ANNALS

OF

PHILADELPHIA AND PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE OLDEN TIME;

BEING A COLLECTION OF

MEMOIRS, ANECDOTES, AND INCIDENTS

OF THE

CITY AND ITS INHABITANTS,

AND OF THE

EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS OF THE INLAND PART OF PENNSYLVANIA,

FROM

THE DAYS OF THE FOUNDERS.

INTENDED TO PRESERVE THE RECOLLECTIONS OF OLDEN TIME, AND TO EXHIBIT SOCIETY IN ITS CHANGES OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, AND THE CITY AND COUNTRY IN THEIR LOCAL CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS.

EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS, BY T. H. MUMFORD.

BY JOHN F. WATSON,

MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF PENNSYLVANIA, NEW YORK, AND MASSACHUSETTS.

43 D 45

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

"Oh! dear is a tale of the olden time!"
Sequari vestigia rerum.

"Where peep'd the hut, the palace towers;
Where skimm'd the bark, the war-ship lowers:
Joy gaily carols, where was silence rude;
And cultured thousands throng the solitude."

PARRY AND M'MILLAN,
SUCCESSORS TO A. HART (LATE CAREY AND HART).
1855.

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PROSPECTUS AND TESTIMONIALS.

THE original edition, published in 1830, has been several years out of print, and has been repeatedly sought for since, at advanced prices. It consisted of 820 pages of one volume, 8vo., and sold at three dollars a copy.

Since then, numerous additional facts of equal or increased interest have accumulated, and which will make it essential to publish the whole in two volumes, 8vo., of not less than six hundred pages each, to be bound neatly in sheep, or in ornamental cotton cloth covers, *at four dollars a copy.*

It is proposed to publish this work by *subscription*, and at the lowest possible price. The object is not so much to profit by the publication, as to circulate and diffuse to the greatest possible extent among our city and country population, the knowledge of facts so useful and interesting to every *Pennsylvanian.* Such facts may also recommend themselves to all such intelligent and inquisitive foreigners and citizens of other States, as may be expected to interest themselves in "the Memoirs, Anecdotes and Incidents" of a people arising from comparative nothingness, "to become a praise in the earth."

☞ At the same time, it is proposed to commit to press, another and *similar* work, concerning the early history, and rise and progress of New York City and State;—being an enlargement of what was formerly published under the title of "Olden Time Researches and Reminiscences of New York City;"—and of which some public commendatory notices will be found incidentally connected in some of the following pages of recommendations. It will be published in one volume, 8vo., of about five hundred pages, to be entitled—"Annals and Occurrences of the Early Settlement and Progress of New York City and State," illustrated with many fine plates, and neatly bound in sheep or ornamental cotton cloth covers, *at two dollars a copy.*

It is presumed that residents in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania will be most free to subscribe for the work relative to *Philadelphia*, and the nearest and earliest counties of Pennsylvania;—and *vice*

versa, the inhabitants of *New York City and State*, for what relates more particularly to themselves;—but it is also expected, that many of those who indulge in general reading, will be equally disposed to possess themselves of *both works*, as a means whereby to acquaint themselves with all that is curious, amusing, and instructive in by-gone times. Both works equally profess to be "a *museum* of whatever is rare, surprising, or agreeable, concerning the primitive days of our pilgrim forefathers, or of the subsequent changes of their sons." It is to be, in short, a picture of the doings and characteristics of a buried age. ☞ In the language of one of the Reviews, "no intelligent housekeeper should dispense with a copy. Buy and read, and learn all sorts of personal and local history. *It is what every one should have in his library.*"

RECOMMENDATIONS,

As extracted from sundry public notices of the former editions.

"I say the thing, as it was said of *him*."

VIZ:

From the United States Gazette.

We have once or twice noticed a new publication, the Annals of Philadelphia, by John F. Watson, Esq. No book has recently issued from the press, that will command such general attention, or afford more gratification than these Annals. Curiosity as to the origin *and cause of things around us*, is one of the most general propensities of our nature, and the command to gratify that curiosity has issued from the highest of all sources, saying, "When your children ask their fathers, what mean ye *by these*; then shall ye *answer* them."—☞ The *facts* are such, as *we should* "diligently teach our children."

From the American Daily Advertiser.

This is *a great curiosity*. Such a book, we may safely affirm, *has never before* been produced in the United States. Mr. Watson must be a gentleman of the most patient and pains-taking character, or he could not have furnished the various and original matter which occupies so large a volume. The book is moreover enriched by a number of engravings illustrative of scenes that the ingenious compiler has been fortunate enough to rescue from oblivion. The Annalist will no doubt have many thanks for the entertainment which he has provided. He will enjoy a peerless fame for his contribution to our stock of knowledge, and ☞ we trust his book will be universally bought and read. It is strongly recommended on its first page by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

From the Saturday Bulletin.

We have been prevented from complying with our promise *to further notice* this highly curious and interesting volume. It presents a mass of interesting facts respecting the early settlement, to which every descendant of the original inhabitants may turn with interest and profit. The contents are as various as can be conceived. Indeed we find it impossible to give even a general idea of the huge volume; *we defy any body to do it.* Its contents are as various as can be conceived, presenting something to attract every description of readers. ☞ No *Philadelphian*, who feels an attachment to the place of his residence [whether "to the place native born," or not,] should be ignorant of most of the topics and kind of history of which the volume is filled.

From the National Gazette.

We have now before us a portentous octavo of upwards of 800 pages, just published under the title, "Annals of Philadelphia, and Facts of Olden Time of New York City." It is an encyclopædia of reminiscences, a panopticon of our city antiquities. Mr. John F. Watson is the compiler and annalist; and in archaiology *will be acknowledged peerless.* He will be the Homer of his class. His book is illustrated with curious engravings. ☞ No householder in Philadelphia can dispense with a copy. Buy and read, and learn all sorts of personal and local history.

From the Village Record, West Chester.

The author has been at much pains to collect a mass of traditionary lore, which but for him, must soon have passed into oblivion. He does not confine himself strictly to "city limits," but very properly furnishes whatever matter of interest he possesses concerning the whole infant colony. Thus we have chapters on the several subjects of the *Pirates*, the *Indians*, the *Swedes*, *Germans* and *Irish*. To the majority of readers the lively sketches of character with which the work abounds, will, we have no doubt, constitute its highest recommendation. But to the writer of this, the work was more particularly attractive, for its full illustration of the domestic manners and familiar employments of the primitive settlers. It seems to convey us back to other times—we see things as they were—*minutely* and *particularly*—and not as presented by stately and buskined history, *in one general view*, vague, glimmering, indistinct, and but too often partially coloured.

From the Norristown Free Press.

No one can read the book without being astonished at the singular industry which could collect the vast fund of information exhibited. The author, who is a cashier of a bank, is remarkable for a fondness to explore the traditions of "the Olden Time," and to preserve recollections of "the things that were." We pronounce, without hesitation, that to any one who is fond of contemplating the past, its manners, customs, &c., the work cannot fail to be deeply interesting. The chief characteristics of his style are sententiousness and simplicity.

The New York notices are as follows, viz:—

From the Christian Intelligencer.

This is in truth a work without example for its imitation, and with

equal truth it is in execution a work *sui-generis*. It is a *museum* that will never cease to attract, for it is a picture of *a buried age*. The annals and statistics of this wonderful book, will have snatched from oblivion most valuable reminiscences of the early youth of our country;—will furnish the historian, the biographer, and the patriotic orator, with matter to adorn and beautify their productions. He deserves the gratitude of his country, and the patronage of the reading community. ☞ No *American* that can read, and can afford to purchase, should be without a copy of this invaluable contribution to the memoirs of America's early history.

From the New York Mirror.

Among the multiplicity of new publications that have lately come under our view, we have met with none more interesting to us as natives and inhabitants of the good City of New York, than the one at the head of this article. To those who look with fondness on the simplicity of *past times*, and love to trace the swift progress of this city of enchantment, this book will afford a treat of the most gratifying kind. The author, Mr. Watson, has compiled a great variety of particulars of the early habits, manners, customs, laws and regulations of our Dutch and English ancestors. To the aged, this book will revive the recollections of their early youth; and to the young it will communicate a knowledge of the past, which, but for Mr. Watson, they might never have acquired. It comprises a view of New York in its primitive state; notices of ancient memorials and modern changes; of gardens and boweries; dress, furniture, equipage, low prices of labour and food; annals of the Dutch dynasty; local facts and local changes; superstitions; incidents of the revolutionary war; and various other matters, which will enable us to *compare* the present and the past, and *cause us to wonder at the changes produced.* * * * * * * *

But we have not space for more extracts, and must conclude by *cordially commending this work* to the patronage of all *who feel* a veneration for good old times, and honest, simple hearted people.

From the New York Commercial Advertiser.

It is replete with curious and amusing facts of a buried age, and shows us more of the domestic history, and the manners and doings of our fathers, than any thing which has ever before met the public eye.

From the New York Mercantile Advertiser.

Much herein is comprised to amuse and instruct the citizens of either city. Heartily we cheer such endeavours to revive the images of a buried age—of scenes and times gone by. There is in it much good feeling for our city sufficiently grateful to our self-love.

From the New York Evening Post.

The tales of by-gone times, so dear to all who love to travel back to the scenes of their youth, or to contemplate the age and doings of their forefathers, have been lately and agreeably brought to our notice in a new work, the Annals of Philadelphia, and the Recollections and Facts of Olden Times of New York. The very pictures of our "Stadt Huys," and the "Ferry House," once in Broad street, gave us stirring emotions. Our Historical Society has done well in making Mr. Watson an honorary

member; and we hope that the strange things which he has thus brought to light, *will be further pursued.*

From another New York Gazette.

The City of the Knickerbockers is fast disappearing from the world of realities. Tiled roofs and high peaked gables have already undergone the fate of the cocked hats. It is really a melancholy thing to see the desolation that is wrought by fashion. How it sweeps away all relics of the venerable past! But thanks to Watson's curious and amusing historic tales of olden time, in which, by the way, are collected and preserved more copious notices of our municipal antiquities, than *are to be found in any other work extant.*

From the New York Star, by Major Noah.

In Germantown dwells that eminent and enthusiastic antiquary *Watson*—a gleaner of all curious and rare facts,—(See his Annals)—a *treasure which no one else possesses.* [It is further to be remarked concerning *Watson's Annals and Occurrences of New York City and State*, that the author *copies no other work.* He relates facts and describes incidents wholly from his own researches, and in his own way. He presents therefore a book wholly of *original* cast and character.]

From the Schenectady Democrat.

Dear to us has ever been the simple tale of olden time. This feeling will incline us occasionally to indulge our penchant for antiquarian researches and reminiscences—so strongly generated in us by the congenial spirit of Mr. Watson, of Pennsylvania, the author of Annals of Philadelphia, and of Olden Time Researches and Reminiscences of New York City and State.

Extract of a Letter from Washington Irving.

I return you sincere thanks for the volume which you had the kindness to send me, and which has proved a source of great entertainment, calling up many a scene and many an association of early youth, the interest of which nothing can efface from the heart. I hope the author *will continue to explore the vein* which he has so successfully opened;—be assured that while he is gratifying himself, he is doing an important service to his country, by multiplying the local associations of ideas, and the strong but invisible ties of the mind and of the heart which bind the native to the paternal soil.

☞ Finally, more could have been added, if it had been needful to enable the reader to "see the facts *as others see.*" The researches have been pursued *con amore.* Pecuniary profit never entered into the account, and time could be but ill spared from daily *official* pursuits. The commendations so spontaneously bestowed have been so many incentives to enhance the value of his researches. Having thus elicited "praise enough to fill the ambition of a private man," he can have no desire left, but to *satisfy*, by a just *quid pro quo*, all those who may honour the work and its author, by their approbation and support.

ADVERTISEMENT.

"I pray you, let us satisfy our eyes
With the memorials and things of fame
That do renown this City."

THIS work, dedicated to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by one of its members, and specially recommended to the public by one of its official publications, is designed to revive the recollections and the peculiar traits and characteristics of *the olden time;*—to give to the present race of Philadelphians and Pennsylvanians, curious and amusing facts from *by-gone times*, of which few or none have had any proper conception. It is an effort to rescue from the ebbing tide of oblivion, all those fugitive memorials of unpublished facts and observations, or reminiscences and traditions, which could best illustrate the domestic history of our former days. As such a work is without example for its imitation, it may be deemed *sui-generis* in its execution. It has, however, powers to please apart from its style and composition, because it is in effect—*a museum* of whatever is rare, surprising, or agreeable, concerning the primitive days of our pilgrim forefathers, or of the subsequent changes by their sons, either in the alterations and improvements of given localities, or in the modes and forms of "changing men and manners." It is a picture of the doings and characteristics of a buried age. By the images which their recitals create in the imagination, the *ideal presence* is generated; and we talk and think with men of other times.

Herein the aged may find ready assistance to travel back in memory to the scenes and gambols of their sportive innocent youth; and the youth of our country may regale their fancies with recitals as novel and marvellous to their wondering minds, as the Arabian tales—even while they have the gratification to commingle in idea with the plays and sports of their own once youthful ancestors. The dull unheeding citizen who writes *nil admirari* on the most of things, may here see cause "to wonder that he never saw before *what he shows him*, and that he never yet had felt what he impresses!" To Philadelphians and Pennsylvanians, settled in distant countries, and longing for visions of *country and home*, herein is presented the best gift their friends at home could send them.

It is presumed the day is coming, if not already arrived, when the *memorabilia* of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, and of their primitive inhabitants, so different from the present, will be highly appreciated by all those who can feel intellectual pleasure in travelling back the vale of years, and conferring with the "mighty dead." Such will give their thanks and their gratitude to labours humble as these;—for I have not aimed to give them that "painted form" which might allure by its ornaments of rhetoric. I have rather repressed the excursive fancy, which sometimes I could not but feel. My object has not been to say all that could have been adduced on every topic, but to gather up the segregated facts in the several cases which others had overlooked or disregarded, or to save fugitive scraps, if published, which others had neglected. In this way, I have chiefly aimed to furnish the material by which better or more ambitious writers could elaborate more formal history, and from which as a repository, our future poets, painters, and imaginative authors could deduce their themes, for their own and their country's glory. To such materials, *fiction* may some day lend its charms to amplify and consecrate *facts;* and "Tales of Ancient Philadelphia and the Coun-

try," may be touched by genius and made immortal! Already such efforts have been made: and "Meredith, or the Meschianza," and "A Tale of Blackbeard the Pirate," go to show that this hint is not neglected.

The author is fully aware that his pages must show a broken and disjointed form—as well from their necessary divisions into numerous heads and chapters, as from the fact that the *varieties written*, had to be done in snatches of time, just as he could catch the thought or possess the occasion—and *never* with the advantage of a *second writing* for its improvement. Critics may possibly find occasion to condemn this, who may not in their whole lives contribute even a tythe of such labours to the public stock of olden time reminiscences.

The reader will please observe, that this work having been *closed in its Manuscript*, in 1842, that therefore, all reference to any given number of years back, respecting things passed or done so many "*years ago*," is to be understood as counting backward *from the year* 1842.

Philadelphia County, July, 1842.

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ANNALS

OF

PHILADELPHIA AND PENNSYLVANIA.

GENERAL INTRODUCTORY HISTORY.

"My soul, revolving periods past, looks back,
With recollected interest on all
The former darings of our venturous race."

BEFORE proceeding to the proper object of the present work, ("The Annals of Philadelphia, &c.,") it may be profitable to occupy a few lines in a preliminary and brief survey of the successive efforts made by kings, discoverers, and founders, to settle colonies in our hemisphere.

The earliest English claim to sovereignty in America was based upon the discoveries of John Cabot, accompanied by his son Sebastian. These, acting under the commission and for the service of Henry VII., in the year 1497, ran along the line of our coast, from the 38th to the 67th degree of north latitude;—thus making their discoveries only five years later than those by Columbus himself in lower latitudes.

But great as were such discoveries, and important as have been their consequences, since developed, they then excited no effectual spirit of adventure and colonization. It was not till upwards of a century, that any nation of Europe made any effective establishments in our country. In 1608 the French, conducted by Samuel Champlain, founded their colony in Canada;—about the same time, the Dutch planted New York, and the British, Virginia. The few earlier attempts at colonization made by England and France, were virtually nothing, as they were abandoned almost as soon as begun.

When we contemplate the present wealth and resources of our country, once open to the aggrandizement of any respectable adventurer who had energies sufficient to avail himself of its advantages, it is matter of surprise, that a period of eighty years should have elapsed in England, before any of her subjects should have made any effort to possess themselves of the benefits of their proper discovery! France with less pretension, did more; for Cartiers, in 1534, made some ineffectual attempts at plantation in Canada. This was under the discoveries imputed to Verranza, who, only ten years before,

while sailing under a patent from Francis I., ranged the coast from North Carolina to the 50th degree of north latitude, and called the country New France.

At length the attention of the English nation was called to the subject of colonization, by the genius and enterprise of Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1578, he procured a patent for settlement for the use of his half brother, Sir Humphry Gilbert. The latter, however, made no endeavour to execute it till 1583, when it soon proved abortive in his attempts to a settlement in Newfoundland. It was not, from its very nature, the land to allure and cherish strangers. Another expedition quickly succeeded, under a direct grant in 1584 to Sir Walter Raleigh himself. He committed the enterprise to Sir Richard Greenville, under two divisions of vessels, (the first, as it is said, under Captains Amidas and Barlow,*) both of which made the land at Roanoke, in North Carolina, in the years 1584 and '5. Disaster and dissatisfaction soon broke up this colony; for, losing 108 of their number, in an enterprise wherein their fate was never known, the remainder willingly availed themselves of an unexpected chance to return home with Sir Francis Drake's fleet. They were hardly gone, in 1586, before Sir Walter himself arrived to join his colonists; but finding all had gone, he returned home immediately, much chagrined with his non-success.† Still, however, two other colonies succeeded under Captain White in 1587 and 1590. The first were supposed to have been destroyed; and the latter, being much distressed by a storm on the coast, resolved on a return home. Thus ended the disastrous and nugatory efforts of Sir Walter and his associates! They were indeed enough to repress and break the spirits of any individual projector.

The spirit of adventure slumbered for a season, and no further attempts of Englishmen occurred until 1602, when the enterprising Bartholomew Gosnold (a name since much appropriated to New England history) made his discovery of Cape Cod and the neighbouring regions, although he then proposed a voyage to the former ill-fated Roanoke. He was succeeded in the two following years by Captains M. Pring and George Weymouth. In 1607, Captains George Popham and R. Gilbert built Fort George, at the place where now stands the city of Boston. These all contented themselves with making short stays for purposes of trade and traffic. They sought not colonization, nor cared to seek after the abandoned Roanoke.‡

Sir Walter having forfeited his patent by attainder, King James I. was pleased to grant another patent for all our territory from the 34th

* Bennet's MS. History does not regard Amidas and Barlow as a part of Greenville's expedition, as other historians do; but that they arrived in 1584, and Greenville's in 1585. He also asserts, as if relating it from data, that the former took home two natives, named Wanchese and Mateo, and also the first specimens of tobacco.

† It has long been held uncertain, whether Sir Walter ever visited his colony, but Bennet's MS. History asserts that he did.

‡ Roanoke is the Indian name for Wampum.

to the 45th degree, (that is, from North Carolina to Nova Scotia,) under the general name of Virginia,—a name previously conferred on Sir Walter's patent, as a compliment to the reign of the virgin queen, Elizabeth. The South Virginia division extended from the 34th to the 41st degree, or, from Cape Hatteras to New York city, and the first colonization of any of the new patentees, destined however for Roanoke, was effected in 1607, at Jamestown, Virginia. Thus giving place to the idea, often expressed in modern times, of the "Ancient Dominion," so claimed for Virginia among her sister states, although better historical reasons can be assigned for her distinction.* The North Virginia division, if we except the alleged intrusion of the Dutch on the Hudson river, or of Captain Popham's relinquished attempt to settle at Boston, was not permanently colonized until 1620, when it was made for ever memorable by the landing of the Plymouth colony of Puritans in Massasoit, or Massachusetts.

In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman,† in the service of the Dutch East India company, having fruitlessly sought a north-west passage to India in the high northern latitudes, resolved to repair the losses of his ineffective labours, by extending his voyage more southerly for the purpose of traffic. In returning thence from the bar of Virginia, he discovered our bay of Delaware, and soon after the Hudson river. From this last discovery, certain traders from Holland came out in 1614, under a patent from the States General, and made their first establishment at Fort Orange, (Aurania,) near the present city of Albany. Of this fort they were dispossessed the same year by Captain Argal, acting under Governor Dale of the South Virginia province. But after his return to Virginia, the traders reassembled and formed a new establishment at the mouth of the Hudson, on the island Manahattan, the present New York, where they built a fort, which they called Nieu Amstel, or New Amsterdam. This event is said by some writers to have been in 1615; but Governor Stuyvesant's letter of 1664, of the surrender of the place to the British conquerors, speaks of it as occurring "about 41 or 42 years preceding," thus affixing it to the years 1622–3;—the same period assigned by Professor Kalm.

About that time, the States General appear to have enlarged their schemes of profit from the country, by an attempt at colonization; for they grant, in the year 1621, their patent "for the country of the Nieu Nederland, to the privileged West India Company." From this time the Dutch began to progress southwardly over the lands bordering on

* It is a fact on record, that Virginia resisted Cromwell's rule, and treated with his naval commander as an "independent dominion." King Charles II. afterwards quartered Virginia with his arms, having the motto, "*En dat Virginia quartum.*" Vide—Encyclopædia Britannica. See also those arms and motto engraved on a Virginia £5 bill in my MS. Annals, p. 276, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† Wm. Hudson, an English clergyman from Barbadoes, who was a primitive settler at Philadelphia, and has left several descendants among us, was a near relative of Hudson, the discoverer, perhaps his nephew. He became a Friend, and was employed much in civil offices.

both sides of the river Delaware, which they then called the Zuydt or South river, in contradistinction to their Noordt or North river. To protect their settlers, they built, in 1623, their first fort on the Delaware, and probably made their first village, at the place since known as Gloucester point, in New Jersey, at a little distance below the present Philadelphia. This was of course the proper "Ancient Dominion," to us! The fortification was called "Nassau." The place was known to the Indians by the name of Arwanus,* and by the ancient Philadelphians, by the less poetical name of Pine point.

In 1629, the country of New Netherland became of consequence enough to deserve and receive a governor; and Wouter van Twiller, the first governor that our country, in common with New York, ever possessed, came out to Fort Amsterdam, (called New York, after 1664–5,) where he ruled in the name of their "high mightinesses and the privileged West India Company."

In 1631 the Swedes and Fins, allured by the publication of William Usselinx, a Dutch trader, effected a colony under the patronage of their government at Cape Henlopen,† (called afterwards Cape James, by William Penn,) at a place near the present Lewestown, which they called Point Paradise.

In 1631, also, the Swedes laid out Stockholm (New Castle) and Christiana, (now Wilmington,) on Minquas creek. They thence spread themselves further along the Delaware.

In 1632, Lord Baltimore obtained from Charles I. his patent for the Maryland colony, and forthwith began his colony there.

In 1640, the Puritans from New Haven, under the name of English people, desirous of planting churches "after a godly sort," and "to trade and traffic with the Indians" along the Delaware bay, made a purchase of soil for £30 sterling, transported thither about fifty families, and erected trading houses; from all of which they were ejected in 1642, by orders from Keift, the Dutch governor.

It is a matter of curiosity and wonder to us of the present day to contemplate the vagueness and contradictions with which our country was at first lavishly parcelled out and patented. First, the Spaniards would have claimed the whole under their general grant from the pope! Then, Henry VII. of England, and Francis I. of France, would each have claimed the whole of our coast: the former under the name of Virginia; the latter under the name of New

* Called also Tekaacho.

† I have assumed the time given by Campanius, both because he was among the earliest historians of our country, and also dwelling among us as a Swede. He speaks thus, "when the Swedes arrived in 1631," &c. Proud, deriving the time from Smith's Nova Cæsaria, has given the year 1627 as the time; but this is a mistake easily accounted for, as being the year, as the state paper shows, in which the king and diet of Sweden gave their sanction to the colonization. There are, however, several reasons assigned for thinking that 1638 was the year of their first arrival and settlement, and the facts are well told in Moulton's History of New York; it should be consulted by the curious in this matter. James Logan's letter of 1726 to the Penns, to be found elsewhere in these pages, says, "there was also a prohibition (from the New York government) to the Swedes, between the years 1630 and '40.

France. While the English are actually settling in Virginia proper, the Dutch take possession of New York, and claim it as New Netherlands; the French at the same time, under their claim of Canada, encroach upon New York. The limits of North and South Virginia are confusedly made to include New York in both of them. The charter for Maryland is made to invade that for the New Netherlands; and the charter for Connecticut is made to encroach upon New York and Pennsylvania both, and to extend in effect to the Pacific ocean. These conflicting charters and interests go far to prove the great deficiency of geographical records and information, or the trifling estimation in which lands thus cheaply attained or held were then regarded.

EPITOME

OF

PRIMITIVE COLONIAL

AND

PHILADELPHIA HISTORY.

"Push enquiry to the birth
And spring-time of our State."

Our country having been successively possessed by the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English, at periods preceding the colony of Penn and Pennsylvania, it will be a useful introduction to the proper history of Philadelphia and the pilgrim founders, to offer such notices of the early colonial history as may briefly show the times, places and manner of the several attempts at dominion or colonization within our borders. When this is accomplished, articles of more general acceptance and more varied and agreeable reading will follow.

The Dutch were undoubtedly the first adventurers who endeavoured to explore and colonize the countries contiguous to our bay and river. So far as precedence of time could confer supremacy, the Dutch had it by actual occupancy. But although they so aspired to possess and rule the country in the name of their "High Mightinesses," it was not conceded by others; for the Swedes in 1631, and the English from New Haven in 1640, severally essayed to become colonists under their own laws. These based their claims on their actual purchases from the Indian Sovereigns; of whom they alleged they had each acquired their titles. That the Sachems did so sell to them is perhaps pretty good inferential evidence that the Dutch had not so acquired their title before them, unless for special places where they designed to settle;—so they certainly procured their title for Cape May, the deed for which is still extant in the archives of state at Albany.

Captain Kornelis Jacobus Méy, a Dutchman, must be regarded as the first explorer of our bay and river, because it is recorded of him that, as early as 1623, he was among those first settlers who formed a village at Gloucester point, and there built Fort Nassau for its defence.

From him, thus pre-eminent at least by precedence of name, our prominent points of port entrance derived their names. Thus our Cape May retains his surname; and the inner cape of the southern

side of the bay once bore his baptismal name—Cornelius. The name of Hinlopen was at the same time bestowed upon the outer cape, in honour of a Dutch navigator of the name of Jelmer Hinlopen. The bay itself was called Zuydt baai, but oftener Goodyn's bay;—the latter in honour of Samuel Goodyn, one of the partners of the purchase of Cape May county, from the Indian chieftains, in 1630.

The Indian name of the bay was Poutaxat. The river they called Lenape Wihittuck; which means—the rapid stream of the Lenape. It also bore the names of Mackerish Kitton, and Arasapha. The name of Delaware bay and river, conferred by the English, is manifestly derived from Lord Delaware, (i. e. Sir Thomas West,) but whether from his arrival at it on his way to Virginia in 1610, or because of his death off the place on his return home in 1618, is uncertain, as both causes have been assigned. The Swedes called it New Swedeland stream, and the country Nya Swerige, or New Swedeland.

The year 1630 must ever be regarded as the year peculiarly fruitful in expedients with the Dutch to colonize and engross the advantages of our river Delaware. Several merchants of Amsterdam, including Samuel Goodyn aforenamed, sent out in this year Captain de Vries with two vessels to execute their projects. They designed to raise tobacco and grain, and to catch whales and seals. The little colony of about three dozen persons, with their cattle and implements of husbandry, made their settlement up a creek* two leagues from Cape Cornelius, which they named Swaenendael (Swandale,) or the Valley of Swans, because they were then numerous there.† The ill-natured conduct of an inferior officer in command in De Vries' absence having caused the destruction of the colony by the Indians, and the whalery not being sufficiently encouraging, we hear little more of the Dutch on the Delaware until several years afterwards, when, being grown into power and consequence at New York, they made their approaches as conquerors, to the occasional terror of English or Swedish settlers.

From the absence and long silence of Dutch incidents on the borders of the Delaware, subsequent to the loss of De Vries' colony and abandonment, we are the readier prepared to believe the report of some of the historians, that when the Dutch on the South River perceived the superior advantages gaining by their countrymen on the North River, they abandoned the little possessions they had acquired near the Delaware. We think too, the general absence of Dutch settlers among us is strongly corroborated by the fact of so few names of Dutch origin being ever to be met with in our earliest land titles and records, except that several occur in *Bucks County*, near

* Now Lewistown creek, I presume.

† This was the same place called the "Hoer creek," by the Dutch, and Sinknasse, by the Indians. As Acrelis speaks of the Dutch having a fort at the Hoer Kill, in 1638, the probability is that they had then resumed their settlement there. The English once called it Deal, and also "Whore creek." It may have been originally *Horen*, as a *horn* is crooked. *Horen* hook is a place near New York.

the Delaware, whereas the names of Swedish settlers are numerous, and their descendants are plentiful among us even to this day. Indeed, what few did remain on our shores must have been about the lower and bay part, as was expressed by William Penn, in his letter to the Marquis of Halifax, of 1683, saying, "the Swedes having had the upper part of the river, and the Dutch the lower and all the bay."*

The Swedes claim our notice from and after the year 1631, as the time of their arrival assigned by their historian, Campanius. At that time they laid out the present New Castle, under the name of Stockholm.† They also built their first fort for another settlement at Christiana,‡ on Minquas creek, called also Suspecough. At the island of Tenecum, (written—Tutæ æ nung Tencho and Tenna Kong,) they built a fort called New Gottenburg. With it they connected several of the best houses, a church,§ and the governor's house, called Printz's hall. Numerous are the other places named or held by the Swedes, as set down in the old maps of Campanius and Lindstrom; such as Mocoponaca—the present Chester, Manaiung—a fort at the mouth of the present Schuylkill, Chincessing, (now Kingsessing township,) Korsholm fort—a fortress in Passaiung supposed to be the same originally at Wiccacoa, (now Swedes' church neighbourhood,) where Sven Schute‖ was in command. They had other names not far from the present Philadelphia, such as Nyawasa, Gripsholm, Finlandt, Meulendael, Karakung, Lapananel, &c.—not to omit the settlement of Olof Stille's place, ancestor of a present wealthy city family of that name, at a place called Techoherassi.

The numerous forts, so called under the government of the Swedes, very probably often mere block-houses, indicate the state of their apprehensions from enemies. Whether their Dutch neighbours gave significant signs of intentions eventually to supplant them is not now so obvious; but it is matter of record that the Dutch, as early as 1651, built Fort Kasimir, and called the place Nieu Amstel, at the present New Castle. As it had before been a Swedish town under the name of Stockholm, the Swedish governor, Printz, did what he could to prevent it by solemn protest, &c. The fort being but small, the Swedish commander, Risingh, succeeded some time afterwards to make it his own by stratagem.

Mutual jealousies being thus fully awakened, and their "high

* On another occasion he says:—"The first planters were Dutch. Soon after the Swedes and Fins came. The Dutch trafficked, and the others turned to husbandry near the freshes of the river." See also the same idea in his letter of August, 1683, to the "Free Society of Traders." Gabriel Thomas, in 1698, says, "soon after them (the Dutch) came the Swedes and Fins."

† New Castle has been peculiarly fruitful in names,—it having been called Sandthock, Nieu Amstel, and Fort Kasimir, by the Dutch; and Delawaretown, in 1675, by the English.

‡ The present Wilmington. § Consecrated in 1646.

‖ The name of the original proprietor of the site of Philadelphia.

mightinesses" sufficiently powerful at New York to sustain an expedition, we see, in 1655, that Governor Stuyvesant, with half a dozen vessels and 700 men, embarked from the then New Amsterdam, to subdue the power of the Swedes on the Delaware. Such a force in that day was too imposing to be successfully resisted, and the consequence was the entire surrender, after some resistance, to the Dutch conqueror. They destroyed all the public buildings, including the fort on Tenecum island, and carried off the chief people to New York, and afterwards to Holland. But the common people and such as were not subjects of jealousy remained in the country, under the dominion of the Dutch laws.

But whatever was the triumph or the severity of the Dutch at their success, whatever were their projects and dreams of hope, from the future employment of their control and resources on the Delaware, they were but of short enjoyment; for they in turn were doomed to be for ever set aside by the conquest of the British power!

In 1664, King Charles II., whose claim to New England gave him powers to claim to the southward, being unwilling to sanction the prosperity of the Dutch as a separate community, granted a patent to his brother James, duke of York and Albany, of lands in America, including all the Dutch then held as their New Netherlands. As this was doubtless a most unjust pretension in the judgment of the officers of their "high mightinesses" at New Amsterdam, it required all the usual "logic of kings" to enforce it; wherefore, a force was thenceforth sent out from England to put the duke in possession. To such arguments the Dutch reluctantly submitted, and thenceforth New Amsterdam was named, after the conquering duke, "New York," and the Jerseys and the western shores of the Delaware were forthwith transferred to the British rule.*

The Duke of York, thus possessed of the Jerseys, granted it to Sir George Carteret, with an intention to call it Nova Cæsaria, in honour of Sir George's family, which came from the isle of Jersey; but the people, more attached to the name which they could read and understand, soon abandoned the classical appellation, and adopted the thing intended, to wit,—the Jerseys.†

In 1675, the west part of Jersey was sold out to one Edward Byllinge, a Friend, to whom William Penn, the founder, soon afterwards became a trustee. This seemingly unimportant and incidental connexion became the *primum mobile*, or fulcrum, to a lever whose force may continue to operate on our destinies as long as Pennsylvania shall endure! Penn, in his efforts to settle the estate of Byllinge, became so well acquainted with the region of Pennsylvania and colonial settlements, as to be afterwards induced to purchase that for himself, by receiving it as an equivalent for claims due to his father, Admiral Penn.

* The Swedes and Dutch on the Delaware, in 1683, are given by Oldmixon as equal to 3000.

† The Indian name of the Jerseys was Scheyichbi.

The leading facts concerning New Jersey, bordering on the Delaware, are so blended with the proper history of the settlements on that river, that it may be deemed appropriate to notice such.

The first English colony that came out under the sale to Byllinge went into Salem creek, which they so named, and there began the present existing town of Salem. The neighbourhood had been previously settled by the Swedes, who had near there a fort which they called Elsingburgh.

In 1677, the ship Kent arrived at New Castle with 230 passengers, mostly Friends of good estates. They landed at Raccoon creek, where they found some Swedish houses: but not being well accommodated, they with the commissioners who came in the ship, went up to Chygoe's island, (now Burlington,) so called then after the name of the Indian Sachem who dwelt there. The town plot was purchased and called New Beverly. Directly afterwards a fresh supply of inhabitants went there from Wiccacoa.

The first ship that ever visited Burlington was the Shield, of Stockton, from Hull, in 1678. Then the site of the present Philadelphia was a bold and high shore called Coaquanock, but more properly spelt Kúequenáku. The ship in veering there, chanced to strike the trees with her sails and spars. It was then observed, (as the historians have preserved the tradition,) that the passengers were induced to exclaim, "what a fine place for a town!" A fine coincidence considering that none then purposed a Philadelphia city there!

Other vessels continued to follow to Jersey. In 1682, as many as 360 passengers came out in one vessel. Thus Burlington and the adjacent country settled rapidly, the settlers fully believing it would "become a place of trade quickly," none then foreseeing the possibility of an overwhelming rival in the future Philadelphia.

It appears from the records of Friends' yearly meetings, that some Friends were settled on the western side of the Delaware before Philadelphia was laid out. Some are named as at Shackamaxon, the present Kensington, where they also held meetings at the house of one Fairlamb, most probably Thomas *Fairman*, who built at the Treaty Tree. The titles of several Swedes in that neighbourhood, derived from the British Governors at New York, are as early as 1665–6, and of those at Tacony as early as 1676. The sons of Sven, (i. e. Sven Sener,) holding the southern part of the site of Philadelphia, had their original title of 1664 confirmed to them by Sir Francis Lovelace. Besides these facts, we know that as early as 1642, the Dutch Governor, William Keift of New Amsterdam, fitted out two sloops to drive the English out of Schuylkill. These were properly Marylanders, who, it may be observed, early pretended to claim Pennsylvania as a part of their patent,—a dispute which was not settled with Pennsylvania till 1732.

In 1675, some Friends settled at Chester, probably from the Jersey colony. At Robert Wade's house there, (a distinguished Friend, often afterwards in the Assembly,) they held their Meetings.

So too, some Friends from Jersey or from New York were settled near the Falls of Delaware, called Sankicans by the Indians. There they had regular Meetings. Their titles they derived from Sir Edmond Andros, the Governor of New York.

But of all the settlers prior to Penn, I feel most interested to notice the name of Jurian Hartsfielder, because he took up all of Campington, 350 acres, as early as March, 1676, nearly six years before Penn's colony came. He settled under a patent from Governor Andros. What a pioneer, to push on to such a frontier post! But how melancholy to think, that a man, possessing the freehold of what is now cut up into thousands of Northern Liberty lots, should have left no fame, nor any wealth, to any posterity of his name. But the chief pioneer must have been Warner, who, as early as the year 1658, had the hardihood to locate and settle the place, now Warner's Willow Grove, on the north side of the Lancaster road, two miles from the city bridge. What an isolated existence in the midst of savage beasts and men must such a family have then experienced! What a difference between the relative comforts and household conveniences of that day and this! Yea, what changes did he witness, even in the long interval of a quarter of a century before the arrival of Penn's colony! To such a place let the antiquary now go to contemplate the localities so peculiarly unique!

It was a signal and blessed providence which first induced so rare a genius, so excellent and qualified a man as Penn, to obtain and settle such a great tract as Pennsylvania, say 40,000 square miles, as his proper domains. It was a bold conception; and the courage was strong which led him to propose such a grant to himself, in lieu of payments due to his father. He besides manifested the energy and influence of his character in court negotiations, although so unlikely to be a successful courtier by his profession as a Friend, in that he succeeded to attain the grant even against the will and influence of the Duke of York himself,—who, as he owned New York, desired also to possess the region of Pennsylvania as the right and appendage of his province.

This memorable event in history, this momentous concern to us, the founding of Pennsylvania, was confirmed to William Penn under the Great Seal on the 5th of January, 1681. The cause of the name, and the modesty of the founder, in finding it imposed on him as a family distinction and honour, is so characteristic of that great and good man as to deserve a few lines of extension to explain it. It is expressed in the simplicity and frankness of private friendship, saying, (vide his letter to Robert Turner,) "This day my country was confirmed to me by the name of Pennsylvania, a name the King would give it, in honour of my father. I chose New Wales, being, as this, a pretty hilly country; but Penn, being Welsh for a head,—as Penmanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England,—they called this Pennsylvania, which is the high or head woodlands, for I pro-

posed (when the Secretary, a Welshman, refused to have it called New Wales,) Sylvania, and they added Penn to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the King to have it struck out and altered, he said, 'twas past, and would take it upon him; nor would twenty guineas move the under Secretaries to vary the name,—for I feared lest it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the King, as it truly was, to my father, whom he often mentions with praise."* If the cause was thus peculiar in its origin, it is not less remarkable in its effect, it being at this day perhaps the only government in existence which possesses the name of its founder.

Penn, being thus in possession of his province, forthwith proceeded to allure the good people of Europe to its settlement and improvement. He published terms, at 40 shillings per 100 acres, and one shilling per 100 acres for quit rent. He did not sell such small parcels himself, but in "shares" of 5000 acres each for £100. How little this seems for lands now bringing from 100 to 300 dollars an acre, and yet how great is the consideration that *he* possessed 26 millions of such acres!

These generous terms soon caused many purchasers in Europe. Thus was formed in London, Bristol, &c., the "Free Society of Traders," of which Nicholas Moore, Predt, and J. Claypoole, were conspicuous members and also residents of Philadelphia.

They bought at first 20,000 acres; and their appurtenant city lots "was an entire street, and on one side of a street from river to river,"† comprising therein 100 acres, exclusive of 400 acres besides in the Liberties. Contemplate the value of all this ground now, in comparison of its original cost of only £400 then! What a result in 160 years! They set up a glass-house, a tan-yard, a saw mill, and a whalery. A society of Germans was also formed at Frankfort, in Germany, with a view to send out settlers. These took up Germantown township, Manatawny, &c.

In consequence of his numerous applications for sales, he, in July, 1681, gave out his "Deeds of Settlement," wherein he states at large the terms of their residence, and their privileges as his colonists.

The first colony, the venturous pioneers to this new State, left England in August, 1681, in three ships; and the first arrival was the ship John and Sarah, from London, Captain Smith! The name of this vessel, and of this captain, and of those who were passengers therein, became memorable in the future city,—as they came in time to be designated as "the first landers," &c., by the succeeding generations. When they had lived to see the rising importance of the

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* It will be shown in its appropriate place, that Penn himself professed to have descended of the house of Tudor, in Wales; one of whom dwelling on an eminence in Wales, received the name of John Penmunnith. He going afterwards to reside in London, took the name of John Penn, i. e., "John on the hill."

† Its location was from near Spruce to Pine street, and from the river Delaware to the Schuylkill. Their lands there gave name to "Society Hill."

growing city they must have felt themselves ennobled by their identity with its primitive existence. Among those primitive names was Nathaniel Allen, (a name conspicuous in the Annals of Philadelphia,) John Otter, Edmund Lovett, Joseph Kirkbride, &c. This little colony was the more memorable, because the other two ships were prevented for some time from increasing their population. For one, the Amity, Captain Dimon, from London, was blown off to the West Indies, and did not land her disappointed passengers in Pennsylvania until the next spring; and the third ship, the Factor, Captain Drew, from Bristol, having made as high as Chester on the 11th of December, was frozen up the same night, and so made their winter there. What a cheerless winter it must have been! How different too from their former comforts and homes!—There several of them had to crowd into little earthy caves and huts constructed for the emergency.

It is a prevailing and general mistake to suppose that the primitive emigrants made their way direct to Philadelphia. Such a place was not known before their departure from England. Therefore, those who arrived first and did not purpose to locate as farmers in the country had to wait the choice of a site and a survey. This we learn from several incidental facts, such as these, viz.—Penn's letter of February, 1681, to Robert Turner, says, "care is taken already to look out a convenient tract of land for a first settlement," and "they who first go will find inhabitants able to yield them accommodation there." Penn's "instruction to his commissioners," of the 14th of October, 1681, designating the natural advantages to be sought after in their selection of a city plot, is evidence that the choice was left to their discretion after arrival. That the city was not surveyed and laid off as soon as some of the emigrants needed, is indicated both by tradition and the fact that the first intended surveyor, William Crispin, died in England, and that Thomas Holme, his successor as surveyor general, did not arrive in the province until the end of June, 1682. Penn's letter, wrote when at Philadelphia in 1683, speaks thus exultingly of the site at length chosen, as if it had been before a matter of much anxiety and search, saying, "Philadelphia, the expectation of those concerned in this province, is at last laid out to the great content of those here." Then the pre-eminent local advantages are thus strikingly portrayed, saying, "Of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town,—whether we regard the (two) rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks,* springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land and the air," &c.

I infer from the premises, that as the primitive comers knew not of such an appointed plot as Philadelphia, but were aware, through Penn's previous correspondence with Jersey, that the then existing small village of Upland (now Chester) was peopled by Swedes and

* By docks (natural ones,) I think he intended no separate wharves.

some Friends from Jersey, they therefore would be predisposed, as I conceive, to make their first landings at that place. So, in fact, Mrs. Sarah Shoemaker, who died in 1825, at the age of 92, assured me she was expressly told by her grandfather, James Lownes, who was one of the emigrants who so tarried for a time at that place. As we know that many vessels arrived with passengers during the year 1682, (say 23 ships,) we must conceive the great influx into Upland of the earlier part of them, and how very natural it should have been to many of them then who had begun to make it a kind of home, to wish the intended city to be located there. We suppose from this cause, though we have no records to that effect,* that the tradition, so often repeated, has come down to us, that Chester was once purposed as the great emporium of our State.

The town and borough of Philadelphia was located we know in the latter end of 1682, "having a high and dry bank next to the water, with a shore ornamented with a fine view of pine trees growing upon it."

The way the first purchasers or adventurers made their settlements was, first to make their caves or shelter in which to place their families and effects,—then to get warrants of survey, and go out and wander about for their choice of localities. In doing this they had no paths or roads to direct them, save near the river side. All was a wilderness, and without the marks of travellers, except occasional Indian paths from their abodes. Old inhabitants, who have conversed with their grandparents, have told me, that the intercourse from Germantown to Philadelphia was only a foot or horse path for some time after the first settlement there.

The very name of Philadelphia is impressive, as importing in its original Greek sense—*brotherly love:* thus giving to the original place the peculiar characteristic trait of unity of interests and purposes, i. e., the "*City of Brotherly Love.*" Long may its society constitute a brotherhood never to be broken,—clinging together in mutual interests and combined efforts for the general and enduring good! If it had in its origin that love among its members, which so distinguished the fraternal regard of Attalus and Eumenes, as to give the name of Philadelphia to the place honoured by their mutual attachment,—so may it also be blessed, with the ancient church of its name, in ever having its civil and religious privileges inscribed in divine sanctions as free as hers, to wit: "I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it!"

William Penn did not embark with his first colonists, but he sent out his cousin, captain William Markham, as his first deputy governor,

* The late aged and respectable Levi Hollingsworth, Esq., informed me that his ancestor, Henry Hollingsworth, who was assistant to the surveyor general, Thomas Holme, had kept a journal, in which he had read, that William Penn caused his first observation to be taken at Chester, with the intention of fixing the city there; but ascertaining it was not far enough north for the 40th degree, the boundary line of Lord Baltimore, he changed his mind, and afterwards made choice of the city where it now stands. That journal was extant until it was taken, or destroyed, in 1777, by the British at Elkton.

to supply his place, and also to make needful buildings and preparations for the reception of the founder when he should arrive. To this end the finer parts of the frame work required for the construction of "Penn's Cottage" in Lætitia Court, and for "Pennsbury Palace," were freighted from England, together with Penn's workmen, (called "servants," in the parlance of that day,) to set them up.*

The founder set sail from England in August, 1682, with Captain Greenway, in the ship Welcome, of 300 tons:—a propitious name, and peculiarly so to those before arrived colonists who were anxiously waiting his arrival. The passage was good, and the ship well filled with additional passengers, mostly Friends. But having had the misfortune to get the small pox on board, it proved fatal to nearly one third of the original hundred! What a calamity in the outset! Poor adventurers!—how these evils must have depressed their spirits and embittered their voyage! What a spectacle, to see such numbers of their endeared relatives and companions in peril cast daily into the deep! The recitals of this voyage were dwelt upon by the aged, and listened to by the young, in many succeeding years.

> "They told their marvelling boyhood, legends store,
> Of their strange ventures happ'd by ship or sea."

They arrived first at New Castle on the 27th of October, 1682,—a day hereafter to be devoted to commemorative festivals, by those who venerate the founder and his primitive associates.† Here the

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* The oaken capital of the Pilastre of Penn's door at Pennsbury is in my possession, showing a vine and cluster of grapes.

† Proud had assigned the 24th of October, (perhaps a typographical error of a 4 for a 7,) as the arrival day, but on consulting the record at New Castle lately, it was found that they arrived on the 27th of October. The record saying,—"On the 27th day of October, 1682, arrived before ye Towne of New Castle from England, William Penn, Esqe., whoo produced twoo deeds of feofment for this Towne and twelve myles about itt, and also for ye twoo Lower Counties, ye Whoorekills and St. Jones's—wherefore ye said William Penn received possession of ye Towne ye 28th of October, 1682."

The arrival, or *landing day* of Penn, as a commemorative occasion, is but a modern institution, originally got up in 1824, by a few gentlemen, with whom the present writer had the honour to be associated. Our first meeting was celebrated in an Inn in Lætitia Court—the same locality where Penn once had his residence. There the influence of hallowed associations were strongly felt, and duly appreciated.

On one of these commemorative occasions, we were gratefully entertained by the speech of the Vice President, Mr. Duponceau, to the following effect, viz:—

"In ancient times States and Cities loved to ascribe their origin to fabled Gods, or at least, to consider themselves as under their special protection. Thus Athens was the city of Minerva—Heraclea, of Hercules, &c. Modern nations, in imitation of such examples, have placed themselves under the patronage of the legendary Saints of the Roman Calendar. England has adopted St. George, Scotland St. Andrew, &c. Our brethren of New York, for want of a Wm. Penn, have adopted St. Nicholas.

"But we are not to look to ancient mythology for a name on which to rest *our* claim to national honour. If we wanted a Saint, we could have had a holy, just and true christian in our founder:—All the earth has canonized *him*. It is *the man* himself, whom we celebrate—a man, who, as often has been said, had not his like among the founders of empires. Honoured as we are, by being *the only people* that bear the name of their first legislator, we are bound in duty, to keep alive the remembrance of his virtues, and to express thus *annually*, our sense of the immense benefits we have received at his hands.

founder was hailed with acclamations by the Swedes and Dutch then there. He forthwith made a call of the people at the Court-house, to address them on the business of his government. The ship, with the passengers, proceeded further up the river to the general rendezvous or settlement.

In the full vigour of manhood and manly beauty, as Penn then was, he being but 38 years of age, all his actions and deportment among those honest foreigners were such as entirely won their love and regard. They forthwith besought him, in most earnest entreaty, to unite their territory also, and so become their Chief and Governor. Fancy need not invent fiction to adorn the scene which must have there occurred among the rustics of the then rustic "Delaware Town." The picture is already drawn to the hand,

> "While all tongues cried,—God bless the Governor!
> You would have thought the very windows spake—
> So many greedy looks of young and old
> Through casements darted their desiring eyes
> Upon his visage!"

Won by their entreaties he was induced the same year to declare them united, by an act of union passed at Chester. It must be added, however, that at a later period the members of Assembly from those counties, headed by David Lloyd, a leading member, insisted upon, and finally procured their separation from, and independence of, his government.

William Penn soon left New Castle, and went thence to hold the first assembly at Upland. Nicholas Moore, a lawyer from England, was made Speaker. In three days, having much unanimity and cordiality, they passed all the laws previously constructed in England, consisting of sixty-one subjects, called the Great Law of Pennsylvania. Some of them, framed for a professedly religious community, and having for their object the leading into religious affections by civil checks and restraints, may seem sufficiently peculiar in our modern lax conceptions to deserve some mention—such as, "A law against drinking of healths," another against spreaders of false news, one against clamorous persons, scolders and railers; finally, these laws, intended to have been permanent, and to have had a perpetual moral tendency, were to have been read as occasional reading lessons in the schools. Ah, what would our boys think of our modern statute books if read in lieu of Æsop's Fables! Another peculiarity of the "Frame of Laws," was, "that all persons, in all courts, might plead by themselves or friends in their own way and manner freely,—the complainant to swear that his complaint is just,

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"What! shall we suffer in this noble city, its foreign inhabitants annually to celebrate their St. George, their St. Andrew, and their St. Patrick, merely because their ancestors, come from the countries where those saints are venerated,—and shall the sons of Wm. Penn, the descendants of his honoured followers, permit his name not to receive at least an equal tribute. *We will* perpetuate his name and fame—*to us* is committed the custody of the sacred fire; let our motto be *alere flamman*, and let us by no means ever suffer it to be extinguished."

and to give it in writing into court, and a copy to the accused, (to enable him to prepare for trial,) to be delivered to him or her ten days before the trial." It might perhaps please some, bent on simple justice, and who have seen the rapacity of the law in some cases, if these tokens of primitive simplicity were restored, "and every man within the reach of right!"* It is not a little curious as a sequel to the whole, that none of those sixty-one primitive laws have now any force, being all made obsolete, or superseded by other enactments in after years.†

The Assembly aforesaid, which only sat from the 4th to the 7th of December, being dissolved at the close of its business by the Governor in person, he thenceforth proceeded on a visit to the ruling authorities at New York, and soon after, on the 19th of December, he made his visit to Lord Baltimore, to confer on the subject of boundary lines, &c.

By the close of the year 1682, such had been the tide of emigration, induced by the popularity of Penn's character as a mild, generous, and wise Governor, that as many as 23 ships had arrived with passengers since the spring. None of them miscarried; all had short passages,—some of them 28 days. A few, however, say two or three, had the affliction to have some small-pox on board. In those vessels several children were born without accident to themselves or mothers. Sadly inconvenient and embarrassing situations for some of their descendants now to contemplate, who dwell in sumptuous elegance! But their ancestors were nerved with undaunted resolution to breast and brave every emergency. One of those sea-born accessions received the name of Sea-mercy.

In those times the Indians and Swedes were kind and active to bring in, and vend at moderate prices, proper articles of subsistence. Provisions, says Penn, were good and in vast quantities. Wild fowl was in abundance. Wild pigeons, says another, were like clouds, and often flew so low as to be knocked down with sticks. Wild turkeys sometimes were so immoderately fat and large as to have weighed 46 lbs. Some of 30 lbs. sold at one shilling, deer at two shillings, and corn at two shillings and sixpence. They also soon got up a seine for fishing,—the waters abounded with fish. "Six alloes, or rocks," says Penn, "are sold for twelve pence, and salt fish at three farthings a pound. Six hundred of those alloes (rocks) have been taken at one draught!" A similar display of the natural abundance of the country is exhibited in the letter of Mahlon Stacy from Jersey. "We have," says he, "peaches by cart loads. The Indians bring us 7 or 8 fat bucks of a day. Without rod or net we

* At a later period it was once attempted as a refinement on the above privilege, that no attorney should be allowed to plead except gratuitously,—"that none should lengthen simple justice into trade." Such a bill was once before the Assembly, but rejected, as not compatible with our complicated machinery of law and justice.

† It will be seen under the article of Chester history, that the Assembly house and the Speaker's chair still remain.

catch abundance of herrings, after the Indian manner, in pinfolds. Geese, ducks, pheasants, are plenty." Swans then abounded. Oysters were excellent, six inches long.

