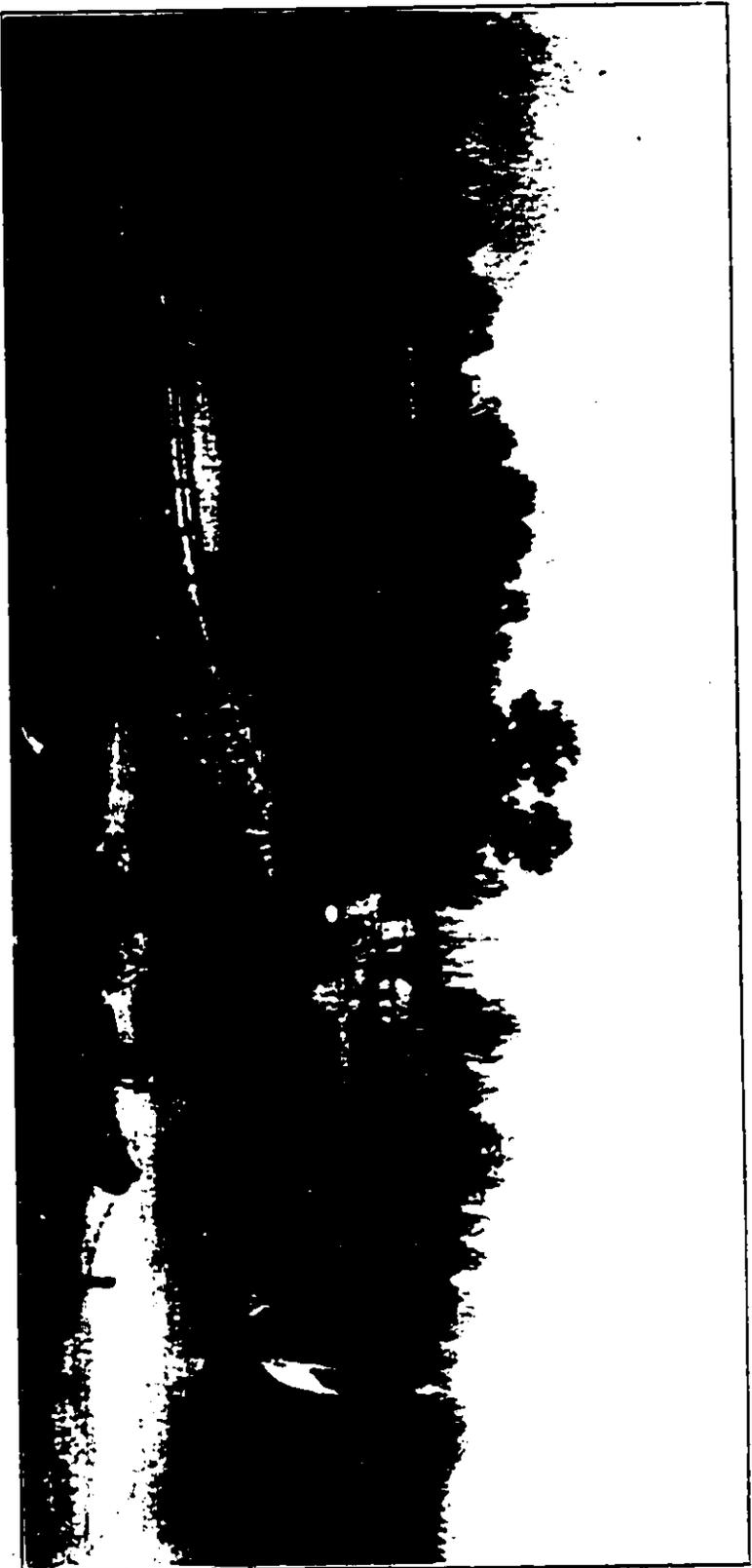
¹ *Exiles in Va.*, p. 136.

² In the *Journal* of Elizabeth Drinker, whose husband was one of the exiles, will be found an account of this movement.

³ "We have scarcely so great a minister now left in the Society as our dear friend John Hunt was," Thomas Wharton wrote to Friends in England in May, 1778. His ministry became "more and more powerful as his lamp was burning out."—*Pa. Mag.*, XXXIV, pp. 57-8.

⁴ *Journals*, VIII, p. 591.

⁵ *Pa. Mag.*, IX, p. 425.



THE FLOATING BRIDGE AT GRAY'S FERRY
From a painting in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society

Connecticut. Others were provided with definite bounds for their wanderings until the war should be at an end. Three officers of the custom house were sent to prison.

After Washington's very successful operations around Trenton in December, 1776 and January, 1777, he went into winter quarters at Morristown. When spring came and the British deployed their forces in front of him he continued to study their movements. Suddenly they determined to evacuate New Jersey. It was by no means certain what Sir William Howe at New York meant next to do, but when news that some of his ships had been seen off the Delaware Capes was received, Washington hastened to bring his army southward. Early in August he was encamped near the Falls of Schuylkill, not far from the intersection of School House Lane with the present Wissahickon Avenue. As further news lacked Washington began to fear that he had been misinformed or that Howe had altered his plans, and he turned toward New Jersey again. He was on the York Road near the Neshaminy creek not far from what is now Hartsville in Bucks County, when he had the most definite advices that the enemy was on its ships, planning to make a landing somewhere in the south.

It was in the Neshaminy camp that he was joined by the French volunteer, whose coming to assist the American cause was soon to arouse so many grateful sentiments, the Marquis de Lafayette. The young French nobleman had come to South Carolina in June, and he had travelled overland to Philadelphia with Baron de Kalb and other young Continental soldiers of fortune who yearned to serve America in her war of liberty. He reached the city on July 27, but there were so many foreign applicants for officers' commissions that Congress received them rather coldly. Lafayette's claims were such that his proffered services were accepted. He was made a major-general on July 31st, and as Washington expressed a great fondness for the Marquis he was at once admitted to the hazards of the campaign now so soon to begin.¹

The ships which at one time were supposed to be coming into the Delaware, were turned into the Chesapeake. Washington now set his army in motion with as much speed as possible. The forts, the fleet on the river, the Pennsylvania militia and every agency of defence were strengthened and put in readiness for the expected attack. On Sunday, August 24th, the main body of the American army, comprising about 10,000 men, which had come down the York Road, marched into the city with Washington and Lafayette riding at their head. A special effort was made to give a good appearance to the troops with a view to creating a favorable impression upon the public mind. Sprigs of green were stuck in their hats and caps. "Strollers" were to be kept out of the line. The drums and fifes of each brigade were to be massed in the centre of it and a quick-step was to be played, "but with such moderation that the men may step to it with ease without dancing along or totally disregarding the music, which has been too often the case." They were to be excused for the day from carrying their camp kettles, these being placed presumably in the wagons. The column proceeded down Front street and up Chestnut street to the commons. After crossing the floating bridge at High street, it marched down the road to Chester

¹ Tower, *Marquis de Lafayette in the American Revolution*.

and Wilmington. Another brigade and some artillery followed the next day, and all the troops which could be spared for the service were soon south of the city.

While this excitement was in progress there is a legend in the family of Betsy Ross that the stars and stripes appeared as the emblem of united America. The naval commanders had been using rattlesnake flags, the state regiments carried their own emblems of various designs, and Washington unfurled some standards showing thirteen white and red stripes with the combination crosses of St. Andrew and St. George in one corner of the cloth in imitation of the British union jack. From the last it was not far to go to meet the demand of the resolution of Congress of June 14, 1777, "That the flags of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." The tradition, which has been vigorously contested because of its legendary character and the palpably false details introduced by those who first advanced it, states that Mrs. Elizabeth Ross, who was a seamstress residing at what is now 239 Arch street, was engaged by Washington and some members of Congress to make the first flag in accordance with the terms of this resolution. There are not more definite claims for anybody in this behalf and as the distinction manifestly belongs to some one, Betsy Ross seems likely to hold the place to which she has been so long assigned.¹ There is no evidence to show when this flag was first flung to the winds, although it seems clear that it was the emblem in general use in the army at Valley Forge. It may have been carried at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown which were now to follow immediately.²

The British army landed from its transports at Turkey Point, at the head of Chesapeake bay. The troops were put in motion toward the north and they soon met the Americans. On September 11th the battle of Brandywine, near an old Quaker meeting house in Birmingham township, in Chester County, was fought. The excitement in Philadelphia at this time was intense. A man passed through the streets ringing a bell, ordering houses to be shut up and all able-bodied men to repair to the commons to prepare to resist the advances of General Howe. Citizens who walked out as far as the Bettering House could hear the cannon distinctly.³ Muhlenberg, at the Trappe, heard the firing,—“a loud and long continuous cannonading which seems to be about 30 miles off.”⁴ The town was in dire confusion. “Every face you see,” Mrs. Stedman wrote to Elizabeth Ferguson, “looks wild and pale with fear and amazement.”⁵ The action was most disastrous to the Americans, and Washington, coming north by way of Chester and Darby, crossed the Schuylkill to make a stand at his old camp near the Falls at Germantown. Boats were sent down the river to bring up the in-

¹ The claim was first made by William J. Canby, in a paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1870. There is a voluminous mass of writing, for and against it from different pens, a deal of which was called out by the plan of some speculators, successfully executed, to buy her old house and equip it as a monument to her and the episode.

² Thompson Westcott. Chapter 245.

³ Compare *Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 124.

⁴ *Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, VI, p. 163.

⁵ *Pa. Mag.*, XIV, pp. 64-67.

jured, among the number Lafayette. His courage at the battle was gratefully noted. His recognition had been immediate, and the friendship which had prompted his coming to join the army was now sealed with his blood. He had been wounded by a musket ball in the leg.

The fords and ferries were carefully guarded, the floating bridge at High street was removed as a protection against the advance of the enemy. All boats were again ordered to safe places up the creeks. The bells of the city, which by the rules of warfare, would in case of its occupation become the booty of the conqueror, were hurriedly taken down. The State House bell and the much prized chimes of Christ Church were loaded upon wagons and conveyed to Allentown. The former met with an accident while passing through Bethlehem and had to be transferred to another vehicle.¹ The assembly engaged the brig "Sturdy Beggar" to transport its records up the Delaware river to Colonel Kirkbride's farm in Bucks County. On the 18th of September news having come that "the enemy's army was in full march for this city"² it adjourned to meet at Lancaster on the 25th. Congress which had so hurriedly quit the city in December, 1776, in favor of Baltimore to return in the following March, now again fled. The members left with the assembly on the night of September 18th, also for Lancaster, but after one meeting there on September 27th, they adjourned their sessions to "York-town" (York) where they remained until after Philadelphia was evacuated by the British in the following June. The wounded Lafayette was conveyed to Bristol by boat and then in a carriage to Bethlehem to be nursed by the kindly Moravians until his wound should heal. Everything that could be moved was again put in motion toward the interior—household goods, live-stock, merchandise from the shops, munitions of war, etc. "A disturbed Sunday," wrote Muhlenberg at the Trappe on September 14th; "coaches, chaises and wagons loaded with fugitives passing without intermission."³ The Whigs left their homes and shops to an unknown fate when it was made clear that no further hope of the city's escape could be entertained. The editors of the *Packet*, the *Gazette* and Bradford's *Journal* issued their last numbers and closed their offices; the Quakers and Tories awaited the next step cheerfully.

Meanwhile the British were moving around to the west and north of Philadelphia through Chester County. Washington after only two nights at the Schuylkill Falls camp recrossed the river at Matson's Ford, now Conshohocken, with the intention of again giving battle to the enemy, or at any rate of cutting them off at the fords. The two armies soon confronted each other near the Warren Tavern, but an engagement was prevented by a heavy storm of rain which wet the powder and rendered the arms on both sides entirely unfit for use.

Washington now swung north to the Yellow Springs, passing a night on the way at the Red Lion inn near the Uwchlan meeting house. From the Springs the army was marched eight miles north to the Warwick furnace which had been engaged in making cannon for Congress. On September 19th the soldiers repassed the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford and came down the Reading Road through

¹ Etting's *Independence Hall*, p. 105; *Pa. Mag.*, XIII, p. 74.

² *Journals*, p. 153.

³ *Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, VI, p. 164.

the Trappe as far as the Perkiomen creek. At least a thousand of the men on Washington's own testimony were barefoot. They were wet "breast high" from wading, Muhlenberg says when they reached his house. A body of troops under General Wayne, which Washington had left behind him were surprised near the Paoli Tavern on the night and morning of September 20-21, and a large number were killed and wounded by bayonets or taken prisoners, an engagement usually known in American history as the Paoli Massacre. Unable to obtain any information as to the movements of the enemy in the Quaker townships of Chester County west of the river, where the people according to Washington, were "to a man disaffected," he again marched north to Pottsgrove. Meantime Howe crossed the Schuylkill at Fatland and other fords near Valley Forge on September 22 and had a clear and undisturbed way to Philadelphia. He went down the Ridge Road until, nearing Germantown, he turned in and formed a camp in that village. It was reported in Tory circles that the Whigs would burn the city rather than see it fall into British hands. Galleys were anchored in the Delaware at the ends of the streets with a view, it is said, of sweeping them with shot, if the enemy came, a rather chimerical scheme, but Philadelphia was found to be very quiet and well disposed when Lord Cornwallis led a body of troops down the Second Street Road, at about eleven o'clock on the morning of September 26th. A party of light dragoons rode at the head of the line. They were followed by several companies of British and Hessian grenadiers, and a detachment of artillery, in all perhaps 3,000 men. Their band played "God Save the King," as they proceeded through the city. Many windows were thrown open and the ladies of the Tory households standing in them or upon their balconies, or door-steps, waved a welcome to the visitors. Their excellent appearance aroused great enthusiasm. To such Whiggish citizens as remained the sight brought sinking hearts. "They looked well,—clean and well clad," wrote Deborah Logan, who witnessed the arrival from the Norris mansion, which stood on Chestnut street above Fourth street, "and the contrast between them and our own poor, bare-footed, ragged troops was very great and caused a feeling of despair."

CHAPTER X.

BRITISH OCCUPATION.

The British visitors established a temporary camp on Society Hill. Much of the artillery was parked in the State House yard, while Market and Chestnut streets were filled with soldiers. The 42nd Highlanders in their picturesque Scottish dress, returned to the city to coerce the people whom they were once here to defend. The Hessian "yellow legs" under "old Knyp" (General Knyp-hausen), whose "looks," to one beholder at least, were "terrific," with their brass caps, their fierce moustaches and their morose countenances which spelled "plunder, plunder, plunder," also gave variety to the military scene. The officers presented themselves at the front doors of and demanded quarters in the best homes in the city. Some of them had numerous retinues, and sought to impose themselves, their servants and their mistresses and doxies upon the sober old Quaker families. With them came enormous quantities of baggage, and many who had huzzaed and waved their handkerchiefs when the "red coats" came in, lived to repent of having participated in the demonstration. Not a few Tories, such as Joseph Galloway, the Allens and others who had sought British protection, followed the army to comport themselves bitterly and vindictively.

Outside as well as within the city the afflictions of war bore hard upon the people. Muhlenberg, the Lutheran leader at the Trappe, lived upon ground traversed by both the British and the American armies. Patriot though he was and in imminent danger of capture, he had reason to complain as sorely of the depredations of Washington's as of Howe's soldiers. One side had nearly as many needs as the other, and was as little careful of the manner in which they were satisfied. Men came and demanded food and lodging at the point of the bayonet. Cows were milked dry, poultry stolen, fences destroyed. Horses and oxen were turned into patches of buckwheat which was eaten off and trodden down. Trees were felled and burned. Churches were entered and desecrated. Muhlenberg's smith-shop was taken possession of and he heard the sound of 15 smiths at work in it. The country on all sides was scoured for food and the people were face to face with famine.¹

The Continentals in moving companies hovered around the British flanks, and they retained possession of the forts in the river, against which sallies were made from time to time until the way was opened and the army was in communication with its fleet. General Howe still remained at Germantown. By proclamation

¹ *Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, VI, pp. 167-70, 183.

he promised his protection to all who would return to their allegiance to the king. Washington was not yet ready to leave the city to the foe. When he learned that Howe had succeeded in outwitting him at the fords, he again turned toward Philadelphia. He encamped near the Perkiomen and Skippack creeks, first at Pennypacker's Mills and then at Worcester. Having been reinforced to some extent, he planned a sudden movement upon Howe's camp at Germantown which crossed the village at about its centre and nearly at right angles to it, from the York Road to the Schuylkill. The British general had appropriated Logan's fine old mansion, "Stenton," for his personal use. After dark on the night of October 3d, leaving a country which looked as though it had been eaten over by "an army of locusts,"¹ Washington put his troops in motion and they came up with the British outposts at about three o'clock on the morning of the 4th. General Wayne seems to have reached Mount Airy at daybreak. There he met a considerable body of troops, which were pressed into Germantown in some confusion. Many of them by Colonel Musgrave's orders were placed in the "Chew House," whose owner, the late chief justice of the province, had sought other scenes. As it proved this coup fixed the crucial point of the battle. Not noticing the movement a large portion of the American forces passed on and got into close quarters with the enemy who were unmercifully bayoneted, right and left, in memory of the massacre at Paoli. Wayne said that it was impossible to restrain his men's instincts of revenge, and horrible scenes were enacted. At one time the British believed themselves beaten. Unfortunately the morning proved to be dark and cloudy. These conditions were made worse by a fog and the smoke of the battle, so that the Americans were unable to distinguish their own divisions. Instead of leaving the men in the "Chew House" to their fate, improper advice was taken,² and an assault was made on this improvised fort. In a little while the morale of the Americans, by a combination of mistakes and misfortunes, was broken, and they retired in the direction they had come. "In companies and singly with their wagons, tired, hungry and thirsty" they passed toward the Trappe "to consume completely what was left previously."³

Meantime, a feint had been made on the other side of the Schuylkill at the High street ferry. Shots were fired and considerable bodies of troops were seen by those who cared to view them. The hope was entertained that the British in the city would look for danger in that quarter. The sound of artillery in the direction of Germantown, however, told plainly of a battle there or in its immediate neighborhood. Cornwallis put in motion three battalions and a squadron of dragoons. The horsemen reached the village just as the Americans were leaving it. The Hessian grenadiers ran all the way, but they arrived too late to take part in the battle. The fresh troops were sent on the duty of pressing the American retreat.

The battle seemed to be surrendered at the very moment when it was won. The result was a matter of great "chagrin and mortification" to Washington. The British, in case of the need of abandoning the city, had selected Chester as

¹ Muhlenberg, Oct. 2, 1777.

² See for instance General Lacey's Memoirs, *Pa. Mag.*, XXVI, p. 105.

³ Muhlenberg, Oct. 5, 1777.



THE "CHEW HOUSE" IN GERMANTOWN



NORRIS HOUSE, SITE OF PRESENT UNITED STATES CUSTOM HOUSE
(From a drawing by Deborah Logan)

their place of rendezvous. About 2,000 Hessians, it is said, were taken over the Schuylkill on their way to that place. The Tories in Philadelphia were in the greatest distress and the Whigs, who had been put into the new Walnut street prison to take the places of King George's friends, "made it ring with shouts of joy."

But the chance to rid the city of its undesired guests was gone. The wounded, both British and American, soon began to arrive in wagons and the whole city was occupied in attending to their injuries. Some of them were horribly mangled by the ugly blades which figured so largely in the warfare of the day. The Americans, with some appearance of propriety, were laid out in the State House where the ladies of the city gave them every possible care. Their "groans and sufferings," said Deborah Logan, who was present, "were enough to move the most inhuman heart to pity." Food, drink, bandages and candles for light, added something to the comfort of the wretched fellows. The Pennsylvania Hospital and the Bettering House were filled with the British. The First and Second Presbyterian churches, the Pine Street Presbyterian church, the Southwark Theatre, a sugar refinery and some other buildings were similarly occupied by the wounded of one side or the other. The Americans, of course, were compelled to wait for surgical attention until the British had been attended to. In the best of cases at that day it was barbarous and crude. Amputations were made, Robert Morton says in his diary, in from 20 to 40 minutes and without any of the ameliorating influences of effective anæsthetics. A Chester County boy who left his father's farm to witness the battle of Brandywine, saw a wounded soldier's leg cut off without his taking as much as a glass of water. It was one of the darkest chapters which the history of Philadelphia had yet passed through.

The view was now quite generally entertained that the British would spend the winter in Philadelphia. Only some miracle would displace them. Washington and his army were encamped at first at Pennypacker's Mills, moving his headquarters nearer the British lines from time to time until he came into the neighborhood of White Marsh. There were skirmishes now and then on the picket lines and he did what he could for the garrisons in the river forts, which were supported by the galleys, floating batteries and other armed craft on duty in the Delaware, thus for a time preventing a junction between Lord Howe, who commanded the fleet, eager to press up the bay, and the army in the city. At last, however, after much gallant and sanguinary fighting the forts fell. Fort Mifflin was taken on the night of November 15th and five days later Fort Mercer at Red Bank must be evacuated. On November 23rd Washington was compelled to write to Congress that "the enemy are now in possession of all the water defences" on the Delaware. The boats remaining to the Americans were driven up the river or destroyed, the victors cleared away the chevaux-de-frise and the Delaware, from the British point of view, "went unvexed to the sea."

The Tories had now come into a very enviable inheritance and they were not slow to avail themselves of all the advantages which the situation afforded them. Towne converted his *Evening Post* into a Loyalist journal. The *Pennsylvania Ledger*, which had been discontinued for a time, was revived by James Humphreys on October 10th. On March 3, 1778, a Loyalist who followed in

the wake of the army, began the publication of another paper which was called the *Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*. The city now had its newspapers and they were as intolerant of opinion concerning the Whigs as the latter had been toward the Tories in the time of their ascendancy.

According to a census which General Howe caused to be taken soon after he entered the city there were 5,395 houses in the ten wards, and in the Northern Liberties and Southwark; 590 dwellings and 240 stores were empty, their owners having fled; 116 stores were still open for business. The population was largely made up of women and children. There were 4,996 males above 18 years of age and under 60 years of age, 5,335 males under 18 and 13,403 females of all ages. This was a total of about 24,000 people.

General Howe selected as his principal adviser Joseph Galloway who on December 8th was appointed superintendent of police, with large administrative powers. He was also made superintendent of the port and at one time was paid at the rate of £770 sterling per annum for his various services. The night watch was retained and increased. There was also a town major and an effort under firm military control was made to keep up the forms of civil government. To prevent night prowling and possible unauthorized passing of the lines, no one was permitted to go abroad between the tattoo at half after eight in the evening and the reveille in the morning unless he carried a lantern. Only those providing themselves with permits could cross the rivers. Street cleaning, the sweeping of chimneys and the conduct of vendues were put under regulation, and Galloway, with a clear memory of what the old city had been, made an attempt to restore it to something like its former condition, so that British rule would not be a reproach to the inhabitants. Efforts to drum up Loyalist recruits were not brilliantly successful but in all about 1,000 men seem to have been obtained, not a few of them deserters from Washington's army. Many, hopeless of success, were leaving his ranks and, attracted by bright uniforms, the better and surer pay, and a regular supply of rations, took up service on the king's side. In November, William Allen, Jr., one among others entrusted with the work of obtaining Tory recruits, published the following advertisement:

"All intrepid able-bodied heroes who are willing to serve his Majesty, King George the III, in defence of their country, laws and Constitution against the arbitrary usurpations of a tyrannical Congress have now not only an opportunity of manifesting their spirit by assisting in reducing their too-long deluded countrymen, but also of acquiring the polite accomplishments of a soldier by serving only two years, or during the present rebellion in America.

"Such spirited fellows who are willing to engage will be rewarded at the end of the war, besides their laurels, with fifty acres of land, where every gallant hero may retire and enjoy his bottle and lass.

"Each volunteer will receive as a bounty five dollars, besides arms, clothing and accoutrements, and every other requisite proper to accompany a gentleman soldier, by applying to Lieutenant-Colonel Allen, or at Captain Kearny's rendezvous at Patrick Tonry's, three doors above Market Street, in Second Street."

The Tory exiles came back to open their own shops, and the stores belonging to the Whigs were soon occupied by adventurers who followed in the

train of the troops. There were a host of these—sutlers and camp followers, many of them Americans, who afraid to remain at home on account of their political opinions sought refuge in whatever way it could be found in the shadow of the British army. Until the river was cleared and the fleet could come up with its well-laden transports great privations were suffered by the military as well as the civil population. Muhlenberg's daughter, Mrs. Kunzie, wife of a Lutheran minister, who remained in the city, said that there was neither meat nor butter. Her family had only bread, water and potatoes. Some butter which her parents had succeeded in sending her about Christmas time was being kept "to make water soup which we have nearly every day." The Muhlenbergs themselves at the Trappe, were reduced to a "patriarchal diet." Hay was being bought and sold by the pound. A bushel of salt cost from £15 to £20. The old preacher in the country paid 15s. for ten pounds of pork, earlier procurable at from three to five pence a pound. Those farmers who were willing to sell their wares to the British were closely watched. Women often made the journey to market afoot with their produce upon their backs or in baskets. They pursued circuitous routes through forests and over fields. Captures were frequently made. The market people were arrested, their horses, wagons, and provisions seized.¹ Some were ordered to be hanged, though it is doubtful if the extreme penalty was visited upon them. Not a few were imprisoned and whipped.

A bold and dashing cavalry officer, Allen McLane, commanded a company of irregular horse, which kept up a reign of terror just outside the British lines. This troop was countered by companies of British dragoons who made frequent sallies into the country for the protection of the market people, and for other purposes. The chief of these was a body of Loyalists called the Queen's Rangers under Lieutenant-Colonel J. G. Simcoe. The son of an English naval officer, he came to Boston on the day of the battle of Bunker Hill. He took command of the Rangers about the time of the occupation of Philadelphia and continued with them until he and his men were called upon to surrender to the allied French and American armies at Yorktown. Being natives, they knew the country well. They were very adventurous and were adepts at close fighting with bayonets, pistols, and blades. The portion of the command which was mounted, the Huzzars, had a fine reputation for their mobility. Clad in green trimmed with black, suggestive of the forest and bush out of which they made their sudden sallies they deceived many who were led to associate every British soldier with a red coat, and took large numbers of American prisoners.²

Little found its way in from the country, as eager as some of the traders were to receive the specie which would be willingly paid for it. Among the poor the distress was much greater. They had neither gold nor silver and could get practically nothing for their paper money. General Howe authorized subscriptions to be taken for their relief, and in April a lottery was planned for their benefit. The price of flour rose to £6 a hundredweight; sugar to two shillings six pence a pound (equal to \$10 Continental money); beef to \$1 a pound; an ox-head, earlier eaten only by the poorest people, to ten shillings. Chickens sold for ten

¹ *Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, VI, p. 204.

² *Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, VI, p. 208; *Simcoe's Military Journal*.

shillings each; potatoes for 16 shillings a bushel, while many things earlier accounted necessary were not to be obtained at any price. The troops cut their wood in the "Neck," south of the city, all the timber there being reserved for their use. The poor were permitted to fell trees on ground lying north and northwest of the city, and guards were provided for them so that they would not be interfered with by hostile parties of Americans. As the cold weather came on fences, stables, and even the floors of dwelling houses were burned for fuel. The British soldiers themselves, just before the river was opened, had been reduced to a quarter of a pound of beef per day per man.

The American prisoners received scarcely enough food to sustain life. Some of them were confined in the State House; many more in the Walnut street prison and in other buildings where, under brutal keepers, they undoubtedly suffered great hardships. What was contributed by the people for their sustenance was often not allowed to reach them and many and revolting are the accounts of their experiences. They were flogged and hanged for trifling offenses. Terrific powder explosions on ships in the river had shaken the glass out of the windows of the jail. Without fires or blankets many died of exposure, to be taken out and thrown into trenches in the Potters' Field. A Connecticut surgeon at Valley Forge recorded that several who had died in Philadelphia had "pieces of bark, wood, clay, and stones in their mouths which the ravings of hunger had caused them to take in for food in the last agonies of life."¹ Yet his narration shows that the Americans in their camp in the snowy hills of Chester County, at large in the heart of their own country, were at times not much farther removed from starvation. William Ellery wrote from York that prisoners were found in the State House yard in Philadelphia dead and dying with grass in their mouths.² Christopher Marshall, the Fighting Quaker diarist, told of prisoners in Philadelphia who had naught to eat but bread and raw pickled pork. They were mean shadows of skin and bones, half clad in dirty rags. One was not able from debility to hand another a cup of water.³ Nor did prisoners in New York fare in any manner better.⁴

On the other side the British complained of the barbarous treatment accorded their prisoners by the Americans, and not without just cause. It was a time when there was little comfort for the most favored. For others the times were sadly awry.

Now and then, as has been indicated, Simcoe's Rangers or some other mobile company, were sent forth to forage in the neighborhood, both in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Cattle and sheep were driven in and supplies of various kinds were secured in this way, often not without skirmishes with detachments of Continental troops. Late in November, 1777, a number of fine seats north of the city were burned with the excuse that they sheltered Americans who fired upon the British pickets. Norris's "Fairhill" was thus destroyed; "Stenton," which had harbored Howe, who was now comfortably ensconced in the Master's house

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXI, p. 309.

² *Ib.*, XXII, p. 502.

³ *Ib.*, XXVIII, p. 74.

⁴ Account of a private confined in a church.—*Ib.*, XXVIII, p. 378.

on Market street, barely escaped.¹ The fires could be seen from Philadelphia. Deborah Logan counted seventeen when she mounted the roof of the handsome Norris mansion in Chestnut street above Fourth street.² They were even distinguishable at the Trappe where Muhlenberg recorded "a high column of fire towards Philadelphia which lasted three hours."³ To the Whigs the destruction seemed to be only wanton vandalism, but it doubtless made the northern approaches of the city, where the danger lay, more easily defensible.

The elaborate system of redoubts and redans, which General Putnam had begun before the battle of Trenton, was appropriated, completed, and extended. The works ran from the Schuylkill to the Delaware and large bodies of soldiers were encamped on that side of the town. Eight regiments were encamped on Bush Hill. The British constructed bridges of boats on the Schuylkill. To facilitate a movement in the southwest one was laid across the river at Gray's Ferry. It was afterward carried to High street, where it was broken up by a violent storm and must be rebuilt. Some defences were established beyond the Schuylkill to prevent surprises from that direction.

Washington's attitude continued to be watchful but his resources were not great. Some moral invigoration was lent to the troops by the reception of the news a few days after the disaster at Germantown of the surrender of Burgoyne. On October 15th there was a *few de joie* in the American camp in honor of this event. The noise of the celebration was heard for many miles.⁴ Washington now expected some augmentation of his strength from the north, but General Gates, after the victory at Saratoga was himself ambitious to become Commander-in-chief. Great poverty and discouragement possessed the Continental army at this unfortunate season, but neither side seemed willing to go into the winter without a last effort to punish the other. Washington himself reconnoitred the British lines from Germantown, and from a point on the opposite shore of the Schuylkill with a view to an assault, but the project was abandoned. Howe in turn, while the Americans were at White Marsh, where there was a chance that a winter camp would be established prior to the resolve to retire to Valley Forge, made arrangements for a foray which might have proven destructive, if Washington had not been advised of the movement.

It is in this connection that another legend, as persistent as that which involves Betsy Ross and the first flag, is generally admitted to credence. In the house of Lydia Darragh (often written Darrach), according to this account, some British officers were quartered. She and her husband William Darragh were Irish Quakers, married in Dublin.⁵ She was later disowned by the Friends and seems to have sat for worship in the Free Quaker meeting-house at Fifth and Arch streets. One night putting her ear to the door of the chamber in which her British guests slept, so the story runs, she overheard them unfold their plans for the attack upon Washington at White Marsh. She went back to bed and

¹ *Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, VI, p. 119.

² *Ib.*, p. 119.

³ *Ib.*, p. 181.

⁴ *Hist. Soc. Mem.*, VI, p. 173.

⁵ *Pa. Mag.*, XXIII, p. 80.

when the officers knocked at her door feigned sleep, but soon after made her way to General Howe, who gave her a pass through the lines on the plea that she was in need of flour which she would go to fetch from the Frankford mill. She set off with her sack. Beyond the British outposts she met an American officer on horseback to whom she confided what she had heard, and, as the story goes, the information of the movement was thus conveyed to General Washington.¹

However this may have been on the night of December 4th 15,000 men marched out of Philadelphia. On the 8th they marched back again, after achieving nothing whatever. They found the enemy in readiness to receive them and there was no wish to hazard a fair trial of strength. They had gone to Chestnut Hill and made short forays out toward the American lines, but, beyond some casualties on both sides in active skirmishes and a general burning of barns and farm houses, and the Rising Sun Tavern, on the Germantown Road on the way back, that was the end of an adventure which had been begun with a bold promise to drive Washington "over the Blue mountains." The weakest point in the Lydia Darragh story is the fact that Washington earlier knew of the design of the British through his regular spies, and the absence of good written evidence in its support. It is very likely founded, nevertheless, on a veracious incident, the remembrance of which is calculated to add picturesqueness to the history of the American Revolution.²

The British made the winter in Philadelphia as gay as the conditions would permit. Their life was luxurious indeed as compared with that led by the Americans at Valley Forge. The officers formed clubs which dined at regular and irregular times at the various taverns. There was a cockpit for those who enjoyed this sport, and other amusements in plenty. At the gaming tables at picquet or Pharaoh (faro) and at dice, money could be made or lost far into the night. From Howe downward the officers were the subjects of very unfriendly judgment on moral grounds. They were accused of the grossest customs. Vice had never before been so openly flaunted about. In truth Philadelphia became a garrison town of the eighteenth century which leaves little to the imagination.

¹ This story was published in the *American Quarterly Review* of 1827, Vol. I, p. 322. It has often been repeated and has come to be a part of the warp and woof of our local history. It is stated with equal reliance on legend that the Darraghs made their home in the curious "Loxley House" on the east side of Second Street near Spruce. No other building in the city was quite like it. At its front on the second story was an open gallery, sheltered by an extending roof. It was erected probably in 1760.—Westcott's *Historic Mansions*, p. 190.

² The story is in a measure corroborated by Elias Boudinot who wrote in his *Journal* (p. 50): "I was reconnoitering along the lines near the city of Philadelphia. I dined at a small post at Rising Sun about three miles from the city. After dinner a little poor looking insignificant old woman came in and solicited leave to go into the country to buy flour." She left "a dirty old needlebook" with him in one of whose pockets was found a piece of paper "rolled up in the form of a pipe shank." It contained the information that Howe would come out of the city the next morning. Boudinot at once conveyed the news to Washington. It is urged by the friends of this story that the little old woman was Lydia Darragh.

The more respectable young officers, a number of whom belonged to excellent English families, had better manners and whiled away their hours in the society of the young Tory ladies of the city. Balls were given weekly at the City Tavern, and they were not infrequent at some of the other inns. A more ambitious enterprise was the reopening of the old South Street Theatre in January. The house was entirely refurnished. Major John André amused himself by painting some scenery, and probably at times took part in the performances. The company was made up of army and navy officers of more or less talent for the stage, supplemented by the efforts of a few actresses whose source is unknown. The profits arising from the performances were for "the widows and orphans of the army." Old farces and comedies and some tragedies were produced; among the number *The Constant Couple*, *Duke or No Duke*, *The Mock Doctor*, *The Liar*, *A Trip to Scotland*, *Douglas*, and *Henry IV*. At the opening on January 19th, the attractions were *No One's Enemy but his Own* and *The Deuce is in Him*. A prologue spoken on the occasion began:

"Once more ambitious of theatric glory
Howe's strolling company appears before ye;
O'er hills and dales and bogs, through wind and weather,
And many a hairbreadth 'scape we've scrambled hither," etc., etc.¹

The season seems to have closed on the 19th of May, after having finely served its purpose of relieving life of its tedium for the soldiers and their Tory friends in Philadelphia. A captain of Hessian Yaegers, with the army during the winter, wrote on January 18, 1778: "Assemblies, concerts, clubs and the like make us forget there is any war save that it is a capital joke."²

All this was naught, however, in comparison with the great fête which occurred in May. The time had come for Howe to resign, which he did, and he was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton. His slothful management of the army in America won him no favor. He was justly blamed for his idleness in the face of a weak and discouraged body of provincials, whom he ought to and probably could have annihilated in a few months' time if he had properly applied himself to the business of the war. Whether it was in honor of him—he, in reality, very much endeared himself to his officers—or purely from their own love of gayety and display that they planned this pageant, may not be known. In any case, they organized a never-to-be-forgotten entertainment in the history of Philadelphia. We are indebted to the ill-fated André, who was so great a social favorite while he was stationed here and who led in all such entertainments, for the interesting account of the festival.³ It was called the *Mischianza*,⁴ but wrongly; it should have been the *Meschianza*, an Italian word meaning "a med-

¹ Durang, *Hist. of Phila., Stage*, Ch. X.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXII, p. 139.

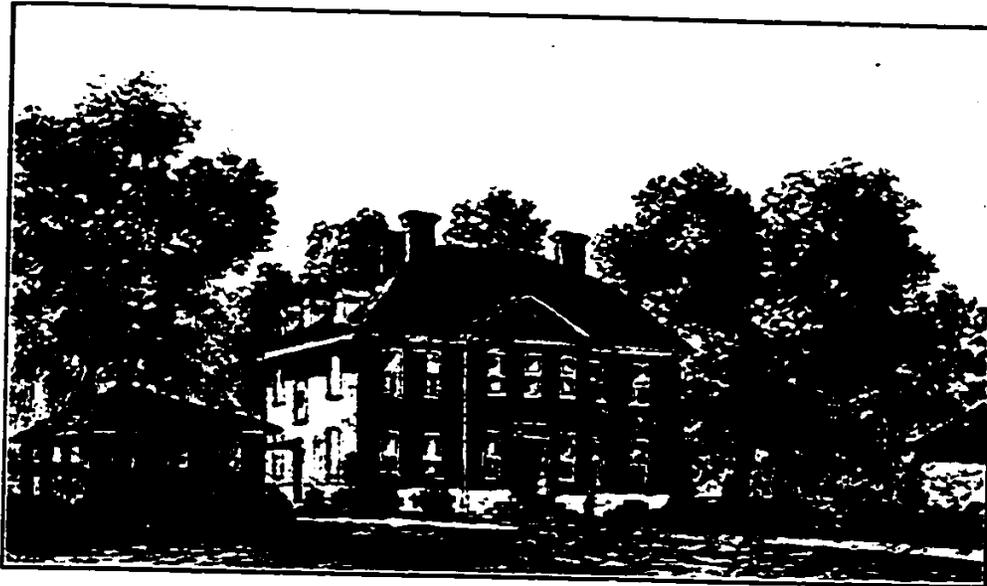
³ See *Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1778, and a most valuable supplementary account handed down in the Chew family, published in *Century Mag.*, March, 1894.

⁴ Also written by André Misquianza thus indicating that the word received its proper pronunciation.

ley." The ceremonies centered about "Walnut Grove," the handsome Wharton mansion, south of the city in a line with Fifth street.

Clinton arrived in Philadelphia on May 8th and soon afterward assumed command of the troops. On May 24th General Howe made his departure. The entertainment took place on May 18th, and was opened by a "grand regatta." There were "swarms" of handsomely decorated boats on the river. The British officers and their ladies, with bands of music, were conveyed on galleys through this festal scene. Indeed, all the warships with their barges, in gala day array, seem to have been brought up in front of the city while the docks were crowded with people who pressed down to view the unusual spectacle. At Market street wharf the entire procession stopped, the men laying upon their oars while the bands played and the people sang "God Save the King." The company landed from their "gaudy fleet" at the Association Battery, later the United States Navy Yard, and "by a gentle ascent" of four hundred yards reached the "square lawn" of "Walnut Grove" through an avenue of grenadiers. Here was given a "tilt or tournament, according to the customs and ordinance of ancient chivalry," for which elaborate preparations had been made. The lawn was lined with troops. All the bands of the army were massed to furnish the music for the occasion, which exceeded anything hitherto heard in Philadelphia. Two triumphal arches were raised in front of the mansion, while pavilions with rows of benches, rising one above the other, were erected as wings of these structures, to hold the spectators. On the front seat of each pavilion were placed seven young Tory ladies of the city dressed in Turkish habits and turbans. Seven of these were ladies of the Burning Mountain, each of whom had her particular knight; seven were ladies of the Blended Rose with their several knights. The horsemen of each group came forward "to maintain" that their own ladies "were not excelled in beauty, virtue or accomplishments," by those of their rival knights, or, indeed, for the matter of that, "by any in the universe."

The knights of the Blended Rose were led by Lord Cathcart, of the 17th Dragoons. Young black slaves in oriental dress, held his stirrups, and an esquire walked on each side, one bearing his lance and the other his shield, on which was painted his device, a figure of cupid riding on a lion and the motto "Surmounted by Love." His six companions were the Honorable Captain Cathcart, Lieutenant Bygrove, Captain André, Captain Horneck, Captain Matthews and Lieutenant Sloper, each with his squire. All were handsomely dressed in white and red silk after a style in favor in France at the time of Henry IV and were mounted on gray horses. They entered the lists preceded by a herald and trumpeters and made a most impressive appearance. They were followed by the seven knights of the Burning Mountain similarly provided with a herald and trumpeters. Their colors were black and orange, and they rode black chargers. The leader was Captain Watson of the Guards, whose shield bore as a device a heart and a wreath of laurel with the motto "Love and Glory." The other six knights were Lieutenant Underwood, Lieutenant Winyard, Lieutenant Delaval, Monsieur Montluissant, Lieutenant of the Hessian Chasseurs; Lieutenant Hobart and Brigade Major Tarlton.



“WALNUT GROVE,” THE MESCHIANZA HOUSE
From an Etching by Joseph Runell



TICKET OF ADMISSION FOR THE
MESCHIANZA



The preliminary manoeuvres were followed by a very realistic tournament. At the first encounter the knights, riding at each other at full gallop, shivered their lances. At the second and third encounters they discharged their pistols. In the fourth they fought with their swords. Then the chiefs of the two bodies of knights "engaged furiously in single combat" until the marshal of the field rushed in and declared "that the fair damsels of the Blended Rose and Burning Mountain were perfectly satisfied with the proofs of love and the signal feats of valor, given by their respective knights, and commended them, as they prized the future favors of their mistresses, that they should instantly desist from further combat."

The company now proceeded in order under the arches, between files of handsomely dressed troops which displayed the colors of the regiments. The music continued and thus, from the garden, steps covered with carpets were ascended until the guests came into the mansion. It had been specially decorated for the occasion. The color in the ball room was a pale blue. It was fitted up with 85 mirrors which to quote André, "multiplied every object." They were "festooned over with flowers' knots, and scarves of pink and green silk." There were 34 "branches with wax lights." Tea, lemonade and cooling liquors were served early in the evening. Then the ball began. It was opened by the knights and ladies. At ten o'clock a handsome display of rockets, bursting balloons, Chinese fountains, firepots and other fireworks, prepared under the direction of the chief engineer, Captain John Montrésor¹ was viewed from the windows. The arches, too, were illuminated in a variety of colors. Supper was served at midnight in a handsome saloon, specially erected for the use, which was suddenly revealed to view through folding screens. Here there were large pier glasses; 18 lustres, each with 24 lights, depended from the ceiling; 100 branches with three lights in each were placed in other parts of the room, while 300 wax tapers were set upon the supper tables. There were places for 400 persons. Twenty-four negro slaves in blue and white turbans and sashes, with silver collars and bracelets, bent to the ground as the general and his brother, the admiral, entered the room. Probably, as André said, it was "the most splendid entertainment ever given by an army to their general." The mirrors, lights and ornaments were lent for the most part by the Tory families of the city. Major André and his friend, Captain Oliver Delancey, arranged many of the decorations, but the expense, in spite of their devoted service, was necessarily immense.

The ladies who were championed by the knights of the Blended Rose were: Miss Auchmuty, an English girl, who afterward married Captain J. F. Montrésor, of the Guards; Miss N. (Nancy) White; Miss Jane or Janet Craig; Miss Peggy (Margaret Oswald) Chew, daughter of Chief Justice Chew of "Cliveden," afterward the wife of Colonel John Eager Howard, of the American army, the hero of Cowpens; Miss N. (Nancy) Redman, probably Ann Redman, daughter of John Redman, baptized in Christ Church in 1754; Miss Williamina Bond, eldest daughter of the late Dr. Phineas Bond (granddaughter of William Moore of "Moore Hall,") who in 1779 became the second wife of the American

¹ His Journal has been published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vols. V and VI.

General John Cadwalader; and Miss Mary Shippen, daughter of Judge Edward Shippen, who married Dr. William McIlvaine.

The ladies of the Burning Mountain were:

Miss Rebecca Franks, the Jewish belle of the city, daughter of David Franks, who married a British officer, Lieutenant-Colonel, afterwards General Sir Henry Johnson; Miss Sarah Shippen, another daughter of Edward Shippen, who married Thomas Lea; her sister, Miss Peggy Shippen,¹ who became the wife of Benedict Arnold; Miss Becky Bond, a younger daughter of Dr. Phineas Bond; Miss Becky Redman, daughter of Joseph Redman, for whom André cut the silhouettes preserved in the Philadelphia Library, later the wife of Colonel Elisha Lawrence; Miss Sophia Chew, a sister of one of the ladies of the Blended Rose, afterward the wife of Henry Phillips, of Maryland; and Miss Williamina Smith, daughter of Provost Smith, like the two Misses Bond, a granddaughter of William Moore, of "Moore Hall."

Naturally, these young ladies were severely criticised by the Whigs. The entire celebration met, indeed, with anything but approval from them. Even in the British army itself there were those who condemned it without qualification. An old major of artillery, who was quartered in a Quaker family in Race street, was asked by one of the children what was the difference between the Knights of the Burning Mountain and the Knights of the Blended Rose. "Why," said he, "the Knights of the Burning Mountain are tom-fools and the Knights of the Blended Rose are d—d fools. I know no other difference." Such extravagance alienated public opinion in America. When the poor were suffering on all sides and nothing of any moment had been done in the direction of ending the war, the prospect of the evacuation of Philadelphia, the capital of the colonies, having already been determined on, a pompous festival of this kind seemed to be without fitness of any kind.² One pamphleteer wrote:

"What would not have been said of the Duke of Marlborough's vanity if, after forty thousand enemies killed and taken at the battle of Blenheim, he had

¹ There is a well established tradition in the Shippen family that the judge did not permit his daughters to appear in the places to which they were chosen and that they, to their own very great disappointment, remained at home. (See for instance, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, III, p. 366; VII, p. 28; XXIII, pp. 119, 87, 413; XXIV, p. 427; XXVIII, p. 399; Wharton, *Colonial Doorways*, p. 44.) This theory receives something very nearly like confirmation in André's second account of the fête, published in the *Century Magazine* in 1894. Here the ladies of the Blended Rose were the Misses Auchmuty, Craig, Peggy Chew, Nancy Redman, and Williamina Bond with two vacant places. The ladies of the Burning Mountain were Miss Franks, Miss White, Miss Becky Bond, Miss Becky Redman, Miss Sophia Chew, Miss Smith with one vacancy. The places of the three Shippen sisters were therefore in all probability filled at the last moment from some other source.

² The opinion of the most intelligent Tories was expressed by James Allen when he wrote in his Diary: "[Howe] has lost by supineness many opportunities of destroying his enemy and has offended all the friends of government by his neglect of them and suffering their property to be destroyed. * * * It is evident the conduct of this war, on the part of Great Britain, has been a series of mistakes both in the Cabinet and the field. * * * In the field they have always had a superior army, always victorious, and yet for want of beginning the campaign early, following their victories, and their strange plans, they have reaped no advantages."—*Pa. Mag.*, IX, p. 438.

encouraged his officers and dependents to dedicate to him a triumphal arch, and had employed even the enemy's standards taken in battle in forming an avenue for himself and his fellow conquerors to have walked through? What, then, are we to think of a beaten general's debasing the king's ensigns (for he had none of his enemy's) by planting all the colors of the army in a grand avenue of three hundred feet in length lined with the king's troops, between two triumphal arches for himself and his brother to march along in pompous procession * * * not in consequence of an uninterrupted succession of victories, like those of the Duke of Marlborough, * * * but after thirteen provinces were wretchedly lost and a three years' series of ruinous disgraces and defeats." ¹

A number of emissaries at this period of the war appeared with a view to conciliating the combatants and bringing about peace. They were condemned with all the bitterness which marked the time. Soon after the battle of Germantown Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson, of "Graeme Park," was entrusted with a letter from the Rev. Jacob Duché, who, like John Dickinson, had risen to a great height of eminence as an American patriot early in the war only later to disappoint his admirers. His prayer in the first Congress was thought to ally him closely and perpetually with the Whigs. He now addressed Washington, asking him to negotiate for peace. The letter was transmitted to Congress by the commander-in-chief who told Mrs. Ferguson, in parting with her, to tell Mr. Duché, if she should hereafter meet him, that had he known its contents he should have "returned it unopened." She herself was reprimanded for carrying on such an intercourse. The experience, however, did not alter her views, when in 1778 just before the city was evacuated by the British, it was visited by commissioners empowered to bring the war to an end. Mrs. Ferguson's high social and intellectual position, and her ardent desire for peace, caused her to be approached by Governor Johnstone, one of the commissioners, with a view to reaching Robert Morris and Joseph Reed, who were accounted to have "a great deal to say" in Continental politics. It was suggested that Reed could "command ten thousand guineas and the best post in the government," if he would play the desired part. Mrs. Ferguson herself says that she was greatly shocked by the proposal, but she conveyed it to General Reed as soon as she could. She asked him for an hour's conversation in some cottage or farm house in the vicinity of Valley Forge. It was not until after the evacuation of the city that General Reed met Mrs. Ferguson, and then in Philadelphia. It was in response to Johnstone's communication, delivered through her, that Reed made his famous speech: "My influence is but small, but were it as great as Governor Johnstone would insinuate, the king of Great Britain has nothing within his gift that would tempt me." ²

Another emissary late in 1777, while the British occupied the city, was John Brown, earlier in the employ of Robert Morris. This man visited Morris, who

¹ *Strictures on the Philadelphia Mischianza*, printed at London. Reprinted in Philadelphia in 1780.

² *Reed's Reed*, Vol. I, pp. 392-99.

was then occupying the Baron Stiegel house at Manheim,¹ with a message from Thomas Willing. The latter, according to Brown, had been taken into the confidences of General Howe who, in order to prevent further effusion of blood, would propose to Congress a treaty of peace. Brown for his pains was arrested and imprisoned as a spy, and Willing's position as a patriot was not improved by the incident. Mrs. Ferguson, Brown, and many who felt as they, and who sincerely desired a reconciliation with the crown, were at the time very harshly judged. There is no disposition to leave their philanthropic motives out of account at this day, and we can at least see that they had honest purposes.

To how great a degree the American attitude of continuing the war grimly to its end, was due to the determination of France to aid the colonies, cannot be definitely stated. But hope rose very high in May, 1778, at Valley Forge, when news was received of the establishment of an alliance which would enlist French ships, French soldiers, and French money on the side of the Americans. The event was celebrated by a general review of the troops by the commander-in-chief, a *feu de joie*, and an afternoon of "mirth and jollity." Of the *feu de joie* on this occasion we fortunately have a description. It began with a discharge of thirteen cannon followed by a "running fire of infantry" from right to left on the front line, to be taken up on the left of the second line and continued to the right near to the point of beginning. Then there were three cheers and "Long live the King of France." The thirteen artillery shots and the running fire were repeated, with huzzas and "Long live the friendly European powers." The discharges were repeated a third time and the men huzzaed for "The American States."²

The spectacle of Washington's tattered demalions at Valley Forge celebrating the French alliance was one to be remembered. The winter had been cruel even to the officers of the highest rank in the best situation. All accounts in the diaries and correspondence of the time, as well as second-hand, agree that the severest privations were suffered by the soldiers. They had gone into quarters wretchedly wanting in clothing and camp supplies. Their spirits were cast down by the defeats of Brandywine and Germantown and they entered the winter with their store of moral as well as of physical strength very much depleted. Now that they were at rest at the end of the unfortunate campaign, they were irregularly and most inadequately supplied with food. If they had been prisoners of war inside the British lines, whose lot awakened so much sympathy, they could have fared not much worse. How the American troops were uniformed should some time come to be understood. The plays of this day dealing with the Revolutionary period, the pictures of Revolutionary battle scenes and much description

¹ Baron Henry William Stiegel of Manheim, Germany, landed at Philadelphia on a ship bound out from Rotterdam in 1750. He was then 20 years old and had about £40,000 to invest in America. He went to the frontier, became acquainted with Jacob Huber, one of the earliest ironmasters with furnaces near Lancaster, whose daughter he later married. He purchased Mr. Huber's business and extended it, set up glass works, and lived in princely fashion in a large mansion which he built in his new town of Manheim. He failed, was imprisoned for his debts, and while Congress was at Lancaster and York, Mr. Morris dispensed his generous hospitalities in the house.

² Tower, *Lafayette*, I, p. 320; Diary of Lieut. McMichael, *Pa. Mag.*, XVI, p. 159; Compare *Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 408.

covering the time, give us a wholly false view of the subject. Some of the companies upon being formed were rather attractively dressed, especially at the beginning of the war.¹ A few months or years in camp were destructive of the appearance of the suits with which the troops had gone out, and the pressure for money put upon those who were entrusted with the management of the war, rendered it impossible to replace this clothing. Soon the men were fortunate if they had rags of any kind to cover their bodies. Even the officers were variously and in many cases quite shabbily dressed. The chasseurs and sharpshooters, at first rangers, from the frontiers, though their ranks were later filled from the cities, were dressed like the Indians, not a few of whom were attached to the American army for scouting service. Fifty Iroquois served under Allen McLane in his active band of horse. The frontiersmen in their hunting shirts, as Muhlenberg writes, "were as fringed and ragged as fauns and satyrs of the forest."²

Lafayette was amazed when he first caught sight of the army to which he had come to be a leader—while it was assembled near Philadelphia just before starting away to meet the enemy on the banks of the Brandywine. "About eleven thousand men ill-armed and still worse clothed presented a strange spectacle" to the eye of the young Frenchman. "Their clothes were parti-colored and many of them were almost naked; the best clad wore hunting shirts, large grey linen coats which were much used in Carolina."³ When Baron Steuben came to Valley Forge to drill the troops, he found everything in the greatest disorder. Men upon completing their terms of service carried away their clothes and their muskets. He continues: "The arms at Valley Forge were in a horrible condition, covered with rust, half of them without bayonets, many from which a single shot could not be fired. The pouches were quite as bad as the arms. A great many of the men had tin boxes instead of pouches, others had cow-horns; and muskets, carbines, fowling pieces, and rifles were seen in the same company. The description of the dress is easily given. The men were literally naked, some of them in the fullest extent of the word. The officers who had coats had them of every color and make. I saw officers at a grand parade at Valley Forge, mounting guard in a sort of dressing gown made of an old blanket or woollen bed cover. With regard to their military discipline, I may safely say, no such thing existed."⁴

That most of the men, even in great adversity, had smooth shaven faces is made tolerably certain from the fact that the Hessians were regarded with so much curiosity because of their bearded upper lips. Steuben, by application to his difficult duties, in the spring, after the severest trials of the soldiers were at an end, had brought the army into some degree of discipline, but they were still far from a beautiful or an orderly company of men. Now warmer weather was at hand; the British were moving to vacate Philadelphia and the French alliance was an actuality. Nothing could have occurred to awaken greater rejoicing and a fortunate end of the war seemed to everyone much nearer than it really was.

¹ See, for instance, General Lacey's account of his troops.—*Pa. Mag.*, XXV, p. 192.

² *Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, VI, p. 153.

³ *Memoirs and Correspondence*, p. 18.

⁴ Kapp, *Life of Steuben*, p. 115.

Franklin embarked for France soon after independence had been declared. The fame of his name, coupled with his skill as a diplomat, proven as it had been by his long residence as the colonial representative in London, made his mission successful just as soon as the king and the minister of foreign affairs, the Count of Vergennes, could be made to see that the Americans were determined to have their independence. This fact was brought home to them by the battle of Germantown and the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga. Few but the very ill-informed deceived themselves with the thought that the French expression of friendship sprang from any real sympathy for America, or those abstract principles of liberty which later came to dominate so many minds, and which seemed to some to be involved in the struggle. England was the inveterate enemy of the king of France. She had robbed him of his colonial possessions in America and humiliated him on many a battlefield. With civil insurrection at work in her provinces the French were quick to see that with a little assistance on their part the iron could be further driven into England's side. No blow in their power could hope to be as effectual, and Franklin shrewdly urged them to this course. They were told afterward by him, by Robert Morris, as financier, and other American leaders, whenever their courage seemed likely to flag, that their aid was a small price to pay for such a satisfaction, and the thought of a sweet revenge upon a hated enemy kept them loyal to the cause of the colonists until the end.

The prospect of an early evacuation of Philadelphia caused much rejoicing among the Whigs. As soon as the British should pass out of the city detachments of the American army would be at hand ready to enter it. On the day of the Meschianza Lafayette left Valley Forge with 2,200 men, crossed the Schuylkill at Swede's Ford, near Norristown, and advanced along the Ridge Road to Barren Hill. The daring Allen McLane, with some Indians and other scouts and a company of Morgan's riflemen, pressed out ahead of his lines. The British who were informed of the movement by spies carefully laid their plans for the capture of the Frenchman. He would have been a distinguished prize, and so certain were they of their quarry that Howe and Clinton invited a company of ladies and gentlemen to an entertainment in the city on the following day to meet the Marquis de Lafayette. By great activity, coupled with strategy, Washington's youthful adjutant made a crossing at Matson's Ford at the present Conshohocken, and put himself again in touch with Washington, escaping from danger by a narrower margin than he then knew, or probably afterward ever realized.¹

The retirement, however, was not for any long time. On the 5th of June Joshua Loring, the British commissary of prisoners, of infamous reputation with the Americans, came through the lines with a flag of truce. He met Colonel Morgan who was told that the army was about to leave the city. The news of the alliance with France, and the fear that a French fleet would any day appear in New York led to the decision in favor of a hurried departure. Loring asked for an exchange of prisoners which was agreed to. Gradually the troops were withdrawn from the upper redoubts and the tents were struck. The regiments were embarked, some to go to New York on the transports, while the most of them were set down

¹ Tower, p. 328, *et seq.*

on the other side of the river in New Jersey to make their way with their baggage, their queans and hussies, and a great retinue of Tories, all of which much encumbered the progress of the movement, to the city whence they had come only a few months before. Clinton's going took away from Philadelphia probably 17,000 soldiers and about 3,000 Tories. The rear guard disappeared by ten o'clock on the morning of the 18th of June, and the period of British occupation was at an end.

McLane and his riders were at their heels. He had hovered around the northern roads for days, and dashing in he took two or three important prisoners. He almost succeeded in seizing the adjutant-general with his papers, in Second street near Chestnut.¹ Several officers were so loath to leave the comfortable homes in which they were quartered that they barely made their escape. Deborah Logan tells of one who lay in bed so long that the family thought it only kind to waken him, and tell him that the "rebels" were in town. He and his servant procured a small boat and were probably the last to cross the Delaware.

The Whigs were now free to return. What sights met their eyes! The trees were destroyed on all sides; churches and public buildings defiled—they had been used as stables for the horses; camp litter and filth everywhere; fences broken; houses quite down or robbed of their doors, windows, roofs and floors; gardens and orchards trampled up and ruined. All kinds of movable property such as furniture, machinery, books, clothing and tools were destroyed or stolen, if they had been left behind by their Whig owners. The State House was in such a "filthy and sordid situation" that Congress, when it returned, was obliged to meet in the College hall.² The country northward for several miles, particularly by reason of the depredations of the Hessians, was "one common waste."³ The "dirt, filth, stench and flies in and about the town," said Christopher Marshall upon re-entering it, on June 24, were "scarcely credible." The assembly caused an appraisal of the damage to be made and filed, and the total for the city and its immediate neighborhood by this very partial reckoning⁴ reached nearly £200,000.

The *Ledger* and *Royal Pennsylvania Gazette* suspended publication. Towne tried to continue his *Evening Post* by again changing his sympathies. Dunlap's *Packet*, which had been appearing in Lancaster, and Franklin's *Gazette* which had migrated to York, returned to the city; Bradford's *Journal* which had been discontinued in September, 1777, resumed publication in December, 1778. The main body of the American army did not enter the city. It pursued the British across New Jersey, where they suffered the greatest hardships. The weather was inordinately hot, and many under the burden of their knapsacks and heavy woollen clothing succumbed. Gnats and mosquitoes pestered them. The farmers all along the way potted laggards and distressed the army in all possible ways. Nor could Admiral Howe get out of the Delaware with the fleet, so calm was it in connec-

¹ Watson in his romantic and far from accurate manner tells of McLane's exploits at this as at other periods during the British occupation, and the bold rider has been several times introduced into the pages of fiction.

² Josiah Bartlett to Colonel Langdon, *Pa. Mag.*, XXII, p. 114.

³ *Ibid.*, cf. *Pa. Mag.*, XXV, p. 114.

⁴ *Pa. Mag.*, XXV, pp. 323, 544.

tion with the great wave of heat. The Continental regiments from Valley Forge gave Clinton a severe engagement on a field at Monmouth, from which he was glad to escape. General Benedict Arnold was assigned by Washington to take charge in Philadelphia, and in command of a small guard attempted to bring things there into order again. At every succeeding turn in the course of events partisan animosities increased in bitterness. The Whigs had harried the Tories before the British came. Then the tables were turned and the Tories had dealt by the Whigs still more cruelly. Now, the Whigs, returned to their old places of power, made advances upon all earlier standards of inquisition and oppression.

Unusual indeed were the rewards of loyalty to the king. The determination of the army to evacuate Philadelphia had produced consternation in the camp of the Tories. Those who could not follow it to share its fate were left to be the victims of Whig resentment. We have James Allen's word for it that "the cause was considered as abandoned and Lord Howe and Sir William Howe, with most of the principal officers of the army, advised the citizens to make their peace on the best terms they could."¹ The excuse of the Whigs, if any were needed, was found in the intolerance and barbarity of the British while they had been in control of the destinies of the city. There was now a general attainting for treason with confiscation of the property of the traitors. Joseph Galloway, the three sons of old William Allen, Andrew, John and William; Jacob Duché, Samuel Shoemaker, and others who had been in the counsels of the British during the occupation, were named in an act of assembly.² Oaths of allegiance were required to be taken by all who had not already done so. Fines, imprisonment, forfeitures were prescribed freely. Galloway's mansion at the corner of Sixth and Market streets was declared forfeit to the state, which would use it as a home for the president of the supreme executive council.³ A similar fate befell "Laurel Hill," the beautiful Rawle home on the banks of the Schuylkill, because of Samuel Shoemaker's interest in it by his marriage with the widow of Francis Rawle. It became the summer residence of the president of the state.⁴ Duché's house at Third and Pine streets was confiscated and was later put at the disposal of Thomas McKean who, on July 28, 1777, had been appointed chief justice of Pennsylvania.

There was a general selling and letting of houses which had belonged to Philadelphians now attainted of treason. Their personal property was also put under the hammer and scattered to the four winds. The authority of the trustees of the College was suspended because its officers sustained the royal cause. Its rights were withdrawn from it and its property confiscated, while in its stead was set up a so-called "University of the State of Pennsylvania" with flamboyantly Whiggish trustees. In 1779, the entire proprietary interest of the Penns in Pennsylvania was extinguished by act of assembly, though not without a measure of compensation. It was agreed that they should be paid £130,000 in five years after the passage of the law, in addition to being allowed to remain in possession of such real estate and its income as adhered to them as private proprietors.

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, IX, p. 438.

² Act of March 6, 1777. *Stat. at Large*, IX, p. 201.

³ *Ib.*, p. 324.

⁴ Glenn, *Colonial Mansions*, II, p. 153.

The Quakers were again brought under review, but they still stoutly maintained the authority of their own consciences. They would not be moved by any quantity of persecution. They would not run out of the city when the British came, or follow the army as Tories when the Whigs returned. They displayed an exasperating amount of discretion. They could not be made to fight on the American side, nor could they be involved in writing or speech which would permit a seizure of their estates. Now, as before and afterward, their enemies must be content with a guerilla warfare upon them through the medium of mobs. Few of the Quakers of Philadelphia were so intensely Tory as Robert Proud. Born in 1728 in England, he came to the city in 1759, and soon after became a teacher in the Friends' school, as he called it the "Public Latin School of Friends in Philadelphia."¹ The school must be closed but he remained. He reviled the Americans in revolution against the king without bounds, but by keeping in the house and by holding his tongue, except in the presence of his intimates, he was enabled without molestation to compile a large part of his *History of Pennsylvania*.

Even if they said nothing the Quakers could be accused—and for the most part not wrongfully—of disloyal thoughts on the subject of independence. It was a rude change indeed from that government which had been so much their own—under which they had thriven and increased—to such a régime as they were subjected to at this hour, directed as it was by armies and common mobs. The list of traitors which was proclaimed by the Whigs grew to great length. It included Enoch Story, Abel James, James Humphreys, the elder and the younger, Thomas Story, Tench Coxe, John Hart, Abel Evans, Coleman Fisher, William Clifton, Charles Stedman, John Young, James Inglis, Benjamin Towne, Samuel Garrigues, Joseph Stansbury, Isaac Wharton, Benjamin Gibbs, and a host more. There were men of all classes, pursuing all trades,—merchants, lawyers, doctors, teachers, "gentlemen," yeomen, button-makers, hatters, peruke-makers, shoemakers, leather-breeches makers, carpenters, mariners, printers, blacksmiths, tallow chandlers and barbers. Chief Justice McKean held his court for many days amid the heat of summer, receiving the testimony against "traitors." Some were mobbed. An entertainment was arranged at the City Tavern and revenge was taken upon the Tory belles of the Meschianza. They were not invited to attend, though how deeply they felt the rebuke is nowhere a matter of record.

The going to see spies and deserters hanged or shot, on the commons or on the guard boats in the Delaware, became a recreation. When two poor fellows were executed on the river, in the summer of 1778, the wharves were crowded by those who could not board shallops and ships for a nearer view of the horror. Men who kept the gates of the city or urged their friends to enlist on the British side, or spied for and guided the troops, were visited with terrible retribution. Two, Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts, accused of assisting the British while they resided in the city and of harsh treatment of Whigs were convicted, sentenced to death and hanged on the commons, in spite of strenuous efforts to save their lives. In vain was it represented that they were old, that they had large families

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XIII, p. 434.

dependent upon them, that they had been good friends of their fellow-men and useful citizens. With ropes around their necks they rode upon their coffins in carts to the public execution ground. The property of both,—one was a carpenter and the other a miller,—was confiscated and the vindictive festival went on.

The conduct of General Arnold became a subject for the review of these self appointed regulators of the manners and opinions of men. He had been a gallant soldier, wounded in the American service and he was valued by Washington. That he was haughty and ambitious cannot be denied. That he deserved the uncharitable judgments to which he was subjected in Philadelphia he did not believe. They undoubtedly did much to goad him to the act which has consigned his name to the perpetual execration of Americans. Objection was made to his visiting in Tory families. In one of these, at the home of Edward Shippen, he found his wife. As the bitterness grew nothing was too ill for the Whigs to say about him. He had his coaches and chariots. He lived in the fine Market street house of Richard Penn, which had been occupied by General Howe, and later purchased "Mount Pleasant" on the brow of the Schuylkill, the home of the old privateersman, Captain Macpherson.¹ Anyone less than Washington who should have assumed so much social dignity in the atmosphere of Philadelphia at this time, infected as it was with all the principles of liberty and equality, would, in a like way, have found his course ungrateful to large bodies of the people. As it was he was charged with having plundered Montreal, with a misuse of funds put at his disposal when he entered Philadelphia after the British evacuation, and with illicit participation in various commercial undertakings; much worse on his side was still to come, calling for more violent condemnation.