The first Assembly ever held in Philadelphia consisted of 72 persons, and was convened at the Friends' meeting house, on the 10th of 1st mo., 1683,—at which place, and at several private houses afterwards, when their number was diminutive, they were accustomed to meet, until the court-house was built and prepared for their better reception in 1707. The only peculiar law then enacted was one to prevent law suits,—one which has its voluntary associations to the same effect in the present day,—that is, the institution of "Three peace makers, after the manner of common arbitrators, to be chosen by each county court, that they might hear and end all differences." At the same time the fastidious notions of some went so far as to move for a bill or resolution, "that young men should be obliged to marry at a certain age," and also, as a sumptuary regulation to repress extravagance, that "only two sorts of clothes should be worn;—one kind for summer, and one for winter." It is sufficient to say the propositions failed by the prevailing good sense of the Assembly; too many of whom were then beyond the spell of the contracted feelings of the "Blue Laws." In this year the first sheriff of Philadelphia was created, to wit: John Test.*

The first Grand Jury was called the 2nd of 3d mo., 1683. The Petit Jury which succeeded it, found one Pickering guilty of coining and passing base money. He was condemned to make restitution, and to pay £40 towards building a court-house. What a wretch he must have been to have commenced such a vile employ at a time when honest business of every kind so well rewarded the diligent!

The truth was as in days of yore, "When the sons of God came together, Satan came also,"—for the facts of criminal cases (which will be shown in their appropriate places,) show that vicious persons soon got intermixed with the good,—"a mingled web of good and ill!" Although the Friends and their excellent morals were long predominant and widely diffused, yet some vile persons (probably from the older colony of New York, and from the malefactors of the Maryland transportation list,) urged their way into the mass of the Philadelphia population. Soon tippling houses and their consequent abuses were introduced into the caves and huts, left vacant by the removal to better residences of those first settlers who first constructed them.

In the year 1683–4 the emigration was very great. They came from England, Ireland, Wales, Holland, and Germany. Few or none of the French took any fancy to us, although it was the opinion of Penn that they would, and that they would much profit here by the cultivation of the grape, which then every where abounded in

* I once knew some of his descendants, but have lost sight of the family for many years.

surprising excellence and profusion. The Germans from Cresheim, near Worms, were nearly all of them Friends, and all of them made their settlement at Germantown. By this emigration, says Sewall, they providentially avoided the desolation of a French war, which soon after laid waste their former possessions. The Welsh made a very respectable emigration at this time. They bought up 40,000 acres of land, in 1682, and formed their settlements after the names of their native homes,—in Merion, Haverfield, Radnor, Newtown, Goshen, and Uwechland.

Penn's letter to Lord North, of 7th mo., 1683, saith, "Twenty-two sail more have arrived since I came. There are about 300 farms (of the new comers,) settled as contiguously as may be. Since last summer we have had about sixty sail of great and small shipping, which is a good beginning." To the Marquis of Halifax, under date of 12mo. 9th, 1683, he says with much truth, "I must, without vanity, say that I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found among us!" Such self-gratulation was honest and well merited. Indeed we cannot forbear to expatiate a little on the superior tact and talent which he manifested for a founder, by comparing his rapid success with the slow progress of those who preceded him. For, when we consider how long the Swedes were in possession before Penn came,—say half a century,—we cannot but feel astonished at the very little ability they manifested in producing any thing great or important, commensurate with their opportunities. We neither see nor hear of any public acts, by any of their leading men, to bring themselves or country into notice. Not unlike our present frontier squatters, they seem to have set down contented in their log and clay huts,—their leather breeches, jerkins and match coats for their men,—and their skin jackets, and linsey petticoats for their women. But no sooner has the genius of Penn been enlisted in the enterprise, than we see it speak a city and commerce into instant existence. His spirit animated every part of his colony; and the consequence was, that the tame and unaspiring Swedes soon lost their distinctive character and existence as a separate race.

Well might the city of Philadelphia, which imports *brotherly love*, be so called, when we contemplate the benevolent motives of its founder, and the religious and good intentions of his coadjutors and compatriots. "Our view (says A. Soules' publication of 1684,) was to have freedom of worship, and to live in greater simplicity and innocency on *a virgin elysian shore*, and to give thousands of dark souls to civilization and piety." Penn solemnly declares he came into his charge of the province "for the Lord's sake." He hoped, under the divine aid, to have raised a people who should have been a praise in the earth for conduct, as well as for civil and religious liberty. "I wanted," says he, "to afford an asylum to the good and oppressed of every nation. I aimed to frame a government

which might be an example. I desired to show men as free and happy as they could be. I had also kind views towards the Indians." "I am night and day (says he, in his letter from Chester,) spending my life, my time, my money, without being a sixpence enriched by my greatness. Had I sought greatness only, I had stayed at home, where the difference between what I am, and was offered, and could have been there in power and wealth, is as wide as the places are." Under the influence of a proper credence to such strong expressions of disinterested patriotism and good will, it seems impossible to avoid the confession that a more disinterested public servant and benefactor the world never saw, preceding our own great Washington. Each was peculiarly and emphatically the father of his country—*Pater Patriæ.*

Penn's views respecting his improved system of government, as he himself intended it, are strongly expressed in his letter of 1681, to R. Turner and others, saying:—"As my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in governments, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege, I propose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors (a noble design!) no power of doing mischief;—so that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country!"* Think of this moderation, ye ambitious Chiefs! Such was the worthy and noble spirit of him, whom we are proud to call our generous founder! But the secret was,—a holy religion regulated his life;—yea more,—to those who can appreciate spiritual premonitions as held among Friends,—he was "sky guided" and "heaven-directed" in his scheme of mercy to our race, even twenty years before this government began! For in this same letter he emphatically declares,—"This I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts in the year 1661, at Oxford!"—meaning of course, that when he was then but a student of only 17 years of age, he had some peculiar and sensible intimation of this, his eventual country. In another letter to the same R. Turner (a year before the government began,) he also says, "My God, that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation!"

General opinion has been that the proprietor of twenty millions of acres must have become speedily and immensely rich,—but it was not so. His liberal advances for his province, and necessary expenses at court, to cultivate favour for his people, made great inroads upon his private estate, and kept him in continual pecuniary straits. He presented means to his people to enrich themselves;—but his returns from quit rents, &c., which at first was the business of the county sheriffs to collect, were so tardy and so reluctantly given, as to have been to him a cause of perpetual embarrassment and uneasiness. Many were found who justified their non-compliance by the

* As late as the year 1704-5, in his letter to Judge Mompesson, then in Philadelphia, he declares, "I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind."

pretext, that the quit rents should be reserved in the country to defray the expenses of government.*

A man like Penn, familiar with the great, and even honoured with travelling with king James in his tour through his kingdom, could not be expected to live on any small revenue. And it is equally clear he could not leave such society at his pleasure, to come and dwell entirely in his province,—because of the frequent efforts that were made by enemies to the province, to get it all restored again to the direct government of the crown. This was even accomplished for part of two years; and Penn himself exiled from court, under the new reign of William and Mary.

It is painful to generous natures, to see so noble minded a gentleman perpetually harassed with so many cares. It might well be said of him, "Ill rests the head that wears a crown." We feel an influence of tender sorrow when we enter into sympathy with his troubles,—we want to see such a great benefactor enjoy felicity without alloy. But from the time he became a public friend, he seemed appointed to struggle through "evil report," as well as through "good report;"—as "often cast down, but never destroyed." In his letter to R. Turner, and others, of 1681, he says,—"I have been these thirteen years the servant of truth and Friends, and, for my testimony sake, lost much:—not only the greatness and preferments of this world, but £16,000 of my estate,—that had I not been what I am, I had long ago obtained:—but I murmur not." He was imprisoned in the year 1668–9, for his religion, as often as four times in London,—and in later life, whilst the *Great Proprietor of Pennsylvania*, he was a short time on prison limits for debts, and actually had to mortgage his province! "And is this all! cried Cæsar, at his height disgusted!" Who may not "sigh at such success, and weep at such renown!"

William Penn had scarcely fulfilled two years as a patriarch among his colonists, before he was imperiously called to return back to England. Lord Baltimore had made such influence at court against Penn's title to Pennsylvania limits, as threatened to impair his claim:—he therefore, in the 6th month of 1684, embarked in the ketch Endeavour, (another ominous name!) for England. In November, 1685, he succeeded with king James, to have the line of Delaware equally divided, through the Delaware and Chesapeake peninsula. His words at parting were very pathetic and affectionate, saying,—"and thou Philadelphia,—the virgin settlement, 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; I long to be with you, and hope to see you next fall." But earnest as were his wishes for return, it was fifteen years before he could accomplish the wish above expressed!—to wit, in 1699.

* He was also entitled to a proportion of duties on imports and exports, as Lord Baltimore received, but which in a short time was withheld.

While Penn remained abroad, he was perpetually engaged in devising schemes of kindness and benefit for his people,—at the same time endeavouring to make his way clear for his return, and to bring out his family to abide with us for life. So his people wished,—so his friends expected. By the year 1690, he thought he had at length attained his object; but just as he was ready to embark with a great colony, he was arrested on a groundless suspicion of being disaffected to the new Sovereigns, William and Mary, who had come in by the expulsion of his old friend, King James. He was constrained thereupon to live two years in privacy, and his government two years afterwards was given over to the rule of Governor Fletcher, of the New York government. Penn estimated this damage to himself to be equal to £30,000—a monstrous sum in his day, and especially in his need! Penn, however, so far from acting unworthily, speaks the truth, when he says,—"Would I have made my market of the fears and jealousies of the people, when the King (James) came to the throne, I had put £20,000 into my pocket, and £100,000 in my province."

Penn's desire to return to his colony, and his great disappointments from his people, are thus strongly expressed by him in the year 1686,—"Unkindly used as I am, no poor slave in Turkey more earnestly desires deliverance than I do to be with you." But one cause, which hindered his return, was his great expense for Pennsylvania. "I must say my expenses is the ground of my present incumbrance." His quit rents, he says, "were at least £500 per annum, but he could not get one penny."

I had several MS. letters in my possession, of the above period of time, from Penn to his confidential friend and steward, James Harrison, at Pennsbury, which sufficiently evidenced that Penn was much hindered from a speedier return, by the strange indisposition of the colony to provide suitably for his maintenance as Governor: from the same cause I think I can discern that his wife was not favourably disposed to a residence among us,—she had probably heard so much of unkindness and ingratitude towards her husband, as soured the feelings of both herself and her daughter Lætitia. From different letters I quote as follows,—to wit: 1685, "I will be with you as soon as ever I can,—I hope in the spring,—but if the country will not think of considering me as Governor, I have little encouragement."—1686, "The country thinks not about my supply, and I resolve never to act the Governor and charge my private estate. If my table, cellar, and stable, may be provided for, with a barge and yatch for the use of the Governor and Government, I may try to get hence;—for in the sight of God, I may say, I am £5000 and more behind hand, than ever I received or saw for land in the province,—and to be so baffled by the merchants is discouraging and not to be put up with."* "There is

* The case of "the merchants" is explained in Penn's letter to James Logan, 1705. He had indulged them, as a favour, with an exemption from duties on exports and im-

nothing my soul breathes more for, in this world, next to my dear family's life, than that I may see poor Pennsylvania again,—and my wife is giving up, [meaning to go, for the first time, willingly] but I cannot force my way hence and see nothing done on that side inviting. It is not, that I will not come, whatever they do there,—but not the sooner to be sure!" Another letter of 8th of 11 mo., 1686, final on this subject, is very energetic, saying, "As to a supply, I will sell the shirt off my back before I will trouble them any more. I will never come into the province with my family to spend my private estate to discharge a public station, and so add more wrongs to my children. This is no anger, although I am grieved,—but a cool and resolved thought."

Republics have been reproached as "proverbially ungrateful,"—but is there not better evidence that colonies are unthankful! Is it not the general history of colonies, to whine and fret like wayward children; —to give immeasurable trouble and expense to rear them up to maturity;—and then to reward the parental care with alienation! Is it not the present history of all we know as such, who feel themselves able to begin independence for themselves! We speak these things as lookers-on.

During so long a period of Penn's absence, it was impossible to govern by his deputies with such weight and influence as if personally present. His absence naturally weakened his authority, while it could better enforce the projects of cabals, and prevent the due reception of his pecuniary dues. William Markham, his first deputy, was but 21 years of age when he arrived. He had an excellent deputy in Thomas Lloyd, Esqr., a scholar and a Christian. He always served reluctantly, and, in 1688, resigned his place as Governor, but continued in the council till his death, in 1694, at the age of 54 years.

William Penn, in 1699, again set himself to embark for his province, after an absence of fifteen years. He came with a full purpose to make his stay permanent, and brought his family with him. But the voyage of the vessel (like the former names,) was ominous. They were three months at sea! and when they arrived they found an unexpected and an unwelcome guest. The yellow fever, which had been raging in the West Indies, had been communicated, it is supposed, in Philadelphia. Thomas Story, the recorder and a public Friend, described it as a time when "Great was the fear that fell on all flesh. I saw no lofty or airy countenance,—nor heard any vain jesting:—but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled." Penn arrived in the 10th month, and he and his family were received with universal joy, on account of his known intention to stay for life. James Logan, writing of that event says, "Friends' love to the Governor was great and sincere—they had long mourned

ports, for a year or two while he was present; but when he was gone, they refused compliance, as their right.—He had required the rates as paid at New York and Maryland. His letter of the 8th of April, 1681, to the inhabitants, expressly says, "pay my deputy those dues you formerly paid to the Governor of New York."

for his absence, and passionately desired his return." His arrival being on a first day, he went forthwith to the Meeting, thronged all the way with a crowd, where he spoke to the people. But desirable as was his stay, he was in time again compelled to leave his "wilderness retreat," after a stay of but two years,—never to return! While he remained, there were about 100 laws enacted, chiefly at New Castle, where they as often legislated, to please the low counties, as they did at Philadelphia. He also attended at Philadelphia, in 1701, a great Indian treaty, with forty Indian Chiefs, who came from many nations to settle the friendship. The same year, he had also a great Indian council at Pennsbury Mansion, to take leave of him, and to renew covenants, &c.

Penn's stay, for a time, seemed to promise permanency, and he governed with more than usual satisfaction to himself; but there seemed no more of peace and repose for him than for Moses of old!—for perplexities were gathering. About this time the crown officers began to fear the colonies might grow too powerful under the proprietary governments, and they therefore showed desires of buying them out, so as to bring them more immediately under the direct control of government. The records of the "Board of Trade," it is believed, would show much on this subject if investigated. They began to take measures to curtail their liberties;—and, in 1701, they brought in a bill to enable the crown to take the colonies into possession, for the alleged "better regulation and surer defence."* At this crisis the owners of land in Pennsylvania, dwelling in England, became very importunate for Penn's return to prevent those measures. He therefore said "he must go back with great reluctancy, although he desired the quietness of our wilderness." In his letter of 1701, to James Logan, he says, "no man living can defend us or bargain for us better than myself." Still it may be questioned if this necessity was really so absolute. In truth, the cause of his going was removed even before he arrived there, for king William had died, and queen Anne was his friend. I think I can discern domestic reasons, from expressions made by himself and family, (which probably import even more than was uttered,) which go to show that there were grounds enough of personal dissatisfaction to make a residence in England preferable to one here, under the circumstances under which his family was placed. In a letter which Penn wrote to James Logan, in July, 1701, (preserved in the Logan collection,) he says, "I cannot prevail on my wife to stay, and, still less with *Tishe*. I know not what to do,"—and, as if fearing[illegible] me would demur to his going, he adds, "to all that speak of it, say, [illegible]hall have no need to stay (in England) and

* Parson Duche's account of Pennsylvania is very express,—he says, the persons in England who were jealous of colonial privileges, under pretence of securing the royal prerogative, got up a bill for that purpose in the House of Commons. Penn's friends there did what they could to impede its passage, and obtained an indulgence to stay proceedings until Penn could return and defend himself. Penn therefore summoned his Assembly on the 15th of September, 1701, and declared his reasons for quick departure, &c.

a great interest to return." In a letter of 1704, he says, "had you settled a reasonable revenue (on him) he would have returned and laid his bones there,—also his wife too, after her mother's death," then expected. From the whole the inference is unavoidable, that however urgent was the business-call of his leaving the country, and the dissatisfaction of the female part of his family here, he would nevertheless have gladly come back to us if adequate provision had been made for his support in the style of a public officer.

We cannot forbear the belief, that if he, like Lord Baltimore, had confided his interests in England to such good agents as he could have employed at court, he might have raised with least trouble a more solid and lasting superstructure to his fame and profit in this province, than he could possibly have attained by a residence in England. It had always too much the character of such ill-managed business as results when principals go abroad, in search of novelties or pleasures, and commit their trusts to clerks and irresponsible agents. When the principal omits personal presence, all take the liberty to manage as may suit their self-indulgence. In Penn's case it surely was not more difficult to find men for occasional services in England, than it was to keep up the government of a whole province by agents, which served at three to four thousand miles from the principal.

One of the last public acts of Penn in the province was to present the city, on the 28th of October, 1701, with a last charter of privileges. By this he constituted the town of Philadelphia a city. Edward Shippen was the first mayor, and Thomas Story the first recorder. Shippen was also a judge, and, as president of the council, he was for a time ex-officio Governor. Although the city so received its charter, it appears to have had in effect the name and character of a city before,—for as early as 1691 it had a mayor, named Humphrey Murrey, signing its official acts.

A new deputy governor arrived in 1704, in the person of John Evans, Esqr., a young man of ability—but of free life, and of such occasional dissipation as to give umbrage to many serious persons. With him came William Penn, jun'r. the only son by the first wife. Although he also was volatile, beyond his education, he was made a member of the council as an intended respect. Evans remained only five years, being removed by a petition for his recall. He had so little respect for Friends' principles, that it is rather strange that he should have been appointed at all. In 1704, he, for the first time known in our annals, made a call for a militia, by public proclamation, "to assist Queen Anne." It did not succeed indeed, the very name of militia, for a long period of time afterwards, was a measure which quickly roused the religious scruples of the Friends. It would appear, however, from an incidental fact prior to this time, that there was some kind of voluntary association which occasionally used firearms, because we read in the Logan MS. papers, that the Governor, (Markham.) when he died in Philadelphia, "was buried, by the militia, with the honours of war."

It seems that Governor Evans did not credit the sincerity of Friends, in their alleged aversion to war and war measures. He therefore endeavoured by stratagem to surprise them into a desertion of their avowed pacific principles. To this end, he plotted with some of his friends in New Castle to send up an express, to say, "twelve French vessels were arrived, and were committing depredations, and soon would be up at Philadelphia itself!" On the receipt of this intelligence he rode through the streets with his sword drawn, calling on the inhabitants for defence. The panic was great, especially among the women,—but none of the Friends resorted to arms. Plate and other valuables were cast into their wells. Several took to the boats and canoes, and went up the creeks, &c. This was an undignified and even cruel experiment, which only tended to make his rule extremely unwelcome. The whole scene, such as it was, might afford subject for the poet's and the painter's skill. Nothing like such an alarm had before disturbed the repose of the inhabitants since the false alarm of 1686, when an idle tale found afflictive currency—that the Indians were proposing their massacre.

It was about the year 1708 that Penn's perplexities and troubles fell upon him in more than common measure. He had received the petition for Evans' removal, and a successor was requisite. His debts, through the mal-conduct of a corrupt steward (Ford) became so ponderous and unmanageable, (although he had a patrimony of £1500 a year,) that he was obliged to mortgage his province for £6600, and to give it in trust to James Logan, Isaac Norris, and others. There began about this time to appear a more than common selfishness in some of the people, even to cabals and factions, and to a virtual resistance, in some cases, of the proprietary's right. David Lloyd, Esqr., of Chester, an attorney and a Friend, Speaker sometime of the Assembly, was the visible head of the opposition. There was much bickering from such causes between the Assembly—headed as it then was—and the Secretary, James Logan. There was certainly a very rude and disrespectful manner of resistance in the Assembly, and their being re-elected was a painful indication to Penn's real friends that the temporary disaffection was too prevalent among the people.* Their ill-natured disputations with Governor Gookin, who had succeeded Evans, in 1709, (written in the plain style of Friends, which had hitherto prevailed in the public acts of the colony,) however provoked by the admitted strange temper of the Governor, are rather burlesque compositions than otherwise, to our sober judgments in this day. Under the force of their excited feelings they proceeded to such extremities as to impeach and try to arrest the devoted and excellent public servant, James Logan, on pretexts which he readily and ably refuted. The scandal of these measures reached England, and much

* It is to the credit of the mass of the people, that when they came to know the merits of the case, they manifested far better feelings to the proprietary, by displacing, at the next election, all the former Representatives, and supplying their places with kindlier spirits.

use was made of them there to disparage and reprobate colonial proprietary governments, and to set forth by those opposed to Penn's interests, that such were not capable of any stable self-government and good conduct.

All these things combining, tended eventually to sap and alienate the affections and confidence of Penn to his people; and when, with the increase of his debts for his colony, and their poor returns, he also fell into an occasional defect of mind by a stroke of apoplexy, it became more and more a measure of necessity that then he should yield to the wish of the crown (and I might add, of his friends also) by selling out his province for £12,000,—reserving to himself the quit rents and estates. The deed was formally made, and he had received, it is said £1900 in 1712, as earnest money;* but he never executed it, he having, in that year, so far lost his mental faculties as made him incapable, as was supposed by the law-officers, to confer a legal conveyance. So nearly were we once to losing all that connection with the Penn family, which afterwards, for so many years of the rule of their sub-governors, united our destinies! The MS. collections by Mrs. Logan are very ample in facts on this sale and arrest of execution.

It is but due to the honour of the founder to cite, from some of his letters, his own expressions of the feelings and embarrassments which urged him thus to dissever his interests from the people whom he had benefitted so essentially by the colony he had procured them. In 1710, he writes, and says, "the undeserved opposition I meet from thence sinks me in sorrow, and I cannot but think it hard measure, that while that proved a land of freedom and flourishing to them, it should become to me, by whose means it was made a country, the cause of trouble and poverty." Oh, what an inconsiderate requital! Penn hints too, direct enough at his meditated sale, as well as at the cause of it, saying, "the opposition I have met with must at length force me to consider more closely of my own private and sinking circumstances."

Respecting this meditated surrender to the crown I am enabled to add some facts, derived from the use of the MS. collections of Mrs. Logan, kindly lent to me for general use. There I ascertained that James Logan and the friends of William Penn in Philadelphia often suggested this measure as a dernier resort. It appears to have been made as early as the year 1701, by some of the crown officers, as a necessary security to the crown in case of a war. Penn appears all along to have deprecated and resisted this. From 1702 to 1707 it is spoken of to Penn by his Philadelphia friends in their letters and in his replies. In 1704, Penn says it will depend on the kindness of the next Assembly to him.—"I shall see this winter's session, and take my measures accordingly." In 1705, he says, "whether I surrender or not, shall make no difference as to my coming and laying

* The Lords of trade, in a letter of the 21st of July, 1719, to governor Keith, says "Mr. Penn did receive part of the money in pursuance of said agreement."

my bones among you." All these, so far, were secret confidential views on both sides. In 1707, James Logan is very strenuous in his advice, saying, "If the thing I have so often mentioned can carry any weight, it is (under the then troubles) that thou wilt get a consideration from the crown for the government. 'Tis what I advise; for thou wilt really find it impossible to hold the government here, so refractory as things are conducted. Depend upon it, there is a constant plot here against thy interest." &c. To this I might add, that Isaac Norris, in 1711, says, "I cannot be against it—he is now old, and the best terms may be had in his life-time. I only hope he will make good terms for Friends,—on oaths, ministers' pay, and militia." Penn himself, on one occasion, writes, "I believe it repents some that they began it, (by requesting or urging the crown to retake it per force,) for now, 'tis I that press it upon good terms, as well for the people as self,—in the judgment of the wisest and best of my friends."*

Finally, it may be seen, as the proper sequel to the whole, what moving causes of complaint and dissatisfaction Penn really possessed, by consulting his long and very able expostulatory letter "to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania," of the 27th of 4th mo., 1710.—Vide Proud, vol. 2, page 45. It might well be called his patriarchal and farewell address. It is full of pathos and sensibility, and produced much effect in kindlier feelings from his people after its publication among them, but too late expressed by them in their elections and public measures to prevent his purposed bargain with the crown! Every true Pennsylvanian, imbued with due good feelings to our honoured founder, should make that paper his manual. So his real friends of that day regarded it; and on page 507 of my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is preserved one of those primitive printed letters, kept in one family "with pious care" even down to the present day! "It is (says he,) a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me, that I am forced, by the oppression and disappointments which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that province in a language I once hoped I should never have occasion to use."—"I once had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services done so many people, and I have not been disappointed in their prosperity."—"Did the people really want any thing of me in the relation between us that would make them happier, I should readily grant it." After showing his grounds of grievance, he says, "When I reflect on all those heads, of which I have had so much cause to complain, I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt to me from those of whom I had reason to expect much better; nor can I but lament the unhappiness that too many of them are bringing upon themselves; who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love,

* His "good terms" for the people are afterwards declared by Mrs. Hannah Penn, in her letter of 1713, to have been in effect the cause of its frustration. Her letter says, "he might long since have finished it, had he not insisted too much on gaining privileges for the people."

and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition, and oversetting (by party violence) that foundation on which your happiness might be built." Finally, he adds,—"If I must continue my regard to you, manifest the same to me, by showing, in a fair election, more than I have for some years met with; or else, without further suspense, I shall know what I have to rely on."

This valedictory, as it in effect proved, from the good old patriarch, was prompted, I am satisfied, in a good degree by the correspondence and subsequent presence of James Logan.* When it arrived, Isaac Norris writes, that it "extremely pleased;—it is so tender and soft where it touches others;—it is so suitable, that we wish it public as possible. Had it arrived before the election it would have given great support to Friends. As it is, the party is lessened, and the mask of the designers and troublers is half off."

Under such a sense of wrongs, and the superadded pressure of accumulated debts, he probably so far pursued his negotiations for surrender with the ministry, that when the good news of a change of conduct occurred, he had gone too far to recede. Certain it is, that, in 1712, he concluded his sale for £12,000—a sum full £4000 less than had been before expected.

In this year his disease got so much the ascendency of his mental faculties, that he was deemed inadequate to any active or public business. As other facts concerning him, in this his last and interesting crisis, will be told in another place, it may suffice here to say:—He still showed himself a sensible and conversable man,—his chief defect was found in the obliteration of his memory. Religion was always predominant. His very failings, in this last extremity, "leaned to virtue's side." In this state he continued six years, going abroad, to Meetings, &c., till 1718, when he died,—having probably passed, in these last secluded years, the most tranquil period of his eventful, busy, care-crazed life.—"The memory of the just is blessed!"

From the facts which have just passed in review, we arrive at the conclusion,—that however Penn once saw "an opening of joy as to these parts," it was but too manifest, it was such only "for another, and not for himself!" However we may palliate the jealousies of liberty inherent and cherished in our forefathers, by which small or fancied grievances were sometimes magnified even by men intending honest opposition, yet, as ambition or blind zeal will either of them mislead party leaders, and acerbity of feelings will excite wrong doings, we cannot but regret, that so distinguished a benefactor should not have been less equivocally requited; so that the honest exertions of the best years of his life had not been rewarded with the carking

* J. Logan's letters, of 1708-9, say, "advise them, that unless Friends will take measures to purge the Assemblies of bad men, thou wilt give them up, and struggle no longer; for certainly David Lloyd's purpose is to throw all into confusion, and thee into a surrender." Soon afterwards, J. Logan visited England and saw Penn personally.

cares of straitened circumstances, by the *res angusti domi*, and the disheartening opposition of refractory children. Ah! "how sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless child!" Much we could have wished that his sun had set in brighter glory;—in such as he once hoped;—for which he always toiled,—"a youth of labour for an age of ease." This was the reward which generous natures would have wished conferred! In the language of Burke's eulogium, we may join in the sentiment, that "'tis pleasing to do honour to those great men, whose virtues and generosity have contributed to the peopling of the earth, and to the freedom and happiness of mankind; who have preferred the interest of a remote posterity and times unknown, to their own fortune and to the quiet security of their own lives!"

Whether other men can so appreciate the exalted virtues and beneficent intentions of our honoured founder, (in whose just praise I have been led out beyond my original intentions,) I have little cared to consider. I saw traits in his character to admire, and as they won my regard and excited my feelings, I have occasionally set them down. It is possible, I am aware, to impute selfish motives to the founder, by reviving (if they can be found,) the squibs and pasquinades of detraction once propagated by adverse interests. This is the tax which pre-eminence must often pay to envy. Contemporary renown may often meet such assailants; and posthumous fame is sometimes doomed to their revival for a season by the perverted or oblique sensibilities of some men's peculiar sympathies and natures: —Such may write with "just enough of candour thrown in to take off the appearance of illiberality and hostility, whilst the general impression would remain detractive. Little praise could be used as a means of rendering censure more pointed, and what was wanting in fact, could be supplied by innuendo."

But although an inscrutable providence had so overruled the closing events of Penn's eventful life, the reasonable expectation of cheering prosperity, so long withheld from himself, fell largely upon his posterity. His possessions in this country, as we all know, became of immense value to his succeeding generations. When Penn made his will, in 1712, six years before his death, it was estimated that his estate in Europe was worth more than all his province in point of actual product. In that will he left his son William heir of all his estate in England and Ireland. This was his only son surviving by his first wife, Gulielma Springett. His estate in Pennsylvania he left to his sons by his second wife, Hannah Callowhill, to wit:—John, Thomas, Richard, and Dennis, all then minors. His wife, Hannah Penn, having been made his sole executrix, (a great woman in the management of business, as will be shown elsewhere,) she became in effect our governor, ruling us by her deputies, or lieutenant governors, during all the term of her children's minority.

In tracing downward the succession of events, it falls in order to

mention, that in 1717, Sir William Keith superseded governor Gookin. Sir William continued in office till the year 1726, and was very successful in cultivating and winning the popularity at which he chiefly aimed. This was quite a new thing in a deputy governor to accomplish. Hannah Penn, however, was displeased with him, because he chose rather to please the people, by compliances of dubious propriety, than to adhere to the interests and wishes of his principal. His deceptive and flattering pretensions to young Benjamin Franklin are well known.

Governor Gordon succeeded Governor Keith in 1726, and continued in place till the year 1736.

In 1732, the country was gratified with the arrival of Thomas Penn, the second son by the second wife, and in 1734, his brother, John Penn, eldest son by the second wife, also arrived. He was called "the Pennsylvania born," and "the American,"—having been born in Philadelphia at the time of Penn's second arrival, in 1699. He never married, and died in 1746. After his death, his youngest brothers, Thomas and Richard, (Dennis being dead,) became sole proprietaries.

In 1763, John Penn, (the son of Richard, last above named,) was made Governor for the interests of his father and uncle Thomas. In this office he continued till 1775, when the war of independence dissevered this link of union with the founder in the person of his grandson. His brother, Richard Penn, was also in this country at that time; and not being under official obligations (like his brother, the Governor,) to keep a seal upon his lips, he showed his wit among our whigs by telling them "they must now hang together, or expect to be hung up by others!"

The foregoing recitals, as the instructed reader will readily perceive, have only been designed as a brief outline-portrait of our general history. The object was to give some leading features, in their consecutive order, intended in some measure as an appropriate accompaniment to the numerous facts (which will follow under distinguishing heads) of incidents in our domestic history of Philadelphia and adjacent country, never before published or known.

In cases where authorities have not been otherwise cited, I have, in general, followed names and dates, or assumed the facts, as I found them related in substance in Proud's Annals of Pennsylvania, or, in Smith's New Jersey.

To a considerate and reflecting mind it must be a matter of just surprise, that Pennsylvania, and, I might add, the other colonies, should so rapidly and progressively attain to riches, independence, and renown, notwithstanding the numerous and successive disastrous events; such as might be regarded, by the superficial, as quite sufficient to cripple and prevent the growth of the infant Hercules. We can scarcely look into any period of colonial history where we cannot find them struggling with what they deemed adverse circumstances;—such as, low markets, want of currency, slow returns for debt, and loud contentions about deficiencies of public

funds for national purposes. In New England they had Indian wars to sustain. The colonies generally had to make large appropriations to aid the wars of the crown against the French and Indians in Canada, and on the western frontiers, &c.,—not to forget the expensive and "glorious" expedition to Cape Breton. To these succeeded the waste and ravages of the war of the revolution. In all these measures the waste of treasure was immense; and yet the nation as a whole has gone on in quick and full bodily vigour to full-grown manhood,—even, as if none of those evils had ever existed to impede the growth! Nor are these all the disasters they encountered:—they actually lost, by depreciation, immense sums in a depreciated paper currency; (for their practice was to issue a paper medium for almost every pressing emergency,) so that the abundance and worthlessness of continental money was itself a proverb. Our frequent commercial failures too, since the year 1800, have nearly ruined all the old and firmest houses of the country, and yet trade survives and flourishes, and the nation, as a whole, is in signal prosperity! Such a phenomenon might be imputed to a special providence, resolved thus to exalt and establish us against probabilities and against hope! But it may not be amiss to suggest such causes as appear to have been natural—such as may in some good degree account for our surmounting so many apparent obstacles. They are generally these, to wit:—the seeming waste of money in furnishing supplies for the wars of the crown, as it never went out of the country still enriched such classes of the community as are usually the operatives for those who merely live to fight. Even the money often so paid was of the paper emission, and usually depreciated beyond redemption, which of course was a virtual relief of the national treasury. If fortunes were indeed lost to some by a sinking of paper money in their hands, it also aided others to pay great purchases with small means, in the form of debts incurred. The rich sometimes sank, and the poor sometimes rose. There was a change of relative condition,—but the usual required proportion of the sons of toil to "be hewers of wood and drawers of water" to the self-indulgent and the dainty, was still the same. The whole transaction having been an entire family affair, although the sign of money often changed its character and produced eventful changes in the relations of the members of the family, still the land and its improvements were theirs, and could not be alienated from the whole as an entire people. In the mean time, real substantial coin in great sums flowed into the country for the necessary purposes of paying off the crown officers and army, and these being expended in the country for the necessary commodities of the consumers, left a real wealth among us.* The very Indian wars too, although expensive to the State, at the same time enriched the

* The tory paper, called "Pennsylvania Ledger," printed at Philadelphia, under the auspices of General Howe, contains in No. 122, of January 28, 1778, a detailed account of all moneys expended by the crown for colonial purposes from 1714 (the time of the Hanover accession) to 1775, making the same 34½ millions of pounds sterling—Vide Folio, No. 304, in the City Library.

men who ministered to the campaigns. The lands too, so acquired by conquest, enriched the colonies by furnishing them the means to sell lands to the numerous emigrants arriving with coin and substance from abroad. The constant influx of population as it gave a constant call for lands in the country, or for lots and houses in the cities and towns for their accommodation, not to omit the consideration also of our own natural increase, so it naturally tended to enhance all real estate; and therefore, so many as have been holders of estates in town and country have seen themselves enriched from year to year even while they held only the same numerical quantities. The causes then, if I understand the subject, why we so rapidly rose, against so many untoward circumstances, to national and individual wealth, is chiefly imputable to our facilities in providing places for a rapidly increasing population, and their skill and industry in improving and enhancing their value by agriculture, manufactures, and traffic. An older country whose population was full, and whose improvements were at their utmost already, could not have sustained our successive disasters, or have surmounted them triumphantly as we have done.

These remarks, already over long, have been elicited by so often noticing the terms of despondency in which the early settlers of Philadelphia were accustomed to speak of their condition and prospects. There was a constant cry of want of money, where little existed,—of bad markets,—where heaven had most "blest their store,"—of little value of lands and improvements,—where so much abounded, &c. They feared to invest capitals if they had them, even while the properties they actually held were progressively, though with small momentum, rising in value to their zenith. Thus, as late as the year 1700 to 1705, &c., we see such a man as Samuel Carpenter, who made the first and most numerous important improvements in Philadelphia and the country, selling them out in vexation and disappointment. James Logan's letters too, abound with remarks of dissatisfaction at things as he found them:—especially in managing William Penn's affairs,—in collecting rents,—disposing of lands,—and in being deferred the pay for them. "They make my life (says he,) so uncomfortable, that it is not worth the living,"—and again, "I know not what any of the comforts of life are." As late as 22 years after the settlement (say in 1704) James Logan thus states the perplexities of things, to wit: "Money is so scarce that many good farmers now scarce ever see a piece-of-eight of their own throughout the year,"—but although this could not prevent their fields to yield, and their cows to calve, and abundance of children to be warmly clothed and well fed! the sad story is continued: "What little there is of money is in town, and wheat for two years past has been worth very little." On another occasion he complains that "pay for land sold near New Castle to amount of £3000 is due, and I have received but £200 and that in produce, nor will one half of it ever be paid unless times should mend; for the land, as in many other cases, will be cast back on our hands." "The Susquehanna lands (says he) are much in the

same state; and I could have wished it had been a lake, rather than it should have ever been purchased for thee." In another place, he says, "last night William Penn, jun'r., sold his manor on Schuylkill (now Norrington) to William Trent and Isaac Norris for £850. They were unwilling to touch it,—for without a great prospect none will now meddle with land,—but in his case he was resolved to sell and leave the country." At the same time, William Penn exclaims, in bitterness of soul, "Oh, Pennsylvania, what hast thou cost me!—surely above £30,000 more than ever I got by thee!" But notwithstanding such discouraging feelings and prospects, the country, even while they slept, went on prospering, and the interests which any of them retained in the land and its improvements, enriched their families. Labour produced fruitful fields, and that produced commerce,—these united, enriched all; so that what was sown in bitterness, brought forth a fruitful and honeyed harvest to the reapers.

In this was verified: "One hath sown and another hath reaped,"—"Others entered into their labours!"—Yea, even we of this day are the happy partakers! Seeing things so prosperous as we now do,—and the march of empire such as we behold and enjoy,—we thus apostrophise our sires:—

"Ye who toil'd
Through long successive years to build us up
A prosperous plan of state, behold at once
The wonder done!"
"Here cities rise amid th' illumin'd waste,
O'er joyless deserts smiles the rural reign:—
Far distant flood to flood is social join'd,
And navies ride on seas that never foam'd
With daring keel before!"

In Smith's edition of the Laws of Pennsylvania, Vol. 2, p. 105, to p. 260—there is in the form of a very extended *note*, much of historical facts in regard *to City Lots* of first purchasers—showing the manner of their first ownership and title—much concerning all of the earliest Indian deeds for the sale of their lands;—every thing concerning land titles and land offices; and numerous facts of *legal proceedings* on disputed cases, concerning the same. To the reader who desires to peep into the intricacies of first settlers, both in city and country, and who wishes to know how many perplexities once existed before the Revolution, respecting *unseated lands*, there is here concentred, much to exhibit *a state of things* almost wholly unknown to the present generation. "Under the Commonwealth, the State paid great regard to those ancient claims of original purchasers to city lots; and provided a mode to ascertain them, and to grant patents for the lots, or an indemnification for them in case they had been sold or appropriated—provided it shall have been done within seven years after the Act of 10th April, 1781,—which see, and also the Act of 8th April, 1786, and its supplement of 8th April, 1791. The first Act of 1781, Sec. 8, says:—"Whereas it is reasonable that there should be limitation of suits and dormant claims at the end of *one century, therefore*, the limitation is for 7 years longer only."

THE PRIMITIVE SETTLEMENT.

"I trace thy tale
To the dim point where records fail."

It should be grateful to a contemplative and feeling mind, especially to a descendant of the pilgrim settlers of Philadelphia, to revive in the imagination such picturesque facts and scenic pictures, as may give to the mind's eye the striking incidents of that eventful period.

We need not resort to fiction "to adorn our moral or to point our tale;" for, facts, scattered throughout the following pages, will amply sustain the primal scene herein attempted.

We are to transport the fancy back to the original site of Coaquanock,—so called from its border line, along the margin of the river bank, of lofty spruce-pines, rivalling in majesty the adjacent common wood-land foliage of oaks and underbrush;—thus giving to the place a peculiarity and rarity, even in the eyes of the untutored savage, which lovers of the marvellous might now regard as something propitious.* There we must see the busy landing of families from the anchored barks, and witness their chastened joy at once more feeling their conscious tread on *terra firma*,—then a gravelly strand basing the front of the precipitous river bank. There their pious minds felt solemn emotions of gratitude and praise to Him, beneath whose eye their voyage had sped—their hearts tendered, they knelt, and praised, and prayed!†

The beholder might then innocently smile to see the unskilled efforts of men, women and children, scrambling up the acclivity to attain the level of the elevated platform. The river banks then, like the woody banks at "the Bake-house,"—now near Poquesink creek—

"All shagg'd with wood,
Where twisted roots, in many a fold,
Through moss, disputed room for hold."

Such impediments overcome, they gathered beneath the dark ever-greens;—there they meet the welcome salutations of the red natives,—both in mutual wonder stand, and ruminate, and gaze Then the exploring eye, ranging on objects all around, beholds behind them interminable woods and hanging grape vines, &c.,—"a

* The Indians called it Quequenaku, which means, the "grove of tall pines." This, for sake of euphony, we have contracted into Coaquanock. Such pines among other forest trees is an admitted rarity. The Astrological signs of Philadelphia, by Taylor, will be given in another place. He says:

"A city, built with such propitious rays,
Will stand to see old walls and happy days."

† The wife of the Governor, Thomas Lloyd, as soon as she landed, knelt down, and earnestly prayed the blessings of heaven on the future colony.

boundless contiguity of shade,"—and below them, on the limpid stream, their own ships amid the paddling canoes of the Indians. All has the air of novelty and surprise. Their spirits feel many stirring emotions:—joy for safe arrival,—a lively sense of inhaling a new and genial air, so necessary after the restrictions and sickness of sea life;—even a momentary sadness might agitate the bosom from the sense that they were devoid of all the wonted accommodations and comforts of former home and civilization; but the prevalent sense of escape from "woful Europe," was an antidote, always at hand, to repress any murmurings.

Sustained by a predetennined courage to subdue all difficulties, and animated by future hopes of domestic comforts and of social prosperity and happiness, all join in a ready resolution to give mutual aid to every enterprise for individual or general benefit. Huts and caves are promptly resolved on as of paramount consideration. To this object, trees and underwood must be levelled. At the moment of such a beginning, we can readily imagine that some pious leader, like christian David, at the first settlement of his christian community, strikes his axe into the first tree, exclaiming, "Here hath the sparrow found an house and the swallow a nest for himself, even thine altars, O Lord God of Hosts!" Here, in the "sweet quiet," freed from the hurries and perplexities of "woful Europe," as feelingly expressed by the founder, they could not but consider themselves escaped from persecution,—no longer like their fathers,

> "Vex'd from age to age,
> By blatant bigotry's insensate rage."

Preliminaries thus settled, the men and boys choose out their several grounds for their temporary hut or cabin, called a cave. While some dig into the earth about three feet at the verge of the river bank, others apply the axe to clear away the underwood or to fall trees, whose limbs and foliage may supply sides and roofs to their humble dwellings. In other cases, some dug sods, and of them formed the sides of their huts. To these, chimnies of grass and kneaded clay were set up,—and lo! their rude house was finished! Meanwhile, the women, equally busy in their sphere, had lighted their fire on the bare earth, and having "their kettle slung between two poles upon a stick transverse," thus prepared the meal of homely and frugal fare for the repast of the diligent builders. With good cheer and kindly feelings, all partake of the sylvan feast. Thus refreshed, they speedily bear off their unsheltered furniture and goods to their several cabins, and feel themselves housed and settled for a season,

> "Where homes of humble form and structure rude
> Raise sweet society in solitude!"*

* Some of these huts were so well constructed as to last for several years afterwards,—not only serving the wants of succeeding emigrants, but in several cases, used by some of base sort, in aftertime, as homes good enough for low minds.

In due time, the mind, devoted to better accommodation, seeks for its permanent settlement. Then the busy, bustling era begins! First, the surveyor, with much labour, by falling of trees and drawing off brush-wood, forms a way through which to draw his "lengthening chain," whereby the city plot is made. Lots are then to be covered with houses; and much of their material is to be found on the spot. Soon, therefore, the echoing woods resound with the labouring axe and the crash of falling trees. The wondering population of the forest are amazed at this first break of their long—long silence,—and starting here and flying there,—beasts and birds,—excellent for diet and a luxury to Europeans living under the prohibition of "game laws,"—are shot down at frequent occasions,—even while the main design was to clear away the deep embarrassments of the soil.* Even the reptiles, deadly and venomous, here first felt the assault of the primeval curse,—and "the serpent's head is crushed!" But although the astonished tenants of the forest thus feel and fear the busy stir of man throughout the day, and find in him an enemy before unknown, we may suppose they were not immediately to be driven from their favourite haunts, but long and frequent would they linger round their wonted securities in the darkness and silence of night. It was therefore no strange thing with the primitive population to hear occasionally at safe distances,—"the fox's bark, or wolf's lugubrious howl."

When buildings had thus been generally started, and the "clearings" and the "burnings" of the "brushwood" and "undergrowth," had begun to mark, in rude lines, the originals of the present paved and stately streets, we may well imagine the cheerful greetings which passed among the settlers as they met, or surveyed each others progress. Often they must have reciprocally lent each other aid in "raisings" and the heavy operations requiring many hands. How busy then the brick makers,—what perpetual burnings of their smoking kilns,—what frequent arrivals and departures of small craft from the Jerseys, previously settled,—of boards and slabs from their saw-mills, ere the Pennsylvania mills began.

We know there were many inequalities in the surface of the city plot then, which we do not perceive now. Some hills were to reduce, and several low or miry places to fill up or drain off. In many places, the most delightful rural beauties, formed by arboreous clumps, were utterly effaced by "clearings and burnings." Even solitary trees of sublime grandeur were not spared, from the then prevalent opinion, that dense foliage and shades would conduce to fevers. So general was the havoc in process of time, that none remained of all the crowded forest, save a cluster of black walnut trees, which, till

* Pastorius' MS., in my possession, expressly says, he was often lost in the woods and brush, in going from his cave, to Bom's house, south-east corner of Chestnut and Third streets, where he procured his bread.

of late years stood opposite the State house on Chestnut street, and guided the stranger to that once venerable edifice.*

In that day, the greater part of the houses first built lay south of High street, and northward of Dock creek,—then called "the Swamp," because of the creek which flowed through it, having had near its mouth a low and swampy margin, covered with swamp-whortleberries, &c. The creek itself was supplied by several springs flowing into it.† At the mouth of this creek was a ferry, at the Blue Anchor Inn, for conveying passengers over to the opposite declining bank, called "Society Hill." It continued in use until they formed a "causeway" along the line of Front street across the Dock creek swamp. The same inn was memorable as the landing place of the illustrious founder, who came there in a boat from Chester, and first set his foot ashore on the "low sandy beach" then there, and long afterwards occupied as the "public landing" for the general uses of the city.

Their first bridge, and their then first means of a cart-road leading to the west, was a wooden structure laid across the Dock creek,—where the tide then ebbed and flowed, at Hudson's alley and Chestnut street.‡ The creek at the same time traversed the grounds called "a deep valley," leading to Fourth and High street, and on the northern side of High street, westward of Fourth street, it formed a great pond, filled with spatterdocks, and surrounded with natural shrubbery. This pond was a great asylum for wild ducks and geese,—"there the wild duck squadrons ride!"—and often they were shot. Fish too, coming up with the high tides, were occasionally angled there.

Another great duck pond lay in the rear of Christ Church, and thence extended beyond the rear of the first Baptist-meeting. At that pond, as well founded tradition relates, an Indian feast was celebrated. On that occasion the Indians, to amuse William Penn, and to show their agility in running and leaping, performed a foot race round the entire pond. Diverging from Dock creek, (at Girard's bank, once a place for small vessels,) ran a water course through what was afterwards called "Beek's Hollow," near Fourth and Walnut streets, and thence, by the African church in Fifth street, through the "Potter's-field," to the site of the present Doctor Wilson's Church, where it terminated in another duck pond.

As buildings and comforts progressed, soon they turned their attention to public edifices. The Friends' meeting, built at the Centre Square, lay far beyond the verge of population, and often, when the early settlers were visiting it by the usual cart-road from the town, they saw it traversed before them by deer and wild turkeys.

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* The last of these, which stood in front of J. Ridgway's office, was cut down in 1818. I have preserved a relic of it.

† The locality of several of those springs I have elsewhere designated.

‡ The writer has now an Urn of oak, made from a piece of the butment wharf, which lay there, six feet under the present surface, 140 years.

Their first prison was "the hired house of Patrick Robinson," in Second Street, a little north of High Street;—and the first that the city held in fee simple, was situated on the site of the present Jersey Market, a little eastward of Second Street. Between it and Front Street was once a "grassy sward, close cropt by nibbling sheep," retained there till slain and sold, by one Crone, from the moveable shambles set there on market days. Near there stood Penn's low two-story house, in Lætitia Court; before which was the "Governor's Gate," where the proclamations of the day were made by "public outcry."

Edward Shippen, the first city Mayor, surpassed his contemporaries in the style and grandeur of his edifice and appurtenances; for "crossing the water" he located himself in that venerable building, afterwards called "the Governor's House," and now superseded by "Waln's Row," in south Second Street. Its site was then "on the hill" "near the towne." There he had his "great and famous orchard." In the lawn before the house, descending to the Dock Creek, "reposed his herd of tranquil deer." The whole river scenery was then open to the view, and afforded a most picturesque and grateful prospect.

Contemporaneons with the structures before named rose the first part of Christ Church, under the mission of the Rev. Mr. Clayton. Pre-eminent in the grandeur of that day, and often visited as a curiosity then, was the present antiquated Swedes' Church and steeple at Wiccaco, built in 1700, to replace the former log church, wherein were loop-holes for fire arms in case of emergency from the Indians.

"The "Slate House," as it was called, wherein Governor Penn dwelt in the year 1700, still standing in humble guise at the south east corner of Second Street and Norris' Alley, was once an edifice with "bastions and saliant angles" like a fortress, and having behind it a great garden enclosure adorned with a lofty grove of trees.

The "Coffee-house" of that day belonged to Samuel Carpenter, in the neighbourhood of Front and Walnut Streets, near which he had also erected the first crane, and built the first bake-house, and first wharves for the accommodation of ships.

At this time the only places of "common landing" were at the "low sandy beach," open till lately on the north side of the Drawbridge. Another was at the "Penny Pot-house" on the north side of Vine Street. The third and last was at a great breach through the high hill at Arch Street, over which an arched bridge extended,—thus letting carts and people descend to "the landing" by passing under the arch.

We must conceive that in the earliest days, the Indians were more or less constantly present, either as spectators of the improvements thus progressing, or, as venders of their game and venison from the neighbouring woods. New England barks too, were early allured to bring in their supplies of provisions. The Swedes and Dutch, as

neighbours, brought their productions to market as a matter of course. The Friends, before settled in and about Burlington, had already begun their thrifty Jersey traffic.

Horse mills were resorted to for grinding corn, and floating windmills on the Delaware were also used. The great mill, for its day, was the "Governor's mill,"—a low structure on the location of the present Craig's Factory. Great was the difficulty then of going to it, they having to traverse the morass of Cohoquinoque, (since Pegg's marsh and run,) and on the northern bank of which the Indians were still hutted; thence they had to wade through the Cohocsinc creek beyond it.* What a toil! Wheel carriages were out of the question in such an expedition; and boats, or canoes, either ascended the Cohocsinc, then a navigable stream for such, or horses bore the grain or meal on their backs.

How rude and rural every thing then!—What a *rus in urbe!*—How homespun and plain in their apparel,—how hospitable yet frugal in their diet,—how universally acquainted and familiar,—how devoid of all pre-eminence and ostentation,—what freedom and frankness in their interchange of commodities,—what mutual helps and reciprocities in borrowing and lending,—what commutation of labour and services for corn and necessaries,—what certain enrichment to the "diligent hand," to prudent mechanics whose skill and labour were in constant requisition,—how plain and rude then in their household furniture,—how free to use carts or horses then, for occasions which now their descendants must accomplish in gilded equipages!

> "While we thus retrace with memory's pointing wand,
> That calls the past to our exact review,"

We may readily conceive that the young people of both sexes often formed exploring parties. Wishing to see the scenes which environed them, they plunged into the deep woods beyond the Dock Creek; thence making a great circuit, they have seen the then wild Schuylkill shadowed by towering sycamores and oaks, and all the intermediate woods crowded with grape vines and whortleberries. Being protected from surprise by their needful guns, they start or shoot the rabbit, the rackoon, perhaps the fox, or the heavy wild turkey. Perhaps they have met with a colony of friendly Indians, and, bent on novelty and sport, they have bargained for the use of their canoes. Into these slender vessels they have huddled, and thus have made a voyage of discovery up and down the Manaiunk, endangered all the way by the frequent leapings of the reckless sturgeons.†

Even the boys of that day had their rural exploits quite close to

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* A Mrs. Smith and her horse were both drowned in attempting to cross, at where is now the long stone bridge. And in latter times a horse and rider sunk and were lost in the quicksand there.

† These were then so numerous, says Penn, that many of them could be seen vaulting into the air at once, and often they fell into and overset the canoes.

their own doors. There they could set snares and gins for game, and there they were sure of trapping rabbits, quails, &c. What a tramp it must have been for the urchins then to get over the great Dock Creek, and to lose themselves in the mysterious wanderings of the opposite woods. There starting and pursuing the wild game; sometimes chasing the fleet footed wild turkeys, which disdained to fly while their legs could serve their escape. If not so occupied, they found employment in gathering shellbarks, walnuts, filberts, or chestnuts; or ate of whortleberries, or blackberries, as the season and the fruit might serve.

"But times are alter'd,—trade has chang'd the scene,"
"——————————where scatter'd hamlets rose
Unwieldy wealth, and cumbrous pomp repose—
And rural mirth and manners are no more!"