¹ This estate had been advertised for sale in February. It was said to have an extent of 120 acres and comprised seven stone quarries. Its cost was given as £14,000. The owner would part with his property for £20,000 paper money.

CHAPTER XI.

LAST YEARS OF THE WAR.

The triumphant Whigs, in spite of their many professions of democracy, were led into a vast amount of extravagance. It was a season that brought bitter retribution in the entire collapse of the paper currency system with which the riotous living on all sides had been sustained. When Congress and the state government returned, in the summer of 1778, after the British had gone, an effort was made to celebrate the Fourth of July. The truth is that there was no money for a "decent entertainment." The delegates to Congress and some guests dined at the City Tavern. The company numbered about eighty. Four tables were spread, two running the length of the room, the others at right angles, while at the end was "erected an orchestra" which consisted of clarionets, hautboys, French horns, violins, and bass viols. A number of toasts, each followed by a discharge of field pieces, were drunk. In the evening a "cold collation" was served and there was an exhibition of fireworks. The streets were crowded with people who escorted a young woman, dressed in imitation of one of the Meschianza ladies, the length of the city and performed other antics disrespectful to Great Britain.¹ Candles were scarce and the weather was too hot for an illumination. Energy was being reserved for testimonials to the new ally, the king of France. Babies were named for him. Mrs. Richard Bache, Franklin's daughter, was delivered of a child on October 7, 1779. She called him Louis Bache in honor of Louis XVI. The amount of eating, drinking, shooting and huzzaing which was to go on for the next few years in behalf of this monarch passed all the bounds of common sense, and made the Philadelphia crowd appear as foolish as any which has ever raged the streets of other cities. The spectacle of these Pennsylvania republicans, for whom governors and all the checks and balances of a sane political system, and caste and aristocracy were things to be discarded forever, canonizing a little, puerile, Bourbon king of an opprobrious religion, whom they had once hated and would soon hate again, is a strange page out of history.

It was on Sunday, July 12, 1778, that the Sieur Gérard, the first of the French ministers to the United States, arrived in Philadelphia. Joseph Dolby was paid \$120 "for ringing the bells" upon this occasion,² and a notable welcome awaited the ambassador from the friendly king. He had come in the "Languedoc," a French war vessel in D'Estaing's fleet, which had discharged him at Chester,

¹ Wm. Ellery's Diary, *Pa. Mag.*, XI, pp. 477-78.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXIV, p. 246.

where he was met by a committee of Congress, headed by John Hancock. He was escorted by soldiers, saluted by artillery, and provided with free apartments in Market street. He could not be received in the State House until July for that building had been left by the British in a too filthy condition, and the inside was "much torn to pieces." It, however, was "cleansing and repairing for the purpose."

There was much discussion as to the nature of the ceremonial to be indulged in upon this occasion. The reception of a minister from a foreign power was a new experience for the nation, though it was in theory two years old. Who should sit and who should stand, when to bow and whom to bow to, were matters needing careful arrangement and all were industriously discussed, as a reading of the journals of the Continental Congress, will disclose. Finally, everything was ready and it was announced that the minister plenipotentiary should have his public audience on Thursday, August 6, at 12 o'clock. He came in a coach. His secretary followed in a chariot. He presented a letter from Louis, countersigned by Vergennes, addressed to the king's "very dear, great friends and allies," and made a speech on his own behalf which was responded to by Henry Laurens, as the president of Congress. In the afternoon he attended an elaborate dinner arranged in his honor by the representatives of the nation to which he had come.

On Sunday, the 23rd of August, the birthday of the king was celebrated. The president and members of Congress, and other officers and gentlemen went to call upon M. Gérard to congratulate him upon the occasion. One hundred dollars were paid by Timothy Matlack for a band of music and £400 for fireworks, upon this occasion.¹ The minister, two days later, gave Congress an "elegant entertainment" at the City Tavern. In December, when Joseph Reed and George Bryan were inducted into office as president and vice-president of the state, the bill rendered to the assembly by the proprietor of the City Tavern, amounted to £2,295 and 15 shillings. The 270 gentlemen who were present drank 522 bottles of Madeira wine, 116 large bowls of punch, 9 large bowls of toddy, 6 large bowls of sangaree and 24 bottles of port. Two tubs of grog were distributed among the artillerymen who stood by to fire the salutes.

In December, Lady Washington, came to the city to meet her husband. She preceded the general by several days, and a ball was arranged in her honor at the City Tavern, the French minister and many others attending. In January, 1779, Congress celebrated the alliance with France by a banquet at which 13 toasts were drunk, accompanied by the discharge of cannon. The Fourth of July in this year fell upon a Sunday. In the morning the president and members of Congress went to Christ Church where Rev. (afterward Bishop) William White, now in charge of the Episcopal congregations in Philadelphia, and unlike some of his predecessors and associates, deeply interested in the success of the Continental cause, preached them a sermon. Then, wonderful to tell, Congress and the officers of the state of Pennsylvania, upon M. Gérard's invitation, went to the Catholic church. A sermon was pronounced; a Te Deum sung. A form of worship which had scarcely been allowed to live a few years before, every confessor of

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXIV, p. 246.



Wm. White

the faith being suspected of hostility to the interests of America during the French and Indian wars, was now paid the highest compliments. The French ambassadors and the members of their suites attended the service regularly, and they soon caused very different views to prevail. A dinner to the minister followed on Monday. The cup was quaffed to such sentiments as these:

"The United States of America—by the grace of God free and independent."

"His most Christian Majesty, the protector of the rights of mankind."

"The Queen Princess and royal family of France."

"The friends and patrons of liberty throughout the world."

In the evening rockets ascended "to an amazing height in the air," and bursting displayed 13 stars. Again on August 23d the king's birthday was celebrated, the ships flying their flags, the bells ringing and the artillery firing salutes. In September, 1779, M. Gérard was succeeded by the new minister, M. de la Luzerne. His coming led to another great din, and the inevitable eating and drinking and shouting.

Thus one year followed another, each vying with that which preceded it. When Washington himself came to the city in the winter of 1778-79, it was to stay for some time.¹ Public feasting was running riot and it met with his strong disapprobation. He was almost in despair. He wrote to Benjamin Harrison, in Virginia, late in 1778:

"If I was to be called upon to draw a picture of the times and of men, from what I have seen, heard and in part know, I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation and extravagance seems to have laid fast hold of most of them. That speculation—peculation—and an insatiable thirst for riches seems to have got the better of every other consideration and almost of every order of men."

Nothing was thought of an assembly, a concert, a dinner or a supper costing £300 or £400, while officers were quitting the service for absolute necessity and the whole army was in poverty and want. General Greene wrote from Philadelphia a few weeks later that luxury and dissipation were everywhere prevalent. They were the "common offspring of sudden riches." "When I was in Boston last summer," he continued, "I thought luxury very predominant there, but they [the dissipations] were no more to compare with those now prevailing in Philadelphia than an infant babe to a full grown man. I dined at one table where there were 160 dishes and at several others not far behind." The oldest inhabitants had not remembered such a festival of ill considered extravagance and display. This living in a fool's paradise could be for a short while only. The paper money was constantly and rapidly declining in value. As it fell "like Lucifer to lowest hell," as one of the newspaper rhymsters wrote, the prices of all kinds of commodities naturally rose to a great height. The din of mutual recrimination filled the air. The committees again returned to their task of punishing regraters, engrossers and forestallers. The export business was prohibited; nothing must leave the province lest it increase the price of what remained, and lead to greater popular want. He who asked more in specie for what he had to sell than in Continental currency was an enemy to his country. No man should either buy or sell at prices

¹ From December 22nd until February 2nd—"the only relief he has enjoyed from service since he first entered it."—*Pa. Packet*, Feb. 4, 1779.

higher than those which were established by mobs assembled at town meetings, or by committees of their appointment. Not more than a half dozen men on the patriot side—quite notable among them being Robert Morris—seemed to evidence the slightest understanding of the principles of currency and trade. Even Washington wished to see those who would not receive the Continental money gibbeted as the foes of America.

The most mischievous of the mob leaders was Thomas Paine. He had been living for some time from hand to mouth upon the bounty of substantial men, whom he took the first occasion to savagely abuse. He very imprudently, to satisfy a private spite, made some revelations concerning the gifts of the king of France to the colonies through Beaumarchais, and had, thereby, forfeited the right to patient consideration. His name, however, was one to be conjured with by the Constitutionals in Pennsylvania. There was now a Constitutional Society and it zealously defended the constitution of 1776. Whoever proposed to touch this palladium of the people's liberties was looked upon as a Tory, or something near akin. The personal animosity and intolerant partisanship, which were the outcome of this piece of writing, were quite without a counterpart in the history of political philosophy in America, and the end was yet far away. The vindictive force of this new democracy, which was held with the fervor of a religion, would be felt for a quarter of a century to come.

The prices of flour and salt were still very difficult subjects to regulate, because of the great demand for these commodities. They were necessities for the American and British armies, the French allies and the civil population. They were scarce and at such a time they would have risen in terms of specie. When to this fact was added the depreciation of the currency the prevailing prices seemed to be outrageous. Some flour was taken out at night in a pilot boat from a wharf near the mouth of the Brandywine. When it was seized the shipper said it was intended for the French fleet in these waters under the Comte d'Estaing. Concerning another shipment the same defense was urged and the French consul-general in Philadelphia, M. Holker, and Robert Morris, who had aided him in the negotiation, were named. The discussion which this transaction aroused attained fearful dimensions. A trial for high treason seemed not far away.

In May, 1779, a polacre, the "Victorious," and some other vessels laden with flour arrived in Philadelphia. Their cargoes were consigned to Robert Morris, Blair McClenachan and other leading merchants. It was believed that the price of flour would sensibly fall as a result of this increase in the supply. On the contrary it became higher and a town meeting was called for May 25th, in the State House yard. A committee consisting of such well known Constitutionals as Tom Paine, Timothy Matlack, the Fighting Quaker; David Rittenhouse, the astronomer; and Charles Willson Peale, the artist, was appointed to wait upon Morris and convey to him what they interpreted to be the sense of the community. Since no remedy seemed to be obtainable, another meeting was called for the State House for July 26th. This was not too peaceful, and it was adjourned until the next day, when the proceedings approached a riot. General John Cadwalader, who attempted to speak in Morris's defense, was set upon by a company of men armed with staves and bludgeons. The rabble shouted and cracked their sticks one

against another so that none could hear, whereupon his party amounting, according to Silas Deane, to "near three-fourths present," retired and organized a meeting of their own in the College yard on Fourth street, where Morris himself presided. The contest was, as Mr. Deane said, "between the respectable citizens of fortune and character opposed to the constitution of this state, and people in lower circumstances and reputation headed by leaders well qualified for their business, and supposed to be secretly supported by the president and council." He continued: "There are few unhappier cities on the globe than Philadelphia; the reverse of its name, is its present character. * * * It is a melancholy reflection to think, that whilst our common enemy is wasting our seacoasts and laying our fairest and most peaceable towns in ashes, we are quarreling among ourselves and can scarcely be constrained from plunging our swords in each other's bosoms."¹

The house of a Mr. Humphreys, "a respectable citizen and as true and brave a Whig as any in this state," in Silas Deane's opinion, was forced. His sister was knocked down and wounded before he returned home to drive the scoundrels off. This and other such outrages were committed by soldiers who had been enrolled for a better service. There were many threats that the rabble would invade the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in September to insult and do injury to several of the leading members, and real ground for fear that the promise would be fulfilled.

It was hopeless for the dissatisfied to attempt to do aught with such a system, either by legislature or mob. No power could alter the course of immutable economic laws. The Continental money was the source of every "vice." "Its quantity and the instability of its value," Dr. Benjamin Rush wrote to Dr. James McHenry in June, 1779, "would corrupt a community of angels. Instead of being the sinews of our war—it acts the part of warm water to the natural sinews of our opposition. It relaxes and enfeebles every social, civil and military virtue." The town meeting's efforts to regulate the prices of goods, Dr. Rush said, continuing his medical analogies, "resembles a violent puke given to a man in the last stages of consumption. It must agreeably to every principle of finance hasten the dissolution of the money." The ignorant, Dr. Rush wrote again, expected to see in price conventions "all the miracles of trans-substantiation, and all the mysteries of alchemy performed in an instant upon the currency. * * * The folly and madness of mankind used to distress me, but I have learned to hear and to talk of errors in government with composure. The pious Anthony preached a sermon to fishes. The echo of this discourse was intended for men."²

The rabble could not be turned aside; indeed its fury seemed to increase. Every persecution which a merchant could suffer was applied with ignorant zest. Cargoes going out of the river, covered with street dirt, were seized and returned to port. Dealers in flour were compelled to furnish accounts of their stocks. Then attempts were made to compel them to sell at such prices as the committees might fix. Wheat was seized. Wagons going out of the city with rum, sugar, coffee and tea were brought back. To make the regulations more effectual buyers.

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XVII, p. 348-50.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXIX, pp. 59, 63.

as well as sellers, were penalized. Any one who should give more than 15 shillings for a pound of butter must pay 20 shillings as a penalty into the hands of the committee for the use of the poor, or else appear in person before the next town meeting.

The disturbances reached their height in October, 1779, at the time of the so-called "Fort Wilson" riot. James Wilson had given offense by defending a number of Tories in their treason trials. He was a lawyer of soberness and learning who was later to prove, like Robert Morris, how much more useful he could be to the American cause than some upstart, excited by what he was pleased to regard as patriotism. He resided in a roomy brick house at the southwest corner of Third and Walnut streets. Placards were posted in prominent places in the city menacing him, Morris, and other conservative citizens, and a mob of Constitutionals, mostly militiamen, after drinking deeply at one or two of the taverns, set out "to support the Constitution and the Committee of Trade." "The laboring part of the city," said they, "had become desperate from the high price of the necessaries of life."

With two pieces of cannon and beating drums about 200 men, a crowd of boys at their heels, marched down Chestnut street to Second street. They turned into Second street, traversing it to Walnut which they went up to Third, as far as Wilson's house. In it Wilson and a number of his friends—Morris, Sharp Delany, George Clymer, Samuel C. Morris, Thomas Mifflin and Dr. Jonathan Potts among them—had taken shelter, well satisfied that something untoward was about to occur. They had arms but little ammunition, though just before the attack some cartridges had been hurriedly procured from Carpenters' Hall. According to the accepted account a Captain Robert Campbell, opened a window and brandished a pistol at the mob. For this indiscretion he was mortally shot by the party in the street which at once turned about and began a brisk fire. Muskets replied from the house. An attempt was made to break open the door, which gave way at length under the blows of a sledge. There was a skirmish on the stairs. Then Wilson's friends barricaded the entrance before any more men from the outside could come in. The noise of the firing created great excitement. General Joseph Reed, then the president of the "Republic" of Pennsylvania, was seen riding at a gallop in Third street, his "knee buttons unfastened and his boots down." He had been suddenly aroused from sleep. Immediately there was a cry, "The President! The President!" He was followed by several members of the Light Horse, the City Troop—which since its foundation had been at the fore in every scene, escorting General Washington and Mrs. Washington hither and thither, and engaging in much hazardous military service wherein it won his high personal praise. At the sound of "The horse! The horse!" the mob dispersed in every direction. The sword was not spared and many were wounded, while a considerable number of prisoners were taken.

In the house one had been killed and three wounded. In the street two lost their lives. The community was much terrorized by the outbreak and there was not a little fear of reprisals upon the troopers who had so effectually put an end to the disturbance, or upon Wilson and his friends. They were advised to leave the city for a season until the popular temper had cooled. Wilson himself, at

least, heeded this counsel. The echoes of the affair were heard for many years, but on March 13, 1780, the Pennsylvania assembly passed an act of amnesty, pardoning all who on either side had participated in the riot.

The severity of the money and price troubles at this time cannot easily be exaggerated. The diaries and the correspondence of Philadelphians during these years attest to the serious state of affairs which had been brought on by foolish public and private financiering.

In September, 1777, the Continental money was circulated at par, but in January, 1778, \$1,000 worth of it had a value of only \$685 in specie. At the end of that year, in December, it had fallen to \$157 and in January, 1779, to \$134, while in December, 1779, \$1,000 in paper could be exchanged for only \$38 in hard money. In March, 1780, the ratio was about 40 to 1. Early in the next year it sank to 250 to 1, and in May, 1781 to 1,500 to 1, and the money then had so little value that it was withdrawn from use. Sailors wore the old bills in their hats, and barbers plastered their shops with the worthless bits of paper. A man could light his pipe with a ten dollar note amid the laughter of his friends. The money was wrapped around the necks of dogs, and once one of these animals was coated with tar, decorated with the paper, in lieu of feathers, and sent yelping through the streets to the great amusement of the populace.

Prices which seem very absurd were paid and received in trade. In May, 1779, Christopher Marshall says in his diary that butter sold at market for \$2 and \$3 a pound; flour for £20 a hundred weight. For two pairs of shoes he paid \$50 and for two silk handkerchiefs \$80. In February, 1780, at a vendue in Lancaster a frying pan was sold for £25, a wood saw for £37, 10s., three rusty forks for £22, 10s, a mare, eleven years old, for £805, an old square-face eight-day clock, in a walnut case, for £210, a razor for £20 and a pair of spectacles for £20. Samuel Adams says that he was asked \$400 for a hat, \$125 for a pair of shoes, \$300 for a pair of leather breeches and \$1,500 for a suit of clothes, and it was only necessary to wait a few weeks or months for still higher prices.

The cost of living reached unheard of heights. "It takes a fortune," Mrs. Bache wrote her father, Dr. Franklin, in Paris, "to feed a family in a plain way." William Ellery, of Rhode Island, came to Philadelphia to attend Congress at the end of November, 1779. He records that he went to board at a Mrs. Miller's in Arch street, at the rate of \$300 per week for himself and his servant. At the expiration of seven weeks the price was raised.¹ On May 31, 1780, Owen Biddle notes that pease sold for \$30 a half peck and asparagus for \$5 a bunch. Butter had now risen to \$8, \$10, and even \$12 a pound.² In January, 1781, Captain Allen McLane bought a pair of boots for \$600, 6¾ yards of calico, at \$85 a yard, for \$752; 6 yards of chintz, at \$150 a yard, for \$900, and four handkerchiefs at \$100 each. The bill for these things and a number of smaller purchases reached a total of \$3,144.50 in Continental money, or £18 10s. in specie.³ A workman, it was observed, might lose his wages while he was earning them,⁴ so rapidly

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XII, p. 252.

² Jenkins, *Memorial History*, p. 99.

³ Watson, edition of 1857, II, p. 299.

⁴ Oberholtzer's *Robert Morris*, p. 61.

did prices change, and that even greater disorders did not prevail is rather remarkable.

At no time was the outlook for the American cause more gloomy. The English leaders well understood that the treasury was the colonists most vulnerable point. But for substantial French assistance the war might have ended unfavorably for them, and every passing year seemed to promise to provide an increase of their financial difficulties. The total collapse of the paper currency system and the knowledge that France was indisposed to do more for her allies over-sea, made good English military judges rather confident of the eventual outcome of the war. Such a point had been reached that taxes which had been long since payable in the form of supplies, such as cattle on the hoof, salt beef, woolen cloth, wheat and flour, yielded a most uncertain support to Washington. So near did disaster seem that the ladies of the city, in 1780, took up a subscription to purchase clothing for the army. Mrs. Robert Morris; Mrs. James Wilson; Franklin's daughter, Mrs. Richard Bache; the wife of the secretary of Congress, Mrs. Charles Thomson; the wife of the president of the state, Mrs. Joseph Reed; and others thoroughly toured the city. Anna Rawle, daughter of Mrs. Samuel Shoemaker, far from friendly to the cause, wrote to her mother on June 30, 1780: "Of all absurdities the ladies going about for money exceeded everything; they were so extremely importunate that people were obliged to give them something to get rid of them. * * * H. Thomson, Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Wilson and a number of very genteel women paraded about streets in this manner, some carrying inkstands, nor did they let the meanest ale house escape. The gentlemen also were honored with their visits. Bob Wharton declares he was never so teased in his life. They reminded him of the extreme rudeness of refusing anything to the fair but he was inexorable and pleaded want of money, and the heavy taxes, so at length they left him, after threatening to hand his name down to posterity with infamy."¹

The committees, as a result of the importunities of the ladies obtained from 1645 different persons \$200,580 in paper money and £625 in specie, the whole being equal to £7,500 in specie. The Marquis de Lafayette, in the name of the Marchioness, subscribed 100 guineas in specie; the Countess of Luzerne, wife of the French minister, \$6,000 in Continental paper and \$150 in specie, and there were other distinguished contributors. The proceeds were principally used for the purchase of linen for shirts and the ladies themselves then cut and sewed the garments. On each shirt appeared the name of the maker. Chastellux, when he visited Mrs. Bache, was shown into a room in which 2,200 of these shirts were stored preparatory to shipment to the troops.

When the king of England expressed his confidence in the subjection of the American colonies by the exhaustion of their pecuniary resources he did not count upon this fine popular spirit, nor did he take into his reckoning an energetic business man, for a time retired from active direction in Congress, Robert Morris, of Philadelphia. The credit of this experienced merchant was high when his country's had sunk to the lowest ebb, and in 1781, it was decided to take the management of the Continental finances out of the hands of an inefficient treasury

¹ Glenn, *Colonial Mansions*, II, p. 151.



ROBERT MORRIS

After the portrait by Edward Savage

board and entrust it to him—a single head, to be called the superintendent of finance.

Morris was at this time a member of the assembly of Pennsylvania and was exerting all his powers, in connection with General Mifflin, for the repeal of the old tender and penal laws. He had not yet won his victory over the paper money men when the news reached him in February, 1781, that Congress wished him to take charge of its finances. Washington, Hamilton and other friends strongly urged his acceptance of the office. He held the subject under advisement for some time and then announced that as soon as he had fulfilled his important engagements in the assembly he would enter upon the performance of his duties. He took the oath on June 27, 1781, and at once established the office of finance which was at first located in a building in Front street, though it was later removed to Fifth and Market streets in proximity to the other Continental offices.

The superintendent lost no time in adopting a number of measures which promised to put the colonies in a more favorable financial position. Congress had early given its attention to a plan of central government and in 1777 adopted the so-called Articles of Confederation. They, however, were not to be of any effect until they were approved by all the colonies. The ratification was not enthusiastic and it was March 1, 1781, before Maryland, the last to accede, gave her assent. The day was a Thursday and it was made the occasion for another characteristic Philadelphia celebration with cannonading, bell-ringing and flying of flags. In the evening there was a "collation," and "an elegant exhibition of fireworks." Paul Jones's frigate, the "Ariel," which stood in the river was "beautifully decorated with a variety of streamers" during the day and by lights at night. March 1st, it was thought, would be a day "memorable in the annals of America to the latest posterity." This prophecy¹ proved to be entirely false, and none knew better that it must be so than such Federalists as Robert Morris and Alexander Hamilton. Morris determined to see what was the value of the new union which had been formed, but he was early convinced of its total impotence, and went forward taking little account of government, either confederate or state.

His immediate task was to sustain Washington's army, which he learned after a visit to the camp on the Hudson was to be transported to Virginia to begin operations for the reduction of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, in connection with the French allies, who for some time had rested idly in New England. The movement was conducted with the greatest secrecy, and in the last days of August, and the first days of September, 1781, Washington² at the head of the ill-fed and ill-clothed American regiments,³ accompanied by the Count de Rochambeau,

¹ *Pa. Packet*.

² This, according to Baker's *Itinerary*, was Washington's first appearance in Philadelphia in two years and a half. He had been absent ever since his long visit in the winter of 1778-79.

³ The French were greatly amazed at the ragged appearance of the Colonials, though they had undergone some improvement in discipline and in general appearance since they were seen in and around Philadelphia in 1777 and 1778. "It is inconceivable," said one of the French officers in his Diary, "that troops nearly naked, badly paid, and composed of old men, negroes, and children, should march so well both on the road and under fire." Rochambeau himself was no less astonished at the sight.—Balch, *The French in America*, I, p. 163.

the Chevalier, later the Marquis de Chastellux, the Baron and his brother the Viscount de Vioménil, the Duc de Lauzun and a distinguished company of young French noblemen, who were enlisted in the service, leading the brightly dressed and well disciplined French troops, arrived in the city on their hurried way southward. The officers of the allied armies were received in the suburbs by a body of foot and horse and escorted into the city. They were dined at Morris's house where many toasts were drunk, amid the noise of salutes in the harbor, to the success of the expedition, which included the coöperation of Count de Grasse's fleet, news of whose movements was anxiously awaited.

The troops were reviewed at the State House by Thomas McKean, president of Congress, who wore a black velvet suit and carried a sword at his side, by many members of Congress, and by Washington, Rochambeau and the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the minister of France. Great crowds were assembled in the streets, while the windows and balconies were everywhere filled with ladies, in bright dresses waving their salutes as the soldiers passed. On the 4th of September the troops of the famous Soissonois regiment,¹ whose showy uniforms of white with rose colored facings and grenadier caps, on which floated white and rose colored plumes, all marching with admirable precision, made them the pride of the French army, were exercised on the commons in the presence of Congress, the French minister, and a crowd, it is said, of 20,000 people. Shouts of "Long live Louis the Sixteenth" were heard throughout the city. It was only through Morris's success in obtaining a loan of money from the Count de Rochambeau for which he pledged his own credit, that Washington was enabled to carry a mutinous body of New England troops beyond the Head of Elk, and the financier's exertions in all possible directions in behalf of the army, served to identify him and the city of Philadelphia with the progress of the war more closely than ever before.

Rochambeau himself, it is said, passed on to Chester by water in order to examine the fortifications in the Delaware. Washington, Robert Morris, and others proceeded by land, meeting on the way the express with news of the Count de Grasse's arrival in the Chesapeake. Even the very sober Washington could not suppress his satisfaction, which was so great that when Rochambeau reached Chester he found the American general on the bank "waving his hat with demonstrations of great joy."² "A child, all of whose wishes had been gratified," wrote one of the French officers, "could not have experienced a more lively sensation."³ When the rider reached Philadelphia and the news was announced to the people, they crowded to the home of Minister Luzerne who was obliged to show himself upon his balcony in acknowledgment of their acclamations.

Morris at once had two very important designs, which, if they were carried out, would in his confident opinion greatly improve the financial situation—one was the collection of the levies upon the states in money and the other was the establishment of a national bank. For a long time the states had been paying their Continental quotas in the form of "specific supplies," that is in produce. Congress earlier had and, under the Articles of Confederation, still had no power

¹ Its chaplain was the Abbé Robin.

² Balch, I, p. 176.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

to lay or collect taxes except through the states, and Morris began an epistolary bombardment of their governors and legislatures deserving of better results than those which attended it. Almost no money came to him from the states and throughout his administration, which did not end until 1784, the returns both in money and supplies were very disappointing.

The bank was much more productive and it performed a very useful service in Morris's scheme of finance. In 1780 he and several other Philadelphia merchants and capitalists had established the Bank of Pennsylvania. Its purpose was to supply the army with provisions for two months. A number of men pledged themselves in considerable sums in behalf of the institution, and notes were then issued on its credit. The officers were two directors, John Nixon and George Clymer; a factor, Tench Francis, in charge of the work of purchasing and forwarding the supplies to the army; and five inspectors, Robert Morris, J. M. Nesbit, Blair McClenachan, Samuel Miles and Cadwalader Morris. The largest subscribers were Blair McClenachan and Robert Morris for £10,000 each, while there were many for £5,000 and smaller sums. The capital was fixed at £300,000, Pennsylvania currency, the money was subscribed by 92 individuals and firms and the bank opened its doors on Front street, two doors above Walnut street.

This experiment had proved so successful that Morris took the first opportunity upon coming to his office to establish a national bank. He early transmitted his plans to the president of Congress, but there was no money with which to begin the work. The news of the arrival at Boston, of a French frigate, "La Resolue," with 2,500,224 livres, for the benefit of the American cause meant much to this enterprise. The ship had been directed toward Philadelphia but got out of her course, and the money must be brought overland through a strip of country which was in possession of the British troops. Morris, therefore, organized an expedition with Tench Francis at its head. He issued specific directions for unpacking the specie which had come in boxes and casks. It was to be counted and put into small oaken boxes which were in turn to be placed in great chests and attached firmly to the axles of carts. Each chest should weigh about a ton and it was to be drawn by four oxen led by one horse. The treasure train, which consisted of no less than fourteen wagons¹ enjoyed the protection of dragoons and bodies of infantrymen posted at various places along the route, and it reached Philadelphia safely in November. Enough of this money was saved to enable Morris to subscribe \$250,000 for and in the name of the United States to the capital stock of the proposed national bank which, on the last day of 1781 was chartered by Congress as the Bank of North America. Thomas Willing, Mr. Morris's partner, became its president, Mr. Francis its cashier, and the names of many prominent Philadelphia business men were found upon its board of directors. The institution was opened for business in a store the property of Tench Francis situated on the north side of Chestnut street a short distance west of Third street. Though it passed through many vicissitudes in its early career it performed indispensable services to the American cause. Again and again its credit came to the aid of the superintendent of finance and justified his judg-

¹ There were fourteen teams, or 56 oxen, for sale after the train reached Philadelphia. —See Hiltzheimer's Diary in *Pa. Mag.*, XVI, p. 160.

ment in advising its establishment. He wrote Franklin that he intended to render the bank "a principal pillar of American credit." At the close of his administration he declared: "It may be not only asserted but demonstrated that without the establishment of the national bank, the business of the department of finance could not have been performed."

The news of the capture of Yorktown and the surrender of Cornwallis was speedily carried to Philadelphia. It arrived early on the morning of the 22nd of October, 1781, by an express rider who sought the home of Thomas McKean, the president of Congress, to deliver the despatches announcing the happy event. He had spread the tidings as he rode along and a German watchman, catching his words, at once started the cry "Basht dree o'clock and Gornwallis isht daken." Immediately windows flew open and men half dressed came out into the street. It was feared that the report was premature, so all arrangements for an official display were postponed until the arrival of Colonel Tilghman, an aide to General Washington, on the morning of the 24th. Then the president of the state, the president of Congress, the minister of France and other official personages met and congratulated one another. Flags were hoisted at the State House and on the shipping in the harbor. At noon an artillery salute was fired in the State House yard, while the afternoon was given up to a religious service under the direction of Rev. Mr. Duffield, which was attended by the members of Congress and other official personages, together with a number of "great and respectable characters, both in the civil and military line."

In the evening the city was illuminated and there was general merrymaking, although the weather was such that it was necessary to postpone the exhibition of fireworks, which had been projected, until the following night. This fact did not prevent attacks upon the houses of Quakers and others who refused to put candles in their windows in honor of the occasion. Elizabeth Drinker states in her *Journal* that "scarcely one Friend's house escaped." Nearly 70 panes of glass were broken in her home. The front door was "violently burst open" and its panels shattered. Then the men amused themselves for a time by throwing stones into the house. "Many women and children were frightened into fits," says the diarist, "and 'tis a mercy no lives were lost." At Samuel Shoemaker's, and at some other houses, lights were forcibly fixed at the windows. The men had pickaxes and iron bars and were not to be resisted. After they had put the candles in place they gave three huzzas and moved on. "For two hours," writes Anna Rawle, Shoemaker's stepdaughter, "we had the disagreeable noise of stones banging about, glass crashing and the tumultuous voices of a large body of men, as they were a long time at the different houses in the neighborhood." In some cases the furniture was cut up and goods were stolen. "J. Head had nothing left whole in his parlor." Edward Pennington's "five pictures" were broken. One Quaker was obliged to leap a fence to escape the fury of the mob. His wife was seriously hurt while trying to shield him. John Drinker "lost half the goods out of his shop," and suffered a severe beating of his person besides. At last the mob's object was attained and there was "one general illumination throughout the town."¹

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XVI, p. 105.

The decorations at some of the houses were notably brilliant. For example, Charles Willson Peale, the Whig artist, who lived at the southwest corner of Third and Lombard streets, displayed a ship under sail and portraits of Washington and Rochambeau, with laurel crowns interlaced and the words "Shine Valiant Chiefs." At a third story window was painted in large letters "For our Allies, Huzza! Huzza! Huzza!"

On November 3rd twenty-four stands of captured colors, British and Hessian, were escorted into the city by the First City Troop which had met them, with a band of music, at the Schuylkill river. Riders bearing French and American flags preceded the trophies which were carried down Market street with much ceremony and "laid at the feet" of Congress.¹ Later in the month, on November 26th, Washington himself arrived, accompanied by his wife. Both throughout the war had been frequent visitors to Philadelphia and their reception was always of the warmest character. Wherever they went they were numerously attended and enthusiastically acclaimed. The general could not walk the streets without a crowd at his heels. While here with Rochambeau on his way to Yorktown the Tory, Samuel R. Fisher, wrote that the mobs broke some of his father's and other citizens' windows, so eager was the pressure of the people "to see their beloved general." Now upon his return to the city, after the victory, the demonstrations were still more excited. Peale again decorated his house with painted mottoes and emblematic figures, while another citizen, who resided in Sixth street near Market street, exhibited a painting of a British lion. Its body was pierced by thirteen arrows and over it stood a cock, typifying France, with the words "Gallus victa, super leonem cantat." Complimentary addresses were delivered to the general; the French minister tendered him a concert. During this visit he and Mrs. Washington were dined at the homes of all the city's principal inhabitants. His horsemanship was generally admired. His manner in riding Mrs. Robert Morris described as not short of "elegant." He and his animal seemed to move as one. Washington was the centre of interest upon whatever scene he appeared. He made his home in the Chew house, next door to Samuel Powel's residence on the west side of Third street between Walnut and Spruce streets, and remained in Philadelphia for four months, or until March 22, 1782.

Socially the winter was probably a more brilliant one than any which the city had yet experienced. A large number of ladies belonging to the French officers' families and French families attracted hither by the Chevalier de la Luzerne and the members of his legation were now settled in the city. They drew other French people from the West Indies, and it was the beginning of that international society of which Philadelphia was the seat for the next twenty years. Those who wished to be fashionable dressed according to the French styles. Cooking was French, dancing was French, the French tongue was heard on the sidewalks, in the inns and at the coffee houses.

¹ It is usually stated that there were 18 German and six English standards.—See *Pa. Mag.*, XXXI, p. 497. This writer says that the flags are in possession of the United States Military Academy at West Point. He describes the Hessian banners which were of double white damask embroidered in gold and silver, with cords and tassels of silver.

The spirit of the alliance would seem to have reached a climax in 1782 when news came of the birth of the dauphin. On May 13th Luzerne seated himself in a coach and under escort of the City Troop was driven to the State House where he was welcomed by a body of Continental infantry and artillery. He carried an autograph letter from the king announcing the happy intelligence. The communication was received by Congress "with strong and evident marks of satisfaction," and he withdrew amid the noise and smoke of a *feu de joie*.¹ In the afternoon he dined with the congressman at the State House, and at night a number of Mr. Peale's transparencies were exhibited in the State House yard. On one under the name of "Marie Antoinette, Queen of France" were the lines:

"No emblems here the tablet grace;
What pencil can her emblem trace?
Let Beauty, Wit and Mirth advance
And joining form the Queen of France."

A few days later the president and the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania gave an entertainment in honor of the French minister, and finally on July 15th, as soon as he could complete his arrangements, Luzerne responded with what has been described as "one of the most splendid fêtes ever originated in this country."

The French minister lived "magnificently" in the handsome Carpenter mansion at the northwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets. His summer home was "Laurel Hill," the Rawle house on the Schuylkill. He had enlisted the services of Major L'Enfant, a French architect soon to be better known in this country, for the construction in the garden adjoining the Chestnut street house of a beautiful hall with painted pillars. It was ornamented with the arms of the United States and France, and with many other emblems. At night it was brilliantly lighted within and without. The boughs of the trees in the grove around it were converted into arches and hung with glass lamps.

Crowds came to look at the building while it was in course of erection. "For ten days before the event," says Dr. Rush who has left an excellent account of the entertainment, "nothing else was talked of in our city. The shops were crowded with customers. Hair dressers were retained; tailors, milliners and mantua-makers were to be seen, covered with sweat and out of breath, in every street." It was stated that the minister had borrowed thirty cooks from the French army to prepare the viands for his guests. Eleven hundred tickets were distributed in all the states of the Union, and coaches rattled in with distinguished men and women over the northern and southern roads.

Detachments of French troops were present to maintain order, and decorum. On the morning of the day of the celebration the French residents of the city repaired to Luzerne's house upon his invitation for a religious service. Later the president and members of Congress, and the other officers of government, mili-

¹ The ceremonial observed on this occasion was faithfully described by Charles Thomson, the secretary of the Congress, and is to be found in *Pa. Mag.*, XXIX, pp. 497-99.



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tary and civil, together with many prominent citizens came to congratulate him upon the dauphin's birth.

The evening entertainment began at half past seven o'clock. It was estimated that 10,000 persons who had not been favored with invitations stood by and looked through the palisades at the brilliant festival. Luzerne had proposed to distribute two pipes of Madeira and \$600 in small change among the people, but he was dissuaded from it because of fear of a riot and he bestowed the money instead upon the inmates of the jails and of the Pennsylvania Hospital. The scene inside according to Dr. Rush "resembled enchantment." Among the guests were the Count de Rochambeau, General Washington and their aides and adjutants in the French and American armies who seemed "to bring the laurels of Yorktown to the cradle of the dauphin." The president of Pennsylvania and the governors of neighboring states, with members of their cabinets and suites also attended. An Indian chieftain in his native dress played a picturesque part in the scene. The entertainment included a concert, promenades in the garden, fireworks "of superior and unrivalled excellence" on a vacant space on the south side of Chestnut street opposite the minister's residence and a fine ball. At twelve o'clock supper was served in tents set up for the purpose, after which there was a continuation of the dancing, and "joy did not cease to sparkle in the eyes of every one present" until day break admonished the guests that the time had come to return to their homes.¹

In the meantime hostilities continued in an intermittent way, though peace at last seemed near. It was a period of continued disorder. The proscription of Tories and Quakers knew no abatement. Indeed as the consciousness of strength settled upon the Whigs their intolerance increased. New victims were discovered and pursued, to be attainted as traitors. General Arnold's treachery served to increase suspicion. His period of residence in Philadelphia had made him few friends. He had been transferred to West Point and news of his going over to the enemy reached the city in September, 1780. The sheriff was at once ordered to seize his papers which were carefully examined with a view to investigating his conduct while he had been stationed here. His effigy was carried through the streets in a cart. He was represented as having two faces. At his back stood a figure of Beelzebub in black robes, who dangled a purse of money before him and exhibited a pitchfork with which, it was explained, he was to be driven "into hell" for the many crimes which his thirst for gold had impelled him to commit. Just before the cart drums and fifes played the "Rogue's March" and a considerable body of Continental soldiery, both foot and horse, with a numerous rabble swelled the cavalcade, which attained great proportions by the time the figure reached the place where it was to be committed

¹ Dr. Rush remarks aptly: "How great the revolution in the mind of an American! to rejoice in the birth of an heir to the crown of France, a country against which he had imbibed prejudices as ancient as the wars between France and England. How strange for a Protestant to rejoice in the birth of a prince whose religion he had been always taught to consider as unfriendly to humanity. And above all how new the phenomenon for republicans to rejoice in the birth of a prince who must one day be the support of monarchy and slavery. Human nature in this instance seems to be turned inside outwards."—*Pa. Mag.*, XXI, p. 257.

to the flames. Arnold's seat, the old Macpherson place, "Mount Pleasant," was seized by the state to be rented for a time to Baron Steuben; his chariot and horses were sold at the Coffee House, and his household furniture at the meat market. The longer residence in the city of his wife, Mrs. Margaret Shippen Arnold, was adjudged by the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania to be "dangerous to the public safety," and she was ordered "to depart this state within fourteen days from the date hereof [October 27, 1780] and that she do not return again during the continuance of the present war."

Taking advantage of a mutiny among the troops in the Pennsylvania line at Morristown, in January, 1781, British agents moved about among them in the hope that they would join Sir Henry Clinton's army, but they resisted the fascinations of the enemy, and the bearers of the proposal were promptly seized and hanged. It was in November, 1781, that a plot to steal the records of Congress was discovered in Philadelphia. Some Tory refugees had the conspiracy in hand in connection with an Englishman named Addison, who had been employed for a time by Charles Thomson, and who was therefore in a position to know how and where the archives were kept. Two brothers, James and John Moody, and Lawrence Marr came on toward the city and met Addison in New Jersey. The plot was discovered and John Moody and Marr were captured and tried by a court martial, presided over by General Lafayette. Moody was found guilty and hanged. The evidence against Marr was not sufficient, it was believed, to justify his execution and he obtained a respite and at length his release.

The escape of James Moody was almost miraculous. He had remained at Cooper's Ferry while his companions went into the city. He was awaiting their return in his room when a man ran up to the house and said: "There is the devil to pay in Philadelphia. A plot has been discovered to break into the State House and steal the papers of Congress. One of the parties has betrayed the others. Two men have been arrested, and another is supposed to be here." Upon hearing this Moody ran down stairs and went out the back door, hoping to find cover in the wood, but the hue and cry was raised and rang in his ears. As there was no place of shelter at hand he boldly lay down in an open ditch until his pursuers had passed by. When he could he took refuge in a corn stack where he was obliged to remain without food or drink for two days. Finally after various adventures and sufferings he reached the British lines at New York.¹ Such incidents greatly tended to increase the unpleasantness of the position of the Moderates.

The arrival in 1781 of a large party of southern people, principally from Charleston, who had been taken prisoners by the British in the previous year did not serve to mollify public feeling. Many hundreds had died in captivity and some of the wasted remnants were brought into the Delaware under flags of truce to be imposed upon the charity of Philadelphians. Welcome was not denied these unfortunate people and they were billeted upon the inhabitants, who for the most part showed them every kindness which the times and the situation could afford. The families of Governor Rutledge and Charles Cotesworth Pinck-

¹ Thompson Westcott, Ch. 281.

ney were received by Dr. George Logan, at "Stenton," where they remained for about six months. There were not lacking those who wished to establish these exiles in the homes of the unwilling Philadelphia Tories. The refugees had been made to suffer at the hand of the invader. They had been despoiled of their property, which had been ample. Now it would be only just if they in turn became a charge upon the Loyalists in the city, to which they had been sent.

Robert Morris appealed to a number of prominent Quakers, including Hugh Roberts, John Reynolds, James Pemberton, John Pemberton, Samuel Emlen, Owen Jones and Nicholas Waln. He found in this emergency an opportunity for them to give aid to the American cause in a form which could conflict with none of their well known scruples against war. He thought that they would not "omit to seize an occasion for exercising those mild and benevolent principles by which they are actuated." He would pledge himself that the moneys which they would furnish should not "on any pretence be diverted" from the benevolent purpose for which it had been contributed; but the Friends repelled the suggestion. "The circumstances of the members of our Society," said they, "are of late greatly changed and their capacity for the exercise of benevolence much diminished, not only through the general calamity prevailing, but most particularly by the very oppressive laws which have been enacted in Pennsylvania, and the oppressive manner in which they have been frequently executed, to the impoverishment of many innocent and industrious inhabitants." The resources of the abler members of the Society must be drawn upon for the relief of their "own needy brethren."

The political animosities led to bitter newspaper quarrels, which were so abusive of the persons of many leading men that it necessitated an appeal to the laws governing libels. Papers of recent appearance in Philadelphia, such as Francis Bailey's *Freeman's Journal* which commenced to appear on April 25, 1781, and Eleazer Oswald's *Independent Gazetteer* begun a year later (April 13, 1782) seemed to thrive upon personal contention. General Joseph Reed whose motives came in for much questioning, General John Cadwalader, General Mifflin, John Dickinson, Robert Morris and others were the victims of scurrilous attacks. These were usually couched in the form of letters to the editor by anonymous writers. Morris for instance was accused of "pushing" his "superlative abilities and merits by pensioned dependents." He was well paid for his services while he lived in comfort at his home. "Numbers are serving their country in the cabinet and in the field remote from their country, their family, and their affairs," said one of Morris's newspaper assailants, "without patronage, without emolument, without influence, upon pay which would hardly purchase the crumbs which fall from your luxurious table, and yet we do not hear from them, the vain-glorious whinings of their sacrifices and sufferings. And is it for you wallowing in wealth, rioting in voluptuousness, gorged with honors, profits, patronage and emoluments, is it for you, in the bosom of your family, your friends and your affairs—is it for you to insult the public with your sacrifices of time, property and domestic bliss?"¹

¹ *Freeman's Journal*, March 17, 1785.

All of the writers could not be identified but they seemed to include such men as Tom Paine, Philip Freneau, the poet of whom much more was to be heard in Philadelphia, Arthur Lee, George Bryan and George Osbourne, an Irish lawyer, a recent arrival in Philadelphia, who after a short and far from comfortable career in the city departed not to be heard of again. They were in short the old leaders of the Pennsylvania single chamber democrats, who in a few years were to indulge in still wilder flights of scurrility during the campaign in behalf of an open American alliance with the revolutionists of France.

Thomas McKean, who was now chief justice of the state, and himself a sufferer from journalistic abuse, administered public rebukes and imposed deserved fines upon some of the offenders, but the population was becoming so saturated with the spirit of revolution that it was no easy matter to apply legal restraint. "There is a period in the progress of things, a crisis between the ardor of enthusiasm and the authority of laws," Robert Morris wrote to Benjamin Franklin in 1782, "when much skill and management are necessary to those who are charged with administering the affairs of a nation." The American people and their capital city, Philadelphia, were now living through this period, and it was a difficult one to survive.

Of one achievement the democrats could be honestly proud. Whatever their offending they now became efficient instruments in the work of abolishing slavery in the state. It is sometimes supposed that this reform in Pennsylvania beneficently flowed from the teachings of William Penn and the Society of Friends. It is true that the Yearly Meeting was gradually coming to a position when it would be an advocate of the emancipation of the negro, and later in the next century many members led the movement so ably and prominently that they seemed always to have been the pioneers. The actual work of abolition in Pennsylvania was performed by those disciples of the abstract principles of liberty who had made themselves triumphant in Pennsylvania upon the adoption of the first state constitution in 1776. They were readers of Rousseau. They were French and Irish rather than English in their antecedents. They were atheist rather than Quaker in their religious sympathies. They advocated the liberty and equality of the negro, as well as the liberty and equality of the white man, because these things fitted into a scheme of philosophy which was their own in this country, and which later spreading abroad, reached its full flower in the convention of France. On February 5, 1779, the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, in a message to the assembly said: "We would again bring to your view a plan for the gradual abolition of slavery, so disgraceful to any people and more especially to those who have been contending in the great cause of liberty themselves, and upon whom Providence has bestowed such eminent marks of its favor and protection * * * Honored will that state be in the annals of mankind which shall first abolish this violation of the rights of mankind; and the memories of those will be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance who shall pass the law to restore and establish the rights of human nature in Pennsylvania." In the assembly, which was elected in October, George Bryan, a well known leader of the Constitutionals took the subject in hand and the bill was

passed on March 1, 1780, by a vote of 34 yeas to 21 nays. The preamble to this law, which upon his tombstone is ascribed to his pen, reads as follows:

"When we contemplate our abhorrence of that condition to which the arms and tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us, when we look back on the variety of dangers to which we have been exposed, and how miraculously our wants in many instances have been supplied and our deliverances wrought, when even hope and human fortitude have become unequal to the conflict, we are unavoidably led to a serious and grateful sense of the manifold blessings which we have undeservedly received from the hand of that Being from whom every good and perfect gift cometh. Impressed with these ideas we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of that freedom to others which hath been extended to us, and a release from that state of thralldom, to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from which we have now every prospect of being delivered. It is not for us to enquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion. It is sufficient to know that all are the work of an Almighty Hand. We find in the distribution of the human species that the most fertile as well as the most barren parts of the earth are inhabited by men of complexion different from ours and from each other, from whence we may reasonably, as well as religiously infer, that He, who placed them in their various situations, hath extended equally His care and protection to all, and that it becometh not us to counteract his mercies: We esteem it a peculiar blessing granted to us, that we are enabled this day to add one more step to universal civilization by removing as much as possible the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage, and from which by the assumed authority of the Kings of Britain, no effectual legal relief could be obtained. Weaned by a long course of experience from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations, and we conceive ourselves at this particular period extraordinarily called upon by the blessings which we have received to manifest the sincerity of our profession and to give substantial proof of our gratitude."¹

These slings a Great Britain as the source of the sentiment sustaining slavery in America, the comparing of the white man's thralldom under English rule to the bondage of the negro and the allusions to steps on the way to "universal civilization" were perfectly characteristic of the hour, and of that international philosophy which lay back of the political movements, both here and in France, for the next two decades. The law provided that the children of slave mothers born after the date of its enactment should be free at the age of 28 years. All slaves within the state at the time of the passage of the law were to be registered at once by their owners under penalty of their becoming immediately free, and no more should be introduced into the state from any source "except the domestic slaves attending upon delegates in Congress from the other American states, foreign ministers and consuls and persons passing through or sojourning in this

¹ *Statutes at Large*, Vol. X, pp. 67-68.

state, and not becoming resident therein; and seamen employed in ships, not belonging to any inhabitant of this state, nor employed in any ship owned by such inhabitant."

The "black laws" were revised with a view to affording the negro more equal treatment. This was a very considerable step forward on the way to abolition. In February, 1783, when the case of a slave who had come into Pennsylvania after the passage of the law and had been held six months by a Frenchman, who sold him to a Spaniard, reached the supreme court the negro was at once given his liberty. Public opinion was such at a bankrupt's sale, in 1787, that when a negress and her two children were put up by the auctioneer no one would bid against an abolitionist, who offered £5 for them and immediately set them free. In 1784 the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, which had been formed in 1774, was reorganized. On Franklin's return he was elected its president and Benjamin Rush and Tench Coxe, the politico-economical writer, its secretaries. The society began an effective campaign for a strengthening of the law in 1780, and in 1788 it was amended with a view to preventing "many evils and abuses arising from ill-disposed persons availing themselves of certain defects in the act." The way was closed to those residing or intending residence in Pennsylvania who brought in their slaves, as though they were merely passing through or sojourning in the state. Negroes were being sold and sent to the south and to the West Indies in order to avoid a compliance with the law. Slaves were seduced out of the state or violently taken away and removed from Pennsylvania to other ground. The new law was aimed at this evil. Slave ships had been fitted out in the Delaware; if more should be they were to be confiscated. With the passage of this supplementary act the state was placed in a very enviable position in relation to this question.

The war from this time out—until the treaty of peace—had the character of a guerrilla contest. Philadelphia's part in the proceedings was perhaps more important in the river and bay than on land. Privateers were still swarming the seas and their trade was so profitable that they were little inclined to bring their lawless activities to an end. The service for any of the participants had little to commend it, although the opportunities for acts of daring were many, and it was probably a fine school for several young men who later rose to distinguished places in the American navy.

One of the most thrilling of all the naval engagements fought in Philadelphia waters during the war was that with the "General Monk," in 1782, in which the honors fell to Captain Joshua Barney, a brave commander with several successful feats already to his credit. It was impossible for merchantmen to ply to and from Philadelphia with any degree of security, and commerce was as sorely vexed as at any time during the progress of the war, except while the British army occupied the city. A very troublesome privateer was a British ship called the "General Monk." She had earlier, under the name of the "General Washington," honored the American service, but, being captured, her name was changed and she was turned upon her friends.

One evening a number of Philadelphia business men held a meeting and determined to fit out a vessel to proceed against and capture the "Monk." By a happy thought the ship, which was purchased by the Philadelphians for this purpose, was rechristened the "Hyder Ali" in honor of a maharajah of India who had lately proven himself a thorn in the side of England. She was fitted up with 16 six pounders and put under the command of Captain Barney with 110 experienced men. She went down the bay with all sail extended, disguised as a merchantman, and her duty was to convoy to the Capes a fleet of boats belonging to her owners, which awaited a safe opportunity to put to sea. Off Cape May Captain Barney sighted two ships and a brig whose intentions were manifestly hostile. He ordered the merchantmen in his convoy to return up the bay but one of them, the "Charming Sally," ran aground while going about, and a vessel of the enemy, which proved to be the "General Monk," opened fire upon her. She struck her colors and a number of men, sent out from the "Monk" in a small boat, took possession of her. Meanwhile Barney, astern of the other members of his convoy, watched the movements of the enemy's ships. He allowed them to pass him without a demonstration, reserving his fire for the "General Monk" into which, when she came up, he poured a heavy broadside. The foe was so close that the men showed a disposition to board the "Hyder Ali." Barney resolved upon a ruse and told his helmsman to interpret the next orders "by the rule of contrary." Thus, when he called out "Hard a-port your helm! Do you want him to run aboard us?" the seaman turned the boat "a-starboard" catching the "Monk's" jib boom in the fore-rigging of the "Hyder Ali," which now raked the entangled ship with a terrible fire. Grape, canister and round shot were poured into the unfortunate vessel in such a quantity that in a half hour the British flag was lowered, and she was a prize to be carried back to Philadelphia.

One of the other British vessels, a frigate, the "Quebec," now came up, but Barney lowered his flag and hoisted the British ensign to create the impression that his own was the prize vessel, and got away from his pursuer. The arrival of the "Hyder Ali" in Philadelphia was the signal for a great outburst of joy. Twenty men had been killed and 33 wounded on the "General Monk," while Barney's loss was only four men killed and eleven wounded, although the British commander had more guns and threw a larger quantity of metal. The little mizzen stay sail of the "General Monk" was found to contain over 300 shot holes and was exhibited for some time in the loft of a sailmaker in Philadelphia where it was regarded as a great curiosity. The accurate aim of the Americans was due to the presence on the ship of a number of Bucks County riflemen. Barney throughout the engagement remained standing on the binnacle and had several narrow escapes from death. He received a vote of thanks from the state legislature and a sword, the cost of which was £75 in specie. He returned to the bay to put his convoy to sea, and in a short time was given command of the captured "General Monk" which was refitted, and returned to the American service as the "General Washington."

It was Captain Barney who bore into Philadelphia on March 12, 1783, news of the formal acknowledgment on the part of England of the independence of

the United States. On March 23d, a French vessel, 39 days from Cadiz, brought intelligence of the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace, on the 20th day of January last, and Minister Luzerne officially notified the French in America to cease hostilities against Great Britain. The information was forwarded to the English commander, but, as no word had yet directly reached him, he chose to await his orders, which were not received until the next month. Congress and the state government of Pennsylvania issued proclamations. On April 16th the supreme executive council announced the peace at the courthouse amid the repeated acclamations of the people. Bells were rung, the state flag was raised at the Market street wharf and in the evening Mr. Peale again exhibited his transparencies.

Little remained now but the exchange of prisoners, the departure of the British army from those posts which it still held, and the resumption of commerce and the regular ways of peace. Many of the British soldiers who had been captured during the war were quartered at Lancaster, and at other points in the interior of the state. They were set in motion to join their comrades in New York. The Walnut street jail had been filled with prisoners. It was emptied and the building was returned to the county, by which it had been surrendered for this use to the United States. The first ship to sail into the Delaware under the British flag was the "Hibernia" of Dublin. She had come from New York. Her arrival was the occasion for a number of polite ceremonies. At Gloucester Point she fired a salute which was answered by Captain Barney on the "General Washington." When she came up in front of the city the "Hibernia" discharged thirteen guns. The *chevaux de frise* which had again been set in the channel after the evacuation of the city by the British, so that ships must have the services of expert pilots to pass in safety, were removed and the Delaware was once more open to peaceful trade. By the middle of June 200 vessels had come into the river and as many had sailed away for places on the American coast, and for various foreign ports.

"After seeing the backs of the British forces" turned upon him in New York, General Washington came to Philadelphia on December 8, 1783. He was met at Frankford by a cavalcade and escorted into the city where, for the next few days, he was the object of many notable attentions, including "an elegant entertainment" at the City Tavern on the 12th, tendered him by the merchants.¹ On December 15th the "illustrious" man, "after commanding the army of the United States above 8 years • • • set out for his home in Virginia." He was escorted "a little way" out of Philadelphia by Robert Morris and Mrs. Morris who "led the advance," in a carriage. Minister Luzerne rode at Washington's right hand, John Dickinson, president of the state, at his left. The First City Troop brought up the rear.²

The definitive treaty of peace with England was finally ratified by Congress on January 14, 1784, and it was publicly celebrated on January 22d. In addition to the usual ceremonies on such occasions the state legislature determined to erect a triumphal arch at "the upper end of High street" between Sixth and Seventh

¹ Baker's *Itinerary*.

² Hiltzheimer's *Diary, Pa. Mag.*, XVI, p. 166.

streets and employed Mr. Peale to design it. It was an elaborate structure 50 feet wide and 35 feet high, with smaller arches within the greater one, and pillars and balustrades. Many paintings from Peale's hand ornamented it. These took various forms. Three lilies, the arms of France, were accompanied by the motto "They exceed Glory." A sun, representing France, and 13 stars, typifying the 13 states, appeared with the words "Allied in the Heavens." A bust of Louis XVI bore the motto "His merit makes us remember him." Elsewhere Cincinnati, a figure painted to resemble Washington, was seen returning to his plow. The arch was to be lighted by 1,200 lamps, but somehow, while the people waited to witness the effect of the grand illumination, the material, which was merely canvas stretched over a wooden frame, caught fire and was quickly consumed. Rockets which were later to be discharged to increase the beauty of the exhibition exploded and darted into the crowd, killing one and wounding several other persons.¹ The outcome of what was meant to be a very happy occasion was therefore a great disappointment. Mr. Peale, supported by private subscriptions, in a short time reproduced his arch at the State House, where the new transparencies were illuminated and exhibited amid much applause on the 10th of May.

The colonies had won their independence after their long struggle, and they were now at peace. They had yet to subdue themselves—to calm their factional feelings, put aside their racial and political animosities, devise an enlightened scheme of federal government and develop a group of interests which would enable them to be a nation of people in deed as in name.

¹ "There was much confusion in the street and many persons were hurt by being thrown down and trampled on."—Hiltzheimer's *Diary* for Jan. 22, 1784.

CHAPTER XII.

RETURN OF PEACE.

The next few years, prior to the adoption of the constitution and afterward, during the trial of the hostile forces under it, were destined to be full of disturbance for Philadelphia, which was the center of the stage for every political contest. In how weak a state the country was left at the end of the war may be very well imagined, even when the facts are not definitely known. Agriculture was almost entirely neglected. Some manufactures had been established by dire necessity, but they were rude and primitive, and quite incapable of surviving under a condition of free trade with foreign countries. Commerce had been paralyzed for many years. The high seas as well as the rivers and bays were haunts of pirates and privateersmen. All standards of value were shaken and had become uncertain. The Continental paper currency had been swept away and there was no settled measure of worth or medium of exchange. Business could not go forward safely under such conditions, and it was intermittently and often dishonestly conducted, awaiting a return to social order. The state governments were practically all of which the people could boast, and that political system which had been established in Pennsylvania, for example, enjoyed neither respect nor public obedience. In other states where the new government was a mere continuance of the old better results had been obtained. But here, where there had been an entire overturn in an effort to produce something which would agree with some bookish theory about the equality of men, the effect was distinctly paralyzing, down to the lowest local unit in the scheme. The people were practically their own governors and that they kept themselves in so much restraint under all the temptations is to their very great credit.

As for the government, under the Articles of Confederation, it was without one virtue. It might as well not have existed. Congress had as much power and its actions were as much respected when its members were mere delegates from the states, which they continued to be. It was a "rope of sand," as Hamilton and Morris so often declared, and under such a confederation the states could not hope long to independently exist. Although Morris, as superintendent of finance, positively declared that he would not take specific supplies from the states in payment of their taxes, he soon accounted himself fortunate if he were sent these. Congress had not the right to levy a tax except through the states. They were recommended to lay a five per cent duty on imports, but only a few complied with the request, the others setting up pleas that they had already borne

more than their fair shares of the cost of the war. Morris plied them with the most earnest requests for compliance with the order of Congress. He appointed prominent men to act as his receivers in the various states, to influence legislation and to forward him such sums as could be collected at the tax offices, but the entire system was puerile and to successfully manage a government which had no original powers was hopeless from the first.

Morris struck the note of federalism. To one of his receivers in New England he wrote, while in the midst of his struggle to pay the public debts: "The duty to pay is absolute, but the means can only be derived through the states. If the states refuse have Congress a right to compel? The answer to this question decides whether we be one or thirteen." He predicted that the "want of obligatory and coercive clauses on the states," in the Articles of Confederation, would be "productive of the most fatal consequences." "Would to God," he wrote to General Greene, "that the rulers of the several states were as well convinced as you are how necessary it is to vest more powers in Congress." And to another correspondent he said from the post where he could so well see the futility and weakness of the scheme of government: "Where all is to end God knows. But it seems to me that one of the first effects must be to dissolve the confederation. What will follow, whether new and better bond, or total and absolute anarchy, time, the great arbiter of human institutions, must determine."

When Morris retired from the office of finance on November 1, 1784, he delivered a kind of farewell address "to the inhabitants of the United States of America." He told them plainly from out of the store of his experience that the Union must be "more strongly cemented." "The inhabitants of a little hamlet," said he, "may feel pride in a sense of separate independence. But if there be not one government which can draw forth and direct the combined efforts of our united America, our independence is but a name, our freedom a shadow and our dignity a dream."

So important was the government which had been created by the Articles that Morris had been compelled to issue his own notes in order to pay its current debts. These, which were popularly called "Long Bobs," (in honor of Morris, who was familiarly known as "Bob,") or "Short Bobs," according as they had a long or short time to run before they fell due, were circulated everywhere at their face value when the money of Congress was not worth the paper on which it was printed. In what a state of anarchy everything in the political field was may be judged from the fact that in June, 1783, Congress fled before a handful of soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, who came down from Lancaster to demand their back pay. The supreme executive council, which like Congress met in the State House, was asked to call out the militia. As nothing was done the war office determined to receive the men into the Barracks, in the Northern Liberties, and issue them rations with a view to restoring their composure. On Saturday, June 21st, a number of them, probably not in excess of thirty, marched to the State House. Congress was not in session on that day but the members of the council were in their places, and they were given just twenty minutes in which to accede to the demands of the men. This ultimatum was rejected, though the soldiers had been joined by other bodies of armed troops. It was a numerous

mob and the city was greatly frightened. Finally the men were persuaded to return to their barracks, but they sallied forth again and for days Philadelphia was in a state of excitement and panic.

Congress, which held hurried meetings in Carpenters' Hall, called upon the state for protection, but it meantime decided to leave the city and proceed to Princeton. There was a fear that the men would attack the Bank of North America and the office of finance. Robert Morris sent for Thomas Willing, president of the bank, urging him to put that institution in a posture of defence. He then took shelter in the house of a friend, and upon the advice of a committee of Congress composed of Thomas Fitzsimmons, James Wilson, Alexander Hamilton and Richard Peters of "Belmont" agreed to follow Congress out of the city. He was accompanied by his assistant, Gouverneur Morris. For more than a week they were in conference with the congressmen in Princeton. In a few days Washington sent 1,500 Continental soldiers to subdue the mutineers, who were now compelled to return to their homes. Some of the ringleaders were whipped and two were sentenced to be shot, but after they had been led out to the commons in front of a file of soldiers with loaded muskets they were informed that Congress had pardoned them.

Morris came back to the city in time to arrange for the celebration on the 4th of July. That day this year, in view of the treaty of peace, should have been the most joyous of any Independence Day since the Declaration, but until he came to town no steps had been taken for properly marking it, beyond a conferring of the degree of Doctor of Laws upon General Washington at the annual commencement of the University of Pennsylvania. This appropriate ceremony occupied the morning. At noon cannon were fired. In the afternoon a number of prominent citizens met at dinner and in the evening there was a torch-light procession in the streets. Congress, professing to distrust the state government of Pennsylvania after this experience, did not return to the city for several years. When it left Princeton in December, 1783, it was to resume its sessions for a time at Annapolis, from which place a year later it passed to Trenton. In January, 1785, it established itself in New York.

In spite of economic unsettlement, and instability and impotency on the part of the government the popular mind was turned at once to questions of material progress. The great interruption which every peaceful interest had suffered seemed now to call for redoubled exertion. At once schemes appeared for the improvement of the roads and the construction of canals. Larger commercial highways to the west were needed. The navigation of the Delaware, the Susquehanna and the Schuylkill rivers appealed to the imagination and led to suggestions by which the people could better avail themselves of the facilities for communication which Providence had put at their hand. The legislature in 1783 gave its attention to the question of establishing a town on the eastern bank of the Susquehanna, which was destined at no very distant day to become the seat of the state government. It was believed that such a town would confer "capital advantages" upon the trade of Philadelphia, since "every inhabitant" would "in some degree be a factor for the Philadelphia market." Very shortly John Harris, of Harris's Ferry on the Susquehanna, made proposals, which were

accepted.¹ The legislature in 1785, authorized the organization of a new county from a portion of Lancaster, the first to be formed since the war. It was called Dauphin, in honor of the Dauphin of France, at the time the object of so much complimentary attention because of the grateful sentiments which the action of the French had awakened in America during the war. The courts were to sit "near Harris's Ferry," at the new town, which later came to be called Harrisburg.² Already there had been proposals by the western men looking to a removal of the state capital from Philadelphia to Lancaster, but Harrisburg, on the Susquehanna, seemed to occupy so eligible a site that their attention was soon fixed upon that place. In 1787 the assembly by a vote of 33 to 29 actually resolved to erect a state house there, but upon a reconsideration of the subject the removal was for the time postponed.

At about the same date the plan to effect a division of Philadelphia County, which had been under discussion for a number of years was approved by the legislature. The townships lying up the Schuylkill river, together with several nearer the city, were erected into a new county which was called Montgomery. Steps were taken to place the courthouse and prison at "some convenient place in the neighborhood of Stony run, contiguous to the river Schuylkill, in Norriton township." This place came to be known as Norristown.³ The town still in 1795, when the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt visited it, contained only ten buildings. "In one of these," he said, "the sessions are held; in another the judges reside when they come to hold the assizes; a third is the county jail; three others are inns; the rest are farmhouses, shops, or habitations of laborers."⁴

Pittsburg was also heard of from time to time, although it seemed a very distant place. In 1785, the assembly being informed that the postmaster of the United States was willing to send out a regular post-rider, between Philadelphia and that town, should the state agree to meet any possible loss on the service, resolved that it would make up such a deficiency if it did not exceed £100 per annum. At this time the town had about 400 inhabitants who lived principally in log huts. The first newspaper, the *Pittsburg Gazette*, began its appearance in 1786, but it was several years before the postal fees were sufficient to support the service.

In 1785 Philadelphia received the mails from New York three times a week and from Baltimore once a week. The post-office was at Front and Chestnut streets, and the postmaster was James Bryson. In 1785 a stage set out from the city, calling at the Indian King and the Indian Queen taverns, for New York, at four o'clock in the morning daily. Passengers were conveyed as far as Newark in one day and reached New York by breakfast the next morning.⁵ With Balti-

¹ The first John Harris was a Yorkshire Englishman who settled on the Susquehanna as an Indian trader, before the year 1720. It was his son John Harris, Jr., who made this proposal to the state. His father had died in 1748. Before the ferry was established the place and its neighborhood was generally known as Paxtang, and as such is frequently mentioned in the *Colonia! Records*. Cf. *Memoirs of Hist. Soc.*, II, p. 207.

² *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XI, p. 450.

³ *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XII, p. 384.

⁴ *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 13.