A person fully alive to the facts which in this new land still environ him wherever he goes, can hardly ride along the highway, or traverse our fields and woods, without feeling the constant intrusion of thoughts like these, to wit:—Here lately prowled the beasts of prey,—there crowded the deep interminable woodland shade,—through that cripple browsed the deer,—in that rude cluster of rocks and roots were sheltered the American rattlesnake, just emblem of our brave, which, slow of entrance to a quarrel, are bold to sustain it.* These rich meadows were noxious swamps. On those sun-side hills of golden grain crackled the growing maize of the tawny aborigines. Where we stand, perchance to pause, rest the ashes of a Chief, or of his family; and where we have chosen our sites for our habitations, may have been the selected spots on which were hutted the now departed lineage of many generations. On yon path-way, seen in the distant view, climbing the remote hills, may have been the very path first tracked, from time immemorial, by the roving Indians themselves. Nay, it is very possible, that on the very site of Coaquanock, by the margin of the Dock Creek, on which their wigwams clustered and their canoes were sheltered,—on the very spot where Henry, Hancock and Adams since inspired the delegates of the colonies (at the Carpenter's Hall) with nerve and sinew for the toils of war,—there may have been lighted the council-fires of wary Sachems, and there may have pealed the rude eloquence of Tamanend himself,—and of the Shingas, Tadeuscunds and Glikicans of their primitive and undebauched age! In short, on these topics, an instructed mind, formed and disciplined to Shenstone's muse, could not be idle!

"But oft, in contemplation led,
O'er the long vista that has fled,
Would draw from meditative lore
The shadows of the scene before!"

* The naval flag of the revolution, besides the thirteen stripes, had a rattlesnake, with the motto—"Don't tread on me." See particulars in the North American of 24th June, 1841.

FACTS AND OCCURRENCES OF THE PRIMITIVE SETTLEMENT.

"I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times."

"PENN's instructions for settling the colony," dated the 30th of September, 1681, had long been buried among the lumber of the Hamilton family, and they were fortunately at length discovered among other papers, in the year 1827. I herein make some extracts as worthy of particular notice and remembrance in my inquiries, to wit:

It is addressed to three commissioners as then about to depart from England with people for the settlement. It refers to his cousin, William Markham, as "then on the spot," acting as his deputy, and prepared beforehand to receive them. He speaks of their ability to procure supplies on the Jersey side of the river, if the Dutch, Swedes or English already in the province should be immoderate in their prices; thus indicating the state of previous population and improvement.

He shows his expectation that the "great towne" might be located at Upland, (i. e. the neighbourhood of Chester, thus agreeing with the tradition,) by saying, "let the rivers and creeks be sounded on my side of the Delaware River, especially Upland, in order to settle a great towne; and be sure to make your choice where it is most navigable, high, dry and healthy, and not swampy. It would be well, he says, if the river coming into the creek (I presume at Chester) be navigable, at least for boats, up into the country."* At the same time he admits the possibility of a previously determined location, by saying, "should it be already taken up in greater proportions, in that case they are to use their influence to have it diminished to the size in his scheme, so that a good design be not spoiled thereby." The bounds of a city are not designated; (as some have often since said†) but the Liberties contiguous thereto are recommended to comprise 10,000 acres, and to be apportioned among the purchasers in parcels equal to 100 acres of the said Liberties for every 5000 acres possessed in the country; and in cases where persons shall have a proportion

* Thus showing how well they fulfilled his wishes in selecting such a preferable stream as the Schuylkill so near the city, even without his special designation of that river.—Surpassing too, in advantages, the once projected site of "old Philadelphia," near the "Bake-house," the south side of Poquesink creek in Byberry, which was abandoned it is said, because of the sunken rocks found there, called the "Hen and Chickens."

† Dean Prideaux's "Connexions" says he had the plan of the great Babylon in his view.

of ten acres fallen to their lot by the water side, they to abate five and take those five acres more backward, and so proportionably for every other size. If, however, they could not find a site by the water side affording land enough to allow the proportion of 100 to 5000 acres, then get what they can, even though it were but 50 acres to a share. Be sure to settle the streets uniform down to the water. Let the place for the store-house be on the middle of the key, which will serve for market and state-houses too. This may be ordered when he shall come in the next season."

"Pitch upon the very middle of the plot of the towne, to be laid facing the harbour, for the situation of my house." Thus designating, as I conceive, the location of his dwelling in Lætitia Court, and intimating his desire to have it facing the river, as "the line of houses of the towne should be," and at least 200 paces from the river. He purposed that each house should be in the middle of the breadth of his ground, so as to give place to gardens, &c. Such as might "be a green country towne which might never be burnt and might always be wholesome." Finally, he recommends his commissioners to be tender of offending the Indians; to make them presents; and in his name to buy their lands, assuring them that "we intend to sit down lovingly among them."

William Penn, in his letter of the 25th of 8th mo., 1681, addressed to James Harrison, then at Boulton, says, "my voyage is not like to be so quick as I hoped, because the people, on whose going his resolutions and service in going depends, though they buy, and most send servants to clear and sow a piece of land against they come, not one fifth of them can now get rid of their concerns here till spring. When they go, I go. I am like to have many from France, some from Holland, and some, I hear, from Scotland."

In the same letter* he annexes a power for him to sell, in England, lands of Pennsylvania, to those who will buy. And he adds, "a ship with commissioners will go suddenly in five weeks."

"I eye the Lord in obtaining the country, and as I have so obtained I desire I may not be unworthy of his love, but do that which may answer his kind providence and serve his truth and people, that an example may be set up to the nations! There may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment."

William Penn's letter* of the 3d of 8th mo., 1685, to "dear Thomas Lloyd," says, "I recommend the bearer, Charles De la Noe, a French minister of good name for his sincere and zealous life, and well recommended from his own country. If he is used well more will follow. He is humble and intends to work for his bread, has two servants, and a genius to a vineyard and a garden. Let him have £40 worth of corn if he wants it. It will be of good savour, for a letter is come over (to England) from a great Professor in France to some here, to say there is no room (there) for any but Quakers," &c.

* These MS. letters were in my possession.

"I pray J. Harrison to use the Frenchman* (a former one it is presumed) at the Schuylkill well. I hope a vineyard there (to have) for all this."

Penn, speaking of the Duke of Monmouth's insurrection, says, "About 300 are to be hung in the towns, and 1000 to be transported; of whom I have begged about 20 of the king." Would it not now be a matter of curiosity to know what degrees of credit or renown some of these descendants now occupy among us!

William Penn's letter† to James Harrison, of the 4th of 8th mo., 1685, (then his steward at Pennsbury,) says, "persecution is excessively high in France; not a meeting of Protestants is left. Many, and much wealth, will visit your parts." [They went generally to New Rochelle, near New York.]

William Penn's letter† to his steward speaks of sending out, for his family purposes, beef in barrels, butter in casks, and candles, all from Ireland! Also a fishing net, brick-makers, masons, wheel-wrights, carpenters, &c. He asks from this country, as rarities, smoked shad and beef; also shrubs and sassafras. Some, he says, come to him to be helped over on the terms he published for the poor.

In the Pastorius MS. papers in my possession, I glean the following facts of arrival and landing. He arrived in 1683, and was the founder of Germantown. He came over with a ship-load from England, in the America, Captain Joseph Wasey, and were chased, as they feared, "by the cruel and enslaving Turks." He thus describes the features of the city plot: "The fortunate day of our arrival, on the 20th of 6th mo., 1683, I was as glad to land from the vessel every whit as St. Paul's shipmates were to land at Melita. Then Philadelphia consisted of three or four little cottages; [such as Edward Drinker's, Sven Sener, &c.] all the residue being only woods, underwoods, timber and trees, among which I several times have lost myself in travelling no farther than from the water side (where was his cave) to the house, now of our friend William Hudson,—then allotted to a Dutch baker, whose name was Cornelius Bom. What my thoughts were of such a renowned city (I not long before having seen London, Paris, Amsterdam, Gandt, &c.) is needless to rehearse; but what I think now (in 1718, when he wrote) I dare ingenuously say, viz: that God has made of a desert an enclosed garden, and the plantations about it, a fruitful field."

William Penn's letter of the 28th of 5th mo., (July,) 1683, to the Earl of Sunderland, says, "I have laid out the province in counties; six are begun to be seated, lying on the great river, and planted about six miles back. Our town plot has a navigable river on each side,—about 80 houses are built, and 300 farms are settled contiguous to it. The soil is good—air serene and sweet, from the cedar, pine and sassafras, with a wild myrtle of great fragrance. I have had better veni-

* I take this Frenchman to have been an ancestor of Andrew Doz, a very respectable citizen. The family is now extinct.

† These MS. letters were in my possession.

son, bigger, more tender, and as fat as in England. Turkeys of the wood I had of forty and fifty pounds weight. Fish in abundance, especially shad and rock. Oysters are monstrous for bigness. In the woods are divers fruits, wild, and flowers that for colour, largeness, and beauty, excel."

William Penn's letter of the 16th of 8th mo., 1683, to the Free Society of Traders, says,

I. The province in general is as followeth,—

II. The air is sweet and clear; the heavens serene, like the south of France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come by numbers of people to be more cleared—will refine it more.*

III. The waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms; and in number, hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, that operate in the same manner with Barnet and North Hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

IV. For the seasons of the year, having, by God's goodness, now lived over the coldest and hottest, that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

First, Of the fall; for then I came in: I found it, from the 24th of October to the beginning of December, as we have it usually, in England, in September, or rather, like an English mild spring. From December to the beginning of the month called March, we had sharp frosty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them, in England; but a sky as clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more clothes than in England. The reason of this cold is given, as from the great lakes, that are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was as mild, scarce any ice at all; while this, for a few days, froze up our great river Delaware. From that month, to the month called June, we enjoyed a sweet spring; no gusts, but gentle showers, and a fine sky. Yet, this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant, spring and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer, or winter. From thence to this present month, (August) which endeth the summer, (commonly speaking) we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind, that ruleth the summer season, is the south-west; but spring, fall, and winter, it is rare to want the north-western seven days together. And whatever mists, fogs, or vapours, foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in two hours' time, are blown away; the one is followed by the other: a remedy that seems to have a peculiar providence in it, to the inhabitants; the multitude of trees, yet standing, being liable to retain mists and vapours; and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

V. The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note, are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chestnut, poplar, gum-wood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech,

* How true it is.

and oak of divers sorts, as red, white and black; spanish, chestnut, and swamp, the most durable of all. Of all which there is plenty for the use of man.

The fruits, that I find in the woods, are the white and black mulberry, chestnut, walnut, plums, strawberries, cranberries, whortleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. There are also very good peaches, and in great quantities; not an Indian plantation without them; but whether naturally here at first, I know not. However one may have them by bushels for little: they make a pleasant drink; and I think, not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets, already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best, where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But, to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine as any of the European countries, of the same latitude, do yield.

VI. The artificial produce of the country is wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumpkins, water-melons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots, that our gardens in England usually bring forth.

VII. Of living creatures; fish, fowl, and the beasts of the woods; here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only: For food, as well as profit, the Elk, as big as a small ox; deer, bigger than ours; beaver, rackoon, rabbits, squirrels; and some eat young bear, and commend it. Of fowl of the land; there is the turkey, (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great; pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons and partridges, in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and gray; brands, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curlew, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel; nor so good have I ever eat in other countries. Of fish, there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cats-head, sheeps-head, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers, trout, some say salmon, above the falls. Of shell-fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs and muscles; some oysters six inches long; and one sort of cockles as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and that are natural to these parts, are the wild-cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, minx, musk-rat; and of the water, the whale, for oil, of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers, whose boats are built, will soon begin their work; which hath the appearance of a considerable improvement: to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

VIII. We have no want of horses; and some are very good, and shapely enough; two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes with horses and pipe-staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle, and some sheep; the people plough most with oxen.

IX. There are divers plants, that not only the Indians tell us, but

we have had occasion to prove, by swellings, burnings, cuts, &c., that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient; and, for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the others I know not what to call, but are most fragrant.

X. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers, for colour, greatness, figure and variety. I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods; I have sent a few to a person of quality this year, for a trial. This much of the country.

By some MS. papers of the Pemberton family once in my possession, I ascertain that the Harrison and Pemberton families (intermarried) came over together, among 50 passengers, in the ship Submission, Captain James Settle, from Liverpool. The terms of passage were four pounds five shillings for all persons over 12 years of age; for all children, two pounds two shillings and sixpence; and for all goods, thirty pounds per ton. Their contract was, "to proceed to Delaware river or elsewhere in Pennsylvania to the best conveniency of freighters." It may serve to know the execution of such voyages, to learn, that by distress of weather, they were landed in the "Potuxen river in Maryland," whence they came to the place of Philadelphia, and proceeded thence to Pennsbury neighbourhood, where they settled and occupied places of distinguished trust.

When James Harrison and his son-in-law, Phineas Pemberton, first entered Philadelphia on horse-back, from Choptank in Maryland, the latter records that at that time (November, 1682) they could not procure entertainment there for their horses; "they therefore spancelled them, (by leathern hopples I presume,) and turned them out into the woods." They sought them next morning in vain, and after two days search (think what a wide range they must have enjoyed!) they were obliged to take a boat to proceed up the river to Bucks county. One of those horses was not found till the succeeding January!

We are indebted for a primitive story of much interest, to Deborah Morris, of Philadelphia, a pious lady of the Society of Friends. She died about 40 years ago, at about the age of 65. She having fine affections for the relics and the incidents of the primitive settlers, made the codicil of her will peculiar by some of the memorials she there perpetuated, by connecting the history with the gifts which she there wills to her descendants. The facts are best told in her own simplicity of language, and her habitual pious feelings, to wit:—"The large silver old-fashioned salver, I give to my nephew, Thomas Morris, was given to my dear parents by my mother's aunt, Elizabeth Hard, a worthy good woman, [she being the first orphan ever left in charge of George Fox's Society of Friends in England,] whose sweet innocent deportment used to give me high esteem and regard for the ancient people. She came from England with William Penn and other Friends. My grandfather and wife came two years before her, and settled in the Jerseys; but when she heard her

sister designed to Philadelphia, they removed thither also, and just got settled in a cave on the bank of the river, where is now called the Crooked Billet wharf, (so named from an ancient tavern on the wharf, about 100 feet northward of Chestnut Street, having a crooked billet of wood for its sign) when my dear aunt (Hard) arrived; which she esteemed a divine providence thus to find her sister, whom she had not seen for some years, thus ready to receive her in the cave. They there dwelt together until they could build.* I remember, whilst writing, one passage among many others which she related, which I have often pleasingly thought of, as it has raised my hopes, increased my faith and dependence on that arm which never failed our worthy ancestors. It was with them supporting through all their difficulties, and many attended them in settling a new country. In hopes of its being as profitably remembered by my cousins as myself I'll repeat it, to wit:—All that came wanted a dwelling, and hastened to provide one. As they lovingly helped each other, the women set themselves to work they had not been used to before; for few of our first settlers were of the laborious class, and help of that sort was scarce. My good aunt (Hard) thought it expedient to help her husband at one end of the saw, and to fetch all such water to make mortar of as they then had to build their chimney.† At one time, being overwearied therewith, her husband desired her to forbear, saying, 'thou, my dear, had better think of dinner;' on which, poor woman, she walked away, weeping as she went, and reflecting on herself for coming here, to be exposed to such hardships, and then not know where to get a dinner, for their provision was all spent, except a small quantity of biscuit and cheese, of which she had not informed her husband; but thought she would try which of her friends had any to spare. Thus she walked on towards her tent, (happy time when each one's treasure lay safe therein,) but was a little too desponding in her mind, for which she felt herself closely reproved; and as if queried with,—'didst thou not come for liberty of conscience,—hast thou not got it,—also been provided for beyond thy expectation?' Which so humbled her, she on her knees begged forgiveness and preservation in future, and never repined afterwards.

"When she arose, and was going to seek for other food than what she had, her cat came into the tent, and had caught a fine large rabbit, which she thankfully received and dressed as an English hare. When her husband came into dinner, being informed of the facts, they both wept with reverential joy, and ate their meal, which was thus seasonably provided for them, in singleness of heart. Many such providential cases did they partake of:—and thus did our worthy

* Anthony M. Buckley, of Philadelphia, a descendant, showed me, in 1841, a very fine napkin in diamond figure, which had been spun by Elizabeth Hard while in that cave, and woven by the Germans in Germantown. He also showed me a *very pretty* chair, low and small, which had been a sitting chair in that cave.

† In that manner Carter's wife carried the hod for him when building his dwelling, on the south-east corner of Fourth and Chestnut street, where is now Carey's book store.

ancestors witness the arm of divine love extended for their support." [She lived to be 93 years of age.]

In memory of the foregoing moving recital, the said Deborah Morris wills to her beloved uncle, Luke Morris, a silver tureen, (once a sugar-box, and supplied with the addition of handles) marked A. M.—S. M.—D. M., which had once been his grandfather's; but made chiefly interesting to the present reader, by the additional fact, that it had engraved upon it the device of the cat seizing upon and bearing off the rabbit, according to the preceding recital.

I have heard some other facts connected with the above incidents, told to me by Mrs. Nancarro, who had taken soup out of that tureen. She had heard them among some of the Morris family descended of Anthony Morris of Penn's day. But the story is already sufficiently long.

William Penn's letter of 1683, thus describes some of the earliest facts of Philadelphia, to wit:—the names of the streets are mostly taken from the things which spontaneously grow in the country.

There is a fair key of about 300 feet square, (a little above Walnut Street,) built by Samuel Carpenter, to which a ship of 500 tons may lay her broadside. Others intend to follow his example. We have also a rope-walk, made by B. Wilcox, (Mayor of the city) there inhabits most sorts of useful tradesmen; divers brickeries going on; many cellars already stoned or bricked, and some brick houses going up. The hours for work and meals for labourers are fixed and known by ringing of bell. After nine at night the officers (all private citizens serving in turns) go the rounds, and no person, without very good cause, suffered to be at any public house, except as a lodger.

Robert Turner, in his letter to William Penn of the 3d of 6 mo., 1685, describing the progress of Philadelphia, speaks thus:—"The towne goes on in planting and building to admiration, both in the front and backward, about 600 houses in three years' time. Bricks are exceeding good, and cheaper than they were, say at 16 shillings per thousand, and brick houses are now as cheap to build as wood. Many brave brick houses are going up with good cellars. Humphrey Murray, (Mayor) from New York, has built a large timber house with brick chimnies." After naming several persons who have built, he adds, "all these have balconies; we build most houses with them."

"Last winter great plenty of deer were brought in, by the Indians and English, from the country. The Germans are manufacturing linen finely."

The first Isaac Norris was married at Philadelphia, after the manner of Friends, in a private house in Front street, a little northward of the Drawbridge. I have learnt, that when the Society was but small, it was the practice of the Friends to hold their week-day meetings in private houses; from that cause Isaac Norris was so married.

Colonel Coxe, the grandfather of the late Tench Coxe, Esqr., made an elopement in his youth with an heiress, Sarah Eckley, a Friend. What was singular in their case was, that they were married in the woods in Jersey by fire light, by the chaplain of Lord Cornbury, the then Governor of New Jersey. The meeting of the chaplain there seemed to have been accidental. The fact gave some scandal to the serious friends of her family. A letter of Margaret Preston, of 1707, which I have seen, thus describes her umbrage at the fact, saying:—"The news of Sarah Eckley's marriage is both sorrowful and surprising, with one Colonel Coxe, a fine flaunting gentleman, said to be worth a great deal of money,—a great inducement, it is said, on her side. His sister Trent was supposed to have promoted the match. Her other friends were ignorant of the match. It took place in the absence of her uncle and aunt Hill, between two and three in the morning, on the Jersey side, under a tree by fire light. They have since proselyted her, and decked her in finery."

In the early period of Philadelphia it was very common for the good livers to have malt-houses on their several premises for making home-made strong beer; there were such at J. Logan's at Pennsbury, and at several others, even till 70 years ago.

Professor Kalm, the Swedish traveller, who visited Philadelphia in 1748–9, relates what he heard of Nils Gustafson, an old Swede of 91 years of age; he said he could well remember the state of the country at the time when the Dutch possessed it, and in what case it was before the arrival of the English. He had himself brought a great deal of timber to Philadelphia at the time it was built. He still remembered to have seen a great forest on the spot where Philadelphia since stands.

Kalm states some facts of the city of his own observation, such as, that whenever he walked out beyond the streets, he saw numerous grape vines growing in every direction near the city.

He speaks of the red cedar being once so abundant as that all post of fences were made of it, in some places even to the very rails. Several of the canoes, the most common kind of boat in use, were sometimes made of red cedar.

Several houses were of tiled roofs, and several of stone of a mixture of black or gray glimmer, i. e., having isinglass therein; these he said did not make moist walls. Water Street, in his time, ran along the river, southward of the High Street,—the northern part being a later work. The greatest ornament of a public kind he then saw in the city, was "the Town Hall, (the State-house) having a tower with a bell." It was then greater than Christ Church; (not then fully built up) for he says, "the two churches then in Elizabethtown surpassed in splendour any thing then in Philadelphia!"

He speaks of minks being sometimes found living in the docks and bridges at Philadelphia, and there destroying numbers of the

rats. They were generally along the Delaware in the hollow trees.

Many of the ancient houses which he saw still in Philadelphia had been built of stone, and had the lime made from oyster shells; this caused them always to have wet walls for two or three days before a rain, so that great drops of water rested on them; they were indeed good hygrometers, but much complained of; they fell into premature decay, and are since gone.

One fact related by Mr. Kalm attaches with peculiar force to Philadelphia; he was much surprised with the abundance and hardness of our laurel tree, called by the settlers and Indians the spoon tree, because the latter made of it their spoons, trowels, &c. Linnæus has called it Kalmia latifolia, after the name of Kalm, who took it home to Sweden in the form of a spoon made by an Indian, who had killed many stags on the spot where Philadelphia now stands,—they subsisted on its leaves in the winter season.

Old George Warner, a Friend, who died at Philadelphia in 1810, aged 99 years, gave a verbal description of Philadelphia as he saw it at his landing here in the year 1726. The passengers of the ship, having the small pox on board, were all landed at the Swedes' Church, then "far below the great towne;" there they were all generously received by one Barnes, who treated them (such as could receive it) with rum,—the first Warner had ever seen. Barnes led them out to the "Blue House Tavern;" (which stood till the year 1828, at the south west corner of South and Ninth Streets, near a great pond,) they then saw nothing in all their route but swamps and lofty forests, no houses, and abundance of wild game.

There they remained till recovered; then he was conducted to the "Boatswain and Call Tavern," (in aforetime the celebrated "Blue Anchor Inn") at the Drawbridge, north-west corner. In all this route he saw not one house, and the same character of woody waste. At that time, he knew but of three or four houses between that place and the Swedes' Church, and those houses were in small "clearings" without enclosures. Northward from the Drawbridge, as high up as High Street, there were but two wharves then built; say, the one of Anthony Morris, the other belonging to the Allen family in more modern times.

In walking out High Street, he much admired the very thrifty and lofty growth of the forest trees, especially from beyond the Centre Square to the then romantic and picturesque banks of the Schuylkill. The only pavement he then noticed, was near the old Court House, and the then short market house, extending from that house westward, about a half a square in length.

As this venerable old gentleman possessed his faculties to the last, he would have proved a treasure to one in my way of inquiry. It was indeed a mental fund to himself, to have had in his own person so much observation of the passing scenes he must have witnessed in such a changeful city; contrasting its infant growth with its rapid

improvements as late as the year of his death! He was of course in his 15th year when he arrived—just at an age when the imagination is lively, and the feelings are strongly disposed to observation.

Holmes' "Portraiture of Philadelphia," done in 1683–4, as a kind of city platform, shows the localities first chosen for buildings at that early time. It shows about 20 cabins constructed on the river bank.

At the "Society hill," from Pine street to above Union street, they had their houses and grounds extending up to Second street. At the little triangular "square," at the south-east corner of Second and Spruce streets, was the lot and residence of their president, Nicholas Moore. On the north-west corner of Second and South streets was a small house, on the lot of William Penn, Jr.

All lots owned on Delaware Front street are marked as running through to Second street, and they all have the same quantities also on Schuylkill Front street. About six to eight of such lots fill up a square. These were all owners of 1000 acres and upwards in the country, and received their city lots as appurtenant perquisites to their country purchases.

Samuel Carpenter's lot is from Front to Second street, and is the second lot above Walnut street, No. 16. Charles Pickering (the counterfeiter, I presume,) has his house on No. 22, midway from Chestnut street to High street. John Holme, (related to the surveyor-general,) who owns No. 32, at the north-west corner of Arch and Front streets, has also the first house built on the Schuylkill, at the correspondent corner there. The chief of the first buildings marked begin northward of Dock street, and continue up to Race street. Several are marked as built on Second street, but only between Chestnut and Walnut streets, and they all on the western side of the street. In truth, the eastern side of Second street was regarded for some time as the back lots, or ends of the Front street lots. Three houses are marked on Chestnut street, above Third street, and three on Mulberry street, above Third street; on High street there are none. The map itself may be consulted on page 372 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Among those who plotted the dethronement of King James was Lord Peterborough. To conceal his purposes, he effected his voyage to Holland, by passing over to Pennsylvania with William Penn. What he says of his visit there is curious.* "I took a trip with William Penn (says he) to his colony of Pennsylvania. There the laws are contained in a small volume, and are so extremely good that there has been no alteration wanted in any of them, ever since *Sir* William made them. They have no lawyers, but every one is to tell his own case, or some friend for him. They have five persons as judges on the bench; and after the case is fully laid down on all

* A friend, however, suggests that this must be metaphorically taken. He only meant that he visited William Penn, and that their discourse was about his province and its government, &c.

sides, all the five judges are to draw lots, and he on whom the lot falls, decides the question. It is a happy country, and the people are neither oppressed with poor rates, tythes, nor taxes." As no mention of this visit, *incog.* occurs in any contemporaneous papers, the probability is that his rank and character were concealed from the colonists.

I heard by the late Mrs. Isaac Parrish, an aged lady, an anecdote of her relative, the widow Chandler. Mrs. Chandler came to Philadelphia at the first landing; having lost her husband on the shipboard, (probably from the small pox,) she was left with eight or nine children. Her companions prepared her the usual settlement in a cave on the river bank. She was a subject of general compassion. The pity was felt towards herself and children, even by the Indians, who brought them frequent supplies as gifts. Afterwards a Friend, who had built himself a house, gave them a share in it. In future years, when the children grew up, they always remembered the kind Indians, and took many opportunities of befriending them and their families in return. Among these was "old Indian Hannah," the last survivor of the race, who lived in Chester County, near West Chester, under which head some account of her may be seen in these pages.

An ancient lady, relative of the present Coleman Fisher, Esqr., whose name was Rebecca Coleman, arrived at Philadelphia, at the first settlement, as a young child. At the door of her cave, when one day sitting there eating her milk porridge, she was heard to say again and again; "Now thee shan't again!" "Keep to thy part!" &c. Upon her friends looking to her for the cause, they found she was permitting a snake to participate with her out of the vessel resting on the ground! Happy simplicity and peacefulness!—reminding one strongly of the Bible promise, when "the weaned child should put its hand upon the cockatrice's den!" &c. The said Rebecca Coleman died in 1770, aged 92 years; of course I have, even now, opportunities of conversing with several who were in her company and conversation! If she had been asked to chronicle all the changes and incidents she had witnessed, what a mass of curious facts she might have left for my present elucidation and use!

Mrs. D. Logan told me of her having been informed by the Honourable Charles Thomson, that he often in his younger days used to see persons who had been contemporary with William Penn. It was his pleasure to ask them many questions about the primitive settlement; but as he kept no record of them, many of them have no doubt been lost. He remembered, he said, conversing with a lady whose name was Mrs. Lyle. She had come out in the first expedition. She related to Mr. Thomson that after they had come to Chester, the whole collection of vessels went on up to Burlington. The vessel she sailed in, being the dullest sailer, was left behind the others, so that at eventide, they had reached the present Philadelphia, and not being willing to proceed farther by night in an unknown channel,

and finding there a bold shore, they made their vessel fast to a large limb of a tree, there to pass the night.* The next morning their Captain went ashore to make his observations, and being pleased with the situation, pursued his walk and investigations until he reached the river Schuylkill. When he came back he spoke of the place with raptures, as a fine location for a town. This being reported to the colonists when they arrived at Burlington, several of the leading men, with William Penn at the head, made a visit to the place, and eventually it became Philadelphia.

This same Mrs. Lyle was asked why her husband, who had the choice of places before him, had chosen to locate himself on the Dock Creek (street) and she replied it was because of its convenient and beautiful stream, which afforded them the means of having vessels come close up under their bake-house, then located there below Second Street.

An ancient MS. letter of the year 1693, in my possession, from S. Flower of London to his son, Henry Flower, settled at Philadelphia,† is strongly expressive of that religious excitement in Europe, which so powerfully conduced to supplying this country with population as a place of refuge from impending judgments. Among many other things, it says, "Here was a friend, a Quaker, came lately to London from the North, near Durham, with a message from an inward power or command, and has been to declare it in most or all the Quaker Meetings in London, that sword, famine and pestilence is at hand, and a dreadful earthquake to come, within many months, that will lay great part of the city and suburbs into rubbish and ruins! The Lord grant a repentance to prevent it; if not, to give us hearts to be prepared against the day of tribulation to come upon us." To many who fully confided in such messengers in England and Germany, it was but a natural consequence to sigh for an escape "from woful Europe" and for "peace and safety on our sylvan shore." Such could feelingly say,—

> "Oh for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
> Some boundless contiguity of shade
> Where rumour of oppression and deceit,—
> Of unsuccessful or successful war
> Might never reach!"

The original inequality of the surface of Philadelphia was once much greater than any present observer could imagine, and must have been regarded, even at the time of the location, as an objection to the site. But we can believe that its fine elevation, combined with its proximity to the then important water of Schuylkill River, must have determined its choice where we now have it. The Delaware front must have been a bluff of 25 feet elevation, beginning at the

*It may be observed that much of this story is like that before imputed to the Shield of Stockton, and perhaps both growing out of the same facts; and this, if so, the most direct to us. If the stories are different ones, they show singular coincidence.

†Vide original, page 336 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Navy yard and extending up to Poole's Bridge. If that was desirable, as it doubtless was, "to have it high and dry," besides the supposed conveniency of natural docks for vessels to be wintered from the ice at Dock Swamp, Pegg's Swamp, and Cohocsinc mouth or swamp, we cannot but perceive that no place like it was to be found below it to the mouth of Schuylkill, and none above it, after passing Kensington, until you approach the Bake-house, near Poquesink creek; and there the water was too shallow. Therefore Philadelphia was chosen on the very best spot for a city, notwithstanding it had so irregular a surface then; evidences of which I have shown elsewhere. The probable debates of that day, which must have occupied the minds of those who determined the location, might now make a curious fancy work! The Penn ideas, (which we know) as compressed into few words, are strongly expressed, viz. "It seemed appointed for a town, because of its coves, docks, springs, and lofty land!"

My aged correspondent, Samuel Preston, Esqr., formerly of Bucks County, on pages 488 and 500 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has given some long details from the recollections of his grandmother, who died in the year 1774, at the age of 100 years, in full mind and memory. When she was married, (at or near Pennsbury,) William Penn and sundry Indians were present. He was very sociable and freely gave them friendly advice. She described him as of rather short stature, but the handsomest, best looking, lively gentleman, she had ever seen. There was nothing like pride about him, but affable and friendly with the humblest in life.

After their marriage they went to Wiccaco; her husband there made up frocks, trowsers and moccasons of deer skins, for the Swedes, &c., there; after a time, the little settlement was burnt out, by being surrounded by fire in the woods. They went then, on the invitation of friendly Indians, to Hollekonck, in Buckingham. Both she and her husband, Amos Preston, spoke Indian readily. She even served as interpreter at an Indian treaty at Hollekonck.

She said, at the news of Penn's arrival in the province, she had gone down from Neshamony creek (where she then lived) with others to get to see him; the Indians and Swedes also went along. They met with him at or near the present Philadelphia. The Indians, as well as the whites, had severally prepared the best entertainment the place and circumstances could admit. William Penn made himself endeared to the Indians by his marked condescension and acquiescence in their wishes. He walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and homony. At this they expressed their great delight, and soon began to show how they could hop and jump; at which exhibition William Penn, to cap the climax, sprang up and beat them all! We are not prepared to credit such light gaiety in a sage Governor and religious Chief; but we have the positive assertion of a woman of truth, who said she saw it. There may have been very wise policy in the measure as an act

of conciliation, worth more than a regiment of sharp-shooters. He was then sufficiently young for any agility; and we remember that one of the old journalists among the Friends incidently speaks of him as having naturally an excess of levity of spirit for a grave minister. We give the fact, however, as we got it. It is by gathering up such facts of difficult belief, that we sometimes preserve the only means of unravelling at some later day, a still greater mystery. Sometimes an old song, or legendary tale confirms the whole. "A peasant's song prolongs the dubious tale!"

The same Samuel Preston says of his grandmother, that she said Phineas Pemberton surveyed and laid out a town, intended to have been Philadelphia, up at Pennsbury, and that the people who went there were dissatisfied with the change. On my expressing doubts of this, thinking she may have confused the case of Chester removal, Mr. Preston then further declared, that having, nearly 40 years ago, occasion to hunt through the trunks of surveys of John Lukens, Surveyor General of Bucks County, he and Lukens then saw a ground plot for a city of Philadelphia, signed Phineas Pemberton, Surveyor General, that fully appeared to have been in Pennsbury Manor; also another for the present town of Bristol, then called Buckingham. He also asserts, that from old titles which he has seen, there was a place called therein "Old Philadelphia," being on the bank of the river, next below Pottequessing Creek, i. e. Poquesink Creek, being the bank northward of the ancient "Bake-house," now Morgan's place. The same name, "Old Philadelphia," I have heard there from the old landholders.

Items of Olden Time, extracted from the Minutes of the Assembly of Pennsylvania.

1694.—3 mo. 24th.—A committee of eight members being appointed to inspect the aggrievances of the inhabitants of this government, report:

1st. That the person commissioned to be the clerk of the market, hath committed several misdemeanors.

2d. That there is not an ordinary appointed in each respective county for the Probate of Wills.

4th. That there is not more than one ferry allowed over Schuylkill, near this town.

5th. That seizing, or taking away the boat belonging to the inhabitants of Haverford, Radnor, Merioneth, and Darby, is an aggrievance, and of ill-tendency to the inhabitants of this province.*

1695.—7 mo. 9th.—The house chose Edward Shippen, Speaker, where-

* The original paper, by P. Robinson, concerning that affair, may be seen on page 314 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

upon it was moved, that three members should treat with Sarah Whitpan* for to hire her room to sit in.

1696.—The Assembly met at the house of Samuel Carpenter,† in Philadelphia.

1698.—3 mo. 12th.—Daniel Smith was chosen Messenger, and attested to keep secret the debates of this house, and the door in safety.

A petition was read from some of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, praying to put down pewter and lead farthings; referred for further consideration.

3 mo. 27th.—The house met at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, being prevented from meeting at the time appointed by reason of a great fire, which happened in the town this morning.

3 mo. 31st.—Ordered that Jonathan Dickinson have for his labour and attendance as clerk of this present Assembly, £5—that Daniel Smith be paid 50s. as door-keeper and messenger, and that James Fox satisfy for the rent of the house where the Assembly was held.

1699—12 mo. 6th.—Adjourned to Isaac Norris' house, by reason of the extreme cold, for an hour.

Thomas Makin, voted to be clerk for this Assembly, at 4s. per day. [He was Latin teacher of Friends' Academy.]

Twenty-one pounds was voted as a provincial charge for damage done by privateers plundering the town of Lewes.

1700.—4 mo. 6th.—Adjourned till 8 o'clock precisely to-morrow morning; and he that stays beyond the hour to pay ten pence.

1701.—10 mo. 15th.—*Governor's Message to the Assembly.*‡

Friends,—Your union is what I desire; but your peace and accommodating of one another, is what I must expect from you: the reputation of it is something; the reality much more. I desire you to remember and observe what I say. Yield in circumstances, to preserve essentials; and being safe in one another, you will always be so in esteem with me. Make me not sad, now I am going to leave you; since it is for you, as well as your friend and proprietary and Governor,

WILLIAM PENN.

1705.—10 mo. 19th.—Ordered, that notice of the time and place of receiving quit rents be given, by affixing notes or advertisements on the door of every public meeting-house for religious worship in each county.

11 mo. 3d.—The petition of Thomas Makin, complaining of damage accruing to him by the loss of several of his scholars, by reason of the Assembly's using the school-house so long,—the weather being cold,—ordered, that he be allowed the sum of three pounds, over and above the sum of twenty shillings this house formerly allowed him, for the same consideration.

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* Robert Whitepane's great house was recommended by William Penn's letter of 1687, to be used for the offices of State. It was on east side of Front Street, below Walnut Street, and being built of shell lime, fell into premature decay.

† Samuel Carpenter's house was situate, I presume, in Water Street, above Walnut street.

‡ This letter of rare brevity, presents a surprising contrast to modern messages.

12 mo. 22d.—Resolved, by a majority of voices, that the county out of whose representatives the Speaker happens to be chosen, shall pay his whole salary of ten shillings per day.

1706.—10 mo. 14th.—The house met; the Speaker together with all the members present, took and subscribed the declarations and professions of faith prescribed by law.

[Note.—The last paragraph of the declaration reads thus, viz. "And we, the said subscribing representatives, and each of us for himself, do solemnly and sincerely profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for evermore. And we do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be given by divine inspiration."]

[John Churchman, a public Friend, in his Journal, says, "I have understood that it was formerly a common practice for them (the Assembly) to sit in silence awhile, like solemn worship, before they proceeded to do business."—He wrote in 1748.]

Minutes of the City Council, from 1704 *to* 1776.

The original Minutes of Council, from which the following are extracts, were unexpectedly found a few years ago by William Meredith, Esq. in the garret part of his house, at the south-west corner of Tenth and Walnut streets. It had before been the residence of Edward Burd, Esqr., Prothonotary, and they had probably been once in his possession, and lost sight of after his death. The whole were comprised in several small MS. books,—since bound together and placed in the office of the City Council. The whole extracts, as originally prepared for me by my friend J. J. S. may be seen together in my volume of MS. Annals, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with notes of elucidation, from pages 475 to 482. In what follows, only such facts are mentioned as are not elsewhere cited in other parts of this work,—to wit:

At a meeting of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, at the house of Herbert Carey, of this city, Innholder, the third day of October, 1704,

Present, Anthony Morris, Mayor, David Lloyd, Recorder, } Aldermen and Council.

The above said Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council, pursuant to the business of the day, proceeded to the election of a Mayor for the said City, for the year ensuing, and Alderman Griffith Jones is elected Mayor, Nemine Contradicente, of which he accepted, and moved that the £20 fine laid upon him, for refusing to accept of the Mayoralty the last year, may be remitted him, and it is granted, and the said fine is hereby remitted and forgiven.

At a Common Council at the Coffy House, the 1st day of December, 1704, present, Griffith Jones, Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen.

Richard Pruce, John Till, Widow Bristow, Myles Godforth, Christopher Lobb, Philip Wallis, &c. persons who keep teems within the city,

being sent for, now came and are admonished, (that mischief being lately committed by some of them) to take care how they drive their carts within this city, for that an ordinance will be immediately made for their regulation.

It is ordered, that John Budd and Henry Badcock do winter the Two Town Bulls, until the 1st of June next, and that they shall have £4 a piece for the same, to be paid them out of the public stock of this city, which they undertook to do.

Ordered and agreed that a Watch-house shall be built in the Market-place, 16 feet long, and 14 wide.

Mem. That an ordinance be considered to prevent boyling tar into pitch, heating pitch upon the wharf, or within 20 feet of any building or hay stack.

Ordered, that the Mayor, once in every month, goe the rounds to the respective bread-bakers in this city, and weigh their bread, and seize all such as shall be deficient in weight, and dispose of the same as the law directs.

At a Common Council held at the Coffy house, 15th Dec. 1704, present G. Jones, Mayor, &c. &c.

2nd Feb'y. 1705.—Aldermen Wilcox, Carter, &c. who were appointed by an order of the last Common Council to divide the city into wards, and to report the same to this Council, report that they have divided this city into wards, and have returned the same under their hands.

It being moved in this Council that that part of the city between Broad Street and Delaware be grub'd and clean'd from all its rubish, in order to produce English grass, which would be of great use and advantage to the inhabitants keeping cattle therein. It is ordered that some proper method be thought upon for the doing thereof by Alderman Shippen, &c.

It is ordered that the Cryer take an account of all the inhabitants of this city keeping cows, and give an account of their names, and number of cows they keep upwards of two years old.

9 April, 1705.—James Bingham is this day admitted a freeman, paying for the same 3l. 2s. 6d, which he accepted and signed.

Samuel Savage is admitted a freeman, and paid for the same 1l. 2s. 6d.

Matthew Robinson is admitted a freeman at 2s. 6d.

(Similar notices are of constant occurrence.)

1st June, 1705.—Alderman Masters, Alderman Jones, Tho's. Pascall, &c. &c. not appearing at this Council, are fined 3s. a piece.

It is ordered that Alderman Carter and John Parsons do oversee the Repairs of the Old Cage, to be converted into a Watch house for present occasion.

29 Dec'r. 1705.—A petition from Joh. Cropp, for an Ordinance, to encourage him for setting up a public Slaughter House—and settling the rate for Killing Cattle, &c. therein was read.

Ordered, that the Treasurer pay to Solomon Cresson 10s. for the making of 12 Watchmen's Staves and 2 Constables Staves; and also 3s. to Enoch Story for the painting of three Constables Staves.

Ordered, that the Beadle collect from the Inhabitants of this city, the sum of 6d for every Milch Cow by them kept, and pay the same to the Treasurer.

1st October, 1706.—Alderman Story, refusing to accept of the office of

Mayor, therefore, he is fined by this Common Council, the sum of Twenty pounds.

This Council p'ceeded to another Vote for the Election of the Mayor, and Alderman Nathan Stansbury was elected by a Majority of Votes, who accepted thereof.

13 Jan'y. 1707.—Wm. Carter, Thos. Masters, Joseph Yard, and John Redman, are appointed to view the Hollow in the head of Chesnut st. Crossing the fifth street, and take the best methods for making good the same, and giving the water a free passage.

11 Feb'y. 1708.—T. Masters, Mayor. Ordered, that this Corporation do treat the Govr. as usual upon the Arrival of ye sd. Governour, and that the Treasurer defray the charge out of the publick money.

22 July, 1712.—Sam'l Preston, Mayor. Thomas Griffiths, Thomas Redman, and Samuel Powel, are appointed regulators of the Partition walls within this city.

Ordered that an ordinance be drawn, grounded upon a law of this Province, for the Ascertaining the Dimensions of casks, and for true Packing of meats for Transportation, and Alderman Hill is desired to think of a fit person for that office.

14 Aug't. 1713.—Jonathan Dickinson, Mayor. It being very Dificult to Convict such as suffer their Chimneys to take fire contrary to a law of this Province. It is therefore ordered that if the offender will pay the fforfiture without further Trouble, he shall have Ten Shillings abated him.

30 Sept. 1713.—William Hill, the Beadle of this city, having lately in a heat broke his Bell, and given out that he would continue no longer at the place, but now Expresses a great Deal of Sorrow for so doing, and humbly Desires to be Continued therein During his Good Behaviour. And the Premises being Considered, And the Vote put, whether he Should Continue the Place any Longer or No, It past in ye affirmative.

25 Oct. 1714.—Geo. Rock, Mayor. Ordered that the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common Council wait upon the Governour on Wednesday next, at the houre of Twelve in the forenoon, in order to proclaim the King, and afterwards present the Mayor Elect to the Governour to be Qualified.

8 Novr. 1714.—Ordered that an Ordinance be drawn to oblige the sellers of Meal and grain in the Market, to Expose their Meal under the Court House, by opening their sacks mouths, That the Inhabitants may see what they buy.

It is ordered that the sum of Fifteen pounds, and ten shillings, Expended in the entertainment upon the Proclaiming the King, beyond the sum of Fifteen pounds, the Mayor voluntarily expended out of his own Pocket, be repaid the Mayor out of the stall rents.

14 Sept. 1716.—The price of Indenture for Apprentices within this City being now under Consideration. It is agreed and order'd that three Shillings be paid to the Town Clerk for ye Indenture, and one Shilling and sixpence to the Recordr fr the Inrolment.

29 Decr. 1718.—Samuel Powel being required to Pay his stall rents, prays a discount, he being considerable out of pocket in Building of the Bridge over ye Dock in Walnut St. It is the opinion of the Board that such discount may be inconvenient.

15 July 1719.—Edward Howel is appointed to Clear the Square at the

ffront of the Court House, for which he is allowed fforty shillings p. ann. to be paid quarterly.

14 Decr. 1719.—Wm. Fishbourne, Mayor. William Pawlet exhibits an acct of 2s. 6d. for a Bell Rope, 2s. for a Key for a Padlock, 2s. 3d. for smith & Carpenters work about ye Bell, & 4s. for a Double Bell Rope, which is allowed, and the Treasurer ordered to pay him.

The Mayor and Alderman Hill, in Conjunction with the Regulators, are requested to Imploy Jacob Taylor to run out the Seven Streets of this City, and that they cause the same to be staked out, to prevent any Incroachment that may happen in building, for ye want thereof.

11 May, 1720.—Wm. Fishbourne, Mayor.—The draught of the intended bridge to be built over the Dock in the Second street, being laid before ye Board by Alderman Redman, And whether a Bridge of the width of Second street, or one of seventy five foot in the clear, would be most convenient. A majority of the Board Inclined to the latter, whereupon the Mayor, Alderman Hill, &c. are requested to agree with the workmen for the doing thereof, and report the same at the next Council.

28 Novr. 1720.—The Mayor, Recorder, Alderman Logan, Alderman Carter, are desired to Treat with James Henderson, who Now petitions to be a Publick Chimney Sweeper of this City, in Relacon to his Terms and his Capacity of performing itt.

Feby 4, 1722.—Jas. Logan, Mayor. Schuylkill fferry being now again under consideration of the Board, It is the unanimous opinion that application be immediately made to Assembly for an Act to Vest ye said Ferry in ye Corporation, and to have sole Management and Direction thereof. It is Ordered that the Mayor, Recorder, Alderman Hill, &c. prepare and present a petition for that purpose without delay.

Aug. 19, 1723.—J. Logan, Mayor. Ordered that Mary Whitaker be paid two shillings pr week for sweeping the Court House and Stalls twice a week for ye time past, and such further time to come as she shall continue the same.

The Mayor desires ye company of the Board to a Public Dinner with him now provided at the Plume of Feathers.

Sept. 30, 1723.—Alderman Fishbourne, Geo. Fitzwater and John Warder, are requested to Imploy persons Immediately for the Opening of the High street to the New Ferry.

25 Sept. 1727.—C. Read, Mayor. William Chancellor applying to this Board for the sum of thirteen pounds ten shillings, due to him for making the fflag Presented to the Gov'r by this Corporation, the Mayor is desired to pay him for the same out of the Moneys in his hands belonging to the Corporation.

6 Feb'y. 1728.—T. Lawrence, Mayor. A motion being made that a fflag staff should be Erected on Society Hill, the old one being rotten and taken down, and there being a necessity for ye same to be done immediately, Ordered that one be provided upon this emergencie at the charge of the Corporation.

22 March, 1728.—Richard Armitt Represented to this Board that many Hucksters in this City buying provisions in the Market, and often meet the people coming to Markett at the ends of the street, and then buy up provisions, which might be prevented by appointing an Hour both Winter and Summer, for the Ringing the Bell. The Board took the same into

consideration, and order that Ordinance of this city should be forthwith put in execution and published for suppressing the sd practice.

16 May, 1728.—The Board having heard that a Lottery was Intended to be Erected by Samuel Keimer in this city, during this present Fair, he having sett forth several printed papers for that purpose, the Board sent for the sd Keimer, who came and having heard what he had to say in behalf of the sd Lottery. Ordered that no Lottery be kept during the said fair.

7 Oct. 1729.—The Keeping of a Tavern in the Prison being under the Consideration of this Board, they are of opinion that the same is a great Nuisance and ought to be suppressed and that the Removal thereof be recommended to the Magistracy.

28 Sept. 1730.—Edward Nicholls now applying to the Board for leave to make a Vaultt before his house at a corner of Chesnutt street, the Board upon the sd application do allow the sd Edward Nicholls to make a Vault paying Twelve pounds p ann. as a rent or acknowledgment to the Corporation.

Isaac Norris and Daniel Radley are desired to get the common shore near the Bridge in Second st. Immediately repaired.

17 April, 1732.—C. Hasel, Mayor. The Board taking under Consideration the frequent and tumultous meetings of the Negro Slaves, especially on Sunday, Gaming, Cursing, Swearing and committing many other Disorders, to the great Terror and Disquiet of the Inhabitants of this city. In order not only to prevent such Meetings and Disorders for the future, but also to prevent Children and white Servants meeting in such great numbers on the sd day to play Games and make disturbances and noise in the City, It is by this Board thought necessary that an ordinance be forthwith drawn and prepared to prevent the same.

3d July, 1738.—A Draught of an Ordinance for the better regulation of the more Effectual suppressing Tumultuous meetings and other disorderly doings of the Negroes, Mullatos, and Indian servts. and slaves within this City and Liberties thereof was read and several amendments made and it was ordered to be left to the further Consideration of the Board at their meeting.

18 June 1741.—C. Hasel, Mayor. The Board having taken into Consideration the Currency of the English Half pence and the Disquiet that is among the Inhabitants, occasioned by some persons refusing to take them, thought proper that a Declaration should be made publick by the Board, that the sd halfpence shd be taken at fifteen to the shilling, which is adjudged to be nearest to such value, as might discourage too great a quantity being Imported, and at the same time prevent their being carried away, and a Proclamation for that purpose was ordered to be drawn, and that the same should be published in the City by the Beadle.

17 Aug. 1741.—C. Hassel, Mayor. Frequent complaints having been made to the Board that many disorderly persons meet every ev'g. about the Court house of this city, and great numbers of Negroes and others sit there with milk pails, and other things, late at night, and many disorders are there committed against the peace and good government of this City. The Board having taken the same into consideration, Do order that all persons depart thence in half an hour after sunset, and that the Constables of the s'd city be charged by the Magistrates to disperse all persons that

shall meet there after the time aforesaid, and if they refuse to depart, to bring all refusing before any of the Magistrates of this city, to answer their refusal and misbehaviour.

The Board having taken into consideration the great danger the Inhabitants of this city are in by means of Carts and Carriages driving thro' the streets at the Market Place on Market Days, to prevent the mischief that may Ensue, It is ordered that proper Iron Chains be provided to stop the passage of Carts and Carriages through the Market Places, which chains are to be put up on Market days, at Sun Rise, and continue till Ten o'clock in the Summer and Eleven in the Winter in the fforenon.

4 May, 1743.—William Till, Mayor. Complaints being made that several Persons have Erected stalls in the Market Place with Merchants' goods on Market Days, and very much Incumber the Market, It is ordered that ye clerk of the Market remove all such stalls, who shall vend such goods, that the Market place may be kept free and open.

23 Octr. 1744.—E. Shippen, Mayor. The Board having taken into consideration the Defenceless state of this City in case of an Invasion by the Enemy, Are of opinion that a Petition to the King be forthwith prepared, Setting forth the defenceless state of the said city, and requesting His Majesty to take the defenceless condition of the Inhabitants into consideration and to afford them such relief as his Majesty shall think fit.

A petition to his Majesty being ready prepared was offered to the Board by the Recorder, which was read and considered, which petition was approved of.

1st October, 1745.—Alderman Taylor, refusing to serve the office of Mayor, is fined the sum of thirty pounds; and the Board proceeded to a new election, and chose Joseph Turner by a majority of votes, who having also refused to execute the said office, was fined the sum of thirty pounds; and then the Board proceeded to a new election, and Alderman Hamilton was elected by a Majority of votes.

Oct. 7, 1746.—James Hamilton, Esq., Mayor, represented to the Board, that as it had been customary for the mayors of this city at their going out of office, to give an entertainment to the gentlemen of the corporation, he intended in lieu thereof to give a sum of money equal at least to the sums usually expended on such occasions, to be laid out in something permanently useful to the city, and proposed the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds towards erecting an Exchange, or some other public building.

18th Sept., 1747.—W. A. Attwood, Mayor. It was represented by the Mayor to the Board, that as the time of election of a Mayor for the ensuing year is at hand, and of late years it has been a difficulty to find persons willing to serve in that office, by reason of the great trouble which attends the faithful Execution of it. He therefore moved, that for the future, some allowance be made to the Mayor of this city, out of the stock of the corporation, for the support of the dignity of that office, and as some compensation for the trouble. The Board taking the same into consideration, the motion was approved, and the question being put, whether one hundred pounds per annum should be allowed, and paid out of the corporation stock, for these purposes for three years to come, it passed in the affirmative.

6 Oct. 1747, P. M.—W. A. Attwood, Mayor. Alderman Morris, the Mayor Elect, not being present, Charles Willing, and Saml. Rhoades

were appointed to wait on him to acquaint him the Board had chosen him Mayor for the year ensuing.

The two members appointed to acquaint Alderman Morris that he was elected Mayor, returned and informed the Board they had been at his House, and were told by his daughter that he was gone out of Town.

9 Oct. 1747.—Charles Stow being call'd in and sworn, said That he had been at the Dwelling House of Alderman Morris and read the notice he was sent with to his wife, and would have delivered it to her, but she refused to receive it and said her husband was from home and she believed he would not return till Saturday night.

The Board then considering that since the Mayor Elect did not appear, to Accept of the sd office and take and subscribe the usual Qualifications within the time limited by Charter: Altho' the proper means had been used to give him Notice of his Election, it was necessary to proceed to a new choice, and thereupon Wm. Attwood was chosen Mayor for the year Ensuing by a Majority of Votes.

26 Nov. 1747.—The Mayor proposed to the consideration of the Board that since the Inhabitants of the City seem now generally apprehensive that the enemies of our King and Country, encouraged by their knowledge of our defenceless state have formed a design of attacking us next spring; whether it might not be proper to petition the Honble. Proprietaries of this Province to send over a number of Cannon for Erecting a Battery, with such a quantity of Arms and ammunition as to them shall seem meet. And the majority of the Board being of opinion that such a petition is necessary, and that the same ought to be forwarded by the next Ship to London, a Draught thereof was brought in and read at the Board, and being approved of, it was ordered to be ingrossed and signed by the Mayor in order to be transmitted accordingly.

May 23, 1748.—Ordered that the Recorder be repaid £53 expended in soliciting a Petition to the King for putting the Country in a state of defence.

14 July, 1748.—It was agreed in lieu of an intended entertainment to Capt. Ballet of the Otter Sloop of War, that they present him a handsome present towards his Sea Stores, say 1 Pipe of Wine, 20 Galls. of Rum and 8 loaves Sugar.

4 Oct. 1748.—The Mayor, W. Attwood, offered £60 to the Treasury, in lieu of an Entertainment from him,—accepted unanimously.

3 Oct. 1749.—C. Willing, Mayor, offered £100 in lieu of an Entertainment, which was preferred and accepted by the Board.

2 Feb. 1753.—Tho' Shoemaker, Mayor, presented £75 to the building fund in lieu of giving his Entertainment,—also Alderman Strettle the same.

28 May, 1753.—Danl. Pettit, (i. e. Pettitoe) public whipper, prays £10 per ann. for his services, which was granted.

23d July, 1753.—Charles Stow now praying the Board to make him some allowance for Fire Wood and Candles, supplied by him at the Mayor's Court for Two and Twenty years past. The Board agreed to allow him seven shillings and sixpence p. annum for the said fire and Candles and His trouble relating thereunto.

31 Aug't. 1754.—C. Willing, Mayor. George Lee and Richard Davis petitioning this Board to remit the Fines imposed on them for assaulting

the Watch, they not being of ability to pay the same. Order'd that the said Fines be remitted, provided they enter on board His Majesties Sloop of War, now in this Harbour, at the time of her sailing from here.

24 Nov'r. 1755.—W. Plumstead, Mayor. The Mayor produced the Draught of a Remonstrance proposed to be sent from this Board to the Assembly of this province, on occasion of the Extreme distress brought upon the People by the Inroads of our Indian Enemies, and the Cruel Murders and Devastations committed by them, and Earnestly requesting the Assembly to take some speedy and effectual measures for the Defence of the Inhabitants by raising a sum of money and passing a reasonable Law for well regulating a Militia.

4 Dec. 1758.—T. Lawrence, Mayor. It being represented to the Board, that several Persons who have been a considerable time prisoners among the French at Canada, are come to this City in their way to their Several Homes, and being destitute of every thing necessary to support them in their journey,—many of them living at a great distance from home,—it is proposed that this Board should contribute something.

Dec. 1, 1759.—A Dinner entertainment is ordered for the New Lt. Governor, James Hamilton, Esq. at the Lodge.

Feb. 16, 1762.—The Board is specially called to consider the bad state of the Streets, and to represent that the surplus money from the rents of the public were inadequate for their repairs, &c. A beam and Scales at a Cost of £22 is bought for the use of the Meal Market.

Oct. 1763.—Money is ordered for completing the Bridge over the Dock in Front St.

Oct. 31, 1763.—The board agreed to give an entertainment to the Hon'ble. John Penn, Esq. the newly arrived Governor.

Nov. 28, 1763.—Paid the Expence of the said Entertainment, £203—£50 is ordered to be paid for a lot at the No. East corner of the State house Square on which to erect "a City Hall."

Jan'y 30, 1764.—It is ordered that Steelyards be not used for weighing in the Markets; To this 5 butchers presented complaints, but the Scales were adhered to.

Dec. 4, 1767.—It is ordered that a bill of £159 be paid for the expence of an entertainment given to Gener'l Gage, the Comdr. in Chief, on his arrival in the city.

Dec. 22, 1767.—An answer is sent to the Select men of Boston, who had recommended measures to restrain the consumption of superfluities, &c. The answer says, we desire to diffuse a spirit of industry and frugality; but they decline to take their public measures as not necessary. 66 Stalls in the Market west'd rented for £198, and 26 east at £4 each, and 20 at £3 each.

July 21, 1768.—£25 is allowed to the late Sheriff as the expence of shipping off four notorious felons.

Nov. 1769.—A committee is appointed to look into the state of the "New Market on the Hill." [Southwark.]

29 June, 1773.—A Petition was rec'd from Friends earnestly requesting that the building of more Stalls in High St. might be suspended. The minds of the People being much agitated, it was agreed to.

3 March, 1774.—The bushel measure of the City, made of Copper, a New standard was ordered of brass.

3 April, 1775.—The Committee to find out a place for a City Hall, reported, and they recommend that the money formerly bestowed by several Mayors for the building an Exchange or other public Edifice, be now used to this object.

Mayors of the City of Philadelphia.

Anthony Morris, October, 1704.—Griffith Jones, November, 1704.—Joseph Wilcox, 1705.—Nathan Stanbury, 1706–7.—Thomas Masters, 1708–9.—Richard Hill, 1710.—William Carter, 1711.—Samuel Preston, 1712.—Jonathan Dickinson, 1713.—George Rock, 1714.—Richard Hill, 1715–16–17.—Jonathan Dickinson, 1718.—William Fishbourne, 1719–20–21.—James Logan, 1722.—Clement Plumstead, 1723.—Robert Assheton, 1724.—Isaac Norris, 1725.—William Hudson, 1726.—Charles Read, 1727.—Thomas Lawrence, 1728.—Thomas Griffiths, 1729–30–31.—C. Hasell, 1732.—Thomas Griffiths, 1733–34.—Thomas Lawrence, 1735.—William Allen, 1736.—C. Plumstead, 1737.—Thomas Griffiths, 1738.—Anthony Morris, 1739.—Edward Roberts, 1740.—S. Hasell, 1741.—William Till, 1742.—B. Shoemaker, 1743.—E. Shippen, 1744.—J. Hamilton, 1745.—W. Attwood, 1746–47.—C. Willing, 1748.—Thomas Lawrence, 1749.—W. Plumstead, 1750–51.—Robert Shettle, 1752.—B. Shoemaker, 1753.—C. Willing, 1754.—W. Plumstead, 1755–56.—A. Shute, 1757.—Thomas Lawrence, 1758–59.—John Stamper, 1760.—B. Shoemaker, 1761.—Henry Harrison, 1762.—T. Willing, 1763.—T. Lawrence, 1764–65–66.—Isaac Jones, 1767–68–69.—S. Shoemaker, 1770.—J. Gibson, 1771–72.—W. Fisher, 1773–74.—S. Rhoade, 1775.

The above list is ascertained from the minutes of the City Council.

Gabriel Thomas' Account of Philadelphia and the Province to the year 1696.

An historical description of the Province of Pennsylvania; including an account of the City of Philadelphia. Extracted from the history written in the year 1697, *and dedicated "to the most noble and excellent Governour Friend William Penn," by* GABRIEL THOMAS, *who came from England in the year* 1681, *in the ship John and Sarah, of London, commanded by Henry Smith, and resided in Pennsylvania about fifteen years.* [This work, which belongs to the Library Company of Philadelphia, was printed in London, in the year 1698.]

Pensilvania lies between the latitude of forty and forty-five degrees: West Jersey on the east, Virginia on the west, Maryland south, and New York and Canada on the north. In length three hundred, and in breadth one hundred and eighty miles.

The natives of this countrey are supposed, by most people, to have been of the ten scattered tribes, for they resemble the Jews in the make of their persons, and tincture of their complexions; they observe new moons, they offer their first fruits to a Maneto, or supposed Deity, whereof they have two, one, as they fansie above (good;) another below (bad;) and

have a kind of feast of tabernacles, laying their altars upon twelve stones, observe a sort of mourning twelve months, customs of women, and many other rites.

They are very charitable to one another, the lame and the blind living as well as the best; they are also very kind and obliging to the Christians.

The next that came there were the Dutch, (who called the countrey New Neitherland) between fifty and sixty years ago, and were the first planters in those parts; but they made little improvement, till near the time of the wars between England and them, about thirty or forty years ago.

Soon after them came the Sweeds and Fins, who applyed themselves to husbandry, and were the first Christian people that made any considerable improvement there.

There were some disputes between these two nations some years: the Dutch looking upon the Sweeds as intruders* upon their purchase and possession. These disputes were terminated in the surrender made by John Rizeing, the Sweeds Governour, to Peter Stuyvesant, Governour for the Dutch, in 1655. In the Holland war about the year 1665, Sir Robert Carr took the countrey from the Dutch for the English, and left his cousin, Captain Carr, governour of that place; but in a short time after, the Dutch retook the countrey from the English, and kept it in their possession till the peace was concluded between the English and them, when the Dutch surrendered that countrey with East and West Jersey and New York, to the English again. But it remained with very little improvement till the year 1681, in which William Penn, Esquire, had the countrey given him by king Charles the second, (in lieu of money that was due to his father, Sir William Penn) and from him bore the name of Pensilvania.

Since that time, the industrious inhabitants have built a noble and beautiful city, and called it Philadelphia, or Brotherly-love (for so much the Greek word Philadelphia imports,) which contains a number of houses all inhabited; and most of them stately, and of brick, generally three stories high, after the mode in London, and as many several families in each. There are very many lanes and alleys, as first, Huttons-lane, Morris-lane, Jones's-lane, wherein, are very good buildings; Shorters-alley, Yowers-lane, Wallers-alley, Turners-lane, Sikes-alley, and Flowers alley. All these alleys and lanes extend from the Front-street to the Second-street. There is another alley in the Second-street, called Carters-alley. There are also, besides these alleys and lanes, several fine squares and courts within this magnificent city; as for the particular names of the several streets contained therein, the principal are as follows, viz.: Walnut-street, Vine-street, Mulberry-street, Chestnut-street, Sassafras-street, taking their names from the abundance of those trees that formerly grew there; High-street, Broad-street, Delaware-street, Front-street, with several of less note, too tedious to insert here.

It hath in it three fairs every year, and two markets every week. They kill above twenty fat bullocks every week, in the hottest time in Summer, besides many sheep, calves, and hogs.

This city is situated between Schoolkill-river and the great river Delaware, which derives its name from Captain Delaware, who came there

* Thus showing the Swedes were not thus early regarded as the primitive settlers.

pretty early: ships of two or three hundred tuns may come up to this city, by either of these two rivers. Moreover, in this province are four great market-towns, viz. Chester, the German-town, New-castle, and Lewis-town, which are mightily enlarged in this latter improvement. Between these towns, the water-men constantly ply their wherries; likewise all those towns have fairs kept in them; besides there are several countrey villages, viz. Dublin, Harford, Merioneth, and Radnor in Cumbry; all of which towns, villages and rivers took their names from the several countries from whence the present inhabitants came.

The corn-harvest is ended before the middle of July,* and most years they have commonly between twenty and thirty bushels of wheat for every one they sow. Their ground is harrowed with wooden tyned harrows, twice over in a place is sufficient; twice mending of their plow-irons in a year's time will serve. Their horses commonly go without being shod; two men may clear between twenty and thirty acres of land in one year, fit for the plough, in which oxen are chiefly used, though horses are not wanting, and of them good and well shaped. Of such land, in a convenient place, the purchase will cost between ten and fifteen pounds for a hundred acres. Here is much meadow ground. Poor people, both men and women, will get near three times more wages for their labour in this countrey, than they can earn either in England or Wales.

What is inhabited of this countrey is divided into six counties, though there is not the twentieth part of it yet peopled by the Christians: it hath in it several navigable rivers for shipping to come in, besides the capital Delaware; there are also several other small rivers, the names of them are, Hoorkill-river, alias Lewis-river, which runs up to Lewis-town, the chiefest in Sussex county; Cedar-river, Muskmellon-river, all taking their names from the great plenty of these things growing thereabouts; Mother-kill alias Dover-river, St. Jones's alias Cranbrook-river, where one John Curtice lives, who hath three hundred head of neat beasts, besides great numbers of hogs, horses, and sheep; Great Duck-river, Little Duck-river, Blackbird-river, these also took there original names from the great number of those fowls which are found there in vast quantities; Apequinemy-river, where their goods come to be carted over to Maryland; St. George's river, Christeen river, Brandy-wine-river, Upland alias Chester-river, which runs by Chester-town, being the shire or county-town, Schoolkill-river, Frankford-river, near which, Arthur Cook hath a most stately brick-house; and Nishamany-river, where judge Growden hath a very noble and fine house, very pleasantly situated, and likewise a famous orchard adjoyning to it, wherein are contained above a thousand apple trees of various sorts; likewise there is the famous Derby-river, which comes down from the Cumbry by Derby-town, wherein are several fulling-mills, corn-mills, &c.

There is curious building-stone and paving-stone; also tile-stone, with which latter, governour Penn covered his great and stately pile, which he called Pennsbury-house; there is likewise iron-stone or oar, (lately found) which far exceeds that in England, being richer and less drossy; some preparations have been made to carry on an iron-work: there is

* Meaning in old style.

also very good lime-stone in great plenty, and cheap, of great use in buildings, and also in manuring land, (if there were occasion) but nature has made that of itself sufficiently fruitful; besides here are load-stones, ising-glass, and (that wonder of stones) the Salamander-stone found near Brandy-wine-river, having cotton in veins within it, which will not consume in the fire, though held there a long time.*

As to minerals or metals, there is very good copper, far exceeding ours in England, being much finer, and of a more glorious colour.

Not two miles from the metropolis, are also purging mineral-waters,† that pass both by siege and urine, all out as good as Epsom: and I have reason to believe, there are good coals also, for I observed the runs of water have the same colour as that which proceeds from the coal-mines in Wales.

There are an infinite number of sea and land fowl of most sorts, and there are prodigious quantities of shell and other fish. There are also several sorts of wild beasts of great profit and good food; I have bought of the Indians a whole buck, (both skin and carcase) for two gills of gunpowder. All which, as well beasts, fowl and fish, are free and common to any person who can shoot or take them, without any lett, hinderance or opposition whatsoever.

There are also several sorts of wild fruits, as excellent grapes, which, upon frequent experience, have produced choice wine, being daily cultivated by skilful vinerons; they will, in a short space of time, have good liquor of their own, and some to supply their neighbours, to their great advantage; as these wines are more pure, so much more wholesome; the brewing trade of sophisticating and adulterating of wines, as in England, Holland (especially) and in some other places, not being known there yet, nor in all probability will it in many years, through a natural probity so fixed and implanted in the inhabitants, and (I hope) like to continue. Wallnuts, chesnuts, filberts, hickery-nuts, hurtleberries, mulberries, rasberries, strawberries, cramberries, plumbs and many other wild fruits, in great plenty, which are common and free for any to gather.

The common planting fruit trees, are apples, of which much excellent cyder is made, and sold commonly for between ten and fifteen shillings per barrel. Pears, peaches, &c. of which they distil a liquor much like the taste of rumm, or brandy, which they yearly make in great quantities: there are quinces, cherries, gooseberries, currants, squashes, pumpkins, water-mellons, musk-mellons, and other fruits in great numbers. There are also many curious and excellent physical wild herbs, roots, and drugs, of great virtue, which makes the Indians, by a right application of them, as able doctors and surgeons as any in Europe.

The names of the counties are as followeth: Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex.

And now for their lots and lands in city and countrey, since they were first laid out, which was within the compass of about twelve years: that which might have been bought for fifteen or eighteen shillings, is now sold for fourscore pounds in ready silver; and some other lots, that might have been then purchased for three pounds, within the space of two years, were sold for a hundred pounds a piece, and likewise some

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* The Asbestos. † Springs—mineral.

land that lies near the city, that sixteen years ago might have been purchased for six or eight pounds the hundred acres, cannot now be bought under one hundred and fifty, or two hundred pounds.

Now the true reason why this fruitful countrey and flourishing city advance so considerably in the purchase of lands is their great and extended traffique and commerce, both by sea and land, viz. to New-York, New-England, Virginia, Mary-land, Carolina, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Nevis, Monserat, Antego, St. Christophers, Barmudoes, New-foundland, Maderas, Saltetudeous, and Old England; besides several other places. Their merchandize chiefly consists in horses, pipe-staves, pork and beef, salted and barrelled up, bread and flour, all sorts of grain, peas, beans, skins, furs, tobacco, and pot-ashes, wax, &c. which are bartered for rumm, sugar, molasses, silver, negroes, salt, wine, linen, housholdgoods, &c.

Great encouragements are given to tradesmen and others. I shall instance a few—carpenters, both house and ship, brick-layers, and masons will get between five and six shillings per day constantly. As to journeymen shooe-makers, they have two shilling per pair both for men and women's shooes: and journeymen taylors have twelve shillings per week and their diet. And weavers, have ten or twelve pence the yard for weaving: wool-combers, have for combing twelve pence per pound. Potters have sixteen pence for an earthen pot which may be bought in England for four pence. Tanners, may buy their green hides for three half pence per pound, and sell their leather for twelve pence per pound. And curriers have three shillings and four pence per hide for dressing; they buy their oyl at twenty pence per gallon. Brick-makers have twenty shillings per thousand for their bricks at the kiln. Felt-makers will have for their hats seven shillings a piece, such as may be bought in England for two shillings a piece; yet they buy their wool commonly for twelve or fifteen pence per pound. And as to the glaziers they will have five pence a quarry for their glass. The butchers, for killing a beast, have five shilling and their diet; and they may buy a good fat large cow for three pounds, or thereabouts. The brewers sell such beer as is equal in strength to that in London, half ale and half stout, for fifteen shillings per barrel; and their beer hath a better name, *that is*, is in more esteem than English beer in Barbadoes, and is sold for a higher price there. And for silver-smiths, they have between half a crown and three shillings an ounce for working their silver, and for gold equivalent. Plasterers have commonly eighteen pence per yard for plastering. Last-makers have sixteen shillings per dozen for their lasts. And heel-makers have two shillings a dozen for their heels. Wheel and mill-wrights, joyners, braziers, pewterers, dyers, fullers, comb-makers, wyer-drawers, cage-makers, card-makers, painters, cutlers, rope-makers, carvers, block-makers, turners, coopers, bakers, *button*-makers, hair and wood sieve-makers, boddice-makers, black-smiths, gun-smiths, lock-smiths, nailers, file-cutters, skinners, furriers, glovers, *patten*-makers, watch-makers, clock-makers, sadlers, collar-makers, barbers, printers, book-binders and all other trades-men, their gains and wages are about the same proportion as the fore-mentioned trades.

Of lawyers and physicians I shall say nothing, because this countrey is very peaceable and healthy; labouring-men have commonly here, be-

tween fourteen and fifteen pounds a year, and their meat, drink, washing and lodging; and by the day their wages is generally between eighteen pence and half a crown, and diet also; but in harvest they have usually between three and four shillings each day, and diet. The maid servants' wages are commonly betwixt six and ten pounds per annum, with very good accommodation.

Corn and flesh, and what else serves man for drink, food and rayment, is much cheaper here than in England, or elsewhere; but the chief reason why wages of servants of all sorts is much higher here than there, arises from the great fertility and produce of the place; besides, if these large stipends were refused them, they would quickly set up for themselves, for they can have provision very cheap, and land for a very small matter. They have constantly good price for their corn, by reason of the great and quick vent into Barbadoes and other islands; through which means silver is become more plentiful here than in England, considering the number of people. They pay no tithes and their taxes are inconsiderable; the place is free for all persuasions, in a sober and civil way; for the Church of England and the Quakers bear equal share in the government. They live friendly and well together; there is no persecution for religion, nor ever like to be. I shall add another reason why women's wages are so exorbitant; they are not yet very numerous, which makes them stand upon high terms for their several services; moreover, they are usually married before they are twenty years of age, and, when once in that noose, are for the most part a little uneasie, and make their husbands so too, till they procure them a maid servant to bear the burden of the work, as also in some measure to wait on them too.

The city of Brotherly-love far exceeds her namesake of Lydia,* and will, in all probability, make a fine figure in the world, and be a most celebrated emporeum. Here is lately built *a noble town-house or guild-hall*,† also a handsome market-house and a convenient prison.

The laws of this countrey, are the same with those in England; our constitution being on the same foot; many disputes and differences are determined and composed by arbitration; and all causes are decided with great care and expedition, being concluded at furthest at the second court, unless they happen to be very nice and difficult cases. Under forty shillings any one justice of the peace has power to try the cause. Thieves, of all sorts, are obliged to restore four-fold after they have been whipt and imprisoned according to the nature of their crime; and if they be not of ability to restore four-fold, they must be in servitude till it is satisfied. They have curious wharfs, as also large and fine timber yards both at Philadelphia and New-castle, especially at the metropolis, before Robert Turner's great and famous house, where are built ships of considerable burthen; they cart their goods from that wharf into the city of Philadelphia, under an arch, over which part of the street is built, which is called Chestnut-street‡ wharf, besides other wharfs, as High-street

* Thirty miles from Smyrna.

† As the town house was not built till 1707–9, it must prove either that the book was published later than 1698, or else that the mention of the town-house was inserted at a later Edition.

‡ Chestnut street *arch* is a mistake,—he meant Mulberry street, where Turner's house is still standing.

wharf, Mulberry-street wharf, and Vine-street wharf, and all those are common wharfs; and likewise there are very pleasant stairs, as Trus and Carpenter-stairs, besides several others. There are above thirty carts belonging to that city, four or five horses to each. There is likewise a very convenient wharf called Carpenter's wharf, which hath a fine necessary crain belonging to it, with suitable granaries, and store-houses. And there are other wharfs which front the city all along the river, as also a curious and commodious dock with a drawbridge to it, for the convenient reception of vessels. In this famous city of Philadelphia there are several rope-makers, who have large and curious rope-walks, especially one Joseph Wilcox;* also three or four spacious malt-houses, as many large brew-houses, and many handsome bake-houses for publick use.

In the said city are several good schools of learning for youth, in order to the attainment of arts and sciences; as also reading, writing, &c. Here is to be had, on any day in the week, tarts, pies, cakes, &c. We have also several cooks-shops, both roasting and boyling, as in the city of London; happy blessings, for which we owe the highest gratitude to our plentiful Provider, the great Creator of heaven and earth. The water-mills are made by one Peter Deal, a famous and ingenious workman, especially for inventing such like machines.

All sorts of very good paper are made in the German-town; as also very fine German linen, such as no person of quality need be ashamed to wear; and, in several places, they make very good druggets, crapes, camblets, and serges, besides other woolen cloathes, the manufacture of all which daily improves; and in most parts of the countrey there are many curious and spacious buildings, which several of the gentry have erected for their countrey houses.

The Christian children born here are generally well favoured, and beautiful to behold; I never knew any with the least blemish.

There are very fine and delightful gardens and orchards in most parts of this countrey; but Edward Shippey (who lives near the capital city) has an orchard and gardens adjoyning to his great house that equalizes any I have ever seen, having a very famous and pleasant summer-house erected in the middle of his garden, abounding with tulips, pinks, carnations, roses, (of several sorts) lilies, not to mention those that grow wild in the fields.

Reader, what I have here written, is not a fiction, flam, whim, or any sinister design, either to impose upon the ignorant, or credulous, or to curry favour with the rich and mighty; but in mere pity and pure compassion to the numbers of poor labouring men, women and children in England, that are wandering up and down looking for employment, who need not here lie idle a moment, much less vagabond or drone it about. Here are no beggars to be seen, nor indeed have any here the least temptation to take up that scandalous lazy life. Jealousie among men is here very rare, nor are old maids to be met with; for all commonly marry before they are twenty years of age.

The way of worship the Swedes use in this countrey, is the Lutheran; the English have four sorts of religious meetings here; the Church of

* He was Mayor in 1706.

England, who built a very fine church in this city in the year 1695; the Anabaptists; the Presbyterians; and two sorts of Quakers, (of all the most numerous by much) one party held with George Keith; but whether both parties will joyn together again in one I cannot tell. He gave strict charge concerning plain language and plain habit, and that they should not be concerned in the compelling part of the worldly government; that they should set their negroes at liberty after some reasonable time of service; and that they should not take advantage of the law against one another, as to procure them any corporal punishment. These instructions were given forth, in the year 1693, by the meeting held by George Keith, at P. James's house in Philadelphia. He shortly after went to England, where he now,* in this year 1697, keeps a meeting, at Turners-hall, London, on Sundays in the afternoon.

What I have delivered concerning this province, is indisputably true; I was an eye witness to it all, for I went in the first ship that was bound from England for that countrey, since it received the name of Pensilvania. I saw the first cellar, when it was digging, for the use of our governour William Penn. And now, Reader, I shall take my leave of thee, recommending thee, with mine own self, to the directions of the spirit of God in our conscience.

William Fishbourne's Narrative of Philadelphia Events, to the year 1739.

In the year 1739, William Fishbourne, Esq., a Friend, a native of Philadelphia, and resident of many years, was induced to write a narrative of events concerning Philadelphia, and the settlement of the State to that time, in 9 folio pages of cap paper, which I have seen, from which I have made such extracts as I thought pertinent to my main design. [William Fishbourne was Mayor of the city during the years 1719-20 and '21, and was at one time Treasurer of the colony.]

He entitles his MS. "Some few and short hints of the Settlement of the Province of Pennsylvania, to the year 1739."

"These hints (says he) appear not only abrupt but imperfect, for want of proper helps therein, and the matters relating to government, and the settlers, and the settlements, may appear too much intermixed; yet it is hoped that all matters of fact are truly and briefly related. It is to be wished that some person or persons of skill would think it worth their while, care, and pains, from sufficient proofs that may still be procured, to form a just historical account of the low beginning, and great increase of this province; and above all, (to show) how God, by his divine providence, in and through the whole, has most miraculously preserved and blessed the inhabitants with peace and plenty to this day.

Such a history doubtless would not only be very serviceable, but delightful and pleasant to succeeding generations. [So the present transcriber also has thought!] Some ancient men of the first settlers, who are

* Now implies that he wrote this in 1697.

now deceased, had this much at heart, and some essays have been made thereof, [How happy we should be to see them!] And, it is a great pity that such an undertaking should be either delayed or declined. [And yet no professed historian arose till Proud gave us his volumes!*] The English have a great advantage over the present Indians, who can only communicate by traditional speeches; whilst we can communicate and recommend any past occurrences to future generations by writing! ["The preserving art of all arts!"]

William Penn, Esq., a judicious and wise man, religiously inclined, being desirous to retire to some other parts, for the more free liberty and exercise of his religious persuasion, and from some hardships and oppressions, which he and others suffered in England; by some proper measures, he obtained a grant from King Charles II. of the province which he called after his own name Pennsylvania. [i. e. Penn, and Sylvania, meaning a country covered with woods.]

Having divided it into three counties, to wit: Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks, and laid the plan of Philadelphia city, he invited and encouraged those of his persuasion, and others, to accompany and settle the same; whereupon several readily agreed. He also framed an excellent form of government, and suitable schemes for such an undertaking.

Sometime after, he, with many more, chiefly Quakers, hired ships, and transported themselves and families; but when they came to the province they found little or no conveniences for their reception, nor much probability of getting sufficient food and other necessaries of life, but a large wilderness for some time without inhabitants,† save a few families of Swedes settled on the Delaware, and the Indians, who very providentially were helpful and not hurtful; but peaceably permitted the English to settle among them.

Want of proper conveniences and necessaries, at first view, must of course strike a great damp upon them who had known and left good habitations, &c. (for most of those, who had first come over, were not people of low circumstances, but substantial livers); notwithstanding which, being animated with their first good design and intention of promoting religion, far beyond any worldly gain or profit, they unanimously fell to an honest industry to provide for themselves the best they could, (which ought never to be forgot!) and they made caves in the bank of the Delaware, where the city is now laid out, and cut down timber, to make huts and conveniences to live in; depending on providence for other necessaries, which for some time proved hard to get, (the western divi-

* I have had in my possession a MS. history of Pennsylvania, never published, by Samuel Smith, (the author of New Jersey History to 1721) which bears many marks of having been seen and used by R. Proud. The first volume has long been lost. It would seem, from a remark in Gough's History of the Quakers, that he must have had it, or at least seen it. What I have had relates not to civil history, but to Friends.

† In 1667, William Edmundson, a public Friend, travelling southward from New York, says he travelled all day with a Fin from the Falls of Delaware, (southward) without seeing a soul; and from Middletown Point coming to Delaware river, although with an Indian, they could not find the way all day, and were obliged to go back, so as to find the Raritan river at any point, and thence to follow its margin until they could find a small landing "from New York," and thence to follow a small path to Delaware Falls, and by this means, only, they found their way. He says, "We saw no tame animals in all the way."

sion of New Jersey near them being then but thin settled) however, some of the neighbouring colonies hearing of a people come to settle, came with such necessaries as they could spare, which was very scanty for the number of persons, which wanted them, and they took money for them; for they were not empty handed.

These hardships and difficulties continued several years; and having spent their money and other necessaries they brought with them, it seemed hard for some to bear; and they would often condole with one another, saying, they believed it would not do to stay, and they must seek some other place! But as they continued their industry, in a few years (having several artificers and tradesmen among them, which was their riches in fact!) they had got some few tolerable good houses in the city, and lands cleared for plantations, whereon they sowed and planted provisions, which was more plentiful every year, notwithstanding people continued coming in to settle; for the land being good and fertile, produced plentifully of excellent wheat and almost all other sorts of grain, with roots and fruits, and they got a stock of cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs; and in less than ten years [still a good long while to wait, to persons accustomed to comfortable livings] the country produce became considerably more than the inhabitants wanted for their own consumption, although they were very much increased in numbers; [Little could they in their actual need foresee the wonderful present improvements on the same soil!] so that they began to manufacture their wheat by bolting (having some few water-mills to grind the corn) which made excellent flour of several degrees. The first they sold for exportation; the other sorts made good bread and biscuit, and the bran made hearty food for working creatures.

By this time a report had reached the West Indies that a number of people had settled a new country which produced great plenty of provisions, on which they sent several vessels to trade with them, [It has not been heretofore understood that the West Indies began the commerce; yet in this way came the Norrises, Dickinsons, and other families from the West Indies, to settle in Philadelphia to pursue commerce,] and they brought quantities of coined silver and gold, besides the produce of those islands, to purchase provisions. By this means cash was plenty, for the number of people, and the inhabitants were enabled to build [thereby] vessels and to trade to sea.

Thus providence caused the country to increase in wealth, peace and plenty from year to year; so that the first 40 years it was the admiration of all people, who saw or heard of its flourishing condition, in lands, improvements in building houses and shipping, manufactures of many kinds, increase in plenty, commerce and trade, the great number of inhabitants, the soil producing plentifully with their industry. [What a time to make fortunes, when lands and lots were cheap, and money abounded! and therefore we have seen all the original industrious and frugal inhabitants become in fact the nobility of the country. If they then admired to see their progress so sudden and so great; we also have had a time, even now, of admiring at our eclipsing of late years all that they thus did!]

Considerable numbers of shipping came yearly, besides vessels built not only for the inhabitants, but many others in remote parts, who readily

disposed of their cargoes and procured their full loading of the produce of this province, which was transported to the English plantations, and other foreign nations, by which means, all useful necessaries they had occasion for, were imported amongst them; and in every sense, the country still increasing more in settlements and improvements; many thousands of foreigners and others came hither and settled, whereby the produce of almost all kinds was much more increased, as well as commerce and trade both at home and abroad; and much good harmony continued amongst the inhabitants considering what a large number of mixed people were got together.

And it must be noted, that for many years, there subsisted a good concord and benevolent disposition amongst the people of all denominations, each delighting to be reciprocally helpful and kind in acts of friendship for one another, and (as it is said) there was no difference in forms of worship; for the Quakers, having built a large Meeting house about the centre of the city, [meaning, I presume, the corner of Second and High streets, and not the real centre Meeting house on Broad and High streets,] all came there, until a mischievous man who had imbibed vile notions of sacred things, and had more learning than sincerity, and wanting to form a particular sect of his own, [meaning George Keith's schism,] so divided the people, that they separated into different Societies; but at length he confounded himself and many of his adherents.

The proprietor's first and principal care was to promote peace with all; and accordingly he established a friendly correspondence, by way of treaty with the Indians, at least twice a year. [This is worth noticing,] and strictly enjoined the inhabitants and surveyors, not to settle any land to which the Indians had a claim, until he had first, at his own cost, satisfied and paid them for the same. [This peace lasted 80 years!] Which discreet method so effectually engaged their friendship, that they entirely loved him and his people,—when at the same time, several of the neighbouring colonies were at war and in great distress by the Indians.

The proprietor, being called home to meet some grievous complaints and false insinuations, did not return till the year 1700, when he came with his family, to the great joy of the inhabitants in general, with intentions (as it was hoped) to settle therein; and often expressed his great pleasure of once more coming again, and seeing the flourishing and happy state of the province, where he greatly desired to continue. But his stay was short, for his enemies at home were still unwearied against him, and he embarked himself and family on board a mean ship in the winter season, and arrived safe in England, where he still retained his interest at court.

These complaints and troubles, not only proving very fatiguing but expensive, gave him such uneasiness, that in the reign of queen Anne he proposed to sell his right of Pennsylvania to the crown, on terms securing the people's rights. Yet, some would insinuate he had not regarded the people therein, which would be doing that worthy man's memory and integrity great injustice!

As the chief part of the inhabitants were Quakers, they, with others, were and are concerned in acts of government; but as the province increased and prospered in every respect, many of other persuasions

came and settled here with worldly views; who have formerly attempted to wrest the civil power out of the Quakers' hands, as it is very probable they may, and will again. As they politically begin to think and observe, the country in its increased wealth and commerce cannot be safe under the conduct of men, who from their principles [of religion] would continue it in a defenceless state and leave it an easy prey to any enemy. Thus not regarding [the fact of] the peaceable introduction and continuing from the first settlement, both in time of peace and war."

Astrological Signs of Philadelphia at its Birth.—When Astrological science was much countenanced, Jacob Taylor, a good mathematician, who from keeping a small school near Abington, came to be the Surveyor General of the province, calculated the aspect of the planets when the city of Philadelphia was founded, and expressed the result in the following lines—written in the year 1723, to wit:

"Full forty years have now their changes made,
Since the foundation of this town was laid;—
When Jove and Saturn were in Leo join'd,
They saw the survey of the place designed:
Swift were these planets, and the world will own
Swift was the progress of the rising town.
The Lion is an active regal sign;
And Sol beheld the two superiors join.
A city built with such propitious rays
Will stand to see old walls and happy days.
But kingdoms, cities, men in every state
Are subject to vicissitudes of fate.
An envious cloud may shade the smiling morn
Though fates ordain the beaming Sun's return!"

FRAGMENTS OF OUR PRIMITIVE HISTORY.

"Colligite fragmenta, ut non quid pereat!"
Scraps of ancient lore, he culls from ev'ry store.

It is intended, within the compass of the present article, to collect and arrange several items of a miscellaneous character, illustrative of our primitive history. The most of them having been derived from Mrs. Logan's MS. selections, and now first meeting the public eye, will give them additional attraction.

I take this occasion to acknowledge my obligations to my much valued friend for her generous indulgence, in allowing me freely to extract what I pleased from her valuable and voluminous selections —in five volumes quarto—compiled from numerous files of papers left by the honourable James Logan and by the kindred Norris family. To the future historian of Pennsylvania they will furnish documents of much value; and a grateful posterity will not fail to

commend the kindness of the heart, and the untiring patience of the hand, that has thus usefully laboured for their information and entertainment.

As many of the facts are derived from the frankness and unreserve of confidential letter correspondence, they will therefore partake of the minds of the writers, and let us into the double reward of learning more intimately the characters of Logan, Norris, Penn, &c. —for, as has been well observed, "there is nothing in general which can give a better opportunity of understanding a man's character, than those letters he never meant for the public eye."

Salaries to Officers in 1701.—William Penn, in his letter of 1701, to James Logan, says,—"To Colonel Hamilton, as deputy governor, give him £200 per annum, of your money,—this, till I procure an approbation for him,—afterwards, let it be £300. To John Moore, as the attorney-general, give £30 a year. I hope the Assembly will take these charges off my hands. Use your endeavours. Judge (J.) Guest expects £100 a year;—I would give him £50. [James Logan was promised £200, but he never took but £100, because of Penn's embarrassments.]

The Value of the Customs.—In William Penn's letter of 1701, he writes, "This year the customs from Pennsylvania, for amount goods, amount to £8000. The year I arrived there, in 1699, it was but £1500—a good encouragement for me and the country. New York has not the half of it. [This is remarkable of a country then so much older!] But oh, that we had a fur trade instead of a tobacco one. Fur is almost any price,—I would say, 16 shillings,—ay, 20 shillings."

Tobacco Cultivation.—Tobacco was much cultivated about Philadelphia at first, and much of it in the lower counties:—Penn's rents were chiefly paid in it. In 1702, eight vessels were loaded for England with 80 to 90 hogsheads each.

Fairmount.—William Penn, in 1701, in writing to James Logan, shows his fancy for the site of the present water works, and his intention to settle there if he returned, saying, "My eye, though not my heart, is upon Fairmount, unless the unworthiness of some spirits drive me up to Pennsbury or Susquehanna for good and all." He had before projected and published a scheme of making another city and settlement on the Susquehanna. One of the Penns afterwards built and occupied a country-seat at Springettsbury, near to Fairmount.

The Faction Against Penn.—These drove their opposition to Penn's interests to extremes. In 1700, Colonel Quarry, judge, and John Moore, advocate, of the admiralty, were the two ringleaders. "The faction (says James Logan) had long contended to overthrow the settled constitution of the government." At that time, David Lloyd, the attorney-general, (afterwards an opposition leader,

although a Friend) defended the measures of Penn's administration. James Logan remarks on these ungenerous hostilities to their patron, that Governor Penn "was sometimes warm enough to inveigh highly against past proceedings, not sparing several, in express words, that were concerned in them." Penn himself calls them "knavish and foolish enemies." It was a part of their regular business, as mal-contents, to send many idle and pernicious tales to England, and also to the government there.

In 1702, James Logan thus writes of them,—"We are here unhappily exposed to such malicious spies, who, sedulously to serve a dishonest cause, keep themselves constantly on the alert, and in their secret cabals dress up every trivial occurrence into a monstrous shape of malfaisance;—the real subject of which is so slight, that the persons concerned scarce ever think of it more, until they hear it roar from some mighty court or committee there," —in England.

In 1704–5, he says, "Some in America, who were lost here in the crowd of their superiors, having got into power there, in feeling their little eminency, think nothing taller than themselves but their trees! It might amend them to send them back to lose themselves again in the crowds of more considerable people!" [a cutting satire!]

Parties and factions ran high in the time of Sir William Keith, who promoted political divisions for his personal benefit. James Logan's letter to the proprietaries, of the year 1729, speaks of an intended mob or insurrection of about 200 people purposing to come in from the country with clubs, &c., and to be increased with such of the city as would join them, to overawe the Assembly, and to storm the government and council! In the mean time, the Assembly proclaimed the riot act as in force, with the penalty of death annexed. Three or four score of the mob came next day near to the town's end,—but on hearing of the riot act they retired. Under a sense of such troubles, James Logan advises them,—even at that late day—to sell back to the crown!

In the 5th vol. of Mrs. Logan's selections is a long justification of 50 pages, by James Logan, of all his public measures, being in design a refutation of sundry malevolent accusations or insinuations prompted by the jealousy or bad motives of Governor Keith. It is dated the 29th of September, 1709, and is addressed to the Assembly in the name of a remonstrance. It shows that much of the perverseness of David Lloyd, in the Assembly, was caused by his personal pique against William Penn,—towards whom he acted apparently with much unfair dealing. It furnishes an ample portrait of Lloyd's general character.*

In 1734, James Logan gives a general history of the state of the

* In the year 1774, John Reed, of Philadelphia, published a book of 60 pages, 8vo. avowedly to illustrate his large map of city lots. It would seem he had hostilities to the

province, and of all its political divisions and cabals, it being a long letter of 24 pages to John Penn,—Vide vol. 5, page 174, of Mrs. Logan's MS. selection. It gives many characteristics of Andrew Hamilton, Esqr., to whom the Penns gave the Bush-hill estate for useful legal services and benefits.

Embarrassments of the Government.—There was, from and after Penn's departure from his colony, in 1701, a constant and violent opposition party to the administration of the government. It was chiefly got up and sustained by Colonel Quarry of the customs, John Moore, and David Lloyd,—all of whom had received personal favours and obligations from the founder. The leading grounds of their opposition were these,—to wit:—an unwillingness to provide an income for Governor Penn or his officers;*—creating embarrassments in the courts respecting oaths and affirmations;—and making representations to the crown officers to induce them to put down a proprietary government, and to place them immediately under the crown. I shall illustrate these positions by facts from the letters of James Logan,—premising from him a few words from his description of David Lloyd, the Friend above named,—to wit: "a close member among Friends, he is a discordant in their meetings of business,—so much so, that he expects (in 1707) a separation and a purging. This arises out of divisions in the government,—the young push for rash measures,—the old for Penn's interest."

In 1703, James Logan says, "Some of the opposition pretend to an authority from the lords of trade to inspect our actions, and use it to no other end than to perplex and disturb our government;—and surely we are in a miserable case, if no care be taken of us from home but for our distraction,—and none be employed among us but our professed adversaries. Notwithstanding their demurs to the oaths and affirmations made in our courts, and actually according to the Queen's order, we shall hold our courts in spite of all their endeavours and study to our ruin."

On another occasion he remarks, "We are reduced to great straits, when all are disabled from serving the government, but such whose profession too much removes them from our interests. I believe it will be scarcely possible to administer it here long under thee, unless we can find a new set of people!"

Jonathan Dickinson, in 1715, writes, that "our laws are mostly come back repealed,—among which was our law of courts and manner of giving evidence, whereupon we have no courts, nor judicial

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Penn interest here, and intended to weaken their titles. His book is very deficient in perspicuity, even hard to be understood;—but he has revived some buried scandals, taken from minutes of the early Assemblies—such as reproaching Penn,—"With *thy* unheard of abuses to thy purchasers, &c. in pretending to give them a town, and then by unconscionable quit rents make it worse by tenfold than a purchase; not only so, the very land the town stands upon is not cleared of the Swedes' claims."

* Much will be seen elsewhere on this subject, as matter of strong complaint on the part of Penn.

proceedings these two years past!" Isaac Norris, too, thus writes, "Things among us pretty well,—nothing very violent yet, but in civil affairs all stop We have no courts,—no justice administered, —and every man does what is right in his own eyes!" James Logan at the same time remarks, "That the disallowance of the affirmation act, and repeal of the laws for courts, put a stop to all proceedings, and so weakened the hands of the Magistrate that the public grew rampant, and wickedness was bold and open. A mobbish disposition encouraged,—and the weaker and more sober people affrighted; it is admitted, by every member of note among other persuasions, that it is impossible to hold courts and carry on the administration of justice without Quakers, who are so numerous a part of the community."

A sober and considerate perusal of all the papers which remain at this day on the subject of Penn's government, could not fail to convince the reader, that the structure of colonial governments in general must have been of the most perplexing and vexatious kind. They remind one of wranglesome children—perpetually plotting, and counterplotting against each other,—"destroying others, by themselves destroyed!"—each carrying their complaints and remonstrances back to the distant parents in England,—and they, equally perverse, rescinding and counteracting the efforts of the children to become their own masters! Americans, to be now duly sensible of the value of their liberation from such harassing thraldom, should go back to the perusal of those voluminous papers which contain the facts so constantly afflictive to our forefathers!

Civil government, embarrassing to Friends.—The Friends, who generally held a majority in the civil rule of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, found themselves more and more embarrassed as mixed population increased. They had difficulties in serving in judicial offices where oaths were required, and also in providing public defence against enemies. The feuds and animosities raised against Friends in the Assembly were very high, and went on increasing from 1701 to 1710. War with France occurred in the interval. A French privateer plundered Lewes' Town,—and several of them plundered and burnt vessels in the bay. In 1709, the city of Philadelphia was got into high commotion for a defence. "The hot church party" were all in favour of it. The people petitioned the queen for defence, and objected at the same time to the passive principles of the Friends as unfit for civil rule, &c. When I have seen so much correspondence as I have, in that day, on that subject, and have witnessed how perplexed the Friends were with their unruly charge,—made up of many nations and many minds,—I have thought them (to use a homely domestic figure,) not unlike the perplexed hen with her *duck*-chickens, which perpetually counteract her nature by taking to the water, and leaving her in embarrassment and distress! If they governed for a while, retaining therein their religious views, it was still a daily work of shifts and expedients to keep the approbation of other sects.

Penn's Letters and Affairs.—We here introduce letters of William Penn, for the double purpose of showing, at the same time, certain facts in our primitive history, and also the antiquated style and manner of the founder in his epistolary correspondence with his personal friends; for this purpose we here use, first his *earliest* letter, on the occasion of his *first* getting to the confirmation of his province; and also, his *last* known letter from his own hand (in 1712, written by him *on business*,) preceding his last illness and eventual decease, to wit:

To Robert Turner, Merchant, in Dublin, Ireland.

5th of 1st Mo., 1681.

DEAR FRIEND,—My true love in the Lord salutes thee, and dear friends that love the Lord's precious truth in those parts. Thine I have, and for my business here, know that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of *Pennsilvania*, a name the king would give it in honour of my father. I chose *New Wales*, being as this, a pretty hilly country, but *Penn* being Welsh for a *head*, as *Penmanmoire* in Wales, and *Penrith* in Cumberland, and *Penn* in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, called this *Pennsilvania*, which is the high or head woodlands; for I proposed when the secretary—a Welshman—refused to have it called New Wales, *Sylvania*, and they added *Penn* to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the king to have it struck out and altered, he said 'twas past, and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under secretaries to vary the name, for I feared lest it should be lookt on as vanity in me, and not as a respect in the king, as it truly was to my father, whom he often mentions with praise. Thou mayest communicate my graunt to friends, and expect shortly my proposals: 'tis a clear and just thing, and my God that has given it me through many difficultys, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it will be well laid at first: no more now, but dear love in the truth. Thy true friend,

W. PENN.

To Robert Turner, Dublin.

25th 6 *Mo.*, 1681.

DEAR FRIEND,—My endeared love in the truth of God, that is sweet and patient, long suffering, and believes and hopes to the end, salutes thee and thy family, with faithful friends in those parts. At my returne found thyne to me. The most materiall is about the quit-rent, &c.: Philip will be large to thee upon it. I am contented to sell it to a Beaver Skin, which is about a crown value, at 10 years purchase. I did refuse a great temptation last 2d day, which was 6000 pounds, and pay the Indians, for six shares, and make the pur-

chasers a company, to have wholly to itself the Indian trade from south to north, between the *Susquahanagh* and *Delaware* rivers, paying me 2½ per cent. acknowledgment or rent: but as the Lord gave it me over all and great opposition, and that I never had my mind so exercised to the Lord about any outward substance, I would not abuse his love, nor act unworthy of his providence, and so defile what came to me clean. No, lett the Lord guide me by his wisdom, and preserve me to honour his name, and serve his truth and people, that an example and standard may be set up to the nations: there may be room there though none here. So dr. Robert take no notice of this. Thomas Lurting may guess the man: he knows him and spoke of him to me the last man upon the staires-head when he left me. No more at present, but that I am in the love of the Lord, Thy true friend, Wm. Penn.

For my De. ffriends S. Carpenter, Ed. Shippen, Ried. Hill, J. Norris, C. Peusy, S. Preston, T. Story, Gr. Owen, &c., at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania. Pr. J. French.

Ruscomb, Berks, 24th 5th Mo., 1712.

Deare and worthy friends,—Haveing so faire an opertunity, and having heard from you by the Bearer, John French, I chuse, by him to salute you and yours; and all unnamed friends, that you think worthy, for my heart loves such and heartily salutes them and theirs, and prays for your preservation in the Lord's everlasting truth to the end of time; and the way of it is, to take the Lord along with you in all your enterprises to give you right sight, true counsil, and a just temper or moderation in all things, you knowing right well the Lord our God is near at hand. Now know, that tho I have not actually sold my Govermt. to our truly Good Queen, yet her able Ld. treasurer and I have agreed it, and that affaire of the Prizes, the Bearer came hither abt. is part of ye Queen's payment, viz. her one third; and the other comes very opertunely, that belongs to me, which I hope J. Logan will take care of, in the utmost farthing, and remit it to me first, to whom I suppose, orders will goe by this opertunity from ye treasury to yt effect. But I have taken effectuall care, yt all ye Laws and priviledges I have graunted to you, shall be observed by the Queen's Governors, &c.; and that we who are friends shall be in a more particular manner regarded and treated by ye Queen. So that you will not, I hope and believe, have a less interest in the govermt. being humble and discreet in our conduct. And you will finde all the charters and Proprietary Govermts. annexed to the Crown by act of Parliament next winter; and perhaps Col. Quarry, if not J. Moore, may happen to be otherwise employed, notwithstanding the politick opinion of one of my officers in that Govermnt., that is still for gaining them, which I almost think impossible. But be that as it will, I purpose to see you if God give me life this fall, but I grow ould and infirme, yet would Gladly see you

once more before I dye, and my young sons and daughter also, settled upon good Tracts of Land, for them and theirs' after them, to clear and settle upon, as Jacob's sons did. I close when I tell you that I desire fervent prayers to the Lord for continuing my life, that I may see Pennsylvania once more, before I die, and that I am

Your ffaithful Loving friend

WM. PENN.

Penn's surrender to the Crown.—It may be interesting, at this day, to possess some certain facts respecting Penn's intended surrender of the province back to the crown. The following extracts will show how very reluctantly he fell upon such an expedient of relieving himself, both from opposing colonists and carking creditors. It will appear too as a measure having the previous sanction of his friends here.

James Logan, in 1701–2, in writing to William Penn, says, "It is generally believed here that the war will oblige the Parliament to carry on that act annexing the colonies to the crown, for their better security and defence; nor can I find any, even of thy friends, desirous that it should be otherwise, provided thou canst make good terms for thyself and them; for they seem weary and careless on government."

In 1702, James Logan thus remarks, "I cannot advise against a bargain with the crown, if to be had on good terms for thyself and the people. Friends here, at least the generality of the best informed, think government at this time (then at war,) so ill fitted to their principles, that it renders them very indifferent in that point. Privileges, they believe, such as might be depended on for a continuance both to thee and them, with a moderate Governor, would set thee much more at ease, and give thee a happier life as proprietor—besides, that it would exempt them from the solicitude they are under, both from their own impotency and the watchfulness of enemies."

In the next year, (1703) William Penn replies, "I am actually in treaty with the ministers for my government, and so soon as it bears you shall be informed of it. I believe it repents some [then there] that they began it, [as his enemies] for now it is I that press it upon pretty good terms, &c. But this shall never weaken my love to and residence in Pennsylvania; and so I command, by will, my posterity, saying, "I desire they may settle—as Jacob's sons did—in good part in America, where I leave them inheritance from generation to generation."

In 1704 James Logan again writes, saying, "such is the confusion here, that if thou canst make a good bargain for thyself 'tis what thy best friends will advise. I see nothing here that should incline thee to defer good terms one hour after they are offered."

In 1712 William Penn writes, that "the government and I have agreed as to the surrender, but not yet formally executed on both sides; but I hope in a month or two to dispatch it." About the same

time he again writes, saying, "Instead of seven years for £20,000, reduced to £16,000, and I hope the Lord T. will, at £12,000 in four years, pay me."

In the succeeding year (1713) his wife writes that "she is concerned that her husband's health is so precarious that he is now unable to new model the important affair of the surrender, which she is advised, by all her friends, to get finished and confirmed by act of Parliament before it is too late. I purpose, says she, to get a copy of it for my own and friends' satisfaction." She afterwards says, that the answer she got, was, that her husband "might have long since finished it, had he not insisted too much on gaining privileges for the people."

In 1715, she says, that "Thomas Story has looked into that copy, and thinks with others there is as much care taken for keeping the lower counties, and confirming the people's privileges, as can be at all expected; and therefore, all wish it could be accomplished on so good a footing as it was then like to be done. It is now under the consideration of Chancellor West and the trustees, who are desirous to forward it. But as the Parliament has much in hand, we are not come to a resolution whether to lay it before them now or not." Thomas Story, soon afterwards, writes, that "the surrender was passed, and things fully concluded between the late queen and the proprietor,—so there was not any thing so unsettled as to make any legal alteration; but the proprietor and government remain the same still; but it cannot now be perfected without an act of Parliament,"—a thing of course never effected!

Penn's title to the lower Counties.—As the lower counties, which were once a part of Penn's province, resolved to secede or withdraw themselves, *nolens volens*, from the union, I here preserve some facts respecting his claim, to wit:

William Penn, in 1704, says, "The people of the territories did, by their address to the king and duke, (of York) highly express their satisfaction in me and their union with the upper counties, (and which was indeed their seeking) returning their humble thanks to both for sending them so kind a landlord and so good a Governor, and therefore, to Quarry's foul practices and to the protection he brags there that he has here, (with the lords) I owe that great defection which those poor people have been led into of late."

In 1713, Hannah Penn, in behalf of her husband, writes, "I found a grant from Queen Mary, signed by her own hand, in which she declares or owns my husband to be true and rightful proprietor of the lower counties and New Castle,—and I believe there is, or will be easily got, a sufficient title to it."

In 1717, when the Earl of Sutherland was endeavouring to obtain a grant of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, from the crown, James Logan resists his pretension by an essay to prove that they were always esteemed a part of New York colony. He refers to the statement of the claims of the two proprietors, Lord Bal-

timore and William Penn, saying, that "although the title of the latter is not expressly mentioned, it is there shown, from Doctor Heylin's Cosmography, (a work now in the Friends' Library) whose first editions are ancient, that Nieu Nederlandt extended to the westward and southward of Delaware river and bay,—that the Dutch had planted the western side of it, and built two towns on it, viz. Whoorkill, now Lewes; and Sandt-hook, now New Castle;—that this river, being taken by the English from the Dutch in 1665, together with New Amstel and the Noord Riviere,—now New York and Hudson,—altogether as one country, known by the general name of Nieu Nederlandt, came, therefore, under the government of the Duke of York, whose right to the western side of the Delaware was fully submitted to by all the Dutch and settlers amongst them;—and, when retaken by the Dutch, and conquered, a second time, by the English, it returned to its former subjection to the Duke." [Note—"All titles to land upon the river and bay, from Upland (now Chester) to the cape, were therefore held from the New York government."]