⁵ *Pa. Mag.*, XVI, p. 166.

more there was a service thrice weekly. Twice a week, on every Sunday and Wednesday morning "at tide time," passengers preferring the river ride could leave the Crooked Billet wharf for New York by boat. The return trip was made from Coentie's dock. Mondays and Fridays a stage started from the King of Prussia tavern, in Market street, for Lancaster.¹

The Barracks in the Northern Liberties were thought to be no longer useful. The new government would subsist with the protection of volunteer militia. It was proposed that the buildings which had been used so long for the British, and then during the war for the Continental troops, should be torn away and the land cut up into lots and offered for sale. The city was extending toward the north rapidly. The Penns. before the war, had projected a town just beyond the city limits, near the Delaware river, which was to be called Callowhill, in honor of the family from whom Penn had obtained his second wife. Her descendants became the proprietors of the colony. A street north of Vine soon came to bear the name of Callowhill, and the population in that neighborhood had so greatly increased that petitions reached the assembly, asking for the erection of a market house. The proprietors when they had laid out the town had left a space for such a building. There were some shipyards and other business establishments north and south of the place. A ferry to New Jersey had its landing at the foot of Callowhill street. The market house was promptly built, the streets in the neighborhood were paved and the improvement gave an impetus to residence in the Northern Liberties. Already the name "Spring Garden," which was at first applied to a private estate, was coming into use and the northern suburbs were in all essential particulars, as far as the eye could determine, an integral part of the city.

Thus Philadelphia progressed, although, when it was not under military rule, it had no separate municipal government beyond what came to it through justices of the peace, exercising plenary executive powers.² The corporation was not for several years to be restored to its functions, but material advancement was constant. In 1784 the lower portion of Dock creek, from Walnut street to the river, was culverted and filled in as the upper part had been in an earlier year. This open offense was now finally done away with, and it was replaced by a wide and busy street, called Dock street. In 1782, commissioners for the states of Pennsylvania and New Jersey conferred to effect an equitable division of the islands in the Delaware. As a result a treaty was signed whereby Windmill, League, Mud or Fort, Hog and Little Tinicum Islands were annexed to Pennsylvania, while Petty's and Red Bank Islands were assigned to New Jersey. George Bryan, George Gray and William Bingham were the commissioners for Pennsylvania. In 1786 a new ferry to New Jersey was established by way of Windmill Island, on which for the comfort of passengers "a half way house" had been erected. There, it was announced, "they will always meet with hearty welcome and a hospitable fire in the cold season, to warm and refresh themselves while waiting for an opportunity of evading those large fields of ice which generally float up and down with the tide, and obstruct the passage during the winter."

¹ Francis White's *Directory*, p. 97.

² *Allinson and Penrose*, p. 53.

The growth of the city, north and south, necessitated some rearrangement of the wards. In 1785 the old Dock Ward was divided. It was of immense area, comprising a belt from Walnut street to South street, between the two rivers. That portion south of Spruce street was separated and called New Market ward, with the purpose of a better pursuit of "thieves and robbers and other outrageous persons," whose unhindered activities had recommended this course on the part of the assembly.¹ In 1786 Mulberry Ward on the northern boundary of the city between the two rivers, was divided by Sassafras street, or Race street, the two portions being called North and South Mulberry Wards, respectively.²

The American Philosophical Society, which was playing a really important part in the material development of the country by reason of its practical interest in agriculture, mechanics and other subjects vitally connected with national growth, was much invigorated by the return of its president. The ship upon which Franklin came from France made fast at Market street wharf on September 14, 1785. He was an invalid. The burdens of nearly eighty years, together with the gout and the stone made him seem like a veritable patriarch. He was deservedly regarded as a very great figure. During his nine years' residence in France much had occurred, calculated to endear him to his countrymen. The colonies had won their peace after a long and weary war largely through the French alliance, which he had been so instrumental in effecting. At times rupture had seemed near on the ground that America's pecuniary demands upon France were reaching an unreasonable volume, and for other reasons. With great tact the American ambassador had passed these crises. He had made himself one of the great philosophers of the world in the view of the *monde* of France which considered him, with Voltaire, the leader of the whole liberal movement. In his wool hat he was the very personification of the liberty and equality toward which the universe was thought to be rapidly tending. It is likely that his home-coming was not the occasion for so much attention as he had been accustomed to during his remarkable season of service in Paris, but when he landed the bells were rung, delegates met him with addresses of welcome and congratulation, and he was at once elected to the supreme executive council, of which he was made the president, to see what he could do to give practical direction to that peculiar form of government for which he was everywhere considered responsible.

It was doubtless because of his presidency of the Philosophical Society that the state gave it a piece of ground behind the State House in Fifth street, where its hall was erected and still stands. The Library Company of Philadelphia, whose collections were still deposited in Carpenters' Hall, also hoped to obtain a site for its building in the State House yard, but by some misplay its application was denied while the other was granted. The work of construction was begun at once and in 1789, the hall was finished ready for occupancy by the Society. The buildings on the Chestnut street corners of the square at Fifth and Sixth streets, one for the city and the other for the county, for which grants of ground had been made long before the Revolution, were now also taken in hand. At the Sixth street corner a court house was built to take the place of the old court house in

¹ *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XI, p. 418.

² *Ibid.*, XII, p. 220.

Market street, while on the Fifth street lot plans were laid for a city hall. The funds were obtained from the sale of the old jail at Third and Market streets. After all these new walls were reared the State House group of buildings was complete. Later hands desecrated and profaned the pile. It is approximately to the form the buildings had at the end of the eighteenth century that they have recently been restored.

In 1785 the city had its first directory, and singularly enough two compilers entered the field at the same time. One of these was Captain John Macpherson, the old owner of "Mount Pleasant," who, after failing to have his plans for destroying the British fleet adopted by Congress, lectured on astronomy; invented a cot which bade defiance "to everything but omnipotence," including bedbugs, mosquitoes, and flies; mechanical apparatus for moving a building from one site to another; and an "infallible method" for determining longitude. By this time he seems to have lost his money and to have developed much eccentricity. In his directory he saw the necessity of having the houses numbered, if the residences of the inhabitants were to be easily distinguished, and he prayed the assembly to take steps with this end in view. This plea failing he devised a system of numbering of his own. His plan was to go out a street, for example Chestnut street, from the Delaware, and he numbered all the houses on one side consecutively, 1, 2, 3, 4, and so on, allowing for vacant lots upon which buildings would presumably later be placed, until he came to the limits of the city. Reaching this point he crossed to the other side of Chestnut street, probably at Sixth street, for beyond there was no need for the services of a directory-maker, and carrying the last number over, continued his calculation consecutively until he again reached the Delaware. Such a system was very confusing and fortunately it found no imitators in later years. Macpherson was not always very cordially received as he went about the city seeking the information for his book. He took a peculiar revenge upon the uncivil by inserting their responses to his request for their names. Under the letter "I" in his book are—"I won't tell you," who resided at number 8 Brown street, and "I won't have it numbered" at 478 Green street. Under "W" we find, "What you please" for 49 and also for 59 Market street.

The other directory was that of Francis White, whose business was the buying and selling of city real estate, and likewise "back lands." He also dealt in continental money, state money, depreciation certificates, final settlements, soldiers' notes, militia pay notes, loan office certificates and that great variety of paper which was at the time current. White gave the businesses and pursuits of the householders of the city. Lacking numbers he approximated the location of the houses by referring to the nearest streets. Thus there are these insertions: "Benjamin Franklin, his excellency, president of Pennsylvania, Market street"; "Robert Morris, Esq., merchant, member of assembly, Market b. [etween] Fifth and Sixth"; "Stephen Girard, merchant, Water b. Market and Arch"; "James Wilson, Esq., member of congress and counsellor at law, Chestnut b. Fourth and Fifth streets." This compiler found in the city forty-two physicians, surgeons and dentists, including Benjamin Rush, John Morgan, William Shippen, Benjamin Duffield, John Redman, Adam Kuhn, John Carson and that curious old personage Abraham Chovet; thirty-four counsellors-at-law, of whom probably the most distinguished were

James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, William Rawle, Peter S. Duponceau, Jared Ingersoll, Joseph B. McKean, Moses Levy, Jonathan D. Sergeant, Edward Tilghman and William Bradford; and sixteen clergymen.

The release from the bondage of the privateersman at sea led to some adventures in the shipping trade by Philadelphia merchants and mariners, which brought the city wide renown. Early in the year 1786 the ship "Canton," in command of Captain Thomas Truxtun, made a pioneer voyage to the East Indies. It is true that she was two years behind the "Empress of China," which, sailing from New York for Canton, was the first vessel out of the United States for the east. Congress gave Truxtun a letter which was addressed to the "most serene and most puissant, high, illustrious, noble, honorable, venerable, wise, and prudent Emperors, Kings, republics, princes, dukes, earls, barons, lords, burgomasters, counselors, as also judges, officers, justiciaries and regents of all the good cities and places, whether ecclesiastical or secular, who shall see these presents or hear them read." This should have been a sufficiently comprehensive paper to have won Captain Truxtun a welcome anywhere on the face of the globe, and the "Canton" returned to Philadelphia, after more than a year's absence, in May, 1787. Her voyage was accounted entirely successful for the shareholders, for whose account it was made.

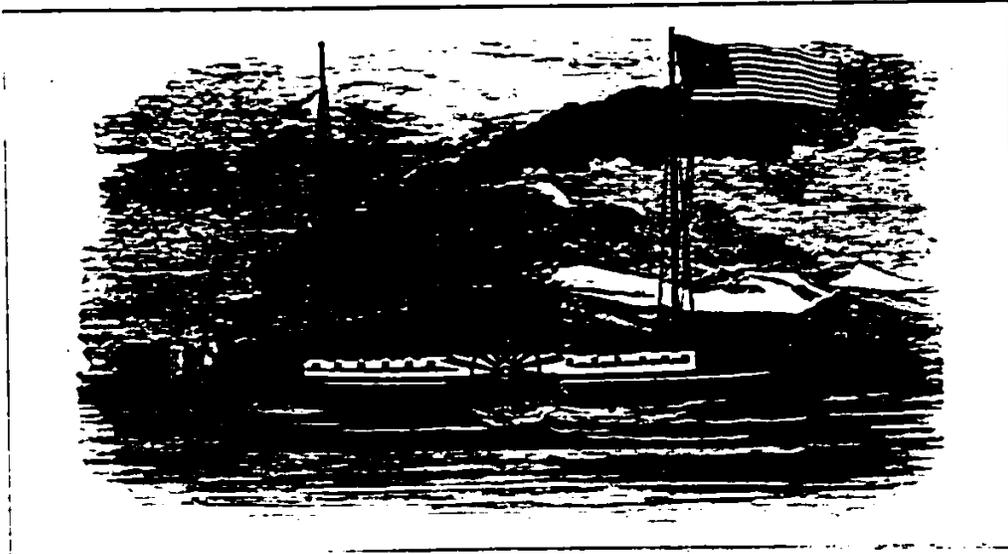
A famous ship of the day was the "Alliance." She had been in the Continental service during the war. She had been named in honor of the happy agreement with France, which was effected about the time she was being built in Massachusetts. As a further compliment to the valued ally the frigate was put in command of a French naval officer who had offered his services to the United States. He proved to be of no value in the Continental navy, refusing in a disastrous way to obey Paul Jones' orders during the historic struggle between the "Bonhomme Richard" and the "Serapis." Jones, after this adventure had succeeded to the command of the ship. Then she was given to Captain John Barry, who performed several notable voyages on her. After the war she was purchased by Robert Morris, who put her into repair for the merchant service. She carried tobacco from Norfolk to France, and in June, 1787, was sent to Canton, under Captain Thomas Reed, the second vessel to depart from the Delaware for the east. She carried ten twelve-pounders and had a crew of 65 men. Morris himself, with the aid of his old assistant and friend, Gouverneur Morris, mapped out a route for Captain Reed, who after leaving the Cape of Good Hope was to proceed on a new course southeast, making his way to avoid hostile winds all the way around New Holland, the name then given to Australia. He discovered several new islands, one of which he called Morris Island, and another Alliance Island, and arrived in Canton on December 22d. The performance attracted much attention and the British Admiralty later made inquiry as to the track of the ship. These voyages to China, Morris wrote were opening "new objects to all America." After a voyage to Spain the ship in 1790 was sold and run upon Petty's Island, where she was broken up. Her timbers were visible at low water, Thompson Westcott says, even when he wrote, 75 years afterward.¹

The inventive faculty of the people was displayed in a variety of ways, and a multitude of persons came forward asking for monopoly rights or state subven-

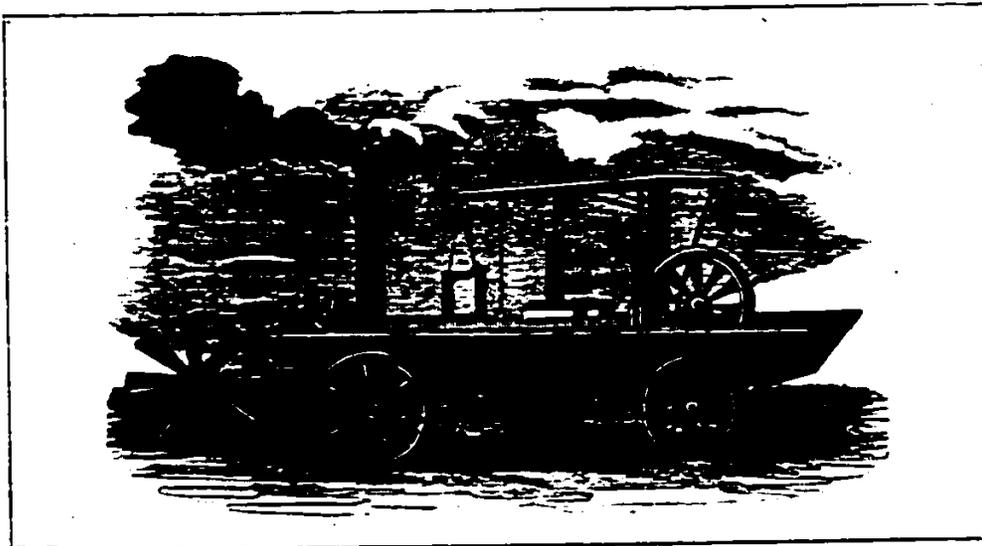
¹ Ch. 293.

tions to assist them in developing their ideas. There were manufacturers of white lead, glue, fire engines, corduroys and calicoes. One had "the great American piano-forte, entirely his own invention;" another a "hippopotamus for cleaning out docks," which was probably some kind of a dredge; another a boat which could be propelled up-stream by poles. The experiments with balloons in France awakened a response in this country. A Baltimorean, named Carnes, had made an ascent in his own city and on July 4, 1784, arranged to give an exhibition in Philadelphia. For some reason the aeronaut did not keep his engagement, but on the 17th of the month an ascension was made. The balloon, which was of silk was 35 feet in diameter and it was inflated with hot air generated by a furnace of 150 pounds weight, to be carried along with the machine. The bag brought from Maryland proved to be "clogged with a quantity of bed tick" with which the silk seems to have been patched. It was stretched out in the prison yard. The wood was lighted and the balloon began to rise. When it got up to a height of ten or twelve feet it struck the wall enclosing the jail yard, threw the aeronaut to the earth and shot up with the greatest velocity amid the shouts of the thousands of people who crowded the Potter's Field, and the streets and open spaces thereabouts. Not even the execution on the same day of two men at Centre Square, usually an attraction of prime importance, could overshadow in interest this novel sight. The balloon drifted toward the south and at such a height that it seemed "no bigger than a barrel." Then the contrivance took fire. The stove came down with a great crash near the South Street Theatre. This accident, however, did not deter a number of prominent citizens, who had earlier projected a subscription for "constructing and raising a large air balloon capable of raising great weights and of carrying up men and other living animals into the regions of the atmosphere, and of returning them with safety to the earth." They admitted, however, that Mr. Carnes's experience had given "a temporary check" to their undertaking.

Of much more significance were the experiments which were proceeding with a view to solving the problems of locomotion by steam. The leader in this movement was John Fitch, although James Rumsey, Oliver Evans and others were also turning their attention to the project. Fitch was born in Connecticut in 1743, and, in spite of his manifest ingenuity, misfortune, largely no doubt because of his own temperament, pursued him to the end of his days. At 17 he went to sea. Later he learned clock-making and traveled from place to place, cleaning and repairing colonial time pieces. During the war he was for a while a gunsmith in New Jersey, an army sutler at Valley Forge, and a surveyor in Kentucky, where he was captured by the Indians. They gave him over to the British and for several months he was a prisoner of war in Canada. He was finally exchanged and made his way to Bucks County, which had earlier been his home. Here he was visited with his idea concerning the utilization of the steam engine, first for land carriage and then for running a boat. He was totally without means, and assistance was asked of Congress and of various state legislatures. In 1785 his drawings and models were exhibited to the Philosophical Society, and Franklin's aid was sought. That "philosopher" was desirous of "gaining the honor to himself" as Fitch shrewdly observed, in the same way that he had captured the findings of



FITCH'S STEAMBOAT



OLIVER EVANS'S "ORUCTOR AMPHIBOLIS"

others on electrical and like subjects. He actually did very soon make publications over his own name in reference to steam navigation.

Fitch persevered with his "instrument to row a boat against streams," as one contemporary described it, and in 1786 he produced an experimental vessel which was successfully operated on the Delaware. It had twelve oars; as six came out of the water six entered it. These were placed at the sides of the boat and it was successfully tried on the Delaware while the Federal Convention was in session in Philadelphia in 1787. Many members inspected the invention and made a trial trip in the little vessel to their great satisfaction. Very shortly a number of improvements were suggested, among them the placing of the oars or paddles at the stern, where they pushed against the water, and Fitch's boat of 1788, 1789 and 1790 was propelled on this principle. In 1788 several voyages were made to Burlington and back again. The distance of twenty miles was covered in about three hours. The shop wherein the inventor and his assistants worked was in Kensington. The appearance of the boat was at once a signal for the assemblage of great crowds on the river bank north of Philadelphia. Bateaux filled with shouting people surrounded it as it splashed through the water. Yet there was the greatest skepticism concerning the practical utility of the contrivance. Steam navigation was spoken of with ballooning, with which the city had recently had a most disappointing experience. The two ideas seemed equally chimerical.

The company of gentlemen who had been persuaded at great pains to support Mr. Fitch contributed from their fortunes in a sparing and hopeless spirit. Nevertheless in the summer of 1790 the boat carried on a more or less regular service between Philadelphia and Trenton Falls, with stops at Burlington, Bristol and Bordentown. The fare was two shillings and six pence to Burlington and five shillings to the Falls. Occasionally extra trips were advertised in the newspapers to Chester, Wilmington and Christeen bridge, and sometimes around the "Neck" and into the Schuylkill. But the boat was not yet of the proportions to promise commercial success, and Fitch began another called the "Perseverance" which, however, he could not obtain the money to complete. It remained for Robert Fulton, who, while many of these experiments were in progress, was a resident of Philadelphia (having lately come down from his home in Lancaster County) to get much of the credit for the steamboat. In the directory for 1785 his name appears—"Robert Fulton, miniature painter, corner Second and Walnut street." In person he was a man much more likely to impress the world with favor and in the history of steam navigation, which has become so important a factor in the economic progress of the world, too little note is usually taken of the unfortunate inventor of a boat whose combined voyages are believed to have reached a total of 2,000 or 3,000 miles.¹ It is credibly stated that as many as twelve vessels were successfully navigated by steam in the United States before Robert Fulton's "Clermont" appeared upon the Hudson in 1807. Of this number five are to be ascribed to John Fitch.²

¹ Westcott's *Life of John Fitch*.

² Fitch remained in Philadelphia probably until 1793, when he went to France, working his passage home as a common sailor. He propelled a yawl with a screw in New York, proving himself a pioneer in the advancement of this idea in steam navigation and then

So much activity among inventors and manufacturers gave Pennsylvania that vision of governmental protection and subsidization for which later, in the time of the Careys, father and son, and then again after the Civil War, it won an international reputation. The war was no sooner ended and the river opened to the free access of foreign cargoes than a desire for subventions and prohibitory tariffs was eagerly expressed. On September 2, 1785, the assembly passed "an act to encourage and protect the manufactures of this state by laying additional duties on the importation of certain manufactures which interfere with them." It was stated in the preamble of the law that "divers useful and beneficial arts and manufactures" had been gradually introduced into Pennsylvania during the war. Native "artisans and mechanics" had greatly assisted and relieved "their oppressed country." The principles of protectionism were stated in these words: "Although the fabrics and manufactures of Europe and other foreign ports imported into this country in times of peace may be afforded at cheaper rates than they can be made here, yet good policy and regard to the well-being of divers useful and industrious citizens, who are employed in the making of like goods in this state, demand of us that moderate duties be laid on certain fabrics and manufactures imported, which do most interfere with and which (if no relief be given) will undermine and destroy the useful manufactures of the like kind in this country."

The duties which were imposed by this law¹ were by no means light. Some of them were as follows:

Coach, chariot or landau of four wheels	£20 each
Chaise, chair, kittereen, curricle or other carriage of two wheels.....	£10 each
Clocks	30s. each
Playing cards	7s. 6d. per doz. packs
Reaping hooks and sickles	12s. per dozen
Scythes	15s. per dozen
Refined sugar	8s. 4d. per cwt.
Beer, ale, porter, cider	6d. per gallon
Malted barley	5 per cent ad valorem
Salted or dried fish	7s. 6d. per cwt.
Cheese and butter	8s. 4d. per cwt.
Hulled barley, dried peas and mustard	10 per cent ad valorem
Snuff	1s. per lb.
Leather shoes	2s. per pair
Boots	5s. per pair
Saddles	12s. 6d. each
British steel	10 per cent ad valorem
Slit and sheet iron	10 per cent ad valorem

once more he made his way to Kentucky, where he in 1798 took his own life by an excessive dose of anodynes, which he had been regularly administering to himself to induce sleep. He is buried in Bardstown in that state.

¹ *Stat. at Large*, Vol. XII, p. 99.

Ready-made clothing	10 per cent ad valorem
Beaver hats	7s. 6d. each
Tarred cordage	8s. 4d. per cwt.
White ropes	12s. 6d. per cwt.
Stone and earthen ware	10 per cent ad valorem
Ready-made sails	10 per cent ad valorem
Bibles and other books	15 per cent ad valorem
Wrought gold	20s. per ounce
Wrought silver	2s. per ounce
Utensils of pewter, tin or lead	10 per cent ad valorem
Foreign shipping entering the ports of Pennsylvania, "for each and every voyage"	7s. 6d. per ton.

Such a law with its tonnage tax on ships and its tariff on testaments and psalters is proof that the theory and practice of high protection, which are commonly thought not to have come to bloom in Pennsylvania until a much later day, were already in full flower. Further to aid the industrial movement an association was formed called "The Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts." Prizes in the form of oval gold plates were offered for the largest crops of hemp, flax or cotton in Pennsylvania, for machines to save manual labor in manufacturing these and other fibres, for the best book printed in Pennsylvania, for the best piece of earthenware or glass, and other industrial achievements accounted to be of importance at the time. Early in 1788 the managers sent to England for two machines for carding and spinning cotton. A manufactory was established on Market street and many "patriotic citizens" were soon "clothing themselves with the jeans" which it produced. The machinery was recommended to surrounding towns and villages, particularly to Germantown, which was famous for her saddles, stockings and carriages. It would be her own fault if she did not become celebrated for her "jeans, fustians, velvets, velverets, corduroys, and even muslins." By November 1, 1788, the society's factory had turned out 11,197 yards of jeans, satinets and other stuffs. At that time 26 looms were at work. In 1789 the assembly appropriated £1,000 as a subscription to the stock of the society, which led to other appeals for assistance for other industries. The argument for protection seemed to disappear when it was stated that jeans could be made in America to undersell those imported from England, and that the stockings made in Philadelphia, Germantown, Bethlehem, Reading and Lancaster, and sold at a dollar a pair, were in every way the equals of imported hose which sold at 8s. 4d. and 8s. 6d. a pair. In 1788 there were 250 stocking looms in Pennsylvania, which were producing at the rate of one and a half pair of stockings each per day, or say 117,375 pair per annum.¹

In March, 1790, the Manufacturing Society's factory was burnt and it sustained a loss estimated at £1,000, but the industries went forward in spite of such misfortunes. A private manufacturer in the Northern Liberties without state aid wove 400 pairs of worsted and thread stockings annually. A firm of chemists made sal-ammoniac in such quantities that they shipped abroad 6,000 pounds a

¹ *American Museum*, June, 1788.

year. In 1790 there were 21 powder mills in Pennsylvania, producing 625 tons of powder per annum, valued at £6 per cwt. It was supposed that 400,000 pairs of boots, shoes, clogs and goloshes were manufactured in the state annually. The city alone had 30 tobacco manufactories employing 300 men and boys, and the making of paper hangings, a new industry, was successfully begun. George Clymer said in Congress that there were 53 paper mills within the range of the Philadelphia market. They annually produced about 70,000 reams of various kinds "which is sold as cheap as can be imported."¹

The animosities and hates of the war did not quickly subside. Some issues still sorely divided the people. The test laws were the cause of the most unhappy differences. Session after session of the assembly was occupied by a discussion of the question whether or not the Tories, and those who had been disaffected in one way or another during the war should be restored to their political rights. The movement in their favor was stoutly, and for long successfully resisted. There was no intention of letting their offenses be soon forgotten, but finally in 1789 the measures were all repealed.

In July, 1784, Thomas Mifflin, John Cadwalader, Robert Morris, Bishop White, James Wilson, Thomas Willing and other trustees of the College, whose franchises and properties had been seized and turned over to the political university which had been set up by the Constitutionalists during the war, applied for a return to their rights. Provost Smith, who had never ceased his protests, joined in this movement only to be told again that several of his trustees had been attainted of treason, and that he himself was regarded as far from faithful to American principles. It was not until 1789, ten years after it had lost its charter, that this act of justice to the College was performed. Then Dr. Smith returned from Maryland, where he had awaited the outcome of the long dispute, and the usurping University of Pennsylvania was set out upon the street. The College classes were reopened and the two institutions continued on their separate courses for two years, or until September 1791, when they were happily united under that larger name which the important group of schools has borne ever since.

The Bank of North America was also to feel the force of partisan bitterness. The Constitutionalists and ultra-democratic Whigs had regarded its president, Thomas Willing, as lukewarm during the war. He was looked upon with suspicion, as were other valuable men, and Morris's choice of him to be the bank's chief officer had been resented vigorously.² After having been chartered by Congress in 1781 it received a state charter in 1782. The Constitutionalists, strengthened by the triumphant conclusion of the war, now began a mad assault upon the institution. Tom Paine and all their scribes and pamphleteers saw in it a menace to popular liberty. Its wealth, its political influence, its opposition to paper money marked it for their destruction, and their object, which was a repeal of the state charter, was effected in 1785 in spite of an able and lengthy protest by James Wilson, whom the corporation employed in its defense. The bank, to the disappointment of the mischievous, did not close its doors, but continued to carry on business under the charter of Congress. It enforced its position in 1786 by obtain-

¹ April 17, 1789, *Annals of Congress*, I, p. 167.

² Lawrence Lewis, *History of the Bank of North America*, p. 46.

ing a charter from the state of Delaware, and after Robert Morris entered the discussion in the assembly, in his very able and effective manner, that body in 1787 rescinded its earlier ill-considered action, and under certain restrictions renewed its favors to the bank.

The party asperities aroused by the constitution of Pennsylvania continued. A provision in that instrument called for an election every seven years of a council of censors, an appurtenance of government which seems to have been suggested to some of the theorists who framed the odd scheme by a reading of Roman history. This council was to meet at the end of each successive septennial period to make sure that the constitution had been "preserved inviolate in every part and whether the legislative and executive branches of government have performed their duty as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves or exercised other or greater powers than they are entitled to by the constitution."¹

In October, 1783, the first group of censors were chosen by the people. Party feeling ran high and to its enemies another opportunity seemed to offer to change the constitution; to its friends another crisis was at hand to be passed. The sessions of this curious body supplied conclusive proof to fair judges of the subject of government, if new confirmation of the fact were required, that the constitution of 1776 and all its projects and plans were founded on delusion, and ought on the first convenient occasion to be swept away in favor of a political system in accordance with the experience of the English-speaking race. Party strife was allayed for a time under Franklin's benignant influence upon his arrival home in September, 1785, after his long residence in France. He was immediately chosen to the supreme executive council. That body, meeting with the assembly on October 29th, elected him president and Charles Biddle, vice president of the state. After the manner of the day a procession was formed in this order:

Constables with their staves.

Sub-sheriffs with their wands.

High sheriff with his wand.

Coroner with his wand.

Judges of the supreme court.

Judge of the common pleas and prothonotary of the supreme court.

Judge, register and marshal of the admiralty.

Naval officer.

Treasurer and attorney-general of the state.

Secretary of the land office.

Receiver general and surveyor general of the state.

Justices of the peace.

Prothonotary of the court of common pleas and clerk of the court of quarter sessions.

Clerk of the city court.

Master of the rolls and escheator general.

Secretary of the council.

His excellency the president and the honorable the vice president.

Members of the council, two and two.

¹ Section 47 of the Constitution of 1776.

Door-keeper of the council.
 Sergeant-at-arms with the mace.
 Honorable the speaker of the house of assembly.
 Clerk and assistant clerk of the house.
 Members of the general assembly, two and two.
 Door-keeper of the general assembly.
 Provost and faculty of the university.
 General and field officers of the militia.
 Citizens.

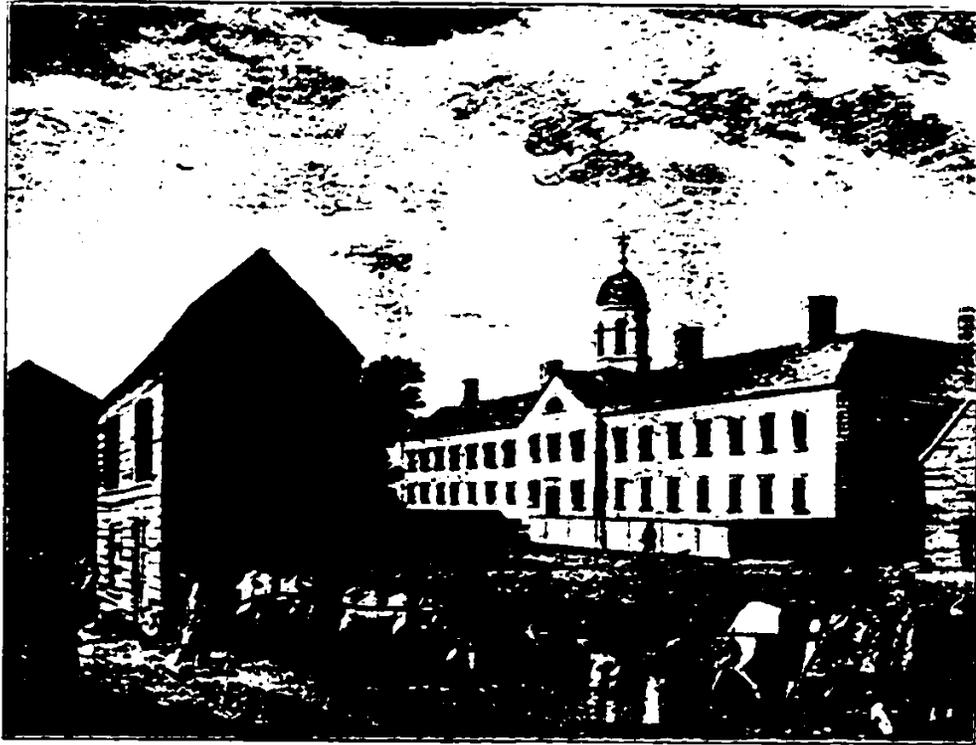
This cavalcade proceeded from the State House to the court house in Market street where the president and the vice president were proclaimed, and then returned to the State House.¹ Franklin continued in this office by reelection in 1786 and 1787, until November 5, 1788, his successive terms covering the period of the framing and adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

One of the principal social gains of this period in which there are not many to be recorded, was an intelligent attempt—with some real success—to reform the prison system. The treatment of those suffering confinement at the law's behest was still incredibly barbarous in spite of some improvements which from time to time were introduced. The attentions of the gaolers were so irregular and ineffective that the prisoners often escaped. In 1780 a counterfeiter was rescued by his friends. They sawed off the bars at a front cellar window, broke down an inner door and carried him off without resistance. In 1781 by some *gaucherie* a prisoner in the guard house while attempting to get out of the custody of an officer was run through by a sword and killed. In 1784, at the old prison, a desperate fellow named Liblong displaced the lock on his own cell, and released several other convicts until he had a gang of 23 men. Nine of them led by Liblong, who was armed with a long knife, escaped. The jailer, John Reynolds by name, stopped the progress of the other 14 and then pursued Liblong. The hue and cry was raised and the desperado was finally captured and returned to his quarters, where he again made an effort to escape but was again subdued.

On one Sunday in June, in 1786, a large party of prisoners in the Walnut street jail made an effort to break out of their cells and scale the walls of the yard. About eighty of them assembled in the hall and armed with axes, knives and stones stood off the keepers. After ordering the men back to their places, and still being defied, the guards fired. One convict named Flaherty was killed and another was shot in the thigh, while no less than six were wounded with bayonets.

The barbarous punishments which were a survival of the colonial time were very generally abolished by an act of assembly, in 1786, upon the urgent representation of Chief Justice McKean, and other prominent men. It was stated in the new law that it should be "the wish of every good government to reclaim rather than to destroy." It had been "found by experience that the punishments directed by the laws now in force, as well for capital as other inferior offenses, do not answer the principal ends of society in inflicting them, to wit—to correct and

¹ Minutes of Assembly for the day.



WALNUT STREET JAIL
Birch View



SECOND STREET NORTH FROM MARKET STREET, SHOWING CHRIST CHURCH
Birch View about 1800

reform the offenders and to produce such strong impressions upon the minds of others as to deter them from committing the like offenses." Much better it would be, in the opinion of the makers of the law, to employ convicts at hard labor "publicly and disgracefully imposed" on the roads and streets. For the death penalty in cases of robbery, burglary, sodomy or buggery was substituted a sentence in the public gaol not to exceed ten years. The frequent hangings on the commons, or at Centre Square, were seen no more and except only for murder, and a few other crimes, the use of the gallows-tree came to an end. The penalty for horse-stealing was fixed at seven years' imprisonment. "Burning in the hand, cutting off the ears, nailing the ear or ears to the pillory, placing in and upon the pillory, whipping or imprisonment for life" were superseded by fines and sentences to hard labor. This labor might be performed inside the prison walls, or in repairing and cleaning the streets in the cities, mending the roads in the country and "in fortifications, mines and such other hard and laborious works within the county," as the courts shall direct. The convicts were to be fed on "coarse, wholesome food" at the public expense, and the males should have "their heads and beards close shaven at least once in every week." Moreover, they should be "clothed in habits of coarse materials, uniform in color and make, and distinguished from all others used by the good citizens of this commonwealth and also have some visible mark on the outer garment, designating the nature of the crime for which sentenced, so that they may be marked out to public note as well while at their ordinary occupations as when attempting to make their escapes."¹

In conformity with the terms of this law, which was very favorably regarded, in particular by Chief Justice McKean, who urged an early compliance with its provisions, the street commissioners put a gang of convicts to work on the highways in Philadelphia. The dress chosen for the men was sufficiently distinctive. A parti-colored scheme was devised. The roundabout would have sleeves of different colors, as for example red and green, black and white, or blue and yellow. The legs of the pantaloons also were of different colors.²

This kaleidoscopic assembly usually passed by the name of the wheelbarrow-men. The more dangerous of the convicts worked with balls and chains. They were tethered like cattle. The centre for the range of a man's activity was a heavy ball. From this a chain ten or twelve feet in length ran to his ankle. When he had cleaned over his space he took up his ball and carried it to another place, often it is said throwing it down with such force that it injured the bystanders. The men in whom the keepers put greater trust and who were not chained wheeled the barrows. The wheelbarrow men, in addition to cleaning the streets, did much grading and levelling in different parts of the city. They raised Centre Square three feet and dug the cellars for the new county court house at Sixth and Chestnut streets. The prisoners were very averse to this service and especially to wearing the motley and going about with shaven heads. One burglar told the court that he would prefer to be hanged and his sentence was obligingly changed, though he was afterward reprieved. Rather than submit to these indignities an-

¹ *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XII, p. 280.

² Mentioned in the *Diary of an English Quakeress* here in 1787.—*Pa. Mag.*, XVIII, p. 61.

other riot broke out in Walnut street jail in 1787, and before the men could be brought to order one was killed and one dangerously hurt.

The hopes which were expressed for this reform were not realized. The convicts were too easily accessible to their friends. They were often supplied with liquor and staggered through the streets in drunkenness. Since many of the men were pickpockets one every now and then would snatch a watch from a passerby and so dexterously turn it over to another scoundrel that its recovery was impossible. Though the lessons of the wages of sin were thus daily taught to the people the punishment was a no better deterrent upon evil-doers than hanging, burning and the cutting of ears had been. Crime was everywhere rife. On one night in June, 1787, when William Hamilton and his niece were returning from the city to their mansion at Bush Hill, a half dozen highwaymen formed a cordon across the road in the neighborhood of Twelfth and Market streets and stopped the coach. The postilions were momentarily stunned, but Mr. Hamilton put his head out of his carriage and ordered them to fire on the rascals, who made their escape through a corn-field. A poor woman in the same year was stoned and mortally wounded in the streets on the ground that she was a witch. In October, 1788, thirty-three prisoners escaped from the Walnut street jail and while a few were recaptured the rest roamed about, stopping men on the highways, robbing houses and terrorizing the community generally. For a time the militia patrolled the streets in order to reassure the people. In March, 1789, the jailer Reynolds and a turnkey were seized, robbed of their watches, money and keys and thrust into a dungeon. There were 22 convicts in this conspiracy, eight of whom made their escape and returned to their lives of crime.

In September, 1789, five wheelbarrow men at work in the neighborhood of Centre Square committed an outrage which summarily put an end to the policy of employing such villains in the streets. Two brothers named McFarland lived near Centre Square. One of the wheelbarrow men went to the door to ask for a tin-can to get a drink of water at a pump nearby. The McFarlands sat at a table counting a considerable amount of money. The convict returned to his fellows and, telling them what he had seen, they resolved upon a robbery. That night they somehow broke out of jail. First proceeding to the lower part of the city they were joined by the wife of one of the men, whose name was Logan, and started toward Centre Square. At Eighth and Chestnut streets they stole a lantern. At a rope-walk at Eighth and Market streets they wrenched a handle from a pump and were then ready to continue their adventures. The woman held the light. In the *mélee* it went out, but not before one of the McFarlands was killed by blows from the pump handle. The other brother managed to escape and hid himself in the cock-loft. The men got \$2,000, a part of which they concealed in the Potter's Field. Getting into a fight with some sailors, who ridiculed their odd dress, all five were arrested and very promptly sentenced to the gallows. In less than a month their necks were stretched at a spot very near the scene of their crime. The woman on some account escaped a penalty which she seemed quite as abundantly to deserve.

As has been said this marked the end of the employment of convicts in the streets. Other reforms remained to be introduced. While Manasseh Cutler, of

Massachusetts, was in Philadelphia in 1787, the prisoners were still extending their caps on long reed poles into Walnut street for the alms of passers by. When they were denied they uttered the "most foul and horrid imprecations." This "cage of unclean birds" facing the birth-place of independence awakened very unpleasant sentiments in visitors to Philadelphia. Barrows still passed about the city to receive the refuse of the people's kitchens for the use of the prisoners. The debtors confined in the east wing of the jail in February, 1785, issued a touching appeal for charity.¹ They said that they were in a "distressed and starving situation • * • for the want of victuals and the common necessaries of life." Two men had lately died of hunger. Numbers more would have perished except for the comparative mildness of the weather and the charity of several citizens who gave clothes and blankets "to many who were naked." The county allowance was only half of a four-penny loaf in 24 hours which the petitioners remarked was "not sufficient to support nature." The barrow came but three times in the week, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and lately its charity had been small, though there were sixty "unhappy and distressed souls" dependent upon its bounty. "They in all humble manner" begged the "worthy and Christian people of the city in being pleased to look with an eye of pity on so many miserable prisoners suffering to the greatest extent for the want of provisions."

This was an incredible situation from every modern standard of prison management. It was much improved through the efforts of a private organization of philanthropic gentlemen. The society which had been formed in colonial days to have a care for the condition of those who were confined in the public jails had been broken up by the war. In 1787 a new society, with Rev. William White, D. D. (after 1786 Bishop White) as its president, was organized. It was called the Society for the Alleviation of the Miseries of Public Prisons. By dint of its efforts greater enlightenment on the subject of prison management came to prevail. Men and women were no longer confined in the same rooms. The keepers could no longer sell spirituous liquors to the convicts, or profit from them by the exaction of fees. Food and clothing were provided, and they needed no more to hold their hands out between the bars to beg of passers by. There were no more distressing accounts of criminals (debtors unfortunately were exceptions to this rule) who, in nakedness and without fire or food starved and were frozen to death in the long winters. The rooms were washed with lime and the inmates kept clean. Epidemic disease, which had always had its home in the prison, spreading its dangers to the rest of the city was put under restraint. The system of solitary confinement for desperate characters was introduced and the possibility of their concocting schemes to escape was greatly reduced. Regular labor improved their condition. Clergymen came to offer religious instruction, and inspectors were appointed by the assembly from the membership of the society to see that the keepers properly performed their duties. Pennsylvania thus became a pioneer among the American states on the subject of prison reform, and its system was very favorably remarked by travellers.

¹ See Daniel Humphreys' *Penna. Mercury*.

The development of the city along educational and literary lines had been rudely interrupted by the war. The College, as we have seen, did not for some years disentangle itself from the snarl in which it had become involved with the University. The Friends' Academy on South Fourth street was again open. Proud and other tutors returned to their places to instruct the Quaker boys. The Germantown "Public School" was reopened about 1784.¹ In 1785 Bishop White established an Academy of the Episcopal Church. He was "induced to it" he explained, "by ye opinion of ye expediency of any religious society's being possessed of a seminary in which their youth at least in ye early stages of their education may be instructed in ye principles of religion agreeably to ye views entertained by ye society in question." He drew to his aid as trustees a number of Philadelphians prominent in the counsels of Christ Church, among them Robert Morris, Thomas Willing, Edward Shippen, Richard Peters, Abram Markoe, Francis Hopkinson and Joseph Swift. In 1787 the assembly chartered the school and endowed it with 10,000 acres of wild land belonging to the state.² The trustees purchased for about \$4,000 a site on Chestnut street above Sixth street, adjoining a lot later occupied by Ricketts' Circus and in our day by the *Public Ledger* building. Here they placed a brick edifice which was accounted "a handsome specimen of the architecture of its time."³ The school entered its new home in 1788 but the building was too great a burden to carry,⁴ and in 1791 it was sold to James Oellers, a hotel-keeper who converted it into a public house. The afterward famous Noah Webster was a teacher in the school in 1787.⁵ The academy idea was soon given up, and a charity school for boys and girls in Union street was for many years all that remained of the public-spirited undertaking.

Many of those who had earlier been identified with literary interests were accused of Tory sympathies. Provost Smith, Mrs. Ferguson and Jacob Duché were of course under the ban. Christopher Sower, in Germantown, the first publisher of the Bible in America, was arrested as a spy, smeared with paint and prodded with bayonets. His property was confiscated and he was left to end his days in poverty, a charge upon the charity of friends. Francis Hopkinson, "one of your pretty little, curious, ingenious men" with "a head no bigger than an apple," as John Adams described him, wrote some patriotic verse. William Clifton, the son of a Quaker blacksmith in Southwark, who died of consumption at an early age in 1799, called by some the "American Dryden" was regarded, probably of right, as the principal literary figure of the period.

To the ranks of the printers of the city had come Robert Bell, the Humphreys, Joseph Crukshank, Francis Bailey and Robert Aitken. Bell was a very enterprising man. He reprinted Johnson's *Rasselas*, Robertson's *History of Charles V*, Blackstone's *Commentaries*, of which it is said nearly as many were sold in America as in England, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Paradise Lost*, De Rochefou-

¹ *Hist. of the Germantown Academy*, p. 109.

² *Stat. at Large*, XII, pp. 479-83.

³ Souder, chap. 63.

⁴ Bishop White's *Memoir*, p. 74.

⁵ *Historical Sketch of the School* by John Andrews Harris.

cauld's *Maxims*, Young's *Night Thoughts* and many other books. He soon became famous for his book auctions which were conducted in Philadelphia and other cities until his death in 1784.

Robert Aitken's most memorable achievement was the publication in 1782 of the first American edition of the Bible in the English tongue. The city had had no magazine during the war, Bradford's, Franklin's and Dr. William Smith's having earlier failed. Lewis Nicola in 1769 issued his *American Magazine*, the third of that name to appear in Philadelphia. It lived for about a year. In 1775 Aitken established the *Pennsylvania Magazine and American Monthly Magazine*, which was at hand to engage the services of Thomas Paine upon his arrival in Philadelphia. The approach of the war led to the early suspension of this publication.

The next experiment in magazine-editing in Philadelphia was that made by Francis Bailey. With this publication Philip Freneau was closely associated. He was graduated at Princeton with James Madison and Hugh Henry Brackenridge, the author of *Modern Chivalry*, fairly regarded as the first American novel. Though of good French Huguenot stock, and a gifted writer of prose and verse, the defects in his temperament were such that he made little of his life. In 1778 his friend Brackenridge induced Bailey to undertake the publication of the *United States Magazine*. It was designed to disprove the very usual allegation that the Americans, if they gained their independence from Great Britain, would become "illiterate ourang-outangs." An effort would be made "to paint the graces on the front of war and invite the muses to our country." But the magazine ceased to appear after completing its first volume. To it Freneau contributed much of his musical verse. He now went to sea to return in 1781, when he was again to be associated with Bailey, this time as the editor of his vituperative newspaper, the *Freeman's Journal or North American Intelligencer*, which had just been established "to encourage genius, to deter vice and disrobe tyranny and misrule of every plumage." Its attacks upon moderate men and conservative institutions continued for three years when it was obliged to end its career, whereupon Freneau again called "on Neptune's aid," as he wrote by way of farewell, and resumed a sailor's life.

Mathew Carey had a hand in editing the next Philadelphia magazine. This man who was destined to attain so much prominence in Philadelphia, was born in Dublin in 1760. As a child he met with an accident which had crippled him for life. His violent denunciations of England led to his imprisonment, but getting free, he fled to America where he arrived in 1784. Lafayette befriended him. His active disposition led him to take a hand in forming a society called "The Lately Adopted Sons of Pennsylvania," which made itself prominent on the side of the party engaged in defending the constitution of the state, and democratic principles generally. Carey published a paper called the *Pennsylvania Herald*. By reason of his disputatious manner and great vigor of speech he involved himself in a political altercation with Colonel Eleazer Oswald, the editor of the *Independent Gazetteer*. They were soon facing each other on a duelling ground opposite the city, in New Jersey, and Carey was seriously wounded in the thigh. In 1786, he in company with other young men projected

the *Columbian Magazine*, which lived for six years. But he soon withdrew and established the *American Museum*, which survived about the same length of time, or until 1792. It was a collection of excerpts from newspapers and other publications, American and foreign, but it enjoyed little pecuniary favor, although Washington said of it, that "a more useful literary plan has never been undertaken in America, or one more deserving of public encouragement."

None of the newspapers of the city was published oftener than three times in a week until the *Packet* became a daily on September 21, 1784, entrenching itself, in the position which it had held for several years as the leading journal of Philadelphia. It was founded in 1771 by John Dunlap, an Irishman, nephew of William Dunlap, a bookseller to whose business he had succeeded. He had passed through the war without greatly impairing the value of his property, and had lately established a partnership with David C. Claypoole, who resembled and is said to have been a descendant of Oliver Cromwell. The *Packet* was the first daily newspaper in America. It acquired much celebrity later as Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser*, and subsequently for nearly forty years as Poulson's *Daily Advertiser*, under Zachariah Poulson, Jr., the son of a Dane who had learned the printing trade with Christopher Sower.¹

If the literary advancement were tardy and slight the development of the theatre, as could have been expected, lagged still more. The Southwark Theatre had been used for a time in 1780 for some performances on the slack wire. On January 2, 1782, Alexander Quesnay, who had leased the old house gave an entertainment in honor of General Washington. The French minister, Luzerne, and all the distinguished men of the city, in official uniforms, attended with their ladies. Beaumarchais' *Eugenia* was given in French, with *The Lying Valet* as an after-piece. Several dances were introduced into the performances. A transparency exhibiting thirteen pillars was shown. On the one, in the middle, there was a figure of cupid supporting a laurel crown set over the motto "Washington—The Pride of his Country and Terror of Britain."

With Washington's favor the production proceeded without interference, but when M. Quesnay undertook its repetition he was not so successful. In vain did he announce that the proceeds would be turned over to "the poor in the Pennsylvania Hospital and the virtuous American soldiers in the Barracks of Philadelphia," who were "extremely distressed for the common necessities of life." The magistrates of the city, who were also justices of the peace of the county, with Plunkett Fleeson at their head, looked with horror upon such "scenes of dissipation." They quoted a law passed by the assembly of Pennsylvania in 1779 prohibiting the play. Quesnay, not to be outdone, changed the name of the theatre and called it an "Academy of Polite Science" which he said would be devoted to "the instruction of young gentlemen in the polite languages, as also music; drawing faces, landscapes, perspective, geometrical plans and fortifications; dancing and fencing." He opened his academy in the presence of "a very brilliant and numerous concourse of ladies and gentlemen of the first rank." when, if the comedy and farce which he had planned to give lacked, there

¹Z. Poulson, the elder, was an adherent of one of the non-resistant German sects and like Sower was made to suffer much during the Revolution.

were music, a variety of French dances and some pretty illuminations. Another lessee appeared in 1783 and presented "vocal and instrumental music." In deference to the law's prejudice he called the theatre "The Temple of Apollo." There were petitions both for and against the repeal of the prohibition. A body of Quakers, in opposing this and other playhouses, said:

"The nature and tendency of these exhibitions, unhappily introducing a variety of intemperance, dissoluteness and debauchery must necessarily affect every pious, judicious mind with real concern, and excite a tender compassion toward unwary youth, whose minds becoming vitiated by a taste of delusive pleasures, grow indisposed to the regular, laudable and virtuous satisfaction of domestic and social life, and are often gradually drawn into infidelity and corrupt principles of which experience has given abundant proof in those places where such ensnaring amusements are allowed and encouraged."

The Presbyterians from the frontiers, now so influential in the assembly, were as little disposed to favor the theatre as the Quakers ever had been. It was thought that when Lewis Hallam with his old American Company of comedians should apply for the necessary authority to open the house that the legislature would relent, but it did not yield its position. He went forward anyhow, in 1785, with concerts and other entertainments. There were readings of acts and scenes from plays, until at length the evasion went so far that "between the parts of the concert" a "serious and moral lecture, in four parts, on the vice of gaming" was given. This excused the performance of a play called *The Gamester*. *Hamlet* was introduced as "a moral and instructive tale" called "Filial Piety Exemplified in the History of the Prince of Denmark," and *The West Indian* as a comic lecture in five parts called "The Generous American." The movement in opposition to this restrictive law, which had so long been almost openly flaunted in Southwark, gathered strength and finally in 1789 it was repealed.

CHAPTER XIII.

UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

The total impotency of the government established by the Articles of Confederation demanded the serious attention of the people, if the fruits of the war were to be made valuable. No central government worthy of that name had yet been established. There was as yet only a number of states with more or less common interests. These interests, however, were momentarily in danger of growing unlike and separate. Soon, if something were not done, quarrels would arise among the states and, there being no power over all to guide and compel, they would become the prey of European conquerors. "What may be the final event," Robert Morris wrote, "time only can discover; but the probability is that first divided, then governed our children may lament in chains the folly of their fathers." What he wished, as he wrote to his friend Alexander Hamilton, was "a firm, wise, manly system of federal government." This was the hope of the wisest men in Pennsylvania, New England and Virginia. There was need of what the Germans call a *Bundesstaat* instead of a *Staatenbund*, a federation instead of a confederation, a strong central government instead of a league of state governments, without a common purpose, or the authority to interpret and express the common resolves. Congress after it had left the city for Princeton in the summer of 1783, frightened by a few Continental officers who had come to collect their back pay, refused to return. It was in New York when the call was sent out for a convention of delegates from the various states to assemble in Philadelphia in May, 1787, for the purpose of devising some system of federal control.

Few had a suspicion what this system would be, although a number of men of experience in management during the war were determined that it should have more fibre than would have been acceptable to the very democratic masses whom they represented in the notable conference. On December 30, 1786, the assembly of Pennsylvania delegated seven of its citizens as its representatives in the convention, James Wilson, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, Thomas Mifflin, George Clymer, Jared Ingersoll and Thomas Fitzsimmons. Afterward the name of Benjamin Franklin was added to the number. The meeting time was set for May 14th, but it was the 25th day of the month before a quorum (representation from seven states) was at hand in the State House "ready to transact the most important business which it has ever fallen to the lot of any body of public men in America to perform."

General Washington, who was one of the delegates from Virginia, had arrived in the city on the 13th. He was met at some distance down the southern road by the City Troop, and escorted to the home of Robert Morris, whose guest he was until the convention adjourned. The event brought to the city such men as Alexander Hamilton, from New York, Rufus King and Elbridge Gerry, from Massachusetts, Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth from Connecticut, George Read and John Dickinson, from Delaware, James Madison, George Wythe and Edmund Randolph, from Virginia, and John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, his kinsman, Charles Pinckney and Pierce Butler from South Carolina. It had been generally agreed beforehand that Washington should preside. Nominated by Robert Morris, in behalf of Pennsylvania, he was unanimously elected. Morris walked upon one side and John Rutledge, of South Carolina, on the other to conduct him to the chair. Major William Jackson was elected secretary. Surprisingly little zeal was manifested for the work in hand except on the part of a few men. Recent researches show that there were in all 73 appointments to the convention, but a considerable number did not exert themselves to attend. The delegates did not even put themselves to the trouble to acknowledge the honor which the states had done them by making them members of the distinguished body.¹ Only 55 ever put in an appearance. New Hampshire's delegates did not arrive until late in July and Rhode Island had none present at any time. Of the 55 who attended the sessions and participated in the prolonged discussions, which covered the whole range of governmental science, and gave promise many times of ending only in naught, two, from New York, withdrew from the body before its work was done, three refused to sign the instrument and eleven absented themselves from the meeting when they should have been present to append their names. Only 39 gave it their signatures, Pennsylvania contributing eight and Delaware five, their entire delegations. These two states were alone in giving the scheme of government which was proposed their unanimous support, and were the strength of the Federal movement. Alexander Hamilton stood by himself in New York. Massachusetts contributed only two signatures and Virginia but three, Washington, John Blair and that man, who next to Hamilton and perhaps Wilson, had been the most useful member of the convention, James Madison.

The proposed frame of government was adopted on September 17th, and the members adjourned, by no means certain that their labors would meet with the acceptance of the nine states, which must approve before it could be carried into effect. Washington had been a powerful force to bring about harmony of feeling in the convention, and his advice was destined to exert an important influence in the states to which the discussions were at once transferred. He was the first character in America. His reputation was unsullied by that criticism which would be launched against him when party bitternesses arose. At Morris's house he came and went quite as he chose. Mrs. Morris in later years, recalling this and other periods of his residence at her home, said that she had never had a guest who gave her less trouble. He would "come in and be about the house

¹ Carson's *Constitution of the U. S.*, Vol. I, p. 137.

for hours without any one of the family being aware of it." His leisure was spent in reading, writing, and reflection.¹

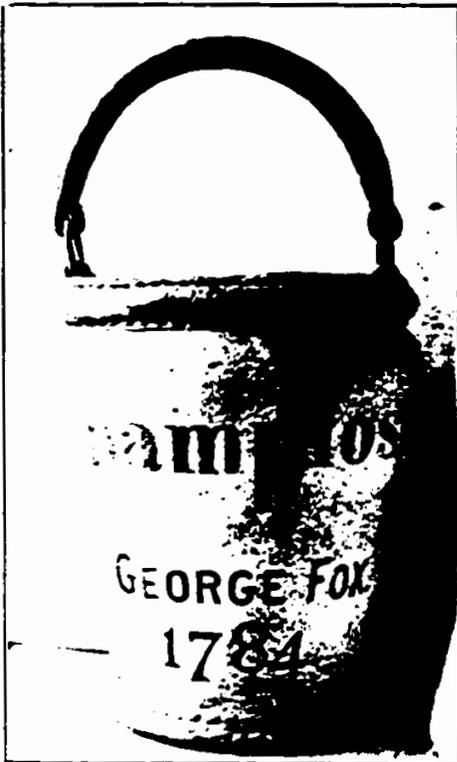
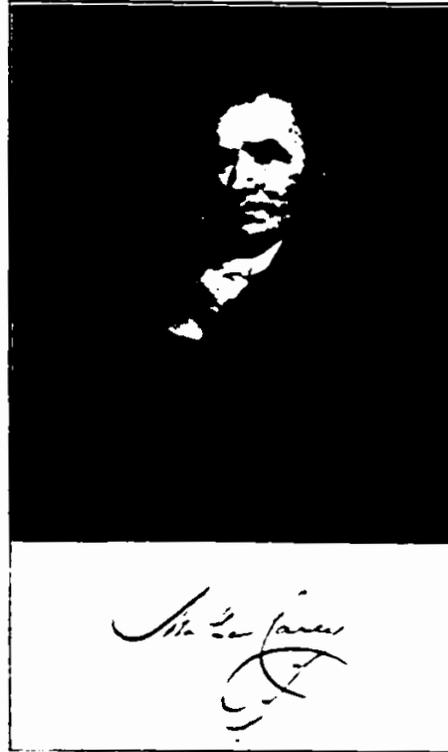
Upon this occasion, while in attendance upon the sessions of the convention, he was seldom unemployed. He was the recipient of a distinguished round of attentions. He dined with Franklin, John Penn, Benjamin Chew, William Bingham, William Hamilton, of "Bush Hill," Thomas Willing, and indeed at all the leading houses in the city. He also dined from time to time at two or three clubs—the Cold Spring Club which met every Saturday at some house north of the city, in the old Springettsbury Manor, and clubs made up principally of members of the convention at the City Tavern, and in the Indian Queen, in Fourth street above Chestnut, the latter "a large pile of buildings with many spacious halls and numerous small apartments appropriated for lodging rooms and kept in an elegant style."² He attended Catholic and Protestant churches with impartial zest, rode up to Valley Forge to inspect the ruins of his old camp, went fishing with Robert Morris in the Schuylkill and the Delaware, sat for his portrait and led the life of a national hero in very acceptable ways. On the afternoon of September 18th he set out in his chariot for Mount Vernon. He parted from his friends Robert and Gouverneur Morris at Gray's Ferry, and reached home four days later on Saturday evening, September 22d, "about sunset, after an absence of four months and 14 days."³

The departure of the delegates from Philadelphia was the signal for such political excitement as the city had not lately, if ever, known. The sessions of the convention had been secret, and no one outside of the hall had an inkling of what the result would be. Until the finished instrument was published its character was quite unknown. That it would be unsatisfactory to many was foreseen; that its approval by a sufficient number of states to secure its adoption could be secured was doubtful. Pennsylvania and Delaware having had so prominent a part in the work of the body were expected to act quickly and Delaware did do so, with a unanimity for which she may long feel proud, on December 7, 1787,—in less than three months after the convention had adjourned. Pennsylvania followed on December 12th, but not without a violent party struggle. The state had long been the front and centre of democracy, and the defenders of the constitution of 1776 at once detected in the proposed Constitution of the Union the gravest danger to popular liberty. They foresaw that the endorsement of any such principles of government as Hamilton and the Federalists had made to prevail in the Constitution would be fatal to those ideas which they had nursed like fanatics, for more than ten years, and they were determined to accomplish its defeat. If this instrument were adopted their own boasted system in the state would fall at some early day, a fear that proved to be well justified by later events. If checks and balances, separate executive, judicial and legislative departments and a bicameral legislature with a house of lords, under the disguise of a senate, were to be made the pattern for America, and Montesquieu were to be made triumph over Rousseau ruin was at hand for the French democrats.

¹ *Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, VI, p. 137.

² *Manasseh Cutler's Diary*, Vol. I, p. 253. This tavern was torn down in 1851.

³ *Baker's Washington After the Revolution*, p. 92.



OLD FIRE BUCKET



FRANKLIN'S LIBRARY CHAIR
Showing the seat turned up to form
a step ladder

But if this party had wished to defeat a proper system of Federal government it should have moved earlier and prevented the sending to the convention of such men as James Wilson, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris and George Clymer.¹ They were the very particular enemies of the theoretical democracy for which the young state had made itself famous. Aided by Washington, Hamilton, Madison and John Dickinson they were to all intents and purposes the authors of the instrument and the opposition would need to be very active to circumvent men of so much power and intelligence. The assembly was meeting in another part of the State House when the Constitutional Convention closed its sessions. It would adjourn on September 29th, and the democrats had understood that the business of calling a convention to consider the subject, which had been referred to the state, would not be taken up until after a popular election. To its dismay George Clymer rose on the morning of the 28th offering resolutions which contemplated a convention in November. Members from the interior and western counties at once offered violent resistance to the movement, but they were in the minority, losing the first vote by 43 to 19. Then the house adjourned until four o'clock in the afternoon when nineteen members absented themselves in order to break the quorum. The sergeant-at-arms was ordered to go out and bring the men into the hall. They refused to come and the majority went home resolving to reassemble the next morning. Again the sergeant-at-arms was sent to compel the attendance of the refractory members. By this time a crowd of people, interested in the result, filled the streets and seizing two of the men, James McCalmont of Franklin County, and Jacob Miley of Dauphin County forcibly carried them into the State House. Their clothes were torn and they were "white with rage," but nothing availed. A quorum now attended and a state convention was called to meet in Philadelphia on November 21st following.

The assembly adjourned, the mob cheered, the bells of Christ Church were rung and the issue was referred to the people. The election of delegates was set for the first Tuesday in November, and it was attended by many exciting, and indeed riotous scenes. In Philadelphia where the new assembly had recently convened several leading Constitutionalists, including McCalmont, William Findley and John Smilie, were lodged at the house of a Major Alexander Boyd, in Sixth street. Thither on election night a mob repaired. The windows were stoned and a great din was continued for a long time "much to the displeasure and vexation of the inmates."

The Federalists were overwhelmingly triumphant in the city. Their five candidates were James Wilson, Thomas McKean, Benjamin Rush, George Lattimer and Hilary Baker. Opposed to them were Benjamin Franklin, who, in spite of his having signed the Constitution, was fairly regarded as the principal

¹ George Clymer, who has been mentioned several times in this narrative, was the son of an Englishman who settled here early in the century. He was born in this city in 1739. He was a nephew of William Coleman with whom he lived in youth, by whom he was largely brought up and whose fortune he inherited. He married a Miss Meredith, daughter of a Philadelphia merchant. He was at one time engaged in business, but disliked it and devoted himself until his death in 1813 to gentlemanly pursuits.

advocate of all democratic systems of government; David Rittenhouse, the second most distinguished member of the party; Charles Pettit, John Steinmetz and James Irvine. The leading candidate on the Republican ticket received 1215 votes; Franklin led the Anti-Federalist ticket with 235 votes. The average majority for the Constitution was about ten to one.

The convention was a body of 69 delegates and it organized with Frederick A. Muhlenberg, one of the distinguished sons of the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, of the Lutheran church at the Trappe, as its presiding officer. The battle was sharp but brief. The Anti-Federalists were greatly outvoted. On December 12th the question of ratification came before the delegates, and 46 were favorable and 23 unfavorable to a "more perfect union" under the Constitution. The counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Northampton, Chester, York and Lancaster (excepting one vote) gave their solid support to the city in the affirmative. Berks, Dauphin, Cumberland, Bedford, Fayette and Westmoreland, full of the wild spirit of the frontier to which the theories of Tom Paine and the other eastern leaders had now spread, cast 19 of the 23 negative votes. The next day, on December 13th, the members of the convention marched from the State House to the old courthouse, at Second and Market streets, where the act was solemnly proclaimed to the people. Again guns were fired and bells were rung. There was a dinner at one of the taverns and much mutual congratulation, except among the Anti-Federalists, such as John Smilie, who when he was asked to sign his name with the majority, proudly exclaimed "that he would never allow his hand in so gross a manner to give the lie to his heart and his tongue."

New Jersey's ratification came only one day later, on December 13th. Georgia followed on January 2d, 1788, Connecticut on January 9th, Massachusetts on February 6th, Maryland on April 26th, South Carolina on May 23d, and then on June 21st, 1788, New Hampshire approved, the honor hers of being the ninth state and of making the Constitution effective. Virginia did not accede until June 25th, after a stubborn battle; New York not until July 26th. North Carolina gave her assent on November 21, 1789 and Rhode Island, the thirteenth state on May 29, 1790.

The progress of events was followed with the greatest interest by the Federalists of the city. A number of leading Philadelphians had determined that when the ninth state had ratified they would organize a pageant. The news of the action of New Hampshire, in 1788, led to immediate preparation and the celebration was set for July 4th. The chairman of the committee of arrangements was Francis Hopkinson, and a very remarkable demonstration ensued. The day was a Friday. Virginia's ratification had been received and ten states were in the new Union. "The rising sun was saluted with a full peal from Christ Church steeple and a discharge of cannon from the ship *Rising Sun*," which was anchored off Market street in the Delaware. Ten vessels carrying at their mast heads broad white flags, each bearing the name of a state, were "dressed and arranged through the whole length of the harbor," from Massachusetts, in the *Northern Liberties*, to Georgia, at the foot of South street. The "Grand Federal Procession," as the pageant was called, moved in 88 divisions. The place of

rendezvous was Third and South streets, and the line was to proceed up Third to Callowhill, out Callowhill to Fourth, down Fourth to Market and thence out to Union Green, a vacant space in front of "Bush Hill." Projecting branches of trees had been lopped off the night before and nothing was at hand to obstruct the course of the procession.

Twelve axemen dressed in white frocks, with black girdles at their waists, led the column. Then the City Troop, under Captain Miles, appeared and there was an effort in subsequent scenes to depict the main events in the history of the Revolution. John Nixon, on horseback, bearing the staff and cap of liberty and a flag with the words "Fourth of July, 1776" in gold letters, illustrated independence. Thomas Fitzsimmons typified the French Alliance. He was mounted on a horse formerly ridden by the Count de Rochambeau, and carried a white silk banner on which were three fleur de lys and 13 stars in union over the words "Sixth of February, 1778." Then came symbols of peace—George Clymer on a horse, carrying a staff adorned with olive and laurel and the words "Third of September, 1783," on a pendant; Colonel John Shee with olive and laurel and a blue flag containing the words "Washington, the Friend of his Country;" Richard Bache dressed as a herald proclaiming the "New Era" with the lines:

"Peace o'er our land her olive wand extends,
And white-robed Innocence from Heaven descends;
The crimes and frauds of Anarchy shall fail;
Returning Justice lifts again her scale."

The next episode to be illustrated was the Convention of the States and Peter Muhlenberg, on horseback bore a blue flag inscribed with silver letters "Seventeenth of September, 1787." This was followed by scenes emblematic of the adoption of the Constitution. Chief Justice McKean, Judge Atlee and Judge Rush, in their scarlet robes of office, rode "in a lofty ornamented car in the form of a large eagle drawn by six horses." It bore a copy of the Constitution framed and fixed on a staff crowned by a liberty cap. Ten gentlemen representing the states which had ratified the instrument, each bearing a flag, walked arm in arm to symbolize the Union. Among the number were James Wilson, Jared Ingersoll and Samuel Stockton.