In 1726, diligent search, says James Logan, was made among the records at New Castle, to find facts respecting the Dutch claims and government aforetime on the Delaware; but they could find only a minute of their court, which said, that all the old records were sent to New York. At the same time he also searched the records of Sussex, and procured some facts. He sent his clerk to Williamsburgh, Virginia, to search the records there, especially for the treaty between the Dutch government and that of Virginia. But they had them not,—probably because they may have been burnt in the burning down of their town-house and divers old papers, many years since, at Jamestown. The search was also finally made at New York with but little effect, although the copies there taken cost £30* He says he is sorry the records of New York do not afford better proofs of the settlement of this river or bay by the Dutch before the year 1632,—the date of the grant for Maryland. A particular account of it is copied in Governor Stuyvesant's letters to Colonel Nicholls, but it is solely on his word. There was also a copy of a prohibition to the Swedes between the years 1630 and 1640. He thinks the Dutch were particular in sending home full accounts to the Company at Amsterdam, but careless of preserving those at home. [Those papers were all required in the disputed case of Lord Baltimore's boundaries, and the facts above were written to the proprietaries.]

When New Castle and the lower counties were delivered by the Duke of York's agent to William Penn, it was done formally by delivery of *turf and water!*—a fit subject for an historical painting. The Duke's deed of sale is dated the 20th of August, 1682.

* It is at present ascertained that the records at Albany are very voluminous and complete, and will some day afford fine researches.

Fenwick's Island formed the outer cape, named Hinlopen, and the inner one was named Cornelius. An old man, in 1739, showed the original boundary with Lord Baltimore, it having been marked with brass nails drove into a tree, still standing on Fenwick's Island.

In 1708, James Logan states some reasons why New Castle did not prosper as the inhabitants there wished, as rivals to Philadelphia, saying, "the unhealthiness of the place, and the disorderly way of living among the people has been the cause why it is not now much more considerable than it was thirty years ago.* To make that town flourish they fell upon the expedient to separate the lower counties from the province, and to make it a seat of government;—but notwithstanding, the inhabitants below have still chosen to bring their trade to Philadelphia, rather than to stop there or have any thing to do with it." Much of this scheme was projected and conducted by Jasper Yeates and J. Coutts. A previous desire to separate was expressed as early as 1702, and much effort was then made to that end.

Early settlements in Jersey.—The early settlements made in Jersey, along the Delaware, are sufficiently contemporaneous and connected with Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, to deserve a passing notice.

Major John Fenwick in his own right and as trustee for Edward Billings, held the *lordship*, as it was then called, of all West Jersey. —The major had been an officer under Cromwell, afterwards became a Quaker, and came out with his little colony to Salem in June 1675, he forthwith *confirmed* his titles by making his purchases of the Indians to their satisfaction.—This "lord or chief proprietor," appears to have prosecuted his settlement with all the personal industry and labour of an ordinary man, and to have been only regarded among Friends, as plain John Fenwick. He had continual perplexities and pecuniary embarrassments, and finally rested his remains (after being two years imprisoned in New York) at his plantation, called Fenwick's Grove, in Upper Marmington, and no monumental stone is there to mark his grave!

Deer skins and peltry were very early articles of commerce from Salem—It was made a port of entry in 1682, and much was done in a business way between that place and New York, which, besides the skins, received much of cedar posts and shingles.

The first settlers brought into the country privet and thorn seeds, with which they afterwards made fences.

In 1717, they burned Hagar, a slave to James Sherran, for the murder of her master.

The Court proceedings at Salem present nothing remarkable—offences were generally punished by whipping.

The dates of the earliest settlements of towns and churches about

* Edmundson's Journal speaks of being at this place (Delawaretown) in 1672, and that then the Dutch and Fins were very intemperate.

Salem has been told in an interesting manner by R. G. Johnson, Esqr., in his little historical account of the first settlement at Salem—therein furnishing an instructive picture of the past, in the days of its olden time, including my own forefathers, the Watsons,—first settlers at Greenwich.

Primitive Commerce.—Isaac Norris, in a letter to William Penn, in 1707, says, the province consumes, annually, of produce and merchandise of England, 14 to £15,000. sterling. The direct returns were in tobacco, furs and skins. The indirect are in provisions and produce, via West Indies and the southern colonies. In 1706, about 800 hogsheads of tobacco went from Philadelphia, and about 25 to 30 tons of skins and furs.

William Penn himself was concerned in a great many shipments to and from Pennsylvania. For the most part they were intended as measures for best conducting his remittances. The letters between him and James Logan are numerous on this subject. Specie was too scarce to procure it. Penn was at first averse from insurance, saying, "I am tender (in conscience) as to insurance. If the vessel arrives I shall consider it an engaging providence." In after times, however, he admitted his partners to insure for him. In 1704, James Logan, speaking of their joint losses, says, "thy success at sea is so very discouraging, that I should never be willing to be concerned more this way:—and William Trent, who has hitherto been a partner in most of thy losses, almost protests against touching with any vessel again where a proprietary holds a part!"

Samuel Carpenter, in a letter of 1708, to Jonathan Dickinson, thus speaks of their embarrassments of trade, saying, "I am glad thou didst not come this summer, for craft from Martinico and several other privateers have been on our coast, and captured many. Our vessels here have been detained some time in fear of the enemy, and now by this conveyance to Jamaica, they are hurrying off 16 vessels to join convoy at the capes under the York man of war."

It was usual then to have several owners in one vessel and cargo, so as to divide, as much as possible, their risks. I give here a specimen, from a bill of outfits of a Philadelphia vessel in 1708–9, in which were sixteen distinct and separate divisions of eight ownerships in the "ship Mary Galley,"—her total expenses were £415. and William Poole (the ship carpenter, who dwelt by, and built ships at, Poole's bridge,) held a sixteenth share. I abstract the following prices, to wit:—negroes, for day's work in clearing the hold, two shillings and six pence per day,—board of cook and others, per week, 8 shillings,—a barrel of pork, 70 shillings,—staves, 60 shillings per thousand,—wood, at 9 shillings per cord.

Conclusion.—We have seen from the foregoing pages, that the lords of trade had a most busy surveillance of our affairs. Their intimate knowledge of which, and their ample records, if now consulted, might cast much light upon our infant history. *This idea should*

be improved by some of our future historians. That board was instituted, in 1671, on purpose to keep up a keen inspection and jealous check of all the British colonies. They therefore sustained an active correspondence with the several plantations, and required frequent communications and exposes of the events transpiring there. We know it to have been the fact in our case, that many secret reports, both good and ill, were made to them,—both from the Governors and authorities among us, and also from the disaffected, who thus laboured to frustrate the common purposes of the country. Evelyn's Memoirs show, as he was a member of that board of trade, the kind of machinery they employed against us as colonies.

Another fruitful source of facts for our history may be expected to be obtained, some day, of the Penn family at Stoke Pogis; for I am well assured by an eye witness, that all of the primitive papers are regularly folded, endorsed and labelled, but not now permitted to be used, by the late owner, John Penn, Esqr.,—he alleging that he reserved them for designs of his own.

Besides these might be added the fact, that in our own archives at Harrisburg are some records and MS. volumes, which might further reward the diligence of a competent explorer. Such are the early minutes of the council, minutes of the first Assemblies, &c. which might further amuse and edify. It is believed that many early papers and records of the city, perhaps as far down as to the Revolution, are irretrievably gone. J. P. Norris, Esqr., and others, informed me they were in the possession of Judge Shippen, and were put in his garret. After his death, Mrs. L., his daughter, (now in New York) regarding them as mere lumber, allowed them to be burnt.*

Besides the foregoing depots, where facts may one day be disclosed, it is desirable that common readers who wish to cherish an inquiring mind respecting the rise and progress of their country, should be apprised of the titles of numerous ancient publications in our City Library, and the Library of the American Philosophical Society, which, if consulted, might considerably enlarge their knowledge of our country. To many readers who never thought much on the subjects the very titles would awaken some concern to look into them. From many I select the following

Catalogue of Ancient Publications, illustrative of our Early History, in the Philadelphia Library, to wit:

Plain Truth; or, Considerations on the present state of Philadelphia. 1747. 8vo.

* Dunlap's Memoir says, Joseph Shippen, the Secretary, only gave up his books, and withheld the documents of his office.—The city Minutes given in this work were found in Edward Burd's garret.

An answer thereto,—is called, Necessary Truth; or, Seasonable Considerations for the Inhabitants of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1748. 8vo.

Clear and Certain Truths relating to the present crisis, as well the truly pious Christian as others. By a simple tradesman. Germantown, printed by C. Sower, 1747.

A short Apology for Plain Truth, in a letter from a third tradesman in Philadelphia to his friend in the country. 1748.

Proposals for Trade and Commerce in New Jersey, 1717. 4to. No. 465.

Strictures on the Philadelphia Meschianza; or, Triumph upon leaving America unconquered. Philadelphia, 1780. 12mo.

A letter from Sir William Keith, Governor, to James Logan. Philadelphia, 1725. 12mo.

A serious Address to such of the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania as connived at the massacre of the Indians at Lancaster. Philadelphia, 1764.

An Answer to an invidious pamphlet entitled, "A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania," wherein the conduct of the Assemblies is considered. London, 1755. 8vo.

A true and impartial state of the Province of Pennsylvania, being a full answer to the pamphlets, entitled, "A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania," and "A Brief View of the conduct of Pennsylvania." Philadelphia, 1759.

Charles Reed's letter to John Ladd, Esqr., concerning the massacre of the Indians in Lancaster. Philadelphia, 1764. 8vo.

A state of the case of Rebecca Richardson, respecting a house and lot in Philadelphia. No. 1572. 8vo.

Plantagenet's New Albion, in the Loganian Library, is a rare work, and contains the earliest facts concerning New Jersey and Pennsylvania. London, 1648.

The Plain Dealer; or, Remarks on Quaker politics. Philadelphia, 1764.

An address to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, in answer to Plain Dealer.

An Inquiry into the nature and necessity of a paper currency. 1729.

Remedies proposed for restoring the sunk credit of Pennsylvania. 1721.

Smith and Gibbon's Remonstrance, showing the distress of the frontier inhabitants. Philadelphia, 1764.

Beatty's Journal of a two months' tour with a view of promoting religion among the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania. London, 1768. 8vo.

An Account of the first settlement of Virginia, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, by the English. London, 1735. 4to.

A Council held at Philadelphia, August, 1744, with the Delawares.

The History of the Buccaniers of America. Dublin, 1741. 5th Edition.

An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania from its origin. London, 1759. 8vo.

The British Empire in America, and state of the Colonies from 1710 to 1741. London, 1741. 8vo.

Novæ Suciæ seu Pennsylvaniæ in America, descriptio Stockholmiæ, 1702. 4to. (in the Swedish language.)

Histoire der Buccaniers of Vry-buyters van America, met figuuren. T' Amsterdam, 1700. 4to.

Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, from October 4th, 1682, to September 26th, 1776. 18 vols. folio.

A two years' Journal in New York and part of its territories in America. London, 1701. 12mo.

Douglass' Summary, historical and political, of the first planting, progressive improvements of the British settlement in North America. Boston, 1749, and London, 1760.

Johnson's General History of the Pirates, from their rise and settlement in Providence to the present time, by Charles Johnson. 4th Edit. London, 1726.

Sir William Keith's (Governor of Pennsylvania) History of the British plantations in America, with a Chronological account of the most remarkable things which happened to the first adventurers. Part I. containing the history of Virginia, &c. London, 1738. 8vo.

The Library of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, contains the following books, to wit:

Several books, by various writers, respecting the massacre of Indians at Lancaster. 1763.

MS.—Narrative, by John Watson, of the Indian Walk, being a purchase of land made of the Indians in Pennsylvania. 1756. Very interesting.

MSS.—Copies of Records concerning the early settlements on the Delaware river.—1st. English Records from 1614 to 1682.—2d. Dutch Records, from 1630 to 1656,—extracted from the archives of the State of Pennsylvania, by Redmond Conyngham, Esqr.

MS. copies of Swedish Records, concerning the colony of New Sweden, (now Pennsylvania and Delaware,) obtained from the archives of the Swedish government at Stockholm, by Jonathan Russell, Esqr. (Swedish and French.)

MS.—The original cash book of William Penn, containing the entries of his expenses from 1699 to 1703,—kept by James Logan.

MS.—The original rough Minutes of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, from 1700 to 1716.—from the papers of James Logan.

Extracts from the original Minutes of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, from 1748 to 1758,—extracted by Thomas Sargent, Esqr. Secretary of State.

A brief History of the charitable scheme for instructing poor Germans in Pennsylvania, printed by B. Franklin, 1755.

Several pamphlets of 1764, of Philadelphia, of controversy—for and against the Quakers, whose ascendency in the Assembly was disliked by some.

The conduct of the Paxton men impartially represented. 1764.

Besides the foregoing, there are several works, giving historical and descriptive accounts of America, or of particular provinces, from their settlement.—Several written by Europeans in the 17th and 18th centuries.

In the Cambridge Library, Massachusetts, there is a German pamphlet, 12mo. of 44 pages, printed at Memmingen, by Andrew Seyler, 1792;

the title of which is "A Geographical, Statistical description of the Province of Pennsylvania, by Fr. Daniel Pastorius, in an extract, ("Im Auszug") with notes." It contains several facts from 1683 to 1699, with an account of the Indians, &c., that would much illustrate our early history. Pastorius was a sensible man, and a scholar, who lived during the above time in Germantown, as chief magistrate there.

The New York Historical Society has reprinted some of Holme's "New Swedeland," from the Stockholm edition.

Graydon's Memoirs of a life of 60 years in Pennsylvania,—Ed. 1811.—is a book to be particularly recommended to the perusal of Philadelphians. It contains much of the local and domestic history of the town at and after the period of the Revolution, and affords a pleasing proof of good humour and good feelings of an aged gentleman, in the review of the incidents of his early life. The present generation know scarcely any thing of the past transactions which his book presents with the charm of good reading.

The adventures of the Sieur Castleman, published in London, gives a description of his visit to Philadelphia, and some amusing occurrences there in 1707,—he speaks of his acquaintance with a dancing master, *then* at Philadelphia. The work is very scarce, and has been published in English, French, and Italian.

Extracts from the Minutes of Council.

These Minutes of Council I examined and made extracts from, down to the year 1760; I found that they do not furnish much of interest *in my way* of inquiry, as will be now seen. They were mostly upon *Indian Affairs*, as will be found under that head. I had freely declared, that they were not such in general as would justify the expense of *printing*, since ordered by the Legislature. They expected *much* from them, just because no one had sufficiently examined their contents, *as I had.*

Governor Denny, in 1757, when speaking of these Minutes of Council, now *so open to all*, said:—"They contained important state affairs, many of which require *the greatest secrecy*, and cannot therefore be opened to the perusal of any but such as are concerned in *the administration* of public affairs."

It was begun *first* at Philadelphia on the 10th of 1st mo., 1682–3. Present, Wm. Penn, Proprietary and Governor, Capt. Wm. Markham and 15 others, viz:—Christopher Taylor, Thomas Holmes, Lasse Cock, Wm. Hug, John Moll, Ralph Whithers, John Simcoe, Edward Cantwell, Wm. Clayton, Wm. Biles, James Harrison, Wm. Clarke, Francis Whitehill, John Richardson, John Killiard.

The six sheriffs being called in, it was represented, that they could not assemble the whole number of deputies from the people, according to charter, but that the voice of the people for 12 delegates was enough, being 72. Agreed to.

12 of 6 mo., 1682.—Nich. Moore, President of the Society of Free Traders, was summoned for disrespectable words, uttered concerning the former council. He made apology.

16 of 1 mo., 1683.—A bill proposed for building a House of Correction in each county, 24 feet by 10 feet.

23 of 1 mo., 1683.—Ordered that the Seal of Philadelphia be the *Anchor.*

It was voted that the Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and Constables be appointed during the life of the Governor.

11 of 3 mo., 1683.—The Assembly and Council meet together in the meeting house for a special occasion and for more room.

24 of 6 mo., 1683.—Trial of the case of Chs. Pickering coining base money—Robert Felton made it.

Luke Watson is named as member of Assembly from his farm at *Prince Hook* in Sussex. He was one of the General Council in 1684, had 500 acres—gave some offence.

The speaker and *the whole house*, often go to the Governor and Council to hear the laws *confirmed.*

17 of 11 mo., 1683.—A Law proposed for two sorts of Cloaths only for winter and summer wear.

12 of 4 mo., 1684.—Evidence of the abusive epithets of Col. Talbott on the border lines, and driving off land holders, saying

"Off you brazen nosed dog—or I'll ride you down," &c.

15 of 3 mo., 1685.—Thomas Lloyd, President. Three pages of charges were made against Judge N. Moore, for high crimes and misdemeanours. It was on this occasion that Patrick Robinson declared of the Instrument, that the Assembly in so doing had made the impeachment *at hab nab*, for which they also desire satisfaction. The Council resolved that they could not act until he was first convicted in Court. He afterwards made his submission, and continued *an agreed time* of about three months.

1 of 12 mo., 1685–6.—The Petition of Chs. Pickering was read about his land in Chester being surveyed. [This marks him who counterfeited.]

12 of 3 mo., 1686.—The Petition of the Frenchmen sent over by Ballasses was offered, saying that *his agents* did not perform their promises. [This accounts, perhaps, for some French names among us now.]

18 of 3 mo., 1686.—A Petition for Highways was read, and the Council agreed to appoint a committee to inspect all the business of roads, and to order them to be laid out in the most proper and convenient places.

5 of 5 mo., 1686.—Joshua Carpenter is licensed for 3 mos. to keep an ordinary in his brother *Saml.* Carpenter's house on *the wharfe* [above Walnut street.]

24 of 6 mo., 1686.—Jno. White informs this board that the Marylanders have lately reinforced their fort at Christiana, and that they would not suffer him to cut his hay, but presenting their guns at him, said they would cast his hay when made into the River! Also, that Maj. English, a few days past, came into New Castle Co. with 40 armed men on horses, and leaving the Co. at John Darby's, the Major and a Captain came to New Castle, and there told John White, that as to the case of his hay, he might peaceably cut it, if he would only say to them "Thou drunken

Doggred Inglish let me cut hay!" The Council advise John White to use no violence, but to hope for a speedy settlement from the King.

1 of 8 mo., 1686.—Upon the complaint of the Judges of the Court (Provincial) of great abuse offered to them on the bench by their clerk, Patrick Robinson, he was ordered to be dismissed.

19 of 9 mo., 1686.—The Council taking into consideration the unevenness of the road from Philadelphia to the *Falls of Delaware*, agreed that a Committee and the Surveyors of the County meet, and lay out a more commodious road from the broad street in Philadelphia to the falls aforesaid.

12 of 3 mo., 1687.—Luke Watson, a member of Assembly in 1688, was admitted a member of Council, he having vindicated his former offence.

2 of 2 mo., 1688.—It is ordered that the Indians be encouraged in the destroying of Wolves by an extra provision.

Matters of disagreement and unsettled accounts between individuals are often considered and adjudged by Council.

All the foregoing extracted in the year 1835, from the first volume in the office of the Secretary of State, it being a folio of medium sized paper, of 209 pages.

Besides the foregoing, there were a regular succession of folio volumes, of much larger size, continued regularly to the War of Independence, 1775, in 20 volumes. After which other volumes follow of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

In 1701 Whitpain's great front room was used for the General Assembly—then tenanted by Joseph Shippen.

The Sachems of the Susquehanna Shawana Indians visit the Proprietary Penn in 1701, to take leave.

11 of 5 mo., 1704.—Gov. Evans and Council. Ordered that all persons who serve till releasement in the Prison shall be exempted from watch and ward.

Numerous roads leading to Philadelphia are petitioned for about years 1700 to 4.

1704.—The London members of the Society of Free Traders complain that their books, papers, &c., are broken up *here*, and praying relief against their agents here, and the recovery of the *right* knowledge of their interests.

4 July, 1718.—A road ordered to be laid out from Philadelphia to Wissahickon Mills, by 5 com'rs, among whom was Andrew Robeson.

May 2, 1729.—Lancaster Co. is erected, and in next year the Town also.

Jany. 1730–1.—The inhabitants there declare they have no proper road to Philadelphia, but are compelled to go round about through Chester.

Feb., 1729–30.—Lancaster town pitched upon and money *lent* (£300) to build a Court House and Prison on or near a small run of water between the Plantations of Roody Mire, Michl. Shank, and Jacob Imble—at about 10 miles from Susquehanna.

All the forgoing are embraced in eight books of demi MSS., (A. to H.) and come down to the year 1734. I examined and extracted

them pretty fully. After this the books begin and continue of larger size in a medium paper, and furnish but little in my way.

In the Land Office is a book called the "Proprietary Papers," which professes to be made as *an index* to the papers remaining in "the Proprietary's Box in the Surveyor General's Office." Many of them are curious, I should presume, by their titles. They relate to "Swedes' Lands in Northern Liberties," to drafts of land in Moyamensing, Weccacoe, &c., and sundry miscellaneous kinds. Some are facts concerning "the Proprietary's Pasture," between Vine Street and Pegg's Run.

Extracts from Minutes of the Assembly and from contemporaneous occurrences, viz:

January 28, 1683.—Thomas Winn, Speaker of the General Assembly, ordered that the Members who absented themselves from the deliberations of the House, without good cause, shall pay a fine of twelve pence sterling for every such offence.

March 16, 1685.—Patrick Robinson, Clerk of the Provincial Courts was required by the Assembly to appear before them with the Recorder of the Court, but refusing compliance he was taken into custody by order of the House for refusal to obey the commands of the House, and voted incapable of exercising the duties of any public office thereafter.

Nicholas Moore, for contempt of the authority of the House was expelled.

1689, March 13.—John White informed the Governor that he was unable to attend to his duty as a Member of Assembly, being in prison at New Castle. The fact being made known to the Assembly, they commanded the Sheriff to place John White at freedom. John White took his seat in the House on the 17th; but on that night John Claypoole, Sheriff, broke open the door of the chamber when John White was preparing to go to bed, and carried him off to confinement.

1694, March 23.—David Jamison informed the House of Assembly that the Five Nations of Indians had been corrupted by the French, and had withdrawn their friendship for Pennsylvania.

1694.—The Speaker informed the House of Assembly that the King's Attorney, in London, expected to receive from them the sum of twenty guineas for reading the several laws transmitted to the King and Council in London.

1695, July 9.—The House of Assembly met at Sarah Whitpain's room, and each member agreed to pay their proportion, and charge it to the respective county.

[NOTE.—When the Members of the General Assembly first met in the city of Philadelphia, they hired a room and paid the expense. The country members took lodgings out of the city, and walked in to attend the meeting, frequently bringing their dinners with them.]

July 10.—Judges allowed ten shillings a day for their services.

July 25.—John Claypoole presented to the Governor by the House of Assembly, as a man of *Ill Fame;* and that he be removed from office.

1698, March 13.—William Morton sent a message to the House of Assembly, that he was a Scotchman, and he was apprehensive if he came to Philadelphia to take his seat as a Member, they would not receive him, and therefore he thought it prudent to remain at home.

1701.—In this year complaint was made to the Governor and House of Assembly, by the freemen of Philadelphia, stating that the Proprietary had encroached upon their rights—that he had rented part of the land which was intended to be a common for ever; and requesting that the landing places at the Blue Anchor and the Penny Pot-house should be made free for the use of any man without hindrance. The answer of the Proprietary was that he had made a re-aplotment of the city, with which the first purchasers had complied, and consequently had not infringed upon their rights.

1701.—Jurors entitled to receive eight pence a day; witnesses two shillings each.

Philadelphia incorporated this year, by request of the inhabitants, into a city.

1704.—Arrangements made for the erection of a Court House and Prison in the city of Philadelphia.

August 16.—The country members lodging out of the city were unable from the violence of the wind and rain, to attend their duties in the House of Assembly.

October 15.—The Assembly were required to meet on Sunday. They met and organized, then adjourned to meet on Monday the 16th.

1705.—The city of Philadelphia was visited by sickness in the spring.

William Biles, Member of the House, complained of a breach of privilege. The House censured the Sheriff and Judges who committed the same.

An attempt was made this year to make the qualifications for electors fifty pounds in value.

1706.—The wolves had increased in such a degree as to cause an apprehension for the safety of all the flocks of sheep in the immediate vicinity of Philadelphia. A communication on the subject was made to the Governor and Assembly.

The Slaughter houses in the centre of population in the city of Philadelphia became such a nuisance that they were ordered to be removed.

1706.—James Logan laid before the General Assembly an interesting account of the Indians at Conestoga.

1707.—The House of Assembly requested the Governor that he would not employ any longer James Letort and Nicholas as Indian Interpreters, as they ought to be considered very dangerous persons.

In the year 1708, Solomon Cresson, a Constable of the city of Philadelphia, going his rounds at one o'clock at night, and discovering a very riotous assembly in a tavern, immediately ordered them to disperse, when John Evans, Esq., Governor of the Province, happened to be one of them, and called Solomon in the house and flogged him very severely, and had him imprisoned for two days.

1709.—The Indians at Conestoga were required by the Five Nations to come and pay their annual tribute; but they sent word they could not go until they obtained permission of the Governor of the Province

The Assembly accordingly granted the money, as also charges for the journey.

1712.—William Southbe applied to the Assembly for a law for the declaration of freedom to all negroes. The House resolved—"It is neither just or convenient to set them at liberty."

1713.—A committee of the Assembly were sent to Governor Gookin on business. They returned and reported "that the Governor is not stirring." [See Votes of Assembly, vol. ii., page 144.]

1715.—Mr. Assheton called on the House of Assembly with a message from the Governor, and was introduced into the room and addressed the Speaker as follows:—"The Governor has requested me to state his regret that he has been unable to get the Council together, and will feel happy if the members wait on him this evening at Sarah Radcliff's, and take a glass of wine with him."

The house soon afterwards adjourned, and waited on the Governor in the evening.

1716.—The Judges of the Supreme Court, William Trent, Jonathan Dickinson, and George Roach, refused to sit on any trial of criminals this year. They were declared by the House of Assembly enemies to the Governor and Government on account of said refusal.

Charles Gookin, Esq., Governor, accused Richard Hill, Speaker of the House of Assembly, and James Logan, Esq., Secretary, of being friendly to the Pretender, and that they were inimical to the government of Great Britain.

September.—Hugh Lowdon, armed with pistols, attacked the Speaker of the House, and bloodshed being fortunately prevented, was committed to prison, and a bill of indictment found; but the Governor ordered a Noli Prosequi to be entered, to the great dissatisfaction of the Assembly.

1717.—Owen Roberts, Sheriff of the county of Philadelphia, was censured by the Speaker, before the House of Assembly, for neglect of duty.

Members of Assembly received four shillings and sixpence for each day they attended.

1718.—A petition was presented to the Assembly for prevention of inhabitants of Jersey from selling any meat, &c., in the market.

1719.—The Indian traders at the head of the Powtomak were attacked by a body of Indians and defeated with the loss of many lives.

1720.—The arch in Arch street in Philadelphia was pulled down this year, and caused much excitement.

1721.—A meeting was called in the city of Philadelphia, to take into consideration the prevention of sale of spirituous liquors within the Province, and to encourage the making of beer as a substitute.

1722.—Civility, Tehahook and Diahausa, Indian Chiefs, waited on the Governor, Sir William Keith, and addressed him as follows:—

"Father—The red men have been on the hunting ground—they have followed the deer—they looked not upon your presents.

"Father—Our Chief laments the death of the Indian, for he was flesh and blood like him—you are sorry, but that cannot give him life. Father be not angry—let John Cartlidge die—one death is enough, why should two die—our hearts are warm to the Governor and all the English."

1722.—Captain Thomas Burrel, and Capt. Thomas James appointed Pilots for the Delaware.

A petition was presented to the General Assembly on behalf of day labourers, stating that the practice of blacks being employed was a great disadvantage to them who had emigrated from Europe for the purpose of obtaining a livelihood; that they were poor and honest; they therefore hoped a law would be prepared for the prevention of employment to the blacks.

The Assembly resolved, "That the principle was dangerous and injurious to the Republic, and ought not to be sanctioned by the House."

1723.—A question was suggested and argued in the Assembly, "Whether a Clergyman, being an alien, could lawfully marry any person within the Province." It was not decided.

Anthony Jacob Hinkle, ordered by the Assembly to be taken to the county jail by the Sheriff, and there detained during their pleasure.

Tavern keepers petitioned the Assembly, that all sellers of ciguars* should be put upon the same footing with them, and compelled to take out a license.

Proprietors of Iron Works petition to the Assembly to pass a law to prevent any person from retailing liquor near Iron Works to their workmen, excepting beer or cider.

A bill was reported to the House of Assembly for the encouragement of Distilleries within the province, but such was the opposition made to it that Sir William Keith would not give his assent to the bill.

A salary was granted to the Attorney General for the first time.

1726.—Thomas Wright was unfortunately killed by some Indians at Snaketown, beyond Conestoga. The persons who committed the act were punished.

1728.—The Indians attacked the Iron Works of Mackatawney, but were driven off with great loss by the workmen.

A large number of Menonists arrived this year in Pennsylvania.

1729.—Jonathan Kempster and George Coats were compelled to kneel at the bar of the House of Assembly and solicit pardon and promise better conduct in future, upon which, and paying fees, they were ordered to be discharged.

1730.—The House of Assembly ordered that a suitable Flag should be hoisted at proper days upon Society Hill—and that the sum of ten pounds should be granted to Edward Carter for hoisting the flag on Society Hill upon Sundays, Holy Days, and upon public occasions.

1731.—The small pox prevailed to an alarming extent this year.

The State House began to be built under the direction of Thomas Lawrence and Andrew Hamilton, Esqs.

1735.—Offices adjoining the State House completed.

1739.—A room in the State House appropriated to the public library of the city of Philadelphia.

1742.—A great riot in the city of Philadelphia produced by sailors on the election ground.

1745.—Peter Chartier, an influential Indian interpreter, went and joined the French Indians on the Ohio, to the injury of Pennsylvania. Peter, at the head of four hundred Shawanese Indians, attacked James Dinnew and

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* *Ciguars* in 1725 was impossible! It must have been written for *liquors*. Cigars were not in use till after 1798.

Peter Teetee, and robbed them of their goods. James Dinnew and Peter Teetee were considered respectable Indian traders, and much excitement prevailed in consequence of the robbery.

1749.—The friendly Indian Chiefs, on their way to Philadelphia, were encouraged to commit a variety of depredations on the inhabitants. A cow and calf belonging to Henry Ote, of Philadelphia County, were at a considerable distance from the road in a field, and the Indians were told they could not hurt them at that distance, whereupon they took aim with their guns and shot both.

1750.—At an election for representatives in York County, a large party of Germans drove the people from the election ground. The Sheriff left the box and went out to speak to them, but was knocked down with others. Nicholas Ryland, the Coroner, then forced his way into the Court House, took possession of the box, and three of the inspectors remained with him to conduct the election. The Sheriff and four inspectors leapt out at the back window of the Court House, or they would have lost their lives. The Sheriff afterwards requested to be admitted, but was refused.

The Sheriff afterwards called on six freeholders and examined them on their oath, as to the persons they thought duly elected, and then drew up a certificate which he and the six signed, and the return which they signed was accepted by the Assembly.

The Sheriff, however, was called before the Assembly and publicly admonished by the Speaker, and advised to preserve better order for the future.

The following was the explanation given to the Governor by the Germans of their conduct;—Hans Hamilton, the Sheriff, did not open the polls until two o'clock, at which time the Marsh people assembled, armed and surrounded the window, and would not permit the Dutch people to vote, whereupon the Dutch people being the most numerous, broke into the Court House, and the Sheriff made his escape with some of the inspectors out of the back window; that they invited the Sheriff to return, but he refused; that the Coroner then took the Sheriff's place and proceeded to take tickets, and after the election was over, the Sheriff was invited to count the tickets, but he refused to have any thing to do with the election.

The farmers complained this year that the bounty given for squirrels had tended to their injury, for the labourers, instead of helping them with their harvests, had taken up their guns and gone to hunt squirrels, as they could make more by squirrel scalps than by wages at day labour.

1751.—Benjamin Franklin, and eight other Commissioners, were appointed to examine the River Schuylkill from Peters' Island to John Bartram's, for the most suitable place for a bridge, and they reported in favour of Market Street.

1752.—The superintendents of the State House were directed to purchase from Mr. Allen his cedar tree lot lying on Walnut Street, south of the State House for the use of the people of the Province.

Number of vessels cleared from the port of Philadelphia were, in 1721, 130; 1722, 110; 1723, 85.

Deaths in the City of Philadelphia were, in 1722, 188; 1730, 244; 1732, 254; 1731, the small pox carried off 490; from 1738 to 1744, 3179.

Taxables in the City.—1720, 1995; 1740, 4850; 1751, 7100.

Bucks County.—1751, 3262.

Chester County.—1732, 2157; 1737, 2532; 1742, 3007; 1747, 3444; 1752, 3951.

Lancaster County.—1738, 2560; 1752, 3977.

Lancaster Town.—1752, 311.

York County.—1749, 1466; 1750, 1798; 1751, 2403.

Cumberland County.—1749, 807; 1751, 1134.

It was the practice of the House of Assembly to have candles lighted at dark. The Speaker would then call "candles," and the door-keeper would immediately bring them in. Some of the Speakers used hand bells to keep silence.

1755.—Samuel Hazard requested aid from the Governor and Assembly to his project of a new settlement or colony in the west.

General Braddock defeated. Colonel Dunbar, (nicknamed Dunbar the tardy,) arrived with three hundred of the wounded at Fort Cumberland on the 22d of July. The colonel did not consider himself in a secure situation, but requested the Governor to call him to Philadelphia.

The House of Assembly exculpated themselves from blame in regard to the defeat of Braddock. [See Votes of Assembly, vol. iv., p. 448.]

1755.—George Croghan, James Burd, John Armstrong, William Buchanan, and Orlan Hoops were appointed commissioners to open a road to the west, for the purpose of sending supplies to the army on the Ohio and Yioghogheny.

1755.—Irish settlement at the Great Cave entirely destroyed by the Indians.

Settlement at Tulpehocken attacked by the Indians, and many destroyed on both sides.

The report of the Council to the Governor on the matter of settlement of the Shawanese Indians, is to be found on page 517, volume 4th, of Votes of Assembly.

The dates of settlement of the Shawanese does not correspond with the accounts given by their agents, as in the public records at Harrisburgh; for the Shawanese Indians came to Pennsylvania, it is said, previous to the landing of William Penn, and their Chief held a conference with him, as it is alleged, to which they repeatedly refer in different talks. They did not all remove to Ohio in the year 1727 or 1729, but many remained until 1750 at their wigwam of the Beaver Pond, near the present location of Carlisle. [See Votes of Assembly, vol. iv., p. 528.]

1759.—The Indian Chief Cayenquiloqudar, sends his son to be educated by the English.

Mahlon Kirkbride, William Hoge, Peter Dicks, and Nathaniel Pennock vacated their seats in the Assembly at the request of the Council in London, as it was desirable that there should be no Quaker in the assembly during war.

Mr. Allen being returned a member from the two counties of Cumberland and Northampton, was required by the Speaker to declare which county he chose to represent, as he could not hold his seat for both. Mr. William Allen chose Cumberland.

1758.—House ordered to be built at Wyoming for the reception of the Indians under Teedyuskung, in order to promote an Indian settlement for the better protection of the province.

Barracks erected in Philadelphia, and Joseph Fox appointed barrack-master.

1758.—Benjamin Franklin appointed agent for the transaction of government affairs during his stay in Great Britain.

1759.—Meetings of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania in different places to express their opinion against horse racing, gambling, plays and lotteries.

1760.—The house of Doctor John, the celebrated Indian Chief, was attacked on February 14th, in the town of Carlisle, by persons unknown, who barbarously murdered Doctor John, his wife, and two children—which, on being communicated to the Governor, he offered one hundred pounds reward for the apprehension of the offenders.

1760.—On March 17th, a very deep snow fell, which shut up all the roads. The Speaker of the House of Assembly, and the majority of the members were unable to get to town. A few only met, and adjourned the house until next day. The snow was in some places seven feet deep.

1761.—An application was made to the Governor, James Hamilton, Esq., by Redmond Conyingham and other merchants of the city of Philadelphia, for the erection of piers in some suitable place in the Delaware, to preserve their vessels from ice.

1762.—The Assembly directed that the remaining part of the square on which the State House stands, be purchased for the use of the people.

A number of white children were given up by the Indians at Lancaster, and as they were not claimed, the Governor ordered them to be bound out for a suitable time.

1763.—Application was made to the Governor for regulating taverns. That one only should be in such a defined distance, or in proportion to so many inhabitants—that the bar-room should be closed upon the sabbath-day, as it would prevent youth from committing excesses to their own ruin, the injury of their masters, and the affliction of their parents and friends.

Reminiscences and Statements of Robert Venable.

This was an aged black man, born in January, 1736, died at Philadelphia in 1834, aged 98 years. In August, 1830, I learnt from him the following facts, viz.:—

Samuel Powell, a rich carpenter, owned ninety houses, lived at N. E. corner of Pine and Second Streets. Had his garden (across the street) where is now Friends' Meeting—he worked also at making fire-buckets. R. V. showed me a leathern pitcher, (made by S. P.) once used in the cooper shop by said R. Venable.*

He remembered Philadelphia every where unpaved—was extremely miry, and cart loads often stalled. They used to call the place, in jeer, "*Filthy-dirty*," instead of Phila-delphia.

He well remembered old Capt. Chanceller, the sail maker, (the great friend of Sir Wm. Keith, who stuck to him to the last, and went down

* He probably derived his name from the Venable family. "Thomas Venable" has his inscription in Christ Church, as having died in 1731.

and saw him off from New Castle.) He lived at the good brick house (then large) at the S. E. corner of "Chancery Lane" and Arch Street—and said it was then called "*Chancellor's Lane*," although Ross and Lawrence had law offices there, and Ross lived at the other end of his lot on Second Street. He said this Chanceller was the father of Dr. Chanceller, and that he had another son, *Samuel*, who became a sea captain, and went much to *Madeira*, where he thinks he must have remained, or died, as he did not know of his having left any family. He was about his own age, and had played together. Chanceller's boatswain, Will, used to hoist the flag at the staff on Society Hill.

At where is the present St. Paul's Church, and descending from Pear Street, at foot of which was a fine spring *open*—they called it "Powell's Hill," and Samuel Powell owned all south of it down to Spruce Street.

"The Queen's-head Inn" was on Water Street, on the same lot as "the Crooked Billet Inn," which fronted *on the river*.

The first lamp he ever saw in the street was *round*, and was set up before Clifton's door, a large two story brick house of double front, at the S. E. corner of Clifton's Alley (since called Drinker's) and Second Street, below Race Street.

"Beake's Hollow," in Walnut Street, was called after Job Beake, a porter, who lived at the N. W. corner of Fourth and Walnut Streets, and from the back of his house went down a short hill. Wm. Beake was an early settler.

In September, 1830, I had further conversation with old Robert, on about two dozen of special inquiries to which I led out his recollections. The result as follows:—

Of "*Penn's Landing at Blue Anchor Tavern*" he had not before heard. "Old Cross kept that Inn."

Of "the Caves" he said he knew of none left; but knew old Owen Owen, a Friend, and his apple tree, where is now Townsend's Court, by Spruce Street.

He remembered the vendues under the court. On one occasion of sales there of prize goods, old Phillips, in examining the French muskets before sale, had his thumb shot off.

Of "Bathsheba's bath and bower" he had not heard, but of springs he had. Of one in Dock Street by Pear Street.

Of "Coffee Houses,"—the oldest he knew was a *large* wooden house at the N. W. corner of Walnut and Front Streets. There he often saw Governor Thomas go. He had never heard of its being a Catholic Church.

Of "Negro Slaves,"—never saw any arrive direct from Africa, but enough came round by Barbadoes, &c. Saw them sold at Coffee House.

Of "Theatres" he said he went to the *first play* at Plumstead's store, "to light home master and mistress." The company there were genteel. Many people much opposed plays—many fell out with Nancy Gouge because she went there to play. There was *then* no Anchor Forge of Offly's opposite to Union Street.

"The great Fire Works" on the river, the first ever seen, were very grand—were for the honour of the capture of Cape Breton. Old B. Loxley, the artillery officer, had their management. Crowds of people came to the city from great distances—people much afraid too.

"The Paxtang boys' alarm,"—he was in the midst of it. Says old Capt. Loxley was busy with his artillery and company. It was a time of great excitement.

Of "Christ Church," he said it had a wooden belfry in the rear of church, with but two bells—the same now at St. Peter's Church. Saw the new bells, by Capt. Budden, arrive—people greatly admired to hear their ringing at first. He had not known of its *clock*—was none.

Of "Dock Creek,"—said he had not heard of vessels of any big size going into it. It used to be a fine skating place in the winter for boys, and he among them—"hundreds of them."

Miscellaneous observations.—Had never seen or known old Drinker, or Hutton, or Alice. Had no remarkable things to tell, that he had ever *heard* from the most aged. The cause of the name of "Whalebone Alley" he could not explain—the whalebone fastened to the side wall of the house he had always seen. Had not heard of any Water Battery once at or between Pine and South Streets. He knew old Black Virgil and wife well—they had lived with Penn in Philadelphia. Poole's Bridge was built in his time, by one Roberts. He knew a person who used often to talk of his personal knowledge of Daniel Pegg. The square fronting northward of the late *Bettering-house* was a great apple orchard in his time, very full of very large trees.

Reminiscenses and Statements of J. H. J., of Cheviot, Ohio.

The following items are such as were suggested to the mind of a gentleman in the perusal of the Annals. He had been a youth at Philadelphia in the period of the Revolution. What notices are here made are only a part of the whole, being only that portion which might best suit the classification of "Facts and Occurrences of Early Times."

Water-melons.—It has been said that Jos. Cooper first introduced them for sale in the Philadelphia market. It is said he got the seed from Georgia, and had difficulty to naturalize the seed.

Morris wharf is probably the only one which has remained in family possession so long.

Penn's deed to A. Morris is an exception to the water limits. His deed says, "extending into the Delaware," as I was informed by the grandson, 40 to 45 years ago.

An ancient lady told me of a "freak." Some of the youth, one night carried off a large number of "New Castle grind stones" from an Ironmonger's in Second Street, to Market Street Hill, and at a word let them all roll off to the river. They were seen by a constable;—he went to owner, asked his bill, presented it to the parent of one of the youths—the bill was paid next day, and the names and affair hushed up.

The whipping-post and pillory display was always on a market day—then the price of eggs went up much. The criminals were first marched round the streets.

Bank Alley used to be called Elbow Lane, from its having a leading

from it out to Third Street. There used to be several dry goods' stores and groceries in it.

The entertainment given by the French Ambassador at Carpenter's house, now the Arcade, was a supper and ball. The temporary building extended from the house along Chestnut Street up to Sixth Street; the inside was about 15 feet high, and 30 broad, handsomely painted with festoons of roses from the ceiling. Money was thrown out among the crowd. The fire works were on the opposite square. I remember going to see the front house after it was struck with lightning.

The one penny bills Bank of North America were merely issued for *change*, when the bank had refused to take coppers, so many of them being base. The corporationof New York, about the same time, did the same.

There was a grave yard in Fifth Street, east side, between High Street and Chestnut Street—had several head stones.

Aged animals.—I remember seeing an account of a horse belonging to the Pennsylvania Hospital, which was known to be 46 years old.

Brimstone.—Somewhere about 1798 it was said to rain brimstone,—it came with a very heavy rain. Considerable quantities could be gathered in old Pottersfield, on the margin of the pond, at the choking of the culvert. I gathered some—it only looked like it.

The ground of Dr. Rittenhouse, corner of Seventh and Arch, is highest in the city.

When Peale had his Museum of Portraits corner Lombard and Third Streets, he and one Pine were the only portrait painters.

Shively was the only noted whitesmith for fine cutlery—shop in Third above Chestnut.

"The Medley" was written, I was told, by Joseph Lacock, Coroner. He wrote also a play, with good humour, called "British Tyranny." I have several American plays.

Wells and Pumps.—Some pumps had great run—people sent for it, especially for the use of the sick. The water in the yard of a house in Norris' Alley was deemed the best in the city; another great water was in Love Lane. One in Walnut Street, by Zacheny's Court, was famous for boiling greens.

I have seen the play about the Money-diggers by Col. Forrest—there were two editions. An aged lady once told me the real names of all the characters. The cooper therein lived in Tun Alley.

A large haunted house was in Front Street, *vis-à-vis* Norris' Alley—another in Fourth Street, an old frame, just above Walnut Street.

Jacob Balls was the first who exhibited equestrian feats in Philadelphia, probably about 1780–1. I have a plate of it.

Parson Smith, in his life time, had a tomb built above ground, at his seat at the Falls of Schuylkill, and was buried in it when he died.

"Fort Wilson House" was noted for being covered with copper. I saw the firing, it was not long,—saw one killed only, near Hobert's door.

Numerous other facts illustrative of the early history of Philadelphia could have been connected with the present article, but as they had also some direct bearings on places, characters, &c., intended to be specially described under their appropriate heads, they are less necessary in this place.

THE PENN FAMILY.

(PRIMITIVE RACE.)

"Proud of thy rule, we boast th' auspicious year—
Struck with thy ills, we shed a gen'rous tear."

Business Concerns of William Penn.—These facts concerning William Penn were derived from the perusal of his letters, from 1684 to 1687, to his chief steward or agent, J. Harrison, at Pennsbury, to wit:

In 1684, he says he "hopes the Lord will open his way this fall. I should be sorry to think of staying till next spring."

1685, he says,—"I am sorry my 40 or £50 charge of the sloop is flung away upon oyster shells. I hope it will not continue to be so spoiled." He also says, "Captain East charges you all with letting the ship lay three or four months by the wall, to his and my detriment; and he protested, and made a profitable voyage of it truly. I have no prospect yet of returning, but as soon as I can I will; for I should rejoice to see you face to face again. I'm sorry you have drawn upon me here, when I am here upon their errand, and had rather have lost £1000 than have stirred from Pennsylvania. The reproaches I hear daily of the conduct of things bear hard upon my spirits. I wonder you had no wampum of mine, for I left about 20 or £25 worth that came from New York, as part of the goods I paid so dear for there. I hear my sloop has been ill-used by Captain Dore, and is now laid up in the Schuylkill. I have disposed of her to Richard Song, the bearer. If she be not fit, then hire him a sloop for his turn. I send rigging by him, which preserve if not wanted for him. He is to be loaded with pipe staves on my account, or any others that will freight to Barbadoes. Let him have one of the blacks of Allen,—two of which are as good as bought,—such a one as is most used to sea; and if George Emlen will go with him, hire him. He will return to thee, by way of Saltitudoes. If George Emlen be settled, [he was wanted as mate] pick out an honest, true man to go with Richard Song. I have sold the Gulielmina for £40—so great is my loss. I have lost £500 by that vessel. The trees I sent are choice and costly things, and if I live, and my poor children, I shall have want enough to transplant to other plantations. Receive £40 of the bearer for a lady in England that intends to go over soon with her family; and many considerable persons are like to follow. She has bought 5,500 acres, and her first 300 must be chosen on the river, next (above) to Arthur Cook's. She wants a house of brick, like Hannah Psalter's in Burlington, and she will

give £40 sterling in money, and as much more in goods. Francis Collins or T. Matlack may build it. It must have four rooms below, about 36 by 18 feet large,—the rooms 9 feet high, and of two stories height." In another letter he calls her a relative, and says he sends money from Plymouth, by Francis Rawle, on the 24th of 2 mo. 1686. [Such facts may be deemed too minute for preservation, but who can foresee that even such facts may not be requisite to illustrate other needed points of information:—For instance, in the above the price and value of buildings then are given,—the names of two respectable families now are given as first settlers at Burlington,—and the ancestor of the Rawle family is given, and the date of his emigration. It is by such incidental facts that more important ones are sometimes explained.]

He writes from London, 1686, saying, he sends for his family (to go to Pennsylvania) twenty-five barrels of beef, some hundred pounds of butter and candles from Ireland, and £30 for my coming over,—meaning as a preparative for such a visit. In meantime, cheer the people; my heart is with you; expect a net by first ship, and some powder and shot. The king is now courteous to Friends before imprisoned, but pinching to the Church of England; and several Roman Catholics get into places. To you I say, be wise, close and respectful to superiors.

In another letter he says, "The Lord has given me great entrance with the king, though not so much as is said. Pray stop those scurvy quarrels that break out to the disgrace of the province. All good is said of the place and but little good of the people. These bickerings keep back hundreds,—£10,000 out of my way, and £100,000 out of the country." In 1687, he says, "I expect to see you this summer, though preferment I may have. I choose my lot among an unthankful people."

Penn, the Founder.—Penn, the founder, was once, in the province, called *Lord* Penn, and it was ordered to be discontinued by an act of the Council at Philadelphia. From its minutes we learn, that on the 9th of 11 mo. 1685, the Secretary reported to the Council, that in "the cronologie of the Almanack sett forth by Samuel Atkins of Philadelphia, and printed by William Bradford of the same place," there were these offensive words, to wit: "the beginning of government here by *Lord* Penn." The words "*Lord Penn*" were ordered to be struck out, and the Printer was charged not again to print any thing which had not the "lycence of the Council." This fact of course indicates an Almanack of two years' earlier date than the one of 1687, which I have preserved.

Character of the Penn Family.—The following are personal notices and facts concerning some of the members of that family, as they were found incidentally mentioned in the pages of Mrs. Logan's MS. selections,—kindly lent to me for gleaning what I might deem pertinent to the present work, to wit:

Isaac Norris, Sen'r., in 1701, thus writes respecting it, saying, "The Governor is our *pater patriæ*, and his worth is no new thing to us. We value him highly, and hope his life will be preserved till all things are settled here to his peace and comfort and the people's ease and quiet. His excellent wife,—and she is beloved by all—by all in its fullest extent,—makes her leaving us heavy, and of real sorrow to her friends,—being of an excellent spirit, it adds lustre to her character. She has carried under and through all with a wonderful evenness, humility, and freedom. Her sweetness and goodness has become her character and is indeed extraordinary: In short, we love her, and she deserves it. Their little son (John) is a lovely babe." [The "conduct" of Mrs. Penn refers "to the unhappy misunderstanding in some and unwarrantable opposition in others."]

William Penn's Second Arrival,—1699.—James Logan writes, in 1700, to William Penn, jun'r., and says, "The highest terms I could use would hardly give you an idea of the expectation and welcome that thy father received from the most honester party here. Friends' love to the Governor was great and sincere. They had long mourned his absence and passionately desired his return. Directly from the wharf the Governor went to his deputy, paid him a short formal visit, and from thence, with a crowd attending, to Meeting, it being about 3 o'clock on First-day afternoon, where he spoke to the people, and praying concluded it; from thence to Edward Shippen's, where we lodged for about a month."

Causes of William Penn's Return Home, in 1701.—William Penn, in writing to James Logan, in July, 1701, says, "I cannot prevail on my wife to stay, and still less with *Tishe*. I know not what to do. Samuel Carpenter seems to excuse her in it, but to all that speak of it, say, I shall have no need to stay (in England) and a great interest to return. All that I have to dispose of in this world is here for daughter and son, and all the issue which this wife is like to bring me; and having no more gains by government to trust to for bread, I must come (back) to sell, pay debts, and live and lay up for this posterity, as well as that they may see that my inclinations run strongly to a country and proprietary life, which then I shall be at liberty to follow, together with her promise (his wife's) to return whenever I am ready." A little time before the above letter he said, "No man living can defend us or bargain for us better than myself." He calls it also "the necessity of going."

Penn's Design in Founding his Colony.—In 1704–5, Penn thus expresses his noble design to Judge Mompesson, a gentleman then resident here, saying, "I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind, more especially those of my own profession; not that I would lessen the civil liberties of others because of their persuasion, but screen and defend our own from any infringement on that account. The charter I granted was intended to shelter them against a violent or arbitrary government imposed upon us; but that

they should turn it against me, that intended their security thereby, has something very unworthy and provoking in it. But as a father does not use to knock his children on the head when they do amiss, so I had rather they were corrected without due rigour."

Causes of Penn's Pecuniary Embarrassments.—In the year 1705, he says, "I too mournfully remember how noble a law I had of exports and imports, when I was first in America, that had been worth by this time some thousands a year; which I suspended receiving for a year or two, and that not without a consideration engaged by several merchants. But Thomas Lloyd, very unhappily for me, my family, and himself, complimented some selfish spirits with the repeal thereof, without my final consent, which his commission required; and that has been the source of all my loads and inabilities to support myself under the troubles that have occurred to me on account of settling and maintaining the colony. I spent upon it £10,000 the first two years. My deputy governors cost me much, —and vast sums I have melted away here in London to hinder much mischief against us, if not to do us much good. I can say that Lord Baltimore's revenue is far transcending what I can hope for, although he never took him one hundredth of my concern."

Penn's Mal-treatment from the Fords.—Philip Ford of London, a merchant, holding the profession of a Friend, had been Penn's steward and general agent there, and proved deeply treacherous to him, by trumping up an enormous account. Penn, in a moment of want and of misplaced confidence, gave him, unknown to all his friends, a deed of sale in absolute form, for all his province of Pennsylvania, taking thereon from Ford a lease of three years. In process of time Ford received £17,000 and paid out £16,000 yet claimed a balance of Penn of £10,500 produced by a compound interest account and excessive commissions, &c. Ford died, and his son, stimulated by his mother Bridget, although a bed-ridden woman, and a professed Friend, would come to no compromise, but on the contrary, in the 11 mo. 1707–8, actually arrested William Penn, while at the Friends' Meeting! Penn, to baffle their extortion, by the advice of all his friends, preferred to go to the Fleet prison, where he was sure to negotiate better terms for himself. The case came up before the Lords in Chancery and in Parliament, &c., but nothing was settled till Penn's friends resolved to help him out of his difficulties, by making terms with the Fords. They gave about £5000, Penn's friends in London raised by subscriptions £3000, in Bristol £2000 and in Ireland £2000 more, taking securities on his estate to repay themselves. While at the prison, Penn was much visited by Friends, with whom he held Meetings. Isaac Norris, who visited him there, says his lodgings were commodious and comfortable at the Old Baily, and himself well and cheery.