The most impressive features of the procession, however, were two elaborate structures called the "New Roof" or "Grand Federal Edifice," and the "Federal Ship Union." The former of these was a dome supported by thirteen Corinthian columns, ten of which were complete and the other three unfinished. The top was surmounted by a cupola on which was a figure of Plenty bearing cornucopias. Around the pedestal of the edifice were the words—"In union the fabric stands firm." It was drawn by ten white horses.

The "Federal Ship Union" was built up from a barge which had been taken by Paul Jones in his engagement with the "Serapis," and which afterward belonged to the "Alliance." It was 33 feet in length, mounted 20 guns and carried a crew, including officers, of 25 men. The procession also exhibited, on platforms, the looms and machines of the Manufacturing Society, at which men and

women were seen at work. Public officials, state and national, various military and civic societies and bodies of private citizens had their proper places in the line. For instance, there were the foreign consuls resident in Philadelphia, the pilots of the port, the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, the wardens and magistrates of the city, the watchmen calling the hour, "Ten o'clock and a gloriouse star-light morning," an allusion to the ten ratifying states and the stars in the flag; the members of the bar, the clergy, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish walking arm in arm; the members of the College of Physicians and the students of the University, the Episcopal Academy and the other schools preceded by their professors and tutors.

All the trades were represented by flags, emblems and sometimes with cars exhibiting their respective mechanical processes. There were farmers led by Richard Willing, who in farmer's dress drove a plow which was drawn by four oxen; boat builders, sail makers, ship carpenters, house carpenters, saw makers, file cutters, rope makers, ship chandlers, merchants and traders, cordwainers, coach painters, cabinet and chair makers, brick makers, house, ship and sign painters, porters, clock and watchmakers, bricklayers, tailors, turners and spinning wheel makers, carvers and gilders, coopers, plane makers, whip and cane manufacturers, blacksmiths, whitesmiths and nailers, coach makers, hatters, wheelwrights, tin plate workers, skinners, breeches makers and glovers, tallow chandlers, victualers, printers and bookbinders, saddlers, stone cutters, bread and biscuit makers, gunsmiths, goldsmiths, silversmiths and jewelers, distillers, tobaccoists, brass founders, stocking makers, tanners and curriers, upholsterers, sugar refiners, brewers, peruke makers, barber surgeons, engravers, plasterers, brush makers and stay makers. The length of the line was one mile and a half, and it comprised about 5,000 persons. The distance covered by the procession was about three miles.

Arrived in front of "Bush Hill" the "Grand Edifice" and the ship "Union" were brought into the centre of a large circle and James Wilson delivered an oration to the people. After a *feu de joie* by the militiamen the company went to dinner and with American porter, beer and cider drank ten toasts, each of which was announced by a blast on a trumpet and answered by a round of artillery. The series began with "The People of the United States" and, after including General Washington and the King of France, came to an end with "The Whole Family of Mankind." It is computed that 17,000 persons were assembled on Union Green in attendance upon the celebration. The "Edifice" and the ship were taken back in the evening with loud huzzas and placed in the State House yard, where they continued to be viewed by the populace for several days.

The machinery must now be put in motion for the establishment of the government, and as Congress had been in session in New York since 1785, that city became the scene of the inaugural ceremonies. The Anti-Federalists were still active in Pennsylvania, and resolved upon measures looking to the amendment of the Constitution in the interest of larger rights for the states and more direct popular participation in the government. They also put forth strenuous efforts to send men of their party to Congress and to the electoral college to choose a president and a vice president of the United States. In neither movement did they

succeed. Thomas Fitzsimmons and George Clymer were elected to Congress from the city and county. The successful candidates outside Philadelphia were Federalists also. The Federal electoral ticket, headed by James Wilson, swept the state. Pennsylvania's ten votes were given for George Washington for president, while eight were bestowed upon John Adams and two upon John Hancock for vice president.¹

The assembly had chosen Robert Morris and William Maclay, a son-in-law of John Harris, of Harrisburg, to be the first senators. The date of the meeting of the first Congress under the Constitution was set for the first Monday in March (March 4th), 1789, but the members came into New York slowly. The new government had inherited some of the sloth of the old. A few had arrived before that day bringing accounts of the horrible state of the roads, and of rivers filled with floating ice. Long detours must be made to avoid the dangerous ferries. Only 8 senators and 13 representatives were at hand, while to form a quorum 12 senators and 30 representatives were required. Indeed the prompt were compelled to wait until April. It was not until the 6th of that month or nearly five weeks when the twelfth senator, Richard Henry Lee, appeared in the city. Then the votes were counted and, it being officially known that Washington was the choice of his countrymen for president, and John Adams for vice president, messengers were despatched to their homes to carry them the news. Charles Thomson, the secretary of Congress, himself went to Virginia.² By hard riding he was enabled to reach Mount Vernon in a week. The great Virginian's horses were harnessed to his chariot and he started north on April 16th, to take up the duties of civil office at the head of the new government.

As he neared Philadelphia he was met by a large concourse of troopers and mounted citizens who brought him up to Gray's Ferry. Sending his chariot to the rear of the line he mounted a fine horse and prepared for his reception. The floating bridge³ with which the river at this ferry, as well as at the Upper and

¹ Pennsylvania had ten of the seventy-three electoral votes which the ten states then in the Union were entitled to cast for President and Vice President. Until the method was changed in 1804, each elector voted for two persons; that candidate which received the largest number of votes became President; that receiving the second highest number of votes, Vice President.

² By this time a very honored character because of his long and devoted service in Congress. Members came and went but he was always at his post, ready with his knowledge and sound counsel in all emergencies. John Jay wrote to Mr. Thomson on July 19, 1783: "No person in the world is so perfectly acquainted with the rise, conduct and conclusion of the American Revolution as yourself."—*Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, XI, p. 124.

³ Whether all these bridges were constructed in the same way or not, is subject to doubt. Some seem to have consisted of boats or pontoons. That at Gray's Ferry, of which there are descriptions by a number of travellers, was made of tree trunks bound together by chains. Beams were then laid lengthwise upon the logs, and the whole was boarded over. That part lying across the channel was so arranged that it could be unhooked when ships needed to pass, and the entire bridge, indeed, in time of freshets could be released from its anchors and chains and taken to a place of safety. When a stage wagon and its four horses passed, the structure usually sank so deep into the water that the wheels were submerged to the axle to the great alarm of timid passengers. To add to the anxiety

Middle Ferries was now crossed, had been spanned on either bank by large laurel arches. On each side of the bridge laurel shrubbery was attractively disposed so that it resembled lines of hedge. The crossing was therefore like a journey along a green lane. There were eleven flags bearing the names of the eleven states, which had already ratified the Constitution, American flags, a white flag showing a rising sun more than half above the horizon with the motto, "The Rising Empire," a blue flag inscribed "The New Era," a striped liberty cap with stars set up on a high pole, a blue flag exhibiting a rattlesnake and the words "Don't Tread on Me," and many other characteristic emblems. Gaily adorned boats stood in the river. As the president passed under one of the arches a laurel wreath, which had been suspended in its centre, was lowered by a child clad in white, until it came to rest on his brow amid the shouts of the people. Proceeding, the train at the commons was saluted by a large body of artillery and infantry. All the while the procession increased in numbers, coming to rest at length at the City Tavern, in Second street above Walnut, where tables had been spread. Many toasts were drunk, a band of music attending during the entertainment. Washington spent the night at the home of Robert Morris, and on the following morning, April 21st, after having received a great number of complimentary addresses he continued on his triumphal way to New York. On the 30th he took the oath of office and the new government was started on its uncertain and difficult course.

Mrs. Washington had not been able to complete her plans to leave Mount Vernon with her husband. She followed him a month later. On May 21st an express rider reached the city, announcing that she and her two grandchildren were on their way north and would take breakfast at Chester the next morning. Thereupon the City Troop and a cavalcade of citizens on horseback proceeded to Darby to meet the honored visitors. At Gray's Gardens, before crossing the Schuylkill, a resort of which more will shortly be said, an "elegant cold luncheon," which included 45 bowls of punch¹ was partaken of by the company and the party proceeded to Philadelphia amid popular cheers, the ringing of bells and peals of artillery. Mrs. Washington likewise made her way to the home of Robert Morris, and was accompanied on the journey the next day by Mrs. Morris, who had not yet joined her husband in New York.

A subject early to receive the attention of Congress was the location of the seat of government. Morris was quite unfortunate with reference to his colleague in the senate. In the drawing of lots for the length of their terms he had secured the long and Maclay the short term. No men could have been more unlike. Morris was a Federalist with the largest conceptions of the destiny of the new nation, while Maclay was an Anti-Federalist, distrustful of all wealth, power and authority. He was a democrat before Jefferson had yet gained distinction as an advocate of the extreme popular view of government. It was generally understood that the capital would not remain in New York. It was

of the timorous some of these bridges, as that over the Neshaminy creek on the way to New York, had no side rails. See, for instance, Weld, *Travels*, pp. 38-39; Twining, *Travels*, p. 61; Wansey, pp. 96, 141.

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXIV, p. 383.

proposed that a new city should be established as the home of the government. Maclay advocated a site on the Susquehanna. Morris was accused of desiring to create a federal district on the Delaware, preferably on lands at the Falls of Trenton where he had several important manufactories. Others had Germantown in view. The choice by a bargain in which Hamilton and Morris took a prominent part, fell to the Potomac after the year 1800. By this arrangement the south received the capital permanently in return for its support of Hamilton's protective tariff bill, Morris pledging Pennsylvania's favor on condition that Congress should return to Philadelphia and remain here for ten years, until the new site could be made ready for the government's halls and offices. The contract seemed very wicked to New York and New England, but the influences behind it were irresistible.

President Washington left New York on August 31, 1790, on his way back to Mount Vernon. Congress would meet in December at Philadelphia and when he had finished his vacation in Virginia, it would be to return to that city also. He and "his lady and their suite," including Mrs. Washington's two grandchildren, Major William Jackson, the secretary of the Constitutional Convention and now one of the president's private secretaries, Thomas Nelson, two maids, four white and four black servants and 16 horses, came to Philadelphia about two o'clock in the afternoon of September 2nd. Washington was acclaimed, as so often before, as the "hero of the western world." The entertainment included "an elegant *fête champêtre*" at Gray's Gardens. The presidential party remained in the city until the 7th, when they proceeded on their way south. Washington appeared in the city again on the morning of Saturday, November 27th, and from that moment until 1800 Philadelphia was once more the capital of the United States. No very suitable house offered as a place of residence for the president, and the state of Pennsylvania shortly resolved to commence the erection of a mansion of proper proportions. A site was found in Ninth street between Market and Chestnut streets, but the completion of such arrangements lay some distance in the future. The cornerstone was not put into place until 1792. It bore these words:

"This cornerstone was laid on the 10th day of May, 1792. The State of Pennsylvania out of debt. Thomas Mifflin, Governor."

Meanwhile the president situated himself at the house on the south side of Market street below Sixth street, which had recently been the home of Robert Morris and in which the General and Mrs. Washington had so often been entertained as guests. Morris at this time was at the height of his reputation. He was "possessed of the greatest fortune in America." Manasseh Cutler affirmed when he came to Philadelphia in 1787.¹ He had a handsome seat on the banks of the Schuylkill which he called "The Hills," of which the present Lemon Hill is a part, and had planned and begun a large marble palace, with Major L'Enfant as the architect, on the block bounded by Chestnut and Walnut and Seventh and Eighth streets.

¹ *Life & Journals*, Vol. I, p. 257.

The Market street house which he now tendered to Washington had had a history crowded with variety. It had been built by Mary Masters, the widow of William Masters, prior to 1772, and was for some time the home of Richard Penn who married her daughter. During the British occupation it was occupied by Sir William Howe. When Benedict Arnold came to the city to exercise military supervision, after the departure of the English troops, he established himself there. Later for a time it was the residence of John Holker, the French consul-general, until it was burned on New Year's Day, 1780. Morris purchased the ground and the ruins in 1785, and restored them for his own use. The place promised to serve Washington's purposes better than any other which offered and Morris yielded it to the president, removing his own family to the house adjoining it to the north, at the Sixth street corner, which he also owned. This house had belonged to Joseph Galloway, until that man was attainted of treason and his property was confiscated. After serving as the residence for a time of Joseph Reed, and other presidents of Pennsylvania, Morris had bought it from the state.

The house chosen for the Washington home was a large double brick building, surrounded by lofty old trees in a spacious garden which was enclosed by a wall high enough to hide the view from the street. "Two ancient lamp posts, furnished with large lamps which stood in front on the pavement near the street," Richard Rush used to recall, "marked it as the abode of opulence and respectability," before Washington became its tenant.¹ There were stables at the rear of the lot where the president kept a large stud of Virginia horses, a cream-colored coach in which he was driven about, a chariot, and other equipages. Weekly levees were held in the dining room on the first floor. In this room, too, Lady Washington frequently held her receptions, soon drawing about her a brilliant assemblage gleaned from the leading Philadelphia families and from the households of the members of the cabinet, the foreign diplomats stationed in the city and the senators and representatives.

The life of President Washington in Philadelphia was attended by a very great deal of pomp and circumstance, which at a later time in the history of the country would not have been considered at all consistent with republican institutions. He rode abroad with footmen, postilions and, when he went any distance, with a *valet de chambre*. On his frequent trips to Mount Vernon it was in a coach driven four-in-hand, with a led horse for his own use if he tired of the equipage. Sometimes his family occupied the coach alone, while he followed or preceded them in a phaeton drawn by two horses. His secretaries who were on horseback, stood with their bridles in their hands until he was seated, when they would mount and ride on before him. When he went to Congress to deliver his message, which he read in person, it was in his coach drawn by six white or bay horses, although only a block separated his home from the place of meeting. Wand bearers preceded him on such occasions and all the members rose when he arrived and remained standing until he had seated himself. At his levees he was likely to be dressed in black velvet with his hair powdered and gathered behind in a large silk bag. He wore silver knee and shoe buckles,

¹ Griswold's *Rep. Court*, p. 242.

and a long sword with a polished steel hilt. His cocked hat was adorned with a black feather and his hands were covered with yellow gloves.¹

The president never shook hands with his visitors on his reception days. His attitude was one of great personal restraint. A halo seemed to rest upon him in the view of the people, and the part which he played became him, as it could have become few other men. "He was a most elegant figure of a man," says Charles Biddle, "with so much dignity of manner, that no person whatever could take any improper liberties with him." Mr. Biddle had heard Robert Morris, "who was as intimate with him as any man in America," say that Washington was "the only man in whose presence he felt any awe." His countenance, under whatever circumstances, "seldom wore a frown or a smile." He was always "serious and reflecting."² "He was the most dignified character in this country." Edward Thornton, a secretary in the British legation, wrote back to England, while Robert Liston, British Minister, here for several years, said: "I have read much about this great man; but no passage in his history prepared me to see such commanding dignity in person and behavior." He was a hero even to Mrs. Washington. When Thomas Twining, the young English traveler, called to deliver a picture and a letter which relations of the president in Virginia bade him present, he was received by her. The objects being taken to General Washington, he himself concluded to appear. When she heard his steps she rose, as did Mr. Twining, and announced "The President!" "There was a seriousness in his manner which seemed to contribute to the impressive dignity of his person," said Twining, yet this did not diminish "the confidence and ease which the benevolence of his countenance and the kindness of his address inspired."³

The vice president, John Adams, settled his family in the old Hamilton house at "Bush Hill," called that, as Mrs. Adams observed in a letter to her daughter, though "there remains neither bush nor shrub upon it, and very few trees, except the pine grove behind" which contained "a spacious gravel walk guarded by a number of marble statues." But the Hamiltons had not lately occupied the house, and, owing to the difficulty of securing workmen, they were not able to make it ready in time for the new tenants. Green paint was everywhere, at the end of November, when Mrs. Adams spread out her household goods which had come around from Boston by sea. It was damp and cold beyond expression, since there had been no fire in the building, except in a back kitchen, in several years. The view of the city from the windows was excellent, but communication with it was bad. "We are only two miles from town," Mrs. Adams wrote, "but the road from hence to the pavement is one mile and a half, the soil a brick clay so that you must wallow to the city through a bed of mortar, without bottom, the horses sinking to their knees." In the midst of Mrs. Adams's troubles the ladies of Philadelphia came to visit her. Yet this house, like Washington's, soon became the seat of much social activity.⁴

¹ William Sullivan, *Public Men of the Revolution*, p. 120.

² *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, p. 284.

³ *Travels*, p. 129.

⁴ Quoted in Griswold, *Rep. Court*, pp. 249-51.

Congress opened its sessions in December, 1790, in the county building which had just been erected at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, adjoining the State House, and which for that reason soon came to be known as Congress Hall. The county commissioners employed David Evans, a well-known cabinetmaker, to put Venetian blinds to the windows and construct 50 "spitting boxes."¹ Little else was done to welcome the delegates. The hall was described by a member from Massachusetts, in a letter home, as a "large, elegant brick building," and so it seemed to the assembled statesmen of the new republic. The house of representatives met on the first floor. The speaker sat in a leather arm chair, placed against the west wall, at a table covered with green cloth with fringed edges. The members were also seated in arm chairs, at three rows of desks arranged in a semicircle, one row rising above another.² There were fireplaces and a lobby. Without a bar visitors might assemble to listen to the debates, as they could also in a gallery capable of holding 300 persons, which overlooked the scene.

The senate met in the second story. There a quite similar scene was presented to view. The members sat at two rows of desks which, however, were not raised from the floor, and there was no gallery until 1797, when several changes were made in the building. Then the south wall was taken out and the hall was extended several feet in that direction.

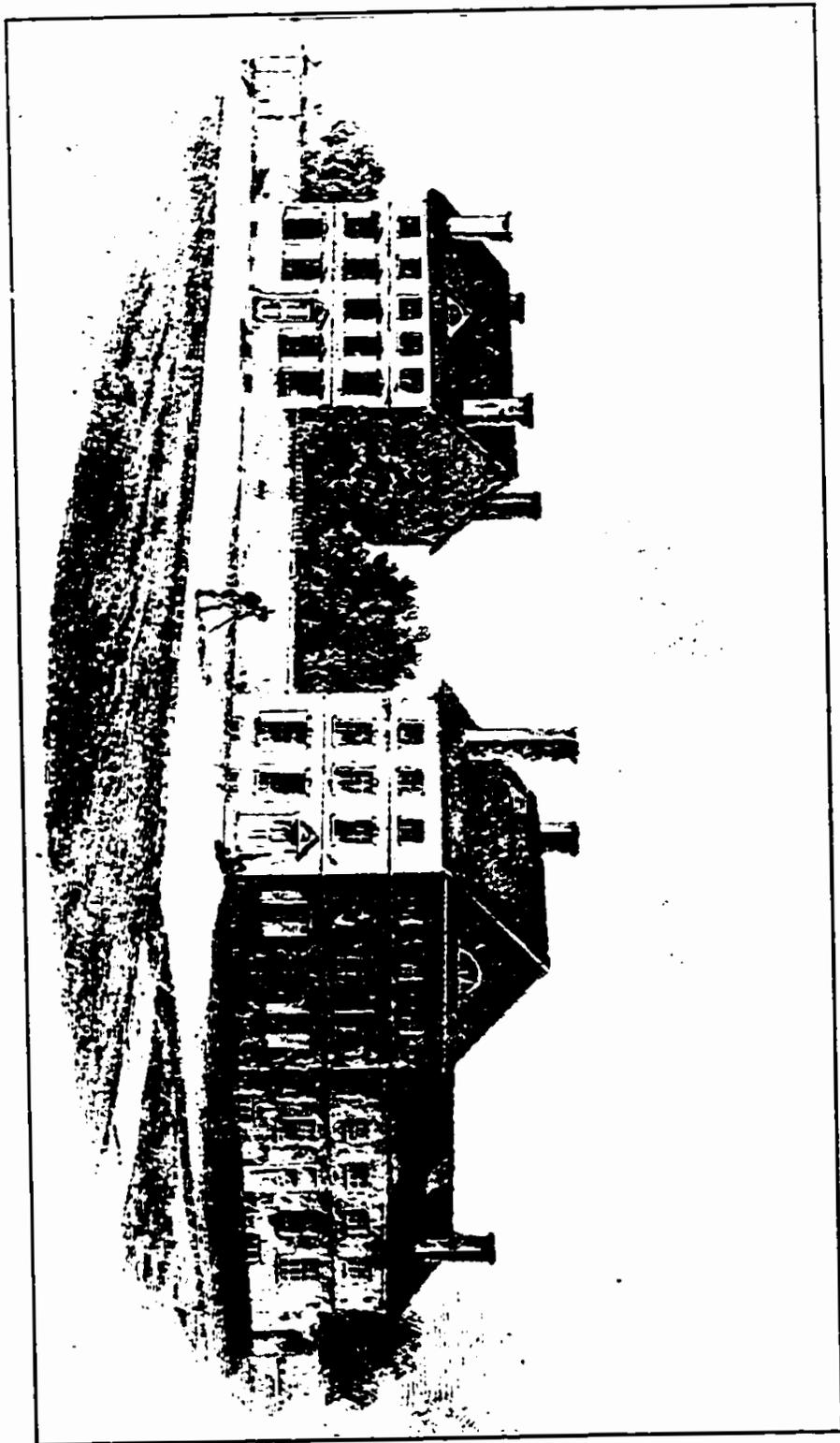
The senators seemed to visitors a very grave and dignified body of men. They dressed, spoke and acted with much punctilio, feeling the weight of their offices. In the house of representatives, on the other hand, the members walked about the lobby in conversation with their friends or, in their short clothes, warmed their calves at the blazing fires. Now and then one wore his cocked hat or threw his leg over his little desk in democratic abandonment. The city hall at Fifth and Chestnut streets was finished in 1791, and there a place was found for the supreme court.

The distinguished men, other than General Washington and Vice President Adams, who were brought to the city by reason of its being the capital of the country disposed themselves in various ways, mostly at the inns and boarding houses. Thomas Jefferson, the secretary of state, had his office at the northwest corner of Eighth and Market streets, and lived at first near by on the south side of Market street. Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, resided for a time at the southeast corner of Third and Walnut streets. Henry Knox, the secretary of war, resided in Second near Dock street, and later in Chestnut street, and Attorney-General Randolph in Vine street. The changing series of French ministers occupied the first place in the diplomatic corps at the capital of the new American republic. The consul for Philadelphia, for several years, was the Sieur Barbé-Marbois who had an office in Pine street. The first minister plenipotentiary from Great Britain was George Hammond, who improved his time while at his post by marrying Margaret, daughter of Andrew Allen, one of the Tory sons of Chief

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 51.

² Theophilus Bradley of Mass., to his daughter, *Pa. Mag.*, VIII, p. 226.

THE WASHINGTON AND MORRIS HOUSES AT SIXTH AND MARKET STREETS



Justice Allen, of "Mount Airy."¹ Phineas Bond, the Tory son of Dr. Phineas Bond, was now and for years afterward, British consul-general for the middle and southern states with his residence in Philadelphia. The minister of the United Netherlands was Francis P. Van Berckel. In 1794, the Chevalier de Freire appeared in Philadelphia and was received as the minister resident of the Queen of Portugal. A little later a Spanish envoy, Don Joseph de Jaudennes, presented his credentials. Richard Soderstrom for many years was the Swedish representative in Philadelphia, with the rank of consul.

Meanwhile the state and city governments were re-organized and put upon an effective footing. The constitution of 1776 could not long survive the triumph of federalism. Its knell was sounded when the state ratified the work of the Convention of 1787. The friends of the curious instrument still stubbornly defended it. Delegates to a new convention were chosen in the various counties in October, 1789. James Wilson was the leading member for the city and Thomas Mifflin, who had been president of the state since Franklin's retirement in November of the previous year, led the delegation from Philadelphia County. The body met in the State House on November 24, under the presidency of General Mifflin and continued its sessions until the end of February when it adjourned to reassemble in the following August. The contention of a minority for the system of 1776 went to violent lengths, but finally in September, 1790, an instrument was adopted which put Pennsylvania in a position of accord with the other states, the Federal Constitution and the traditions of the English race.

The altogether trivial and improper influences which had been at work for a long time to prevent the re-incorporation of the city were also overcome in 1789. On the 11th of March in that year the assembly passed a law creating "the mayor, aldermen and citizens of Philadelphia" a body politic. The city was given its old bounds from Vine to Cedar streets, between the two rivers, but it was a very much more democratic corporation than that which Penn had formed and which had surrendered its powers at the outbreak of the war. Fifteen aldermen were to be elected by the freeholders in April, 1789, and each seventh year thereafter for a term of seven years. At the same time thirty common councilmen were to be chosen for three years. The mayor was to be elected by the aldermen from their own number, his term being one year as before. The aldermen also appointed the recorder who, however, might be drawn from outside their own body. The city exercised a definite judicial authority through its mayor, recorder and aldermen who were constituted justices of the peace. In addition to the important powers which it had inherited from the corporation, in whose place it was established, it had some necessary new powers, but it still lacked adequate grants concerning taxation until the charter was amended on April 2, 1790. Samuel Powel, who had been the mayor at the dissolution of the government in 1776, was returned to that position.

Franklin's life came to an end with his constitution of Pennsylvania. He had returned home an invalid by both the gout and the stone, but his activity for three

¹ Keith's *Prov. Councillors*, pp. 149-50. Barbé-Marbois also married in Philadelphia. He took to wife Elizabeth Moore, a great-great-granddaughter of Penn's friend Thomas Lloyd.

years as president of the state and in other fields was unremitting. He kept up his correspondence with his friends in France who had long regarded him and the government of Pennsylvania as synonymous things, giving an encouragement to the democrats in Philadelphia and Paris which unmistakably testified to the fatuity of his judgment in all that pertained to the history and science of politics. It was a fitting as well as an honest ending of his career when he headed the Anti-Federalist ticket in Philadelphia at the election for members of the convention to ratify the Constitution of the United States, and when in Paris the revolutionists interrupted their orgies at his death to pronounce their eulogia upon him as a "friend of man."

When Manasseh Cutler came in 1787 "there was no curiosity in Philadelphia" which he felt so anxious to see. Franklin lived in a house which stood up a court-yard at some distance from Market street on the south side, between Third and Fourth streets. Cutler had the sensation of "going to be introduced to the presence of an European monarch." How were his "ideas changed?" The great philosopher was found in his garden "sitting upon a grass plat under a very large mulberry." There he was—"a short, fat, trunched old man in a plain Quaker dress, bald pate and short white locks." Tea had just been served by his daughter, Mrs. Richard Bache, who lived with him. He showed the Massachusetts clergyman a speckled snake with two heads which was preserved in a bottle of liquor, and which illustrated one of his favorite political principles. It called to his mind a legislature with two chambers. What embarrassment there would be if upon coming to a bush one head concluded to go to the right and the other to the left. Before he departed Cutler viewed a glass machine which passed a red fluid through tubes made to represent the veins and arteries of the human body, a rolling press for taking copies of letters, a long artificial arm for reaching up to the high shelves in the library, a "great armed chair with rockers and a large fan placed over it," with which Franklin kept himself cool and drove away the flies while he read, and a large variety of bells, and springs, and door pulls.

To facilitate his movements he had brought home from France a sedan chair which was borne by two burly fellows. The poles on which it swung, wrote one with memories of the sight, "must have been ten or twelve feet in length, elastic and airy, like the shafts of a modern sulky." It thus vibrated quietly up and down with the footsteps of the carriers.¹ It was regarded as a great curiosity in the city. In 1787, when Charles Biddle fell off the State House steps, seriously injuring his right leg, the chair was sent for and he was hurried home a distance of a mile to the Northern Liberties, but as the men accustomed to carrying it could not be found and some lame Revolutionary soldiers took it up, the passage was very painful for the passenger.²

On April 17, 1790, the great man died at the age of 85, and was buried beside his wife, whose death had occurred in December, 1774, just before his return after his long period of residence in England, in the Christ Church burying ground at Fifth and Arch streets. It was computed that the funeral procession was

¹ *Public Ledger*, Oct. 9, 1849.

² *Autobiography*, p. 213. The chair was sold with Franklin's effects in 1792.—*Pa. Mag.*, XXIII, p. 123.

witnessed by 20,000 people. All the clergy of the city, including the readers at the Jewish synagogue, were in the line. The pall was borne by Governor Mifflin, Chief Justice McKean, Thomas Willing, Mayor Powel, William Bingham and David Rittenhouse. Assemblymen, judges, aldermen, members of the bar, printers, the faculty and students of the College of Philadelphia, representatives of the Philosophical Society and the College of Physicians, and many citizens followed the corse to the grave. The bells were muffled and tolled, and minute guns were fired while the procession passed. A marble slab was later placed upon the grave by Richard Bache at an expense of £18.¹ It bears the simple inscription—

BENJAMIN
AND FRANKLIN
DEBORAH

1790

Nearly a year afterward, on March 2, 1791, when Congress was again in the city a memorial service was held in the handsome Zion Church, which the German Lutherans had built in 1769 at Fourth and Cherry streets. It had been arranged by the Philosophical Society, of which Franklin had so long been the president, and quite curiously Provost Smith, who was far from a sincere admirer of the man, delivered the oration.² The president and Mrs. Washington, the vice president and Mrs. Adams, senators, representatives, members of both branches of the state assembly, foreign ministers and consuls in the city, and many others were in attendance. When Franklin's will was read it was discovered that he had left £1,000 sterling for the purpose of making loans under surety "to such young married artificers under the age of twenty-five years as have served an apprenticeship in the city and faithfully fulfilled the duties required by their indentures."³ Not more than £60 should be advanced to any one person. The sum should be returned at the rate of one-tenth part annually with interest. "Among artisans," said Franklin, "good apprentices are most likely to make good citizens." He as a printer, had

¹ The estate paid the following bills which were contracted on account of his burial:

Ground	£0	15	0
Pall	1	0	0
Minister's attendance	0	6	0
Clerk's attendance	0	4	0
Muffling the bells	4	10	0
Invitations	3	7	6
Grave	0	10	0
	—	—	—
Total	£10	12	6

² On returning home from the church Dr. Smith asked his youngest daughter Rebecca how she had been pleased by the address. "Oh Papa, it was beautiful," she said, "very beautiful indeed, only—papa—only—only—" "Only what?" interrupted her father. "Only papa, now you won't be offended, will you? I don't think you believed more than one-tenth part of what you said of old Ben Lightning Rod, did you?"

³ A similar sum was bequeathed to Boston, the town of his birth, for like purposes and under like conditions.

received a loan of money to establish himself in business, and he wished to be the means of extending similar favors to other young men. Characteristically, he indulged in a prophetic calculation. The £1,000, he believed, would at the end of 100 years amount to £131,000, or above a half million dollars. Then £100,000 were to be withdrawn from the fund, and used for bringing the waters of the Wissahickon Creek into Philadelphia for the use of the people and for making the Schuylkill navigable. What remained, £31,000, should continue to be applied to the original purposes of the trust. In another century it would amount to £4,061,000, or nearly \$20,000,000 which might be divided between the city of Philadelphia and the state of Pennsylvania. It is an unpleasing commentary either upon Franklin's gift of prophecy or upon the management of the fund that the trust, now 120 years after Franklin's death, stands at less than \$50,000.¹

With the establishment of the government on a solid basis the nation was launched into an era of commercial and economic development, soon leading to a speculative fever, especially in wild lands which, at the end of the century, made wreck on all sides. The establishment of the Bank of the United States, and the projection of various public works, having to do with the internal development of the country, aroused a vast amount of interest. Congress chartered the bank on February 25, 1791, in response to Hamilton's recommendations. The same considerations which had led to the establishment of the Bank of North America by the Continental Congress in 1781 influenced those to whom the financial management of the government was confided ten years later. The capital was fixed at \$10,000,000, pounds, shillings and pence, now giving way, under the example of the Bank of North America in answer to the terms of a national coinage act, to a more convenient decimal system. The United States subscribed one-fifth of the sum, and the rest was taken with surprising rapidity. The books were opened on July 4, 1791, and before night more money was offered than could be received. The sum was over-subscribed and a speculation began in the "rights." On July 5th, \$35 was offered for certificates on which \$25 had been paid. In four days the value had doubled and in the excitement which followed the price of the scrip rose as high as \$200 for stock upon which only \$50 had been paid in. The charter ran for a term of twenty years and the bank was to be located in Philadelphia, with branch offices in seven other cities. It was opened in December, 1791, in Carpenter's Hall. Thomas Willing left his place at the head of the Bank of North America to take the presidency of the new institution. John Nixon became president of the Bank of North America.

The assembly following the example of Congress incorporated a state bank, the Bank of Pennsylvania, on March 30, 1793. Its capital was fixed at \$3,000,000, the state subscribing one-third of the amount, the rest of the shares, after the Bank of North America had declined to merge with the enterprise, being sold to the public. It was similarly granted a life of twenty years. Branches were established in Lancaster, Reading, Harrisburg, Easton, and Pittsburg. The first president was John Barclay and the bank was opened at the Mason's lodge, on Lodge alley, above Second street.

¹ Report of Board of Directors of City Trusts.

At this period, too, a mint was started in Philadelphia for the making of American coins. In 1782, and again in 1786, Congress had resolved upon the manufacture of money, but in 1792 the work was really begun. Various kinds of gold, silver and copper pieces were in circulation, but they lacked the stamp of authority of the federal government. For some time a man named Harper, a saw manufacturer, had been experimenting in his cellar with dies. He made the so-called "Washington penny" of 1791, bearing an awkward likeness of the president, now a very rare coin. "Half-dimes" and some other coins were struck off, but nothing came of these adventures until, in response to the act of Congress of April, 1792, David Rittenhouse was appointed director of the mint, and a building for his use was erected in Seventh street above Sugar alley, (near Filbert street) on the site of an old still-house. The structure resembled a brick dwelling to which outbuildings were added. On September 11, 1792, six pounds of old copper were bought to be converted into pennies. Later in the month some coining presses arrived from England, and a considerable outturn of pennies began. The machinery was moved by horse-power and it was a crude commencement of what has later become one of the most exact and scientific of manufacturing processes. Up to the year 1809 the total coinage of the Philadelphia mint had been \$8,349,421, of which \$2,763,597 was gold, \$4,370,846 silver, and \$214,977 copper.¹

The agitation for the improvement of water and land carriage for freight, which had been interrupted by the war, was resumed at the first opportunity. The rivers were carefully studied with a view to making them navigable. Farmers were now settled not only on the Susquehanna, but on the banks of the Juniata and in the Cumberland valley. In 1790 it was stated that 150,000 bushels of wheat had come down the Susquehanna to Middletown on its way to Philadelphia. Flour was taken back. There were many and various schemes. The "Society for Promoting the Improvement of Roads and Inland Navigation" added its voice in favor of effective action. It advocated the connection of the Susquehanna and the Schuylkill by an artificial waterway, a venerable project; and some suggested a canal the entire length of the state to the Allegheny river. A company was incorporated by the legislature of Pennsylvania on September, 29, 1791, under the name of the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Navigation Company to build a lock canal to be operated by the waters of the Tulpehocken, Quittapahilla and Swatara in Berks and Dauphin counties, a distance of 79 miles. Subscriptions were invited to 1,000 shares of stock at \$400 each. Forty thousand shares were taken, so eager was the investing public, and a lottery had to be devised to determine which one man out of every forty should have the privilege of being a shareholder. The company organized by electing Robert Morris president, and work was immediately begun at the crown level, near Lebanon. This canal would bring western produce to Norristown. Here it would meet the canal of the Delaware and Schuylkill Company, which was incorporated in 1792. Like the Susquehanna Company its shares were enthusiastically taken. Robert Morris was its president, also, and excavations were begun on the east bank of the Schuylkill on the grounds of his country estate. The company would not only furnish a route for boats; it

¹ Mease, p. 157.

would bring a supply of water to the city from some pure source. The managers sent to England for a competent engineer, but so urgent did the work seem to be that much of the stockholders' money had been extravagantly expended before he arrived.¹

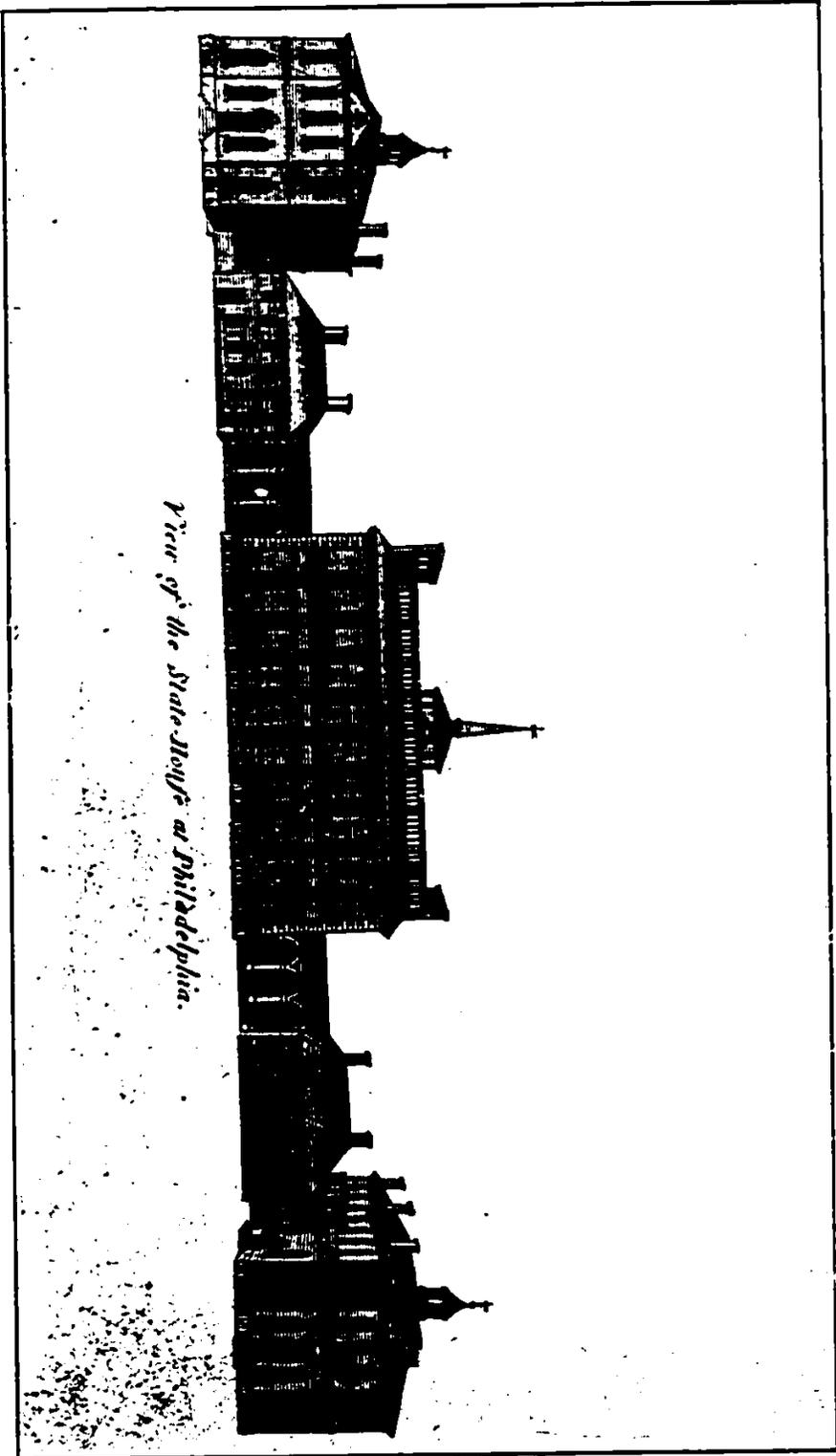
The road to Lancaster, a distance of 62 miles, was not adequate for the large amount of heavy produce which was to be hauled over it. Moreover it was in a villainous condition at some seasons. William Hamilton of the "Woodlands," whose family had investments at Lancaster, requiring him frequently to make the journey over the road, wrote on May 2, 1789, that from Jesse George's Hill to the Sorrel Horse he could not once get into a trot. He could compare the road to nothing "but being chin deep in hasty pudding." The hills were not so "slushy," but were equally impassable by reason of being worn into "lop-sided ruts."² It was recommended that the road be straightened and levelled to avoid grades. It must then be bedded with stone or gravel to offer a solid way for the Conestoga wagons, which were the freight carriers between the city and the growing west. The state could not be expected to bear this large expense, and the proposal took the form of a corporation with the right to erect gates and levy tolls upon those who made use of the road. The Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Company, the first of a great number soon to appear in the United States, was chartered in 1792, and steps were taken to construct a highway which for more than forty years was one of the principal arteries of American commerce. Again there was great competition to subscribe, and 2,276 shares were sold. A lottery was employed to reduce the number to 1,000 shares. In two or three days people were offering \$100 for scrip upon which \$30 had been paid. William Bingham was elected to the presidency of this company.

The assembly passed laws and Governor Mifflin made contracts for the improvement of navigation in the Delaware, Lehigh, and Lechawaxen rivers. Indeed plans of all kinds abounded for the internal improvement of the country. Companies without number were organized to sell lands and build towns. The city swarmed with land jobbers who had thousands upon thousands of acres for sale in Pennsylvania, New York, Virginia, Kentucky and the southern states for a few cents an acre. The promise of an extraordinary outpouring of people from Europe, come to enjoy the advantages of republican government, took hold of the public imagination and it was a season in which many ill-considered things were done, even by sober business men.

There was as yet no clear division of parties, though a basis was being discovered for it in the aristocratic attitude of Washington, and, more particularly, of John Adams. The nimbus of glory which surrounded the head of the late successful commander-in-chief delayed the expression of the disapproval of the democrats, but they were biding their hour, and not any too patiently. A man like Senator Maclay of Pennsylvania, already called Washington and those around him "royalists." "Republicans are borne down by fashion and a fear of being charged with want of respect to General Washington," he wrote on December 14.

¹ Mease, p. 354.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXIX, pp. 153-4.



View of the State-House at Philadelphia.

STATE HOUSE AND ADJOINING BUILDINGS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1790.¹ "If there is treason in the wish, I retract it, but would to God this same General Washington were in Heaven! We would not then have him brought forward as the constant cover to every unconstitutional and unrepudican act." There was criticism of his great coach with the cupids painted on the panels, of his wand bearers, of his elaborate dress, of his levees at which the beauty, fashion and wealth of the city congregated, of his imperial bearing generally. His table was waited on by a large company of men-servants in livery. In the centre was a great piece of "furniture" containing pedestals and images, an "elegant" ornament. Everything was served—"roast beef, veal, turkey, ducks, fowls, hams, puddings, jellies, oranges, apples, nuts, almonds, figs, raisins and a variety of wines and punch."² It was complained that the president did not mix with the people at the taverns. They might go to his formal receptions, but there he welcomed them only with a dignified bow and perhaps a few words, when soon the signal was given for them to retire.

An issue upon which the people would divide into parties was near at hand, and it was found in the course of events in France. They developed with amazing rapidity. On July 14, 1789, the Bastille was captured by a republican mob, and the country was in the midst of a great revolution. Those principles of which Franklin had been regarded as the chief exponent in America, and which were supposed to have found their first test in this country and particularly in Pennsylvania, were now to be introduced on other and much less favorable ground. Events were moving on with the speed of wind, and the Americans were not unmindful of the fate of that people with whom during the war they had been allied by so many bonds of interest and sympathy. From good round haters of the French during the 50's and 60's they had become enthusiastic allies in the 70's and 80's, and now were not all ready at once again to change their allegiance. The old Constitutionals of Pennsylvania, who studied and quoted and practised the French political philosophy, witnessed the appearance of a single chamber republican government in France with lively satisfaction. Their number was increased by many French and Irish emigrés and European liberals, of one kind or another, who had flocked to America as a land of promise immediately after the war. These now found in the incidents of the French Revolution occasion for great rejoicing, and for an attitude on the part of the government which would have again involved the nation in difficulties, wherefrom by great good fortune it had just made its escape. And for what purpose? The other had been a war for independence from England and from European imbroglios of all kinds, it was hoped forever. This would be a war for some abstract principle of liberty. It meant an immediate re-entry into European politics and would end very probably in the total loss of that freedom which had been gained, and a return to bondage to masters over-sea after the poverty, bloodshed and exhaustion of another great war. But these considerations were of no weight with large numbers of people. On the Fourth of July, 1792, there were many toasts to the French. Thirsty Philadelphians drank to the sentiment—

¹ *Journal of Wm. Maclay.*

² *Pa. Mag.*, Vol. VIII, p. 226.

"May the citizens of the French nation ever support their just claims to equal liberty."

On the 14th of July, which was the third anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, the vessels in the harbor were decorated. The French and American ships saluted each other with peals of artillery. In the evening a large company of citizens gathered at Oellers' Hotel, a tavern which was to be the scene of many festivities during the next few years, and there were toasts to a variety of stirring sentiments:

"Victory to the French Armies over the foes to liberty."

"May the freedom which dawned on this day encircle the globe."

"Live free or die."

"The fair of France and America—may each one weave a cap of liberty for her husband."

A number of French societies, patterned after the Jacobin clubs of Paris, were formed to celebrate republican victories by long draughts of wine at the city inns. For a time the meetings found the favor of conservative men. There seemed no harm in the celebrations so long as the revolution promised to be effected without the bloody orgies which accompanied and ensued upon the death of the king.

In February, 1793, Governor Mifflin, who seemed at first to favor the French ferment, in company with the French Minister, M. de Ternant, and the consul-general of France, the Sieur de la Forest, attended a dinner at the City Tavern where the head of the table was ornamented with a pike, which bore the cap of liberty and was twined about by the French and American flags. At the end of the celebration the officers of the city militia, accompanied by a band, proceeded to the house of the French minister where "Yankee Doodle" and "Ca Ira" were played amid immense enthusiasm. But this was quite enough except for the indiscreet, and of these there were many. The sending to this country of Citizen Genet, as the envoy of the new republic, was the beginning of a remarkable train of events. He came to claim the alliance of the United States as a right. He was landed at Charleston from the French frigate "L'Ambuscade," commanded by Citizen Bompart. On May 2d the vessel came up the coast reaching the Delaware with a liberty cap on her figure-head. Another cap crowned her foremast and she displayed several inscriptions such as—

"Enemies of Equality relinquish your principles or tremble."

"Freemen, we are your brothers and friends."

"We are armed to defend the rights of men."

She brought with her some English prizes which she had taken within sight of the city. Guns on Market street wharf welcomed this theatrical French navigator. Meantime Genet continued his triumphal journey northward overland, gathering effrontery as he advanced. He was two weeks behind the vessel and reached Gray's Ferry on May 16th, where a great concourse of citizens had gathered to welcome him. David Rittenhouse, Alexander James Dallas, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, Dr. James Hutchinson, Charles Biddle and Peter Stephen Duponceau were among those who hastened to greet him. Addresses were presented to the visitor. He was recognized as the French minister and granted an audience by

Washington, who, however, unbent little in the presence of this mischievous and impetuous ambassador. Genet thought the president very cold, and he took an early opportunity to complain that in the house he had seen a head of Louis XVI. Its exhibition there was an insult to France.

America could not move with enough rapidity to keep up with the course of affairs in Paris. The people had just left off their hilarious celebrations of the king's birthday, and there were several of his effigies in the halls of government which could not be removed with the speed that his countrymen had shown in sending him to the guillotine.

In a few days Genet was given "a grand civic feast" at Oellers' Hotel. Charles Biddle presided. The officers of "L'Ambuscade" and such representatives of the federal and state governments as could be induced to come sat around the table. The flags of both nations, the tree of liberty and the liberty cap were used as decorations. There were fifteen toasts, as was usual at this time, one for each of the states, increased in number now by the admission of Vermont and Kentucky into the union. Genet sang the "Marseillaise" with "great judgment and animation," it is said, the company picking up the chorus. The sentiments, which were in character with the occasion, were honored by salvos from two twelve-pounders set in the yard outside, and after the toasting was at an end the red cap of liberty was placed upon the head of Genet, by whom it was transferred to the head of a neighbor, to be passed from one to another pate until all had come under its spell. "It inspired every citizen," said one well-intoxicated witness of the scene, "with that enthusiasm and with those feelings which baffle all description, which free-men can only conceive, and of which slaves and despots cannot have the most distant comprehension."

The celebrations were repeated on the 4th and 14th days of July when there was much violent talk about the "rights of man" and "national liberty." Men drank to—

"The greatest George on earth;"

"The Republic of France;"

"Citizen Genet;"

"A speedy emancipation to the whole of creation;"

"May those who envy us never partake of our blessings, and their constant abiding place be Nova Scotia and Botany Bay, there to live on codfish tails soaked in whale oil, with a morsel of bread;"

"May the French beat the Austrian and Prussian Blues till they become black and blue; and all enemies to French freedom be condemned all their days to pound plaster of Paris;"

"May succeeding generations wonder that such beings as Kings ever existed."

At one dinner 85 rounds were fired by the artillery in honor of the various departments of France. The head of a pig was severed from its body to typify the decapitation of the French king. It was passed around among the company; each guest as he put the liberty cap upon his head uttered the word "tyrant" and thrust his knife into the flesh, in expression of his contempt for royalty. A large section of the American people, like the French, seemed to be relapsing into barbarism. It was time that such proceedings were halted, and Washington, with

the support of leaders like Alexander Hamilton, John Adams and Robert Morris, was just the man for the emergency. He clearly understood that the safety and strength of the newly founded government lay in its total separation from action meant to connect it with the uncertain fate of France. Gratitude to an old ally, now herself scarcely recognizable for revolution, and the love of some theoretical principle of universal liberty, might be well enough; common sense and the instincts of self preservation could much better be heeded at such a time as this.

There was a saving element in the population, as there usually is in America in the face of great foolishness. The merchants of the city alarmed at the action of France in taking prizes in American rivers petitioned the president for a proclamation of neutrality. The opposition to Washington had not been great enough to prevent his unanimous reelection in 1793, of which information officially reached him through a joint committee of the senate and the house of representatives on February 15, 1793. On March 4th he was inducted into office in the senate chamber. The oath was administered at noon by Judge Cushing in the presence of the members of Congress, the state legislature and several foreign ministers and consuls. A number of ladies also were seen in the assemblage, while an "immense concourse" of people filled the streets outside of the State House. The president had later gone to Mount Vernon and was there when he received news of the breaking out of the war between France and Great Britain. He at once returned, reaching Philadelphia again on April 17th. On the 22d, the very day upon which news came to the city of Genet's arrival at Charleston the president issued his proclamation of neutrality. With the "L'Ambuscade" in port there was an opportunity for the application of its principles. Her sailors were the butt of the English sailors whenever they met on shore. There were mobs in the streets, and the common council resolved that no war vessel should be permitted to come "higher up the river than the borough of Chester." Citizen Genet was ordered to surrender the British ship "Grange," which had been taken by the "L'Ambuscade" on her way to Philadelphia, and he was told that he must cease the operations which had been begun in the port to fit out a privateer under the name of "Le Petit Democrat." Governor Mifflin supported General Washington in rebuking the minister for his extraordinary course.

Genet openly resented any interference with his plans, and he is said to have declared that he would appeal from the "President to the people." On another vessel, which was ready to sail in the French service, General Washington and Governor Mifflin stationed a body of Pennsylvania militia. Unable to make any progress at Philadelphia this ill-adapted diplomat proceeded to New York where he was again acclaimed by crowds of people. Nothing remained but to request the man's recall, and this was done in a prompt and emphatic way.

Here was a ground for political differences which the people had not known since the adoption of the Constitution. The sympathizers with France were made up of that class who had already begun to murmur about the lordly and ceremonious attitude of President Washington. These men now found corroboration for their charges that he and his associates were at heart "monocrats" and royalists. Here they were refusing to engage in a war with England when by doing

so they might accomplish nothing less than an extension of the empire of liberty in France and other parts of the world.

Their chief leaders were Tom Paine, who had written his book *The Rights of Man* and had gone to France to assist in the great struggle for universal brotherhood, and Thomas Jefferson who did not allow his sympathies to be open to any popular misrepresentation even while he continued to be secretary of state. He opposed Washington and Hamilton in their determination to maintain a position of neutrality amid the unexampled excitement of the hour, and Genet recognized him as a friend. The French minister told Jefferson to his face, and the latter seemed to accede to the view, that he "must put his contracts into the hands of Rob Morris, etc., [Hamilton being one of those included in this et cetera] who were all powerful in the government." He had not done so, therefore he had failed in carrying out his plans.¹ It was Jefferson who seemed most inclined to second Genet's views. The French minister wrote home: "He gave me some useful ideas regarding the men in office and did not conceal from me that Senator Morris and the Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton, attached to the interests of England, exerted the greatest influence on the mind of the President, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that he counteracted their efforts."²

Genet complained that the secretary of the treasury never addressed him as the minister of the republic of France, always only as the minister of France. The meetings of the cabinet were frequent and stormy. Once Jefferson complained that Hamilton had made "a jury speech of three-fourths of an hour, as inflammatory and declamatory as if he had been speaking to a jury."³ It was nothing but proof of the growth of distinctly monarchical tendencies when a man like Brockhurst Livingston would say to another "that Hamilton's life was much more precious to the community than the president's."⁴ It was a very unrepblican speech in Jefferson's view when Hamilton said to Edmund Randolph: "Sir, if all the people in America were now assembled, and to call on me to say whether I am a friend of the French Revolution, I would declare that I have it in abhorrence."

The abuse of Washington himself was now savage. The number of newspapers in Philadelphia had been increased by at least two and they were contributed to by a variety of scurrilous Scotchmen, Irishmen and other English haters. In 1790 Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, began the publication of the *General Advertiser* which was soon generally known as the *Aurora*, because of the rays of light forming the design for the title of the paper. He had been educated under his grandfather's oversight in Paris and Geneva, and came home an enthusiastic advocate of liberty and equality. The young man seemed to radiate all those views which were attributed to Franklin in Paris, but which when he was pinned down at home the old philosopher was usually either too shrewd or too amiable to express. The *Aurora* later gained a great reputation for its savage

¹ Jefferson's *Anas*.

² Genet to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 31, 1793.

³ *Anas*.

⁴ *Ibid*.

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assaults upon Washington and his policies. It was already a rabid denouncer of him as a monarchist.

Worse yet was Freneau, who came to the city at Jefferson's express invitation and shot his shafts at Washington from under the very wing of the secretary of state. He edited a paper called the *National Gazette* which bristled with pasquinades aimed at the president. Washington, at a cabinet meeting in 1793, complained with all the warmth of a Virginia planter that "that rascal Freneau" sent him three of his papers every day, as if expecting him to be one of its distributors. It could be "nothing but an impudent design to insult him." At this time, says Jefferson, "the president was much inflamed, got into one of those passions when he cannot command himself, ran on much on the personal abuse which had been bestowed on him, defied any man on earth to produce one single act of his since he had been in the government which was not done on the purest motives, that he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office and that was every moment since, that by God he had rather be on his farm than to be made Emperor of the world, and yet that they were charging him with wanting to be King."¹ The cries of "Long Live Great Washington," with which he used to be met in the streets were now seldom heard. The popular "God Save Great Washington" to the tune of "God Save the King" was never sung. The mob had transferred its affections to the French revolutionists.

Jefferson was obviously in the wrong place and he gave his resignation to the president. He did not wish to be longer in a situation "where the laws of society oblige me to move exactly in the circle which I know to bear me peculiar hatred, that is to say the wealthy aristocrats, the merchants connected closely with England, the new created paper fortunes." The opposition of his views to "another part of the administration"—that is to Hamilton—rendered the longer occupation of his place "peculiarly displeasing."²

Philadelphia had gone French mad. The women assumed French manners. According to John Davis, a young Englishman who visited us at this time, the city was completely under the social influence of Paris. "When the Revolution drove so many Gallic damsels to the banks of the Delaware," he wrote, "the American girls blushed at their own awkwardness and each strove to copy that swimming air, that nonchalance, that ease and apparent unconsciousness of being observed which characterized the French young ladies, as they passed through the streets." Young men astonished their sweethearts with poses, graces, and flatteries hitherto unknown.³ An old inhabitant in correspondence with Zachariah Poulson, in recalling this picturesque period in Philadelphia history, wrote: "Meztizo ladies, with complexions of palest marble, jet black hair and eyes of the gazelle, and of the most exquisite symmetry were to be seen, escorted along the pavement by white French gentlemen, both dressed in West India fashion and of the richest materials. Coal black negresses, in flowing white dresses and turbans of mouchoir de madras, exhibited their ivory dominoes, in social walk with a white or a creole, altogether forming a contrast to the native

¹ *Anas*, Aug. 2, 1793.

² *Anas*, Aug. 6, 1793.

³ "Penn" in *Phila. Bulletin*, Jan. 10, 1910.

Americans." These visitors sipped their liqueurs at tables on the balconies and pavements of the inns and coffee houses in tropical abandonment. Those who were in sympathy with the Revolution were dressing in pantaloons and laced shoes and were cropping their hair, but the old French emigrés clung to the Bourbon styles, and continued to wear the full powdered wig, the cocked hat, short clothes, and silver shoe buckles, and to carry their gold-headed canes.

The French had their own clubs and societies. They lent much strength to the Catholic church. There were calls upon their charity as well as upon their enthusiasm in 1793, when the negro insurrection in St. Domingo brought to the city hundreds of planters and other unfortunate people who, forced to flee from their homes, sought refuge here. Money must be collected from philanthropic citizens and later from the legislature to relieve the distress of these exiles.¹ For years, says Mr. Rosengarten in his study of the French refugees in America, there was a French colony in Philadelphia in Front street and running west on Spruce and Pine streets. Many names were then introduced into our family nomenclature, still known and respected in the city. Other exiles pressed on to agricultural colonies, most of them quite ill-fated, among the number, Asylum, planned by French royalist refugees on land purchased from Robert Morris on the north branch of the Susquehanna. Indeed, it was expected that the king and queen of France, if they should be released, might find a home among their friends in this wilderness.² This numerous French element in the population mostly anti-Bourbon, reinforced by our own democrats, was fine recruiting ground for the mob.

Philadelphia, like Paris, was on the verge of a great political upheaval. A half tipsy rabble raged the streets night and day, wearing the tricolor. They danced the "Carmagnole" in liberty caps, and sang "Ca Ira" and the "Marseillaise." "Ten thousand people in the streets of Philadelphia," wrote John Adams, "day after day threatened to drag Washington out of his house and effect a revolution in the government, or compel it to declare war in favor of the French Revolution and against England." Only the yellow fever, it is believed, saved the city from bloody riots.

This visitation of disease forms the most terrible chapter in the history of Philadelphia. For many years, always indeed, there had been attacks of an epidemic which seemed to come on ships from the West Indies. Quarantine regulations of a certain kind had been established to reduce the risk of its recurring ravages. Dock creek had been closed with a view to improving public health. But in the summer of 1793 the disease was introduced in such a form, and the weather so much favored its spread, that it soon passed all the bounds which had previously been set for it. A great deal was afterward written concerning the probable source of the epidemic, but so very crude were the notions of

¹ Pontgibaud in his book *A French Volunteer in the War of Independence* says that 600 French refugees came from St. Domingo while the yellow fever raged in Philadelphia in 1793. In 1798 several vessels laden with French West Indians arrived in the Delaware and there were other infusions of French blood from the same sources both directly by sea and overland by way of other ports.

² Rosengarten, *French Colonists and Exiles*, pp. 142-43.

sanitary science and of medicine, and so grossly ignorant and superstitious were many of the people, that it is difficult to get a responsible account of the progress of the disorder. All presumption favors the belief that it was introduced in July on ships from the West Indies, where the yellow fever in 1793 was particularly prevalent. There was no proper supervision of the river, nor were there authoritative efforts to detain infected vessels. Indeed they seem to have come in without restraint, and the disease easily secured a lodgment in a sailor's boarding house in North Water street. The fever was so usual a visitant in summer that little was made of it so long as its victims were only poor people living on the river side. In August, however, a number of prominent persons were down with the disease, which resulted, in several cases, fatally.

The mayor at this time was Matthew Clarkson. Samuel Powel, the first mayor under the new charter, had been followed by Samuel Miles, for some years captain of the First City Troop, and the occupant of the office for the next term was John Barclay, a shipping merchant, accounted of sufficient wealth and prominence to be made president of the new Bank of Pennsylvania. Matthew Clarkson was a native of New York City, who had come to Philadelphia in 1743. He was a friend of Robert Morris, and had mercantile and political connections which commended him in the best social circles of the city. He was elected in 1792, and would serve for three successive terms, very largely as a reward for what he bravely did in connection with the yellow fever. On August 22d he ordered all the streets to be cleaned and remained at the post of duty when thousands were fleeing in all directions for fear of infection. No one, the physicians included, seemed to have any intelligent plans for coping with the distemper. Unnecessary intercourse with the sick was discouraged, advice that scarcely needed to be given. Houses which contained the disease were marked. Bonfires were built in the streets to clear the air, and they blazed away day and night until the mayor forbade the practice lest it lead to a great conflagration. Then the people began the firing of guns, but the noise troubled the sick and that cure must be abandoned. Those who went abroad put handkerchiefs, or sponges, impregnated with camphor or vinegar to their noses. Others tied bags of camphor around their necks and carried pieces of tarred rope in their hands or in their pockets, thinking to obtain protection by these means. Many chewed garlic or kept it in their garments or their shoes, while numbers of people, including women and small boys, Mathew Carey tells us, had cigars almost constantly in their mouths. Few houses were free from the smell of gun powder, tobacco, nitre, vinegar and those simple disinfectants which were known to the pharmacopoeia of the eighteenth century.

The progress of the disease was rapid and terrifying. If it could not be arrested death usually came in five to eight days. There was a black vomit which was a certain accompaniment of the fever when it raged dangerously. The doctors had many theories and plans of treatment. Freneau wrote:

"Doctors raving and disputing
 Death's pale army still recruiting,
 What a pother,
 One with t'other
 Some a-writing, some a-shooting



Benjamin Bush

Nature's poisons here collected,
 Water, earth and air infected;
 O! what pity
 Such a city
 Was in such a place erected."

Some tried salts to purge the bowels, others a West Indian remedy of bark, wine and laudanum, with perhaps a cold bath. Then came the experiments with mercury. For the honor of introducing this idea several doctors contended, but it soon became the favorite mode of treatment with Dr. Benjamin Rush, and his name is closely identified with it. Bleeding was also generally resorted to. Dr. Griffitts was bled seven times in five days and from Dr. Mease in a like period 72 ounces of blood were taken. Such barbers as remained supplemented the labors of the physicians in the use of the lancet, and many, fearing infection, procured their own instruments and themselves performed the operation.

The physicians quite generally continued at their posts, though the number altogether was not large. No less than ten died of the disease and few escaped its attacks. Rush himself was seized three or four times, and on the last occasion was so exhausted that his recovery was despaired of. He sometimes purged and bled as many as one hundred in a day. He was besought wherever he appeared by those who had relations and friends down with the fever, begging him to come to them. He was compelled to drive his chaise at breakneck speed in the streets to escape their pleadings. A hospital was established in the old Hamilton mansion at Bush Hill. But there was no one to nurse and care for the sick. The negroes were good, since they generally escaped the infection, but who would enlist their services and direct them? In this emergency Peter Helm, a Moravian cedar cooper, and Stephen Girard, a young Frenchman as yet not much known, who had a provision store in Front street offered their services.¹ Helm looked after the outside interests of the hospital, procuring the supplies and attending to other needful duties, while Girard put to order the inside of the house.² A place to which earlier the sick were loath to go, it soon came to enjoy a very favorable reputation. All who possibly could escape fled late in August, filling the farm houses and village inns for miles around in all directions. Processions of coaches, gigs, chairs, coaches, carts, drays and other vehicles carried away the people and their household effects. There had not been such a general hegira since the flight which attended the approach of the British army during the war.

Congress had adjourned. Washington remained in the city during August, but he left for Mount Vernon on September 10th, and when he returned, about November 1st, it was to take the "Morris house" in Germantown, still standing

¹ Girard appears in the Directory at this time as a "grocer" at 43 North Front Street; Peter Helm, as a "cooper" at 30 North Front Street.—*Hardie's Directory* for 1793.

² It is noteworthy that they had in their service several inmates of the jail, who offered their services in the emergency. A burglar sentenced to seven years, became a deputy steward at the hospital; and another robber was released to drive the provision cart, behaving well, throughout the epidemic. Several female prisoners gave up their bedsteads for the use of the sick and even offered their bedding.—*Mease*, p. 184.

and numbered 5442 on the Main street. Hamilton, who was attacked by the disease, upon his recovery went to New York. He later settled in Germantown, as did Thomas Jefferson and Edmund Randolph. For several weeks that village enjoyed the distinction of being virtually the national capital.

The assembly of Pennsylvania met at the State House on August 27th and bravely attempted to go on with its business, but on September 7th it was compelled to adjourn. Governor Mifflin was taken sick. He recovered, and then removed to his house on the Ridge Road, near the Falls of Schuylkill. Nearly half the inhabitants were out of the city when the pestilence was at its height. At one time a careful computation showed that only 3,599 houses in Philadelphia and its suburbs were occupied, while 2,728 were found to be vacant. Considerably less than 25,000 people seem to have remained.

At once the price of houses and all kinds of domestic accommodation in the neighborhood rose to a great height under the unusual demand, and as soon as the stories of the gravity of the plague, which were grotesquely exaggerated, were spread about, refugees could not find places on any terms. Other cities closed their doors to ships, stage coaches, and to all persons coming from Philadelphia. In New York guards armed with bayonets were put on the public landings, and a special night watch was established to prevent the entrance of Philadelphians. Baltimore sent a body of militia to guard a pass in the Philadelphia road. Passengers on stages were shot at as they went through Trenton. Wilmington, Del., was one of the few towns which held out a helping hand to a city whose people were in the direst distress and needed sympathy and aid as never before.

But for Helm and Girard at Bush Hill, Mayor Clarkson, a number of devoted and self-sacrificing physicians and a committee of citizens, who volunteered to assist the guardians of the poor, of which body all had departed except James Wilson, Jacob Tomkins, Jr., and William Sansom, the city would have had a much more terrible fate. Four of these volunteers Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, Daniel Offley, Joseph Inskeep and Andrew Adgate died of the malady, but the business of caring in some way for the working people for whom there was now no employment and no food except at the most exorbitant prices, since the market men would not bring their produce to town, for little children whose parents were dead and whose homes were broken up, to say naught of the performance of the onerous and dreadful duty of going into houses to remove the sick and to take out the corpses, and of cleaning the pavements and streets, went on.¹

The situation was bad enough in all reason without exaggerating it, but that it would be made worse by word of mouth and in the newspapers of other cities was inevitable. Communication was irregular and imperfect. The mass of the people were ruled by a great amount of superstition. It was true that shops, offices, houses, libraries, banks, churches, inns and schools were closed—that grass grew in many of the streets. The newspapers either ceased publication or

¹ Charles Brockden Brown's *Arthur Merzynn* gives an excellent account, in the form of fiction, of the yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1793. More recently Dr. Weiz Mitchell has performed a similar service in a more literary way in his novel *The Red City*.

else moved their offices out of town. At the October elections, only 567 men voted in the city and 811 in the county, as compared with more than 5,000 for the city and county the year before. Men shunned one another and entirely gave up the custom of shaking hands. Most of them walked in the middle of the streets to avoid breathing the malignant air swept out of the houses. Sick carts were seen on all sides and coffins thrown over the shafts of a chair, and dragged to the graveyard by a horse driven by a black fellow were everywhere. These were the funerals even of very prominent citizens. There was no further ceremony. The poor were literally dumped into their graves, oftentimes at night. Parents left their dying children, and children their dying parents. Many perished "without a human being to hand them a drink of water, to administer medicine or to perform any charitable office for them," as Mathew Carey relates, and it was a common thing for men to die in the streets. They were unable to find anyone willing to take them in.

Those who visited the city went away with the most alarming tales of what they had seen and the papers in New York, New Jersey, New England and Maryland were filled with their observations. A wagoner who came in affixed his hand to his nose and mouth to avoid breathing the air, which was no doubt quite vile enough, for there had been weeks of hot, rainless weather. He saw a man slip on a melon rind and fall. Believing him dead, he ran out of town as fast as he could go. A Jersey farmer who had some produce to sell was drawn into the city, tempted by the great prices which all kinds of provisions commanded in the markets. He gave this account of his adventure:

"I had heard to keep clear of the fever it was necessary to stop all up, and that I did most effectually. My mouth, ears and nose was let alone until I got to Cooper's Ferry, when seeing, and that clearly, that everything across the river look so terrible yellow there was no longer delaying the matter, and I instantly closed up my nose and ears with putty and fixed a large handkerchief in my mouth. The whole town is as yellow as my pumpkin patch. We landed at Arch Street Ferry and on going down Water Street to the Market all at once I was struck with such a dreadful fogo of a smell rushing out of a house in which I was afterwards told 59 people had died that with the force of it I was knocked against an adjoining post and thence lay sprawling in the gutter. It's as true as you are alive—I had heard the fever killed stone dead in a moment—the little time of my being in town I saw six tumble down. My fall brought on an instantaneous chill so I concluded I was not yet clear of the fever, and bundling up I got safe to market. I sold quick five shilling nine pence for butter, and four shillings per dozen for eggs: one pound I lost two shillings on—speaking thick through my handkerchief—a woman mistook the price for three and nine, dab'd down half a dollar and got off in a trice. There was no following for fear of the fever and hollowing you know I could do little at. Only the negroes come to market now. They told me 14,200 have already died—29,000 have gone out of town—so that only 1,425 people remain."

Thus were truth and falsehood mingled until outside of the city no one could definitely know what its sufferings really were. As the cooler days of autumn came on the disease began to abate, but not until approximately 5,000 persons

had been swept away by it, computed to be 22 per cent of all the people who remained in the city during those frightful weeks of plague. On the 14th of November, Governor Mifflin issued a proclamation announcing that the ravages of the pestilence had ceased and appointing a Thanksgiving day in December. The inhabitants who had gone away returned to their homes and the city faced the problem of devising, if it could, the means of preventing a recurrence of the epidemic in summers to come.

CHAPTER XIV.

A TRIAL OF STRENGTH.

The pro-French and anti-English excitement was soon reawakened. The dreadful traces of the fever did not suffice very long to subdue the enthusiasm with which a large element in the population followed the course of affairs in France. On January 21, 1793, Louis XVI, whose birthday had been celebrated with so much ardor for so many years, had been beheaded by the mobs which overthrew his government in Paris. The news of that outrage sobered few in Philadelphia. In January, 1794, came information of the death under the guillotine on the 16th day of October, of the French queen, the Marie Antoinette, whose name the very children in every good Whig household had been taught to lisp with tender admiration. "When will the savages be satiated with blood?" asked John Adams. It all mattered little enough to the French rabble in Philadelphia. The first notable occasion, after the subsidence of the fever, found for a renewal of the spirit of celebration was on February 6, 1794, the anniversary of the French and American alliance. The crew of a French East Indiaman, which happened to be in the harbor, came ashore with a band of music. French and American colors were borne around the town, to be taken finally to Richardet's¹ tavern on Tenth near Arch street, where a dinner was served to a number of warm disciples of the doctrine of liberty. Another dinner proceeded on the same day at Oellers' Hotel, and a little later the French ship captain returned the courtesies which he had received in the city by inviting his hosts to an entertainment on board his vessel. Genet had come back to Philadelphia, though he was about to be replaced by a new minister, Citizen Fauchet. To save his head from the guillotine he remained in America, but at once sank out of sight, himself amazed no doubt that he should ever have been able to create such a pother. Fauchet was presented to President Washington on his birthday, the 22d of February, which was this year marked by a numerously attended levee and an assembly ball, ending with a "grand supper."

Throughout the summer and autumn there were dinners and frolics of all kinds with much setting of liberty caps, and exchanging of the "fraternal embrace." It was "Citizen" Smith, and "Citizen" Jones, and "Citizen" Brown. Men went about with their tri-color republican cockade, the red, white and blue set circularly, now generally taking the place of the old white cockade which

¹Samuel Richardet, a famous French cook and caterer, later at the City Tavern.

came in at the time of the Bourbon alliance.¹ High up, on the front of Christ Church was a medallion enclosing a bas-relief of George II, a relic of colonial days. This was too much altogether for the democrats who expressed their feelings through the columns of *Bache's Advertiser*. The vestry were invited to take it down. As they made no movement to comply, they were informed that others would attend to the matter for them. "It has nothing to do with the worship of the most high God, nor with the government under which we exist. It has a tendency to the knowledge of many to keep young and virtuous men from attending public worship. It is, therefore, a public nuisance." The threats seemed so ominous that the officers of the church felt themselves compelled to take note of them, and some one was employed to remove the cause of so much popular offence. The medallion seems to have been thrown into the street, whence it was rescued and delivered into the custody of the Philadelphia Library, which many years later returned it to the church.

Some time before April, 1784, the king of France had presented Congress with full length portraits of himself and his queen. They were at first set up in the State House and seem later to have gone to New York, when Congress met in that city. They were displayed in the senate chamber, on each side of the chair of the vice president, after the return to Philadelphia. In December, 1792, Freneau addressed some lines to the pictures of the king and queen:

"To shew how deeply we regret their fall
We hang their portraits in our senate hall."²

In deference to public opinion, they in 1793 were covered with curtains. They were thus hidden from view on the day Washington was inaugurated in 1793.³ In a little while they were removed altogether and went to the lumber room.

Drinking to many revolutionary sentiments by per-fervid revelers continued: "The Mountain—May tyranny be chained at its foot and may the light of liberty from its summit cheer and illuminate the whole world";

"The Extinction of Monarchs—May the next generation know kings only by the page of history, and wonder that such monsters were ever permitted to exist";

"May tyrants never be withheld from the guillotine's closest embraces."

On the 11th of June, 1794, there was a "grand festival," which was contrived "to celebrate the anniversary of the abolition of despotism in France." The demonstration began at daybreak with salutes fired by French and American cannoneers. An obelisk was raised at Centre Square. It was draped with the colors of the two countries and bore such inscriptions as these: "To immortality," "The French Republic, one and indivisible," "Tremble tyrants—your

¹ "At least one out of ten that I met in the streets," said Wansey who was here in 1794. "was a French person wearing the tri-colored cockade, the men with them in their hats, the women on their breasts."—*Excursion*, p. 175.

² *Poems of Freneau*, Princeton Edition, III, p. 89.

³ Letter of Edward Thornton, British Secretary of Legation, who adds: "Alas! Poor Louis!

'Deserted at his utmost need
By those his former bounty fed.'" *Pa. Mag.*, IX, p. 220.

reign is over." "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Boys and girls, dressed in white, decorated with the tri-colored ribbons, and holding baskets of flowers were disposed around the pedestal. Minister Fauchet came with his suite, and the French and Americans who were present mingled together like the brothers and sisters of a glad new day. The band struck up the "Carmagnole," and the people at once began to dance upon the green. Then a procession was formed. Four Frenchmen and four Americans, in liberty caps, took up the obelisk and surrounded by the boys and girls in white, bore it to the residence of the French minister at the southeast corner of Twelfth and Market streets. A great number of persons, both French and American, arm in arm, with branches of oak in their hands, joined the line. At the minister's a statue of liberty had been set up on an altar where there were orations in French. The people generally took the oath to support the great new universal republic "one and indivisible." Children strewed the altar with flowers. The crowd sang the "Marseillaise" and danced the "Carmagnole" far into the night. Men, women and children formed themselves into rings and danced around liberty trees. The British flag was publicly burned in Market street. It was throughout one of the most extraordinary scenes which has ever been enacted in the confines of Philadelphia.

In 1795 the excitement continued. Every French victory was made the occasion for a celebration. The capture of Amsterdam was a particularly pleasing piece of news, largely because of the sentimental attachment to the Netherlands by reason of the aid which the people had extended to America during the Revolution. French, Dutch and Americans in Philadelphia united for a demonstration. On April 17th Centre Square and Minister Fauchet's house nearby were again the assembling places. Crowds again vowed "To live free or die." and shouted

"Long live the French Republic,"
 "Long live the Republic of the United States,"
 "Long live the Batavian Republic"
 "Long live the three republics."

Then the master of ceremonies united the flags of the three countries under a civic crown, ending a speech with the words "Long live the friends of Liberty," to which the citizens assembled responded, as of one accord, "Long live the friends of Liberty." At dinner at Oellers' Hotel afterward there were many toasts in the now familiar vein:

"The French Republic whose victories we celebrate—May she ever continue one and indivisible in the cause of liberty."

"The People of the United States—While happy in the sunshine of freedom, may they never forget the nation which in the hour of danger assisted in dispersing the clouds of despotism."

"The People of Poland—May the Russian she-bear be made to dance to the tune of Ca Ira by them, and the iron rod of slavery corrode the consciences of their oppressors."

"The Eighteenth Century—May the revolutions which it has given birth to know no limits but the utmost boundaries of the earth, and its close be the end of despotism."

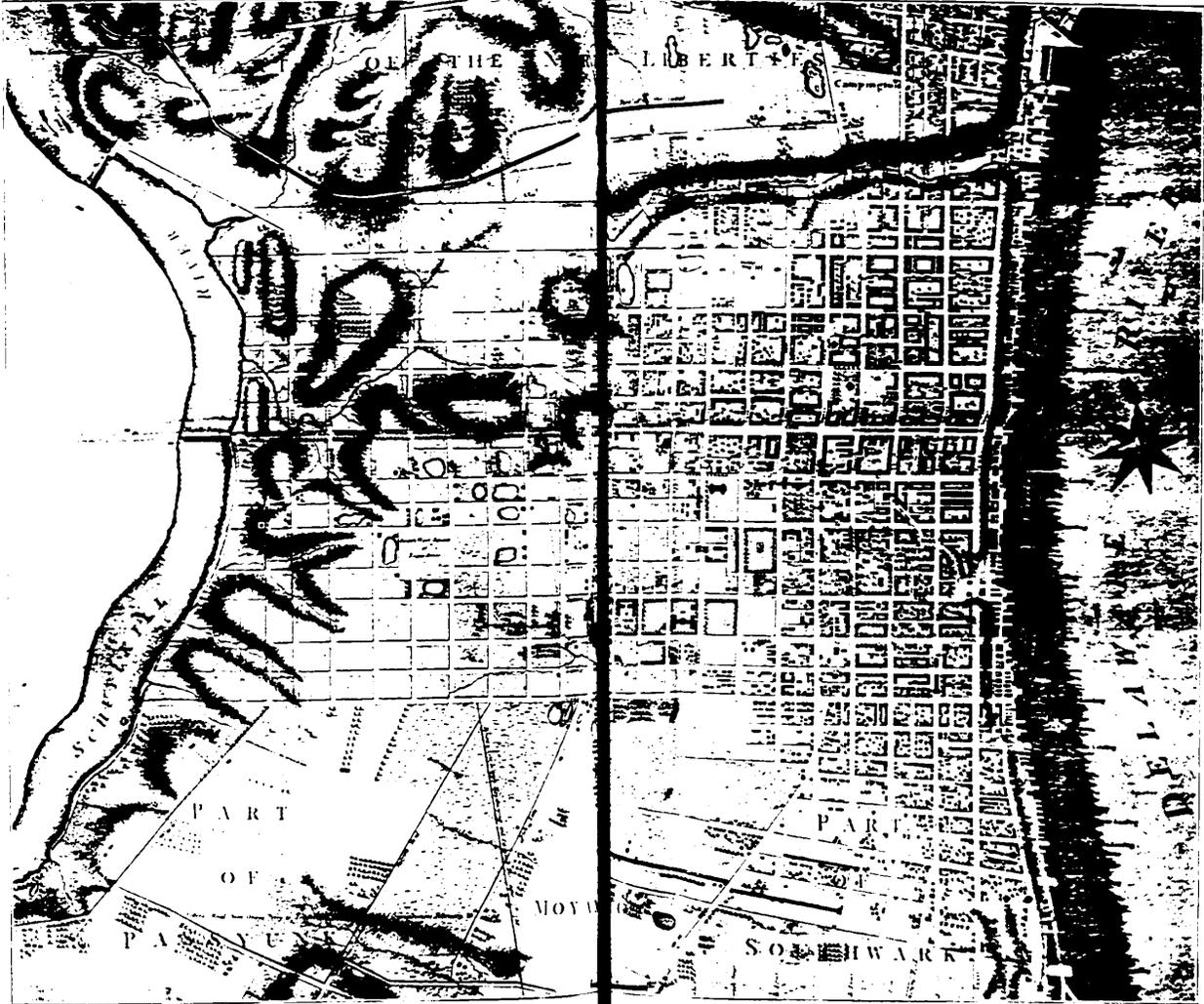
An excuse for a democratic demonstration was found in 1794 in the western part of the state, where the people rose in rebellion against the whiskey tax levied under a new Federal excise law. It was the first test of the strength of the federation. Governor Mifflin was slow and fearful to move against the "Whiskey Boys," but President Washington at once called upon the states for troops. Pennsylvania's quota was 5,200 men, 559 of whom were to come from the city and 554 from Philadelphia County. A militia act had been passed in the preceding year and the response was prompt. Many volunteers offered their services, foremost among the number a company of about 150 men formed by Major William Macpherson, son of the old privateer, who had lived at "Mount Pleasant" and known as "Macpherson's Blues." These men, clad in a round blue cloth jacket faced with scarlet, and blue pantaloons, won warm praise during the campaign.¹ Another company, born of this time, was the Second Troop of Philadelphia horse. It was organized by Captain Abraham Singer, a young business man of the city who had seen some military service on the frontier against the Indians. It mustered 24 men.² The various commands of foot and horse appeared at the camp west of the Schuylkill, near the Lancaster Road, ready to march to the seat of the disturbance. Governor Mifflin himself led the expedition until the troops of Pennsylvania were joined with those from the southern states which had rendezvoused at Cumberland, Md., under Light-Horse Harry Lee, of Virginia.

Washington determined to go west in person to allay the insurrection. He had again taken refuge in Germantown to escape the yellow fever, but moved into his city home on September 20th. Nine days later, accompanied by Colonel Hamilton and a private secretary, he proceeded by way of Norristown, the Trappe, Pottsgrove, Reading, Lebanon and Harrisburg to Carlisle, where he reviewed the troops. Having personally attended to the organization of the volunteer army, he went on to Cumberland and Bedford to continue the work of making it ready to cross the mountains. His activity soon convinced the insurgents of his determination to see that Federal laws should be respected. On October 23d, he turned back from Bedford and four days later was again safe in Philadelphia. The going of the troops and their return in December were attended with much enthusiasm, and awakened a Federal feeling which was very wholesome in its influence, though it soon made way for another outbreak of French folly.³

¹ The company was later extended to a regiment comprised of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. In politics it was Federalist.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XX, p. 552.

³ An account of their return which was witnessed by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, will be found in his *Travels*, Vol. IV, p. 522: "Almost all of the inhabitants came out of their houses, either to go and meet the troops, or to place themselves where they were to pass." The president reviewed their ranks as they filed by his house in Market street, and they returned their colors and were disbanded at the State House. Then the young warriors were "hugged, kissed and led to their homes." As the different contingents did not return together, this description probably relates to the "Blues," who came in on December 10th.



PHILADELPHIA AS IT APPEARED WHEN THE CAPITAL OF THE UNITED STATES

Map of 1796

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Some interruption in the course of political vexation was afforded in February, 1796, by the arrival of General Wayne, a native of Chester County, one of the most courageous, as well as the most popular soldiers of the Revolution, despite his misfortune in 1778 at Paoli. In 1792 Washington had raised him to the chief command of the army, whose principal duty for the time being was to compose the Indian tribes.

The problem of occupying their lands and of continuing to live beside them in peace, was not easy of solution. Every attention was shown the chiefs when they came to Philadelphia, as they frequently did during the Washington and Adams administrations, to treat with the government and to make agreements among themselves under the white man's advice. Cornplanter and other chiefs came in January, 1791. In 1792 came a deputation of 47 headed by the famous Red Jacket. Representatives of the Senecas, the Buffaloes, the Onondagoes, the Oneidas, the Tuscaroras and other tribes were included in the party. They were welcomed by Governor Mifflin at the State House in the presence of many gentlemen and ladies, and during their stay the visitors gave a number of their war dances for the entertainment of the citizens. Two of the chiefs died here and they were buried with impressive ceremonies. Troops with muffled drums acted as an escort. The secretary of war, officers of the federal army, the assembled clergy of the city and many prominent men appeared in the cortège. It is said that 10,000 people attended to do honor to the dead savages. In June, 1794, twenty-one head warriors of the Cherokees appeared. Wansey was here during their visit. He saw some of them, Flamingo and Double Head among the number, "walking the streets followed by a crowd of boys." They all, men and women, lodged "in a kind of barn at the west end of High street, not far from the new mansion building for the president," which was in Ninth street.¹ In July, 1794, came a party of Chickasaws, to whom Washington tendered a reception, smoking with them a great pipe of peace, the tube of which was 12 or 15 feet long.²

But no amount of diplomacy of this kind would avail with the more war-like tribes. Moreover, the English who should have surrendered their forts immediately upon the conclusion of peace, continued to occupy them, and from these vantage points fomented attacks upon the settlers. Wayne was sent into the Ohio valley to bring the savages to order. He fought a decisive battle with them in August, 1794, at the falls of the Miami, at about the time Washington was making ready to move upon the "Whiskey Boys," and the next year they signed a treaty which was very advantageous to the United States. Shattered in health after this conspicuous service, Wayne was now coming home. At the great battle with the Indians he could scarcely mount his horse for the gout. The pain had forced the tears from his eyes, but in the later excitement of action he forgot his disability.

The hero had been absent for three years and he was received with open arms. Three troops of light horse met him outside the city. The Federal salute

¹ *Excursion*, p. 154.

² *Diary of J. Q. Adams*.

of 15 guns and a general ringing of bells welcomed him as the cavalcade came into town. In his honor an arch was thrown over Mulberry street near Seventh street, and he was repeatedly dined.¹

General Wayne's successful management of the campaign on the frontier prepared the way for the negotiation of a treaty with England, but in the angry state of the public mind it was the most difficult task which faced Washington's administration. With John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, John Jay was one of the most hated of the members of the monarchical party, as the democrats were pleased to regard that one which opposed their course. He had been Chief Justice of the Supreme Court ever since the establishment of the government. As a number of difficult matters needed to be adjusted in England, if there were not to be an early resumption of the war, for which the country was entirely unprepared, he resigned to go to London for the special purpose of arranging a treaty. He was nominated by the president on April 16, 1794, and was promptly confirmed by the senate under great popular excitement. He was burned in effigy. One day in June "a number of respectable citizens," we are told by a newspaper friendly to the outrage, "ordered a likeness of the evil genius of Western America." It was bundled out of a barber's shop, amid the shouts of the crowd, exhibited for a time on the platform of a pillory and guillotined. A flame was then applied to the figure, which soon reached a quantity of gunpowder concealed inside of it to cause a terrific explosion. There was no sane objection to a treaty with England; indeed, every peaceful commercial interest recommended it. It was not easy to arrange, and might not have been arranged but for Wayne's recent decisive victories over the western Indians,² who had been sheltering themselves in the British forts. But because it was a treaty with England, rather than France; because Adams, who was now vice president, had written a defence of the British form of constitution as against the Pennsylvania constitution, while he was minister to England during the war,³ and because Jay, a notorious Federalist, a friend of Hamilton, Robert Morris, and that group of leaders had negotiated it, it was a complete surrender of the people's liberties.

The terms of the agreement which the distinguished envoy had concluded in November, 1794, became known in Philadelphia on July 1, 1795, and instantly there was a violent pro-French outburst. Jay was again burned in effigy. He was represented as having bartered away "American liberty and independence" for "British gold." The French minister was now Citizen Adet, Fauchet having been recalled in answer to one more of the changing moods of Paris. This new diplomat, rather too plainly for good international usage, indicated his displeasure at the signing of the treaty, as did the whole French colony, and all their numerous American allies. A copy of the document, fastened to a pole was burned in front of the British Minister Hammond's house in Second street. The

¹ Wayne was on this occasion honored by Philadelphia for the last time. He returned to his duties in the west, but died in the December following, 1796.

² Stillé, *Major General Wayne*, p. 338; Spears, *Anthony Wayne*, p. 230.

³ *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*, Works, VI.

windows were broken here and at some of the other houses visited by the mob. Several shiploads of Irish people, which had recently arrived, were emptied upon the city at this time and swelled the number of anti-English rioters. Washington was not one to be moved by such demonstrations. The treaty had been ratified by the senate and he promptly signed it. He had not before experienced such abuse, as was now heaped upon him. A writer in Bache's paper called him a "grand llama." The president wished Philadelphians to think that they lived in Potsdam. On November 23d, this abusive editor published

"THE POLITICAL CREED OF 1795.

- "1. I believe in God Almighty as the only Being infallible.
- "2. I believe that a system of excise must of itself, if continued, infallibly destroy the liberty of any Country under Heaven.
- "3. I believe that national banks are equally dangerous in a free country.
- "4. I believe that a man who holds his fellow citizens at an awful distance, in private life, must hold them in contempt if, by accident, he finds himself for a time placed above them.
- "5. I believe that man wants to be a king who chooses the advocates for kingly government as his first councillors and advisers.
- "6. I believe that a little smiling, flattering adventurer was once placed at the head of a national treasury, because he had contended for a monarchy over a free people.
- "7. I believe the man who was sent as ambassador to a great nation, and at a very critical moment, was sent because he contended for the same thing.
- "8. I believe that man wishes to be a despot who makes alliances with despots in preference to freemen and republicans.
- "9. I believe proclamations no better than Pope's bulls; that as far as they respect religious ceremonies they are contrary to the freedom of conscience; that as they respect government, they either counteract the force of law, or in the vanity of government, pretend a superior skill as to its meaning.
- "10. I believe there is something more designed than fair government when the people are too frequently ordered to fast or give thanks to God.
- "11. I believe that honest government requires no secrets, and that secret proceedings are secret attempts to cheat the governed.
- "12. I believe that all honest men in a government wish their conduct and principles to be made known to the governed, and that dishonesty only shuns the light.
- "13. I believe it is the duty of every freeman to watch over the conduct of every man who is entrusted with his freedom.
- "14. I believe that a blind confidence in any men who have done services to their country has enslaved, and ever will enslave, all the nations of the earth.
- "15. I believe that a good joiner may be a clumsy watchmaker, that an able carpenter may be a blundering tailor, and that a good general may be a most miserable politician."¹

¹ *General Advertiser*, Nov. 23, 1795.

But the sentiment was not all French. After Hamilton had announced his intention of retiring from the cabinet the merchants of Philadelphia gave him a dinner "as a testimonial of respect for his virtues, and their gratitude for his eminent services." He was the guest of about 150 prominent citizens on February 18, 1795. Many leading officers of the federal and state governments were also present and the toasts were of a different character. There were always fifteen toasts and fifteen rounds of artillery. Some of the fifteen sentiments on this occasion were:

"The United States—May they ever preserve the purity of their own political principles, uninfluenced by those of other nations."

"The People of the United States—May they love the people of all nations, without forgetting that they are Americans."

"Religion and Patriotism—May hypocrisy in either be detected and despised."

"May peace, safety and happiness be the portion of the whole family of mankind."

In the elections in 1795 in Philadelphia, there were two very distinct parties. "Treaty" and "Anti-Treaty," or as they were sometimes already being called, "Federalist" and "Democratic," or "Republican." In Philadelphia the treaty men had a majority, but next year in the presidential election the democrats were successful. They also carried the state by a few votes and John Adams, who was generally pointed to as Washington's successor, was chosen without Pennsylvania's aid. With one or two exceptions, the state's fifteen electors voted for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr.

For many months Washington had been revolving in his mind the subject of a farewell address to the people. He took Hamilton, Jay and others into his confidence¹ and on September 15, 1796, called in D. C. Claypoole, now the editor of Dunlap's *Advertiser*, and gave him the address for publication in his paper. The proofs were carefully read, and it appeared on Monday, September 19th, deservedly creating a deep impression. The president's birthday, on February 22d, had always been marked by notable ceremonies, but for that occasion in 1797, which would be the last while he was in office, there were exceptionally elaborate preparations. It was a day of military parades, salutes, receptions and balls. The rooms of the president's house were crowded with people from twelve until three o'clock. It was a parting scene—a parting with office, with Philadelphia, with old friends. There were tears in Mrs. Washington's eyes, and at times the president's emotions were so strong that he could scarcely conceal them.²

On March 2d Washington wrote to General Knox: "Tomorrow at dinner I shall, as a servant of the public, take my leave of the president-elect, of the foreign characters, the heads of departments, etc., and the day following with pleasure I shall witness the inauguration of my successor to the chair of government." This dinner was concluded, after the cloth had been removed, by a toast by the president, who, having filled his glass, said: "Ladies and Gentlemen:

¹ To how great an extent he was aided by them has been frequently discussed. Horau Binney left an essay on this subject. It is also discussed in *Pa. Mag.*, XXI, p. 392.

² James Iredell to Mrs. Iredell.

1796.

THE PRESIDENT'S BIRTH NIGHT.

The honor of Major Lewis & company
is requested to the B.A.L. on 22nd February at
the Amphitheatre.

• Samuel Stewart.
• John Campbell.
• Thomas W. Francis.

Managers

• Nathan Sawyer.
George Harrison.
George Willing.

• Attendance at 8 O'Clock.

INVITATION TO THE WASHINGTON BALL AT RICKETTS' AMPHITHEATRE
IN 1796

1799-1800.

CITY DANCING ASSEMBLY.

The honor of Miss Livingston's company
is requested for the season.

• Philip Vicklin.
• John Francis.
William Hammond.
Sam^l. Murgatroyd.

Managers

• Stephen Kimpton.
Henry Wixey.
Richard Wilcocks.
Daniel Cox.

INVITATION TO THE DANCING ASSEMBLY

This is the last time I shall drink your health as a public man. I do it with sincerity, and wishing you all possible happiness." Again there were moist eyes, and even the wife of the British minister, now Robert Liston, was seen with tears streaming down her cheeks. On March 4th at twelve o'clock John Adams received the oath of office in the hall of the House of Representatives.

Washington was there, as were Thomas Jefferson, who was now to take Adam's place as vice president, the chief justice, Oliver Ellsworth, the associate justices, senators, representatives, foreign ministers and ambassadors, heads of departments, and "a very crowded auditory of the principal inhabitants" of Philadelphia. John Adams wrote his wife that there was "scarcely a dry eye but Washington's." He seemed to say, "Ay! I am fairly out and you fairly in. See which of us will be happiest." Indeed, Mr. Adams did not quite know whether the scene was induced by the loss of "a beloved president or from the accession of an unbeloved one." Anyhow, "there was more weeping," said he, "than there had ever been at the representation of any tragedy," and it was, in his opinion, "the sublimest thing ever exhibited in America." Everyone talked of "the tears, the full eyes, the streaming eyes, the trickling eyes, etc."¹ Washington went out of the hall, following Adams and Jefferson, though not until after a little contest with the vice president, who wished him to take the second place. One who was present, William A. Duer, later president of Columbia College, recalled that immediately upon Washington's departure from the house there was a rush from the gallery. Some slid down the pillars. He waved his hat in return for the cheers of the populace and was driven off. "Seldom as he was known to smile," says Dr. Duer, "his face now beamed with radiance and benignity. I followed him in the crowd to his own door where, as he turned to address the multitude, his countenance assumed a serious and almost melancholy expression, his voice failed him, his eyes were suffused with tears, and only by his gestures could he indicate his thanks, and convey a farewell blessing to the people."² Later Washington directed his steps to Adams's lodgings to make the new president a little visit and wish his administration well.

In the afternoon the merchants of the city gave Washington a public dinner at Ricketts' Amphitheatre, a great circular building at the southwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets. Here a large and distinguished company was greeted upon its arrival by a band which played "Washington's March," a very popular piece of music now for many years. A curtain being raised, a full length painting of Washington was disclosed. Fame crowned him with a laurel wreath, while Mount Vernon was seen in the distance. Richardet, the favorite French restaurateur, now the "master of the City Tavern,"³ prepared "a most sumptuous entertainment," consisting of "four hundred dishes of the most choice viands which money could purchase or art prepare." On Thursday, the 9th of March, General Washington and his family departed for Mount Vernon, and on the 19th of the month Nelly Custis could write to a friend, "Grandpapa is very well and much pleased with being once more Farmer Washington."

¹ Adams's *Letters to His Wife*, II, pp. 244-247.

² Griswold, *Republican Court*, p. 420.

³ Directory of 1797.

John Adams, as vice president, had resided at "Bush Hill" until after it was taken for use as a yellow fever hospital, and it no longer seemed suitable for occupancy. Later, when he was not accompanied to Philadelphia by his family, he lodged at Francis's and elsewhere. The presidential mansion which the state of Pennsylvania had undertaken to build in Ninth street, was now in 1797 completed and ready for use, and Governor Mifflin tendered it to Mr. Adams. The new president declined it saying that he much doubted his authority to accept such an offer on the part of the state, and he moved into the house, which had just been vacated by the Washingtons. This was probably a very wise decision, considering the state of popular feeling and on other accounts. The Ninth street building remained without an occupant until it was disposed of to the University of Pennsylvania in 1800. The whole property including the adjoining lots upon sale yielded the state \$41,650.

The French enthusiasts were a people of obstinate fanaticism, but there was some check put upon the craze when Napoleon appeared, and it began to be understood that republics could develop their despots no less than monarchies. The Fourth of July, which had become almost wholly a French holiday, began to resume its American character, though there were intermittent outbursts, and the traces of the experience through which the city had passed would remain to rupture politics for twenty years to come. In August, 1797, when Thaddeus Kosciusko, the Polish patriot¹ arrived in Philadelphia, the citizens gave him a wild welcome. His horses were taken from his carriage and men, women and children drew him with cheers to his lodging house in Fourth street.

Bache and the writers in the *Aurora* soon began a campaign of outrageous attack upon President Adams. They had spoken freely enough of Washington, but his prestige as the successful commander-in-chief in the Revolution was a deterrent upon criticism which did not operate to the advantage of his successor in office. The celebration of his birthday, after he had been in place a year or two, as Washington's had been celebrated, his going to Congress when it opened to read his speech and Congress going to him with an answer, his scholarly and superior air, and much else beside, were seized upon as evidences of a monarchical spirit which had all along been suspected in him. He suffered four years of the vilest persecution in the press. He was called "The Duke of Braintree," in allusion to his home in Massachusetts, "His Rotundity, the Duke of Braintree," "His Serene Highness," and so on.

At one time the revulsion against France seemed to be complete. Our ambassadors had been repeatedly rebuffed by the officers, whom revolution had put in charge of the government at Paris, and in 1798 nothing seemed to remain but war. John Marshall, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Elbridge Gerry had been sent to state the American case, when regular diplomatic relations had been interfered with by the designing leaders at Paris, and Marshall had come home to report upon the unfruitful mission. He had been for some years the

¹ Interest in him was increased by the fact that he had fought in the American Revolution. In 1786 he had returned to his own country. For two months he defended Warsaw against a besieging army, but he had been obliged to surrender, and he had but lately finished a term of two years in a Russian prison.

acknowledged leader of the Virginia bar. He would later be the great chief justice. On his arrival in Philadelphia in 1797 on his way to France, he was the mark for much polite attention from the Federalists, but now his welcome passed all ordinary bounds. He had suffered gross insult at the hands of France. He had conducted himself with honor to himself and to the nation which sent him away. The First City Troop and the two junior troops of horse met him at Frankford on June 19th, and amid the peals of the Christ Church bells and the buzzes of a great crowd of people he was conducted to the City Tavern. He was dined and his return was made the subject of a congratulatory message to Congress from the president. His presence in the city increased the excitement. "Millions for defence but not one cent for tribute," a reference to the infamous suggestions of the French secret agents to Marshall and the envoys, was shouted in the streets by mobs of people who already seemed on the point of shouldering their muskets. The tri-color cockade of the French was responded to by the black cockade of the Federalists, until the badge of each was so much hated by the other that an American cockade, with a central blue star and alternating red and white segments extending to the edge, was proposed as the only way out of a great unpleasantness.¹

Citizen Adet in breaking off his diplomatic relations with the United States issued an address to the people of America, intending if possible to inflame them against their own government. It was in the midst of this excitement, in April, 1798, that the song "Hail Columbia" made its appearance. The events during and following the American Revolution had been productive of some characteristic music. "Yankee Doodle" of obscure origin in spite of the many theories, advanced in its behalf,² attained high favor early in the war, and continued to hold it. "Washington's March," a piece of music dedicated to the great Virginian was often played during the Revolution. A "Federal March" composed for the occasion by A. Reinagle, was heard for the first time in the Federal Procession of 1788. After the removal of the capital to Philadelphia, about 1793, a German music master in this city named Philip Phile, composed "The President's March." It won great acclamation immediately, and took the place in the popular affections, which had earlier been held by "Washington's March." It was played everywhere, and the crowds in the theatres, at concerts, at dinners in the taverns, and in the tea gardens seemed never to tire of it.³

Gilbert Fox, a young actor, for whom a benefit performance was to be given at the Chestnut Street Theatre, on the evening of April 25, 1798, called upon Joseph Hopkinson, a son of Francis Hopkinson, and a lawyer widely known for his artistic, musical and literary tastes, for words which could be sung to the very popular march. The feeling between the war and anti-war parties was at fever heat and Hopkinson in a short time made ready his—

¹ For facts concerning the cockades see Schouler, I, p. 387; McMaster, II, pp. 380-84.

² Sonneck, *Report on the Star Spangled Banner*, etc.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 43. This careful investigator seems to have disposed of the claim of one Roth as the author of "The President's March," often hitherto credited.

"Hail Columbia, happy land!
Hail ye heroes, heaven-born band,
Who fought and bled in Freedom's cause," etc.

The verses were instantly successful, especially the chorus:

"Firm united, let us be
Rallying round our Liberty;
As a band of brothers joined,
Peace and safety we shall find."

Fox was accompanied by a full band and a "grand chorus," and the song rang through the house. It at once made its way to the street; where the crowds took it up, and little else was heard for several days. At first called merely "a new Federal song" it soon came to bear the name which it has held ever since.¹ It was "received in Philadelphia with more reiterated plaudits than were perhaps ever witnessed in a theatre." Hopkinson wrote to General Washington on May 9th: "The theatres here and in New York have resounded with it night after night, and men and boys in the streets sing it as they go."

As a Federalist, Mr. Hopkinson had done a very considerable service in causing a national sentiment to take the place of the French and English sympathies which divided the people into two hostile camps, though the excitement continued to be intense. The French and English demonstrations reached their height around the 8th of May, 1798, which President Adams had set aside as a day of fasting and prayer for divine guidance. It was a day instead when the whole city was given over to the lords of misrule. Men wearing the black and the tri-color cockades filled the streets. Writing to Jefferson in 1813, John Adams said:

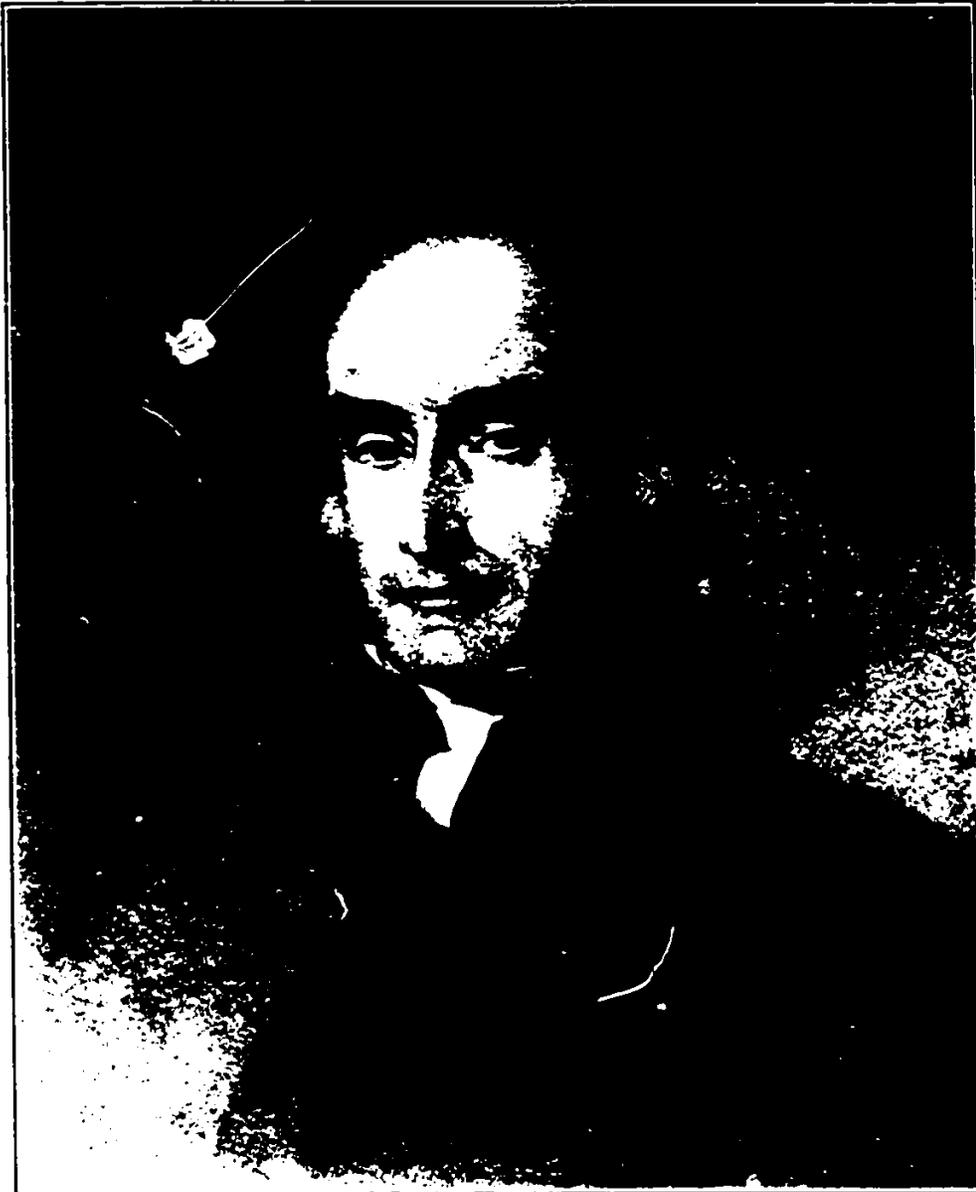
"I have no doubt you were fast asleep, in philosophical tranquillity, when ten thousand people and perhaps many more were parading the streets of Philadelphia on the evening of my fast day; when even Governor Mifflin himself thought it his duty to order a patrol of horse and foot to preserve the peace; when Market street was as full as men could stand by one another, and even before my door; when some of my domestics in frenzy, determined to sacrifice their lives in my defence; when all were ready to make a desperate sally among the multitude and others were, with difficulty and danger, dragged back by the rest; when I myself judged it prudent and necessary to order chests of arms from the war office to be brought through by lanes and back doors, determined to defend my house at the expense of my life and the lives of the few, very few, domestics and friends within it."²

At no earlier time in the history of the mob in Philadelphia, now a long and picturesque one, had the city seemed so near a bloody civil revolution.

For the war, which impended all summer and autumn, Washington in July was made commander-in-chief with the title of lieutenant-general, and on No-

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXXIV, p. 163.

² *Adams's Works*, X, pp. 47-48.



JOSEPH HOPKINSON
Author of "Hail Columbia"

ember 10th he came to Philadelphia to perfect his military plans. He was met at Chester by the First City Troop and other bodies of horse to be escorted to the commons, where he found the Macpherson Blues drawn up several hundred strong for his reception. This famous military company, which had figured in the Whiskey Insurrection, had been increased in strength for the occasion, and in its striking uniform it was the pride of the city. Other militia companies bearing various names and in various kinds of picturesque dress were quickly gathered together for the emergency.

Washington came to the city in his uniform, and Philadelphia once again wore a very war-like appearance. He was loudly acclaimed by the people. He took up his lodgings with the Widow White, in North Eighth street, but was constantly dining with the leading families of the city, among others with President Adams in the Market street house, with Robert Morris, Major William Jackson, Tench Francis, William Rawle, Thomas Willing, Governor Mifflin, Bishop White, William Bingham, the Secretary of the Treasury Oliver Wolcott in Spruce street, Judge Peters, the Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, who lived at Sixth and Arch streets, the British Minister Robert Liston in Arch street, the Secretary of War James McHenry. He was present when President Adams read his speech in Congress in December, and did not leave for Mount Vernon until the 14th of that month when he was convinced that the danger of war was past.

The troops were astir again in 1799. In July, 1798, Congress had laid a direct tax on land, houses and slaves, and in the January following the assessors began to visit the people. As a means of estimating the value of a house they counted and measured the windows. The owners regarded this step with great disfavor and in parts of Bucks, Lehigh and Northampton counties there was open warfare. Because some women poured hot water out of their windows upon the tax officers, it came to be known as the "Hot Water War," and otherwise as Fries's Rebellion, because it was led by an itinerant auctioneer named John Fries. On April 4, 1799, four companies of horse went out of the city, and joined by some other bodies of cavalry from the counties, proceeded to the scene of the disorder. Fries and several of his men were arrested, brought to Philadelphia, tried for treason, and found guilty, later to be pardoned by President Adams. The troops were in the field for twenty days. On the 24th of April they returned. They were met on the outskirts of the city by the Macpherson Blues and escorted into town amid many demonstrations of popular enthusiasm.

But this reappearance of a national feeling did not bring any permanent advantage to President Adams. New excuse for assault upon him and his party was found in the passage of the alien and sedition laws. The introduction to all the privileges of citizenship of aliens who had been coming in in such numbers to feed the French mobs in the streets, and to forward the ribald abuse of those who were entrusted with the work of administering the government seemed to call for some action, but it only further fanned the fires of bitterness and hate. The Federalists were very well served through the *Gazette of the United States*, published by John Fenno. Mr. Fenno was a native of Boston. He had first issued his paper in New York, but brought it to Philadelphia, when

the capital was removed to this city. A man of education and character, he lent much strength to his party's cause until his death in the yellow fever epidemic in 1798. So much, however, could not be said of William Cobbett, whose editorial activities did not in the least tend to improve the Federalist position. This trenchant English writer had come to Philadelphia during Washington's second administration and, as "Peter Porcupine," began a defense of the English party in pamphlets, and later in a paper called *Porcupine's Gazette*. He hired a blue frame house, opposite Christ Church in Second street in 1796, and opened a book shop. In the window he exhibited portraits of George III and other British kings, a feat which, it was his boast, had not been performed in Philadelphia by any one since the war. His command of English much surpassed that which distinguished Bache and Freneau on the other side. Powerful in satire and unsparring in vituperation, he greatly enraged the French leaders and made them more abusive, possibly, than they otherwise would have been. In a duel of libels with Bache, when it became a question as to which had the better grand-sire, Cobbett wrote:

"Everyone will, I hope, have the goodness to believe that my grandfather was no philosopher. Indeed he was not. He never made a lightning rod nor bottled a single quart of sunshine in his life. He was no almanac-maker, nor quack, nor chimney doctor, nor soap boiler, nor ambassador, nor printer's devil; neither was he a Deist, and all his children were born in wedlock. The legacies he left were his scythe, his reap hook and his flail; he bequeathed no old and irrevocable debts to an hospital; he never cheated the poor during his life nor mocked them in his death."

Cobbett ran afoul of many men—of Mathew Carey, the Marquis De Yrujo, the Spanish minister in Philadelphia and Dr. Benjamin Rush. Carey retorted with characteristic vigor, calling Porcupine "a fiend," "a low bred cowardly alien," "a disgrace to human nature," and much else besides. Cobbett had branded Yrujo as "a frivolous Spaniard, half don and half sans culotte," and the minister made complaint to the government. As a result of the representations, the editor was bound over to appear in the federal court. Another prosecution was begun in the state supreme court where Thomas McKean presided. The Spanish minister was about to marry the daughter of Judge McKean, and the complainant desired that the case should come under this jurisdiction. Both prosecutions failed, though not without greatly arousing the impulsive temper of the chief justice of Pennsylvania, whose own head had often felt Porcupine's savage assaults.

Cobbett's most notable passage was with Dr. Rush, whom he attacked in a virulent way for bleeding, and purging the people with calomel for the yellow fever. He called the great Philadelphia physician "our remorseless bleeder." "The Israelite slew his thousands," wrote Porcupine, "but the Rushites have slain their tens of thousands." The trial was postponed until Thomas McKean became governor in 1799, in order to make the editor's discomfiture more certain. Cobbett had long declared that he would not remain in Pennsylvania if McKean were elected as a result of the campaign against the Federalist candidate, who was James Ross of Pittsburg, and he had already prepared to depart. Joseph Hopkinson, counsel for Dr. Rush, in the course of the trial declared con-

cerning both Porcupine's *Gazette* and the *Aurora* that "from these presses there incessantly issues a pestilential, deadly vapor of the most low and vile defamation." The verdict was \$5,000 damages for Dr. Rush and the costs, which amounted to \$3,000. This result pauperized Cobbett. Some of his friends are said to have contributed the money exacted by the court and Dr. Rush, with honor satisfied, devoted the sum to charity.

After 1793, more or less intelligent and sustained exertions were made to put the city in order to resist the yellow fever which continued its fatal visitations. The pest house on State or Province Island, at the mouth of the Schuylkill, which had been used in colonial days, was put in repair and called "The Marine Hospital of the Port of Philadelphia." It was directed that a health office should be placed there also, and vessels were required to anchor opposite this point to undergo examination. A board of health was appointed and fairly efficient quarantine regulations were established. Very rigid rules concerning the introduction of passengers, crews and freight, especially during the months from June to October, were enforced. Nevertheless the fever seems to have raged with considerable violence in 1794, 1795 and 1796, as it did in most other places on the Atlantic seaboard.¹

Although it was felt to be very inhospitable in 1793, when the Philadelphians were forcibly prevented from taking refuge in other cities, the same measures were now employed against their people while they were in the grip of the infection. In 1794 intercourse with Baltimore was suspended. The proprietors of the southern stages were compelled to cease their trips, and guards were stationed at the Schuylkill ferries. The next year a proclamation was issued forbidding any one from New York or Norfolk to come within a distance of five miles of Philadelphia. Sentinels were stationed at various points, but some infected persons entered the city at night and by unusual roads, and in 1795 the toll of the fever seemed to be several hundred lives.

In 1797 conditions were much more serious than at any time since 1793. In spite of the quarantine arrangements in the port, the disease was introduced from Cuba, and it spread rapidly. Rather better methods were used in coping with it. For instance, yellow flags were suspended from infected houses as a public warning. As soon as any person was taken sick he was removed beyond the bounds of the city to the "City Hospital," in the "Wigwam," a place which had been fitted up for baths and where there was a bowling green and a restaurant, famous for its coffee, situated on the Schuylkill river at the foot of Race street. Here Stephen Girard and Peter Helm again performed the most useful services. Tents were spread on the commons, beyond Centre Square, and the poor who were obliged to leave their homes were quartered in them for several weeks. The entire district from Spruce to South, and from the Delaware to the west side of Front street, was enclosed and yellow flags were affixed to poles to warn away the people. Intercourse with the area was entirely prohibited under severe penalties. Negroes were put to work in houses infected

¹ This statement is based on Dr. Mease's *Picture of Philadelphia in 1810*, pp. 38-39. In these three years he states that the disease raged "with more violence than in 1802" (when 835 deaths were reported) but "no particular account" was kept of the number of cases.

with the disease, burning brimstone, scrubbing floors and whitewashing walls. The poor who were deprived of their regular wages, as a result of the fever, were employed at fifty and seventy-five cents a day cleaning the streets in Southwark, and digging ditches for the drainage of the swamps.

The flight from the city, which began in August, took away one-third of the people. The federal offices were all removed. President Adams went to Massachusetts where he was accused of "reveling and feasting" while the city was "the prey of disease and death," the war office to the Falls of Schuylkill (the secretary lodging near Downingtown, Pa.), the secretary of the treasury to Gray's Ferry, and the secretary of state and the postmaster-general to Trenton. A number of merchants removed their stores and counting rooms to Wilmington. At the elections in October a very small vote was polled because of the general alarm. The disease abated about the first of November, when the total number of deaths is stated to have been 1,292.¹

It was in the summer of 1798, however, that the fever most nearly approached the malignity which it had gained in 1793. The assembly, after the experience of 1797, passed a more stringent health law, but the response was a still more terrible visitation of the epidemic. First, as it was wont to do, it attacked the rats, cats and dogs, which died on all sides. As early as in June some cases were noted. On August 6th the College of Physicians reported that twenty-six persons were suffering from the disease, and the movement to leave the city reached the proportions of a panic. Many families which had remained in 1793 and in 1797 now fled. It is computed that 40,000 out of the 65,000 inhabitants, which the city seems at this time to have had, departed for the country and for other towns. The Wigwam was again opened for the sick. All the public offices were removed to a safe distance. The tents were again erected on the commons, and as many as 1,950 persons availed themselves of the opportunity to occupy them. The refugees were put under a kind of discipline. The men were set to work digging in the Delaware and Schuylkill Company's canal above Fairmount. There were schools for the children. Armed guards were appointed to preserve order, and a prison for offenders was opened. Another encampment was established on the Germantown Road about two miles from the city, on the Masters' estate, where the people lived under wooden sheds. More than 2,000 persons were accommodated at this place.

It was not always easy to induce the poor to leave their homes. On September 24 this handbill was generally distributed:

"REFLECT BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

"Fellow citizens! Reflect upon your danger before it is too late. One hundred of us are attacked with the fever every day. One half that number are daily carried to the grave. If we remain in town it is probable the fever will continue five or six weeks longer, and by that time one half of our number will have been sick and one fourth of us will be no more.

"How different is the situation of our friends in the country and in the tents.

¹ Mease, p. 37.

"Two thousand persons in the tents have lost but 17 in 25 days, while the same number in Philadelphia have lost 178.

"At the encampments there is great plenty of good food.

"In town it is resolved to give nothing to the poor who are able to go.

"Why do you prefer famine, sickness and death to health and plenty?"

"It is not yet too late to remove. Go before it is too late!"

In spite of every exertion the scenes were frightful beyond description. Corpses were found in deserted houses after many days, on the commons and on vacant lots. The screams of the sufferers filled the air. Their appeals were piteous and there were few means of giving them relief. The doctors this year left the city in large numbers, and those who remained continued to involve themselves in fruitless quarrels over their theories whether or not the disease was contagious, and as to the proper remedies for use in coping with it. To make the situation still more terrifying, thieves found it a favorable time for their operations. On the night of September 2d they robbed the Bank of Pennsylvania of more than \$160,000, nearly all of which, however, was very fortunately recovered.¹ This occurrence was an admonition to the institution, as well as to the Bank of the United States and the Bank of North America, and all temporarily removed their headquarters to Germantown. The Bank of Pennsylvania and the Bank of North America established themselves in the Union schoolhouse (the Germantown Academy) on condition that they would place a new roof on the building, and give it two coats of paint.

The disease entering the jail did great havoc among the criminals and debtors confined there. The jailor and several of his deputies refused to remain at their posts in fear of infection, whereupon Robert Wharton, one of the eighteen children of Joseph Wharton, the proprietor of "Walnut Grove," the mansion which had been the scene of the Meschianza during the British occupation, proffered his services and took up his residence in the prison. Some of the inmates were placed in the unfinished marble palace of Robert Morris, generally called "Morris's Folly," in Chestnut street above Seventh street. Others, not so much favored, made a violent attack upon the keepers with a view to effecting their escape. They advanced upon Mr. Wharton with crowbars, pickaxes, and similar weapons. He with a fowling piece in his hand gathered his men around him and fired upon the insurgents. Two were mortally wounded, the rest returned to their places and the mutiny was at an end.² A few indeed got away at another time by undermining the walls, and added to the alarm of

¹ Suspicion fell on Patrick Lyon, blacksmith, later a well known builder of fire engines, because he had a few months before made the doors of the bank vault. At the time he was absent in Delaware, whither he had fled to escape the fever. Hearing of the charges against him he at once returned to the city and surrendered himself. He was sent to prison, in default of \$150,000 bail, while the building was a nest of contagion and death. In a few weeks nearly all the missing money was found in possession of a man named Davis, who in complicity with a porter in the bank had committed the robbery. Lyon was still held as an accomplice, but finally cleared himself and sued for damages on the strength of his unmerited imprisonment. The case was compromised after several years' delay and he was paid \$9,000.—Souder's *History of Chestnut Street*, Chap. 34.

² Anne H. Wharton, *The Wharton Family*, p. 20.

the community. There were forty-four cases of fever among the prisoners and twenty-seven of them proved fatal.

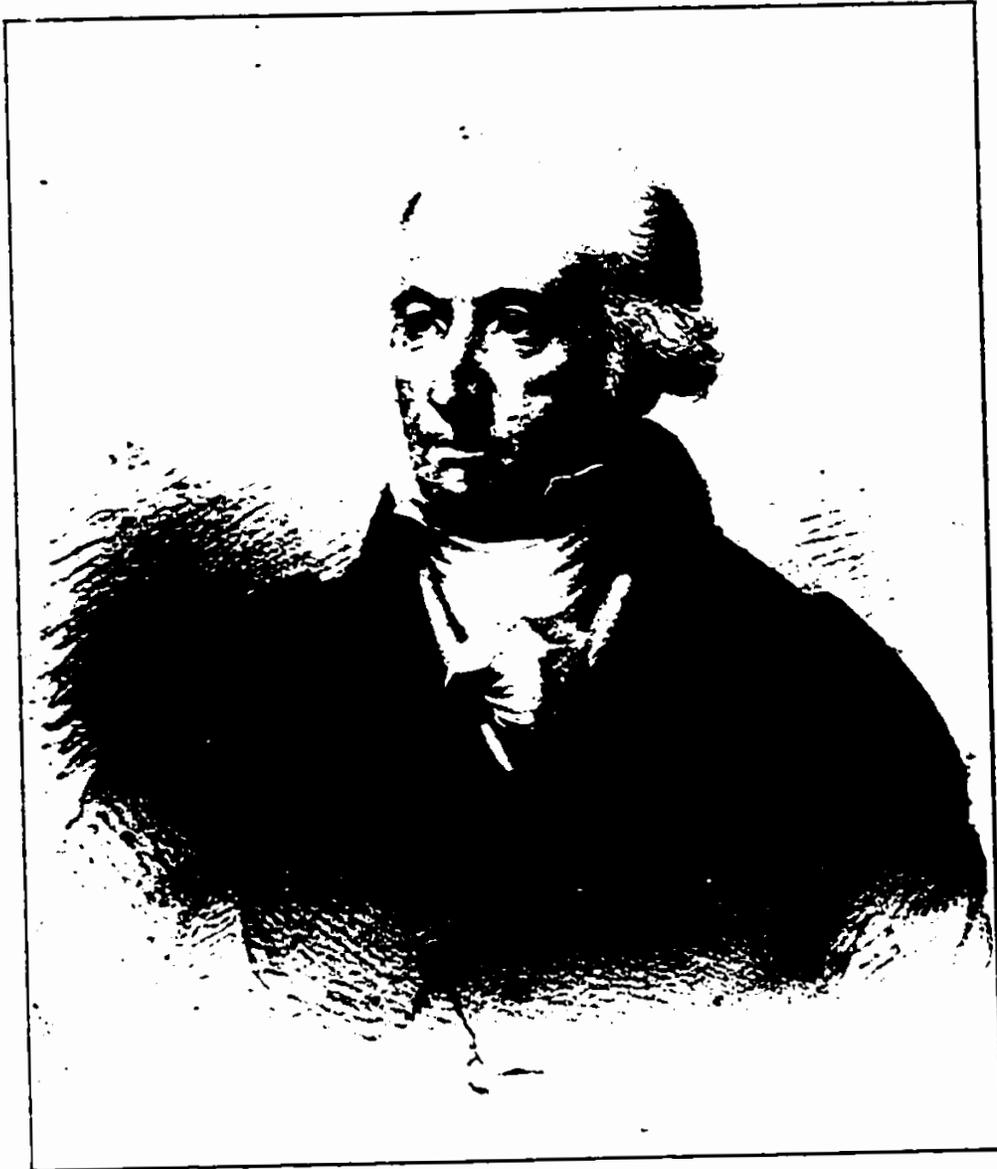
John Davis, the young English literary man who visited Philadelphia in 1798, gives an account of what he saw here. He accompanied a friend into Arch street where they took possession of the porch of an abandoned dwelling and conversed until a late hour. He says: "The most gloomy imagination cannot conceive a scene more dismal than the street before us: every house was deserted by those who had strength to seek a less baneful atmosphere; unless where parental fondness prevailed over self love. Nothing was heard but either the groans of the dying, the lamentations of the survivors, the hammers of the coffin makers or the howling of the domestic animals which those who fled from the pestilence had left behind in the precipitancy of their flight." A cat near to starvation appeared on the porch at the moment an old negro woman with some pepper-pot on her head passed by. It was purchased for the famishing animal. Mr. Davis asked the woman the news. "God help us!" she cried. "Very bad news. Buckra die in heaps. Bye and bye nobody live to buy pepper-pot, and old black woman die, too."¹ The city was a "Golgotha" and the visitors on September 22 sailed for Charleston.

Among the victims of the epidemic in September was Hilary Baker, the mayor. He had followed Matthew Clarkson in the office in 1796. He was a hardware merchant who had held a number of posts during and after the war. In October the Common Council met at the Middle Ferry, on the Schuylkill, and elected Robert Wharton, to be his successor. This vigorous magistrate was to be re-elected many times, serving in all, before his death in 1834, for 14 years as mayor of the city. The harvest before the disease was checked was no less than 3,637 lives, 24 per cent of the population which remained at home as against 22 per cent in 1793.

In 1799 the city was again ravaged by the disease. The epidemic of the year before had been so sore that nearly everyone now fled betimes and for several weeks the streets were "lifeless and deserted." The Federal offices were removed to Trenton. The newspapers were published in the outskirts of the city, or in neighboring towns. The election in October was held at the tavern at Centre Square, instead of at the State House, in order that the people, who were greatly excited over the contest between McKean and Ross for the governorship, should not be tempted into the sphere of contagion. This year over 1,000 died before the epidemic abated.

When all things are taken into account it is not surprising that the century did not come to an end in the prosperity which had been anticipated in the hopeful months and years following the war. There were visions of a strong federal republican government which would be the delight of America and the refuge of Europe. Others went so far as to see stretched before them a universal brotherhood of man in which government of any kind might be deemed superfluous. All people of all races, colors, and previous conditions would be brought into one great harmonious fellowship. The hopes of neither the more sober, nor

¹ *Travels*, p. 48.



ROBERT WHARTON
Many times Mayor of the City

of the wild and fanatic reformers of humanity could be realized, and they got into such a war of hate and abuse that they themselves stamped all their doctrines false.

A migration from Europe to this new land of promise had set in, but in so far as Philadelphia was concerned it included for the most part only a few theorists from Ireland, Scotland and France the most prominent of whom, after Mathew Carey, were Alexander Wilson, who became an ornithologist; Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, John Bouvier, Du Pont de Nemours, whose sons established great powder mills, and William Duane. The course of affairs in France put a quietus upon republicanism. The wars which were instigated in that country by the Revolution, and which Napoleon, its legitimate product, prosecuted until he had involved all Europe in its exhausting toils left no money, or people, or strength for colonization movements in America. Fortunes were wasted, credit shaken and all the regular processes of development interfered with. The hopes of those far-seeing men in America who had pinned their faith to its future were dissipated.

From the greatest financier in America, Robert Morris, who had performed such signal services for his country during the war, and who was the particular support of Washington and Hamilton in the Federal interest afterward, was sunk to a miserable place in "Prune street." Taken after a long struggle to elude the constables at his comfortable mansion, on the Schuylkill, on February 14, 1798, he was conducted to the debtors' apartments in the Walnut street jail. There he remained for three years, six months and ten days, throughout the yellow fever scourge of 1798, when men lay sick and dying around him, his condition a witness to the disgrace of the city, the state and the nation, and of a civilization in which such things could be. Here he must have been when Washington dined with him on November 27, 1798.¹ His great tracts of land destined before long to possess the greatest value, were scattered, under his very eyes, for lack of money to pay the taxes and interest charges. James Wilson, another pillar of the nation in its day of birth, was similarly entangled though he escaped confinement in a debtors' prison. Bold, farsighted, sanguine men on all sides were involved in their speculations hopelessly.

The recurring attacks of the yellow fever, which spread terror and dismay among the people and claimed as many lives as war, added nothing to assurance in financial and commercial circles. Party differences grew, and the approach of the presidential election in 1800 found Adams and Jefferson the leaders of two very antagonistic elements. The implicit belief of the Federalists, who were the moneyed people of the country, that everything was to be ruined by Jefferson, when he and his pro-French party came into power, as they would very soon, made them conservative in investment and little inclined to new ventures.

On the night of the 17th of December, 1799, news reached Philadelphia of the death of General Washington three days before. Congress met the following morning at the State House, but immediately adjourned. The next day the illustrious John Marshall, of Virginia, made an impressive address in the house

¹ Baker, *Washington After the Revolution*, p. 373.

and introduced resolutions in which Washington was pronounced "first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen." In Congress Hall, at the churches, and elsewhere black draperies and other emblems of mourning were displayed. Mrs. Adams's reception was postponed until December 27, when the ladies who should attend were asked to present themselves in black, if they belonged to the government families, and in white with ribbons, gloves and fans of black, if they were without official connections. On the 26th there was a funeral procession, which formed in front of the State House and proceeded around several blocks to Christ Church. There were now quite generally Republican and Federal militia companies, the members of the two political parties being indisposed to march together, but all appeared in this procession to the number of twenty-four. Macpherson's Blues, the various troops of horse, companies of riflemen, artillery and grenadiers constituted a very picturesque body of soldiery. The fifes were massed as were the drums, which were muffled. There was also a band of wind instruments. Thirty-four clergymen of different sects walked in the procession, two by two. Then came the bier carried by six sergeants, the pall supported by six sergeants, and a riderless white horse, caparisoned and led, with a crest of plumage and the boots reversed. The doorkeepers of the senate, with their white staves bound with crape, preceded the senators walking two by two. The mace in mourning in the hands of the sergeant-at-arms was followed by the members of the House of Representatives. After them came the heads of departments of the federal and state governments, officers of the army and navy, the magistrates of Philadelphia and a large delegation of Free Masons, in token of Washington's membership in that body. The bier was placed under the pulpit in the church where Bishop White pronounced a funeral service and General Henry (Light Horse Harry) Lee in accordance with a resolution of Congress delivered the oration.

On Washington's birthday, February 22, 1800, there were further imposing ceremonies. The Free Masons then had a procession. Ten "blue lodges," one of them French, appeared in the line, and an oration was delivered at Zion Church, at the corner of Fourth and Cherry streets, by the Rev. Samuel Magaw. On the same day the Society of the Cincinnati held services in the German Reformed church in Race street. Its procession from the State House included, besides the members of the society, the First and Second City Troops and the Macpherson Blues¹ who marched to the music of "Washington's March." A conspicuous object in the line was "a led horse, caparisoned in full war trappings, bearing a portmanteau, holsters, saddle, and having thrown across him a pair of military jack boots, a uniform coat, a sword and a cocked hat." Major William Jackson delivered the oration on the occasion, and in the audience were President Adams, the vice president, Thomas Jefferson, the British minister, Robert Liston, and many other men of prominence at the seat of government.

It seemed in many ways to be the end of an era. Washington was dead and the Federalists' tenure of power was coming to an end. The Jeffersonians, who were aided by eight of the fifteen electoral votes of Pennsylvania, won the victory, amid outbursts of unprecedented political bitterness.

¹ This fine body of militia was disbanded later in the year.

As Adams's term and the period of Federalist rule came to a close with the century, so the ten years for which the capital was fixed in Philadelphia were also drawing to an end. When Congress adjourned on May 14, 1800, after thanking "the commissioners of the city and county of Philadelphia for the convenient and elegant accommodations furnished by them . . . during the residence of the national government in the city,"¹ it was to meet on the third Monday of the following November at the new federal city on the banks of the Potomac. When Mr. Adams and his family returned south in the autumn, after a visit during the summer to their home in Massachusetts, it was to take up their residence in the new city also, but without much zest, with a certainty in two or three months, after March 4th next, of a ride of 600 miles "through the mud" back to Braintree.

Washington was still a place of but a few scattered buildings in the forest. There were no bells in the president's house. The stairways were not up. Not one of the many apartments was furnished. Mrs. Adams on wash days hung her clothes to dry in the audience room and surrounded with wood, as the city was, no fuel could be had for fires because men could not be found to cut and cart it.² Nevertheless, this was now the official capital, and most of those who had to do with the government betook themselves to Washington, though several of the ministers and the other representatives of foreign countries did not at once follow Congress and the president. The house on Market street, which had been the home of Washington and Adams, became a fashionable hotel under the management of John Francis whose roof on Fourth street had covered so many famous people. The rooms in the State House which were now no longer to be occupied by the senate, the house of representatives and the supreme court reverted to the county and the city for their uses.

At about the same time that the federal government departed the city, Philadelphia also ceased to be the state capital. For long the western counties had demanded a more central situation and a reason, or at any rate an excuse, for the step was found in the continued prevalence of the yellow fever. There were rival contestants for the honor. In 1795 the house of representatives had voted in favor of Carlisle, but the bill failed in the senate. Reading, Lancaster, and the new Harrisburg also had their advocates. In 1799 the assembly's choice was Lancaster, which was said to be the largest inland town in the United States. It had a population of about 5,000, and for some time had been famous for its rifles, sent in numbers to the frontier for warfare upon the Indians, its hats, its saddles, its covered wagons, and for other industries. To this town the various offices of the state government were now taken, after having rested for 117 years in Philadelphia, barring such interruptions as were made necessary by the exigencies of the Revolutionary war.

¹ *Annals of Congress*, p. 133.

² *Letters of Mrs. Adams*, p. 434.

CHAPTER XV.

SOCIAL LIFE AT THE "REPUBLICAN COURT."

The first national census, which was taken in 1790, indicated that the city then had a population of 42,520, counting in Southwark and the Northern Liberties; 44,996, if Passyunk and Moyamensing were also included. This was a total of 45,000 as against, say, 30,000 at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war. Of these 45,000, 256 were slaves, and some 2,000 more free negroes. There were nearly 7,000 dwelling houses in the city and its near adjoining suburbs.

The city's physical appearance was not yet so favorable as it should have been, though to the eye of a traveler from any other part of America, as to Manasseh Cutler's in 1787, is seemed "large, elegant and populous." It covered twice as much ground as Boston, and had, in a like way, the advantage over New York or any other city on the continent.

When Samuel Breck came from Boston in 1792 Philadelphia was regarded as "the pleasantest place of residence in the United States.¹ It "possessed the most refined society in the Union." Mr. Breck's father purchased a house in High street, opposite to and above President Washington's. He paid \$11,000 for the property, and "transplanted his family forever from his native town to the beautiful city of Philadelphia."²

From some generous foreign visitors, too, the city won pleasant words. Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, here during Washington's presidency, said: "Philadelphia is not only the finest city of the United States, but may indeed be deemed one of the most beautiful cities in the world."³ To F. A. Michaux, the French botanist, Philadelphia seemed in 1802 "the most extensive, the handsomest and most populous city in the United States." The toads which chirped in the trees in the streets in summer, the frogs which bellowed like bulls in the ponds,⁴ the fireflies which illuminated the greensward and even soared up to flash their lights among the foliage fifty or a hundred feet above the earth, now, as before, amazed English visitors, unfamiliar with such sights and sounds; but they all agreed that it was a very agreeable capital.