The Fords, while he was there, had the presumption to petition Queen Anne to put them in possession of Pennsylvania!—Prepos-

terous claim for a debt less than £2000! It was of course disregarded. Penn, while thus "in durance vile" for a few months, conducted his correspondence, &c., as usual. His mind was still free.—"The oppressor holds the body bound, but knows not what a flight the spirit takes!" Isaac Norris writes of him, that "he seems of a spirit fit to bear and rub through difficulties, and his foundation (in truth) still remains. He verifies the palm in the fable,—"The more he is pressed the more he rises!"*

Penn's Letters.—Penn's letters to James Logan (especially from Pennsbury) are often singular,—they are so intermixed with civil business and domestic affairs, or sometimes with a little religion.† Potts, kettles, candles, or two or three lbs. of coffee-berries, if to be sold in the town! or, proclamations of "nervous force," assemblies, sheriffs, and customs,—all abruptly jumbled together! In his manifold affairs James Logan became his necessary *fac-totum.* One cannot but be surprised at the large proportion of civil affairs of all kinds which he has to notice. It seems so incompatible with his known diligence and much time consumed in his religious public engagements. He perhaps explains this matter incidentally in some expressions to James Logan, saying, as advice to him, that "Religion, while in its growth, fits and helps us above all other things, even in things of this world, clearing our heads, quickening our spirits, and giving us faith and courage to perform."

Penn's letters are vigorous in thought and sententious in expression:—so much so, that the frequent elliptical form of his sentences makes them quite equivocal to modern ears. Some of them by changing the punctuation could be made now to contradict themselves. He wrote rapidly, and with a ready command of words. His wife Hannah too, wrote very like him in business style. The correspondence, as preserved by Mrs. Logan, between James Logan and William Penn, is very well adapted to display the mind and characters of the writers.

William Penn's illness and death.—Governor Penn's illness began in the summer of 1712, at London. It began in the form of a "lethargic fit," and at six months afterwards he had a second fit at Bristol. Just before the latter he began and left unfinished his last letter to James Logan. It was sent as it was, and is now at Stenton, in almost illegible characters. After this he left Bristol, intending to go to London "to settle some affairs, and to get some laws passed for the province, but finding himself unable to bear the fatigue

* Isaac Norris says, the Fords offered to sell him the country for £8000 sterling! Philip Ford the elder, was then dead; his widow Bridget Ford and his son Philip were his Executors. James Logan regretted that his patron had so long kept him a stranger to his embarrassments with this ungrateful and extortionate family.

† This necessarily happened from the situation of the infant colony, with every thing to attend to as well as affairs of government. Only take a momentary view of the multitudinous subjects which must have occupied the mind of William Penn at this time, and then you will not wonder that he rapidly passed from one to the other.

of the journey he just reached Ruscumbe,* when he was again seized with his two former indispositions," &c. After this, at times, fond hopes were entertained of his partial recovery; but they eventually proved but the delusions of fond hope. At intervals, "when a little easy, he had returning thoughts still alive in him of Pennsylvania," &c. In the next year (1713) he had "recovered a great degree of health and strength, but not his wonted strength in expression, nor was he able to engage in business as formerly," yet he could sometimes go out to Meeting at Reading, "which he bore very comfortably, and expressed his refreshment and satisfaction in being there;" indeed, "he frequently expressed his enjoyment in the Lord's goodness to him in his private retirements, and frequently expressed his loving concern for the good of his province," although not so well as to digest and answer particulars in letters relating to business in Pennsylvania.

In 1714, his wife further speaks of his having had two or three little returns of his paralytic disorder, but that "they left him in pretty good health,—not worse in speech than for some months before," and when she "keeps the thoughts of business from him he was very sweet, comfortable, and easy, and cheerfully resigned, and takes delight in his children, his friends, and domestic comforts." His state then, says she, is a kind of translation! The company of his wife became an essential part of his comforts; so much so, that "he is scarce ever easy with or without company, unless she was at his elbow," and if she then took occasion "to write about his affairs in his sight, it so renewed his cares therein, and made him so uneasy and unwell, that she was obliged to write by stealth," &c. Sometimes, "he desired to write on his former business, but his writing being as imperfect as his speech" made his wife interfere to prevent it.

In 1715, he is spoken of as still going to Reading to Meetings, and as walking about his gardens and commons daily. He continued thus for the two succeeding years, "enjoying much serenity of mind [a thing so unusual when in his perplexities and full health!] and continued incomes of the love of God,"—a virtual "translation" to him!

On another occasion (in 1717) she says, "he has all along delighted in walking and taking the air, when the weather allows, and when unfit, diverts himself from room to room, which is one reason for retaining so large a house at an inconvenient expense."

In the succeeding year, 1718, this great and good man yielded to his infirmities, and went to join that holy society of "just men made perfect," with which it was his delight while on earth to occupy his thoughts. At the annunciation of his death in Pennsylvania, it pleased the Governor, (Keith) incongruously enough, "to set it

* At this place he remained till he died. Why do none of our travelling Pennsylvanians visit and describe the remains of his mansion!



WILLIAM PENN.

PAX QUÆRITUR BELLO.



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forth according to a military performance!" But his wife more appropriately solemnizes it in a feeling letter to James Logan, saying, "the full satisfaction I have in that loss, is the great and unspeakable gain of him, who was dearer to me than life itself. The loss itself has brought upon me a vast load of care, toil of mind, and sorrow."

So closed the eventful life of the christian and the sage!—

> "With equal goodness, sound integrity
> A firm, unshaken, uncorrupted soul
> Amid a sliding age, and burning strong,
> Not vainly blazing, for his country's weal!"

William Penn's Portrait.—The original and true likeness of William Penn, or the best and only one existing as such among us, is a bust in the Loganian library, which was first taken by Sylvanus Bevan, acknowledged by the best judges to be a very capable and extraordinary hand in that line, to whom, in his young years, William Penn was a familiar acquaintance, friend and patron.

A note of Robert Proud* says, "The likeness is a real and true one, as I have been informed, not only by himself, (S. B.) but also by other old men in England, of the first character in the Society of Friends, who knew him in their youth."

In the Evening Post of 1778, it is asserted that Du Simitiere, the miniature and crayon painter, offers the only likeness extant of the great Founder, drawn by him from a bust in alto relievo, and engraved in London. Who has a copy?

Since then, however, there has been sent out as a present to the Historical Society, by the Penn family in England, an original portrait in oil, done from life, and in armour, when Wm. Penn seems to have been a half grown lad. It is finely executed—presents a beautiful face, with full flowing ringlets of hair, and makes us wonder at the contrast of characters in the same person. as seen in our common portraits of him in his wig and Quaker garb. Still they are sufficiently alike in features to show that his portraits, of both kind, have been faithfully done to nature. The sharp pointed nose is equally visible in both.

Grenville Penn has lately written a life of his ancestor Admiral Penn, and in it he gives a likeness of our Wm. Penn, as above spoken of, said to have been done for him when he was 22 years of age, when he appeared in the world as a young cavalier; and when he was in fact "*an officer* under the Duke of Ormond, in Ireland, and most active in quelling the rebellion there." But very few, who have been accustomed to contemplate the character of Penn, have been aware that he was once a young *militaire!* His abandonment of that profession, was what so deeply chagrined and frustrated the purposes of his belligerent father!

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* In the year 1750, Robert Proud dwelt with Sylvanus Bevan in London; of course he had there good opportunities to hear of the likeness. The portrait given in this work is copied from the bust.

The statue of Penn in the Pennsylvania Hospital must be regarded as a very accurate representation. It was executed in whole, or in part, by *Bacon*, the best statuary of his day. It was cast originally for Lord le Despensor, and laid aside by his successor Sir John Dashwood. It was afterwards purchased by John Penn, who about forty years since, made it a present to the Hospital in Philadelphia.

Mrs. Hannah Penn.—This lady was not less extraordinary for her endowments of mind as a woman, than was her husband's among men. She was a true wife, in that she was "an help-mete" for such a man as Penn. During her husband's long illness, and for some time after his death, she conducted the correspondence with the colony in her own proper hand; and with such ability of style as to be so far the representative of her husband, that her letters might readily be read as his own.

While she modestly speaks of herself as a "poor helpless woman having her hands overfull of family affairs and troubles," we find her "stepping up to London for the relief of the colony, and there conferring with men of competent judgments to enable her the better to make choice of a new Governor; for she would have gladly consented to the present Governor's continuance had his conduct been answerable to his trust."

In short, her numerous letters in the Logan collection manifest a mind strangely competent to write with much good sense and fitness of style on every branch of the colonial government to which her husband's attention (if well) would have been required. Such a modest, unassuming, and diffident female, conducting such a national concern in the midst of her proper household avocations, with such complete but unpretending ability, is probably without a parallel. Let good wives read them, that they may instruct themselves and teach their daughters to emulate her usefulness in like cases of family bereavements or extremities.

> "From the force of bright example bold,
> Rival her worth, and be what they behold!"

Let husbands too, from her example, learn that good wives can often profitably assist them in their common concerns if duly intrusted with the charge!

Mrs. Logan well remembers to have seen in her youth a portrait of Hannah Penn at the mansion of James Hamilton, at Bush-hill. Where is it now?

William Penn, jun'r.—As this son was regarded in the colony as the probable heir of the founder, he being the only son by the first wife, it will afford additional interest to glean such notices of his character, as may serve to exhibit the habits of his mind and the causes which prevented his being looked to as a future acceptable Governor. I noticed the following intimations respecting him in the correspondence between the father and James Logan, &c.

In 1701, William Penn intending to send him out to the colony

thus describes him saying, "He has witt, pretends much to honour, has kept the top company, is over-generous by half, and yet sharp enough to get to spend. Handle him with love and wisdom. He is conquered that way." He was named also as to bring with him two or three couple of hounds; some of them for the chase of wolves.

In 1703, the father thus directs respecting him on his arrival saying, "Immediately take him away to Pennsbury, and there give him the true state of things, and weigh down his levities as well as temper his resentments, and inform his understanding, since all depends upon it, as well for his future happiness as in measure the poor country's. I propose the best and most sensible for his conversation. Watch him, out-witt him, and honestly overreach him, —for his good."—[Even as did St. Paul himself, "who, being artful, caught them with guile; if by any means he might win some."]

On another occasion the father writes, saying, his son goes out "to see how he likes the place, and if so, to return and fetch his family. He aims to improve his study this winter with thee, as well to know the laws and people. Use thy utmost influence upon him to make him happy in himself and me in him. Qualify his heats, inform his judgment, increase his knowledge, advise him to proper company, he being naturally too open. In short, keep him inoffensively employed at those times that he is not profitably concerned.* Entreat our friends to gain him all they can, and never speak or report any thing to his disparagement behind his back, but tell him of it, and he has that reasonableness and temper to take it kindly. Be as much as possible in his company for that reason, and suffer him not to be in any public house after the allowed hours."

The preceding may be deemed a remarkable premonition, considering how very soon after his arrival he fell into an affray, in such a snare! The facts will presently be told; and as they will be found to drive him from Friends and to make the after members of Penn's family churchmen, it may well be said of him in the present case,—"There are moments in the progress of time, which are the counters of whole ages!"

It may be remarked too, that Friends did not seem to get much influence over his conduct; for one of them writes, that "he goes to no worship, and sometimes comes to Meetings. He is good natured and loves company,—but that of Friends is too dull!"

James Logan in speaking of him to the father says, "I hope his voyage hither will prove to the satisfaction of all. It is a great stock of good nature that has led him out into his youthful sallies when too easily prevailed on; and the same I hope, when seasoned with

* All this good conduct to proceed from James Logan, himself but a young and single man, shows the great confidence that was reposed in his exemplary morals and good sense.

the influence of his prevailing better judgment, with which he is well stored, will happily conduct him into the channel of his duty to God, himself and thee."

It would seem that young Penn himself had had some intimation before his coming to Philadelphia, that his habits were not well spoken of there; for, in his letter to James Logan of 28th Feb. 1703, he says, "Villainous reports I know have been industriously by some brought over (to you) against me. The Lord forgive them as I do. In the fall, if I am well, I will be with you. I give myself a great deal of satisfaction every day in considering of the pleasures of Pennsylvania and the benefit I shall reap in your conversations and in the books I design to bring over with me, &c." Perhaps you may think I write too gravely to be sincere, unless you know me well enough to believe that hypocrisie was never my talent." He also says, "I'm told the church party are very desirous of my coming over, as not doubting but to make me their property, but they will find themselves as much mistaken as others have been that have thought me a churchman, which, I thank God, I'm as far from as you can wish or desire."

In the year 1704, while he was in Philadelphia, he took such offence against some Friends as to declare himself virtually absolved from all connexion with the Society. Although he was then a married man he appears to have been lavish of expense and fond of display and good living. For instance, J. Logan says he much exceeded his father's limit in expenses, kept his kennel of hounds, and, because "the whole town did not afford a suitable accommodation for the Governor's son, as a boarder," James Logan took William Clarke's great house; (afterwards Pemberton's in Chestnut Street) where James Logan, William Penn, jun'r., Judge Mompesson, Governor Evans, &c. kept house *en famille*,—none of them having wives there. It was even supposed that he had become too free with a Miss ——, in Bucks county; so much so, that James Logan writes, "'Tis a pity his wife came not with him, for her presence would have confined him within bounds he was not too regular in observing."

With such dispositions he got into a fray one night at Enoch Story's Inn, in Coombe's alley, quarrelling with the watch there (respectable citizens then serving in their turns) about the militia, then newly organized in three counties as volunteers. The affair was presented by the Grand Jury, and came into court to the intended exposure of the young Governor!

In 1704, 7 mo., the Grand Jury present them for an assault on James Wood, constable, and James Dough, watch; the names presented were William Penn, jun'r. John Finny, sheriff, Thomas Gray, scrivener, and Joseph Ralph, quondam friend of Franklin. As the fracas progressed, other persons presented.—Penn called for pistols to pistol them, but the lights being put out, one fell upon young Penn and gave him a severe beating. Cross actions were

brought by several of the parties. Governor Evans, who was himself a gay fellow, so much favoured the escape of Enoch Story, the host, who joined Penn's party at the time, that he reversed the proceedings of the court against him. In the Logan MS. at Stenton, there is some correspondence between Evans, Penn, and Logan, concerning the affair.

James Logan seems to have regarded this as incensing and derogatory in the Grand Jury, and therefore palliates him, saying, "The indignity to put upon the son of the founder is looked upon by most moderate men to be very base, [they besides gave him some hearty knocks!] and by himself and those concerned in the government is deeply resented; thy son therefore holds himself no longer obliged to keep up appearances, and throws off all of the Quaker, although he still professes a tender regard to his father's profession, but he has resolved to leave us and go home in the Jersey man of war from New York." Probably, however, the explanation offered by Isaac Norris, sen'r., at that time, is nearer the truth, to wit: "William Penn, jun'r., is quite gone off from Friends; he, being with some extravagants that beat the watch, was presented with them; which unmannerly, disrespectful act, as he takes it, gives him great disgust, and seems a waited for occasion; I wish things had been better, or he had never come."

It is probable from the influence of this first-born son of the founder, that the subsequent race of the Penns have been led off from Friends; a circumstance, which one, although no Friend, may regret, because it entirely destroys their identities and even sympathies with their much honoured progenitor!

William Penn, speaking of that affair, says, "See how much more easily bad Friends' treatment of him stumbled him from the truth, than those he acknowledges to be good ones could prevail to keep him in possession of it, from the prevailing ground in himself to what is levity more than to what is retired, circumspect and virtuous; I justify not his folly, and still less their provocation."

"Their provocation" probably alludes to such acts as these, among others, to wit: David Lloyd, the speaker, who, although a Friend, was inimical to the father, expressed himself thus offensively, saying, "This poor province is brought to poor condition by the revels and disorders which young Penn and his gang of loose fellows are found in here, to the great grief of Friends and others here."

The better to enable him to return home and pay debts here he sold out the manor, since Norrington, to Isaac Norris and William Trent for £800.

When in England he much added to his father's expenditures by free living; the father, thus expressing his regrets thereat, saying, his "son with his young wife of united sentiment in expensive living beyond their means, they are much expense and grief to him for many years and many ways." He writes also, "he intends going into the army or navy." Afterwards he is spoken of as putting up

for Parliament, and losing it, as was suspected by bribery; wherefore his father "wishes he would turn his face to privacy and good husbandry."

After this we hear nothing of this head-strong son, save his joining himself to the communion of the church of England, until after the death of his honoured father. He then, in opposition to his mother who was executrix, affected to assume the government of the province and to re-commission Governor Keith, the council, &c. in his own name,* saying, "I am, as his heir, become your proprietor and Governor, and I take this occasion to declare to you my intentions of strictly adhering to the interests of Pennsylvania. I intend to be of no party, but am resolved to shake hands with all honest men. Although I am of the church of England, and trust I shall die in her communion, I solemnly promise the Quakers that I will on all occasions give them marks of my friendship," &c.

But alas, poor man! he had for some four or five years before this event given himself too much to intemperance; for, about the time his affectionate and anxious father had lost his ability to govern, (by his sickness,) his son, who should have stood in his stead, proved himself an unworthy scion of the parent stock, and could not be intrusted. He wandered abroad and left his wife and children with the parent family at Ruscombe. He died in 1720, (two years after his father) at Calais, or Liege in France, of a deep consumption induced by his own indiscreet living, and deeply "regretting the wrongs he had done!" "The way of the transgressor is hard!"

He left three children, viz. Springett, Gulielma Maria, and William.—The latter when he grew up was offered 10,000 acres of land near the forks of the Delaware as a present from the Indians, who, in love of his grandfather, desired him to come over and live in the country. None of them however came to the country. One daughter, Gulielma, married Charles Fell, Esq., as her second husband. Springett died young; and the Irish estate passed through the daughter of William, who married Gaskill in 1761, to the present Philadelphian family of that name.

John Penn.—This was the eldest son by the second marriage. He was quite an amiable man, and in the esteem of James Logan, his favourite of all the proprietor's children. He was besides born in Philadelphia, and was called therefore "the American;"—he was born in 1699, and died in 1746, unmarried. He had been brought up in Bristol in England with a cousin, as a merchant in the linen trade,—a situation in which "he gave his parents much satisfaction." He visited Pennsylvania in 1734; he was a churchman; but I have

* As this appointment, so made, was without the consent of the crown, the question was made by Keith to the Lords Justices, which brought out an order from the Lords of trade of 21 July, 1719, availing themselves of the pretext of that informality to claim back the province under the half formed sale of surrender.

observed he wrote to James Logan, as late as 1719–20, in the style of a Friend; so also did Thomas Penn as late as 1726. The service of plate bestowed by John Penn to the church at Lewistown is still there.

William Aubrey and Lætitia his wife.—He appears to have been a pressing man of business as a merchant,—pretty roughly quarrelling both with William Penn and James Logan about his wife's portion, in an unreasonable manner. It appears that he would have come over to Pennsylvania, but that "his wife's regards for the country was at low ebb." They never had any children.

I have seen a copy of the certificate, granted by the female part of the Friends' Meeting in Philadelphia to Lætitia Penn, dated the 27th of 7 mo. 1701, which reads in part thus, to wit:

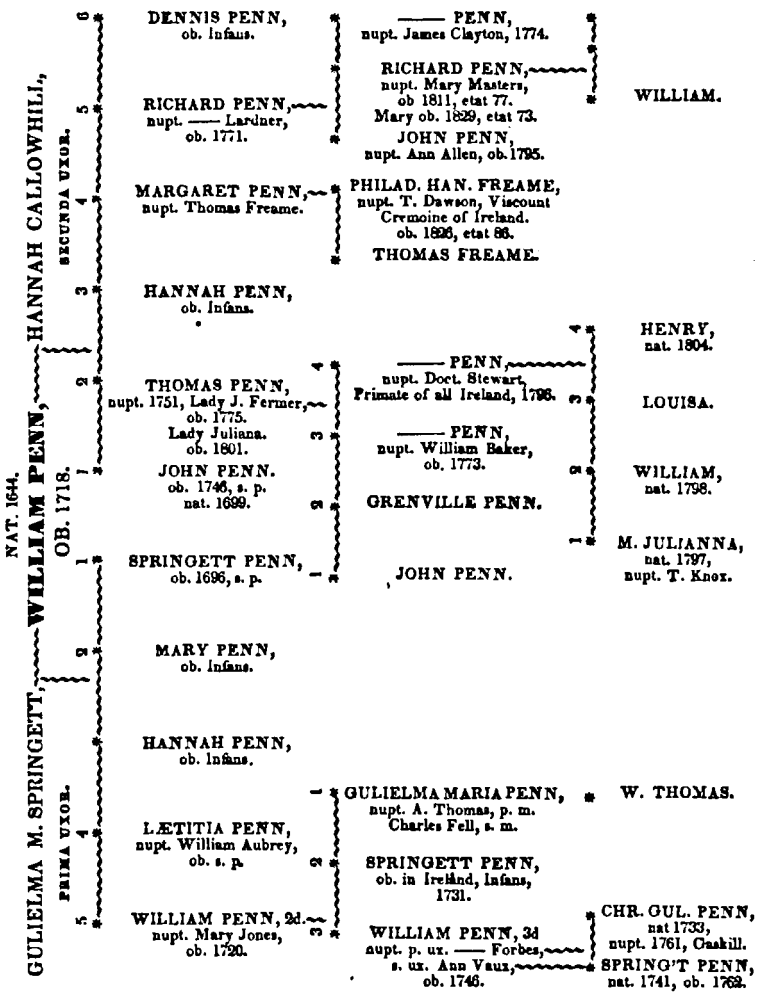
"These may certify that Lætitia Penn, &c., has for good order sake desired a certificate from us, and we can freely certify to all whom it may concern that she hath well behaved herself here, very soberly and according to the good instructions which she hath received in the way of truth, being well inclined, courteously carriaged, and sweetly tempered in her conversation amongst us, and also a diligent comer to Meetings, and hope hath plentifully received of the dew which hath fallen upon God's people to her settlement and establishment in the same." It also set forth that she was under no marriage engagements to the best of their knowledge and belief.*

The natural disposition of Lætitia was gay and sportive. As an instance of her girlish spirits, when she was with her father at Evans' place at Gwynned, seeing the men at threshing, she desired to try her hand at the use of the flail, which, to her great surprise, brought such a racket about her head and shoulders, that she was obliged to run into the house in tears and expose her playful freak to her father.

She lived a widow several years after the death of Mr. Aubrey, and had often occasion to correspond with James Logan, upon her landed concerns remaining in this country.

* Lætitia, while a girl in Philadelphia, was claimed as pledged to him by William Masters; it was denied;—but in time afterwards, it occurred that a Governor (Richard) Penn married a Miss Masters, a descendant.

PENN GENEALOGY, BY J. P. NORRIS, ESQ.



NOTE.—Ann Penn survived her husband, and married Alexander Durdin, 1767. In William, 3d, the male branch by his first wife became extinct.

The Penn Family of the Royal Tudor Race.—As a sequel to the foregoing genealogical table I here annex some facts, derived from Hugh David, an early emigrant, which go to show that William Penn said his house was descended of that royal race.

The Rev. Hugh David came into this country with William Penn about the year 1700, and lived in Gwynned, a place settled principally by emigrants from Wales; he related an anecdote of the Penn family, perhaps known only to few, as follows:

They, being both on board the same ship, often conversed together. William Penn, observing a goat gnawing a broom which was laying on the ship's deck, called out: Hugh, dost thou observe the goat? see, what hardy fellows the Welsh are, how they can feed on a broom; however, Hugh, I am a Welshman myself, and will relate by how strange a circumstance our family lost their name: My grandfather* was named John Tudor, and lived upon the top of a hill or mountain in Wales; he was generally called John Penmunnith, which in English is *John on the top of the hill;* he removed from Wales into Ireland, where he acquired considerable property. Upon his return into his own country he was addressed by his old friends and neighbours, not in their former way, but by the name of Mr. Penn. He afterwards removed to London, where he continued to reside, under the name of John Penn; which has since been the family name.

These relations of Hugh David, were told by him to a respectable Friend, who gave them in MS. to Robert Proud; and withal they are confirmed by the fact of Mr. David's declaring it again in some MS. lines of poetry prepared as a compliment to Thomas Penn on his arrival in 1732, and now preserved in my MS. Annals in the City Library, page 187, with some elucidatory remarks.

Hugh David's verses addressed to Thomas Penn.

For the love of him that now deceased be,
I salute his loyal one of three,
That ruleth here in glory so serene—
A branch of Tudor, alias Thomas Penn.

From Anglesie, an Isle in rich array,
There did a prince the English sceptre sway;
Out of that stem, I do believe no less,
There sprung a branch to rule this wilderness.

May Sion's King rule thy heart.—Amen!
So I wish to all the race of Penn,
That they may never of his favour miss
Who is the door to everlasting bliss.

In 1832, Jos. F. Fisher visited William Penn's grave, "at Jordans, near Beckersfield, Buckinghamshire." He says, "the little meeting house and grave yard of Jordans' lies about three miles from the

* Robert Proud, in MS., says it was probably his great grandfather, for his grandfather's name appears to have been Giles Penn.

London road, on a corner of a simple, yet pretty country seat of a Lady Young. It would appear to have been anciently the property of some Friend, who gave the ground and the meeting place as a secluded place in times of persecution. Here repose also the bodies of Isaac Pennington, and others famous for their writings and piety. No stone marks the spot, but the shape of the cemetery is an oblong, at the head of which, and on the middle of its breadth, is seen a little mound, square, but hardly exceeding in height the elevation of a common grave. This is the only distinction it possesses. Some lime trees have been lately planted on the premises, and one which has been placed at his grave is already marked with several initials of visitors. A book is kept in the meeting room, wherein strangers who visit the place write their names. The same book contains a slip of paper inscribed thus, viz. :—'The graves on the right, immediately on entering the burial ground, contain the bodies of William Penn and both his wives; Isaac and Mary Pennington, Thos. Ellwood and his wife—also, Geo. Bowles and his wife.'" These facts are confirmed by a letter to me from Js. T. Hopper, who visited it in 1831.

A slanderous publication of 1703, written in Philadelphia, and published in London, (done by enemies of course,) thus describes the noble Founder, saying :—"Although our present Governor, Wm. Penn, wants the sacred unction, he was not to want majesty,—for the grandeur and magnificence of *his mien* is equivalent to that of the great Mogul. The gate of his house [a palace] is always guarded with a *Janisary*, [peace officer] armed with a club of near ten feet long, crowned with a large silver head, embossed and chased as an hieroglyphic of the master's pride. There a certain day is appointed for audience; [for convenience and method of business,] and, as for the rest, you must keep your distance. His corps du garde generally consist of seven or eight of his chief magistrates, both ecclesiastical and civil, [most probably his Council, &c.,] which always attend him, and sometimes there are more;—when he perambulates the city [probably going to Court or to the Assembly,] one bare headed, with a long white wan [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. For the support of this and such like rule, here are all sorts of tolls, taxes and imposts. Such as 8d. per tun on vessels, duties upon all liquors, &c. Penn is spoken of as driving out 'in his leathern convenience.' 'To get into the grant of such indulgences, he used the utmost of his rhetorick to oppose any *churchman's* election, standing upon a high place, and making long speeches till many of *our party* were tired and gone home, and by often shaking his carnal weapon, commonly called a cane, *at us*, so that in fine, he got those of his own creatures chosen.'"

Of the Pirates it says:—"These Quakers have a neat way of getting money, *by encouraging of pirates* when they bring in a good

store of gold, so that his government hath been *a sure retreat* for that sort of people;—insomuch, that when several of *Avery's* men were here, the Quaking justices were for letting them live quietly,—and so pirates for the most part have been set at liberty, and admitted to bail one after another; nay, on the very frontiers of the country, [Lewistown] and at the mouth of the river, [New Castle] a whole knot of them are settled securely."

PENN'S DESCENDANTS.

THE following facts concerning several individuals of the Penn family, descended of the founder, are such as I occasionally met with in various readings,—to wit:

1724—Mrs. Gulielma Maria Fell, grandaughter of the famous Quaker, *Sir* William Penn, was publicly baptised in the parish church of St. Paul, Convent Garden, in October last.—*London Gazette.*

1732—This year one of the proprietaries, Thomas Penn, made his visit to Pennsylvania, and was received with much pomp and state,—probably in such manner as to give him some personal embarrassment. His former habits, for some years, had not been accustomed to ride aloft amidst the hosannas of the people; for both he and his brother, after the death of their father, and the difficulties of their mother, had been placed with a kinsman, a linen draper, in Bristol.

I found the following description of his arrival and reception in 1732, in the "Caribbeana," a Barbadoes publication of Kriemer's. It purports to be a letter from a young lady to her father in Barbadoes. I have extracted as follows, viz:

"He landed at Chester, when our Governor, having notice of it, went to meet him, and carried so many gentlemen with him, and so many joined them on the road, that they made a body of 800 horse. They paid him their compliments and staid till he was ready to set out."

"The poor man who had never been treated but as a private man in England, and, far from expecting such a reception, was so surprised at it, that he was entirely at a loss how to behave; and I was told, when he took a glass of wine in his hand, he trembled so, he was scarcely able to hold it. At length he recovered himself and returned their compliments. He reached here at four o'clock in the afternoon. The windows and balconies [mark, the houses then had them,] were filled with ladies, and the streets with the mob, to see him pass. Before he arrived a boy came running, and cried the proprietor was coming on horseback, and a sceptre was carried before

him in the Governor's coach! [It was a crutch of a lame man therein; and the person on horseback was probably the servant behind the coach!] When arrived, he was entertained at the Governor's house, where he stays ever since. The ships at the wharf kept firing, and the bells ringing, all the afternoon. At the night bonfires were lighted."

"The Assembly and Corporation feasted him afterwards; the Chiefs of the five nations being present, rejoiced to see him, and, to renew treaties. The fire engines played all the afternoon and diverted the Chieftains greatly."

From the minutes of the City Council of the 18th of August, 1732, it appears that the Mayor acquainted the board that the honourable Thomas Penn, Esqr., being lately arrived in this city, he thought it the duty of this board to give him a handsome welcome by providing a decent collation at the expense of the Corporation; to which the board unanimously agreed, and fixed the time for Monday next, at the Court House, &c.

Mrs. Nancarro told me she well remembered hearing her father, Owen Jones, the colonial treasurer, describe the arrival of Thomas Penn, as Governor, in 1732. That it gave great joy to the people, to have once more a Penn among them. The people were of course very anxious to behold him; and although he had shown himself from the balcony of the old Court House, they urged him to another exhibition, at the vestibule of the "old Governor's house," so called, in South Second Street below the present Custom House. He, however, soon became unpopular, and when he retired from us, (on his return,) some of the grosser or more malignant part of the people actually raised a gallows over a narrow pass in the woods by which he had to pass. It was not, however, countenanced by any of the better part of society.

The Rev. Hugh David, who was a respectable Welshman, that had come over with William Penn, in his second visit in 1700, came from his home at Gwynned in 1732, to make his visit of respect to Thomas Penn, then lately arrived; for that purpose he had prepared some verses to present him, complimentary to him as descended of William Penn, who was himself before descended of the royal house of Tudor,—"a branch of Tudor, alias Thomas Penn." The intended verses were, however, withheld, and have fallen since into my hands, occasioned by the cold and formal deportment of the Governor; for, as Hugh David informed Jonathan Jones, of Merion, in whose family I got the story and the poetry, he spoke to him but three sentences, which were,—"How dost do?"—"Farewell."—"The other door."

It would seem, however, he was sufficiently susceptible of softer and warmer emotions, he having, as it was said, brought with him to this country, as an occasional companion, a person of much show and display, called "Lady Jenks," who passed her time "remote from city," in the then wilds of Bucks County; but her beauty, ac-

complishments, and expert horsemanship, made her soon of notoriety enough, to make every woman, old and young, in the country, her chronicle; they said she rode with him at fox-huntings, and at the famous "Indian Walk," in men's clothes, (meaning, without doubt, their simple conceptions of the masculine appearance of her riding habit array) garbed, like a man in petticoat.

Old Samuel Preston, Esq., to whom I am chiefly indebted for facts concerning her, (often, however, confirmed by others) tells me it was well understood there, that she was the mother of Thomas Jenks, Esq.,* a member of Friends,—a very handsome, highly esteemed, and useful citizen, who lived to about the year 1797, and received his education and support through the means supplied by his father, Thomas Penn. Indeed, Thomas Penn was so much in "the style of an English gentleman," says my informant, that "he had two other natural sons by other women, which he also provided for, and they also raised respectable families." From the great age at which Thomas Jenks died, (said to have been near 100 years) I presume he was born in England, and from his bearing the name of his mother, she must have first arrived as the widow Jenks and son.† When E. Marshall, who performed the extraordinary Indian walk, became offended with his reward, "he d——d Penn and his half-wife" to their faces.

In 1734, October, John Penn (called the "American," because the only one of Penn's children born here,) made his landing at New Castle, and came on to Philadelphia by land. At his crossing the Schuylkill he was met and escorted into the city, and "the guns on Society Hill" and the ships fired salutes. It states, the escort consisted of a train of several coaches and chaises. The Governor and suite alighted at his brother Thomas' house, where an elegant entertainment was given. Their sister, Mrs. Margaret Freame, and husband, also arrived with him. This of course brought over all the then living children of Penn, save his son Richard, then youngest.

In 1751, November, Thomas Penn, aforenamed, was announced as marrying Lady J. Fermer, daughter of the Earl of Pomfret. He died in 1775, and she lived to the year 1801.

In Weems' Life of Penn, he is extremely severe on the cupidity and extortion of the Penn family. I am not able to say where he finds his pretexts. Complaints were made about the year 1755–6, by Tedeuscung, at the head of the Delaware Indians, that they had been cheated in their lands, bought on one and a half day's walk along the Neshamina and forks of Delaware, back 47 miles to the mountains; and I have seen the whole repelled in a long MS. re-

* His son, Thomas Jenks, was a Senator at the time of the formation of the State Constitution,—a very smart man.

† There is some confusion and incoherency of dates. Jenks was born in 1700, and she may have joined herself to Wm. Penn, jr., when he arrived in 1703. There was certainly a Lady Jenks, whose name was Macpherson. She afterwards married Wiggend, of Bucks County, and left a son who has now many descendants in Bucks Co.

port to Governor Dennie, by the committee of Council, in which all the history of all the Indian treaties are given, and wherein they declare that till that time (1757) the Penn proprietaries had more than fulfilled all their obligations by treaties, &c.—paying for some purchases, to different and subsequent nations, over and over again. The paper contained much reasoning and arguments to justify the then Penns. If they indeed, "bought low, and sold high," who, without sin in this way, "may cast the first stone!" In the statute sense, the land was theirs before they bought it. It was their ancestor's by grant of the Sovereign, and as good as the Baronies of England by the grant of the Conqueror. Yet I plead not for such assumptions,—I relate the facts.

Having had the perusal of several letters, written by Thomas Penn in England to his Secretary, Richard Peters, dated from 1754 to 1767, I was constrained to the impression that they were honourable to the proprietaries, as showing a frank and generous spirit, both in relation to sales and collections for lands. They were mild, too, in remarking upon unkindness to themselves from political parties and enemies. They, in short, (and in truth,) breathed a spirit very free from selfishness or bitterness. In them, Thomas Penn showed great affection for church principles—offering £50 per annum, out of his own funds, to continue Mr. Barton as a missionary at New Castle, &c. In 1755, he proposes to allow any disappointed lot holders upon Schuylkill a privilege to exchange them for Delaware lots near the Centre Square. In 1760, he is very solicitous to have John Watson of Bucks County, (whom Logan also commends,) to be induced to accept the office of Surveyor-General. He speaks of an intention to write to Hannah Watson, whom he knew when a little boy.

It is sufficiently known, however, that Thomas and Richard Penn rendered themselves quite unpopular, by instructing their Governors not to assent to any laws taxing their estates in common with the people. This induced Franklin's son William, (it is said) to write the Historical Review of Pennsylvania, as published in 1759, he estimating their estates then as worth ten millions sterling.

One of Thomas Penn's letters, of 1767, speaks of the government manifesting an inclination to buy him out as proprietary, saying, "It is the ill-natured project of Benjamin Franklin," then in London as agent for the colony. "They would agree (says he) to give us, by the hints of the minister, ten times the money they offered our father. I have declined, and intimated we are not to be forced to it, as Mr. Franklin would wish it."

1763, November, John Penn and Richard Penn, brothers, and sons of Richard, before named, are announced as arrived in the province—the former, being the eldest, is called the Lieutenant Governor. His commission as Lieutenant Governor is read from the balcony of the old Court House as usual. Their father, Richard, was then alive in England, having lived till 1771.

Owen Jones, Esqr., told me he remembered to have seen Richard

Penn land at Judge Allen's house, in Water Street below High Street, corner of Beck's Alley, and thence go in procession to the old Court House, and, standing out on the balcony there, made an address to the people in the street.

The present aged Mrs. Speakman, tells me that when John Penn landed at High Street, there was a strong earthquake, as he stept ashore; when he went home, a dreadful thunder storm arose; and when he next returned as proprietary, a fierce hurricane occurred!

In 1767, died in London, Springett Penn, grandson of William Penn by his first wife,—being, as the Gazette stated, the last male issue by that lady.

My friend J. P. N., describes those gentlemen thus, viz: John Penn, son of Richard, owner of one-fourth of the province, was twice or thrice Governor; he married a daughter of Judge Allen, of Philadelphia,—was in person of the middle size, reserved in his manners, and very near-sighted. He was not popular,—died in Bucks County in 1795, aged 67 years. He was buried in Christ Church ground, and afterwards was taken up and carried to England; thus adding to the strange aversions which the members of the Penn family generally showed to remaining among us, either living or dead. He built here the place called Landsdown House.

Richard Penn, his brother, was Governor a little prior to the Revolution,—a fine portly looking man—a bon vivant, very popular,—married our Miss Polly Masters,—died in England in 1811, at the age of 77 years, and left several children. His wife died August, 1829, aged 73 years.

John Penn, the eldest son of Thomas, and who had one-half of the province, was in Philadelphia after the Revolution. He had a particular nervous affection about him. He built the place called Solitude, over Schuylkill. He has written to me on Philadelphia subjects occasionally. He has in his possession a great collection of his grandfather's (William Penn) papers. These will some day be brought to light to elucidate family and civil history. He was till his death the wealthy proprietor and resident of Stoke Pogis park in the country, and of the mansion house at Spring Garden, London.

When J. R. Coates, Esq., was lately in England, in 1826, as he informed me, he there saw that all the cabinet of original papers of the founder were in fine preservation, all regularly filed and endorsed. Some branches of the family had applied, it is understood, to John Penn, to have their use, to form some history from them; but the proprietor declined to give them, alleging he purposed some day to use them for a similar purpose himself. It is gratifying thus to know that there are still existing such MS. materials for our early history. His letter to me of 1825 says, he would very freely communicate to me any thing among them in my way, as he may come across them.

In June 1834, John Penn L. L. D., died at Stoke Park in Bucks, England, "formerly Proprietor and Hereditary Governor of the

Province of Pennsylvania." This gentleman had intended to make a hall in his mansion to be called "the Pennsylvania Hall," and wherein he had intended to hang up original pictures and paintings of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania subjects. As many as two dozen of such pictures of parlour size, had been executed for that object before he died, and are now *unused* in my possession.

"He was the eldest surviving son of the Hon. Thomas Penn, Esq., by Lady Juliana, fourth daughter of the Earl of Pomfret. In consequence of his maternal descent, he was received as a Nobleman at the University of Cambridge."

During the American war, the family of Penn endeavoured to act as mediators between Great Britain and her colonies; and, being settled in England, they in 1790 received a grant from Parliament of *an annuity of* £4000, in part compensation of their losses.

In 1789 Mr. Penn pulled down the old mansion at Stoke Park, which the father had purchased in 1760, and erected a new house. A view of it is given in Neales' Seats.

In 1796 Mr. Penn published a Tragedy entitled "the Battle of Edington, or British Liberty." In 1798 he published his Critical, Poetical, and Dramatic works in 2 vols. 8vo. In 1802, he printed 2 vols. of Original works, imitations and translations,—and also two volumes of Poems, mostly of reprints. The same year he was made member of Parliament for Helton.

Grenville Penn, Esq., F. S. A.,—brother to John, has distinguished himself by several able and critical works, and a life of his great grandfather, Sir William Penn, the distinguished Admiral, and of Richard Penn Esq., formerly M. P. for Lancaster, and not less remarkable for his *classical* attainments and wonderful powers of memory.

Their sister Sophia Margaret Juliana was the wife of the late Hon. and most Rev. William Stuart, Archbishop of Armaugh.

The present proprietor of Stoke Pogis park, now in his 82d year is a fine Christian poet, as may be judged by his address to Lord Byron, in some 16 or 18 stanzas, one of which thus apostrophizes that fine but unbelieving poet, saying, viz:

> But Harold "will not look beyond the tomb,"
> And thinks "he may not hope for rest before:"
> Fie! Harold, fie! unconscious of thy doom,
> *The nature of thy soul* thou know'st not more:
> Nor know'st—thy lofty mind which loves to soar,
> Thy glowing spirit, and thy thoughts sublime,
> *Are foreign* on this flat and naked shore;
> And languish for their own celestial clime,
> Far in the bounds of space, beyond the bounds of Time.

Thomas Penn Gaskill, of Philadelphia County, who married in Montgomery County, in 1825, became in 1824 the rich proprietor of the Penn Irish estate. On his visit to that country, to see it and to possess it, he was received with all the pomp and circumstances of Lordship, which a numerous tribe of tenants and mansion house menials could confer.



The Landing of William Penn at Chester.—Page 127.



The Landing of William Penn at Blue Anchor Inn.—Page 130.

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THE LANDING OF PENN AT CHESTER.

THERE are several facts of interest connected with the ancient town of Chester; none more so, than the landing there of William Penn, and the hospitable reception himself and friends received at the "Essex House," then the residence of Robert Wade. His house, at which the scene of the landing is laid, stood about two hundred yards from Chester Creek, near the margin of the Delaware, and on a plain of about fifteen feet above tide water. Near the house by the river side, stood several lofty white pines, three of which remain at the present day, and thence ranging down the Delaware stood a large row of lofty walnut trees, of which a few still survive.

Essex House had its south east gable end fronting to the river Delaware, and its south west front upon Essex Street; its back piazza ranged in a line with Chester Creek, which separated the house and farm from the town of Chester; all vestiges of the house are now gone, but the facts of its location and position have been told to me by some aged persons who had once seen it. The iron vane once upon it was preserved several years, with the design of replacing it upon a renewed building once intended there.

Robert Wade owned all the land on the side of the creek opposite to Chester, extending back some distance up that Creek; the Chester side was originally owned wholly by James Sanderland, a wealthy Swedish proprietor, and extending back into the country a considerable distance; he appears to have been an eminent Episcopalian, and probably the chief founder of the old Episcopal church there of St. Paul, as I find his memory peculiarly distinguished in that church by a large and conspicuous mural monument of remarkably fine sculpture for that early day; the figures in fine relief upon it is a real curiosity, it represents him as dying in the year 1692, in the 56th year of his age. None of the family name now remain there.

On the same premises is a head stone of some peculiarity, "in memory of Francis Brooks, who died August 19, 1704," and inscribed thus:

> "In barbarian bondage and cruel tyranny
> Fourteen years together I served in slavery
> After this, mercy brought me to my country fair;
> At last, I drowned was in the river Delaware."

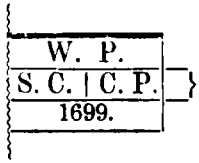
In the same ground stands a marble, commemorative of the first A. M. of Pennsylvania, to wit:

> "Here lieth Paul Jackson, A. M.
> He was the first who received a degree
> in the College of Philadelphia,—a man of
> virtue, worth and knowledge. —Died, 1767, aged 38 years."

I might add, respecting him, that he was the ancestor of the present Dr. Samuel Jackson of Philadelphia, had been a surgeon in the Braddock expedition, was a brother-in-law of the Honourable Charles Thomson, and one of the best classical scholars of his time.

The brick house is still standing, now a cooper's shop, owned by John Hart, in which, it is said, was held the first Assembly of Pennsylvania. It is a one and a half story structure of middle size, close by the side of the creek. The oaken chair, in which William Penn sat as chief in that Assembly, is said to be now in the possession of the aged and respectable widow of Colonel Frazer,—a chair to be prized by us with some of that veneration bestowed on the celebrated chair in Westminster Abbey, brought from Scone to help in the investiture of royal power.

At the mill-seat up the Creek, now belonging to Richard Flowers, was originally located, near thereto, the first mill in the county; the same noticed in Proud's history as erected by Richard Townsend, who brought out the chief of the materials from England. The original mill is all gone; but the log platform under water still remains at the place where the original road to Philadelphia once passed. The iron vane of that mill, curiously wrought into letters and dates, is still on the premises, and is marked thus:



The initials express the original partners, to wit: William Penn, Samuel Carpenter, and Caleb Pusey.

Close by the race stands the original dwelling house, in which it is understood that Richard Townsend once dwelt, and where he was often visited by the other partners; it is a very lowly stone building of the rudest finish inside, and of only one story in height. Such was their primitive rough fare and rude simplicity; yet small as was this establishment at the head of tide water, it was of much importance to the inhabitants of that day.

Not far from this, at Ridly Creek mills, is a curious relic—an engraving upon a rock of "I. S. 1682," which marks the spot against which John Sharpless, the original settler there, erected his temporary hut, immediately after his arrival in that year.

The Yates' house, now Logan's, built about the year 1700, was made remarkable in the year 1740–1, (the season of the "cold winter,") for having been visited in the night by a large black bear, which came into the yard and quarrelled with the dog. It was killed the next day near the town.

There is in the Logan collection at Stenton a small folio volume

of manuscript court proceedings at Upland, chiefly respecting lands along the Delaware, at Shackamaxon, &c., while under the Duke of York's patent, and subject to the New York Governors, from 1676 to 1681.

The original expectations of Chester were once much greater than since; they once thought it might grow into a shipping port. In an original petition of the inhabitants of Chester of the year 1700, they pray, that "Whereas, Chester is daily improving, and in time may be a good place, that the Queen's road may be laid out as direct as possible from Darby to the bridge on Chester Creek."* This paper was signed by ninety inhabitants, all writing good hands. Vide the original in my MS. Annals in the City Library.

Besides this, Jasper Yates, who married Sanderland's daughter, erected, about the year 1700, the present great granary there, having the upper chambers for grain and the basement story for an extensive biscuit bakery. For some time it had an extensive business, by having much of the grain from the fruitful fields of Lancaster and Chester Counties; but the business has been long since discontinued.

When the first colonists, (arrived by the Factor) were frozen up at Chester, in December 1681, and these being followed by several ships in the spring of 1682, before the City of Philadelphia was chosen and located, they must have given an air of city life to the Upland Village, which may have well excited an original expectation and wish of locating there the city of brotherly love. It was all in unison with the generous hospitality afforded at Wade's house and among all the families of Friends previously settled there from Jersey; but Chester Creek could not compete with Schuylkill River, and Chester was rivalled by Philadelphia; "so that it seemed appointed, by its two rivers and other conveniences, for a town."

At this late day it is grateful to look back with "recollected tenderness," on the state of society once possessing Chester. My friend, Mrs. Logan, who once lived there, thus expressed it to me, saying, she had pleasure in her older years of contemplating its society as pictured to her by her honoured mother, a native of the place. Most of the inhabitants, being descendants of the English, spoke with the broad dialect of the North. They were a simple hearted, affectionate people, always appearing such in the visits she made with her mother to the place. Little distinction of rank was known, but all were honest and kind, and all entitled to and received the friendly attentions and kindness of their neighbours in cases of sickness or distress. Scandal and detraction, usual village pests, were to them unknown. Their principles and feelings were too good and simple, and the state of the whole was at least "a silver age."

* The road below Chester was called the King's road.

THE LANDING OF PENN

AT THE

BLUE ANCHOR TAVERN.

Here memory's spell wakes up the throng
Of past affection—here our fathers trod!

THE general voice of mankind has ever favoured the consecration of places hallowed by the presence of personages originating great epochs in history, or by events giving renown to nations. The landing place of Columbus in our western world is consecrated and honoured in Havana; and the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth is commemorated by festivals. We should not be less disposed to emblazon with its just renown the place where Penn, our honoured founder, first set his foot on the soil of our beloved city. The site and all its environs were abundantly picturesque, and facts enough of the primitive scene have descended to us,

"E'en to replace again
The features as they knew them then."

Facts still live, to revive numerous local impressions, and to connect the heart and the imagination with the past,—to lead out the mind in vivid conceptions of

"How the place look'd when 'twas fresh and young."

Penn and his immediate friends came up in an open boat or barge from Chester; and because of the then peculiar fitness, as "a landing place," of the "low and sandy beach," at the *debouche* of the once beautiful and rural Dock Creek, they there came to the shore by the side of Guest's new house, then in a state of building, the same known in the primitive annals as "the Blue Anchor Tavern."

The whole scene was active, animating and cheering. On the shore were gathered, to cheer his arrival, most of the few inhabitants who had preceded him. The busy builders who had been occupied at the construction of Guest's house, and at the connecting line of "Budd's Long Row," all forsook their labours to join in the general greetings. The Indians, too, aware by previous signals of his approach, were seen in the throng, or some, more reservedly apart, waited the salutation of the guest, while others, hastening to the scene, could be seen paddling their canoes down the smooth waters of the creek.

Where the houses were erecting, on the line of Front Street, was the low sandy beach; directly south of it, on the opposite side of the creek, was the grassy and wet soil, fruitful in whortleberries; beyond

it was the "Society Hill," having its summit on Pine Street, and rising in graceful grandeur from the precincts of Spruce Street,—all then robed in the vesture with which nature most charms. Turning our eyes and looking northward, we see similar rising ground, presenting its summit above Walnut Street. Looking across the Dock Creek westward, we see all the margin of the creek adorned with every grace of shrubbery and foliage, and beyond it, a gently sloping descent from the line of Second Street, whereon were hutted a few of the native's wigwams, intermixed among the shadowy trees. A bower near there, and a line of deeper verdure on the ground, marked "the spring," where "the Naiad weeps her emptying urn." Up the stream, meandering through "prolixity of shade," where "willows dipt their pendent boughs, stooping as if to drink," we perceive, where it traverses Second Street, the lowly shelter of Drinker, the anterior lord of Dock Creek; and beyond him, the creek disappears in intervening trees, or in mysterious windings.

That scenes like these are not fanciful reveries, indulged without their sufficient warrant, we shall now endeavour to show from sober facts, deduced from various items of information, to wit:

Mr. Samuel Richards, a Friend, who died in 1827, at about the age of 59, being himself born and residing all his days next door to the Blue Anchor Tavern, was very competent to judge of the verity of the tradition concerning the landing. He fully confided in it; he had often heard of it from the aged, and never heard it opposed by any. His father before him, who had dwelt on the same premises, assured him it was so, and that he had heard it direct through the preceding occupants of the Inn. All the earliest keepers of the Inn were Friends; such was Guest, who was also in the first Assembly; he was succeeded by Reese Price, Peter Howard, and Benjamin Humphries, severally Friends All these in succession kept alive the tradition that "when Penn first came to the city he came in a boat from Chester, and landed near their door." It was then, no doubt, the readiest means of transportation, and would have been a highly probable measure, even if we had never heard of the above facts to confirm it.

The aged Mrs. Preston, who was present on that occasion, used to say, she admired the affability and condescension of the Governor, especially his manner of entering into the spirit and feeling of the Indians; he walked with them, sat down on the ground with them, ate with them of their roasted acorns and hominy. When they got up to exercise and express their joy by hopping and jumping, he finally sprang up, and beat them all. I will not pretend to vouch for this story; we give it as we received it from honest informants, who certainly believed it themselves. It was a measure harmless in the abstract; and as a courtesy to the Indians may have been a fine stroke of policy in winning their regard. He was young enough to have been gay; being then only 38 years of age. And one of the old Journalists has left on record, that he was naturally too prone to

cheerfulness for a grave public Friend, especially in the eye of those of them who held "religion harsh, intolerant, austere."

Penn was so pleased with the site of "the low sandy beach," as a landing place, (the rest of the river side being high precipitous banks,) that he made it a public landing place for ever in his original city charter; and the little haven at the creek's mouth so pleased him, as a fit place for a harbour for vessels in the winter, and a security from the driving ice, that he also appropriated so much of it as lay eastward of the Little Dock Creek to be a great dock for ever, to be deepened by digging when needful. The waters there were much deeper at first than in after years, as the place got filled up by the negligence of the citizens. Charles Thomson, Esq., told me of his often seeing such vessels as sloops and schooners lading their flour for the West Indies on the sides of the Dock Creek near to Second Street; and a very aged informant (Mrs. Powell) had seen a schooner once as high as Girard's bank. Charles Thomson also told me of one family of the first settlers whose vessel wintered at the mouth of the creek.

This original tavern, from its location, was at first of first-rate consequence as a place of business. It was the proper key of the city, to which all new-comers resorted, and where all small vessels, coming with building timber from Jersey, &c., or with traffic from New England, made their ready landing. The house was also used as a public ferry, whence people were to cross over Dock Creek to Society Hill, before the causeway and bridge over Front Street were formed, and also to convey persons over to Windmill Island, where was a windmill for grinding their grain, or to cross persons and horses over to Jersey. It was, in short, the busy mart for a few years of almost all the business the little town required.