Yet the streets and squares were surely far from wearing an attractive aspect. The State House yard—through the efforts of Samuel Vaughan, a wealthy

¹ *Recollections*, p. 181.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 187.

³ Vol. IV, p. 91.

⁴ "The ground laid out for half the city," said Wansey in 1794, "still remains occupied by these croaking gentlemen."—*Excursion*, p. 142.



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merchant who with his several sons had much to do with the promotion of civilization in Pennsylvania during these and later years—had happily been laid out with trees and walks soon after the end of the war. Mr. Cutler described it as a "fine display of rural fancy and elegance." The trees were yet small, but they were "judiciously arranged." The walks, which were in a serpentine direction, were "well graveled and rolled hard." The other squares in the city, however, were totally without charm. They lacked even the appearance of decency. What later became Washington Square, as we have seen, was the Potter's Field. The square in the northeast, later known as Franklin Square, was a dumping place for dirt and rubbish among which pools of water stagnated in the sun. Centre Square was an execution place, and the two western squares were still clearings. They existed only on the maps. Mr. Cutler found the pavements clean. They ran usually ten feet from the houses to a row of posts, in whose range stood all the pumps. The paving material was "free stone or large tile and entirely smooth, which makes the walking on them delightful." But outside the posts, "the middle part of the streets" was "very dirty," and "interrupted frequently by piles of various kinds of lumber."

All accounts agree that the social life of the city was noteworthy. It had been interesting before and during the war; in the period while the city was the capital of the United States, it passed into the bounds of brilliancy. Washington's ceremonious home set the standards for the city. The wealthy merchants and bankers, and the prominent and successful lawyers and physicians settled in the community, had lived pleasantly, when not elegantly, for half a century. They formed an excellent background for the society which was brought to the city during the administrations of the first two presidents of the United States.

The leader of fashion in Philadelphia during the earlier years of the Revolution had been Mrs. Robert Morris. Her own social graces and her husband's wealth and position entitled her to hold this place. In 1780, at the age of sixteen, the beautiful daughter of Mr. Morris's partner, Thomas Willing,¹ married William Bingham who, as a chronicler so democratic as Thompson Westcott is pleased to remind us, was a descendant of James Bingham, a blacksmith buried at Christ Church in 1714. William Bingham was graduated an A. B. at the College of Philadelphia in 1768. He inherited a great deal of money and seems to have increased his fortune merchandising in the West Indies during the Revolution, by means that have not been clearly described.² The twenty or twenty-

¹ Anna Rawle, in a letter to her mother, Mrs. Samuel Shoemaker, on November 4, 1780, said: "Speaking of handsome women brings Nancy Willing to my mind. She might set for the Queen of Beauty, and is lately married to Bingham, who returned from the West Indies with an immense fortune. They have set out in highest style; nobody has been able to make the figure they do; equipage, house, clothes, are all the newest taste."—Glenn, *Colonial Mansions*, Vol. II, p. 151.

² The translator of the Marquis de Chastellux's *Travels* states that Mr. Bingham made large sums of money in 1782 by writing policies on the subject of the Count de Grasse's capture in the West Indies. Through his commercial connections he had early knowledge of the affair. As the Whigs could not be brought to believe the news, he profited largely by

five years of his life following his marriage to the most beautiful woman of the city found him and his wife moving upon a plane little below the English nobility, into which their children were taken by marriage.

After Robert Morris's downfall, Bingham was regarded as "the principal person in Philadelphia, and the wealthiest probably in the Union."¹ He was elected to the United States senate from Pennsylvania. His house was "by far the handsomest residence in the city."² It was built upon Third street, near Spruce street, on ground taken from the large tract owned here by Mrs. Bingham's father, Thomas Willing. The home, which was set in about three acres of lawns and gardens, was fashioned upon the lines of the mansion of the Duke of Manchester, in Manchester Square, London. It was furnished in a very grand and expensive way. Its broad white marble stairway, from stone which had never before been seen in America, was a distinguishing feature upon entering the house. Outside grew a profusion of lemon, orange and citron trees, "aloes and other exotics," which were taken to the conservatories upon the approach of cold weather. This splendid town house, together with "Lansdowne," which had belonged to the Penns and which the Bingham's purchased in 1797, and a villa at Long Branch, gave the family a preeminent social position. Throughout the Washington administrations, though there were many fine homes, theirs excelled in the pomp and circumstance of entertainment. To some, indeed, the show seemed excessive. It was so even in the view of Mr. Breck, confessedly a great friend of social display. He found that "the forms at his [Bingham's] house were not suited to our manners."³ Guests were announced by name in a loud tone of voice by liveried footmen. Much style and luxury were exhibited at Robert Morris's home, but it was "the pure and unalloyed." Bingham's was "more gaudy but less comfortable."⁴

Mrs. Bingham was in all ways fitted for her position. She had been presented at the court of Louis XVI, and during her visits and times of residence abroad she had riveted attention upon herself as fully as in this country. "Her beauty was splendid," it was said. "Her figure, which was somewhat above the middle size, was well made. Her carriage was light and elegant while ever marked by dignity and air. Her manners were a gift."⁵ She was the leader to whom every one deferred. Her smiles and favors caused those upon whom they were bestowed to feel "personally flattered and obliged." In 1801 when she was still but thirty-seven, she was seized with a lung disease as a result of a ride in a sleigh, and was borne on a palanquin amid the gaze of curious crowds to a vessel specially fitted up for transporting her to the Bermudas. There she soon died. Her husband followed her in 1804, during a sojourn in Bath, England, where he lies buried in the Abbey church.

the speculation. It is stated that eighty to a hundred thousand pounds sterling were written in Philadelphia before the mania for gambling on this occurrence was satisfied.—Vol. I, p. 224.

¹ Thomas Twining, *Travels*, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Recollections*, p. 201.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁵ Griswold's *Republican Court*, p. 292.

But Mrs. Bingham was only one of a large company of ladies who shone at what Griswold has very aptly named the "Republican Court." At the first levee of President Washington on Friday, December 25, 1790, Mrs. Adams met "the dazzling Mrs. Bingham and her beautiful sisters, the Misses Allen, the Misses Chew and, in short, a constellation of beauties." A belle of the day, Miss Vining—a great favorite of Lafayette and the French officers while they were here—wrote a few years earlier: "You know, however, that here alone can be found a truly intellectual and refined society, such as one naturally expects in the capital of a great country."¹ Miss Rebecca Franks while in New York, in a gossip letter to her sister, Mrs. Andrew Hamilton, said that the ladies of her city had "more cleverness in the turn of an eye than those of New York have in their whole composition. With what ease," she continues, "have I seen a Chew, a Penn, an Oswald, an Allen, and a thousand others entertain a large circle of both sexes—the conversation, without the aid of cards, never flagging nor seeming in the least strained or stupid." In New York, however, it was different. "You enter the room with a formal set curtsey, and after the how-do's, things are finished; all's a dead calm till the cards are introduced."²

In addition to the families who were resident in Philadelphia, there were the members of the cabinet, the justices of the supreme court, the senators and representatives and other federal officials, and not least, the diplomatic characters sent here by foreign powers. The ambassadors and their suites added much color and display to society, which was constantly changing, as it will change at a seat of national government. Then there were a host of distinguished visitors; among them Jean Pierre Brissot de Warville, who wrote an account of his travels; Count Adriani of Milan; Count de Tilly, who made a *misalliance* with a younger daughter of William Bingham; the Vicomte de Noailles, brother-in-law of Lafayette who had been in America with Rochambeau and who resided here for about ten years;³ Alexander Baring, later Lord Ashburton, who came as a representative of Hope and Company, the bankers, to buy land owned by Mr. Bingham in Maine, and who lingered to marry his daughter; his brother, Henry Baring, the second husband of another of Mr. Bingham's daughters, the Countess Tilly; the Prince de Talleyrand-Perigord, lately the Bishop of Autun, soon to be one of Napoleon's ministers; his companion, Beaumais;⁴ the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt; Louis Philippe, afterward king of the French, who is said to have made a proposal of marriage while here to one of Mr. Bingham's daughters; and his brothers, the Duke de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais; Chateaubriand, the French poet, who dined with Washington in September, 1791; General Victor Collot, who had served with Rochambeau in America, later governor of Guadeloupe;⁵ the celebrated Monsieur Volney, infidel traveler, essayist and philosopher—afterward ennobled by Napoleon as the Count de Volney; Dr. Erick Bollman who had unsucces-

¹ Griswold, *Republican Court*, p. 22.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXIII, p. 303.

³ Breck, pp. 165-166, 199.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁵ Rosengarten, *French Colonists and Exiles*.

fully attempted to effect the liberation of Lafayette from the prison at Olmütz; John Singleton Copley—afterward Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Chancellor of England (son of the painter of the same name);¹ the Duke of Kent, son of George III; George Washington Lafayette, son of the Marquis; Kosciusko; and many more. Some were refugees; others were merely travelers who naturally congregated at the capital.

Philadelphia was "all alive," says Samuel Breck, and "a round of entertainments" was kept up in the homes of President Washington, Vice President Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Robert Morris, William Bingham, John Ross, Henry Hill, Governor Thomas Mifflin, ex-Governor John Penn, Samuel Powel, Benjamin Chew, Phineas Bond, Pierce Butler, General Knox and others. Breck said that the city in 1792, when it had but 50,000 inhabitants, boasted of a "much larger society of elegant and fashionable and stylish people" than in 1842 when he wrote, and when its population was more than a quarter of a million souls.

The dress of men and women underwent radical changes, as a result of the French Revolution, and Philadelphia was not far behind Europe in matters of style. A number of visitors to the city, after their departure published their impressions on these points. These in many cases are of a great deal of interest. Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, who spent three winters here in 1795, 1796 and 1797, wrote:

"The profusion and luxury of Philadelphia on great days, at the tables of the wealthy, in their equipages and the dresses of their wives and daughters, are extreme. I have seen balls on the president's birthday where the splendor of the rooms and the variety and richness of the dresses did not suffer in comparison with Europe; and it must be acknowledged that the beauty of the American ladies has the advantage in comparison. The young women of Philadelphia are accomplished in different degrees, but beauty is general with them.²

In William Bingham's house the chairs were from one of the best manufacturers in London, "the back in the form of a lyre adorned with festoons of crimson and yellow silk." The curtains, carpets and other articles of furniture were described by Wansey, who dined at the house in 1794, as "elegant, even superb." Travelers were amazed to find mahogany pieces and carpets even in the homes of the poor. To many, as to the democratic Brissot de Warville, a covering for the floor, especially in summer, seemed an "absurdity." The taste could arise only from "vanity." He told approvingly of a Quaker from one of the Caro-

¹ Young Copley was in Philadelphia in the spring and summer of 1796, during the excitement over the Jay treaty. He wrote his mother:

"I have become a fierce aristocrat. This is the country to cure your Jacobins. Send them over and they will return quite converted. The opposition here are a set of villains. Their object is to upset the Government, and all good men are apprehensive lest they should on the present occasion be successful."

He wrote his sisters in June that he was "in love with a daughter of Bishop White," but the latter declined to allow her to go to England as the wife of a little known young man, and seven years later she became the second wife of General Macpherson, the old commander of the "Blues." For a time young Copley was a travelling companion of Volney.—*Life of Lord Lyndhurst*, by Sir Theodore Martin, pp. 46-8.

² Vol. IV, p. 107.



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From a portrait by Gilbert Stuart

linas who, going to the opulent home of one of his people, saw a carpet running from the door to the staircase. He refused to enter, saying that he never dined "where there was luxury, and that it was better to clothe the poor than to clothe the earth."

An Englishman who resided here in 1793-97, writing of his experiences, said that at that time there were 806 two and four-wheeled pleasure carriages in the city.¹ Another enumerator found that there were 860 pleasure carriages and some 600 carts and drays.² Some of these vehicles Isaac Weld, another foreign chronicler, relates, "were extremely ostentatious." There were coaches, chariots, phaetons, chairs, sulkies, chaises, coachees and "light wagons." Nearly all were made in local shops. The coachee was thought to be peculiarly American, with its open front, the driver under the roof, and curtains to be let down in case of rain. The bodies were often painted in bright colors, such as olive, green, yellow and purple, with flowers, crests and other ornaments.³ The "light wagon" had a form which was very similar to the coachee, except that it was not panelled or decorated so elaborately.

The drinking of tea approached a religious rite. D. von Bülow, a censorious German traveler at the end of the century, said that the guest was intended to take two cups. When the Prince de Broglie, who came with letters to Luzerne, went with the French minister to tea at Mrs. Robert Morris's he drank twelve. He did not know, until he was told, that he must place his spoon across his cup when he wished to bring "the warm water question to an end."⁴

"The tea parties were invented by avarice, in order to see company cheap," wrote von Bülow. He found the behavior of the assembled persons on these occasions "very stiff." "A deadly weariness hangs upon all present. They yawn; they drink warm water; they eat, for the most part, bread smeared with butter." Ordinarily the cups were carried around by servants. But "at a sociable tea party you sit round a table and have various articles handed to you to eat, such as cold meat, fish, etc." Wine was usually provided also.

Already Philadelphians were thought to be cold, formal and inhospitable, a reputation which they have not yet succeeded in living down. Isaac Weld, who was here in 1795-97, said:

"It is a remark very generally made, not only by foreigners but also by persons from other parts of the United States, that the Philadelphians are extremely deficient in hospitality and politeness toward strangers. Amongst the uppermost circles in Philadelphia, pride, haughtiness and ostentation are conspicuous; and it seems as if nothing could make them happier than that an order of nobility should be established, by which they might be exalted above their fellow-citizens as much as they are in their own conceit. In the manners of the people in general, there is a coldness and reserve, as if they were suspicious of some designs against them, which chills to the very heart those who come to

¹ Priest's *Travels*, p. 31.

² Based doubtless on the accounts of the receiver of duty who made returns in 1794 on 553 two-wheeled vehicles (520 chairs and 33 sulkies) and 307 four-wheeled vehicles (33 coaches and 35 chariots) a total of 860.—Mease, p. 356.

³ *Pa. Mag.*, XXVII, p. 373.

⁴ Narrative of the prince, *Magazine of American History* for 1877, p. 331.

visit them. In their private societies a *tristesse* is apparent, near which mirth and gaiety can never approach."¹

Rochefoucauld-Liancourt thought that the accusation of a lack of hospitality in the Philadelphians was a deserved reproach, but that it was caused by their attention to the "accumulation of wealth." So many strangers came to the city that, if they were all taken in and made lions of, no time would remain for anything else. The rich man simply lived "to show the stranger his splendid furniture, his fine English glass and exquisite china. But when the stranger has once viewed the parade in a ceremonious dinner, he is dismissed for some other newcomer who has not yet seen the magnificence of the house, nor tasted the old Madeira that has been twice or thrice to the East Indies. And then a new face is always more welcome than an old one to him who has little to say to either. The real state of society at Philadelphia is included in invitations to great dinners and tea to all who arrive from Europe,—English, French, inhabitants of every country, men of every class and of every kind of character—philosophers, priests, literati, princes, dentists, wits and idiots. And the next day the idolized stranger is not known in the street except he be wealthy especially in money. * * * The homage paid to wealth is a worship in which all sects unite."²

Von Bülow told of an Englishman he had met who, upon arriving in Philadelphia "with many letters of recommendation, burnt them all, because they procured him everywhere no other benefit than a glass of brandy-and-water."

It is certain that outsiders were not taken to the bosom of Philadelphia in that day any more freely than they have been since; and, whether it be a Quaker or a Christ Church trait, it is one which early came to distinguish the people of the city; and one too—it is to be feared—in which they at heart feel a good deal of satisfaction.

That there were not many amusements except conversation, was another impression carried away by foreigners. The Philadelphians knew little of music; the Quakers, of course, knew it not at all. Dancing there was in abundance, and the young women, who were always admired by visitors for their beauty and domestic virtues were accustomed to so much social freedom that, then as today, they quite startled English and French observers. They went out alone. They walked in the streets with young men. At balls young couples could be discerned sitting apart from the rest of the company. "In short," said Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, "they enjoy the same degree of liberty which married women do in France, and which married women here do not take." However, it was found that they did not abuse their freedom. When they were married, they manifested for their husbands the greatest devotion, having "not an idea that they could do otherwise." Divorce could be obtained only by special act of assembly, and it was almost unknown.³

¹ *Travels*, p. 31. See, too, Francis Baily's *Journal of a Tour*, p. 111.

² *Travels*, IV, p. 104.

³ The Bingham divorce was obtained from the legislature on January 17, 1800. It was stated in the bill that Alexander de Tilly, who called himself a Count, had bribed the servants of William Bingham to deliver his letters to Maria Matilda Bingham "of the

The establishment of the national capital in Philadelphia, and especially the presence in the city of so many French people, had led to much relaxation of sentiment on the subject of amusements. Morality had been so oppressive a thing while Robert Edge Pine, the English painter, lived in the city, from 1784 to 1788, that he was obliged to keep a plaster cast of the Venus de Medici which he had brought with him, "shut up in a case." He dared to show it only to persons "who particularly wished to see it."¹

An English Quakeress who was here in 1787 had a concern respecting sleighing. It was a pastime which was much "abused." "Large parties collect and riotly go together to taverns where they sup at all times of the night," for which reason it was to be condemned.² In Philadelphia, ten o'clock was "the time for all sober folks to be housed."³

But the city was fast losing its prim Quaker character. The war had discredited the Friends, and put a definite end to their influence in politics. They would never return to that position of authority which had been theirs earlier.

In 1789, after repeated efforts, the law of the assembly prohibiting theatrical representations in the state, was repealed, and on January 6, 1790, the old Southwark Theatre was opened under the management of Lewis Hallam and John Henry.⁴ The plays first given were *The Rivals* and *The Critic*. The performances continued until July, with a good cast of men and women, some of whom had come directly from London to join the company. The theatre was kept open at a profit from season to season, which began usually in December and lasted until the following July. A stage box was specially fitted up for General Washington, and he often honored the house by his attendance. The coat-of-arms of the United States was exhibited on the front of the box, which was festooned with red draperies. Upon his arrival, the president would be received by one of the leading members of the company who, with powdered hair, dressed in a full suit of black, and holding in his hands two silver candlesticks, conducted the

tender age of fifteen years or thereabouts." Tilly in the course of the correspondence "by acts the most seductive, fraudulent and iniquitous" had "ensnared" the girl "into a midnight elopement from the house of her parents." His object was said to be the extortion of money from her father. He offered "to sell and surrender and did actually sell and surrender all his marital rights for a pecuniary consideration," and then left the country. In order that "the innocent victims of his baseness may find comfort, that an example may be made to deter others from offending in a manner so fatal to the order of society and the happiness of individuals, and that the solemn contract of marriage may be vindicated from practices so immoral, irreligious, fraudulent and corrupt" the said contract was declared "to be void and annulled to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever."

¹ Joseph Hopkinson is the authority for this statement.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XVIII, p. 58.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁴ This Lewis Hallam was the son of the Lewis Hallam who led the American Company which was seen at the South Street Theatre in colonial days. At the outbreak of the Revolution, he had returned to England, but, the war at an end, he came again to America to claim his abandoned property and to continue his career, laws permitting, at the capital of the independent states. He was probably the best actor seen in this country until Hodgkinson appeared. He was, says Graydon in his *Memoirs*, "as much the soul of the Southwark Theatre as ever Garrick was at Drury Lane." John Henry came to Philadelphia by way of the West Indies, and joined his company with Hallam's.

"Father of his Country" to his assigned place. High Constable Carlisle, a man of gigantic frame, the terror of all rowdies, was likely to be in attendance in the interest of good order. He carried a large black stick with a silver head, which exhibited the arms of Pennsylvania, and when in the streets he was usually accompanied by a Newfoundland dog. He was a town figure for many years.¹ Sometimes a guard of soldiers was seen in the audience, which was often very brilliant.²

This theatre soon had a rival, and after 1794-95 was little in public view. In 1774, Hallam's cousin, Thomas Wignell, a comedian of ability, arrived from England. Finding that nothing could be done here until after the war, he went to the West Indies. He became a principal member of Hallam's company, but seceded from it in 1790 in consequence of a difference upon a business point. Thereupon he formed a partnership with Alexander Reinagle, a musician, and they issued proposals for the erection of a new theatre. A joint stock company was organized, the names of Robert Morris, John Swanwick, William Bingham, D. C. Claypoole, Charles Biddle, John Vaughan, Edward Tilghman and Thomas Fitzsimmons being found on the list of shareholders. Wignell was sent abroad to engage a cast and to purchase scenery and costumes. A theatre, at first generally known as the "New Theatre" was erected in Chestnut street above Sixth street. The cornerstone was laid in 1791 and the house should have been opened in 1793, but when the actors and actresses whom Wignell had engaged in England arrived in the Delaware, they found the yellow fever in possession of Philadelphia, and they were quartered in farmhouses in New Jersey and Delaware until the scourge abated.

One of this party, William Priest, a musician, afterward wrote a book. He, and doubtless some of his companions also, made their way up from their retreat to peep into the city while the fever still raged. How welcome they were in this country may be judged from the theory of a Quaker whom Priest met and questioned as to the cause of the infection. "It is a judgment on the inhabitants for their sins," said the Quaker, "in so much as they sent to England for a number of play actors, singers and musicians who were actually arrived; and as a just judgment on the Philadelphians for encouraging these children of iniquity they were now afflicted with the yellow fever." Priest, not to be very far behind the "broad-brim" in the argument, remarked that it was more probably a judgment on the Quakers of the city of brotherly love who were now being "scourged for their hypocrisy, lying, canting and other manifold iniquities."³

It would have been folly to try to open the new theatre at such a time, and the imported players were taken to Annapolis and Baltimore. It was not until February 17, 1794, that they appeared in the Chestnut street house in a comic opera, *The Castle of Andalusia*, and a comedy entitled *Who's the Dupe?* In the company, there were in addition to Mr. Wignell several interesting per-

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXIV, p. 380.

² Durang, ch. 14.

³ *Travels*, pp. 13-14.

CHESTNUT STREET THEATRE (FIRST BUILDING)



sons, among them Mrs. Whitlock, a sister of the famous Mrs. Siddons, and Mr. Whitlock; Mrs. Oldmixon, who was a Miss George and who had come out with her husband, Sir John Oldmixon—once a leader of fashion at Bath, now pauperized and ready to raise cabbages on a farm near Philadelphia while his wife was play-acting; Mrs. Susanna Rowson, who wrote *Charlotte Temple* and other novels as well as plays; and several who were destined to be important factors in this theatre in a still more brilliant day, such as Mr. Fennel, John Darley, Jr., Mr. Blisset and Mr. and Mrs. Francis. The house is said to have been the finest which had been erected up to that time in America. It was patterned after the theatre in Bath, England. In front there was a marble colonnade with Corinthian pillars, and at each side a niche in which were figures representing Tragedy and Comedy, by William Rush. The main building was of brick, which continued to be made from the clays on which the city stood, and which colored it red from its earliest days. The house inside was prettily ornamented. The proscenium displayed an eagle with the motto, not inappropriate in Pennsylvania where the drama had so long been under a ban, "The eagle suffers little birds to sing."¹ Even then, the Quakers, the Presbyterians, and other prim inhabitants of the city, still viewed theatres with great hostility, and in large numbers from time to time petitioned the assembly to uproot these nests of vice.

Other entertainments also made their appearance in the city and were enjoyed; especially the circus. A man named Pool opened a ring near the Centre House in 1785. John Bill Ricketts, a Scotchman who was a dexterous equestrian, erected a circus building in 1792-93 at the southwest corner of Twelfth and Market streets. It would accommodate about 800 persons. Washington sometimes attended, and the exhibitions were the talk of the town. Ricketts rode two horses at once at a full gallop. He had associates who performed daring feats, and clowns to amuse the children. His success was so great that in October, 1795, he opened an amphitheatre at the southwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, opposite Congress Hall. This building, which was circular, had a diameter of ninety-seven feet. At Twelfth and Market streets he had had only daylight performances; now, a chandelier, containing a number of lights, was suspended from the dome of his circus, and he could give his entertainments at night as well. The house held upwards of 1,200 persons. From a coffee-room, which was attached, the audience could be provided with refreshments. The company was strengthened by tight-rope dancers, and a woman who, like Ricketts, could ride upon two horses at full speed. A horse called "Cornplanter"—in honor of a celebrated Indian chief of the Six Nations, then visiting in Philadelphia—nightly jumped over another horse fourteen hands high. Ricketts himself was seen on two horses, each foot resting on a quart mug set loosely upon a saddle, while his son, who seemed to be the star acrobat, put his head on a pint pot on a horse and balanced himself in this position as he rode around the ring. Blindfolded, he could dismount while going at a gallop, pick up a watch, and resume his seat. From time to time pantomimes

¹ From Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*.

were presented upon the stage; and the building, being of so large a size, was frequently used for balls, receptions and the great subscription dinners which distinguished the social life of the city at this period. The night on which news was received of the death of Washington, it was destroyed by fire. A drunken carpenter went into a loft among the scenery with a lighted candle; but fortunately the audience made their escape without injury. Ricketts's loss was great, and he returned to England broken in spirit as in fortune.

Still another circus, that of Lailson, a French equestrian, was opened in an amphitheatre at the northwest corner of Fifth and Prune streets, adjoining the jail, in April, 1797. His was the largest circus company which had ever visited America. Pantomimes, comedies and operas were given, as well as performances in the ring; but the enterprise was too costly for the proprietor, and he failed in June, 1798. His costumes and properties were sold, many of them to Wignell and Reinagle of the Chestnut Street Theatre. One Sunday morning in July, the walls spread and the dome, which had stood ninety feet high, fell with the noise of artillery, bringing the whole city to the scene. Only the night before, the building had been used by Macpherson's Blues, who had noticed a cracking sound without any suspicion of the danger they were in.

The circuses, as well as the theatres, aroused the moral antipathies of large bodies of the people, but the city had now passed the time when these elements could longer control its social destinies.

Fireworks and the particular kind of an illuminated transparency in the manufacture of which Charles Willson Peale excelled, also contributed to the amusement of the public. Ambroise and Company had an amphitheatre on Arch street above Eighth, wherein they had many pyrotechnical exhibitions. They introduced illuminating gas to Philadelphia in 1796. Peale had come to the city from Maryland at about the time of the breaking out of the Revolution. He was a universal genius, and interested himself in art, mechanics, natural history and politics. He could model as well as paint. He repeatedly made portraits of Washington. His brother, James Peale, was also an artist, as were at least three of his sons, Rembrandt, Raphael and Titian—fancifully named for the "old masters." For several years he had been accumulating a museum of pictures, wax and stuffed figures, and various curiosities, in his home at Third and Lombard streets. In 1794 the American Philosophical Society, which was busily engaged in endeavors to forward the scientific interests of the country, especially with a view to the practical development of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, invited Peale to move his collections into its new building abutting upon the city hall, in the State House yard. The location was very favorable to bringing the museum to public notice, for all the prominent men who gathered at the State House visited the exhibition, as did the Indian chiefs, the noble French refugees and other men who were drawn to the capital of the country at this time. Indeed, Mr. Peale fitted up a small zoological garden in the State House yard, where there were several wild animals, including an eagle in a cage, which bore the inscription, "Feed me well and I'll live a hundred years."

The life of the town was further enlivened in January, 1793, when M. Blanchard, a celebrated French aeronaut, visited the city and made a successful

voyage in a balloon.¹ The prison yard, where Carnes had his nearly fatal experience in 1784, was chosen for the feat, and many tickets were sold for the enclosure. Boys climbed the trees in the State House yard, crowds covered Potter's Field and the adjoining commons, and the roofs were black with people. President Washington came to see the young man mount into the air in the train of his yellow silk gas bag. He waved the French and American colors as he rose, the people cheered, cannon boomed and a band played. The balloon was soon out of sight. The navigator was fortunate enough to land near Woodbury, N. J., after having been in the air for forty-six minutes. There he took a carriage and returned to Cooper's Ferry. He was at the president's house, ready to be congratulated, at half-past six the same evening. It seemed like a marvelous feat. "Franklin, with a firm grasp," wrote one enthusiast, "dared to seize the lightning in the immensity of space where it is formed. Blanchard, bold in his flight, visits those regions. He traverses them as his conquest."

The difficulty of collecting a price for the privilege of seeing an ascension was great, and the aeronaut was much discouraged by his experience. He was given permission to erect a rotunda on Chestnut street, where he exhibited his balloon. From time to time he sent it up and released parachutes, once with a dog, a cat and a squirrel in the car, which came to earth in safety.

Three gardens, all beyond Gray's Ferry on the western side of the Schuylkill river—Bartram's, Hamilton's and Gray's—awakened the admiration of visitors. John Bartram's garden was now kept up by his son William who, with another man, was hoeing "in a short jacket and trousers and without shoes or stockings," when Mr. Cutler in company with Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and other eminent members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 went out to pay their respects to the botanist. The New England visitor, who accounted himself something of an expert on the subject, found it to be "a very ancient garden" which had been "made principally from the middle and southern states." However, the plants and trees were "badly arranged." They were placed neither "ornamentally nor botanically," but seemed to be "jumbled together in heaps." A walk "between two rows of large, lofty trees, all of different kinds," ran down from the family seat, "an ancient fabric built with stone and very large," to the river side where there was a summer house on the rocky bank.

The gardens around "Woodlands" probably contained a finer collection of plants under more intelligent arrangement than Bartram's. This plantation had the personal attention of William Hamilton, son of Andrew and nephew of James, the governor, whose heir he was. He was born in 1745, and like his uncle, he was unmarried. Like his uncle, too, he had had British sympathies during the war, and resided for a time in England, not returning to his estate until after the peace. He lived at the "Woodlands" until his death in 1813, with his nieces, the daughters of his brother Andrew, who had married Abigail Franks. The mansion was "filled with a collection of rich and elegant paintings of all descriptions," and it was as fine a type of the luxurious country house as was then known in the colonies. While he was abroad, the proprietor sent

¹ Breck describes him, *Recollections*, p. 68.

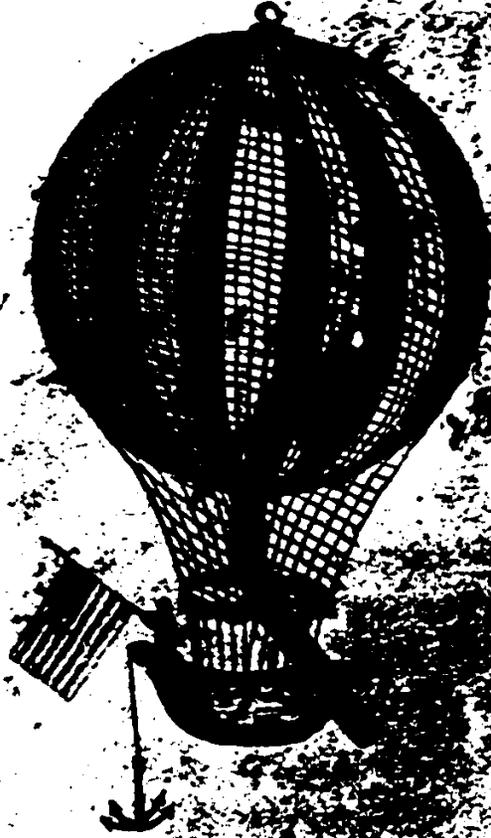
home seeds, cuttings and plants. He afterward obtained them from captains of ships and correspondents throughout the world, until Manasseh Cutler who visited this "immensely rich old bachelor" in 1803, could be assured that "there was not a rare plant in Europe, Asia, Africa, from China and the islands in the South Sea, of which he had any account, which he had not procured." The "lawns of green grass frequently mowed," were interspersed with copses of native growth and "artificial groves" of trees from "all parts of the world." Walks in every direction were bordered with flowering shrubs. The greenhouses occupied a large space. The trees and plants "from the hot climates" cultivated in them—such as Mr. Cutler, though himself a botanist, had never seen—aroused his deepest interest. Mr. Hamilton had gathered botanical books and drawings around him, regardless of their cost, and had acquired a vast amount of knowledge concerning a subject which afforded him what was at once an occupation and a recreation. Some of the trees still stand in the enclosure, as in the space surrounding Bartram's house, to recall the heyday of the garden's growth.¹

A more interesting resort because of its public character, was Gray's Gardens, which had been fitted up on the recommendation of Samuel Vaughan by the enterprising proprietors of the ferry. They had an inn which was very profitable to them in connection with the river crossing rights, and had constructed a pleasure park, without a counterpart at that time in America. Mr. Cutler thought the scenes "romantic and delightful beyond the power of description." The tavern was an "old pile of buildings" commanding a fine view of the river. In the surrounding gardens there was a greenhouse in which oranges, lemons, pineapples and many tropical plants were in flower or fruit. The grounds consisted of groves, parterres, summer-houses, arbors, bowers and walks bordered with "every kind of flower one could think that nature had ever produced, and with the utmost display of fancy as well as variety." Artificial arches had been erected over a "purling stream." There was a cascade seventy feet in height, grottoes wrought out of rocks, hermitages in different forms, Chinese bridges and staircases. Mr. Cutler thought himself on "enchanted ground." He could "hardly help looking out for flying dragons, magic castles, little fairies, knight-errants, distressed ladies and all the apparatus of eastern fable." He found his mind "really fatigued with so long a scene of pleasure." Gray's Gardens became a very fashionable resort for Philadelphians during the summer months. Washington, while the Constitutional Convention was in session and after he came to the city as president, stopped to refresh himself there, as did most of the other prominent people who were attracted by duty or pleasure to the capital of the United States. It was the favorite point to meet and fête him and Mrs. Washington, as well as other distinguished travelers from the south. Concerts were frequently given in the gardens for the enjoyment of the guests. The inn was famous for its tea and coffee, which meant at the same time a table well filled with cheese, syllabubs,² sweet cakes, hung beef, pickled salmon, ham,

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, VIII, pp. 109-11; XXIX, 70, 143.

² Curds made of milk and wine, ale or cider, and flavored with lemon juice, rose water, etc.

SIC ITUR AD ASTRA



15th Ascension and the first made in America January 9th 1793 at Philadelphia
45th ascension et la premiere faite en Amerique le 9th Jun 1793 a Philadelphia
39° 50' N. Latitude by W. J. P. Blanchard
56° Latitude N. par W. J. P. Blanchard.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BLANCHARD'S BALLOON ASCENSION IN 1793

crackers, and an abundance of bread and butter.¹ In winter time sleighing parties visited the hospitable tavern, often staying to dance until far into the night.²

Philadelphians might go to the Yellow Springs, in the hills of Chester County whose popularity was as great now as before the war, or to some other inland watering place; to Long Branch or Cape May, resorts beside the sea, which were beginning to attract notice; but whatever the other attractions, as a city poet wrote,

"All love their own Schuylkill's romantic soft tide,
And pay their devotion at Gray's."

A mineral spring, about four miles north of the city, near the Frankford Road, had been more or less frequented for many years, and Gray's Gardens found a competitor in this place, which came to be called Harrowgate. The water was thought to have considerable medicinal power, resembling in some degree the springs at Harrowgate in England, whence the name. Baths were established and a garden was laid out, in which there was a good restaurant and music. In the summer, a stage ran up twice a day from the Sign of the Camel, in Second street above Race. In 1786 Ann Warder, the English Quakeress, visited Harrowgate, "where there is shower baths and a water similar to ours of the same name, so nauseous tasted that I must be very sick to submit to drink it."³ This traveler stopped for a "dish of tea," as did many others. After Gray's vogue had passed, Harrowgate's attractions were multiplied, and it was at one time, early in the next century, a very popular resort.

Among the other pleasure gardens in the city, the most prominent perhaps was the Lebanon Garden, in South between Tenth and Eleventh streets. The Wigwam, on the banks of the Schuylkill, which had been in favor before it was taken possession of in 1793 as a yellow fever hospital, was henceforth barred from use as a place of amusement for the inhabitants.

The birthdays of the king and the dauphin of France were remembered no longer, and to the birthday of Liberty, on the Fourth of July, was added Washington's birthday, which first received a public celebration in 1788. It continued to be observed on February 11th, despite the change in the calendar, but in two or three years was set forward to the 22d. Now there was one more holiday for dinners, toasts and the *feu de joie*. Washington usually marked his natal day with a splendid levee, which drew to his Market street home the principal people in official circles, as well as many Philadelphia fashionables, all "elegantly if not superbly dressed." Governor Mifflin's birthday began to be celebrated in 1791. Men called to congratulate him and guns were fired in his honor. The old city dancing assembly resumed its balls; and, boasting of its well-seasoned families, held the field against a rival organization. The stain of contact with trade had been wiped away and many were become forgetful of the means which their laborious ancestors had used to cast their children's lives in pleasant ways. Newer trades folk, whose names were still associated with

¹ Priest's *Travels*, p. 34; also Wansey, p. 141.

² Griswold's *Republican Court*, p. 162.

³ *Pa. Mag.*, XVII, p. 456.

their ale and gin and patent medicines, their rope walks and cooper shops, their ferries and taverns, could have an assembly of their own, but it excited no one's envy, although Washington in 1792 discreetly favored the balls of both organizations with his presence.

A good deal of ceremony was observed and much substantial comfort could be obtained in the taverns. Passengers by the stages or on horseback, in coaches, chariots or chairs, found abounding tables at the inns set along the principal highways north, west and south. When Manasseh Cutler stopped at Bristol, there were eight or ten different dishes, with wine, porter and many other kinds of drinks on a side table to be ordered in answer to individual choice and to be paid for, as was the custom in the middle states, after a division of the cost of what all had consumed by the number of persons composing the party, regardless of what each one had drunk. Arriving at the Indian Queen, in Fourth street south of Market street, he was met by a young black fellow, with powdered hair, who was dressed in a blue coat, with red sleeves and a red cape, buff breeches, a waistcoat of the same color and a ruffled shirt. The barkeeper assigned him to a room to which his baggage was immediately taken. It was supplied with "a rich field bed," a bureau, a table, a mirror, chairs and other articles of furniture. Being on the third floor, there was a view from the window of the river and the Jersey shore. The servant brought two of the latest London magazines and laid them on the table. The guest then ordered a barber, a bowl of water for washing, and a dish of tea, to be made ready by the time he should be shaven and dressed. The servant entered the room in the morning before Mr. Cutler was yet out of bed to learn his commands. There was a "sumptuous table," and the attendance of the guests, who at this time included most of the members of the Constitutional Convention—often Washington himself—was "in the style of noblemen." Mr. Cutler's bill at the Indian Queen from Thursday evening to the next Saturday evening was 36s 9d. Many congressmen, when the capital came to Philadelphia, were quartered here, and many more were to be found next door at No. 13 South Fourth street (the Indian Queen was No. 15), in the boarding house of John Francis, an old Frenchman. Here they set up a kind of mess, Vice President Adams sitting at the head of their table in 1795, when Thomas Twining, a young English traveler, was a guest in the house.¹

The City Tavern in South Second street was now kept very indifferently. It was nothing more than an ordinary, or a coffee-house, whose title to a good reputation had passed.² The situation of the city with respect to hotels was much improved in 1791 by the opening of Oeliers' Hotel on the south side of Chestnut street, just above Sixth street, which at once became the principal hostelry. In April, 1787, the cornerstone of a building which was designed for use as an academy of the Protestant Episcopal church, lately established under the presidency of Bishop White, was laid, but it was found to be too expensive for the new school and it was sold in 1791 for £4,625.³ As Congress had just returned

¹ *Travels in America*, p. 38.

² *Wansey*, p. 97.

³ *Souder's History of Chestnut Street*, chap. 63.

to the city, and new hotel accommodations were needed, James Oellers leased the property. Under his management, until it was burned one night in December, 1799, as a result of a fire which broke out in Ricketts' Circus, erected a little later on ground lying east and nearer Sixth street, it was the most fashionable hotel in Philadelphia. Because of its proximity to the meeting place of Congress, it was much frequented by the members who were likely to eat and drink when they did not lodge there. Wansey spoke very highly of the hotel. Mr. Oellers offered to lodge and board him for seven dollars a week,—“a good table, neat lodging room and a pleasant, airy situation.” The dancing assembly met here in “a most elegant room sixty feet square with a handsome music gallery at one end,” and the house soon became a favorite for dinners, lectures, concerts and other entertainments.¹

More than one hundred taverns were enumerated in the first Philadelphia directory of 1785. This total was considerably increased by the end of the century. Besides the favorite Oellers, the City Tavern and the Indian Queen, there were such inns as the Bunch of Grapes, Bird in Hand, Battle of the Kegs, Oiley Wagon, Black Horse, Dusty Miller and White Horse, Red Cow, Samson and the Lion, Turk's Head, Cross Keys, Jolly Sailor, Horse and Groom, Moon and Stars, Darby Ram, Boar's Head, Fox and Leopard, Ship, Swan, Seven Stars, Green Tree, Conestoga Wagon, King of Poland, Rising Sun, Bull's Head, Dr. Franklin, General Wayne and General Washington. Some of these were very old public houses, while others were new. Some names were such favorites that they were placed on two or three houses in different parts of the city, to the great confusion of the public. For example, there was a Black Horse on Second street above Vine, and another, well known for years to the country people who came to market, on High above Fourth street. There were three White Horse taverns, three Seven Stars, three Cross Keys, three Bucks, three Leopards as well as a Fox and a Leopard, two Eagles and two Bears.

¹ Wansey copied the rules of the Assembly which he found printed, framed and hung upon the wall. They were as follows:

- “1.—The Managers have the entire direction.
- “2.—The Ladies rank in sets and draw for places as they enter the room. The Managers have power to place strangers and brides at the head of the Dances.
- “3.—The Ladies who lead call the Dances alternately.
- “4.—No Lady to dance out of her set, without leave of a Manager.
- “5.—No Lady to quit her place in the Dance, or alter the figure.
- “6.—No person to interrupt the view of the Dancers.
- “7.—The rooms to be opened at six o'clock, every Thursday evening, during the season; the Dances to commence at seven and end at twelve precisely.
- “8.—Each set having danced a Country Dance, a Cotillion may be called, if at the desire of eight Ladies.
- “9.—No stranger admissible without a ticket signed by one of the Managers, previously obtained.
- “10.—No Gentleman admissible in boots, colored stockings or undress.
- “11.—No Citizen to be admissible unless he is a subscriber.
- “12.—The Managers only are to give orders to the music.
- “13.—If any dispute should unfortunately arise, the Managers are to adjust and finally settle the same; and any Gentleman refusing to comply, becomes inadmissible to the future assemblies of that season.”—*Excursion to the United States*, pp. 120-21.

The ceremonious meal of the day was dinner, which in President Washington's time was served in the afternoon at three or four o'clock. On the table there were often carved or sculptured ornaments and much finely polished silver. Various meats were followed by pastry and other sweets. The meal was accompanied by good wines. Later the cloth was removed, the apples and chestnuts were served and healths were drunk. At the public subscription dinners which were so often given at the taverns, there was immoderate drinking. For twelve persons it was reckoned that there should be sixty bottles of Madeira. The meal ended with coffee. Breakfast consisted of tea and coffee, with "relishes," which, to the surprise of foreign visitors, included a great assortment of substantial dishes—salt fish, beefsteaks, sausages, broiled fowls, ham, bacon, buckwheat cakes, etc., etc. The supper at night was exactly similar, except that such cold meats as were left at dinner were likely to be added. Dinners of this day were "got up in elegance and good taste," said Samuel Breck, and greater attention was paid "to the dress of servants and the general appearance of equipages."¹

The servants in the best houses were dressed in livery, President Washington's in white trimmed with scarlet or orange.² In the best regulated homes, such as Washington's, Robert Morris's and William Bingham's, the staff included coachmen, footmen, a butler, a housekeeper and a confectioner, besides the servants usual in other households. Morris and Bingham kept French cooks. Washington, William Hamilton of the "Woodlands" and possibly some others, when they drove abroad, had their postilion boys.

The market in the center of High street on a Saturday morning was now one of the sights of the city. To Mr. Cutler the building on its pillars, one story in height, with openings for the streets running north and south, seemed to be "near half a mile in length." Even before it was light all the venders were in place, many of them women with children in their arms or standing around them, representing, it seemed, "every nation under Heaven." They had left their homes the night before, some on horseback, some in carts with two horses, some in wagons with four horses. The roads in all directions—south to the kitchen gardens of the "Neck," west to the farms of the Welshmen lying beyond the Schuylkill and on beyond to the borders of Lancaster County; north into the heart of the German settlements of Montgomery County—everywhere as far as man and horse could travel in a night, sometimes a distance of sixty miles, were filled with the market people. Their animals stood unharnessed near the vehicles throughout the market time, the grain and hay with which they were fed having been brought from the farm with the produce intended for sale to the Philadelphians. Often indeed the farmer retailed his goods from his own cart-tail and was not put to the trouble of transferring them to a stall under the shed. Here were fish, butchers' meat, geese, ducks, fowls, turkeys, butter and eggs, venison, rabbits, squirrels, quail and other wild game in season. The great wild turkeys, weighing twenty-five pounds or more, were still sometimes seen. Negroes often brought in opossums and raccoons. Perhaps, too, a buyer could find some of the pork from the half-wild pigs which Janson met in herds while shooting in the forests around

¹ *Recollections*, p. 188.

² Griswold's *Republican Court*, p. 366.



"LANDSDOWNE," THE JOHN PENN AND LATER THE WILLIAM BINGHAM HOUSE IN WHAT IS NOW FAIRMOUNT PARK



"WOODLANDS," SEAT OF THE HAMILTON FAMILY

Philadelphia. They usually fed upon roots and acorns. Lest they become too wild the farmer blew a conch shell, a signal which they understood. They soon appeared and were rewarded with Indian corn. If Janson is not mistaken, they were shot in the head by parties of farmers formed for this purpose in November of each year, the owners separating the carcasses by the brands by which the animals were marked while young.¹

When a man could not yet distinctly see ahead of him more than one or two rods, the townspeople were thronging into the market place from every side. It was soon almost impossible to pass. Ladies attended by servants with baskets came to feel the poultry, inspect the meat, and barter for the fruit, vegetables and eggs. The scene was new to Mr. Cutler, fresh from New England. "What would the delicate Boston ladies think," he asked, "if they were to be abroad at this hour?"²

In 1793 a sixteen-pound turkey cost a dollar; live partridges, two shillings six pence a dozen; pork, five to six dollars per hundred weight, or eight to ten cents a pound in smaller amounts. Beef was sold at from eight to twelve cents per pound; veal from eight to ten cents; mutton, six to nine cents; butter, twenty-five cents; cheese, ten to fourteen cents; and flour, four dollars a hundred weight. Sea fish were usually brought in from the northern New Jersey coast in "light wagons" by way of Burlington, and in summer time were packed in ice which, however, was as yet little used. In hot weather meat killed in the morning would not keep longer than dinner time, while the morning's milk was soon turned to "bonny clabber" which was eaten and relished with honey or molasses. Robert Morris is believed to have had the first ice house in Philadelphia at his country home at "The Hills," a mere vault in the ground in which ice taken from the surface of the river in winter was stored under hay or straw until the following summer. In 1794 Wansey, the English visitor, found an ice house in connection with Oellers' Hotel. Calling for punch on a hot day, it was served to him with a piece of ice in it. He asked Oellers if he could be taken to the store-house. "On his opening two doors, we found ourselves in Nova Zembla, or in other words standing on a huge body of ice forty feet thick and twenty feet square." It was a vaulted room under the steps leading to the hotel from the street side. The blocks were hauled in and packed away there during the winter, and the chamber served both as a refrigerator and as a source of supply for the icing of drinks.³

After the capital had been placed in Philadelphia, it was complained that the cost of living was very much increased. This was quite what could have been expected. The road from the Paulus Hook ferry house to Frankford, and on to Philadelphia by Front or Second streets, was filled with household goods. Everybody seemed to be moving. The southern roads were similarly filled with people and merchandise. Many of those who came to take government posts found the greatest difficulty in paying their house rents. Oliver Wolcott wrote his wife that he had procured a house in Third street "a reputable part of the city" for one hundred pounds a year, "near double what would have been exacted before the

¹ *The Stranger in America*, p. 180.

² See also Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, IV. pp. 98, 124.

³ *Excursion to the United States*, pp. 118-19.

question of residence was determined."¹ Even in the outskirts of the city, another complained, the rent of places which could earlier have been hired for 14, 16, and 18 pounds was advanced to 25, 28 and 30 pounds. "Every article had risen to almost double its price," said Mrs. John Adams, writing in 1790. The register of the treasury, Joseph Nourse, made a representation to the chairman of the committee on ways and means on this subject. His estimates of the expense of supporting "a genteel family" in Philadelphia in 1789, 1790 and 1791, were as follows:

House rent, per annum	\$300.00
Wood, 25 cords at \$4	100.00
Horse keeping, and horses	200.00
Marketing, estimating the families to consist of heads of families, four children, four servants at 25 cents on an average each per day, including groceries, wine, etc.	\$12.50
Wages of four servants, viz: one cook, one man servant, one chamber maid, one child's servant, at 50 or 66 cents each	137.28
Personal expenses of six persons, at \$150 each	900.00
	\$2,549.78

The same family in Philadelphia in 1792-98, Mr. Nourse said, would find that its expenses were as follows:

House rent, per annum	\$ 600.00
Wood, 25 cords at \$8	200.00
Horse keeping, 2 horses	266.66
Marketing, estimating the family to consist of 10 persons at 50 cents on an average each per day to include groceries, liquors, etc.	1,825.00
Wages of four servants at \$1.50 per week each, including washing	312.00
Personal expenses, including doctors' bills, schooling, clothing six persons at \$160 each	960.00
	\$4,163.66

With all the improvements that had been effected in social customs, life in Philadelphia at the end of the eighteenth century (except possibly for a few favored persons) lacked many conveniences, graces and even decencies. The streets at night were full of drunken soldiers. A man need not go far beyond the outskirts of the city to run a risk of encountering highwaymen; ladies were open to insult everywhere; horrible murders were committed, to the terror and disgrace of the community. There were hangings upon insufficient evidence, the mistake being discovered at too late a day; men, women and children came from miles around to witness an execution. The language of the people was marked

¹ *Memoirs of the Administration of Washington and John Adams* by George Gibbs, I. p. 57.

by oaths and other foulnesses which would nowadays bar them totally from respectable society. Prominent public characters, from Dr. Franklin downward, had their natural children who received public acknowledgment. Men lived in dread of the amputation of their limbs as the result of falls or fractures, and they were often put through the most frightful surgical ordeals for no sufficient cause. Charles Biddle had an anthrax cut from his back, and he patiently bore it while the sweat of agony streamed from every pore of his body.¹ All classes of the people lost their teeth from doses of calomel and the other strong medicines with which they were plied by the doctors of the day. Men went out to horsewhip those who insulted them, or crossed the river with their seconds for duels in New Jersey. They flogged their slaves and servants, black and white. As late as in 1806 an English Quaker, sojourning in Philadelphia, passed near the floating bridge at the Upper Ferry a negro boy about twelve years of age. Although it was January, he was without hat, stockings, or shoes. An iron collar was locked around his neck and from each side an iron bow passed over his head. When the Quaker asked the owner, standing near by, why the boy had "so much iron about him," the reply was that it was to prevent the fellow from running away.² Boys were brutally beaten in school. When a man went into the country on business or pleasure, he must likely swim his horses over a stream, and he would be fortunate if he himself did not have to swim also. The prospect of years in prison, if by accident or misfortune he could not pay his debts, suffering death from epidemic diseases with which there were no means to cope, with other dangers to life, limb and property long since reduced or eliminated by the discipline of civilization, offered little that can now be the subject of envious regard.

European travelers were constantly complaining of the heat, if their visits brought them hither in summer time, which they thought the less bearable because of the heavy animal food used by the people at all seasons of the year. Charles Brockden Brown when he translated C. F. Volney's book, *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America*, added some notes to the text. The American colonists, he said, had changed their climate, but had done little to make their habits of life conform to it. Brown wrote:

"Pennsylvania farmers frequently drive the plough and the wain when the hand would be blistered by touching the iron work of these machines. At Litchfield in Connecticut at nine o'clock in a July morning the writer's hand has literally been burnt by laying it by chance on the tire of a cart wheel before a blacksmith's shop. These instances prove at once the great heats of the American climate and the influence of constitution and bodily habit to enable the natives to support them. These principles operate beneficially in spite of absurd modes in eating and dressing, and the almost general disuse of the bath. Vast numbers pass through a long life amidst all these heats clothed in cloth, flannel and black fur hats and lying on a feather bed at night, drinking nothing but wine and porter and eating strong meats three times a day, and never allowing water to touch any part of them but their extremities for a year together."³

¹ See his *Autobiography*.

² Sutcliff's *Travels*, p. 181.

³ Pp. 108-9.

The people possessed no bathing arrangements. Their privies were sink-holes in the backyards. Their water was pumped from adjoining ground. Yet living under all these inconveniences and hardships they prospered and increased. It was this stock which fought and won the American Revolution.

The post rider and mail stage service underwent some improvements now that Philadelphia was the capital of the Union of sixteen states. In 1796 there was a mail for New York at twelve o'clock noon every day excepting Sunday. It reached New York the next morning. The "Great Southern Mail" left the city three days a week; the western mail for Lancaster, Carlisle, Pittsburg and Kentucky once a week, on Saturday. Another western mail by way of Reading and Harrisburg, departed on Tuesday. Communication at inclement seasons was still often interrupted for considerable periods. With Europe, the postal connections were much more uncertain. At one time, in May, 1796, a Philadelphia newspaper announced that one hundred and five days had passed since any accounts had been received from England.

There were at this time four land stages for New York. These left the various taverns for Paulus Hook very early in the morning. The packet boat started from Arch street wharf twice a week for Burlington or Bordentown, whence stages still ran to Amboy where passengers were re-embarked. The trip by water consumed two days; that by land usually about a day and a half¹ under favorable circumstances. There were many that were unfavorable. When Samuel Breck came to Philadelphia from New York in 1789 he was becalmed. The boat in the bay which he boarded early in the morning, though a distance of only fifteen miles was to be traversed, made no progress. As it was without a deck, at nightfall he hired an oysterman to row him ashore. Coming overland there were eight streams to be crossed by boat between Boston and Philadelphia; six between New York and Philadelphia—the Hudson, the Hackensack, the Passaic, the Raritan, the Delaware at Trenton, and the Neshaminy near Bristol.²

From the George tavern at the corner of Second and Arch streets there was a stage to Baltimore every morning at six o'clock, and a packet boat from the Crooked Billet wharf, between High and Chestnut streets, daily to New Castle whence a coach proceeded across the peninsula to Frenchtown, where another boat was found. The trip was "most commonly performed in two days." Twice a week a stage set out from the Spread Eagle on Market street for Lancaster. There were weekly services to Bethlehem, Wilmington, Harrisburg, Reading and Easton, but this schedule was not regularly maintained.³ The roads were often so wretched that coaches were overturned, and passengers injured. The horses "stalled" even on the road to New York, which in 1794 still contained the stumps of trees. 'Around Princeton there was an unusually bad stretch "full of loose

¹ Wansley in 1794 speaks of making the trip on a stage coach in one day. He left the Indian Queen at 3 o'clock in the morning, taking breakfast in Trenton. He reached Newark at five in the afternoon but because of tire determined to remain there until the next day.

² *Recollections*, pp. 102-3.

³ Stephens's *Phila. Directory for 1796*.

stones and deep holes." Wansey and his companions were so badly shaken in June, 1794, that when they got down from the coach they could "scarcely stand."¹

Crossing the marshes and elsewhere mosquitoes flew out and attacked the passengers savagely. Wansey, the Pepys of the travelers of this time, found that if they were not disturbed the insects would "continue sucking your blood till they swell to four times their ordinary size, when they absolutely fall off and burst from their fullness."² Weld said that General Washington had told him of mosquitoes which had bitten through his thickest boot, an exaggeration to be put down to the credit of the English visitor, in view of the fact that Washington never told a lie and was equally averse to jest.³ It seemed quite incredible to foreign travelers that there should not be a better road between the two principal cities of the country.

The stages bore no resemblance to the finely wrought coaches of England. They usually had elliptical bottoms swung high over the heavy wheels. The passengers sat on benches which ran across from side to side and faced the horses. The seats were without backs, except those at the rear which were usually surrendered to the ladies, if any were numbered among the passengers. All mounted by climbing over the front wheels, and then over the seats. There were no doors at the sides to keep out the rain and cold; but the panels were high and leather flaps could be let down and secured by buckles and straps. These contained no windows, and the passenger was entirely unable to see anything as the coach bumped along its way. The baggage was either pressed under the seats to incommode the feet of the passengers, or else was swung on a projecting shelf behind. The American stage was, as Mr. Janson said, "a clumsy and uncomfortable machine." He wished to be possessed of one—horses, harness, driver and all—"in order to convert them into an exhibition in London."⁴ In winter time when snow covered the ground sledges took the place of the coaches, and carried passengers and mails.

Benjamin H. Latrobe, the English architect, traveled from Philadelphia to Richmond, Va., by stage in 1798. He was on his way for five days, though the party sometimes scarcely stopped to eat or sleep. He left Philadelphia on Wednesday morning, April 11th. Near Chester they lamed a horse, so that they were very late in reaching the Head of Elk. They got to bed at half past two and were up again at four, coming to Baltimore late that night. The next day they dined at Bladensburg, on the eastern branch of the Potomac, and after a short stop in the new federal city, got to Georgetown before sunset. Soon after, they broke a splinter bar and the passengers trudged on in a rain and up to their knees in mud to Alexandria. At three next morning (Saturday) they resumed the journey, and came that evening to Fredericksburg. There they remained over Sunday and on Monday morning at three o'clock proceeded to Richmond, which they reached in the evening.⁵ "The only tolerable roads on the whole journey" were between Fredericksburg and Richmond. The cost of the trip was

¹ P. 89.

² P. 84.

³ Janson, p. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁵ Latrobe's *Journal*, p. 88.

\$19.75 for transportation, if you took the mail stage between Philadelphia and Baltimore; three dollars less if you chose the "heavy stage." Breakfast was fifty cents; dinner, one dollar; bed and supper, seventy-five cents;—for five days, \$11.25, which made the whole expense by the fastest stage \$31.

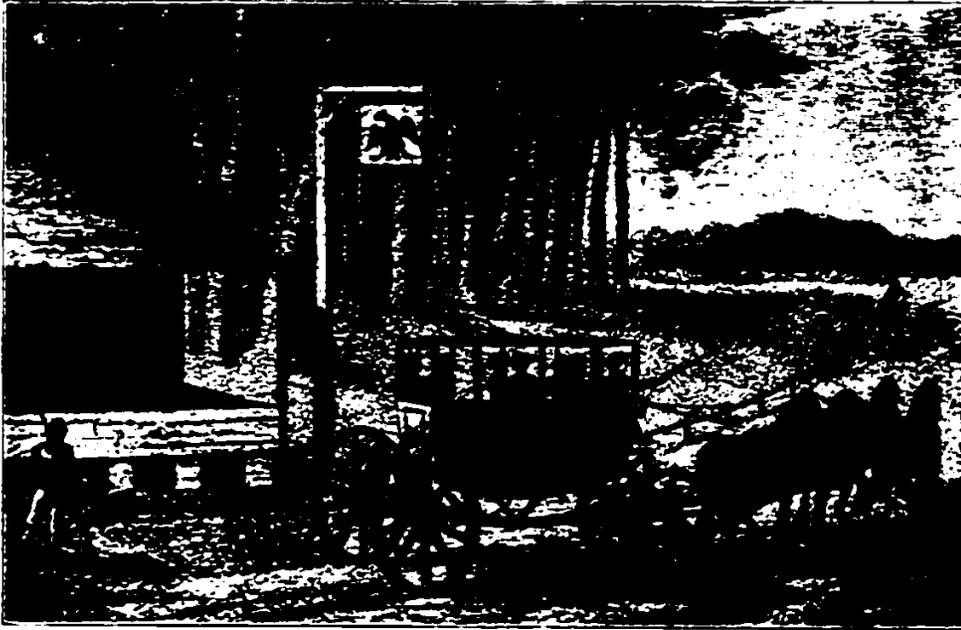
These conditions seem rude and primitive enough, but the leaven of progress was at work and would soon yield many improvements in the economic situation of the people.

The new city government was more competent and vigorous than the old had ever been. In 1796 the charter was materially amended and the council became a body of two chambers called the select council, composed of twelve citizens elected for three years, and the common council of twenty persons, elected annually. The governor appointed the recorder and fifteen aldermen, who were to hold office for life, unless their behavior should merit removal. They henceforward had only judicial duties. The mayor was chosen by the councils in joint meeting for one year, and from among the aldermen as before.

That very great and valuable improvement, the conversion of the Lancaster Road into a turnpike, was completed in 1796. The first regular stage ran in over the new stone highway one night in May, 1797. It carried ten passengers. Leaving Lancaster at five o'clock in the evening it reached Philadelphia at five the next morning. It was desired that the pike should be extended to Pittsburg. At a fair rate of cost, over a distance of 250 miles, said a committee of the legislature, the outlay would not exceed \$800,000.¹ Other turnpike schemes appeared. The state was asked to aid them. Stock in companies was offered for sale. There was a plan for a stone road to Chestnut Hill, through Germantown, with Bethlehem as its eventual destination. Afterward it was determined to follow the more western way at Chestnut Hill to Reading. "The president, managers and company of the Germantown and Reading Turnpike Company" were incorporated. The old road through Hickorytown and the Trappe was to be reconstructed. It was to be sixty feet wide, thirty feet of which should be graveled or stoned. But the making of the pike, even as far as Germantown, was not yet effected in 1801, when a new company was organized under the presidency of Benjamin Chew. The completion of this work was of vast importance to the people. There was a great deal of traffic in and out of the city over the road which in the spring of the year was almost impassable. Wagons stuck fast and were not infrequently broken. Horses were ruined in the effort to drag along their loads. A road was laid out to York by way of West Chester, now the county seat of Chester County, since its division in 1789, and the establishment of the southeastern townships into a new county called Delaware, of which the borough of Chester, the old capital, was made the county seat.

New canal schemes appeared, though the old had yet yielded little either to the public or to the stockholders. The Delaware and Schuylkill canal could boast of little except a deep excavation on Robert Morris's estate, above Fairmount. About three miles of the Schuylkill and Susquehanna canal had been dug on the summit level between Lebanon and Myerstown. The president, Robert Morris, had gone to prison for his debts; his associates were in little better positions

¹ *Journal of the House*, March 27, 1800, p. 426.



STAGE COACH ABOUT 1795
Reproduced from Weld's "Travels"



CONGRESS HALL AND NEW THEATRE IN CHESTNUT STREET
BIRCH VIEW

financially. No money was at hand to prosecute either work. The legislature, which was appealed to, could think of nothing better than lotteries, and these were authorized, but with small advantage to the undertaking. The popular fancy at this time was fired with the possibility of connecting all parts of the country by artificial waterways. The Brandywine, the Conewago and almost every little stream had its advocates and was to be navigated. The old project for joining the Delaware and Chesapeake bays was revived and boats, it was predicted, could soon be sent to the Mississippi by one route or another.

In November, 1795, the imagination of the city was pleasantly stirred by the arrival of a little schooner with an 18 foot keel, which came up to Market street wharf. It fired the Continental salute from an old blunderbuss. The visitor was the "White Fish" which had brought two passengers, one of them John Thomson, the father of J. Edgar Thomson, later so well known as a president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, from Presque Isle, now the city of Erie on the lake of that name. They proceeded through the streams of New York state with short portages overland to the Hudson river, and had then hugged the Jersey shore down to Cape May, where they turned to ascend the Delaware. The little vessel had demonstrated the feasibility of the Erie Canal. It was taken out of the water and hauled up to the State House yard where it was on exhibition for several years.

Cohocksink creek was made navigable up to the bridge over the Frankford road, and plans for the navigation of the Lehigh were still under discussion. Bridges over rivers were also demanding attention. One was proposed at Trenton, and Philadelphians were greatly interested in the plan of spanning the Schuylkill at the Middle Ferry. The bridge of boats which the British had built while they were in the city gave signs of decay and it had been replaced by another floating bridge. Thomas Paine years before had submitted a plan with models for throwing a "permanent" bridge over the river, but it languished and now in 1797 the project was revived. The means were lacking even with the hope of tolls, which would continue to be demanded of passengers. But all was ready in 1800 and the corner stone was laid on the 18th of October in the presence of the mayor and other officers of the corporation, and the president and directors of the bridge company. A collation was enjoyed and work upon an improvement of great importance to the city was auspiciously begun.¹ The bridge which was built of wood, was, counting its approaches, 1,300 feet in length. In its construction 800,000 feet of lumber were used. It rested upon two piers, some of the stones of which weighed twelve tons each. Several massive chains were worked into the masonry in order to prevent its destruction in the great freshets which so often swept away bridges in the spring time. It was thrown open to traffic on January 1, 1805. The tolls in the ensuing year amounted to \$13,600. At first uncovered it was soon resolved to close in the passageway, as

¹ On the corner stone, which was set in the eastern abutment, the mason had cut the letters "T. F. C. O. T. S. P. B. W. L. October 18, 1800." When asked what these letters meant he said, "The first cornerstone of the Schuylkill permanent bridge was laid October 18, 1800." But how could he suppose that men in ages to come would know this? one interposed. "Why sir," he replied, "by the time they dig up that stone the people will be much more learned than you and I be."

was done successfully in Switzerland, with a view to protecting the wood from the weather. The paint while wet was sprinkled with stone dust to make the structure still more durable. The whole cost of the work was upwards of \$300,000. It was much remarked, and admired, since it was the first covered bridge in America.¹

A number of new fire companies were organized, twenty between the years 1784 and 1800. The members of a certain church or Quaker meeting, or those citizens resident in a certain neighborhood, as for example at Fourth and Pine streets, in the Northern Liberties, in Southwark, or in Kensington, would form a company for voluntary and unremunerated service in case of fire. Richard Mason had been the first successful fire-engine builder, opening his shop in 1768. There were now four manufacturers, among them Patrick Lyon who had been a blacksmith and who, later, became a very prominent figure in this industry.

The "fire escape" was added to the other extinguishing paraphernalia. This was a pole or a ladder three stories in height, to which a basket, and rope and tackle were affixed. The first impetus to the wearing of a uniform was received from a firemen's convention, which was held in Philadelphia in 1788. Coats and capes were adopted in some cases. Badges were followed in a few years by tall painted waterproof hats, each bearing the name of the company to which the wearer belonged.

That something must be done to improve the city's water supply, both as a protection against fire and for sanitary purposes, was generally agreed. The repeated visitations of yellow fever might be due to faulty quarantine methods in reference to vessels from infected ports, especially in the West Indies. Once it was introduced, however, it was certainly spread by bad local sanitary conditions. Latrobe, the English architect, who first came in 1798, and later identified his name so honorably with several buildings in this city, as well as with the Capitol in Washington, found Philadelphia in a very filthy state. There were many narrow, dirty alleys. The back yards of most of the houses were "depositories of filth to a degree which was surprising." The sewers, such as they were, did not drain and were not properly flushed. Everywhere there were sinks and privies in the ground. Latrobe believed, however, that the chief cause of the spread of the contagion was the water supply. "In every street, close to the foot-path," was a range of pumps, each one about 60 or 70 feet from the other. Here the townspeople repaired with their buckets and pitchers for water for drinking and culinary uses. That it was very unwholesome, even when it was perfectly clear, is certain.

Mr. Latrobe explained that the site of the city between the two rivers was a flat, sedimentary delta. The houses were set on a bed of brick clay, and underneath was sand, through which flowed water. Down to this stratum of sand and water the privies ran, as did the stalks of the pumps. It seemed clear that this was the cause of many of the city's afflictions. In the outskirts, from Ninth to Eleventh streets, the water was still excellent. In crowded neighborhoods it was

¹ *Sketches of a Tour*, by F. Cuming. The Market Street bridge remained a toll bridge until 1840 when under a threat of the city to erect a bridge at Arch Street, the company agreed to a sale and the crossing was made free.

not to be drunk. Here careful people went to the pumps situated near the public buildings which had open spaces around them, such as the State House, the jail and the hospital. It was credibly stated to Latrobe, and he recorded the account, that, before iron ladles were chained to the pumps, when men still put their mouths to and drank from the spouts, it was a very common thing in midsummer for them to fall down dead. Thirteen died thus, it is said, at one pump in one day. So usual was this sudden death, the cause of which the doctors themselves were quite unable to explain, simply calling it a disease that came from drinking cold water while hot, that at certain seasons of the year the town crier went about the streets with a bell warning the people against the dangerous practice.¹ Latrobe's explanation of the curious fact was that a noxious gas, generated in putrefying matter, was confined in the stalk of the pump and came out of the spout with fatal effect to whomsoever put up his mouth to drink. The pumps were just "so many chimneys" to convey into the street the mephitic air formed below. It was brought up every time the handle was depressed with the greatest disadvantage to the public health.²

One of the excuses for the incorporation of the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal Company was the thought that it would bring a plentiful supply of good water to the city from the Wissahickon, or from the gushing fountain at Spring Mill, in the new Montgomery County where a large vineyard had just been established by a Frenchman named Legaux,³ or perhaps from Stony Run at Norristown. The subject was put into Latrobe's hands and he decided in favor of the erection of works at the Schuylkill near the city, where the water was still entirely pure. He would pump it by steam power into a reservoir of such a height that it could be distributed over all parts of the city with ease. In common with almost everything that was suggested at this embittered period, a violent dispute raged around the plan. The canal company very naturally opposed it, as did other interests capable of creating a great din. But the work went on under Latrobe's direction. The corporation arranged to finance the operation. An inlet was formed on the Schuylkill on the upper side of Chestnut street. A canal and a tunnel led from the basin to a shaft or well in which there were pumps for elevating the water by a "powerful steam engine." This engine forced it into a brick tunnel about two-thirds of a mile long, which ran down Chestnut street to Broad, and up that street to Centre Square, where there was another engine to raise it 36 feet above the ground to a reservoir which would hold 16,000 gallons. From this receptacle it was distributed into hollowed sap pine logs (containing a channel three or four inches in diameter), which served as pipes and

¹ In July, 1783, the crier made his rounds "desiring people who lived near pumps," writes a Quakeress, "to prevent persons from drinking much cold water when hot." Twenty-six had fallen down dead in a few days.—*Pa. Mag.*, XVII, p. 378.

² *The Journal of Latrobe*, pp. 93-98.

³ An odd and litigious man, little liked or respected by his neighbors. He was visited by Brissot de Warville, Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Wansey, and other travelers, and was elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society, but his experiment failed owing, as Wansey believed, to the attacks of birds and insects upon the grapes.

which were sunk in all the principal streets.¹ The work was begun in 1799. Thus Centre Square, which had afforded a site for fairs, for a Quaker meeting, for a tavern, for a bowling green, for French frolics and for the gallows' tree was now to hold the water works. A handsome marble building was placed here to serve the purposes in view and it was tastefully surrounded by trees, fountains, walks and drives, so that what might have been very unsightly was made a conspicuous ornament to the city.

Latrobe's plans seemed to engender little popular confidence. The steam engine was regarded with general distrust. To most people it still seemed only a toy which could be of no practical use. Major L'Enfant's connection with the marble palace of Robert Morris, whose unfinished walls still stared at passers-by in Chestnut street, and with other buildings in Philadelphia, caused Latrobe to be viewed as only one more of those "damned French engineers."² Vandals injured the works and threatened greater violence. To prevent the serious hostile demonstrations, which seemed to impend, Latrobe on January 21, 1801, when nearly six miles of pipes were laid, and the engine's wheels were ready to turn, himself kindled the fire under the boiler at night. He had directed the hydrants to be left open, and in a little while an abundance of clear water was flowing everywhere. When the city awoke there was an instantaneous revulsion of sentiment in favor of the engineer. "A number of countrymen who happened to witness this first introduction of the water," says a contemporary newspaper account, "gaped with astonishment, as at the tenth wonder of the world. They will speedily return home to communicate the marvelous tidings; and it will be well if they be not dubbed liars when they come to relate what they saw to their credulous neighbors and friends."

The subscribers to stock of the company were to receive their water free; others would pay \$5 a year for a dwelling house and proportionately greater sums for their manufactories. Increasing numbers of people caused water to be introduced into their houses and shops. Up to 1810, \$500,000 were expended upon the works. At that time the pumps were raising 700,000 gallons in 24 hours, or 250,000,000 gallons annually. There were 35 miles of pipes in the streets and the undertaking was praised by those who had earlier so mistakenly condemned it. The public health was better, property was more secure from the ravages of fire, and domestic life was set upon a higher plane.

Architecturally, the city yet had little in which it could fairly take pride; but in these last years of the century, two very excellent buildings were going forward to completion. Hitherto such triumphs as may have been achieved, as for example in the State House and in Christ Church, were Georgian; now classical models were to be followed. Mr. Latrobe was engaged to erect a building for the Bank of Pennsylvania in Second street below Chestnut street just north of the old City Tavern, from which it was separated by an alley. Indeed this was the

¹ These wooden pipes are still sometimes dug up in street excavations. They were bored by augers which were worked at each end, and met in the middle of the log. A pipe 15 feet in length could be hollowed out in 15 minutes. The lengths were joined by cast-iron cylinders. Smaller wooden or lead ferrules conducted the water to the hydrants.

² Latrobe's *Journal*, Introduction, p. XX.



CENTRE SQUARE WATER WORKS



BINGHAM MANSION, THIRD AND SPRUCE STREETS
Birch View About 1800

occasion of his coming to Philadelphia and the construction of the edifice, which was justly regarded as the handsomest monument to his architectural taste and skill, was a distinct service to the city. It followed the design of the temple of Minerva at Athens and was composed entirely of marble from the excellent quarries in Montgomery County. Some of the blocks in the roof weighed $7\frac{1}{2}$ tons. The first stone was laid in April, 1799, and the work was finished in 1801, exactly that period which was covered by the construction of the water works. Foreign visitors were wont to say that the building was not surpassed for beauty by any in Europe. It is certain that it was without a rival in this country.¹

Latrobe declared that the most flattering compliment he had ever received was the admiration bestowed upon the work by two French officers. They walked up Second street, while the architect, unknown to them, stood close by. For a time they looked at the building in mute pleasure, when one of them exclaimed over and over again "C'est beau, et si simple!" The two stood for a while continuing their silent admiration and then walked away.²

In July, 1797, the Bank of the United States which, since its establishment, had been housed in Carpenters' Hall, moved into its new building in Third street, below Chestnut.³ It was still half concealed by scaffolding until December when it was beheld with great admiration by crowds of people. The structure seems to have been suggested by a Greek temple in Nimes. The architect was Samuel Blodgett, a native of Massachusetts then residing in Philadelphia. The white marble columns 30 feet in height, even to Latrobe's rival and critical eye when he first saw them, presented "a very beautiful appearance."

"It may be now justly affirmed," said an enthusiastic writer in a newspaper, "that agricultural and commercial pursuits are not the sole objects of America's attention; but that arts and sciences have already raised their infant heads with all the symptoms of beauty, health and vigor that promise a strong and rich maturity."

The Library Company of Philadelphia which failed to obtain a site in the State House square, as the Philosophical Society had done, made arrangements to erect a building on a lot opposite the Philosophical Hall on the east side of Fifth, below Chestnut street. The corner stone was laid in August, 1789, and the building was finished in the following year. Hitherto in Carpenters' Hall, where it had been since 1773, the library had little use. A bell on a church nearby was rung to announce the hour when the townspeople might come to exchange their books.⁴ Zachariah Poulson, Jr., later long to be the publisher of the old *Pennsylvania Packet*, after Dunlap and Claypoole had changed its name to the *American Daily Advertiser*, the publisher of Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, and of many other books, became the librarian in 1785; a post which he continued to hold for

¹ Mease, p. 322. The razing of this building, in response to a spirit of vandalism, which seemed to possess all America in the Civil War period, was almost a crime.

² Latrobe, p. 269.

³ Now the Girard National Bank.

⁴ "Soon after dinner the bell of the church near Carpenters' Hall rang, which informed us that the Library of the Hall was open for the purpose of receiving and delivering books."
—Cutler I, p. 281.

twenty-one years. It was resolved to keep the library open daily from two o'clock until sunset. In 1792 that distinguished Philadelphian, William Bingham, presented the company with a statue of Franklin, cut in Carrara marble by Lazzarini, the Italian sculptor. It is said to have cost "above 500 guineas."¹ It was placed in a niche in the front wall and occupies a similar position in the present building at Locust and Juniper streets. In 1792 the company was offered, and it accepted, the collections of the Loganian Library, the books which by the terms of the will of James Logan had been deposited in a little building at the northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut streets "for the use of the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia." They now numbered about 3,500 and improved the company's already very excellent service to the community.

The Pennsylvania Hospital was extended. The assembly in 1792 and in 1796 further befriended it, and it was enabled to finish its buildings according to its original plans. The east wing alone had been completed; now in 1796 the west wing was added, and separate apartments, "spacious and airy," were assigned to the insane who had earlier been confined underground. The appearance of this part of the hospital was now admirable; before it was "a subject of disgust."² The central building was in partial use in 1800 and was completed in 1805.

Some industrial progress is to be recorded in spite of the languishing situation of the canal, the land and other improvement companies, for whose stock there was a few years before so much active strife to subscribe. The general economic situation began to improve, but it was yet bad. The seductive experiments with silk and the vine proceeded. In 1796 James Davenport established on the Germantown Road, where it intersects what is now Girard Avenue, a water mill called the "Globe Mill," for spinning and weaving flax and hemp. This establishment, which was on Cohocksink creek in Kensington, occupied the site of the "Governor's Mill," built for William Penn as a grist mill. It was later used for grinding mustard and chocolate, and was burned in 1740.³ The new cloth factory attracted a great deal of attention and in 1797, just before his term of office ended, President Washington visited it in company with several cabinet officers and members of Congress. But the hope expired at Mr. Davenport's death in 1798, and the machinery was scattered at auction.

The principal gain of the decade was in the ship building industry, and very largely because of the placing of contracts for some war ships for the new American navy. Congress, soon after the beginning of Washington's second administration, on March 27, 1794, in order to resist the insolent demands laid upon commerce by the Barbary powers, as well as with a view to possible disturbances in the country's relations with England and France, authorized the construction of six frigates. One of these was to be built on the Delaware, in Southwark, under the direction of the naval constructor, Joshua Humphreys. It was called the "United States," and was the first of the six to go into the water. Humphreys has been called the "father of the American navy," since he was closely consulted about a naval policy for the new government. Upon the passage of

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XVII, p. 234.

² Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, IV, p. 95.

³ *Pa. Mag.*, VIII, pp. 279 and 377.

the bill his advice was asked, not only in regard to the one vessel which was built in Philadelphia, but also as to the drawings and models, and the placing of the contracts for the rest of the frigates at yards in Norfolk, Baltimore, New York, Boston and Portsmouth, and concerning other matters of naval management.¹

The "United States" was a vessel of 1,576 tons. It was to carry 44 guns, and would cost about \$300,000. President Adams and many federal officers witnessed the launch on May 10, 1797, from the United States brig "Sophia." The Delaware was crowded with boats. One account states that 30,000 people, from the docks and rigging of craft and from vantage points on shore, watched the ship slide down her ways. The model exhibited a great advance over the old Revolutionary ships. A carved figure-head of wood by William Rush, the son of a ship carpenter, who attained a more than local reputation as a sculptor, was called the "Genius of America." It was an elaborate design of a woman wearing a crest. Her waist was bound by a civic band. She carried the Constitution of the Union in one hand; a spear and belts of wampum, as the emblems of war and peace, in the other.²

The new frigate made her trial trips under command of Captain John Barry, who was able to write to Humphreys from on board the boat at Nantasket Road on July 22, 1798:

"No ship ever went to sea answers her helm better, and in all probability she will surpass everything afloat."³

Humphreys continued to serve as naval constructor until 1801. On October 26 of that year, he was dismissed because of lack of further employment. The timber for some new "74's" was being seasoned and was not yet ready for use.⁴

In 1798, during the excitement over the French war, the merchants of the city made subscriptions to a fund to be used to construct a ship to be presented to the government. It was to be built upon the stocks on which the "United States" had rested. This frigate was launched on November 28, 1799, christened the "Philadelphia" and put under the command of Stephen Decatur. Her figure-head was a bust of Hercules. In 1803 she, by inadvertence, ran upon a sunken ledge in the harbor of Tripoli, and was captured, but in the following year was retaken from the Turks by a daring manoeuvre led by young Stephen Decatur, the son of him who had first commanded her, and was burned under the very walls of the Pasha's castle.

¹ Simpson's *Eminent Philadelphians*, p. 587.

² For an estimate of Rush as a "naval carver" see Mease, pp. 78-9 and Latrobe to the Society of Artists in 1811. "Where in Europe is there a Rush?" asked Latrobe. He was "at the head of a branch of the arts which he has himself created. * * * There is a motion in his figures that is inconceivable. They seem rather to draw the ship after them than to be impelled by the vessel. Many are of exquisite beauty. I have not seen one on which there is not the stamp of genius."

³ *Pa. Mag.*, XXX, p. 503.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE NEW CENTURY.

After the removal of the national capital to Washington and the state capital to Lancaster, Philadelphia became, for a time, a much less interesting city. Fewer men of distinction were to be met with at the inns and on a tour of the streets. There was, however, a native nucleus which was stronger than that to be found at any other one place in America. The law boasted of many able men, not only in the practice courts and on the bench, but in literature, in politics and in statecraft. The bar, which before the revolution was a very small one now grew rapidly. Seventy-five new members appeared from 1776 to 1783; from 1783 until 1800, 266 more were added to the list. Many whom we have met before were still upon the scene in greater or less activity, as, for example, Edward Shippen, who at the beginning of the century was chief justice of the state; Benjamin Chew, Thomas McKean and some other Revolutionary figures. But their generation was passing.

Now there was Jared Ingersoll, the second, son of that Jared Ingersoll of Connecticut, who came on as crown officer shortly before the Revolution, and active in state and national politics until his death in 1822. Another distinguished name was that of William Lewis, a Chester County farm boy who always smelt a little of the barnyard, scantily favored with early opportunities but of extraordinary skill and reputation as a trial lawyer.¹ Other lawyers of the day were Moses Levy and his brother, Samson Levy, Jews, informed in jurisprudence and persuasive orators; Alexander James Dallas, son of a Scotchman settled in Jamaica, well bred to the law, upon his arrival in Philadelphia zealous on the side of the pro-French party, later secretary of the treasury; Miers Fisher, a Quaker advocate of distinction; Peter Stephen Duponceau, a Frenchman who came out with Baron von Steuben, and for a time helped that diligent drill-

¹ Lewis seems to have had almost no education in his youth, unlike his contemporaries at the bar, many of whom had been so excellently trained at home and abroad. Binney gives a faithful picture of the man: "When he was not trying or arguing a cause, he was quizzing, or joking, or mooting, or smoking, generally in a state of unrest. When fully engaged in argument he saw nothing and thought of nothing but his cause, and in that would sometimes rise to the fervor and energy of a sybil." He was "destitute of almost all dimensions but length," a trait which extended to his nose, "of which nevertheless he was extremely proud." His reputation was probably greater outside of the city than at home. In the view of the country at large, he was to Philadelphia what Theophilus Parsons was to Boston, and what Luther Martin was to Baltimore at this period, which is to say that he held a preeminent place at the bar.—*Leaders of the Old Bar.*



BANK OF PENNSYLVANIA



GIRARD'S BANK, 1829
First Bank of the United States

master discipline the American troops, later to study law in the office of William Lewis; Joseph Hopkinson, the author of "Hail Columbia," son of Francis Hopkinson; Richard Peters of "Belmont," since 1792 judge of the United States district court; Edward Tilghman and his cousin William Tilghman, who had come to the city from Maryland in 1793 and who married into the Allen family, Edward Shippen's successor as chief justice; William Rawle, descended from Francis Rawle, one of the early Quaker colonists of Pennsylvania, admitted to the bar in 1783 to continue his practice for more than fifty years.

These were the men who made up what was fairly denominated "the celebrated bar of Philadelphia." Lewis, Rawle, Duponceau, Edward Tilghman, Jared Ingersoll and Mr. Dallas usually went together to Washington to try their causes before the supreme court. They hired a stage coach, and though the trip must be made in the depth of winter, old stories were told, songs were sung, "puns of the genuine Philadelphia stamp were handed about," and wit flashed. They were like school boys again, released from their books and masters. "Our appearance at the bar of the supreme court," Mr. Duponceau recalled, "was always a scene of triumph. We entered the hall together, and Judge [Bushrod] Washington was heard to say, 'This is my bar.' * * * It was really a proud thing in that day to be a Philadelphia lawyer."¹

Then there were younger men of whom much would be heard in a little while—John Sergeant, a son of Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant who had died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, long active in political life as well as at the bar; Horace Binney, son of Dr. Barnabas Binney, a surgeon in the Revolutionary war, who was admitted in 1800, also to gain national distinction; Richard Rush, son of Benjamin Rush, later secretary of the treasury, minister to England and minister to France; Thomas Cadwalader, son of General John Cadwalader, who soon left the law to lead the state militia and serve as an agent of the Penn estates; William Meredith; Charles Jared Ingersoll, son of Jared Ingersoll; Charles Chauncey; Thomas I. Wharton; Joseph B. McKean, son of Governor McKean; and Nicholas Biddle.

The lawyers had societies for their pleasure and professional improvement, and in 1802 the Law Library Company was formed, with the purpose of making a collection of books upon legal subjects for the use of members of the bar.

In medicine, too, younger men were coming forward to carry the reputation of Philadelphia in the departments of both theory and practice to higher levels. Many of the Revolutionary generation, at whose head stood Benjamin Rush, who in 1812 had published a remarkable work on insanity, by this time everywhere recognized as one of the largest and most gifted intellects of the day, were still living and in service, but new names were appearing in the medical circles of the city. None was more respected than that of Caspar Wistar who had been born in 1761, and after education abroad took his place among the physicians of Philadelphia. Then there were Philip Syng Physick, who was attaining much note; Samuel Powel Griffiths; Thomas C. James, one of the first to choose a particular portion of the field for his practice and to constitute himself a specialist in medicine; Michael Leib, better known in politics; George

¹ *Memoirs of Hist. Soc.*, IV, pp. 85-6.

Logan, of "Stenton," also a political figure; Benjamin Say; Benjamin Smith Barton; Nathaniel Chapman, still a very young man; James Mease; John Redman Coxe; Benjamin Duffield; Samuel Duffield; James Woodhouse, and many others.

The College of Physicians had been established in 1787 "to advance the science of medicine and thereby to lessen human misery by investigating the diseases and remedies which are peculiar to our country," and for kindred purposes. It was a college not for the instruction of students but for higher research. The association at first met in the College of Philadelphia's medical building on the east side of Fifth street above Walnut street, and then for a time at the hall of the Philosophical Society.

The Philadelphia Medical Society was organized in 1789, another evidence of the energy and spirit which have always been manifested by the physicians and surgeons of the city. It absorbed the moribund American Medical Society which had been established in 1772. There were honorary members, most of whom held the doctor's degree, and junior members. Into the latter class a candidate could be admitted by writing and defending a thesis for the space of an hour and a half before examiners, "on some medical subject, or some subject connected with medicine." The society corresponded with the Physical Society of Edinburgh. It dined once a year and listened to an anniversary oration. The Philadelphia Medical Society was incorporated in 1792, and in 1795, at which time Dr. Benjamin Rush was its president, it had upwards of 500 members in all parts of the United States.

The principal agency for scientific exploration, outside of medicine, was the American Philosophical Society. At Franklin's death, David Rittenhouse became its president, serving until his death in 1796, when Thomas Jefferson was elected, to hold the office for many years. While the society had fallen under the control of the French party on all questions of political philosophy, leading Cobbett to say in his characteristic way that it was "composed of such a nest of wretches as hardly ever met together before," it gave material encouragement to the spirit of investigation in mechanical, botanical, geological and other fields.

In art and architecture, in addition to the Peales, L'Enfant and Latrobe, the city had attracted and it held several well-known men. Robert Edge Pine, an English painter, came to Philadelphia with the encouragement of Robert Morris, who built him a house. He had a painting room in the State House and died in the city in 1788.¹ Edward Savage, a native of Massachusetts, originally a goldsmith, lived here for a time.² Gilbert Stuart, whose mother was a sister of Joseph Anthony, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant of the day, was drawn to the city to paint a portrait of General Washington. He afterwards wielded a very busy brush here for some years. Lawrence Sully resided temporarily in Philadelphia. He was a miniature painter, an older brother of Thomas Sully, who did not come to the city, at least for residence, until 1809, to attain eminence at a yet later date. James Sharpless, a rapid English painter; William Birch and his son, Thomas

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXIX, p. 9.

² *Ib.*, p. 14.

Birch, whose names will always be associated with a number of views of the city, dating from about 1800; Alexander Lawson, an engraver;¹ Benjamin Trott, a miniature painter, a friend and companion of Gilbert Stuart; Wertmuller, a Swede to whom Washington sat; William Rush; Houdon, the French sculptor; Ceracchi, an Italian sculptor who came to this country with a design for a colossal monument of the American Revolution of statuary marble 100 feet in height, for which he could not find the money;² either visited or resided in Philadelphia at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1797 David Edwin, an Englishman, arrived in the city. He was then twenty-one years of age, and soon made his name known in very enviable ways as an engraver.

The literary activity of the city at this period was largely in controversial political fields. The yellow fever in 1793 had taken Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant and Dr. James Hutchinson, so ardent in their leadership of the pro-French forces that, according to John Adams's belief, without their death a bloody street revolution could not have been averted. Benjamin Franklin Bache, who had come to occupy Freneau's place as the principal libeller of Washington and the general baiter of England and the Federalists, was providentially removed, in the view of the victims of his vituperations, in the epidemic of 1798. But he had a still more abusive successor in William Duane. Duane had been born in this country, of Irish parents, and was taken to Ireland at an early age. He adopted the printer's trade and went out to India, where his writings for a newspaper led to his arrest and return to England. He joined Bache on the *Aurora* in 1795 and, after his chief's death in 1798, married the widow, thus coming into the ownership. The paper lost some of its influence when the seat of government was removed to Washington, but it continued to exert a great power. Duane impaled the Federalists—all, to him, English lords, aristocrats and people haters—on the shafts of his ribald ridicule.³ To him Jefferson rightly attributed his election in large degree. Adams, the *Aurora* declared, was "cast of God as polluted water out at the back door." It was hoped that his fate might be "a warning to all usurpers and tyrants." Duane boasted in July, 1805, that sixty or seventy libel suits were then on file against him.

There was great rejoicing by him, and the circle which he served, when the news of Jefferson's election was received on February 19, 1801. Bells were rung—tollled, as the *Aurora* suggested for the death of the Federalist party; even Christ Church joined its chimes in the general celebration. There were sixteen volleys of musketry for the sixteen states, Tennessee having by this time come into the Union. On March 4, the day of Jefferson's inauguration, the demonstrations were resumed; the ships in the harbor were decorated with streamers, and there was a military procession which formed in the State House yard and passed through many of the streets to the German Reformed church, in Race street, where an oration was delivered and the Declaration of Independence was read. A schooner, "Thomas Jefferson," drawn by sixteen horses, each ridden by a boy dressed in

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXVIII, p. 204.

² Later put to death for an attempt to assassinate Napoleon. See Griswold's *Rep. Court*, p. 410.

³ Oberholtzer, *Lit. Hist. of Philada.*, p. 129.

white, followed the troops. At Germantown, too, there were speeches and the reading of the Declaration, to whose principles, after a lapse into lordly ways, the country was now to return.

Men gathered at ox-roasts in the open air and dined in the taverns, drinking toasts to Franklin, Rittenhouse and the younger men who had followed in their pathway as political philosophers. There were groans, hisses and strains from the "Rogues' March," for all aristocrats, while many a cup was quaffed to such sentiments as "the tree of liberty," "the whole family of mankind," and "the American fair, may they never smile upon any but true republicans."

When John Adams came through the city a day or so later, on his way back to Massachusetts, he was the mark for further insult. He passed on to New England "under the silent disgrace to which his conduct hath entitled him," said a writer in the *Aurora*. "Should you stop at Philadelphia," wrote Matthew Lyon in an open letter to Mr. Adams, "how melancholy must it seem to you. Macpherson's band of cockaded boys are dispersed or grown up into democrats. No Federal mobs there now to sing 'Hail Columbia' and huzza for John Adams, and to terrify your opposers. Hopkinson's lyre is out of tune; Cobbett and Liston are gone; the Quakers are for the living President," etc., etc.—

"John Adams was a President,
And fain he would again be.
But Jefferson we chose instead
And sent the Duke to Braintree.

"The Fourth of March—'twas early morn—
As in story you may plain see,
He rose dejected and forlorn,
And scurried off to Braintree.

"God prosper long this land of fame,
And long may we remain free,
And God prevent as President
The Duke's return from Braintree."

Not long did Mr. Adams tarry here, though a few of his friends who were called "Tories" for their trouble, assembled to greet him, and wish him a safe journey to his home.

Thomas McKean was reelected governor on the Republican ticket in 1802 against James Ross of Pittsburg, who was again the Federalist candidate, by a majority of over 400 in the city, of nearly 2,200 in the county, and of 30,000 in the state. The victory was another occasion for a Republican celebration, but the party was too strong and it developed factions within itself. Duane was one leader; another was Dr. Michael Leib, who enjoyed many favors at the hands of his party, including several terms in Congress as a representative and a senator, but who at the same time made bitter enemies. He was usually associated with Duane and they, taking offense at McKean, who was a very splenetic man despite



HIGH STREET MARKET, 1800



ALMSHOUSE (BETTERING HOUSE) IN SPRUCE STREET ABOUT 1800
Birch View

his many talents and abilities, in 1805 espoused the candidacy of Simon Snyder, a "back country" leader. This movement hopelessly divided the Republican party in Pennsylvania. McKean's opponents entered the field, with a proposal for changing the state constitution. He, denounced them in his vigorous way, as "rascals," "villains," "ignoramuses," "stupid geese," and "clod-hoppers;" names which were soon canonized in campaign speech. Each party called the other a third party, "Tertium Quids," or as a rule simply "Quids." The contest was very exciting, but McKean was victorious by a small majority, and Snyder was obliged to wait until 1808, when he won easily. Meanwhile his friend, John Binns, had come down to Philadelphia to establish a paper to forward the campaign. Binns was an Irishman, born in Dublin in 1772. There he was arrested, suffered an imprisonment of eighteen months for his political views, and at the age of twenty-nine he came to the United States. He at first went to Northumberland, Pa., attracted thither by Dr. Joseph Priestley who had taken up his residence at that place, and entered journalism as the advocate of Simon Snyder. Coming to Philadelphia, he soon made himself an energetic leader in the politics of the city. His paper was called the *Democratic Press*, the first paper, he was wont to say in later years when recalling the experiment, to make use of the word democratic in its title. The step was taken rather timorously, even Duane fearing the result, but soon the entire Republican party was glad to bear this name. The motto of the *Press* was—"The tyrant's foe; the people's friend." It at first appeared tri-weekly but inside of a month it became a daily, and was a busy agent in aiding Leib and Duane to assail McKean. The governor was accused of filling the offices with members of his family and their relations and connections, and tables in evidence of his nepotism were prepared and published. Attempts to impeach him were made, McKean thriving, as he always did, in the midst of contention and strife. He now found himself drifting back to affiliations which he ought never to have abandoned. Democracy became his nature ill, and the party could very well go on without him.

A favorite weapon in the campaign, when it could be used, was to call a man a "Tory" and if possible connect him in some way with the hostile or lukewarm party during the Revolution. The Jeffersonians found an occasion for a celebration in 1804 in the purchase of Louisiana. At daylight on May 12, 17 guns (Ohio having come into the Union in 1802,) were fired at Centre Square, the bells of Christ Church (which could be had for almost any use) were rung, and there was a procession of Democratic militia men and civic societies in the streets.

The Hamiltonians, on the other hand, in July mourned the death of their leader in the duel with Burr. Bells were muffled and tolled, Federalist shipmasters displayed their flags at half mast, the clergy of the city were asked to preach upon the pernicious effects of duelling, and such citizens as could, "consistently with their religious principles," were requested to wear mourning bands upon their left arms for thirty days.

"Peter Porcupine," until he vacated the city, was the most violent antidote for Freneau, Bache and Duane. That service, which had the greatest value for the Federalists, was performed by John Fenno in the *Gazette of the United States* until his death, like Bache's, from the yellow fever in 1798. A successor, abler in

every way than any other writer who had yet appeared in the city, was found in Joseph Dennie, the editor of that famous and very admirable paper, the *Port Folio*. Dennie was a New Englander, like Fenno. He had studied at Harvard and then read law. He wrote so trenchantly and well that he soon determined to devote himself wholly to literary pursuits. Short essays, called "The Farrago Papers" attracted attention to him in New England, and these were followed by a series of papers signed "The Lay Preacher," which appeared in a country newspaper, *The Farmers' Museum* of Walpole, N. H. For a time he was the editor of this publication, but it failed as a business venture, and Timothy Pickering, then secretary of state, suggested that he come to Philadelphia to write in the Federalist interest. He soon made an arrangement with Asbury Dickins, a bookseller with a shop in Second street, opposite Christ Church, and a son of John Dickins, a powerful Methodist preacher of Philadelphia, to publish the *Port Folio*. The first number, which was a quarto of eight pages, appeared with the year 1801. It was to be issued every Saturday morning at five dollars per annum under the editorship of "Oliver Oldschool, Esq.," the name Dennie had chosen for himself in his new rôle. While its title to remembrance is principally drawn from the high literary character which he gave to the magazine, the *Port Folio* was for several years a powerful engine in combating the Jacobinical party.

In his prospectus, Dennie wrote that the editor "will not strive to please the populace at the expense of their quiet, by infusing into every ill-balanced and weak mind a jealousy of rulers, a love of innovation, an impatience of salutary restraint, or the reveries of liberty, equality and the rights of man. He will not labor to confound the moral, social and political system, nor desperately essay to 'break up the fountains of the great deep of government.' He will not repeat to hewers of wood and drawers of water the fairy tales of France that all men are kings, and emperors, and nobles, and judges, and statesmen." In stirring English, he was able to defend Marie Antoinette, "who was hurled from the high seat of legitimate power by the smirched and bloody hands of the chimney sweepers and butchers of an atrocious revolution; a revolution the most hideous of all the hated revolutions, which have vexed the repose and cheated the expectations of mankind."

Once Dennie published a communication from the wife of a Philadelphia tailor who complained that her husband was "newspaper mad." His entire time was occupied in reading Duane's *Aurora*, and relating the wonders of it to all who happened in. The capture of Genoa by the French had cost him two yards of cloth which were spoilt in the cutting when he heard the news, and all he made at his trade was consumed in nightly drinkings at the inns to the cause of liberty. Duane had his clever opponent indicted for libel in 1803, but Dennie was found not guilty when the case was tried in 1805.

The paper barely thrived, though it was a visitor to the homes of cultivated Americans in all parts of the country. It was the first and only good critical journal published on the continent, and the editor deserved very much more financial support than he received. He pursued his way quite regardless of the wishes or tastes of "the million," as he denominated the "common people." "Their praise is often to be dreaded," he observed, "and their censure is gen-

erally a proof of the merit of the object—that miscellaneous rabble which Burke emphatically calls the 'miserable sheep of society' have never yet compelled or allured him to run with bare-faced debasement the scrub race of popularity."

Shortly before his death, which occurred in 1812, this choice literary spirit whom many of his admirers, on account of his command of a pure English style, called the "American Addison," wrote: "For more than fifteen years we have published in periodical pages our sentiments in complete defiance of the choice or dictation of the many. In this path we shall persevere, and while the editor obtains the partial suffrage of gentlemen, scholars and Christians, he is most contemptuously careless of the vulgar voice."

Dennie formed his friends and contributors into a club called the "Tuesday Club," and put himself at the head of a definite literary group which greatly contributed to the honor of Philadelphia. In it were such men as Joseph Hopkinson, Horace Binney, William Meredith, Charles Jared Ingersoll, already the author of a tragedy; Asbury Dickins, the bookseller; John Blair Linn, Rev. James Abercrombie,¹ Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, Charles Brockden Brown, General Thomas Cadwalader, Samuel Ewing, son of the provost of the University of Pennsylvania; Nicholas Biddle, Thomas I. Wharton, Robert Walsh, Stock, a dramatic critic; Richard Peters, son of Judge Peters; Philip Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton; William B. Wood, the actor and theatrical manager; Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist—mostly young professional men with enthusiasm for art, music and books.

Mr. Dennie was likely to pass his mornings in the book shop of Asbury Dickins, his publisher, in North Second street. This was the general resort of the literary men of the day in Philadelphia. So many made it a rendezvous that Dickins "could scarcely find room to sell his wares."² John Davis spoke of Dennie as "that mammoth of literature." He was seated in Philadelphia "in all the splendor of absolute dominion among his literary vassals."³

In the summer of 1804 Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, came to Philadelphia and met Mr. Dennie and his friends. All else in America was to him a great disappointment, and he said so frankly, adding:

"Yet, yet forgive me, oh, you sacred few!
Whom late by Delaware's green banks I knew;
Whom, known and loved through many a social eve,
'Twas bliss to live with and 'twas pain to leave."

¹ Dr. Abercrombie in 1810 dedicated an essay to Joseph Dennie, "the brilliancy of whose genius—the variety, extent and solidity of whose acquirements—the orthodoxy of whose tenets in religion—the correctness of whose principles in politics, and the urbanity of whose deportment—render him the delight and ornament of every polished and literary circle."—*A Charge Containing Hortatory Observations, etc.*

² John Davis thought him "not inferior to any of the constellation; he was remarkable for the gentleness of his manners, and displayed not less his good sense by his discourse, than his moderation by his silence."—*Travels*, p. 225.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

They alone recalled his friends at home, for

“while I wing’d the hours
Where Schuylkill undulates through banks of flowers—
Though few the days, the happy evenings few,
So warm the heart, so rich with mind they flew
That my full soul forgot its wish to rove
And rested there as in a dream of love.”

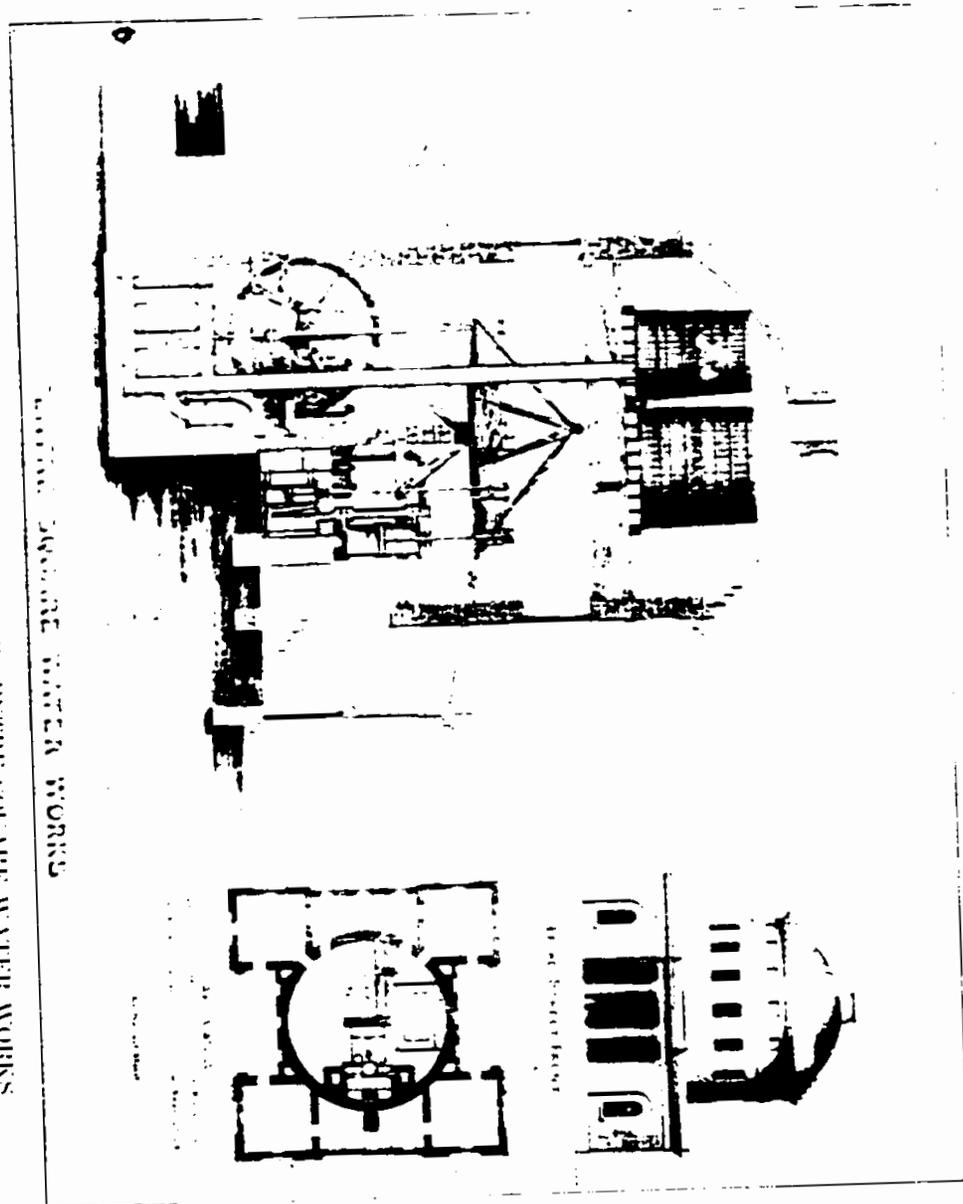
They talked of the French craziness, and Moore wrote:

“Long may you hate the Gallic dross that runs
O’er your fair country and corrupts its sons.”

The poet added in prose: “In the society of Mr. Dennie and his friends at Philadelphia I passed the only agreeable moments which my tour through the states afforded me. Mr. Dennie has succeeded in diffusing through this elegant little circle that love for good literature and sound politics which he feels so zealously himself, and which is so very rarely the characteristic of his countrymen. If I did not hate, as I ought, the rabble to which they are opposed, I could not value as I do the spirit with which they defy it; and in learning from them what Americans can be I but see with the more indignation what Americans are.”

The *Port Folio* appeared each week for eight years. At the beginning of 1809 it was converted into a monthly magazine in the hope that it would still contribute “to the interest of individuals, to the power of Philadelphia, and to the aggrandizement of our empire.” The editor died in January, 1812, at the early age of forty-four, after a weary struggle with ill health and broken credit. He was interred in St. Peter’s churchyard, where his friends placed upon his grave a stone bearing an inscription which is said to have been written by John Quincy Adams. Truly is it said upon his tomb that “he devoted his life to the literature of his country.” By his faithful services he had “contributed to chasten the morals and to refine the taste of this nation.” He had aimed to serve only “the most illustrious descriptions of American society—the liberal, the ladies, the lawyers, the clergy, and all the gentlemen and cavaliers of Columbia,” and they alone lamented his departure.

It was difficult to know how to continue the magazine, but the group which had supported its excellent editor took up the task. Nicholas Biddle soon became Dennie’s successor. A handsome and brilliant young man, with an interest in literature, the fine arts, politics and whatever concerned the intellectual, he was an excellent choice. But the field was too narrow for one of so many ambitions. Following him, the editor for a time was Dr. Charles Caldwell, a North Carolinian who had come to Philadelphia in 1792 and attained much distinction in medicine. He was assisted by Dr. Thomas Cooper, a friend of Dr. Priestley, the chemist, whom he had followed to this country from England. Cooper in due time went to Columbia College in South Carolina, and Caldwell to Transylvania University at Lexington, Ky.; “the first,” says the latter in his autobiography,



CENTRE SQUARE WATER WORKS

CROSS SECTION AND GROUND PLAN OF CENTRE SQUARE WATER WORKS
 Erected 1798. In use from 1801 to 1815. Taken down 1828. Original in Library of
 Pennsylvania Historical Society

“with independence and enterprise enough to sever an official connection with the University of Pennsylvania, and to issue from that medical emporium for the express purpose of establishing schools of medicine in other parts of the United States.” At the end of Caldwell’s editorship, the *Port Folio* passed into the hands of the Halls, and particularly John E. Hall, a grandson of Provost Ewing of the University of Pennsylvania. The magazine continued to appear each month until 1820, when it was converted into a quarterly. The publication finally ceased in 1827, after a career of the greatest service to American letters.¹

Less polished and exact in taste than Dennie and his friends but sometimes seen in their company was Charles Brockden Brown, rightly distinguished as the first American novelist. As yet no native writer of fiction had appeared, if we bar the authors of a few sporadic and very ill contrived experiments in this field. Brown entered upon his business seriously and evidenced a great deal of talent for relating a tale. It was of a quite sensational pattern, in the style of William Godwin, Mrs. Radcliffe, “Monk” Lewis and other favorite writers of the day in England. While the gravest artistic defects are evident to the most cursory reader, there is a sustained interest in Brown’s work. He came of an old Chester County family, and was born in Philadelphia on January 17, 1771. For some time he attended the Quaker school under Robert Proud, the first historian of Pennsylvania; but he was frail of build and marked, as it soon appeared, for an early death by consumption. His first success was *Wieland*. In this novel the scenes were set on the banks of the Schuylkill, and the complications were mainly created by ventriloquism, then a new marvel. This story was soon followed by *Arthur Mervyn*, yet better known, principally on account of its descriptions of Philadelphia during the progress of the yellow fever, from which he himself had barely escaped with his life. *Ormond*, *Edgar Huntley* and *Clara Howard* appeared at about the same time,—in all, five novels in three years. He resided for a period in New York, where John Davis first met him. There he occupied “a dismal room in a dismal street.” He was making “his pen fly before him,” and was “quite in the costume of an author,” that is, it is explained, in a great coat with shoes down at the heel.² When Davis met Brown later in Philadelphia, he was still writing at the most rapid pace, “rivalling Lopez de Vega by the multitude of his works.”³ That his novels were written quickly and carelessly is obvious upon a reading of them. Two or three seem to have been in progress at once, at the expense of artistic effect, and at considerable cost also to the author, whose health was failing steadily. Dennie declared in the *Port Folio* that Brown wrote “uncommonly well for an American.” He continued:

“Although his figure appears extenuated by his ardor of application and his face pallid, not by the midnight revel but by studious vigils, yet his alert and robust mind seems not to sympathize with its valetudinary companion. He employs many a vigilant and inquisitive hour in reading what deserves to be remembered and in writing what deserves to be read.”

¹ Oberholtzer, *Literary History of Phila.*

² *Travels*, p. 163.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

His fault was an almost Oriental abundance of mystery and plot. His imagination seemed to know few bounds. Of humor he had little, and of patience to choose from among his ideas and develop them to definite ends, apparently still less. From any high literary point of view, therefore, his service must appear crude, though his name will always have a prominent place in the history of letters in America. For some time after his fitful burst as a storyteller was done, Brown edited a monthly magazine and compiled an annual review of the world's movements, called the *American Register or General Repository of History, Politics and Science*.

The publishers of the city were embarking upon many large and notable undertakings. In 1790 Thomas Dobson who had a printing office "at the Stone house" in Second street above Chestnut, began to publish the first American edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, generally known as *Dobson's Encyclopedia*. He had only 246 subscribers when the first half volume was ready for delivery, and the edition of 1,000 copies was not sold until he had reached the eighth volume. The work embraced twenty-one volumes, and it was completed in 1803. Many printers and engravers were drawn to the city in connection with this enterprise.

In 1795-96 Bioren and Madan issued the first American edition of Shakespeare in eight volumes.¹ In 1804 Caleb P. Wayne published John Marshall's *Life of Washington* in five volumes. The Conrads issued Joel Barlow's poem, *The Columbiad*, an expensive piece of printing, while the Bradfords were enlisted for the publication of Alexander Wilson's important work on American birds, with many colored plates. Wilson wandered over the country, as did Audubon at a later date, securing subscribers, but he had only 250 in 1809, several months after the appearance of the first volume. The same firm in 1810 began to publish an American edition of Abraham Rees's *Cyclopedia or Universal Dictionary* in forty-seven large volumes. They had invested \$200,000 in the work before 1818, so much that the house was carried down by the burden of the publication. The number of engravers in the city had increased from three or four to fifty or sixty in 1810. The total annual amount of printing of every kind including the newspapers, did not exceed 500 octavo volumes in 1786. In 1810 it had increased to not less than 500,000 volumes.²

Mathew Carey in 1802 organized the American Literary Fair, patterned after the book fairs at Frankfort and Leipsic. The meetings were to be held in the spring and fall in New York and Philadelphia alternately. Each lasted for a week or two, drawing buyers and sellers from all directions. Book auctions became a feature of the fair, and attracted much attention, as they had in Robert Bell's day. Carey actively identified himself with Bible making. Some of the earliest quarto editions were his. It was too expensive to set and reset so great a work, and he planned the introduction of the newly discovered stereotyping process, but the negotiations failed and he resolved then to keep the type

¹ John Bioren, the head of this firm, was born in Philadelphia in 1772. He later conducted the business in his own name, without a partner, publishing prayer books, public laws, etc., etc.—*Pa. Mag.*, XXV, p. 142.

² Jos. Hopkinson to Acad. of Fine Arts, 1810.

standing. His "standing Bible" was long famous among printers, and it is stated that over 200,000 impressions were taken from the chases before 1825.

The census of 1790 had indicated a population for the city and its immediately contiguous suburbs—the Northern Liberties, Southwark, Passyunk and Moyamensing—of 45,000. This number, despite the decimating ravages of the yellow fever, which claimed probably 12,000 lives,¹ had increased to 70,287 in 1800. The wards of Philadelphia by an act of assembly of March 1, 1800, were re-arranged to accord with the growing population now so great, as was stated in the preamble of the law, that under the old system "great inconveniences have been experienced not only in making assessments and collecting taxes, but also in conducting general elections." There were now fourteen wards; seven lay east and seven west of Fourth street, and they covered the entire space comprehended between the Delaware and the Schuylkill.

The system of division and nomenclature was very much changed and simplified. The wards next the Delaware, running from north to south were Upper Delaware, Lower Delaware, High Street, Chestnut, Walnut, Dock and New Market. West of Fourth street to the Schuylkill beginning in the north were North Mulberry, South Mulberry, North, Middle, South, Locust and Cedar. The lateral dividing lines were Sassafras, Mulberry, High, Chestnut, Walnut and Spruce streets.

Little progress in settlement had been made beyond the Centre Square and Broad street; but there were houses and wharves on the banks of the Schuylkill and scattered cabins, farm houses and gentlemen's country seats in the intervening space. For some time the western streets had been numbered from the Schuylkill, just as those paralleling the Delaware were numbered from that river. As there were Delaware Front, and Second, and Third streets, so there were Schuylkill Front, and Second and Third streets. Schuylkill Eighth street was the equivalent of what we now know as Fifteenth street.

In 1808 when councils directed that a census be taken, it was found that the fourteen wards of the city contained 47,786 people, of whom 5,256 were free colored people and thirty were slaves. Of the white inhabitants, 12,123 were men or boys over sixteen; 13,337 women or girls over sixteen; 8,338 young girls; and 8,337 young boys. The most populous wards were Cedar ward; that is, west of Fourth street between Spruce and Cedar or South street with 5,489 inhabitants, a comparatively new settlement; and South Mulberry ward—that is, west of Fourth street between Sassafras and Mulberry, where an important development was in progress. In the Northern Liberties, just over the city line, more than 25,000 people were settled, as compared with only 8,000 in 1790.

The Federal census of 1810 indicated a population of 53,722 for the city wards; this total had been 41,220 in 1800. The suburbs, which now by recent subdivisions included East and West Northern Liberties and Penn Township in the north, and Southwark, Moyamensing and Passyunk in the south had a population in 1810 of 42,942, as compared with 29,067 ten years earlier.

¹ Mease, p. 38.

A census of buildings in 1810 showed that there were in the

Old City	13,241
Northern Liberties	4,280
Kensington (which was becoming a manufacturing settle- ment, still a part of the Northern Liberties).....	869
Penn Township	936
Southwark	2,739

The total number of dwelling houses was 15,814. Considerably more than one-half of the buildings of all kinds were of wood, though since 1796 no new frame buildings might be erected in the thickly settled parts of the old city.¹ The population of the city and county in 1810 was 111,210; that of the entire island on which New York was situated 96,372, so that Philadelphia was still the largest city on the continent.

Robert Wharton, who had been mayor for two years, was followed in that office in 1800 by John Inskeep, who was a merchant in Philadelphia, interested, like so many of its citizens at that time, in the lucrative China trade. The next year, Matthew Lawler, who during the Revolution had carried on privateering to his own great advantage, succeeded to the office. He served until 1804, when Mr. Inskeep was again elected for two terms, to be followed in turn by Robert Wharton who this time held the place for two years. The latter was a great favorite with the people. "With staff in hand and hat tipped a little on one side of his head, with firm step and independent authority," his mere appearance on a scene would quell "the most ferocious mob." It is believed that "Philadelphia never had a more efficient and popular municipal officer."²

In 1808 and 1809 General John Barker, a well known leader of the militia and an active politician, was the mayor. He was reelected in 1812. Robert Wharton again held the office in 1810, while the next year, for one term, the choice fell upon Michael Keppeler, a lawyer by profession.³

The hope which many already had of making education free to all classes of the people, was coming nearer and nearer to a happy realization. The College, or University, as it had come to be called, was gathering strength and influence in its new building in Ninth street. The Friends' School in Fourth street, the Academy in Germantown, and two or three good schools under private masters, were available for the children of the well-to-do. The most notable of these private schools was the Philadelphia Academy, founded by Dr. James Abercrombie, one of the assistant ministers of Christ church and St. Peter's, with the aid of the Rev. Samuel Magaw, long rector of St. Paul's, and for many years a professor in and vice provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Grammar, writing, arithmetic, composition, geography, elocution, natural history and logic were taught. The classes were convened for a time in Franklin's house in Franklin Court, and later in one of the University's buildings in Fourth street. Each year in July Dr. Abercrombie delivered an address to the "young gentle-

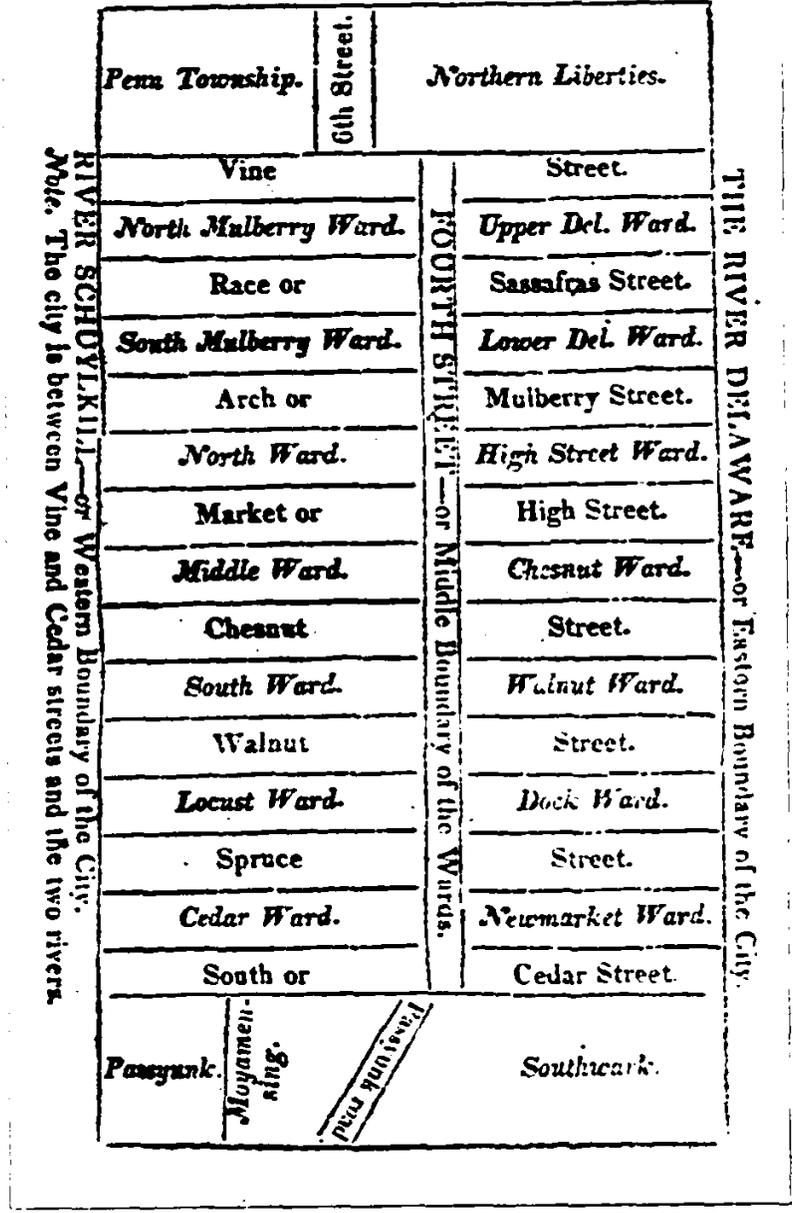
¹ Mease, p. 32.

² *Philadelphia and her Merchants*, p. 46.

³ Jenkins, *Memorial History*, p. 443.

DIAGRAM

Showing the Situation of the Wards of the City, and the neighbouring Townships.



FOURTEEN WARDS OF PHILADELPHIA AS THEY WERE LAID OUT IN 1800

men" and the "amiable youths" who had successfully passed their examinations. Among them from time to time were Henry C. Carey, son of Mathew Carey; William Wagner, Tobias Wagner, Richard Willing and other names later to become well known in Philadelphia.

An excellent girls' school was the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia. John Poor was the principal in 1792 and James Sproat, Samuel Magaw and Benjamin Say were trustees. Diplomas were granted to the pupils after they had been "carefully examined" in spelling, reading, writing, English grammar, arithmetic and geography.¹

There were also many private teachers of accountancy, music, dancing, riding and other accomplishments. A group of philanthropic citizens supported a number of schools for negro children, and a time was near at hand when white children were also to be given free instruction. It is true that the University had for some time had its charity school, as had the Episcopal Academy. Most of the churches supported schools which were more or less free to the children of their members. The Lutherans had six, in all of which German was taught, as it continued to be preached from their pulpits. Now the movement was to be extended into undenominational and much larger fields, not without the risk, however, of branding the children unpleasantly as the recipients of charity.

As early as 1790, Bishop White and others suggested the establishment of schools on Sunday, not so much for religious instruction, which is the purpose of the Sunday School today, as for the general education of those who were probably apprenticed to trades and could not be reached at any other time. The principal object was to teach boys and girls to read, write and "cipher." Children were growing up everywhere without this elementary instruction. These Sunday Schools were the first to be opened in the United States, and they were only about eight years later than the first that were established in England through the efforts of Robert Raikes.²

In 1799 a number of young men banded themselves together and formed the "Philadelphia Society for the Free Instruction of Indigent Boys." It was their benevolent plan gratuitously to teach the children of the poor. Their classes met at night. In 1801 they were chartered as the "Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools," and as such came into possession of the important bequest of Christopher Ludwick, a wealthy German citizen. Ludwick was usually known as the "Baker General." He was born in Hesse-Darmstadt in 1720 and served in several European wars. Later he was for a

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXXIII, p. 251.

² The work was in charge of "The Society for the Institution and Support of First Day or Sunday Schools in the City of Philadelphia and the Districts of Southwark and the Northern Liberties." Bishop White was its president. Between the years 1791 and 1800, 2127 boys and girls had received instruction under the auspices of the Society. "The utility of the institution has been fully proved," said Dr. Mease in 1811. "Many of the pupils who had no other opportunity of acquiring the benefit of school learning than that which had been presented by this institution, attained therein the power of spelling and reading with correctness and propriety, and of writing an easy and legible hand." (*Picture*, p. 251.) The Society continued its schools until 1819, when the church Sunday Schools superseded them in religious instruction, while other more effective facilities were at hand for teaching children the art of reading and writing.

time a baker in the English navy, and first came to Philadelphia on a business trip in 1753. He determined to live here, and upon his return he opened a family and gingerbread bakery in Letitia Court. He was much esteemed as a tradesman at the outbreak of the Revolution and freely gave his services on the patriot side. He is accounted to have had much influence in inducing Hessian soldiers to desert from the British army, and to settle in America to become prosperous citizens like himself. In 1777 he was appointed superintendent of all the bakers in Washington's army. After the surrender at Yorktown he made 6,000 pounds of bread for the soldiers. "Let it be good, old gentleman," said Washington, calling Ludwick by the name by which he usually addressed him, "and let there be enough of it, if I should want myself."¹

Ludwick died in 1801. His bequest amounted to about \$10,000, and it was to go to that society which soonest incorporated itself to enjoy its benefits. Governor McKean signed the charters of the charity school society and of the University of Pennsylvania on the same day and a race for Lancaster, the state capital, began. The first to arrive and enroll the bill could claim the money. The University used an express rider. He and the president of the "Philadelphia Society," Joseph Bennett Eves, left Philadelphia at the same hour, twelve o'clock, December 7, 1801, but Mr. Eves soon led his competitor, reaching Lancaster, a distance of more than sixty miles, in seven hours.² Later, other legacies were received, and the success of the young men exceeded all their early expectations. Their school long stood in Walnut street, between Sixth and Seventh streets. It accommodated between 200 and 300 pupils.

A number of Quakers in 1807 formed a society for the support of charity schools, under the name of the "Philadelphia Association of Friends for the Instruction of Poor Children." William Sansom and Thomas Scattergood presented the organization with a piece of ground near Pegg's Run, the old Coquanock Creek in the Northern Liberties, now arched over to form Willow street. Here, below Second street, a school house, capable of holding 600 children, was built and opened in 1808. It was called the Adelphi School, but very soon, on account of its situation, acquired the popular name of the "Hollow School." The Lancastrian system of instruction, then quite new, was studied and with some modification adopted. The pupils were arranged in classes of eight or ten, and over each class a monitor chosen from the worthier and older children was placed. They learned the alphabet by writing with a pointed stick in wet sand. A table about fifteen feet long and six inches wide was set up for this purpose, and they were gathered around it to make "I's," "K's," and "H's" on the surface. From single letters they passed to the "ba's," "da's," "fa's" and "ha's" in Comly's spelling book. Reading and arithmetic, the only other subjects in which the school essayed to educate its pupils, were taught in a manner not less impracticable and odd.³

The question of discipline in this, as in other schools of the day, was difficult. The children were to come at nine in the morning, and at two in the afternoon

¹ Westcott, *Phila. Fire Department*, No. 17.

² Mease, p. 253.

³ *A Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Adelphi School*, 1810.

to perform their tasks. There were many rules to be observed, these among them:

"All bad behavior is forbidden. Boys belonging to this school must not lie, swear, cheat, steal, quarrel, fight, nor use any kind of ill language to their school-mates or to any other person. They must not hurt dumb animals, nor throw sticks, stones, dirt or snow balls."

Boys who would not obey the rules "after the necessary labor has been used to enforce them," might be "turned out."

Premiums were awarded for good behavior, but with all the improvements of method the administering of corporal punishment was still one of the master's chief tasks. There was a "cage" in which offenders could be confined, and flagellation awaited every occupant of it upon his discharge. This punishment was of varying degrees of refinement. The culprit, for some offenses, was laid upon his back. A noose was then fastened about his ankles and he was whipped upon the bare feet with a rattan. At other times the punishing instrument was a strong oaken paddle about fourteen inches long. It was applied on the bare palm, or perhaps against the ends of the fingers. At times, too, the gag was used. It was meant particularly for the noisy and the profane, and was a block of wood with a leather cover to be set between the teeth, and tied around the head with strings.¹

Wickersham in his *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, speaks of many curious punishments which were common at the day, such as snapping the forehead, twisting the nose, pulling the ears, and tortures inflicted by compelling the pupil to assume unnatural positions for a long time. An average of ten to twenty whippings a day for the entire term was no unusual record in a school room.² Indeed a teacher's principal equipment was his physical strength for flogging the boys put under his care, and so necessary a part of the business of education did it appear that parents often brought their refractory children to school to have them castigated by an expert for offenses they had committed at home. That generation of Americans, now passing out, which could boast of being born in log cabins, of wearing home-spun, of splitting fence rails, of eating coons, and of rising before the sun to go forth into the frosty pastures to bring in the cows for the morning milking, stopping to warm their bare feet where the cattle had lain during the night, still teem with recollections of the flogging schoolmaster.

The teachers themselves were blind guides—more so in outlying country districts than in the city. But the ignorance of those who tried to impart learning to others was everywhere, except with a rare exception, stupendous. General John Lacey's testimony is for a somewhat earlier period, say 1770, and for the Quaker community of Bucks County. He wrote in his *Memoirs*: "I was early sent to school such as it was. The Master himself could neither read or write correctly, as he knew nothing of Grammer, it was not to be expected he could teach it to others. Grammer never was taught in any school I went to—no book of this kind or the most remote rudiments of it was that

¹ Westcott, chap. 459.

² P. 208.

I remember, talked of at any of the country schools I was acquainted with. None but Quaker Families resided in the neighborhood where I was brought up, among whom the Bible and Testament with Dilworth's spelling-book were the only books suffered to be used in the Quaker Country Schools from which circumstances no one will hesitate to acknowledge the extreme limited education and acquirements of literal knowledge by youth so circumscribed."¹ The writings of this Revolutionary General are a proof of all that he sees fit to say concerning the schools of his day.

Year after year the legislature was asked to provide for the establishment of some system of free education. The Society of Friends, and other sects which maintained schools of their own, as ineffective as their service may have been, objected to any general taxation for such a purpose, but finally no opposition of whatever kind could avail and in 1802 a commencement was made in the work of providing "for the education of poor children gratis" in Pennsylvania. This measure was replaced by another in 1804, and by still another in 1809.² Such free education had too much the appearance of a charity to be relished by any but a few upon whom their pride sat lightly. Indeed, those who could afford to send their children to private schools were specifically excluded from the advantage. Lists of parents of children between five and twelve years of age, who seemed to be unable to bear such an expense, were required to be prepared by the assessors of the townships, wards, and districts. These parents were then to be notified that, if it were their desire, they could place their children in some convenient subscription school. They must give notice that they had done so to the public officers, to whom the teachers would render their bills for the service. The cost was the subject of a levy upon the tax-payers. The amount was complained of in Philadelphia. From January 1 to July 27, 1811, 1828 scholars were educated at public expense. The charges were \$12,124.27, or at the rate of \$11.63 for each child annually, while at the Ludwick charity school in Walnut street the tuition was only \$5.81 a year and at the Adelphi school only \$4 a year.³ From this legislation in a few years was developed the common school system as we know it to-day.

The yellow fever still visited the city in hot, murky summers, after the turn of the century, but its attacks were less virulent. How much this was due to chance, and how much to an improved water supply and to increased intelligence in dealing with the disease, is not quite clear, but it is certain that the long succession of sorry experiences had led to the exercise of much greater care in the introduction of West Indian ships, which were manifestly the source of the infection. Several hundred persons, mostly in the Northern Liberties, died of the fever in 1802, and the epidemic raged fatally also in 1803 and 1805. The new health law of 1798 provided for the sale of the hospital and its appurtenances on State Island, and the erection of a lazaretto on Tinicum Island, twelve miles south of Philadelphia and four miles north of Chester, which was purchased in 1806.

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XXV, p. 3.

² Wickersham. *History of Education in Pa.*, pp. 263-66.

³ Mease, p. 262.

Better hospital arrangements were effected in the city also. The quarters fitted up for persons afflicted with contagious diseases at the Wigwam on the Schuylkill did not suffice, and the board of health in 1807 chose a site on the west side of Schuylkill Fourth street near its intersection with Francis Lane, now Fairmount avenue, in a part of Penn Township, later incorporated as Spring Garden. An extensive range of buildings consisting of a mansion house with wings, which contained fifty-six rooms exclusive of cellars and garrets, was erected and made ready for patients in the year 1810. The capacity of the City Hospital, or Small Pox Hospital, as it was very generally called, was about 500.

It was desirable that the memory of these unhappy years should be obliterated, in so far as this should be possible. This end would be partially subserved by improving the Southeast Square, the burial place of so many of the fever victims. The movement also indicated a return to some appreciation of those civic ideals which had actuated William Penn in reference to at least one of his four public squares. The State House yard had been fitted up to some extent and it was a pleasant recreation ground for the people. The adjoining square, which had long been used as a Potter's Field, now began to yield to artistic considerations. Some had wished to build a market house here; the University of Pennsylvania had asked permission to erect its medical school on the spot. Fortunately neither of these plans met with favor. Councils proposed that a piece of the ground fronting on Walnut street, and some other portions of the space, should be taken from the enclosure, planted with trees and laid out with walks. The wooden building in the square at the southwest corner of Sixth and Locust streets, used by the city commissioners, was removed to Seventh and Locust streets.

William Sansom, a very enterprising and useful man, was now building houses in this neighborhood. A row of them had been erected on Walnut between Seventh and Eighth streets. Some were ready for tenants in 1800, but there was objection to houses built according to a uniform plan, which was a quite new idea in Philadelphia.¹ They were, moreover, "too remote and lonely." Walnut street was not paved west of Sixth street. Gentlemen engaged in business in Second street, which was then and for long afterwards the principal street for shops in the city, found it too far to walk to Sansom's Row. For a while the owner was obliged to accept low rents. At first the price of a house was only \$200 per annum. The enterprising builder, however, was soon seen to have been justified in choosing the neighborhood for his experiment. Encouraged by the investment he purchased the unfinished pile which had helped Robert Morris to his undoing, long known as "Morris's Folly," and cleared Philadelphia of another unhappy memory of the past. The marble was scattered about the city and the ground was soon occupied by buildings adapted for dwelling and for business purposes.

Now, as before the war, the corporation was seriously hampered in the carrying on of useful public improvements by reason of its want of money.

¹ Mease's *Picture*, p. 21.

The budget of the city at this time was less than \$150,000 annually, and its debt about \$300,000, chiefly arising from the expense attendant upon the construction of the water works. The principal sources of its income were:

1. Rent of stalls in the High and Second street markets, some lots of ground, the public scales, the public wharves and vacant public squares.
2. Interest on stock of the Schuylkill Permanent Bridge Company.
3. Schuylkill water rents.
4. Wharfage at public landings.
5. Interest on shares in the Water Loan.
6. Sales of street dirt.
7. Taxes.

The taxes were assessed on lands, houses, mills and improvements of all kinds, ground rents, slaves, cattle above four years of age, all offices, posts of profit and trade (barring clergymen and schoolmasters), and bachelors who were without an occupation. The property tax should never exceed one per cent, nor should the occupation tax exceed ten dollars per person. By this process in 1810 \$103,637 were collected for city uses, and \$74,541 for county uses. In the city and county jointly \$20,000 were raised in the same year for the support of the lazaretto and the health establishment, and \$78,000 for the care of the poor.