This landing house, called the Blue Anchor, was the southernmost of ten houses of like dimensions, began about the same time, and called "Budd's Long Row." They had to the eye the appearance of brick houses, although they were actually framed with wood, and filled in with small bricks, bearing the appearance of having been imported. J. P. Norris, Esq., has told me that he always understood from his ancestors and others that parts of the buildings, of most labour and most convenient transportations, were brought out in the first vessels, so as to insure greater despatch in finishing a few houses at least for indispensable purposes. Proud's history informs us, that the house of Guest was the most finished house in the city when Penn arrived; and all tradition has designated the Blue Anchor as the first house built in Philadelphia; from this cause, when it was "pulled down to build greater," I preserved some of its timber as appropriate relic-wood. This little house, although sufficiently large in its day, was but about twelve feet front on Front Street, and about twenty-two feet on Dock Street, having a ceiling of about eight and a half feet in height.

"The spring," in a line due west from this house, on the opposite

bank of the creek, was long after a great resort for taking in water for vessels going to sea, and had been seen in actual use by some aged persons still alive in my time, who described it as a place of great rural beauty, shaded with shrubbery and surrounded with rude sylvan seats.

Little Dock Creek, diverging to the southwest had an open passage for canoes and batteaux as high as St. Peter's church, through a region long lying in commons, natural shrubbery, and occasional forest trees, left so standing, long after the city, northward of Dock Creek was in a state of improvement.

The cottage of the Drinker family, seen up the main or northwestern Dock Creek, located near the south west corner of Walnut and Second Streets, was the real primitive house of Philadelphia. The father of the celebrated aged Edward Drinker had settled there some years before Penn's colonists came, and Edward himself was born there two years before that time; he lived till after the war of Independence, and used to delight himself often in referring to localities where Swedes and Indians occasionally hutted, and also where Penn and his friends remained at their first landing.

It fully accords with my theories, from observations on the case, that the creek water once overflowed the whole of Spruce Street, from Second Street to the river, and that its outlet extended in a southeastwardly direction along the base of Society Hill, till its southernmost extremity joined the Delaware nearly as far south as Union Street. I think these ideas are supported by the fact, which I have ascertained, that all the houses on the southern side of Spruce Street, have occasionally water in their cellars, and also those on the east side of Front Street some distance below Spruce Street. Mr. Samuel Richards told me it was the tradition of his father and other aged persons about the Blue Anchor Tavern, that the creek water inclined originally much farther southward than Spruce Street. There was doubtless much width of watery surface once there, as it gave the idea to Penn of making it a great winter dock for vessels. We know, indeed, that Captain Loxley, many years ago, was allowed to use the public square, now on the site of the intended dock, in consideration of his filling up the whortleberry swamp, before there.

THE TREATY TREE,

AND

FAIRMAN'S MANSION.

—•—

"But thou, broad Elm! Canst thou tell us nought
Of forest Chieftains, and their vanish'd tribes!
————————Hast thou no record left
Of perish'd generations, o'er whose heads
Thy foliage droop'd!—thou who shadowed once
The rever'd Founders of our honour'd State."

THE site of this venerable tree is filled with local impressions. The tree itself, of great magnitude and great age, was of most impressive grandeur. Other cities of our Union have had their consecrated trees; and history abounds with those which spread in arborescent glory, and claimed their renown both from the pencil and the historic muse. Such have been "the royal oak," Shakspeare's "mulberry tree," &c.

"From his touch-wood trunk the mulberry tree
Supplied such relics as devotion holds
Still sacred, and preserves with pious care."

In their state of lofty and silent grandeur they impress a soothing influence on the soul, and lead out the meditative mind to enlargement of conception and thought. On such a spot, Penn, with appropriate acumen, selected his treaty ground. There long stood the stately witness of the solemn covenant—a lasting emblem of the unbroken faith, "pledged without an oath, and never broken!"

Nothing could surpass the amenity of the whole scene as it once stood, before "improvement," that effacive name of every thing rural or picturesque, destroyed its former charms, cut down its sloping verdant bank, razed the tasteful Fairman mansion, and turned all into the levelled uniformity of a city street. Once remote from city bustle, and blest in its own silent shades amid many lofty trees, it looked out upon the distant city, "saw the stir of the great Babel, nor felt the crowd;" long, therefore, it was the favourite walk of the citizen. There he sought his seat and rest. Beneath the wide spread branches of the impending Elm gathered in summer whole congregations to hymn their anthems and to hearken to the preacher, beseeching them, "in Christ's stead, to be reconciled unto God." Those days are gone, "but sweet's their memory still!"



The Treaty Elm and Fairman's Mansion.—Page 134.



The Swedes' Church and House of Sven Sener.—Page 146.

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Not to further dilate on the picture which the imagination fondly draws of scenes no longer there, we shall proceed to state such facts as the former history of the place affords, to wit:

The fact of the treaty being held under the Elm, depends more upon the general tenor of tradition, than upon any direct facts now in our possession. When all men knew it to be so, they felt little occasion to lay up evidences for posterity. Lest any should hereafter doubt it, the following corroborative facts are furnished, to wit:

The late aged Judge Peters said he had no doubt of its being the place of the treaty. He and David H. Conyngham (lately alive) had been familiar with the place from their youth as their swimming place, and both had always heard and always believed it designated the treaty ground. Judge Peters remarked too, that Benjamin Lay, the hermit, who came to this country in 1731, used to visit it and speak of it as the place of the treaty; of course he had his opinion from those who preceded him. Mr. Thomas Hopkins, who died lately at the age of 93, had lived there upwards of fifty years, and told me he never heard the subject questioned in his time. James Reed, Esq., a nephew of James Logan's wife, who died in 1793, at the age of 71, (a great observer of passing events) used to say of West's paintings of the treaty, that the English characters severally present were all intended to be resemblances, and were so far true, that he (Mr. Reed) could name them all. He fully believed the treaty was held at the Elm; and Mrs. Logan has heard him express his regret (in which others will join him) that Benjamin West should have neglected truth so far as to have omitted the river scenery.

Proud says, "the proprietary being now returned from Maryland to Coaquannock, the place so called by the Indians, where Philadelphia now stands, began to purchase lands of the natives. It was at this time (says he) when William Penn first entered personally into that lasting friendship with the Indians, [meaning the treaty, it is presumed,] which ever after continued between them."

Clarkson, who had access to all the Penn papers in England, and who had possession of the blue sash of silk with which Penn was girt at the aforesaid famous treaty, gives the following facts, strongly coincident with the fact of the locality of the treaty tree,—saying, "It appears [meaning, I presume, it was in evidence, as he was too remote to be led to the inference by our traditions,] that though the parties were to assemble at Coaquannock, the treaty was made a little higher up, at Shackamaxon." We can readily assign a good reason for the change of place; the latter had a kind of village near there of Friends, and it had been besides the residence of Indians, and probably had some remains of their families still there.

Benjamin West, who lived here sufficiently early to have neard the direct traditions in favour of the treaty, has left us his deep sense of that historical fact, by giving it the best efforts of his pencil,

and has therein drawn the portrait of his grandfather as one of the group of Friends attendant on Penn in that early national act. His picture, indeed, has given no appearance of that tree, but this is of no weight; as painters, like poets, are indulged to make their own drapery and effect. Nothing can be said against the absence of the tree, which may not be equally urged against the character and position of the range of houses in his back ground, which were certainly never exactly found either at Shackamaxon, Coaquannock, or Upland. But we may rest assured that Mr. West, although he did not use the image of the treaty tree as any part of his picture,* he nevertheless regarded it as the true locality; because he has left a fact from his own pen to countenance it. This he did in relating what he learnt from Colonel Simcoe respecting his protection of that tree during the time of the stay of the British army at and near Philadelphia. It shows so much generous and good feeling from all the parties concerned, that Mr. West's words may be worthy of preservation in this connection, to wit: "This tree, which was held in the highest veneration by the original inhabitants of my native country, by the first settlers, and by their descendants, and to which I well remember, about the year 1755, when a boy, often resorting with my school-fellows, was in some danger during the American war, when the British possessed the country, from parties sent out in search of wood for firing; but the late General Simcoe, who had the command of the district where it grew, (from a regard for the character of William Penn, and the interest he took in the history connected with the tree,) ordered a guard of British soldiers to protect it from the axe. This circumstance the General related to me, in answer to my inquiries, after his return to England." If we consider the lively interest thus manifested by Mr. West in the tree, connected with the facts that he could have known from his grandfather, who was present and must have left a correct tradition in the family, (thus inducing him to become the painter of the subject) we cannot but be convinced how amply he corroborates the locality above stated.

We have been thus particular because the archives at Harrisburg, which have been searched, in illustration and confirmation of the said treaty, have hitherto been to little effect; one paper found barely mentions that, "after the treaty was held, William Penn and the Friends went into the house of Lacy Cock."† And Mr. Gordon, the author of the late History of Pennsylvania, informed me that he could only find at Harrisburg the original envelope relating to the treaty papers; on which was endorsed "Papers relative to the Indian treaty under the great Elm."

In regard to the form and manner of the treaty as held, we think

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* Possibly because he could have no picture of it in England, where he painted.

† There is a deed from Governor Henoyon of New York, of the year 1664, granting unto Peter Cock his tract, then called Shackamaxon.

William Penn has given us ideas, in addition to West's painting, which we think must one day provide material for a new painting of this interesting national subject. Penn's letters of 1683, to the Free Society of Traders, and to the Earl of Sunderland, both describe an Indian treaty to this effect, to wit: To the Society he says, "I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus—the king sits in the middle of an half moon and hath his council, the old and wise on each hand. Behind them or at a little distance sit the younger fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me; then took me by the hand and told me 'he was ordered by his king to speak to me, and that what he should say was the king's mind,' &c.* While he spoke not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile. When the purchase was made great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that we must live in love so long as the sun gave light. This done, another made a speech to the Indians in the name of all the Sachamachers or kings,—first, to tell what was done; next, to charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly to live in peace with me and my people. At every sentence they shouted, and, in their way, said Amen."

To the Earl of Sunderland, Penn says: "In selling me their land they ordered themselves—the old in a half moon upon the ground; the middle aged in a like figure at a little distance behind them; and the young fry in the same manner behind them. None speak but the aged,—they having consulted the rest before hand."

We have thus, it may be perceived, a graphic picture of Penn's treaty, as painted by himself; and, to my mind, the sloping green bank presented a ready amphitheatre for the display of the successive semicircles of Indians.

Fishbourne's MS. Narrative of 1739, says, Penn established a friendly correspondence by way of treaty with the Indians, at least twice a year.

The only mark of distinction used by Penn at the treaty was that of a blue silk net-work sash girt around his waist. This sash is still in existence in England; it was once in possession of Thomas Clarkson, Esq., who bestowed it to his friend as a valuable relic. John Cook, Esq., our townsman, was told this by Clarkson himself in the year 1801,—such a relic should be owned by the Penn Society.

The tree thus memorable was blown over on the 3d of March, 1810; the blow was not deemed generally prevalent, nor strong. In its case, the root was wrenched and the trunk broken off; it fell on Saturday night, and on Sunday many hundreds of people visited it. In its form it was remarkably wide spread, but not lofty; its main branch inclining towards the river measured 150 feet in length; its

girth around the trunk was 24 feet, and its age, as it was counted by the inspection of its circles of annual growth, was 283 years. The tree, such as it was in 1800, was very accurately drawn on the spot by Thomas Birch, and the large engraving, executed from it by Seymour, gives the true appearance of every visible limb, &c. While it stood, the Methodists and Baptists often held their summer meetings under its shade. When it had fallen, several took their measures to secure some of the wood as relics. An arm-chair was made from it and presented to Doctor Rush; a part of it is constructed into something memorable and enduring at Penn's Park, in England. I have some remains of it myself.

But the fallen tree finely revived, in a sucker from it, was flourishing in the amplitude of an actual tree on the premises of the Pennsylvania Hospital, in the centre of the western vacant lot, since turned into Linden Street, where it stood a while in the paved street and was cut down in 1841. Messrs. Coates and Brown, managers, placed it there some 25 or 26 years ago. I had myself seen another sucker growing on the original spot, a dozen years ago, amid the lumber of the ship yard. It was then about 15 feet high, and might have been still larger but for neglect and abuse. I was aiding to have it boxed in for protection; but, whether from previous barking of the trunk, or from injuring the roots by settling the box, it did not long survive the intended kindness. Had it lived, it would have been an appropriate shade to the marble monument, since erected near the site of the original tree to perpetuate its memory, with the following four inscriptions on its four sides, to wit:

Treaty ground of William Penn, and the Indian Nations, 1682, Unbroken faith.	William Penn, Born 1644, Died 1718.	Placed by the Penn Society, A. D. 1827, to mark the site of the Great Elm Tree.	Pennsylvania, Founded, 1681, by Deeds of Peace.

As it is possible, with nourishing earth and due watering, to raise small cuttings from another Elm, I recommend that a successor may yet be placed over the monument!

We come now next in order to speak of the

Fairman Mansion.—This respectable and venerable looking brick edifice was constructed in 1702, for the use of Thomas Fairman, the deputy of Thomas Holme, the Surveyor General, and was taken down in April 1825, chiefly because it encroached on the range of the present street. A brick was found in the wall, on which was marked "Thomas Fairman, September, 1702."

It had been the abode of many respectable inmates, and was once desired as the country seat of William Penn himself,—a place highly appropriate for him who made his treaty there. Governor Evans,

after leaving his office as Governor, dwelt there some time. It was afterwards the residence of Governor Palmer; and these two names were sufficient to give it the character of the "Governor's House,"—a name which it long retained after the cause had been forgotten. After them the aged and respectable Mr. Thomas Hopkins occupied it for fifty years.

Penn's conception of this beautiful place is well expressed in his letter of 1708, to James Logan, saying, "If John Evans (the late Governor) leaves your place, then try to secure his plantation; for I think, from above Shackamaxon to the town is one of the pleasantest situations upon the river for a Governor; where one sees and hears what one will and when one will, and yet have a good deal of the sweetness and quiet of the country. And I do assure thee, if the country would settle upon me six hundred pounds per annum, I would hasten over the following summer.* Cultivate this amongst the best Friends." The next year, (1709) his mind being intent on the same thing, he says: "Pray get Daniel Pegg's, or such a remote place, (then on Front near to Green Street) in good order for me and family."

A letter of Robert Fairman, brother of Thomas, the surveyor, dated, London, 10th of 2d mo. 1711, to Jonathan Dickinson, which I have seen in MS., claims to be the proper owner of the estate at Shackamaxon, and saying, "I have been lately in company with William Penn; and, there speaking to him of thy proposing to buy for a friend that plantation at Coxon Creek, (i. e. the Cohocksinc) he says it is a pleasant place for situation, out of the noise of Philadelphia, but in sight of it,—a place he would choose for his dwelling if he should return there,—says he asks £600 for it." In another letter of the 30th of 8 mo. 1711, he marks its location in front by saying, "The river Delaware joining to said land makes it more valuable than back land, and besides, it is so near the town." He states also, that his brother writes him that thirteen acres of the said land next the creek (Coxon) may ere long be worth £1000. He expressly speaks of the place as situated in "Shackamaxon." In another letter dated the 12th of 3 mo. 1715, which I have preserved, on page 252 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society, as a singularity for its peculiar hand-writing in text character, he speaks therein of his place near Coxon Creek as having woods and stumps; says the trees have been cut there to form the new bridge on the new road across the creek; speaks of Thomas Fairman's death, and that the widow then on the premises complains of hard usage from Captain Palmer,—the same, it is probable, who afterwards came to be President of the Council, and for a short time, in 1747, Governor, ex-officio.

* We may here see how absolutely determined, and pledged too, Penn once was to return and settle his family forever among us, by his request in next year to engage Pegg's house. I presume, Evans' house could not then be had, and that he was actually encouraged to come over at the £600 a year; but after circumstances in England prevented his return here.

"Governor Anthony Palmer," so called in his latter years, was a wealthy gentleman who came from the West Indies about the year 1709, and lived in a style suited to his circumstances, keeping a coach, then a great luxury, and a pleasure barge, by which he readily made his visits from Shackamaxon to the city. He was said to have had 21 children by his first wife, all of whom died of consumptions; some of his descendants by a second wife are now residents of Philadelphia. The present aged colonel A. J. Morris told me that he heard old Mr. Tatnal say, that Governor Palmer offered him a great extent of Kensington lots on the River Street at six pence a foot ground-rent forever,—a small sum for our present conceptions of its value, changing as the whole scene now is to a city form, filling with houses, cutting down eminences, and filling up some lower places* to the general level,—a change, on the whole, not unlike what must have been the superficial change originally effected at Philadelphia.

Old Edward Duffield, the executor of Dr. Franklin's will, who used to own land in Kensington and had been curious to enquire the meaning of Shackamaxon, told his son that he learnt that it meant the "field of blood," in reference to a great Indian battle once sustained there; I must remark, however, that the Delaware missionary, Mr. Luckenbach, informed me that if it was a Delaware word, allowing for a little variation in spelling, it meant "a child not able to feed itself." In general he deemed our Indian names of Shawnese origin.—Another and most probable sense, is, *the place of Eels.*—*Vide* Heckewelder.

As every thing relative to this hallowed place, by reason of the Treaty Tree, once there, is to be deemed interesting, we have concluded since the first edition, to add the following additional items, to wit:

The Shackamaxon *locality* has long been a mooted point, and we had before entertained the belief that it began at "Pleasant Point," in Kensington, (a place already effaced and changed as a *point*, but once sufficiently plain as a gravelly strand on the north side of the mouth of Cohocksinc,) and therefore, to be in effect considered as beginning at Cohocksinc Creek, and extending along the River to Gunner's Creek. I have lately found a fact in the Minutes of the Friends' Meetings at Abington, which goes to prove that the Friends' Meetings were originally held at Shackamaxon at the house of Thomas Fairman, (miscalled Fairlamb, in Proud and others,) to wit: "on the 11 of 2 mo. 1682, it was mutually agreed that a meeting be at William Cooper's at Pyne Point, (N. J.) the 2d first day of 3 mo. next, and the next meeting be at *Thomas Fairman's* at Shackamaxon, and so in course," and "at a monthly Meeting the 8th of 9 mo. 1682—at this time Governor William Penn and a multitude of Friends arrived here and erected a City called Philadelphia, *about half a mile from Shackamaxon*, where Meet-

* There was once a low place of boggy marsh, into which high tides flowed, now all filled up, about one square westward of the treaty tree.

ings, &c., were established, &c. Thomas Fairman, at the request of the Governor, removed himself and family to Tackony, where there was also a Meeting appointed to be kept, and the *ancient* Meeting of Shackamaxon *removed to Philadelphia*, from which meeting also other meetings were appointed in the Province of Pennsylvania."

From the premises it is to be inferred, as very natural to have made the Treaty at the Treaty Tree, when it was also the ample house, and the head quarters, of the Friends and their meetings.

On page 130 of my MS. Annals, it will be seen respecting "Fairman's Mansion," that by a letter of Robert Fairman of London, of 1711, he speaks of the house *at the Treaty Tree*, built of brick in 1702, (and taken down in 1825,) as *the locality* of the said *Thomas* Fairman's former house—he having been dead some time, and his widow being then (in 1711) on the premises.

Robert Venables, the aged black who died in Philadelphia in 1834, aged 98, told me that he had always heard that it was at the Treaty Tree that William Penn held his treaty. He had never heard a doubt of it in his long life in Philadelphia. He heard it often so said by the aged and by his own parents, who were blacks from Barbadoes. He said it was the current report that the "three balls" on Penn's arms represented three apple dumplings,* and were intended to commemorate the fact of Penn being treated at the Treaty by king Tamanee with three such—then a great rarity to Penn. [This, though erroneous, tests the popular confirmation of the treaty there in early times.] He said also as the popular story of the aged in his youth (and he had seen several persons who had seen Penn!) that the treaty was made *under the Great Elm* on the *1st day of May*, and that *for that cause*, they kept May days with great rejoicings as King Tamanee's day.

In the year 1836, there was published some notices of the gift I had made to the Town House in Kensington, acknowledging the welcome reception of two elm trees which I had planted in the front court yard of that house, as mementos of the Treaty Elm:—they being of the same species and transplanted from the premises once Richard Townsends, where he had erected the first mill in Philadelphia County, now the same place called Roberts' Mill, near to Germantown. It had also the additional interest of being the same place once owned by Godfrey the inventor of the quadrant, and where his body, now taken to Laurel Hill Cemetery, was for many years interred. It may be mentioned also, that a similar Elm, from near his grave, was also taken and planted by his new grave at that cemetery, and a like Tree has been planted and now flourishes before my own house, in the Main Street in Germantown.

The Commissioners of Kensington, too, with commendable good

* These are so called also by the people, on the Penn arms, on the old mile stones on the Gulf and Haverford roads.

feelings, have constructed for their Town Hall, a *great arm chair* of relic wood formed of the real Treaty Tree, and sundry other woods designated in a secret drawer attached, so as to perpetuate the facts intended to be consecrated to posterity by the enduring presence of the elegant chair. All this showed most commendable feelings for the honoured founders of the State, and was in just keeping with their own *local relation* to the historical incidents of the country. Long may *it* be preserved as a memento of the past, and long may *the trees*, so planted, endure to link one generation with another,—to stand like *living monuments* speaking forth their solemn and soothing lessons, as from fathers to sons and the sons of sons.

Having made a communication to the Historical Society in December, 1835, since printed, concerning "the Indian Treaty for the Lands near the site of Philadelphia and the adjacent country," I hereby repeat *some* of the remarks then made, to the effect that there has been a misconception of the nature and object of the admitted assemblage of Penn and the Indians under the Great Tree. It was emphatically true that under that ample Elm,

> "Was shadowed once
> The rever'd Founders of our honour'd State,
> *Met*, with forest chieftains and their vanish'd tribes."

But it was *not* a Treaty for *lands* to be then purchased, but was a great meeting of *verbal* conference and pledge, popularly called *the Treaty*, in which presents were bestowed, mutual civilities exchanged, and reciprocal promises of friendship and good will were severally made. Made in the name and form (as will be shown) of "a league and chain of friendship." To this fact, the testimony of tradition has also been unceasing and unchanging. It has been told and believed from the beginning, or from a time, as the civilians say, "in which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary."

If this, my assumption or position, be true, it will then sufficiently account for the hitherto strange fact, that in so important a matter as the deed and title to *the lands* which we now, as Philadelphians, and even as Pennsylvanians, occupy, we have no original Treaty—*formed at the* Treaty Tree, to show! We have hitherto been looking for an alleged instrument of writing, which had no existence *at that time*, because it was not *then* necessary, nor *then* executed. But the fact is, as the records which I inspected at Harrisburg lately, will show, that the actual treaty for the *lands* of the present Philadelphia and adjacent country, out to Susquehanna, was made *in the year* 1685, by Thomas Holme as President of the Council, *in the absence of William Penn*, who was *then* returned back to England.

The Treaty so made, on the 30th day of the 5th mo., 1685, was formed with Shakkoppoh, Secane, Malibore, and Tangoras, Indian Sakamakers, and right owners of the lands lying between Macapanackan, alias Upland, now called Chester River or Creek, and the

River or Creek of Pemapecka, now called Dublin Creek, beginning at a hill called Conshohockin (at present by Matson's ford) on the River Manaiunk or Skoolkill, &c., &c.; . . . . . then to go north-westerly back into the woods—to make up two full days' journey, *as far as a man can go in two days*, from the said station of the parallel line at Pemapecka, [thus going or extending in effect back to the Susquehanna River, and no further, at that time, and in *that* Treaty.] ☞*For, and in consideration*, [we feel almost ashamed to name it!] of 200 fathoms of wampum, 30 fathoms of duffels, 30 guns, 60 fathoms of strawed waters, 30 kettles, 30 shirts, 20 gunbelts, 12 pair of shoes, 30 pair of stockings, 30 pair of scissors, 30 combs, 30 axes, 30 knives, 20 tobacco tongs, 30 bars of lead, 30 pounds of powder, 30 awls, 30 glasses, 30 tobacco boxes, 3 papers of beads, 44 pounds of red lead, 30 pair of hawks' bells, 6 drawing knives, 6 caps, 12 hoes: Do by these presents grant, bargain and sell, &c., all right, title and interest, *that we or any others shall or may claim in the same*,—hereby renouncing and disclaiming for ever any claim or pretence to the premises, *for us, our heirs, and successors, and all other Indians* whatsoever. The whole is signed by queer *marks* and witnessed by seven Indians and eight white men—citizens.

It may possibly be urged that the Treaty made on 23d of 4 mo. 1683, when William Penn was still here, between William Penn and Kings *Tamanen* and Metamequan, for their lands, from "near Neshemanah Creek, and thence to Pemapecka," *may* have been treated for under the Treaty Tree. This certainly appears to have been the *earliest* land Treaty *on record;* but as Philadelphia was *then* already located *as a city*, it could not have been necessary for *that object.* There is still another view of this subject to be considered—which is, that Capt. Sven, *then* resident near Swedes' Church, south end of the City, was then proprietor of part, if not all of Philadelphia land, under a grant *of gift* from his own sovereign Queen Christiana—and it is already matter of history that he yielded his land to Penn, in consideration of other lands bestowed upon him up the Schuylkill.

A Treaty made at Conastogae the 26th of May, 1728, stated in the Minutes of Council at the time, between Governor Gordon and Captain Civility and other Chiefs, makes direct reference to *the first Treaty* in *nine items*, concluding that amity and friendship was to exist between them *for ever*, or—"as long as the Creeks and Rivers run, and while the sun, moon, and stars endure," "and lastly, that both Christians and Indians should acquaint their children with *this league* and firm *chain of friendship* now made, while Creeks and Rivers run, &c.

From the preceding I have arrived, as I conceive—by consulting in connexion Proud's History—at *the confirmation of the fact*, that the aforesaid *nine* articles were a part of "the league and chain of friendship," *first made* by William Penn himself at *the time of his*

arrival, when made under the Treaty Tree in 1682, to wit;—Proud's History, vol. 1, p. 212 says, "it was at this time (1682) when *he first entered personally* into that *lasting friendship* (not land purchase,) with the Indians, which ever afterwards continued between them; and for the space of more than seventy years, (say till the time of Braddock and the French war,) was never interrupted." "A *firm peace* (not a *treaty* for *land*) was, therefore, *now* reciprocally concluded between William Penn and the Indians; and both parties mutually promised to live together *as brethren*, (as one of the articles said, as members of "*one body*,") this was solemnly ratified by *the usual* token of *a chain* of *friendship* and covenant never to be broken *so long as the sun and moon endure*." In the same vol. 1, p. 215, in stating the case of the Indian Treaty at Albany in 1722, Governor Keith, then present, is made to say to the Indians, "that he desired that this visit and *the Covenant chain*, which is hereby *brightened*, may be recorded in everlasting remembrance, and *to last as long* as the mountains and rivers, and while *the sun and moon* (former words) endure," and this he especially said, *as "the repetition* of the *former* treaties which *they made with William Penn.*" I conclude, therefore, that although the original of "the League and chain of friendship," made at "the conference at the Treaty Tree in 1682, is not now to be found, (unless at Stoke Pogis—the Penn residence in England,) we have *the* "*nine articles*" aforesaid, being all of "*the main heads*" of that memorable and venerable *Treaty Tree* instrument.

I have endeavoured to repress the expression of the feelings I cannot but feel in the contemplation of the premises, that such lands as we now possess, should have been bestowed for such very inconsiderable reward! I feel it as a stain upon our escutcheon of honour, that while

> "They, to greet the pale faced stranger
> Stretch'd an unsuspecting hand,"

we should have been so unmindful of our own duties, as to overlook the recompense due—

> Entrapp'd by Treaties, driven forth to range
> The distant west in misery and revenge!"

The only abatement I know, is to say that Penn in fact deemed the land his own by grant from the Crown even before he came among them; as his letter to the Indians from London sets forth, on the 18 of 8 mo., 1681, saying, even to themselves openly, that his king hath *given him* a great Province, (i. e. *their lands!*) which he, however, "desires to enjoy with their love and consent."

> "Then redmen took the law of *love*
> As from a *brother's* hand,
> And they blessed him while *he founded*
> This City of our love."

And now, in memory of *the Tree* which has been the cause of the present chapter, we here add a poetic effusion, as well to glorify the Tree, as to perpetuate the *poetic* talent of a valued and deceased citizen—namely, Judge Peters—to wit:

PENN'S TREATY-ELM.

BY JUDGE PETERS.

Let each take a relic from that hallowed tree,
Which, like *Penn*, whom it shaded, immortal should be.
As the pride of our forests, let Elms be renown'd,
For the justly priz'd virtues with which they abound.

CHORUS.

All hail to thee, highly favoured tree,
Adorning our land,—the home of the free!
Most worthy was he
Who first honour'd thee,
And thou, like him, immortal shalt be.

Whilst the natives our forests in freedom shall roam,
Thy remembrance they'll cherish, thro' ages to come.
Tho' sorrows their bosoms should oft overwhelm,
With delight they'll reflect on *good Onas's* Elm.
All hail, &c.

For that Patron of Justice and Peace there display'd,
His most welcome good tidings, beneath its fair shade,
And furnish'd examples to all future times,
That Justice and Peace may inhabit all climes.
All hail, &c.

The *Oak* may be fam'd for its uses in war,
Or wafting wealth's idols to regions afar;
But the Elm bears no part in such objects as these,
Its employment is solely in fabrics of peace.
All hail, &c.

When *Daphne*, 'tis fabled, eluded *Apollo*,
And he found it in vain her footsteps to follow;
He fix'd the coy nymph—to avenge a love quarrel—
In th' evergreen form of the bright shining *Laurel*.
All hail, &c.

But *her* chaplets bedeck the grim warrior's helm,
Who'd more worthily shine in the shade of the Elm;
And there cause all wars and their horrors to cease,
And, like *Penn*, spread the blessings of safety and peace.
All hail, &c.

Of *Avon* the Bard and *his* Mulberry tree,
In song have long lived with the votaries of glee.
His fame of *his* tree has prolong'd the renown;
Our tree, with *Penn's* fame, will to ages go down.
All hail, &c.

Let the Bard be encircled with laurels e'er green,
As the chief in the choir whereof *Fancy's* the Queen

Yet truth and just laws all *fictions* o'erwhelm;
And these *Penn* secur'd in the shade of the Elm.
All hail, &c.

Let our Poets still sigh for *Bay* wreaths, without scars,
And the *Laurel* hide wounds of the champions in wars:
But the branch of the *Olive* its office should cease,
And the branches of *Elm* be the emblems of Peace.
All hail, &c.

The *Olive* abounds where stern despots bear rule,
And their slaves pluck its products in Poverty's school;
But the *Elm* delights most in the mountains and dells,
Where *Man* is ne'er shackled, and Liberty dwells.
All hail, &c.

Tho' time has devoted our tree to decay,
The sage lessons it witness'd survive to our day.
May our trustworthy statesmen, when call'd to the helm,
Ne'er forget the wise *Treaty* held under our *Elm*,
All hail, &c.

THE SWEDES' CHURCH,

AND

HOUSE OF SVEN SENER.

"The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep!"

THE Swedes of the hamlet at Wiccaco, at the present Swedes' Church in Southwark, having been the primitive occupants, near the present site of Philadelphia, (before the location of our city was determined,) will make it interesting to glean such facts as we can concerning that place and people. There they once saw the region of our present city scenes—

"One still
And solemn desert in primeval garb!"

Mr. Kalm, the Swedish traveller, when here in 1748, saw Nils Gustafson, an old Swede, then 91 years of age, who told him he well remembered to have seen a great forest on the spot where Philadelphia now stands; that he himself had brought a great deal of timber to Philadelphia at the time it was built. Mr. Kalm also met with an old Indian, who had often killed stags on the spot where Philadelphia now stands!

It appears from manuscripts and records that the southern part of our city, including present Swedes' Church, Navy Yard, &c., was

originally possessed by the Swedish family of Sven, the chief of which was Sven Schute,—a title equivalent to the Commandant; in which capacity he once held Nieu Amstel under charge from Risingh. As the Schute of Korsholm fort, standing in the domain of Passaiung, he probably had its site some where in the sub-district of Wiccaco,—an Indian name, traditionally said to imply *pleasant place**—a name highly indicative of what Swedes' Church place originally was. We take for granted that the village and church would, as a matter of course, get as near the block-house fort as circumstances would admit.

The lands of the Sven family we however know from actual title, which I have seen to this effect, to wit: "I, Francis Lovelace, Esq., one of the gentlemen of his Majesty's Honourable Privy Council, and Governor General under his Royal Highness, James, Duke of York and Albany, to all to whom these presents may come, &c. Whereas, there was a Patent or Ground brief granted by the Dutch Governor at Delaware to Swen Gonderson, Swen Swenson,† Oele Swenson, and Andrew Swenson, for a certain piece of ground lying up above *in* the river, beginning at Moyamensing kill, and so stretching upwards in breadth 400 rods, [about 1¼ mile wide] and in length into the woods 600 rods, [nearly 2 miles] in all about 800 acres, dated 5th of May, 1664, KNOW YE, &c., that I have ratified the same, they paying an annual quit rent of eight bushels of winter wheat to his Majesty." This patent was found recorded at Upland, the 31st of August, 1741.

The Moyamensing kill above mentioned was probably the same creek now called Hay creek, above Gloucester Point, and the 600 rods, or 2 miles of length, probably extended along the river.

We know that Penn deemed their lines so far within the bounds of his plan of Philadelphia and Southwark, that he actually extinguished their title by giving them lands on the Schuylkill, above Lemon hill, &c.

The Rev'd. Dr. Collin has ascertained from the Swedish MS. records in his possession, that the first Swedes' Church at Wiccaco was built on the present site in 1677, five years before Penn's colony came. It was of logs, and had loop-holes in lieu of window lights, which might serve for fire-arms in case of need. The congregation also was accustomed to bring fire-arms with them to prevent surprise, but ostensibly to use for any wild game which might present in their way in coming from various places.

In 1700, the present brick church was erected, and it was then deemed a great edifice, and so generally spoken of; for certainly nothing was then equal to it, as a public building, in the city. An elderly gentleman informs me that he had cause to know that the

* So old Mr. Marsh told me he had heard from the oldest settlers there.

† This Swen Swenson appears to have been in the first jury named at Chester, called by Governor Markham.

Swedes' Church was built mostly by subscription. Some paid in money and some in work and materials—the then parson carried the hod himself. The bell is said to have some silver in it, and to give a disagreeable sound.

The same gentleman informed me that he had seen a view of the first church engraved on a curiously shaped silver box, which had come from an old Swede. It had become at last a lip-salve box.

The parsonage house, now standing, was built in 1737. The former parsonage house was in the Neck. There were originally 27 acres of land attached to the Wiccaco Church. These facts were told me by Dr. Collin. At my request he made several extracts from the Swedish Church-books to illustrate those early times; which he has since bestowed to the historical department of the Philosophical Society.

The original log-house of the sons of Sven was standing till the time the British occupied Philadelphia; when it was taken down and converted into fuel. It stood on a knoll or hill on the N. W. corner of Swanson Street and Beck's Alley. Professor Kalm visited it in 1748 as a curiosity, and his description of it then is striking, to wit: "The wretched old wooden building, (on a hill a little north of the Swedes' Church) belonging to one of the sons of Sven, (Sven's Sæner) is still preserved as a memorial of the once poor state of that place. Its antiquity gives it a kind of superiority over all the other buildings in the town, although in itself it is the worst of all. But with these advantages it is ready to fall down, and in a few years to come it will be as difficult to find the place where it stood* as it was unlikely, when built, that it should in a short time become the place of one of the greatest towns in America. Such as it was, it showed how they dwelt, when stags, elk, deer and beavers ranged in broad day-light in the future streets and public places of Philadelphia. In that house was heard the sound of the spinning wheel before the city was ever thought of!" He describes the site as having on the river side, in front of it, a great number of very large sized water-beech or buttonwood trees; one of them, as a solitary way-mark to the spot, is still remaining there. He mentions also some great ones as standing on the river shore by the Swedes' Church—the whole then a rural scene.

It was deemed so attractive, as a "pleasant place," that Thomas Penn when in Philadelphia made it his favourite ramble; so much so, that Secretary Peters, in writing to him in 1743, thus complains of its changes—saying, "Southwark is getting greatly disfigured by erecting irregular and mean houses; thereby so marring its beauty that, when he shall return, he will lose his usual pretty walk to Wiccaco."

I ascertained the following facts concerning "the old Swedes'

* I could tell an amusing tale to prove how difficult I found it was to meet with those who remembered it as "the Swedes' house."

house," as they called the log-house of the sons of Sven. Its exact location was where the blacksmith's shop now stands, about 30 feet north of Beck's Alley, and fronting upon Swanson Street. It had a large garden and various fruit trees behind it. The little hill on which it stood has been cut down as much as five or six feet, to make the lot conform to the present street. It descended to Paul Beck, Esqr., through the Parhams, an English family.

The wife of the late Rev. Dr. Rogers remembered going to school in the Sven House with her sister. They described it to me, as well as a Mrs. Stewart also, as having been one and a half story high, with a piazza all around it, having four rooms on a floor, and a very large fire-place with seats in each jamb. Beck's Alley and the "improvements" there had much spoiled the former beauty of the scene along that alley. There had been near there an inlet of water from the Delaware, in which boats could float, especially at high tides. There were many very high trees, a ship yard, and much green grass all about the place. Now not a vestige of the former scene remains.

Although my informants had often heard it called "the Swedes' house" in their youth, they never understood the cause of the distinction until I explained it.

The Sven family, although once sole lords of the southern domain, have now dwindled away, and I know of no male member of that name, or rather of their anglified name of Swanson. The name was successively altered. At the earliest time it was occasionally written Suan, which sometimes gave occasion to the sound of Swan, and in their patent, confirmed by Governor Lovelace, they are named Swen. By Professor Kalm, himself a Swede, and most competent to give the true name, they are called Sven's-Sæner, i. e., sons of Sven. Hence in time they were called sons of Suan or Swan, and afterwards, for euphony sake, Swanson.

I found in the burial place of the Swedes' church a solitary memorial; such as the tablet and the chisel have preserved in these rude lines, to wit:

"In memory of Peter Swanson,
who died December 18, 1737,
aged 61 years.

Reader, stop and self behold!
Thou'rt made of ye same mould,
And shortly must dissolved be:
Make sure of blest Eternity!"

In the same ground is the inscription of Swan Johnson, who died in 1733, aged 48 years, who probably derived his baptismal name from the Sven race.

The extinction of these names of the primitive lords of the soil, reminds one of the equally lost names of the primitive lords at the other end of the city, to wit: the Hartsfelders and Peggs—all sunk in the abyss of time! "By whom begotten or by whom forgot," equally is all their lot!

One street has preserved their Swanson name; and the City Directory did once show the names of one or two persons in lowly circumstances; if, indeed, their names was any proof of their connexion with Sven Schute.

The late Anthony Cuthbert, of Penn Street, when aged 77, told me he remembered an aged Mr. Swanson in his youth, who was a large landholder of property near this Sven house; that he gave all his deeds or leases, "with the privilege of using his wharf or landing *near the buttonwoods.*" The single great tree still standing there, as a pointer to the spot, is nearly as thick at its base as the Treaty Elm, and like it diverges into two great branches near the ground. Long may it remain the last relic of the home of Sven Sener!

They who see the region of Swedes' Church now, can have little conception of the hills and undulations primarily there. The first story of the Swedes' Church, now on Swanson Street, made of stone, was originally so much under ground. The site there was on a small hill now cut down eight feet. At the east end of Christian Street, where it is crossed by Swanson Street, the river Delaware used to flow in, so that Swanson Street in that place, say from the north side of Swedes' Church lot up to near Queen Street, was originally a raised cause-way. Therefore, the oldest houses now standing on the western side of that street do not conform to the line of the street, but range in a line nearly south-west, and also stand back from the present street on what was (before the street was laid out) the margin of the high ground bordering on the River Delaware. Those houses too have their yards one story higher than their front pavements, and what was once their cellars under ground is now the first story of the same buildings.

From the Swedes' Church down to the Navy yard, the high hill formerly there has been cut down five or six feet, and by filling up the wharves below the former steep banks, the bank itself, as once remembered, even 30 years ago, seems strangely diminished.

At some distance from Swedes' Church, westward, is a remarkably low ground, between hills, having a pebbly bed like the river shore, which shows it once had a communication with the Delaware River at the foot of Christian Street; where Mr. Joseph Marsh, an aged gentleman, told me he had himself filled up his lot on the south-west corner as much as three feet. On that same lot he tells me there was formerly, before his time, a grain mill worked by two horses, which did considerable grinding.

The same Mr. Marsh, then aged 86, showed me that all the ground northward of Christian Street, and in the rear of his own house, No. 13, descended suddenly; thus showing there must have been there a vale or water channel leading out to the river. His own house formerly went up four steps at his door, and now the ground in the street is so raised as to remove them all.

Near him, at No. 7, on the north side of Christian street, is a very ancient-looking boarded house of but one very low story, having its

roof projecting beyond the wall of the house in front and rear, so as to form pent-houses. It is a log-house, in truth, concealed by boards and painted, and certainly *the only Log-House* in Philadelphia! What is curious respecting it, is, that it was actually framed and floated to its present spot by "old Joseph Wharton," from Chester county. Of this fact Mr. Marsh assured me, and told me it was an old building in his early days, and was always then called "Noah's ark." He remembered it when the cellar part of it (which is of stone and seven feet deep) was all above ground, and the cellar floor was even with the former street! I observed a hearth and chimney still in the cellar, and water was also in it. This water the tenants told me they supposed came in even now from the river, although at 100 feet distance. I think it not improbable that it stands on spring ground, which, as long as the street was lower than the cellar, found its way off, but now it is dammed. The floor of the once second story is now one foot lower than the street.

On the whole, there are signs of great changes in that neighbourhood,—of depressing hills or of filling vales; which, if my conjectures be just, would have made the Swedes' Church, in times of water invasions from high tides, a kind of peninsula, and itself and parsonage on the extreme point of projection.

The primitive Swedes generally located all their residences "near the freshes of the river," always choosing places of a ready water communication,—preferring thus their conveyances in canoes to the labour of opening roads and inland improvements. From this cause their churches, like this at Wiccaco, were visited from considerable distances along the river, and making there, when assembled on Lord's day, quite a squadron of boats along the river side.

A granddaughter of Sven Schute—then bearing the name of Swanson, married to John Parham of London—lived to be 103 years of age, and died in 1795. She has told the present John Parham of West Chestnut Street, her grandson, that she well remembered having been at the Swedes' Church while it was still a block house—having loop-holes for firing therefrom. She had *seen* William Penn on his second visit; she described him as a thick-set agreeable-looking man, of middle stature, wearing a wig. She had at one time heard through an Indian woman, coming out a doctress with herbs from up Timber Creek, that the Indians in Jersey meditated an attack. The women at Sven Schute's house were then making soft soap, which they forthwith took scalding-hot to the block house, with more fuel to keep it hot there—they then sounded their conchs to call in the people—as soon as the women were gathered thereby, the Indians came and began to undermine the building, when they were successfully repelled by the scalding soap and delayed until the men began to approach from a distance, and the Indians made off. After this, some of the inhabitants fearing a repetition of the assault moved off to Bucks County.

There are some facts existing, which seem to indicate that the

first Swedish settlement was destroyed by fire. Mrs. Preston, the grandmother of Samuel Preston, an aged gentleman lately alive, often told him of their being driven from thence, by being burnt out, and then going off by invitation to an Indian settlement in Bucks County. In Campanius' work, he speaks of Korsholm fort, (supposed to be the same place) as being abandoned after Governor Printz returned to Sweden, and afterwards burned by the Indians; very probably as a measure of policy, to diminish the strength of their new masters, the Dutch; or perhaps to show their retained affection to the *Swedes*, and their aversion to the Dutch. So they did when they burned the place which the Dutch had constructed at Gloucester Point. There seems at least some coincidence in the two stories.

The road through Wiccaco to Gloucester Point was petitioned for, and granted by the Council in the year 1720, and called—the road through the marsh.

The ground of the Swedes' Church contains the monument and remains of Wilson the ornithologist, who desired such a then retired place, where birds, amid its trees, might carol over his grave.

For many years, this venerable church—while it stood far from the town, was essentially a *Country Church*, and in that relation it brings up to the fancy the poetic description of Mrs. Seba Smith—to wit:—

They all are passing from the land
  Those Churches old and gray,
In which our fathers used to stand
  In years gone by, to pray—
There meekly knelt, those stern old men,
Who worshipped at our Altars then.

It was a church low built and square,
  With belfry perched on high,
And no unseemly carvings there
  To shock the pious eye—
That belfry was a modest thing,
In which a bell was *wont* to swing.

It stood, like many a country church,
  Upon a spacious green:
Whence stile and by-path go in search
  Of cot, the hills between.
The rudest boor that turf would spare,
And turn aside his team with care.

I smile with no sarcastic smile
  As I each group review,
That came by many a long, long mile,
  In garments fresh and new;
The Sunday dress—the Sunday air,
The thorough-greased and Sunday hair.

The straight, stiff walk, with Sunday suit,
  The squeaking leather shoe,



Penny Pot House and Landing.—Page 153.



The Drawbridge and Dock Creek.—336.

KING & BAIRD, PRS.

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The solemn air of man and brute,
As each the Sabbath knew;
The conscious air as passed the maid,
The swains collected in the shade.

The females enter straight the door,
And talk with those within—
The elders on town matters pore,
Nor deem it deadly sin.
And now the pastor grave and slow,
Along the aisle is seen to go.

Down drop the children from the seat,
The groups disperse around—
Pew doors are slamm'd and gathering feet
Give out a busy sound—
The sounding pipe and viol string
No longer through the old church ring.

I do remember with what awe
That pulpit filled mine eye,
As through the balusters I saw
The sounding board on high,
Those balusters!—a childish crime—
Alas! I've squeaked in sermon time.

Hard thinkers were they, those old men,
And patient too I ween—
Long words and knotty questions then
But made our fathers keen.
I doubt me if their sons would hear
Such *lengthy* sermons year by year.

But all are passing fast away—
Those abstruse thinkers too—
Old churches with their walls of gray
Must yield to something new—
Be-Gothic'd things, all neat and white,
Greet everywhere the traveller's sight.

PENNY-POT HOUSE AND LANDING.

It was long after I first saw the above title that I met with any certain means of establishing its location at Vine Street. Proud spoke of it as "near to Race Street," and none of the aged whom I interrogated knew any thing about it. Of course it would be still less known to any modern Philadelphian, although it had been bestowed as a gift to the city by Penn, and was made memorable as the birth-place of "the first born." Some of the following facts will fully certify its location at Vine Street.

In the year 1701, William Penn sets forth and ordains "that the landing places now and heretofore used at the Penny Pot-House and Blue Anchor, shall be left open and common for the use of the city," &c.

The landing appears to have derived its name from the Inn built there, which was early famed for its beer at a penny a pot.* The house itself was standing in my time as the Jolly Tar Inn, kept by one Tage. It was a two story brick house of good dimensions, having for its front a southern exposure. At first it had no intervening houses between it and the area of Vine Street; but when I last saw it, as many as three houses had filled up that space. The aged Joseph Norris of that neighbourhood, who died a few years ago in his ninetieth year, told me he remembered in his youth to have seen a sign affixed to the house, and having thereon the words, "Penny-Pot Free Landing."

At the time when the city was first formed, the general high bluff-land of the river bank made it extremely difficult to receive wood, lumber or goods into the city, except by the "low sandy beach" at the Blue Anchor, (i. e. at Dock Creek,) and at Vine Street, which lay along "a vale," and therefore first caused that street to be called "Valley Street." As a landing of more width than usual to other streets, it still belongs to the city at the present day.

On the same area, and on the first water lot above it, was for many years the active ship-yards of Charles West, who came out with Penn, and began his career by building him a vessel, for which in part pay he received the lot on which the present William West, Esqr., his grandson, has his salt stores and wharf. The vessels once built on that site extended their bowsprits up to Penny-Pot House, and those built upon the area of Vine Street extended the jib-boom across Front Street to the eaves of West's House—then a two story building on the north-west corner of Vine and Front Streets. Ship building was for many years a very active and profitable concern,—building many ships and brigs for orders in England and Ireland, and producing in this neighbourhood a busy scene in that line.

The aged John Brown and some others told me there were originally rope-walks along the line of Cable Lane; from which circumstance it received its title; and much ship timber and many saw-pits were thereabout. Mrs. Steward, an old lady of 93, told me she remembered when the neighbourhood of Cable Lane was all in whortleberry bushes; and, as late as 1754, it may be seen in the Gazette, that William Rakestraw then advertises himself as living "in the uppermost house in Water Street, near Vine Street," and there keeping his board yard.

The occasional state of Penny-Pot may be learned from the several presentments of the Grand Jury at successive periods, to wit:

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* The "Duke of York's law," still preserved in MS. on Long Island, shows that the price of beer was fixed in his colony at a penny a pint; and Penn, in 1683, speaks of abundance of malt beer in use then at the Inns.

In the year 1706, they present the "Free Landing of Vine Street" as necessary to be secured with the banks of the same, whereby the Front Street may not become, as it threatens to be, unfit to be passed with carts.

In 1713, they present as a nuisance the east end of Vine Street, where Front Street crosses it.

In 1718, they present a gully running down Vine Street and crossing Front Street, for that the same is not passable by coaches, wagons or carts, to the endangering of lives.

In 1719, they present several dangerous breaches, and among them that near the Penny-Pot House as almost unpassable.

In 1720, they again present a breach in the upper end of Front Street, near the Penny-Pot House, as unpassable for carts, and the cross-way of Vine Street and the Front Street, by Sassafras Street, almost unpassable.

In 1724, they present the bank at the end of Vine Street, being worn away to the middle of Front Street, and very dangerous. We thus perceive that the breach was the tumbling down of the river side bank, which, by successive rains rushing down Vine Street, had worn away the Front Street road half across that street.

Finally, in 1740, they present again "the Penny-Pot Landing and the east end of Vine Street," as encumbered with timber and plank, &c., by Samuel Hastings and Charles West.

In the original foundation of the city, it having been of easier access as a landing, it was chosen, as the best location for a cave, for the parents of John Key, from which cause he came to have his birth there as the first born of Philadelphia. The founder, in consideration of that distinction in his colony, presented a patent in his name for a large lot in Race Street—the same which he sold at his majority, in 1715, to Clement Plumstead, for only £12.

The lot adjoining Penny-Pot on the north was once distinguished by a row of threble stone houses of two stories, having a front and court yard on Front Street, shaded by great buttonwood trees, and the front on Water Street of three stories, projecting quite into the present street.* Its original appearance was striking from the river, and its own river prospect unrivalled. This then notable building, now down, received the name of "the College;" and, in 1770, the principal and owner, Mr. Griscom, advertised it as his beautiful private academy, far out of town, "free from the noise of the city, at the north end." It afterwards fell into decay and neglect, but still retained the name of "the College," but (as was said in my boyish days) because every chamber held separate families after the manner of a college,—the original use of it having been forgotten, and many poor families thus filling it up.

* The street there, as Water Street continued, was not recorded till about 48 years ago.

POOLE'S BRIDGE.

This bridge, crossing Pegg's Run at Front Street, was named as well as the neighbourhood, after one Poole, a Friend, who had his ship yard and dwelling on the hill there, called "Poole's Hill" in early days. It was then an establishment quite separate from the city population, and even from Front Street itself; for neither Front Street nor Water Street, which not long since united there, were then extended so far. "Poole's Hill" was therefore the name before the bridge was constructed there, and designated a high bluff, abruptly terminating the high table land of the city at its approach to Pegg's Run, and the overflowing marsh ground beyond it northward as high as Noble Lane and Duke Street. Poole's dwelling house was picturesque, and pleasantly situated on the west side of present Front Street, on a descending hill sloping westward, and giving a prospect up the Creek and into the adjacent country. A fine peach orchard lay along the line of the present Front Street as far south as Margaretta Street, and extended eastward, down the sloping green bank into the river. To this add his ship yard close to the margin of the creek, and the whole scene is grateful. The well of water, for which the place was famous, stood in the middle of the present Front Street. These facts were confirmed to me in general by Mr. Tallman, the butcher, and Mr. Norris the ship carpenter, near there, and by Mr. John Brown; all of whom, if now alive, would be severally about 100 years of age. They all concurred in saying that Front Street, when it reached near to present Margaretta Street, went off (down the hill) westward, so as to pass over Pegg's marsh meadow, 150 feet further westward than the present Front Street, which was itself a cause-way of late years.

It may serve in corroboration of some of the preceding facts to state, that by the Minutes of Friends, it appears that one Nathaniel Poole passed Meeting with Ann Till in the year 1714. In the year 1701, his name appeared on a jury list in my possession, and in 1708–9, William Poole appears as part owner of a vessel and sea-adventure. In the year 1754, a Mr. Carpenter advertises in the Gazette, that he has then "for sale, boards and staves on Poole's Hill, at the upper end of Front Street." This intimates, I presume, that before the building of Poole's Bridge, and making the causeway from it, northward, "the hill" ended the then town; and as the ship yard was probably then discontinued, the place was converted into a northern landing place for lumber, &c.

In the year 1713, the Grand Jury recommend a tax of one penny

per pound to be assessed, to pay for repair of road at Poole's Hill, and at the new bridge at Governor's Mill—Cohocksinc.

Mr. John Brown informed me that when Poole's Bridge was built, the Philadelphia masons would not undertake it, and Israel Roberts, from Maryland, was sent for to construct it. This was done about 85 years ago. The same year a northeast September gale beat it down. It was soon rebuilt again—say in 1755. The time is probably more accurately fixed by Secretary Peters; he, writing to Penn in 1747, says, "A new bridge made on the present line of Front Street over Pegg's Run, whereby the street now makes a fine view by a north entry of the town." The former low wooden bridge was further west.