In 1809 the city's expenditures were \$124,865, in 1810, \$125,600 and in 1811, about \$133,000.¹

The city needed greater taxing powers if it were to do all the people asked of it, especially in the sparsely settled districts beyond Centre Square. Indeed those whose homes were fixed west of Broad street at one time sought separate incorporation. In a memorial they wrote:

"Our situation now is deplorable. Our streets are worked into a mere quicksand; our footwalks are destroyed so that communication with the market seems almost impossible; and we are insulted by the calls of the tax-gatherers for moneys from which we derive no benefit."

A considerable commerce was carried on in the Schuylkill. In 1806 it was said that 113 vessels of from eighty to ninety tons each had come up the river with flour, lumber, plaster and other cargoes which must be transported to the owners over the most miserable of roads. The cart ruts were in places deep and impassable. Moreover, there were no wells or pumps, to serve the convenience of the people. But the corporation lacked the money to make improvements even where the population was large enough positively to require them. High street was not paved beyond Ninth street. The city commissioners in 1807 were directed to extend this improvement to Twelfth street. Mr. Sansom offered to pave Walnut street in front of his houses if the corporation could not do so. In 1809 Thomas Pratt and John Vallance paved Chestnut street between Ninth and Eleventh streets at their own expense, on a pledge that the city would repay them for their advances at the end of four years. In 1812 councils ordered that this work should be continued to Broad street, if the

¹ Mease's *Picture*, pp. 193-99.

citizens who were interested in the improvement would subscribe the money in the form of a loan for a period of six years.

The fear of fire, which had always been great, as it might well have been in a settlement largely built of wood, with open fireplaces and sooty chimneys, was increased at this time by rumors of incendiary plots. No really large conflagration had occurred since the founding of the city. The improved watch service seemed to afford some guaranty of a continuance of this fortunate condition. Each ward had its constable. There were then fourteen who were selected as follows: The voters of each ward met at some tavern therein on the third Friday in March and by ballot chose two persons whose names were sent to the mayor of the city. He appointed one of them, who was then obliged to enter a bond for the faithful discharge of his duty. Until 1817 there had been but one high constable, who was "required to walk through the streets daily with his mace in his hand and examine all vagrant and disorderly persons." In that year another was appointed of equal rank with similar powers. The salary of each was fixed at \$700 a year.

In 1810 the number of watchmen, whose duty it was to guard the city and to cry the hours of the night, was thirty-two, while there were six more to visit the boxes of the others to see that they performed their tasks. The watchmen also lighted the lamps. They were under the direction of the captain of the watch who attended at the old courthouse in Market street to dole out the oil and wick, and to receive vagrants and thieves as they were brought in. Each man was given \$14 a month for his services, 27 cents additional for each lamp under his care, and a "great coat" as a gratuity. The cost of lighting and watching in Philadelphia in 1809 was \$19,263.73.¹ To frustrate the designs of incendiaries upon the city there was for a time, in 1803, a special night patrol of 28 men.

Security was found, too, in the introduction of Schuylkill water in "trunks" in the streets. By this improvement the efficiency of the volunteer firemen was increased. The Watering Committee of the city urged the companies to provide themselves with connecting hose of the right size with suitable couplings. It was pointed out that the natural force of the stream would raise the water thirty or forty feet without the use of the engines, but the companies hesitated and the theory was brought to a test by a number of young men who met at the home of Reuben Haines in December, 1803. They formed the Philadelphia Hose Company and collected a sum of money to purchase their equipment. Feeling the need of a carriage to convey the hose to the fire an oblong box, six feet long and two and a half feet wide, set upon wheels two and a half feet in diameter, was devised. The hose which was of leather² was laid loosely in the box, being drawn out over a roller fastened at the back. Candles in lanterns at the sides illuminated the scene at night. The entire cost of the carriage was \$98 and it visited its first fire in 1804. So useful were the young men on this occasion

¹ Mease, pp. 124-25.

² The Humane Fire Company in 1794 had tried a woven web or canvas hose. It was steeped in a salt pickle to prevent it from rotting, but it was a failure and leather came into general use.

that the city made them a donation of \$70.¹ The number of hose companies increased until there were nine in 1810.² The engine companies also quite generally supplied themselves with hose for attachment to the hydrants. Fifteen minutes were usually consumed in filling an engine by means of a "lane" of buckets from a pump, or from one of the new plugs; by a hose the reservoir could be filled in a minute and a half. That there might be no failure in the supply the watchman on the most western beat on High street was instructed at the first cry of fire to run to the engine house at the Centre, so that the engineer could immediately start the pumps.

In February, 1803, the old Quaker schoolhouse in Fourth street below Chestnut, later known as the Penn Charter School, was burned. In August there was a fire in Water street, and in December a row of unfinished buildings in Sansom street was almost totally destroyed before the flames were got under control. In May, 1806, a fire broke out in a trunk maker's shop in Dock street. It leaped up the Dock to Third street and on to Chestnut street, consuming everything in its way. No less than thirty-two buildings were destroyed before the firemen could make any effective resistance. The brands were carried so far that they set fire to several vessels in the Delaware, and even in New Jersey sparks blown over the river threatened the destruction of property. A number of persons were hurt by falling walls.

The toll of life and limb from fires at this time was considerable. There were thrilling rescues, but very frequently some one remained within the walls to be suffocated or burned, and the firemen who attended, in trying to extinguish or prevent the spread of the flames, often fared badly also. Service in a volunteer fire company became as heroic as in one or another of the local companies of militia, and the members' deeds of daring as much entitled them to the public gratitude.

Recent disasters led to the taking of greater precautions. More hose was purchased. The watchmen were instructed to examine the hydrants every hour at night during cold weather, and open the pipes to make certain that the water in them did not freeze. What could be done was done to safeguard the interests of the city.

Joshua Humphreys had ceased to be the naval constructor of the government in 1801, but in 1806 he was commissioned to purchase the site of the old Association Battery in Southwark as "a building yard and dock for seasoning lumber for the use of the navy of the United States." A sum not above \$36,000 was put at his disposal for the work. When this task was completed, he was authorized to build docks and wharves and make the tract ready for practical use.³

A group of buildings called the "United States Laboratory," or the "Arsenal" was begun by the Federal government in 1800 on the Gray's Ferry Road.

The Second street market was improved by the erection at its north end of a large brick building surmounted by a cupola and a bell. Space was found here

¹ Westcott, chap. 443.

² Mease, p. 139.

³ *Pa. Mag.*, XXX, pp. 377-78.

for storing fire apparatus, and for other purposes. There were now five brick markets in Philadelphia; two in High street, two in the Northern Liberties and this one in South Second street.

The state asserted its right to send convicts from distant places to the Walnut street prison, though it was designed for the county and city of Philadelphia only. The enclosure, therefore, was too small. In 1803 steps were taken to erect a new prison on the south side of Arch street between Schuylkill Eighth and Broad streets. The building was begun, but there was not enough money to complete it until a large state appropriation was received in 1812.

In 1805 a number of gentlemen met in Independence Hall and formed a society for the encouragement of art, to be called the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts. It was a design very near to the heart of Charles Willson Peale who, as he wrote to a friend, wished Philadelphia to be "the seat of arts and science in America." Benjamin West, from afar, also expressed a desire that the city should be "the vortex of all that was mental in the western world."¹ The city, West said again, should be "looked up to as the Athens of the western world in all that can give polish to the human mind." The now venerable George Clymer, Joseph Hopkinson, William Rush the sculptor; William Poyntell; John Dorsey; and others were interested in the undertaking. Seventy persons, forty-one of them prominent at the bar, the youngest of the lawyers on the list being Horace Binney who outlived all the other signers, attached their names to the articles of agreement. George Clymer was elected president of the association with the following directors: William Tilghman, William Rawle, Moses Levy, Joseph Hopkinson, Joseph B. McKean, William Meredith, William Rush, John R. Coxe, M. D., John Dorsey, William Poyntell, Thomas C. James, M. D., and Charles Willson Peale. Of the number, two, Peale and Rush, were artists, seven were lawyers and two were physicians. The association was incorporated in 1806 under the name of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. In that year a creditable building in the Greek style which had been planned by John Dorsey, a successful auctioneer of cultivated tastes, was opened in Chestnut street. A frontage of one hundred feet had been purchased on the north side of the way between Tenth and Eleventh streets on ground now occupied by the Chestnut Street Opera House.

Pictures and casts were assembled in the hall, and it was thrown open to the public from nine o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon, beginning in 1806. Soon the exhibition profited by the favor extended to it by Robert Fulton who had purchased the paintings in a private gallery in London. They were sent to America and deposited with the new academy. The collection included two large canvases of Benjamin West, already elected an honorary member of the association, and so much interest was expressed in them that the admission fees soon reached a total of \$100 a month.

But the whole undertaking was perforce viewed with serious misgivings. "I long very much to hear," Peale wrote to Fulton in 1807, "what will be said by

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, XIII, p. 482.
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the Friends and other denominations of Xans." ¹ The prudery of the day which had obliged Robert Edge Pine to keep his *Venus de Medici* in a locked cupboard now demanded that ladies should have a day alone in the hall. They might come on Mondays, when without blushing in the presence of their escorts, they could view the *Apollo Belvidere*, the *Laocoon* and other casts lately received from Paris. As late as in 1830 when Mrs. Trollope was here, the sexes were admitted to the antique statue gallery separately. She was accosted by an old woman who was on guard: "Now ma'am, this is just the time for you—nobody can see you. Make haste." Looking around her on all sides to be assured that no one was in sight, quite as though she were introducing the visitor to some chamber of shameless nakedness, the custodian took Mrs. Trollope by the arm and hustled her in. The astonished English woman found a sign which asked visitors not to deface or mark the statues, though its warnings had been quite ineffectual. Men who came alone wrote indecent legends on the walls and on the casts themselves, which women could scarcely avoid reading when their turn was at hand to educate themselves in the fine arts. ²

In 1809 William Rush had made a wooden figure of a nymph upon whose shoulders a swan was perched. From the bird's throat issued a jet of water. It was placed in front of the handsome marble building which Latrobe had designed for the engine house in Centre Square. Miss Nancy Vanuxem, daughter of James Vanuxem, the well-known merchant, is said to have been Rush's model for the figure. It was afterward cast in metal, and when the waterworks were moved to Fairmount was set up opposite the wheel houses at that place. Thousands flocked to see the fountain at Centre Square, many of whom considered themselves greatly horrified by reason of the exhibition of a scantily draped female figure.

In 1808, after a Frenchman had given several subscription masquerade balls in Philadelphia, and had announced his intention of continuing them, he was quickly set upon by the religious community. Such balls were associated with all the vice and licentiousness of Europe, and they were sternly forbidden in a law which was rushed through the legislature in a fortnight. Horse racing still thrived, even though it led to some betting. There had been races twice a year at Germantown, and on ground which was sometimes used for this purpose in the southern part of the city between Pine and Cedar streets. In 1808 a race-track was opened on the Old York Road near Nicetown. This course was afterward known as Hunting Park, a name which it still bears as a popular recreation ground and a part of the city's park system.

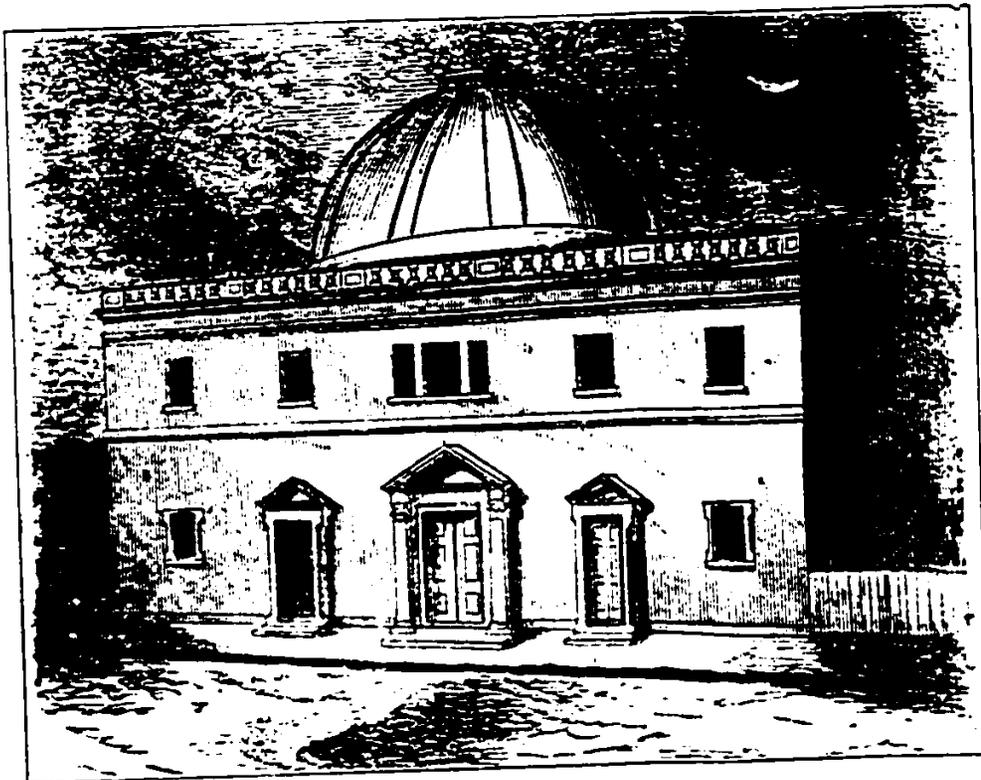
The removal of the capital to Washington turned the people's attentions more than ever before to their industries. The possibility of renting a house to a congressman or a foreign minister, and of furnishing his kitchen with food and his wife and children with clothing had disappeared, and the city must look to other sources for its revenues. Philadelphia had always had important commercial interests; no other city in America excelled it in these particulars. By

¹ *Pa. Mag.*, IX, p. 121 *et seq.*; "The First American Art Academy," a reprint from *Lippincott's Magazine*; *Port Folio*, June, 1809.

² *Domestic Manners*, p. 216.



PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS IN CHESTNUT STREET



LAILSON'S CIRCUS, 1797

honest trade or by privateering—by importing from nearly everywhere and by exporting every whither—large fortunes had been accumulated. Robert Morris once wrote that he had at one time owned more ships than any man in America. The risks were great. If there were profits, they were likely to be large; if there were losses, they might be enormous. Pirates there were always, and in wartime the depredations of vessels carrying letters of marque and reprisal were difficult to escape. Communication between countries was so imperfect that prices were local, and the rules which govern international trade in this day of telegraphs and rapid posts and steamships, ready to remove a cargo from a cheap place to a dear place at a moment's notice, were without force. Many a fortune was made at a single stroke by the arrival and fortunate sale of the cargo of one ship. Conversely, of course, when one of the little vessels—none exceeded five hundred tons—went down in a storm or was taken, it was a blow which only the richest could survive. A constant topic of conversation, therefore, among the wealthy men of the city in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was the fate of their ships. News of their movements was borne to them by expresses. They were interrupted at dinner and awakened at night by fresh accounts from the sea. There were dinners and toasts when a vessel came safely into port. It was no unusual occurrence for Robert Morris, Thomas Willing, William Bingham or Blair McClenachan to make a profit of a hundred thousand dollars on a cargo of coffee, bar iron, dry-goods or flour. John Moss, almost in despair, awaited a long overdue and richly freighted ship, "The Brilliant" from London, and finally had the pleasure of seeing her sail up the Delaware. What she carried when put up at auction yielded him a profit of \$250,000.¹

During the year 1812 Louis Clapier, another Philadelphia merchant, gave up his ship "Dorothea" as lost; but she came safe to port realizing him a large sum of money in recognition of which he placed an iron model of the vessel as a weather vane on the barn on his estate in Germantown, "Fern Hill," afterward the property of the McKean family.² At about the same time Thomas P. Cope's favorite ship the "Lancaster," while on her return from Canton with a valuable cargo, was the subject of the greatest anxiety to her owner; but finally she arrived to receive the first intimations of the war with Great Britain, from the pilot in the Delaware.³

This era of chance and romance in maritime life favored Philadelphia's greatest successor to Robert Morris, Stephen Girard. Born in France in 1750, he ran away from a step-mother while a very young lad, and took to the sea, whereon his ancestors had found employment time out of mind. Thus, too, did he escape the ill-considered taunts of his companions induced by the loss of the sight of one eye; while throwing wet oyster shells upon a bonfire—a splinter was exploded into his face and marred it for life. He had made many voyages, some of them quite profitable, before his first visit to the continent of North America, which was at the port of New York early in 1774. In May, 1776, he found himself in the "Amiable Louise" at the mouth of Delaware Bay in a fog.

¹ Abraham Ritter, *Philadelphia and her Merchants*, p. 164.

² C. F. Jenkins, *Historic Germantown*, p. 144.

³ Simpson, *Eminent Philadelphians*, pp. 253-54.

He fired his cannon for a pilot and got one just in time to escape capture by the British frigates cruising outside. When he arrived in Philadelphia, the risk of putting to sea again was too great, and he decided to settle here. He took a store in Water street and entered the green grocery business with the remains of his West Indian cargo. He soon met and married Mary Lum, the young daughter of a shipbuilder in Philadelphia, and the city became his permanent home. His fortune was gradually accumulated by business which was suggested to his shrewd mind at the waterside, where he worked hard and lived simply without pride. In 1779 he built the "Water Witch," a sloop which made many profitable journeys to the West Indies, the beginning of a fleet that assumed large proportions in the period following the Revolution and preceding the War of 1812. In 1791 and 1792 were launched several of his merchantmen intended for the East India trade: the "Voltaire," the "Rousseau," the "Helvetius," the "Montesquieu" and the "Good Friends"; several of them named for writers whose books were found in his home and which he often read.

Thus he stood in Philadelphia when he won the gratitude of the community by stepping forward to help the victims of the great fever in 1793. He had been bred to ships, and having seen all the ugly sides of life at near range on land and water, in the tropical and temperate zones, few things had terror for him. One of his vessels lay at Cape Francois during the revolt of the blacks in San Domingo. A number of the planters put their valuables aboard for safe keeping and returned to do battle with the negroes on shore. Some of the owners of this treasure were killed, and it was impossible to find the heirs, Girard profiting to an unknown amount.¹ About 1796 he removed to 23 North Water street, where he had his store, his counting room and his house, in one and the same place, the windows on the east side overlooking the Delaware which bore the cargoes through which his wealth was rapidly increased. To this he added his farm of five hundred and sixty-seven acres in Passyunk township, which he as a rule visited daily. He would pass (it was related, with some exaggeration) with such regularity, on his way to and from this estate, that the householders, seeing him, could set their clocks by his movements. When he did not walk, he drove a high yellow gig, under the seat of which he invariably carried a loaf of bread and a bottle of claret. The place in the chaise box upon the return trip, was likely to be taken by a kettle of butter and a demijohn of milk for his table at home. He found much relaxation in this farm. The produce was sold in two stalls in the South Second street market, where householders were always certain to be well accommodated. Here in Passyunk was a home for the large watch dogs, one of which always was found on each of his vessels whithersoever it went, and here he raised the cattle which were killed for provisioning his crews. Each December about two hundred animals were slaughtered for this use.

As Girard lived in Water street, though it was so unkempt a highway that a traveler who saw it in 1819 suggested that it might much better be called Mud

¹ Mr. Ingram, Girard's kinsman, in his *Life*, thinks this story in large part fabulous. He at any rate makes it clear that due attempts were made to identify the owners of such goods as remained upon the ship before they were turned over to Girard's private account.

Lane,¹ so lived many more of the shipping merchants in the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century. They resided over their stores or counting houses. The wharves and the adjoining space were private back yards of these houses. They were enclosed. There was no common street or even footway on the river front,² where Delaware Avenue now is, although the need of it was sorely felt. The demand was refused by councils, though in a few years it would become so urgent that the people could be denied no longer. "The houses," says Abraham Ritter, "were of the first class, well built and handsomely finished in the interior, with broad open newel stairways, guarded by oaken hand-rails leading to the upper apartments; the parlors being in the second story, with an unobstructed view of the Delaware and its floating wealth."³ The wharves, which were built of square casements of logs filled in with earth and stone, ran from Callowhill street in the Northern Liberties to South street. Here, piles of hickory, oak, pine, maple and gum ready to be officially corded and sold to the people stood upon view. Elsewhere were oysters, fish, lumber, rum, brick and flour. Rich cargoes from the East, spread out upon the platforms, made a beautiful show. The arrival of an East Indiaman was a gala event. Guns boomed as the ship came up the river, and nearly all the men and boys in the city ran to Water street to see the vessel dock. Drays and carts drove under the drawing-room windows of these wealthy merchants. The "yo-heave-ho" of the swarthy sailors and longshoremen, the merry songs of the gangs of negroes at the capstans, were heard all day and the shouts of half-tipsy tars at the Crooked Billet, the Three Tuns, or some other tavern on the water side, marked the nights. Sailors from every country, drawn here to America's principal port, created scenes which were highly picturesque; they have not been witnessed since in Philadelphia, and can be but dimly imagined by any one familiar only with the dull and commonplace life which flourishes on the same ground at this day.

Among the merchants who were active at this time were the Willings, Henry Pratt (a son of Matthew Pratt, well known as a sign painter), James Vanuxem, Timothy Paxson, William Smith (a West India planter who, when he landed in Philadelphia, brought with him eighty thousand Spanish dollars, whence his popular name, "Silver Heels" Smith), Elliston and John Perot, the Newbolds, James Paul, John Welsh, the Walns, Thomas P. Cope, Michael Gratz, Levi Hollingsworth, Samuel Archer, an extensive importer of muslins and other fabrics from the East,⁴ John Guest,⁵ who had houses in London, New York, Balti-

¹ *Travels through Parts of the United States and Canada*, by John M. Duncan, I, p. 188.

² John Binns in his *Recollections* says that the river washed the walls of the houses a few yards below Market Street. Those who passed that way endeavored to make the crossing on a narrow board. "The consequence was that many people fell into the river and were drowned."—p. 195.

³ *Phila. and her Merchants*, p. 77.

⁴ William D. Lewis states that the business of the house often reached a value of \$2,000,000 annually. The net profits for one year were \$120,000; for another, \$180,000.—Simpson, *Eminent Philadelphians*, p. 20.

⁵ "No other American, in his time, obtained so extensive a credit in England; and no other commercial house ever carried on business upon so large a scale."—*Ibid.*, p. 457.

more, Philadelphia, and other cities and failed during the embargoes; the Cra-
mond brothers, one of whom built "Sedgeley," the beautiful home on the east
bank of the Schuylkill; Charles MacAlester, a ship captain and vessel owner of
large fortune;¹ Joseph Sims, Jacob Gerard Koch, an importer of linens; Thomas
W. Francis, the Nixons, Robert Ralston, the Wilcockses, Abraham Kintzing,
the partner of Henry Pratt; Edward Shoemaker, Manuel Eyre, son of Manuel
Eyre, the shipbuilder of Kensington, and his partner, Charles Massey, Jr.;²
•Samuel Stillé, Paul Beck, Jr., Bohl Bohlen, a Hollander who, with his brother
John Bohlen, made up a firm which imported gin; Thomas Leiper, Louis Martial
Jacques Crousillat, a Frenchman engaged in the French trade, who later estab-
lished himself in a home in the "Neck" called "Point Breeze," where he had
orchards, gardens and nurseries; Joseph Carson, Gustavus and Hugh Colhoun,
Smith and Ridgway,³ Henry Sparks, Jr., Thomas Allibone, Abraham Piesch,
West and Jeanes, engaged in the salt trade; Amos Stackhouse, the Fishers, the
Cliffords, the Gilpins, the Reads, John Moss, Samuel Coates, John Vaughan,
Charles Wharton, Isaac Wharton, William L. Sonntag, Francis Gurney and
Daniel Smith trading as Gurney and Smith; Louis Clapier, John Clement Stocker,
William and Jonathan Leedom, John Craig, whose daughter became the wife of
Nicholas Biddle; George Armroyd, David Maffet or Moffat, Joseph S. Lewis,
Philip Nicklin, John Whitesides and Company, Conyngham, Nesbitt and Com-
pany, Jacob Downing, Godfrey Haga, Isaac and Samuel Hazlehurst, William
and Samuel Keith. The names of between 800 and 900 "merchants," many of
them packet owners, and exporters and importers on a larger or smaller scale,
appeared in the "New Trade Directory" of the city for the year 1800.

¹ The "Fanny" built for him at Grice's yards was "the fastest sailing merchantman of
the day." On her maiden voyage she passed from Philadelphia to Cowes in the Isle of
Wight in 17 days, beating all previous records. Mr. and Mrs. William Bingham were pas-
sengers on the boat on this trip. The "Fanny" went from London to Batavia and back in
seven months and twenty days, "speed at that time without any parallel."—*Simpson*, p. 680.

² The firm of Eyre and Massey at one time owned twenty vessels which were known in
every principal port. They and other shipmasters of the day traded with ports with which
Philadelphia merchants have long ceased to have intercourse. A partial list follows:
Archangel, Tönning, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Havre, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Lisbon, St.
Ubes, Oporto, Cadiz, St. Lucas, St. Sebastian, Gibraltar, Malaga, Barcelona, Corunna, Mar-
seilles, Genoa, Leghorn, Palermo, Cette, London, Liverpool, Londonderry, Plymouth, Fal-
mouth, Madeira, Teneriffe, Vera Cruz, St. Jago de Cuba, Havana, New Providence, St.
Domingo, St. Thomas, Guadaloupe, St. Croix, Curacao, La Guayra, Maracaibo, Cayenne, Per-
nambuco, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Santos, Rio Grande and Paraguay River ports, Buenos
Ayres, Montevideo, Valparaiso, Coquimbo, Copiapó, Lima, Guayaquil, Panama, Jamaica,
Sardinia, Java, Sumatra, Sandwich Islands, Manila, Canton, Calcutta and Madras.—*Biog-
raphies of Successful Philadelphia Merchants*, p. 229.

³ This was the firm of Jacob Ridgway, who was born on March 15, 1767 in Monmouth
County, N. J. He came to Philadelphia as a boy. For a time he was employed in a dry-
goods store. Later he formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, James Smith, and
passed to the grocery business and then into the packet trade in North Water street. He
visited many foreign ports as supercargo, and during the embargoes, for the protection of his
property as a shipping merchant, established his residence in Europe. For a time during
this period he served the United States government as its consul at Antwerp.

Some of these men formed themselves into a Chamber of Commerce in 1801, and met monthly at the City Tavern. This association was created "for the purposes of aiding the trade of the city of Philadelphia, by carrying into effect such rules and regulations as may from time to time be established with respect to commerce; and the adjustment of mercantile differences between each other."

The affairs of the port were under the direction of a master warden and six assistants who granted licenses to pilots, decided questions arising between masters and owners and superintended the moving of ships, the placing of wharves, etc. Since 1793 there had been a harbor master to see to the cleaning of the docks, the removal of nuisances from the water front, etc. Pilots were of three classes. Those of the first class could serve vessels of any size; those of the second class vessels drawing twelve feet of water or less; and those of the third class vessels drawing nine feet or less. A rigid system of inspection of exported produce was carried on. Beef and pork must be packed in white oak barrels or tierces soundly hooped. The character of the staves of the barrels and the sizes of their heads were stated. Definite rules were laid down for the shipping of shad, herring, flour, butter, flaxseed, grain, shingles, lumber and bark. The inspector of flour was to run his scoop diagonally through the barrels from head to head. Kegs of butter were to be pierced to the bottom.

In 1805 there were registered from the port of Philadelphia the following "first rate" ships: Eight in the China trade, three trading with the East Indies, three with Bordeaux, two with Antwerp, two with Amsterdam, two with Liverpool, one with London, one with Leghorn, one with Lisbon, and one with Marseilles. The largest of these did not exceed five hundred tons, but there were many of a "second rate" which performed extensive voyages. No less than eleven of these traded with China and the East Indies. A score or two plied between the port and Europe or the West Indies. There were, besides, a variety of schooners and brigs which were owned in Philadelphia. The arrivals and clearances in both the foreign and the coasting trade from 1805 to 1807, inclusive, prior to the embargoes which preceded the war of 1812, were as follows:

	Arrivals	Clearances
1805	547 foreign	617 foreign
	1169 coasting	1231 coasting
1806	690 foreign	730 foreign
	1231 coasting	1278 coasting
1807	699 foreign	712 foreign
	1270 coasting	1231 coasting

Invention and the manufacturing faculty also enjoyed considerable play and led to more important developments than the city had yet seen. For a long time Oliver Evans, a lineal descendant, it is said, of Rev. Evan Evans, the first minister of Christ Church, had been busily experimenting with steam machinery. He was born in Delaware in 1755. Even before the Revolution, he had visions of a steam engine which would propel wagons and boats. He, however, turned his attention for a time to carding machines and other mechanical contrivances, for some of which he procured patents from the states and the United States.

In 1805 he brought to a successful culmination his theories concerning the propulsion of vehicles on land by steam. Evans had been engaged to construct a machine which he called an Oructor Amphibolis, or Amphibious Digger, for the board of health. It was intended to clean the docks. Wheels were put under it, and it was first exhibited in the circular road surrounding the water works in Centre Square, whence it was taken under its own power to the Schuylkill river, although its weight was equal to two hundred barrels of flour. Here it was put into the water, a paddle wheel was affixed to it, and it was propelled down the Schuylkill and up the Delaware, a distance of sixteen miles, "leaving all the vessels that were under sail," says Evans, "full half way behind me, the wind being ahead." This feat was performed in the presence of thousands of people.

The inventor saw, and he hoped to make others see, how usefully his ideas could be applied for the improvement of transportation. He offered to build for \$2,500 a steam engine and a carriage which would transport one hundred barrels of flour three miles an hour on a level road, and one mile an hour on grades. Such a carriage could make the journey between Philadelphia and Columbia in two days. At that time it took five wagons with five horses to each three days to transport one hundred barrels of flour between those two places. But this was not all; Evans would lay a wager of \$3,000 that he could "make a carriage go by steam on a level road equal to the swiftest horse." In 1814 he wrote in a New York newspaper:

"The time will come when people will travel in stages moved by steam engines at fifteen to twenty miles an hour. A carriage will leave Washington in the morning, breakfast in Baltimore, dine at Philadelphia and sup at New York on the same day. Railways will be laid of wood or iron, or on smooth paths of broken stone or gravel, to travel as well by night as by day. A steam engine will drive a carriage one hundred and eighty miles in twelve hours. Engines will drive boats ten or twelve miles an hour, and hundreds of boats will so run on the Mississippi and other waters, as was prophesied thirty years ago by Fitch; but the velocity of boats can never be made equal to that of carriages upon rails, because the resistance in water is eight hundred times more than that in air."

But Evans, like Fitch, found the world unready to aid his enterprising plans. He lived his life in poverty, some of it in really desperate circumstances. His foundry and machine shop, called the Mars Works, on the Ridge Road at Vine street, which employed thirty-five men in 1810, was set on fire in 1819, and a few days later he died.

Another inventor who seemed to live before his time was Benjamin Henfrey. He had plans for lighting the city with gas from wood or pit coal, preferably the latter. As this still curious fuel, brought from England or Virginia, was used under the engines at Centre Square, it was believed that gas could be generated at little extra expense to light the lonely lanes in that vicinity at least, and render less frequent the outrages of highwaymen and footpads who were still active at night on the outskirts of the city. Henfrey's plan, which covered light houses on the seacoast, called for the erection of similar towers in towns. Thus the back alleys as well as the wider streets, would be illuminated. Though

the flame could be regulated by the turning of a "cock," and though the light was said to have great brilliancy, nothing came of the proposal.

An experimental railroad, upon which vehicles could be drawn with horses, was laid in the large yard of the Bull's Head Tavern in Second street in the Northern Liberties, in 1809, by Thomas Leiper, a very enterprising Philadelphian. He was by birth a Scotchman and had come to America in 1763 at the age of 17. He interested himself in the tobacco export trade, and later in the manufacture of snuff. He also had other business investments, among them stone quarries on Crum Creek in Delaware County. It was with a view to building a railway there that the experiment at the Bull's Head was undertaken. The rails in the tavern yard were "two parallel courses of oak scantling about four feet apart supported on blocks or sleepers about eight feet from each other." Laid with a rise of one and a half inches to the yard, a single horse drew on a four-wheeled carriage a weight of 10,696 pounds. Satisfied that the principle was sound, Mr. Leiper called for proposals for the construction of three-fourths of a mile of road extending from Crum Creek to a landing on Ridley Creek. John Thomson, father of J. Edgar Thomson of the Pennsylvania Railroad, was the engineer. The work was completed in 1810, and it is said to have been the first permanent tramway built in America.¹

A semaphore telegraph line from Philadelphia to Reedy Island at the head of Delaware Bay to announce the movements of ships, was set up by Jonathan Grout. On November 8, 1809, the signalling system was used for the first time. It reported the arrival of the ship "Fanny" from Lisbon.

In June, 1809, another vessel, Thompson Westcott says it was the seventh to be navigated by steam in the Delaware, appeared in the city. She was built in Hoboken by John Stevens (1748-1838), later a distinguished railway engineer, and, navigated by his sons, came around the outside way, the first steamboat which had ever ventured upon the open sea. Encountering a storm, she put into Barnegat; and upon the return of fair weather, reached the Capes safely. She was called the "Phoenix" and made her first trip from Philadelphia to Trenton, for which travel she had been designed, with forty passengers. The vessel had masts to which sails could be fastened, to supplement the engine when there were favorable winds. Her arrival and departure attracted hundreds of persons to the wharves.

In 1805 the first mill of any considerable size to engage in textile manufacturing was established by Seth Craige in Kensington. This was the old "Governor's Mill" which William Penn had early set up in the Northern Liberties to grind grain with power drawn from Cohocksink Creek, and later the "Globe Mill" of James Davenport. Now, under the Craiges, the establishment was to thrive until 1852. There were many smaller mills for weaving cotton, wool and flax, but the three largest in 1803—Stewart's at Germantown, Thorburn's at Darby, and the Globe (before Mr. Craige acquired that mill) hired only seventy persons all told, and the output did not annually exceed 200,000 yards of goods. Craige's mill was several times enlarged and extended. In 1824 the firm em-

¹ *A Short Account of the First Permanent Tramway*, by Robert Patterson Robins.

ployed about 300 persons who tended 3,200 spindles, which consumed 5,400 pounds of cotton in a week.

From the tops of two shot towers lead was dropped into water lying at their base and riddled to uniform sizes for the muskets with which Americans were shooting raccoons, bear, Indians and Englishmen. Thomas Sparks was a plumber. In 1808 he and a partner named Bishop laid the cornerstone of a round shot tower in Southwark, in John street between Front and Second streets.¹ Bishop, who was a Quaker, withdrew from the firm when it was a question of preparing lead for use during the War of 1812, and the business continued to be carried on by Mr. Sparks and members of his family for many years. A much larger tower, built at about the same time, was that of Paul Beck, Jr., for many years on account of its height—166 feet—one of the landmarks of the city. It was square, and stood near the Schuylkill river north of Arch street. It had a capacity of from three to five tons a day. Mr. Beck was the son of a German emigrant to Pennsylvania in 1752. He had acquired a large fortune before he engaged in the business of shot manufacturing, and very much increased it by the time of his death in 1844.

Other manufacturers in Philadelphia in 1810 made edged tools, guns, pistols, silver plate, printers' type, pewter ware and cutlery. There were establishments, too, for the production of floor cloths and paper hangings, cotton prints, cotton, woolen and worsted hosiery, and carding and spinning machinery. Seventeen carriage makers in that year made carriages of a value of \$498,500. There were 18 distilleries, 16 potteries, 10 sugar refineries, 7 paper mills, 28 soap and candle makers, 102 hatters, 15 rope walks, two glass works, 51 printing offices, and a great number of tan-yards, leather-dressing and shoemaking shops. Beer, ale and porter were brewed in quantities from hops and barley brought to the city from New England. There were a number of well managed cabinet-making shops at which substantial as well as artistic furniture was manufactured. Paints and chemicals were also numbered among the products of the city.²

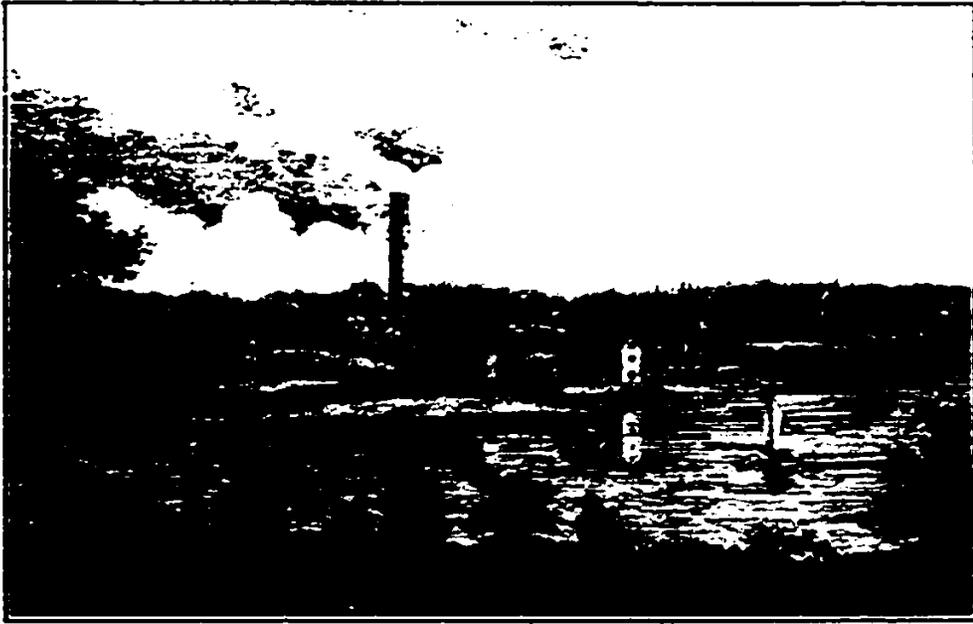
In 1809, 9,500 tons of shipping were built in the yards of the Northern Liberties. The vineyardists were still making a zealous effort to acclimate the wine grape.

With all this industrial development came a growing eagerness on the part of manufacturers for premiums, subventions, tariffs and advantages which would protect them from the competition of other men. Mathew Carey made himself one of the principal spokesmen of a policy for which Philadelphia in the nineteenth century won wide repute. Already, in June of 1788, Carey had written in his magazine, the *American Museum*:

"Should every inhabitant of the United States wear as much more of the manufactures of our country than he used to do, as would amount to twenty shillings a year, it would save three million pounds yearly to our country. A few pair of cotton or thread stockings or of worsted shoes, or a single coat, or a few cotton waistcoats, would make up this trifling saving to each individual. The aggregate sum would in a few years render America one of the richest coun-

¹ This landmark is still standing.

² Mease, pp. 74-80.



PAUL BECK'S SHOT TOWER NEAR THE SCHUYLKILL



"MORRIS'S FOLLY," CHESTNUT STREET

Birch View

tries in the world. It would build many hundred ships and houses, establish and promote many useful manufactures, and clear and improve many thousand plantations every year. If, added to this saving on the articles that have been enumerated, every person whose business frequently obliged him to ride on horseback, together with all the boys between five and fourteen years of age, and all the servants in the United States, wore leather breeches manufactured in America, a sum not much less than one million pounds would be retained in our country."

Such arguments were quite impressive, and the work of planting an ambition in the people to make and to wear their own clothing, drink their own beer and wine, sit upon their own chairs and eat their own food, was steadily continued. The Philadelphia Manufacturing Society was organized in 1808, with a capital of \$50,000 for the purpose of establishing a textile mill. Mr. Carey, Tench Coxe, and Samuel Wetherill, Jr., the Free Quaker, were among those interested in the enterprise. A "premium society" offered many prizes for home-made broadcloths, Welsh flannel, twilled cotton goods, sheeting, raven's duck and other fabrics whose manufacture it was desired to introduce. Some of the awards were made to the managers of the almshouse, where the poor were being intelligently employed at spindles and looms. In November, 1808, a dinner in the interest of American industries was given in the old senate chamber at Sixth and Chestnut streets. The presiding officer, John Dorsey, appeared in a suit of American broadcloth. In the company was the distinguished Colonel David Humphreys of Connecticut, the old Revolutionary soldier, the friend of Washington, a poet, and one of the members of that coterie of men who were known as the "Hartford Wits." He was now breeding merino sheep, and had "the earliest and then the most extensive wool, cotton and paper manufactories in the country," at Humphreysville in his native town of Derby, Conn.¹

Full of youthful ardor, Henry Clay, in the United States senate in 1810, speaking for American manufactures, exclaimed:

"There is a pleasure—a pride (if I may be allowed the expression, and I pity those who cannot feel the sentiment)—in being clad in the productions of our own families. Others may prefer the cloths of Leeds and of London, but give me those of Humphreysville."²

At this dinner in the old senate chamber at Sixth and Chestnut streets, the following toast was drunk:

"The best mode of warfare for our country—the artillery of carding and spinning machinery, and the musketry of shuttles and sledges."

In the assembly at Lancaster, schemes appeared for paying bounties for the bringing of full-blooded Merino and Leicester rams and ewes into the state, for exempting sheep from taxation and from seizure for debt, and for arming and accoutering at public expense such militiamen as would present themselves for service dressed in uniforms wholly of American cloth. A great variety of societies, looking to the promotion of native industries, were formed. A cattle show was held at Bush Hill in 1809 under the auspices of an association for im-

¹ Longacre's *National Portrait Gallery*, Vol. II.

² Colton's *Life, Correspondence and Speeches of Henry Clay*, Vol. V, p. 10.

proving the breeds. Dinners were frequently given at the taverns in the interest of bounties and tariffs. It was even proposed in the legislature in 1809 that the ground floor of the State House should be converted into an exhibition room for the display of Pennsylvania manufactures.

The state and national governments having both removed their capitals from the city, this building seemed to have no further use. In 1802 a plan was set on foot for its sale and for cutting up the yard into building lots. Charles Willson Peale applied for a place for his museum in the same year, and the premises were turned over to him on condition that the elections might still be held there, and that he would "open the doors of the hall and permit citizens to walk in the yard for recreation and to pass and repass at reasonable hours as heretofore." The Philosophical Society was glad to be rid of him, and the upper rooms of the State House were soon crowded with his stuffed birds, skeletons and insects, many of them under glass. There were some two hundred animals, large and small, in the "Quadruped Room." It would have been going little farther to have given up the lower floor to the manufacturers, but fortunately the resolution passed only one house of the assembly, and the plan failed. Governor Snyder, in his message to the legislature in 1809, said:

"Our mills and furnaces are greatly multiplied. New beds of ore have been discovered. We have lately established in Philadelphia large shot manufactories, floor cloth manufactories, and a queensware pottery on an extensive scale. These are all in successful operation, independent of immense quantities of cotton and wool, flax, hemp, leather and iron, which are carefully manufactured in our state, and which save to our country the annual expenditure of millions of dollars."

This commercial and industrial development called for larger banking facilities. The Bank of North America, the Bank of the United States, and the Bank of Pennsylvania did not suffice. In 1803 a company of men, with John Welsh at their head, organized the Philadelphia Bank, with a capital of \$1,000,000. The Bank of Pennsylvania protested to the legislature against the incorporation of what it was pleased to look upon as a rival, but after large bonuses were offered to the state, which for several decades was the price that banking associations were obliged to pay for their privileges, until the evil became too great to be borne any longer, the new institution received its charter. The capital was fixed at \$2,000,000, and the bank was established at first at 104 Chestnut street between Third and Fourth streets.¹ In 1808 a new building, specially erected for its uses, after the plans of Mr. Latrobe, was opened at the southwest corner of Fourth and Chestnut streets, with the entrance on Fourth street. It was a Gothic structure of considerable beauty, set in a space laid out with gravelled walks and planted with shrubbery. Outlying lodges were built for the watchmen. The structure, which without was mainly of brick, was plastered over at some later time in imitation of stone, greatly to the detriment of its appearance, and it was demolished in 1836 to make way for a large marble building, a portion of which is still in use by the Western National Bank.

¹ *History of Philadelphia National Bank, 1903.*

In 1807 plans were laid for organizing the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank, with a capital of \$700,000, and its representatives told the assembly what they were willing to pay for a charter. Meanwhile, the co-partners continued to do a banking business just as though they were regularly incorporated, at first at 129 Walnut street, and later at 100 Chestnut street, in a dwelling house just two doors below the Philadelphia Bank. The price of the assembly was finally discovered and paid in March, 1809, when the charter was granted. The capital was fixed at \$1,250,000. In the act of incorporation it was stated that "the majority of the directors shall be farmers, mechanics or manufacturers actually employed in their respective professions."

The bonuses must be paid, not only when the banking associations received their charters, which were for limited periods—ten or twenty years—but whenever these charters needed to be renewed. The proceeds were likely to be used for the purpose of carrying on internal improvements. These improvements should have been paid for by taxation, but the people were loath to charge themselves with this expense and turned to the sale of corporate privileges, the lottery, or some other indirect device.

Turnpikes, canals and bridges loudly called for appropriations. In 1801 the pike to Germantown was still uncompleted, though there was an immense amount of travel over the road. The village now had upward of 300 houses, "all built on the side of the highway and erected pretty close to each other," over a distance of nearly two and a half miles. Its inhabitants in 1800 were thought to number 3,220. The people were still making "a great quantity of woollen, cotton and thread stockings" which were reckoned particularly durable, and which the farmers carried to market in Philadelphia with their provisions. Some tanneries, a Quaker meeting, two or three churches, and a few schools were situated here. From the road the German women could be seen working in the fields, making hay and garnering grain. They were employed at a half dollar a day "besides their diet" which included liquor. Men received a dollar a day with meals and rum.¹ There was so much travel to and through this place in heavy teams, and the road was cut up to such a degree that wagons must often pass across the fields, or seek a route around by Frankford. The very necessary work of piking this road was now begun.

The conditions on other roads leading into and out of the city were little better. When the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt rode up the Ridge Road in April, 1795, he found it "almost impassable." The legislature in 1803 chartered a company to stone this highway out to the Wissahickon Creek, and on to meet the Germantown pike at Barren Hill church, an improvement extended later to the Perkiomen Bridge; the Cheltenham and Willow Grove Turnpike Company, which was to stone the York Road from the Rising Sun Tavern through Shoemakertown to the Red Lion inn (Willow Grove); and other companies to run pikes out the Frankford Road to the Trenton Ferry at Morrisville, where a bridge was to be built; from the rocks in Oxford through Bustleton and Smithfield to the Buck Tavern in Bucks County; from "the top of Chestnut Hill through Flourtown to the Spring House Tavern in Montgomery County."

¹ Rochefoucauld-Liancourt's *Travels*, Vol. IV, p. 116-20.

The completion of the pike to Lancaster County led, as we have seen, to a desire that it should be continued to Pittsburg. The legislature was petitioned now to extend it from Harrisburg or Columbia as might seem best, through Carlisle, Shippensburg, Strasburg, Bedford and Somerset to the head of the Ohio river. Others favored "the northern route," by the valley of the Juniata. Companies were chartered to build artificial roads by both of the suggested ways.

The wretched condition of the roads leading south brought forth schemes for turnpikes in that direction also, and for a permanent bridge at Gray's Ferry to clear the masts of the largest Philadelphia schooner which were stated to be sixty-three feet high. This project, however, seemed to be premature and the floating bridge laid on logs continued to be used here as well as at the Upper Ferry.

The improvement of the roads and the construction of bridges led to some changes in transportation routes. The increase of population and the development of industry made greater demands upon the stages and ferry boats, and their number grew. The principal highways of travel were north to New York, south to Baltimore and west over the Lancaster pike. After the completion of the bridge at Trenton in 1806,¹ which was the occasion for a procession, the firing of salutes and other rather notable ceremonies, the travel to New York was mostly over that route.

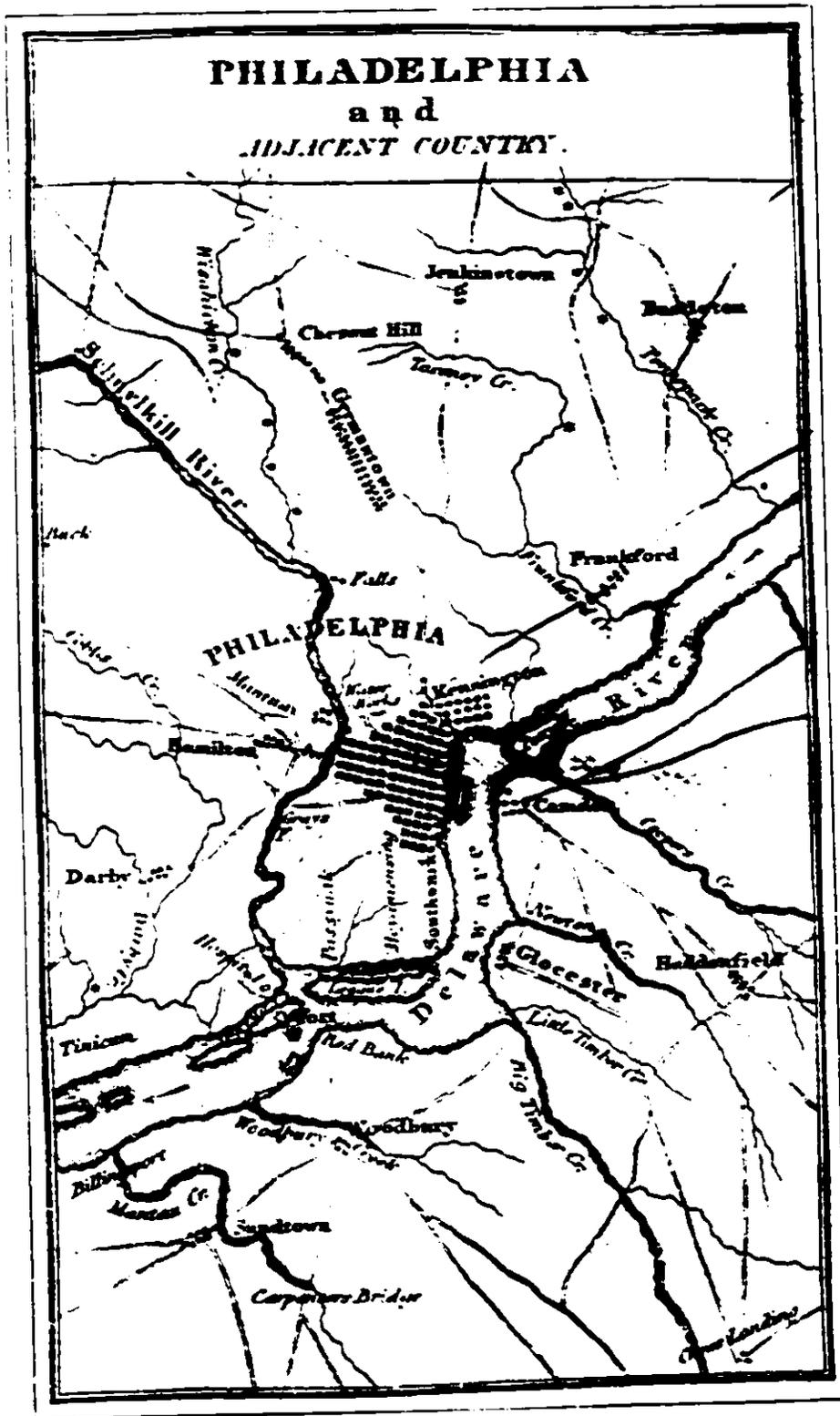
When Samuel Breck returned to his old home in Boston in 1810, his first visit since 1797, it was by his own private conveyance, but he found the roads greatly improved. There were now turnpikes the entire way. Of the eight ferries which it was earlier necessary to pass all had been eliminated but "that at Paulus Hook which can never be bridged." The distance by changes in the course of the roads had been reduced thirty-six miles.²

The toll roads and toll bridges naturally increased the expense of travel. The stage drivers raised their fares. The tolls for each coach between New York and Philadelphia now amounted to \$5.50. From 1805 to 1810 five or six lines ran wagons daily, except Sundays: the "Diligence" at eight o'clock in the morning, on which the fare was \$5.50; the "Industry" at eight o'clock, fare \$5.50; the "Mail Pilot" at noon, fare \$8; and the mail stage at noon, carrying six passengers only, at \$8.50 each. For a time the "Commercial" line ran a stage from the Indian Queen at 2 a. m. In 1810 the price by the "Diligence" was \$4.50, the "Accommodation," \$3.50; and a fast line through in one day, called the "Expedition," \$8.00. The "Swift Sure" line to New York and intermediate places by way of the York Road, introduced another daily service.

John Melish, a Scotchman, who came in 1806, afterward settling in Philadelphia as a geographer and map-maker, described the principal features of an overland journey in that year. He came by way of Paulus Hook, a mere stabling place for the Philadelphia stages, near and above which was the "little

¹ This was the second wooden covered bridge in America. The first was the Market Street bridge in Philadelphia. The Trenton bridge consisted of five arches, each of 194 feet span, built of white pine set on stone piers. Melish thought it "a very elegant piece of architecture."—*Travels*, Vol. I, p. 147.

² *Recollections*, p. 272.



FROM JOHN MELISH'S "GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE UNITED STATES,"
 PUBLISHED IN 1816

town" of Jersey, later dignified with the name of Jersey City. The coach passed "through a country rather stony and sandy" to Bergen, a small Dutch village. The Hackensack was crossed by a toll bridge, whence the way led through a great swamp in which it had been very difficult to cut a road. Here Mr. Melish and his fellow passengers were "much molested with mosquitoes of a very large size." Crossing the Passaic the coach reached Newark, "a beautiful village" of nearly 2,000 inhabitants famous for its cider. Six miles more brought Mr. Melish to Elizabethtown, "a pretty little place." At Brunswick, with 3,000 inhabitants, the Raritan was crossed on a wooden bridge. Princeton was reached at nightfall, after continuous travel since eight o'clock in the morning. There the party should have stopped for the night, but a college student's ball at the stage house obliged them to pass on to Trenton which was not reached until midnight, partly because of an accident to the coach. A spring broke, and a rail was taken from a fence and stuck under the wagon to support the weight of the passengers. It was very usual to see on the roads at this time vehicles from whose running gears fence rails and the trunks of small trees, often with the boughs still attached, were dragged along behind. Mr. Melish found Trenton to be "a handsome little town containing about 200 houses." At six o'clock next morning the coach set out again and crossed the Trenton bridge which had been completed in the preceding February. General Moreau's house at Morrisville was the next object of interest; then came Bristol of "about 100 houses, many of them elegant," and Frankford, "an elegant village containing 100 houses, a considerable place of resort for the inhabitants of Philadelphia in the summer season." At mid-day the journey was at an end.¹

The route by the river to New York, when the packets ran, was usually to be preferred. The uncertainties of the sailing vessel were of course many. The steamboat gave the water lines, wherever they could be utilized, a great advantage over the stage coaches. The "Phoenix" took passengers to Bordentown, in the summer of 1810, four days in the week, leaving Philadelphia at half past two in the afternoon, and arriving there in the evening, whence there were wagons to New Brunswick on the Raritan river, where the passenger could board another steamboat directly for New York or mount connecting stages for Elizabethtown Point or South Amboy as might be preferred, there to find packets for the rest of the journey. The fare to New York by the Raritan route was \$4.25; by Elizabethtown Point \$3.75; by South Amboy, \$3. A tin horn was blown when the "Phoenix" was ready to start from her wharf on the Delaware and hundreds of persons assembled to see her paddle her way up the river.

The traveller who wished to go from Philadelphia to New York by sea could take L'Hommedieu's packets, the "David" or the "Philip," at the day noted for their fleetness² from the first wharf below the Crooked Billet, which still displayed as its sign several crooked pieces of wood transversely arranged.

There was communication by stage coach with other places, as appears from the table of departures in the city directories of the time, as follows:

¹ *Travels in the United States of America*, Vol. I, p. 137-49.

² *Ritter's Phila. and her Merchants*, p. 34.

Lancaster, daily, 5 a. m.
 Holmesburg, daily, 4 p. m.
 Pottsgrove and Reading, twice a week.
 Trappe, twice a week.
 Trenton, daily, 8 a. m.
 West Chester, three times a week.
 New Castle, daily, 8 a. m.
 Bethlehem and Allentown, twice a week.
 Bustleton, daily, 5 a. m.
 Chestnut Hill, six times a day.
 Dover, three times a week.
 Easton, twice a week.
 Falls of Schuylkill, daily in summer.
 Frankford, twice a day, morning and evening.
 Harrisburg, daily.
 Harrowgate, daily.
 Westtown, the Quaker school in Chester County, three times a week.
 Wilmington, daily.

Baltimore, two lines—the "Mail" daily at 6 a. m. from George Inn, and the "Pilot" from the Indian Queen at 7 a. m.

For many places which could be reached by way of the Delaware river there were packets ("water stages"). Regular and frequent communication was maintained with Chester and Wilmington when the river was open. For Baltimore, if it were desired to avoid the bad roads,¹ packets could be found at the Delaware wharves for New Castle, whence the way led over the peninsula by coach to Chesapeake bay. In 1806 there were three Baltimore packets on the Delaware, and four on the Chesapeake, to care for the traffic between the two cities, and this number was very soon increased.

Until 1804 there was no stage coach to Pittsburg. At Lancaster, though there were accommodations onward occasionally as far as Shippensburg, the service ended, and the traveller, if he had no conveyance of his own, was at the mercy of such vehicles as he could hire from the farmers and innkeepers as he passed along. F. A. Michaux, the French botanist, who, in 1802, had found a public coach to Shippensburg, there, in partnership with another traveller, purchased a horse which they agreed to ride alternately. The animal was so poor and the road so rough that both walked for the most of the way. Michaux covered the distance between Philadelphia and Pittsburg in nine or ten days.

In August, 1804, it was announced that a coach would leave a tavern in Market street every Sunday morning for Pittsburg. The importance of this place was rapidly increasing. Situated in the crotch of the Allegheny and

¹ So bad in the spring of 1796 when Francis Baily came over them that he was three days and three nights on the way. The coach at one point was stuck in the mire. "We were therefore obliged to leave it there with the whole of the baggage all night and were driven to the necessity of seeking our way to the nearest house which was about a mile and a half off." Next morning they returned with another coach, transferred their baggage to it and continued their journey.—*Journal of a Tour*, p. 110.

the Monongahela rivers, which come together here to form the Ohio river, it commanded the navigation of the Mississippi valley. Such an advantage at this time was immense. In 1800 the town had about 2,400 inhabitants and the number was doubled before 1810. Many of the houses were built of logs but others were of brick, made from native clay. The cost of living in Pittsburg, it was said, was only about one-third of what it was in Philadelphia and, with employment assured, immigration increased. In 1810 the manufactures of the place reached a total value of about \$1,000,000. It was already smoky from its furnaces. Glass, iron, lead, beer, saddlery, flour and a variety of other products¹ were prepared for the interior market and were, for the most part, shipped down the river. The distance by water to New Orleans was about 2,100 miles. The rapids or falls near Louisville, until a canal was built in the 30's, could be passed only at high water. At other times passengers and cargoes were transshipped and hauled around this obstruction. The voyage to the Gulf of Mexico in a canoe, made by hollowing out the log of a pine or tulip tree and navigated by a paddle or a pole, could be effected in about twenty-five days. The principal burden boat was the barge which passed down the river during the spring freshets. The trip occupied forty or fifty days. The barge-men returned by sea to Baltimore or Philadelphia and thence made their way home over the Cumberland Road or the Lancaster Pike.

Indeed sailing ships of considerable burden, equipped for the foreign trade, were built in yards in Pittsburg. Some were registered as of this port and proceeded with cargoes to sea by way of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, when the rapids permitted of a safe passage. In connection with the stage-line covered passenger boats were run to New Orleans, a route by which Philadelphia was not more than a month away from the metropolis of the great territory just acquired by the government of the United States from France.

In 1810 it was announced that the stages were making regular departures for Pittsburg twice a week on Tuesdays and Fridays at 4 a. m. John Melish left on the Friday coach on August 9, 1811. The wagon, like that in which Michaux rode, would hold twelve persons, but it drew out of Philadelphia with only five or six. They came to Lancaster at five in the evening where the driver stopped only long enough to change horses. The night was spent at Elizabethtown eighteen miles beyond. At 3:30 a. m. the party were up and away again. They were rattled along on empty stomachs until they came to an inn where they halted for breakfast. The route was to Middletown and Harrisburg, then a place of about 2,000 people. The Susquehanna was crossed in a flat boat poled by four men, the passengers keeping their seats, as was usual at ferries.

¹ Dr. James McHenry, at Pittsburg on August 1, 1809, described it as "a beautiful little place." From "divers hills surrounding the town there were delightful prospects." Of the industrial interests he wrote: "The town is surrounded with pits which afford coal equal to any imported from Liverpool. • • • There are several manufactories of green and white flint glass which are certainly superior to our Baltimore glass houses. There is also a machine for picking, carding, spinning, and winding cotton turned by a single horse, who treads in a vertical wheel of at least 30 feet diameter. The town contains also a steam grist mill."—*Pa. Mag.*, XXIX, p. 329.

Carlisle, a town of about 2,500 people, and Shippensburg, a nest of only a few houses, were passed and the coach for the second night out pulled up at an inn in Chambersburg where there was a population of perhaps 2,000. The next day was Sunday, and the drivers used their option in regard to travel on that day. It was decided to make a "light journey," and leaving at eight o'clock the passengers and the mail sacks were advanced twenty-two miles to McConnellstown, where some 500 people lived in log houses. On Monday morning the team was away at 5:30, reaching Bedford at 5 in the afternoon. This place normally contained but a few hundred people, but at this season there was a crowd at the springs. So many wished to take the stage here that the management, when it departed at three o'clock the next morning, placed a number of passengers on horseback, thus creating a considerable cavalcade. By night the coach was in Somerset where there were some eighty log houses, eight taverns and six stores. The next morning the travelers were called at half past two and were soon off for Greensburg, the lodging place on the succeeding night. The following afternoon at two o'clock, Thursday August 15, on the seventh day out, the coach reached Pittsburg.

The trip had few agreeable features except its scenery at several points on the way. The inns were of the worst description. Passengers might swallow their hunger and wait, even though it was meal time, until the wagon reached the stage house which the line chose to favor. They had many opportunities to dismount for grog, a mixture of rum and water. They traveled half the night, walked much of the way in hilly places, which was often preferable¹ to being jolted over the vile roads, and reached their journey's end in an indescribable state of soil and fatigue. Rattlesnakes abounded in the mountains and were often encountered on the way. The fare was \$20, while 12½ cents were paid for every pound of luggage beyond fourteen pounds. That the taverns, though bad, were at the same time cheap is proven, when it is considered that a passenger's charges as he passed along during six or seven days added only \$7 to the cost of his trip.

Emigrants did not patronize the stages. The women and children were packed into the Conestoga wagons with their household freight, while the men walked. Those who rode were paid for, like their goods, at the rate of \$5 a hundredweight. The tavern charges by the way for approximately twenty days amounted to \$12.²

The Conestoga wagon, the "East Indiaman of the road," was met with everywhere. The trough for feeding the horses was tied on behind. The water bucket and tar pot were swung beneath.

Many a young man earned a seat by tending the brake for the driver. Market street and the side streets around the taverns, where the teamsters stopped, were at times choked with these great canvas-covered vehicles which had brought western produce into the city—fur-skins, ginseng, whiskey, flour, wheat, corn—and were carrying back food, clothing, hardware and other frontier

¹ One traveler states that he was an hour ahead of the stage.

² Melish, *Travels*, II, p. 24 *et seq.*; F. A. Michaux, *Travels*, p. 23, *et seq.*

necessaries. A writer in the *Aurora* in 1806 computed that a round trip in a wagon between Philadelphia and Pittsburg involved an expense of \$250. This sum was later reduced, but in 1817 it is said to have cost \$100 to move a ton of goods across the state. In 1825 and 1830 it cost \$4 per hundredweight going west, although the rate east, "back loading" as it was called, was somewhat less.¹ The Lancaster pike revealed a long procession of these cumbersome but effective agents for the overland carriage of goods. The stage coach dodged in and out among them. Drove of live-stock on their way to market raise clouds of dust. All came to rest at the road houses,—the drover, the wagoner, the stage driver and his passengers. There were 61 stage and wagon taverns on the pike between Philadelphia and Lancaster.² Here meals were hastily eaten, thirst allayed and horses changed. "The present generation," said a writer whose memory ran back to this time, "cannot realize the commotion that was caused by the arrival and departure of half a dozen stages of rival lines with horns blowing, streamers flying and horses on the full run. Sometimes as many as thirty stages stopped at one of these hotels in a single day. Most of them were drawn by four horses, but in climbing the mountains six were frequently used. For the accommodation of wagons and drivers the road houses with large wagon yards averaged one for every two miles. These were built especially for the purpose, and consisted principally of a large kitchen, dining room and very large bar room, the latter also serving as a lodging-room for the wagoners and drovers. Six and eight horse teams were usually accompanied by two men, and all of them carried their own bedding which was spread out on the bar room floor before the huge log fire in the chimney place in the winter."³

The Delaware at Philadelphia was crossed by the "horse-boats," large flats guided by oarsmen at the bow and the stern, and propelled by wheels which were turned by a pair of horses treading on a gangway, similar to that of a threshing machine. Passengers and teams, as well as droves of horses, cattle, hogs and sheep, were passed between Pennsylvania and New Jersey in this way. At each end there was a platform on hinges. It was kept down while the animals were being loaded, and was folded up after they were safely on board to prevent a stampede. With all possible care it was no unusual thing for some to fall into the river.

A notable improvement in the postal service took place in the period from 1800 to 1810. The number of postoffices had been increased to 2,000. There were post roads from Maine to Georgia, with a western line to New Orleans. These main routes upon which the usual rate of travel was from 60 to 120 miles a day, were intersected by cross-posts on which the speed was often not more than 40 miles a day. There were 460 separate routes, which were let out by contract to carriers by the postmaster-general at Washington. Philadelphia was thus provided with better postal facilities than ever before. The eastern mail arrived daily at 6 a. m., and closed at 1 p. m. The southern mails arrived

¹ Swank, *Progressive Pa.*, p. 111.

² *Pa. Mag.*, XXXII, p. 203.

³ Quoted by Swank, p. 113.

at 1 p. m. daily, and closed at 6:30 p. m. This service extended as far as North Carolina. For South Carolina and Georgia, the mails left only three times in a week. There was a weekly service to New Orleans, Mississippi, Kentucky and Tennessee. The "Great Western Mail" via Pittsburg for Ohio, Kentucky and the Mississippi valley, arrived at 4 p. m., and was closed "a half hour before sunset" on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

Communication with nearby places was quite infrequent. There was a mail to and from Germantown and Lancaster daily, but with Reading, Easton, Allentown and Bethlehem, there was a service only twice a week; with Cape May, May's Landing, Somers' Point and Absecon, in New Jersey, once a week. Even places as near as Haddonfield and Mt. Holly had only a weekly mail from Philadelphia. The rates were eight cents for a distance not exceeding 40 miles; ten cents for 40 to 90 miles; twelve and a half cents for 90 to 150 miles; seventeen cents for 150 to 300 miles; twenty cents for 300 to 500 miles. For more than 500 miles the fee was twenty-five cents. The sum could be prepaid or collected from the person to whom the letter was addressed. At times the payment was made in merchandise. An old carrier recalled that he had taken "two bushels of oats, or four pounds of butter, or five dozen eggs, or two bushels of potatoes for a letter."¹

Double letters of "two pieces" and triple letters of "three pieces" paid twice and thrice the regular rate. Packets of letters were weighed and charged for at the single letter rate for each quarter of an ounce. Provision was made for newspapers and magazines, if the mails were carried on horseback, and in the opinion of the postmaster, their carriage would not impede the progress of the rider.

¹ Swank, *Progressive Pa.*, p. 111.