The causeway from Front Street, which was formed in connection with the bridge in 1755, has been described to me by Mr. Thomas Bradford and J. Brown, to the following effect, to wit:

The road was formed with sluices made under it, so that tide-water flowed into the pond then along the eastern end of Pegg's meadow. This pond was probably caused by the former parallel causeway further to the westward making a barrier to the water. On the eastern side of Front Street, opposite to present Noble Street, was a long barrier or wharf, up to which the river came, and in the time of the war, seventeen of the row gallies lay there quite up to the street.

The late aged Timothy Matlack, Esq., told me there was a tradition of a sloop of war having once wintered at the creek at Poole's Bridge, and that when they were digging for a foundation for the bridge, they found articles which must have been dropped from such a vessel. There is in this relation something like an attempt at the story of the sword dug up at Second Street Bridge, on this run. But, as "sloops of war" in old times meant any sized armed vessels, it would be easy enough to conceive that vessels would be found getting out of the ice at Poole's ship yard. Of the once greater depth of the creek there can be no doubt, as Colonel A. J. Morris told me that his grand-parents had gone up it to Spring Garden Spring, in a boat, and made their tea there amid the trees and shrubbery.

The earliest built houses, near Poole's Bridge on the causeway, were Anthony Wilkinson's row on the western side, and Doctor Clifton's row on the eastern side. They had in that day some attempt at display, having brick columns in relief; but they were deemed an abortive speculation in both.

On the occasion of an extreme great freshet, the river water overflowed all the mounds and embankments, deluging the whole area of Pegg's meadows, and giving occasion to the Tallman family, who dwelt near there, to get into a boat and sail about to and fro as high up as to Third Street. This fact was told to me by Mrs. Tallman when she was past seventy,—and spoke of it as an event of fifty years before.

PENN'S COTTAGE IN LÆTITIA COURT.

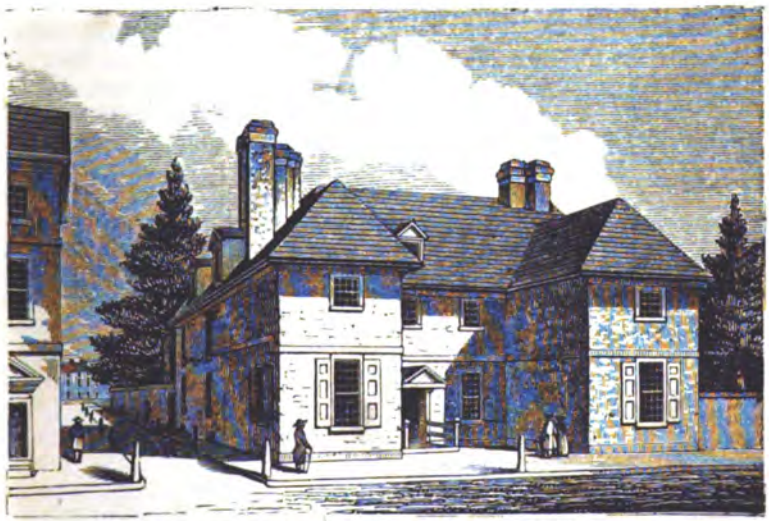
It is matter of inquiry and doubt with some, at this day, to fix which has been the house in Lætitia Court, wherein William Penn, the founder, and Colonel Markham, the Lieutenant Governor, dwelt. The popular opinion now is, that the Inn at the head of the court, occupied as the Leopard Inn, and since Penn Hall, is the identical house alluded to. The cause of this modern confidence is ascribable (even if there were no better ground of assurance) to the fact, that this building, since they built the additional end to the westward, of about eighteen to twenty feet, presents such an imposing front towards High Street, and so entirely closes the court at that end, (formerly open as a cart passage) that from that cause alone, to those not well informed, it looks as the principal house, and may have, therefore, been regarded by transient passengers as Penn's House.

The truth is, that for many years the great mass of the population had dropped or lost the tradition about Penn's House in the court; and it is only of later years, antiquities beginning to excite some attention, that the more intelligent citizens have revived some of their former hearings about the court. During all the earlier years of my life I never heard of Penn living there at all; but of later years I have. I have been, therefore, diligent to ask old men about it. Several said it never used to be spoken of in their youth. John Warder, an intelligent merchant, born at the corner house of the alley on High Street, told me, when he was about 73 years of age, that he never was told of Penn's living there, when a boy. On the other hand, a few old men have told me, that at every period of their life the tradition (though known to but few) was, that it was one of two houses, to wit—either Doyle's Inn, or the Old Rising Sun Inn, on the western side of the alley. Joseph Sansom, Esq., when about 60, told me he heard and believed it was the house at the head of the court, and so also some few others; but more persons, of more weight in due knowledge of the subject, have told me they had been always satisfied it was the Old Rising Sun Inn, on the western side of the court. Timothy Matlack, when aged 92, who was very inquisitive, and knew it from 14 years of age, said it was then the chief house in that court as to character; it was a very popular Inn for many years; (whereas Doyle's House was not an Inn till many years afterwards) that it then had an alley on its northern side for a cartway, running out to Second Street, and thus agreeing with "Penn's gate over against Friends' Meeting," &c., at which place his Council, 1685, required King James' proclamation to be read.

If what was lately Doyle's Inn, (Penn's Hall) had a south front, and



Penn's Cottage in Lætitia Court.—Page 158.



Slate Roof House, Penn's Residence.—Page 162.

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a "dead wall" towards High Street, it seems very difficult to conceive how its great gate could be *vis a vis* Friends' Great Meeting, on the southeast corner of High and Second Streets. But the Lætitia House, i. e. Old Rising Sun, would correspond; besides, Penn, in his instructions to his commissioners, says, "Pitch my house in the middle of the towne, and *facing* the harbour," &c.

Timothy Matlack also told me that he used to be told that on the southern side of that Rising Sun Inn was Penn's stable, and that they used to say he could lay in his bed or on his settee and hear his horses in the next building munching their food. Colonel Anthony Morris, when aged 84, told me expressly, he always understood the same house was Penn's residence; that it was so talked of, when a boy, and that it is only of later years that he ever heard a hint of the house at the head of the court as being the residence. Thomas Bradford, when 80 years of age, who was born close by there, and has always dwelt there, has told me he always heard the Rising Sun Inn, western side, was "Lætitia's House," and that what was lately Doyle's Inn was never stated as Penn's till of modern times, and in its primitive state it presented a dead wall to High Street, and had its only front upon Black Horse Alley.

The aged Robert Venables, who died in 1834, aged 98, told me that he knew the Lætitia House, on the *west* side of the court. It was the same which has been since "the Old Rising Sun Inn." "It had a shell over the door," in his time—"was very curiously worked in stucco." The house at the *head* of the court was never named as Penn's House. That house had its front to Black Horse Alley—old Johnson lived there and was a painter.

This name, "Lætitia's House," I found was a name which even those who thought the house at the head of the court was Penn's, granted that Lætitia Penn dwelt in, even while the father may have occupied the other. In this they were certainly in some error; Lætitia, being an unmarried girl, could never have had a separate house; she was not with her father till his second visit, in 1700. It was in Penn's first visit only, in 1682, that he could have dwelt there.

I infer from all the facts, that Penn had "his cottage" built there before his landing, by Colonel Markham;* that some of the finer work was imported for it with the first vessels; that he used it as often as not at his "palace" at Pennsbury. After him, it was used by Colonel Markham, his Deputy Governor; and afterwards for public offices. That in 1700, when he used the "Slate-House," corner of Second Street and Norris' Alley, having a mind to confer something upon his daughter, then with him, he gave her a deed, 1 mo. 29th, 1701, for all that half square laying on High Street, and including said house. Several years after this event, the people, as

* Gabriel Thomas, who said "he went out in the first ship," said he then saw "the first cellar digging for the use of our Governor."

was their custom, when the court began to be built up on each side of a "36 feet alley," having no name for it, they, in reference to the last conspicuous owner, called it Lætitia Court, in reference to the then most conspicuous house; the same house so given by Penn to his daughter. A letter, which I have, from William Penn, dated 1687,* says, "Your improvements (in Philadelphia) now require some conveniency above what my cottage has afforded you in times past." He means this "for the offices of state." In 1684–5, his letter to James Harrison, which I have seen and copied, allows "his cousin, Markham, to live in his house in Philadelphia, and that Thomas Lloyd, the Deputy Governor, should have the use of his periwigs, and any wines and beer he may have there left, for the use of strangers."

It may possibly be deemed over fanciful in me to express a wish to have this primitive house purchased by our Penn Association, and consecrated to future renown. I hope, indeed, the idea will yet generate in the breasts of some of my fellow-members the real poetry of the subject. It is all intellectual; and has had its warrant (if required) in numerous precedents abroad. We may now see written upon Melancthon's house in Wirtenburg, "Here lived and died Melancthon!" In the same city are still preserved "Luther's Room," his chair, table, and stove; and at Eisleben is seen a small house, bought and preserved by the king of Prussia, inscribed, "This is the house in which Luther was born."† Petrarch's house is not suffered to be altered. Such things, in every country, every intelligent traveller seeks out with avidity. Why, therefore, should we not retain for public exhibition the primitive house of Penn? Yea, whose foundation constituted "the first cellar dug in Philadelphia!" To proper minds, the going into the alley and narrow court to find the hallowed spot (now so humble) should constitute its chiefest interest. It would be the actual contrast between the beginning and the progress of our city.

Its exterior walls I would preserve with inviolate faithfulness; and within those walls (wherein space is ample, if partitions were removed) might be an appropriate and highly characteristic place of meeting for the ordinary business of the Penn Association and the Historical Society, and also for the exhibition of such paintings and relics as could now be obtained,—such as Penn's clock, his escritoire, writing table, &c., besides several articles to be had of some families, of curiously constructed furniture of the primitive days. The hint is thus given—will any now support the idea?

If we would contemplate this Lætitia House in its first relations,

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* See the original in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† This house, so kept to the memory of Luther, has its rooms hung with pictures, ancient and grotesque, and the rooms contain chairs, tables and other relics of the former possessor. An Album is there, in which the visiter inscribes his name from Luther's inkstand. *Vide* Dwight's travels.

we should consider it as having an open area to the river the whole width of the half square, with here and there retained an ornamental clump of forest trees and shrubbery on either side of an avenue leading out to the Front Street; having a garden of fruit trees on the Second Street side, and on Second Street "the Governor's gate," so called, "opposite to the lot of the Friends Great Meeting." By this gate the carriages entered and rode along the avenue by the north side of the house to the east front of the premises. This avenue remained an alley way long after, even to within the early memory of Timothy Matlack, who told me that he had seen it open as a commom passage into Second Street. The same was confirmed by Mr. Harris, a former owner, to Mr. Heberton, the present owner. Indeed, it is even now open and paved up to the rear of the house on Second Street.

This general rural appearance was all in accordance with Penn's known taste, and was doubtless so continued until the ground was apportioned out in thirty city lots, as expressed by James Logan in a letter to Lætitia Aubrey, in the year 1737, saying, "There was about 26 shillings per annum reserved upon the large city lot, divided into thirty smaller parts—seven on the Front Street, seven on Second Street, and eight on the High Street,—all of these at one shilling Pennsylvania money per annum, and those in Lætitia Court at six pence each" for the remaining eight lots there.

The following facts present scraps of information which may tend still further to illustrate the proper history of the premises, to wit:—

Penn's instructions to his commissioners, of 30th of 9 mo. 1681, says expressly, "Pitch upon the very middle of the platt of the towne, to be laid facing the harbour, for the situation of my house." Thus intimating, as I conceive, the choice of Lætitia Court, and intimating his desire to have it facing the river, "as the line of houses of the town should be."

It is stated in the Minutes of the Executive Council of the 11th of 3d mo. 1685, that the proclamation of James II., and the papers relative to the death of Charles II., and the speech of his successor, were solemnly read before the Governor's gate in the town of Philadelphia.

In 1721, the names of "Governor's lot" and of "Lætitia Court" are thus identified in the words of the Grand Jury, who present "the muddiness of the alley into Lætitia Court, formerly called the Governor's lot."

I have seen a letter of the 14th of 6 mo. 1702, from James Logan to Lætitia Penn, wherein he speaks of the sale of several of her lots, after the square had been divided. He says he had sold the first four of the Front Street lots for £450, which money he set out on interest, &c. Since then he had sold sixteen feet of the bank, clear of reversion, with a small High Street lot, to Thomas Masters for £230. The corner lot next the Meeting House he sold for £115,

and three High Street lots for 50 and £60 each; and the remaining four in the same street he hopes to sell soon. The whole sale effected is called £895, and shall continue to sell as occasion shall offer. He mentions also that he has agreed for the value of about £100 of her 15,000 acres, new tract of land, near New Castle County—estimated, then, as to sell at £20 per hundred. *Thy old mansion I do not touch with.* I hope in seven years to be able to raise thee a good portion from what is already settled on thee in this province. Be not too easily disposed of; it would be a scandal, that any of thy father's engagements should be an occasion to sacrifice thee to any but where true love officiates as priest. Thy marriage is commonly reported here, [as a measure to take place, to some one.]

We discern from the premises that lots on High Street, now so highly prized, brought only one-third the price of lots on Front Street, now so much lower. We perceive, too, distinct mention of his reservation of the one house, called her mansion.

Those who are curious to further explore this subject may find, in my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, much additional matter on pages 140 to 149, giving a table of descents of title to lots on the square, as deduced from Lætitia Penn, together with the brief presented me by Samuel Chew, Esq., and the testimony of sundry aged witnesses appearing in court, in 1822, to testify their early recollections concerning the Lætitia Court and the Inn at the head of the court.

It appears from the whole, that William Penn, by patent or deed, conveyed to Lætitia Penn, on the 1st mo. 29th, 1701, the ground on the south side of High Street, 175 feet deep, [making the present distance to Black-Horse Alley] and from Front to Second Street, 402 feet; granting unto her "all the houses, edifices, buildings, casements, liberties, profits, and commodities," thereunto belonging.

In early time it appears that Robert Ewer, a public Friend, became possessed of the lot, late Doyle's Inn, at the head of the court, and that he forthwith laid out the alley, since called the Black Horse Alley, so named from the sign of a tavern long held therein.

The plate given to illustrate the present subject shows the primitive house as it stood in earliest times, with an open front to the river, and with a coach passage on its northern side extending to "the gate" on Second Street, "over against the Great Meeting."

SLATE-ROOF HOUSE, PENN'S RESIDENCE.

——————"Now thou standest
In faded majesty, as if to mourn
The dissolution of an ancient race!"

THIS house, still standing at the southeast corner of Norris' Alley and Second Street, and now reduced to a lowly appearance, derives its chief interest from having been the residence of William Penn. The peculiarity of its original construction, and the character of several of its successive inmates, will enhance its interest to the modern reader. The facts concerning the premises, so far as may now be known, are generally these, to wit:

The house was originally built, in the early origin of the city, for Samuel Carpenter—certainly one of the earliest and greatest improvers of the primitive city. It was probably designed for his own residence, although he had other houses on the same square, nearer to the river. His portrait is owned by Isaac C. Jones.

It was occupied as the city residence of William Penn and family, while in Philadelphia on his second visit in 1700; in which house was born, in one month after their arrival, John Penn, "the American,"—the only one of the race ever born in the country. To that house therefore, humble, degenerated, and altered in aspect as it now is, we are to appropriate all our conceptions of Penn's employments, meditations, hopes, fears, &c., while acting as Governor and proprietary among us. In those doors he went in and out—up and down those stairs he passed—in those chambers he reposed—in those parlours he dined or regaled his friends—through those garden grounds they sauntered. His wife, his daughter Lætitia, his family and his servants, were there. In short, to those who can think and feel, the place "is filled with local impressions." Such a house should be rescued from its present forlorn neglect;* it ought to be bought and consecrated to some lasting memorial of its former character, by restoring its bastions and salient angles, &c. It would be to the credit of such Societies as the Historical and Penn Association, &c., to club their means to preserve it for their chambers, &c., as long as themselves and the city may endure! There is a moral influence in these measures that implies and effects much more in its influence on national action and feeling, than can reach the apprehension of superficial thinkers; who can only estimate its value by their conception of so much brick and mortar! It was feelings, such as I wish to see appreciated here, that aroused the ardour of Petrarch's towns-

* The same remark is applicable to Penn's cottage in Lætitia Court.

men, jealous of every thing consecrated by his name, whereby they ran together *en masse*, to prevent the proprietor of his house from altering it! Foreigners, we know, have honoured England by their eagerness to go to Bread Street, and there visit the house and chambers, once Milton's! It is in vain to deride the passion as futile; the charm is in the ideal presence, which the association has power to create in the imagination; and they who can command the grateful visions will be sure to indulge them. It is poetry of feeling—scoffs cannot repress it. It equally possessed the mind of Tully when he visited Athens; he could not forbear to visit the walks and houses which the old philosophers had frequented or inhabited. In this matter, says Dr. Johnson, "I am afraid to declare against the general voice of mankind." "The heart is stone that feels not at it; or, it feels at none!" Sheer insensibility, absorbed in its own selfishness, alone escapes the spell-like influence! Every nation, when sufficiently intellectual, has its golden and heroic ages; and the due contemplation of these relics of our antiquities presents the proper occasion for forming ours. These thoughts, elicited by the occasion, form the proper apology for whatever else we may offer to public notice in this way. There is a generation to come who will be grateful for all such notices.

After William Penn had left this house, on his intended return with his family to England, he, while aboard his return ship, the Messenger, (an appropriate name for the message and business he was purposing!) writes on the 3d of September, 1701, to James Logan, saying, "Thou may continue in the house I lived in till the year is up."

James Logan, in reply, in 1702, says, "I am forced to keep this house still, there being no accommodation to be had elsewhere for public business." In fact, he retained it as a government-house till 1704, when he and his coadjutors moved to Clark's Hall in Chestnut Street, afterwards Pemberton's Great House.

James Logan, in a letter to William Penn of 5th December, 1703, says, Samuel Carpenter has sold the house thou lived in to William Trent (the founder of Trenton, in 1719,) for £850.*

At this house Lord Cornbury, then Governor of New York and New Jersey, (son of Lord Clarendon, cousin of Queen Anne, &c.,) was banqueted in great style in 1702, on the occasion of his being invited by James Logan, from Burlington, where he had gone to proclaim the queen. Logan's letter, speaking of the event, says he was dined "equal, as he said, to any thing he had seen in America." At night he was invited to Edward Shippen's, (great house in south Second Street) where he was lodged, and dined with all his company, making a retinue of nearly thirty persons. He went back well pleased with his reception, via Burlington, in the Governor's

* William Trent began his settlement at Trenton, in 1719, by erecting mills there. He died there in 1724, in the office of Chief Justice of New Jersey.

barge, and was again banqueted at Pennsbury by James Logan, who had preceded him for that purpose. Lord Cornbury had a retinue of about fifty persons, which accompanied him thither in four boats. His wife was once with him in Philadelphia, in 1703. Penn, on one occasion, calls him a man of luxury and poverty. He was at first very popular; and having made many fine promises to Penn, it was probably deemed good policy to cheer his vanity by striking public entertainments. In time, however, his extravagant living, and consequent extortion, divested him of all respect among the people. Only one legendary tale respecting this personage has reached us: An old woman at Chester had told the Parker family she remembered to have seen him at that place, and having heard he was a lord, and a queen's cousin, she had eyed him with great exactness, and had seen no difference in him, from other men, but that he wore leather stockings!*

In 1709, "the slated-roof house of William Trent" is thus commended by James Logan as a suitable residence for him as Governor, saying, "William Trent, designing for England, is about selling his house, (that he bought of Samuel Carpenter) which thou lived in, with the improvement of a beautiful garden,"—then extending half way to Front Street, and on Second Street nearly down to Walnut Street. "I wish it could be made thine, as nothing in this town is so well fitting a Governor. His price is £900 of our money, which it is hard thou canst not spare. I would give 20 to £30 out of my own pocket that it were thine—nobody's but thine."

The house was, however, sold to Isaac Norris, who devised it to his son Isaac, through whom it has descended down to the present proprietor, Sally Norris Dickinson, his grandaughter.

It was occupied at one period, it is said, by Governor Hamilton, and, for many years preceding the war of Independence, it was deemed a superior boarding-house. While it held its rank as such, it was honoured with the company, and, finally, with the funeral honours of General Forbes, successor to General Braddock, who died in that house in 1759. The pomp of his funeral from that house surpassed all the simple inhabitants had before seen in their city. His horse was led in the procession, richly caparisoned,—the whole conducted in all "the pomp of war," with funeral dirges, and a military array with arms reversed,† &c.

In 1764, it was rented to be occupied as a distinguished boarding-house by the Widow Graydon, mother of Captain Graydon of Carlisle, who has left us his amusing "Memoirs of 60 years life in Pennsylvania." There his mother, as he informs us, had a great many gentry as lodgers. He describes the old house as very much of a castle in its construction, although built originally for a Friend.

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* William Penn, in one of his notes, says, "Pray send me my leather stockings."

† He had had great honours shown to him two years before for the capture of Fort du Quesne, (Fort Pitt.)

"It was 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 projected to the street in the manner of bastions, to which the main building, retreating from 16 to 18 feet, served for a curtain."* "It had a spacious yard, half way to Front Street, and ornamented with a double row of venerable lofty pines, which afforded a very agreeable *rus in urbe.*" She continued there till 1768–9, when she removed to Drinker's Big House, up Front Street near to Race Street. Graydon's anecdotes of distinguished persons, especially of British officers and gentry who were inmates, are interesting. John Adams, and other members of the first congress, had their lodgings in "the Slate-house."

The yard in front was two or three feet above the street, and was walled up higher than the grass plot within. Some of the lofty pines were still there in the Revolution. Mrs. Burdeau kept a ladies boarding-school in it, a daughter of General Wayne was one of the scholars.

The eccentric General Lee was buried from it, and put in Christ Church ground, close along side of Church Alley. "He wished not to lie within a mile of Presbyterian ground, as too bad company!"

RIVER-FRONT BANK.

The history of the "bank lots" on the river-front is a topic in which all, who can feel an interest in the comfort, beauty, or fame of our city, must have a concern. It was the original design of Penn to have beautified our city, by a most graceful and agreeable promenade on the high bank of the river-front, the whole length of the city. Thus intending Front Street to have had an uninterrupted view of the Delaware and river scenery, after the manner of the celebrated Bomb Quai at Rotterdam. How all those desirable purposes were frustrated, and how our admirable natural advantages for an elegant river display, have been superseded by a cramped and inconvenient street and houses, shall be communicated to the reader in the following facts, to wit:

We find, from the Citizens' Memorial of the 3d of 6 mo. 1684, the first open attempt to make some breach in the original plan, but the direct manner in which they were repelled by William Penn, is evidence how much he then had it at heart to preserve "the top

* We may say of this house:—"Trade has changed the scene;" for the recess is since filled out to the front with store windows, and the idea of the bastions, though they are still there, is lost.

bank as a common Exchange or walk." The memorialists claimed "the privilege to build vaults or stores in the bank against their respective lots," on the western side of Front Street. His answer is not known at full length; but his endorsement on the petition speaks thus, viz: "The bank is a top common from end to end. The rest next the water belongs to front lot men (i. e. owners on Front Street) no more than back lot men. The way bounds them. They may build stairs, and the top of the bank be a common Exchange or walk; and against the streets, (opening to the river) common wharves may be built freely, but into the water and the shore, is no purchaser's"

The assembly too, addressed Penn on the 20th September, 1701, "concerning property," and his answer is, "I am willing to grant the ends of streets according to your request;" therein showing that the general bank was deemed out of the question.

A paper of the 26th April, 1690, from Penn's commissioners of property, combined with a confession from William Penn to James Logan, which we shall presently show, presents us the evidence of the time and the motive for the fatal concession of the bank lots to those who would become purchasers. The persons entitled to the discredit of thus marring our intended beautiful city, were Samuel Carpenter, William Markham, Robert Turner, and John Goodson. They state, that "Whereas, they have been petitioned by holders of bank lots to grant them the further privilege to build on the same, as much higher as they please, on the former terms, they therefore declare their concurrence with the same, because the more their improvements are [in elevation or value] the greater will be the proprietor's benefit at the expiration of said fifty-one years in the said patents mentioned."

It appears from this paper, that before the year 1690, the grants were only occasional to some few special circumstances or friends, and particularly to Samuel Carpenter, whose public buildings on the wharf near Walnut Street were considerable. For these indulgences they also allured, by a covenant, of giving back to the proprietary at the end of fifty-one years, one-third of their improvements. To a needy patron, such as Penn was, the right of selling out the purposed improvements, presented, as they may have thought, an appeal to his actual wants, which might eventually reconcile him to their extra-official concessions.

How mortified and vexed must Penn have felt on his second arrival in 1699, to witness the growing deformity of his city, and to see how far individual interest had swerved his agents from the general good! Logan's letter of 1741, to Penn's son, in explanation of the preceding facts, shows how sensibly Penn regretted the measures so taken, even while his circumstances prevented his reversing and cancelling the things already done; as if he had said: "Mine necessity, not my will, hath done this." Logan's letter says, "Thy father himself acknowledged when here (last) that he owed [as a cause] those high quit-rents for the bank of Philadelphia, and the reversion

of the third of the value [ground and all] after fifty years, entirely to Samuel Carpenter, who, much against his (Penn's) inclinations, had tempted him, with them, to suffer himself [S. C.] and other purchasers in Front to build on the east side of that street; and he [S. C.] subscribed with Jonathan Dickinson and others to have a price set in the reversion of the said thirds, which was then done at 20 shillings per foot, now very near forty years since, with a view to raise a sum which was then exceedingly wanted."

Thus, even Penn, who should have had his equivalent for so essential a deformity engrafted upon this city, after all, got not the proffered benefit of fifty years accumulation of value in houses and lots, but a small present sum in lieu; and we have now the entail of their selfish scheme! I feel vexed and chagrined, while I pen this article, to think for what mere personal purposes fair Philadelphia was so much marred! We were once tempted, to propose the expense of opening a river prospect to the river from Arch to Chestnut Street, or, at least, striving so far to repair the loss sustained, as to make a water promenade *under a continued line of trees*, the whole length of the river-front. A well paved straight street could be effected along the wharves, by extending some of the present docks, and thereby giving room for ranging the fronts of the stores and trees on the western side in a direct and uniform line, and suffering no kind of buildings in their front.

Since the first publication of the Annals, a writer in Poulson's paper says, that "the proposition of the late Mr. Girard to *restore*, so far as possible, the spoiled river-front, is so like the suggestion made in Watson's Annals, that it may be curious, now that the subject is likely to invite much public attention, to give your readers an extract from that book. I remember well, when reading it, that I thought, "shall we indeed, ever find persons to adopt the hint," and now, behold, we have the measure endorsed by a bequest of half a million to effect the desirable object!" He then quotes the passage in the preceding paragraph, as matter in point.

In September 1832, the Cholera physicians of Philadelphia put forth a memorial to the City Council, urging the advantage of taking down the city front along the river, both for health and beauty.

Soon after there appeared several articles in Poulson's Gazette, recommending and arguing upon the advantages of such a measure, by Philadelphus, Civis, S. P., and others—and finally, in July, 1833, we saw a hint to this effect, saying, "now that we have Committees appointed to consider and report upon the matter of the "Delaware Avenue," we think the time is favourable to introduce the original design of the *open* River-Front—a topic which has already been under notice in the public prints."

Finally—this thing, we are glad to say, has been partially attended to in the will of Stephen Girard—it is not all that was desired, but it is still an improvement—so far as it goes. It has already cost 200,000 dollars, and would be much improved by a *line of trees.*

The progress of Penn's dissatisfaction at his agent's management, and his own reluctant compliances, may be further noticed in James Logan's letter of 1702, and Penn's reply of 1703–4. James Logan says, "For this past year, we have sold but 165 feet of the banks, [perhaps a fact evincing its unpopularity] of which good part is yet unpaid according to thy concession, who, under thy hand, granted two years for the latter moiety. This backwardness was foolishly occasioned by P. Parmiter a few days after thy departure, who affirmed that thy right extended no further than to the edge of the river. This discouraged many." In another place he says, "The bank does in no way answer to sell out;—only two patents granted."*

In 1703–4, William Penn writes, saying, "I will have no more bank lots disposed of, nor keys yet made into the river, without my special and fresh leave, for reasons justifiable." And this he confirms soon after, by saying, "Till further orders, I will have no bank lots sold, and never the 20 shilling per lot, on any account. Pray mind this. I have good reasons for it at present."

Among the early favoured persons, who had the indulgence of the bank lots, was Thomas Masters, who, in the year 1702, built "a stately house, five stories from the lower street and three the upper, at the corner of High and Front Streets." And soon after, says James Logan, "T. Masters has built another stately house, the most substantial in town, on Lætitia's Bank Lot, which, for the improvement of the place, was sold him for £190 sterling, including the reversion."

In the year 1705, the bank lot owners being required to regulate King Street, their fewness of names and number are only these, to wit: Hugh Codderey, Michael Isbern, Isaac Norris, Edward Shippen, Henry Badcock, Smith Carpenter, Isaac Norris, Abraham Buckley, Samuel Powell, Thomas Tresse, Joseph Pidgeon.

From the vague manner in which those few names "are required to enter into measures to regulate King Street" (the present Water Street,) I think we can form a guess how we came to have so ill-concerted and contracted a thoroughfare. With such abundance of earth as they had in the bank lots, it was easy to have determined upon and made a wide and straight street; but the selfish policy which first started the expedient of spoiling the river-front for private aims, conducted the primitive leaders in their measures to the shortest means of personal benefit. Where "all did what was right in their own eyes" only, it was easy to suit themselves for the occasion with a narrow street, and those who came after them had to follow it. The subject presents no point in which we can be gratified, or yield our commendation.

We shall now conclude with some notices of occurrences at or near the bank in early days, to wit:

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* In 1701, a letter of Penn's inquired:—"What if I had 12 pence per foot to low water mark forever!"

In 1701, the Grand Jury present High Street hill "as a great nuisance, and a place of great danger in passing Front Street, and to the utter ruin of said street and public landing there; and, whereas, there are also other breaches, places and landings within the town which require repair, the Governor and Council order that £500 be assessed on the inhabitants for effecting the same."

In 1712, they present the well at the end of High Street near the river—the same wants to be covered,—and King Street, at the same place, to be made cartable. Thus showing, that if the well be near the river, and at the same time on King Street, (Water Street) the river shore was then close to the hill or bank. We know, in proof of this, that the house of Donaldson, at the northeast corner of Water and High Streets, was, for many years after it was built, subject to water in its cellars in times of freshets.

In 1720, an invasion of water "on the common shore," as made into King Street, is noticed: and the Grand Jury present as "a nuisance, a great breach in the bank, and passing into Front Street above Mulberry Street and below Griffith's new wall,"—meaning his wall to keep up the river bank.

In 1721, the Grand Jury present, as out of repair and dangerous, the "Crooked Billet steps," above Chestnut Street.

In 1723, the Grand Jury present "deep gullies from Front Street, where the arch stood, to the arch wharf,"—meaning at the east end of Mulberry Street.

In 1725, the Grand Jury present "the east end of Sassafras Street, the bank being washed away almost across the Front Street; also the Front Street, against the houses late of John Jones, deceased, [now end of Combes' Alley] as hardly passable for horse or cart." They also present "the wall on the common shore in the High Street for want of a better covering."

A. J. Morris, Esq., when 90 years of age, told me that the bank side of Front Street was unbuilt in several places in his youth. He used, like John Brown, to sled down the open hill, opposite to Combes' Alley. From High Street to Arch Street was very open, especially from the bank steps at Clifford's, northward. Below High Street it was full built up; but from Arch up to Vine Street, many places were still open. The east side of Water Street was generally built up, and the best families were living there.

In my youth, I saw the only remaining original shore of the city unwharfed; it was called Taylor's Dock, above Vine Street; there numerous horses were daily sent to be swam out and washed. It was a place of considerable width. At the Dock Bridge too, north side, was a similar dock, used for like purposes. At both places shallops brought loads of stone and street pebbles, which they unloaded into the carts, as the carts backed into the water along side of the vessels.

THE CAVES.

Most Philadelphians have had some vague conceptions of the caves and cabins in which the primitive settlers made their temporary residence. The caves were generally formed by digging into the ground, near the verge of the river-front bank, about three feet in depth; thus making half their chamber under ground; and the remaining half above ground was formed of sods of earth, or earth and brush combined. The roofs were formed of layers of limbs, or split pieces of trees, over-laid with sod or bark, river rushes, &c. The chimneys were of stones and river pebbles, mortared together with clay and grass, or river reeds. The following facts may illustrate this subject, to wit:

An original paper is in John Johnson's family, of the year 1683, which is an instrument concerning a division of certain lands, and "executed and witnessed in the cave of Francis Daniel Pastorius, Esq."

On the 17th of 9 mo. 1685, it was ordered by the provincial executive Council, that all families living in caves should appear before the Council. What a group they must have made! This order was occasioned by the representations of the magistrates of Philadelphia, and enforced by a letter they had received from Governor Penn, in England. No one, however, thought proper to obey the order. The Council gave "further notice" that the Governor's orders relating to the caves will be put in execution in one month's time.

In 1685, the Grand Jury present Joseph Knight, for suffering drunkenness and evil orders in his cave; and several drinking houses to debauch persons are also presented. They also present all the empty caves that do stand in the Front Street, "which is to be sixty feet wide," wherefore, the court orders that they forthwith "be pulled down," by the constables, and "demolished;" [terms intimating they were in part above ground,] and upon request of John Barnes and Patrick Robinson, [the Clerk of Council,] who asked one month to pull down their respective caves, it was granted, on condition that they fill up the hole in the street. On another occasion, they are called Caves, or "Cabins," on the king's high way.

The interesting story concerning the cave at the Crooked Billet, at which the ancestors of Deborah Morris dwelt, has been told under the article "Primitive Settlement."

Mrs. Hannah Speakman, when aged 75, told me that she well remembered having seen and often played at an original cave, called "Owen's Cave." It was in "Townsend's Court," on the south side of Spruce Street, west of Second Street, on a shelving bank.

It was dug into the hill—had grass growing upon the roof part, which was itself formed of close-laid timber. The same man who had once inhabited it was still alive, and dwelt in a small frame house near it. Near the cave stood a large apple tree, and close by, on "Barclay's place," so called, she often gathered filberts and hickory nuts. The whole was an unimproved place only 80 years ago; it being, from some cause, suffered to lay waste by the Barclay heirs.

John Brown, and others, told me that the original cave of the Coates' Family, in the Northern Liberties, was preserved in some form in the cellar of the family mansion, which remained till 1830, at the southwest corner of Green and Front Streets.

HABITS AND STATE OF SOCIETY.

Not to know what has been transacted in former times, is always to remain a child!
CICERO.

IT is our intention (so far as facts will enable us) to raise some conceptions of the men and things as they existed in former years, chiefly such as they were when every thing partook of colonial submission and simplicity—when we had not learnt to aspire to great things. To this end we shall here dispose our collections from "narrative old age," and show the state of the past "glimmering through the dream of things that were."

Gabriel Thomas, in his account, of 1698, of the primitive state of society, speaks of great encouragements and ready pay given to all conditions of tradesmen and working men. None need stand idle. Of lawyers and physicians he remarks he will say little, save that their services were little required, as all were peaceable and healthy. Women's wages he speaks of as peculiarly high, for two reasons: the sex was not numerous, which tended to make them in demand, and therefore to raise the price. Besides, as these married by the time they were twenty years of age, they sought to procure a maid-servant for themselves in turn. Old maids were not to be met with, neither jealousy of husbands. The children were generally well favoured and beautiful to behold. He says he never knew any with the least blemish. William Penn also made the remark, on his arrival, that all the houses of the Dutch and Swedes he found every where filled with a lusty and fine looking race of children.

Numerous traditionary accounts attest the fact, that there was always among the early settlers a frank and generous hospitality. Their entertainments were devoid of glare and show, but always abundant

and good. Mr. Kalm, when here in 1748, expressed his great surprise at the universal freedom with which travellers were every where accustomed to leap over the hedges and take the fruit from the orchards, even while the owners were looking on, without refusal. Fine peaches, he says, were thus taken from the orchards of the poorest peasants, such as could only be enjoyed, as he said, by the nobility in his own country! What a golden age it must have appeared to him and others!

William Fishbourne, in his MS. narrative of about the same time, says, "Thus Providence caused the country to flourish and to increase in wealth, to the admiration of all people,—the soil being fruitful and the people industrious. For many years there subsisted a good concord and benevolent disposition among the people of all denominations, each delighting to be reciprocally helpful and kind in acts of friendship for one another."

Moral as the people generally were, and well disposed to cherish a proper regard for religious principles, it became a matter of easy attainment to the celebrated Whitfield and his coadjutors, Tennant, Davenport, &c., to gain a great ascendency over the minds of many of the people. The excitements wrought among them were very considerable. He procured in Philadelphia to be built for him one of the largest churches then in the colonies, and his helper, Tennant, another. It is manifest enough now that the ardour of success generated considerable of fanaticism and its consequent reproach.* Whitfield, in 1739, preached to a crowd of 15,000 persons on Society Hill. About the same time he so far succeeded to repress the usual public amusements as that the dancing-school was discontinued, and the ball and concert room were shut up, as inconsistent with the requisitions of the gospel. No less than fourteen sermons were preached on Society Hill in open air, in one week, during the session of the Presbyterian Church; and the Gazette of the day, in noticing the fact, says, "The change to religion here is altogether surprising, through the influence of Whitfield—no books sell but religious, and such is the general conversation."

Doctor Franklin, describing the state of the people about the year 1752, says they were all loyal and submitted willingly to the government of the crown, or paid for defence cheerfully. "They were led by a thread. They not only had a respect, but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs, and its manners, and even a fondness for its fashions,"—*not yet subsided.* Natives of Great Britain were always treated with particular regard; and to be "an Old England man" gave a kind of rank and respect among us."

The old people all testify that the young of their youth were much

* This is manifest by numerous publications of the day. Rev. Mr. Cummings of Christ Church, and Rev. E. Kinnersly, Professor, among others, published against them. Both Whitfield and Tennant lived long enough afterwards to make their confessions of intemperate zeal.

more reserved, and held under much more restraint in the presence of their elders and parents, than now. Bashfulness and modesty in the young were then regarded as virtues; and the present freedom before the aged was not then countenanced. Young lovers then listened and took side-long glances when before their parents or elders.

Mrs. Susan N——, who lived to be 80 years of age, told me it was the custom of her early days for the young part of the family, and especially of the female part, to dress up neatly towards the close of the day and sit in the street porch. It was customary to go from porch to porch in neighbourhoods and sit and converse. Young gentlemen in passing, used to affect to say, that while they admired the charms of the fair who thus occupied them, they found it a severe ordeal, as they thought they might become the subject of remark. This, however, was a mere banter. Those days were really very agreeable and sociable. To be so easily gratified with a sight of the whole city population, must have been peculiarly grateful to every travelling stranger. In truth, we have never seen a citizen who remembered the former easy exhibition of families, who did not regret its present exclusive and reserved substitute.

The same lady told me it was a common occurrence to see genteel men after a fall of snow shovelling it away from their several doors. She has told me the names of several who would not now suffer their children to do the same.

The late aged John Warder, Esq., told me that in his younger days he never knew of more than five or six persons at most, in the whole city, who did not live on the same spot where they pursued their business,—a convenience and benefit now so generally departed from by the general class of traders. Then wives and daughters very often served in the stores of their parents, and the retail dry goods business was mostly in the hands of widows or maiden ladies.

Mrs. S. N. also informed me that she remembers having been at houses when tea was a rarity, and has seen the quantity measured out for the tea pot in small hand-scales. This was to apportion the strength with accuracy.

In her early days, if a citizen failed in business it was a cause of general and deep regret. Every man who met his neighbour spoke of his chagrin. It was a rare occurrence, because honesty and temperance in trade was then universal; and none embarked then without a previous means adapted to their business.

Another lady, Mrs. H., who saw things before the war of Independence, says she is often amused with the exclamation of her young friends, as she points them now to houses of a second or third rate tradesman, and says, "in that house such and such a distinguished man held his banquets." Dinners and suppers went the round of every social circle at Christmas, and they who partook of the former were also expected to remain for the supper. Afternoon visits were made, not at night, as now, but at so early an hour as to permit matrons to go home and see their children put to bed.

I have often heard aged citizens say, that decent citizens had a universal speaking acquaintance with each other, and every body promptly recognised a stranger in the streets. A simple, or idiot person, was known to the whole population. Every body knew Bobby Fox, and habitually jested with him as they met him. Michael Weaders, too, was an aged idiot, whom all knew and esteemed; so much so, that they actually engraved his portrait as a remembrancer of his benignant and simple face. See a copy in my MS. Annals in the City Library, page 284.

Doctor Franklin has said, that before the war of Independence "to be an Old England man gave a kind of rank and respect among us." I introduce this remark for the sake of observing, that for many years after that war, even till nearly down to the present day, I can remember that we seemed to concede to English gentlemen a claim, which they were not backward to arrogate, that they were a superior race of men; this, too, from their having been familiar at home with superior displays of grandeur, more conveniences of living, higher perfections in the arts, &c., and, above all, as having among them a renowned race of authors, poets, &c. Their assumptions, in consequence, were sometimes arrogant or offensive. And I remember to have felt with others some disparagement in the comparison. If it were only to speak of their grand navy, we felt diminutive when we heard big tales of their "Royal George"—the grandeur of their "great fleet," &c.,—we who had never seen more among us than a single frigate. But the time is now passing off,—we have in turn become renowned and great. Our navy has become respectable; our entertainments have become splendid and costly. I have lived withal, to find that even we, who before cowered, have taken our turn of being lordly; which we manifest in the offensive deportment of a mother country to our numerous colonies in the west, &c. I only "speak what I do know" when I say, I have seen Philadelphians and New Yorkers, as metropolitans, assuming airs of importance at Washington City, at Pittsburg, at Cincinnati, at New Orleans, &c. Those pretensions of our vanity formerly in those places will subside and pass away; already they will scarcely be observed there, and could hardly have been believed but for this remembrancer, which shows, indeed, the general state of rising society in this new country.

The tradesmen before the Revolution (I mention these facts with all good feeling) were an entirely different generation of men from the present. They did not then, as now, present the appearance in dress of gentlemen. Between them and what were deemed the hereditary gentlemen there was a marked difference. "The gentry think scorn of leather aprons," said Shakspeare. In truth, the aristocracy of the gentlemen then was noticed, if not felt, and it was to check any undue assumption of ascendency in them, that the others invented the rallying name of "the Leather Apron Club,"—a name with which they were familiar before Franklin's "junta"

was formed, and received that other name. In that day the tradesmen and their families had far less pride than now. While at their work, or in going abroad on weekdays, all such as followed rough trades, such as carpenters, masons, coopers, blacksmiths, &c., universally wore a leathern apron before them, and covering all their vest. Dingy buckskin breeches, once yellow, and check shirts and a red flannel jacket was the common wear of most working men; and all men and boys from the country were seen in the streets in leather breeches and aprons, and would have been deemed out of character without them. In those days, tailors, shoemakers and hatters waited on customers to take their measures, and afterwards called with garments to fit them on before finished.

One of the remarkable incidents of our republican principles of equality, is, that hirelings, who in times before the war of Independence were accustomed to accept the name of servants, and to be dressed according to their condition, will now no longer suffer the former appellation; and all affect the dress and the air, when abroad, of genteeler people than their business warrants. Those, therefore, who from affluence have many such dependants, find it a constant subject of perplexity to manage their pride and assumption.

In the olden time all the hired women wore short-gowns and linsey-woolsey or worsted petticoats. Some are still alive who used to call master and mistress, who will no longer do it.

These facts have been noticed by the London Quarterly Review, which instances a case highly characteristic of their high independence: A lady, who had a large gala party, having rung somewhat passionately at the bell to call a domestic, was answered by a girl opening the saloon door, saying, "the more you ring the more I won't come," and so withdrew! Now all hired girls appear abroad in the same style of dress as their ladies; for,

> "Excess, the scrofulous and itchy plague
> That seizes first the opulent, descends
> To the next rank contagious! and in time
> Taints downwards all the graduated scale."

So true it is that every condition of society is now changed from the plain and unaffected state of our forefathers,—all are

> "Infected with the manners and the modes
> They knew not once!"

Before the Revolution no hired man or woman wore any shoes so fine as calf skin; coarse neat's leather was their every day wear. Men and women then hired by the year,—men got £16 to 20, and a servant woman £8 to 10. Out of that it was their custom to lay up money, to buy before their marriage a bed and bedding, silver teaspoons, and a spinning-wheel, &c.

A lady of my acquaintance, Mrs. H., familiar with those things as they were before the Revolution, has thus expressed her sense of them, viz. In the olden time domestic comfort was not every day

interrupted by the pride and the profligacy of servants. There were then but few hired,—black slaves, and German and Irish redemptioners made up the mass. Personal liberty is, unquestionably, the inherent right of every human creature; but the slaves of Philadelphia were a happier class of people than the free blacks now, who exhibit every sort of wretchedness and profligacy in their dwellings. The former felt themselves to be an integral part of the family to which they belonged; they were faithful and contented, and affected no equality in dress or manners with those who ruled them; every kindness was extended to them in return.

Among the rough amusements of men might be mentioned, shooting, fishing, and sailing parties. These were frequent, as also glutton clubs, fishing-house and country parties were much indulged in by respectable citizens. Great sociability prevailed among all classes of citizens until the strife with Great Britain sent "every man to his own ways;" then discord and acrimony ensued, and the previously general friendly intercourse never returned. We afterwards grew another and enlarged people.

Our girls in the day-time, as told me by T. B., used to attend to the work of the family, and in the evening paraded in their porch at the door. Some of them, however, even then read novels and walked without business abroad. Those who had not housework employed themselves in their accomplishments, such as making shell work, cornucopiæs, working of pocket books with a close strong-stitched needle work.

Our present young ladies have scarcely a conception of the painstaking and patient industry of their grandmothers in their shell work and other accomplishments. To give only one instance of illustration: the present Mrs. Susan Eckard, (daughter of Col. James Read,) has now in her possession such shell work done by her mother before the Revolutionary war. It purports to show a flower-garden with persons therein. It is contained in a glass framed work, as large as a small bureau. There is also, done by the same hand, an exhibition of flowers, formed wholly from small silk-cuttings, the whole comprised in a long glass case, to cover the whole length of the mantelpiece. With the same lady is a needle-worked sampler of the year 1752, done in silk and golden thread. She has also the fans in fine preservation, which were those of her grandmother and mother, at their several weddings; also the *high* heeled satin shoes. All these are preserved (with several other family relics, such as lockets, rings, coral balls, plate, &c.,) as so many links of union, connecting the present with past family respect and regard.

The ladies, eighty years ago, were much accustomed to ride on horseback for recreation. It was quite common to see genteel ladies riding with jockey caps.

Boarding schools for girls were not known in Philadelphia until about the time of the Revolution, nor had they any separate schools for writing and cyphering, but were taught in common with boys.

The ornamental parts of female education were bestowed, but geography and grammar were never regarded for them, until a certain Mr. Horton—thanks to his name!—proposed to teach those sciences to young ladies. Similar institutions afterwards grew into favour.

It was usual in the Gazettes of 1760 to '70 to announce marriages in words like these, to wit: "Miss Betsey Laurence, or Miss Eliza Caton, a most agreeable lady, with a large or a handsome fortune!"

In still earlier times marriages had to be promulged by affixing the intentions of the parties on the Court House or Meeting House door; and when the act was solemnized they should have at least twelve subscribing witnesses. The act which imposed it was passed in 1700.

The wedding entertainments of olden times were very expensive and harassing to the wedded. The house of the parent would be filled with company to dine; the same company would stay to tea and to supper. For two days punch was dealt out in profusion. The gentlemen saw the groom on the first floor, and then ascended to the second floor, where they saw the bride; there every gentleman, even to one hundred in a day, kissed her! Even the plain Friends submitted to these things. I have known rich families which had 120 persons to dine—the same who had signed their certificate of marriage at the Monthly Meeting; these also partook of tea and supper. As they formally passed the Meeting twice, the same entertainment was repeated. Two days the male friends would call and take punch; and all would kiss the bride. Besides this, the married pair for two weeks saw large tea parties at their home, having in attendance every night the groomsman and bridesmaids. To avoid expense and trouble, Friends have since made it sufficient to pass but one Meeting. When these marriage entertainments were made, it was expected also that punch, cakes and meats should be sent out very generally in the neighbourhood even to those who were not visiters in the family!

It was much the vogue of the times of the year 1760, and thereabouts, to "crack the satiric thong" on the offenders of the day by caricatures. R. J. Dove, of that day, a teacher in the Academy, and a satirist, was the author of several articles in that way. He was encountered in turn by one Isaac Hunt, who went afterwards to England and became a clergyman there. Two such engraved caricatures and some poetry I have preserved in my MS. Annals in the City Library, pages 273–4: One is "the attempt to wash the blackamoor white," meaning Judge Moor; the other is a caricature of Friends, intended to asperse them as promoting Indian ravages in the time of their "association for preserving peace." I have also two other engraved articles and poetry called "The Medley" and "The Counter Medley," intended for electioneering squibs and slurring the leaders. The late Judge Peters, who had been Dove's pupil, described him as "a sarcastical and ill-tempered doggerelizer, who was but

ironically Dove; for his temper was that of a hawk, and his pen the beak of a falcon pouncing on innocent prey."

It may surprise some of the present generation to learn that some of those aged persons whom they may now meet, have teeth which were originally in the heads of others! I have seen a printed advertisement of the year 1784, wherein Doctor Le Mayeur, dentist, proposes to the citizens of Philadelphia to transplant teeth; stating therein, that he has successfully transplanted 123 teeth in the preceding six months! At the same time he offers two guineas for every tooth which may be offered to him by "persons disposed to sell their front teeth or any of them!" This was quite a novelty in Philadelphia; the present care of the teeth was ill understood then.* He had, however, great success in Philadelphia, and went off with a great deal of our patricians' money. Several respectable ladies had them implanted. I remember some curious anecdotes of some cases. One of the Meschianza belles had such teeth. They were, in some cases, two months before they could eat with them. One lady told me she knew of sixteen cases of such persons among her acquaintance.

Doctor Baker, who preceded Le Mayeur, was the first person ever known as a dentist in Philadelphia. Tooth-brushes were not even known, and the genteelest then were content to rub the teeth with a chalked rag or with snuff. Some even deemed it an effeminacy in men to be seen cleaning the teeth at all.

Of articles and rules of diet, so far as it differed from ours in the earliest time, we may mention coffee as a beverage, was used but rarely; chocolate for morning and evening, or thickened milk for children. Cookery in general was plainer than now. In the country, morning and evening repasts were generally made of milk, having bread boiled therein, or else thickened with pop-robbins,—things made up of flour and eggs into a batter, and so dropped in with the boiling milk.

We shall give the reader some little notice of a strange state of our society about the years 1793 to 1798, when the phrenzy of the French Revolution possessed and maddened the boys, without any check or restraint from men half as puerile then as themselves in the delusive politics of the day.

About the year 1793 to '94, there was an extravagant and im politic affection for France, and hostility to every thing British, in our country generally. It required all the prudence of Washington and his cabinet to stem the torrent of passion which flowed in favour of France to the prejudice of our neutrality. Now the event is passed we may thus soberly speak of its character. This remark is made for the sake of introducing the fact, that the patriotic mania was so high that it caught the feelings of the boys of Philadelphia!

* Indeed, dentists were few then even in Paris and London.

I remember with what joy we ran to the wharves at the report of cannon to see the arrivals of the Frenchmen's prizes,—we were so pleased to see the British union down! When we met French mariners or officers in the streets, we would cry "Vive la Republique." Although most of us understood no French, we had caught many national airs, and the streets, by day and night, resounded with the songs of boys, such as these: "Allons, enfans de la patrie, le jour de gloire est arrivé!"&c.—"Dansons le carmagnolé, vive le sang! vive le sang!" &c.—"A ç'ira, ç'ira," &c. Several verses of each of these and others were thus sung. All of us, too, put on the national cockade. Some, whose parents had more discretion, resisted this boyish parade of patriotism for a doubtful revolution, and then they wore their cockade on the inside of their hat. I remember several boyish processions; and on one occasion the girls, dressed in white and in French tri-coloured ribbons, formed a procession too. There was a great Liberty Pole, with a red cap at top, erected at Adet's or Fauchet's house; (now Girard's Square, up High Street) and there I and one hundred others, taking hold of hands and forming a ring round the same, made triumphant leapings singing the national airs. There was a band of music to lead the airs. I remember that among the grave and elderly men, who gave the impulse and prompted the revellings, was a burly, gouty old gentleman, Blair M'Clenahan, Esq., (famed in the democratic ranks of that day) and with him, and the white misses at our head, we marched down the middle of the dusty street, and when arrived opposite to Mr. Hammond's, the British minister's house, (High, above Eighth Street, Hunter's house, I believe,) there were several signs of disrespect manifested to his house. All the facts of that day, as I now contemplate them as among the earliest impressions of my youth, seem something like the remembrance of a splendid dream. I hope never to see such an enthusiasm for any foreigners again, however merited. It was a time, when, as it seems to me, that Philadelphia boys usurped the attributes of manhood; and the men, who should have chastened us, had themselves become very puerile! It was a period in Philadelphia, when reason and sobriety of thought had lost their wonted operation on our citizens. They were fine feelings to ensure the success of a war actually begun, but bad affections for any nation, whose interests lay in peace and neutrality. Washington bravely submitted to become unpopular to allay and repress this dangerous foreign attachment.

I confirm the above by further notices by Lang Syne, to wit: "About the time when, in Paris, the head of Louis, "our august ally," had rolled into the basket; when it had been pronounced before the Convention, "Lyons is no more;" when the Abbe Sieyes had placed in his pigeon holes (until called for) Constitutions for every State in Europe; when our Mr. Monroe had exhibited to Europe "a strange spectacle;" when the three grinning wolves of

Paris had begun to lap French blood; while Lieutenant Bonaparte, of the artillery, was warming his scabbard in the ante-chamber of Barras; when the straw-blaze of civil liberty, enkindled in France by a "spark from the altar of '76," (which only sufficiently illuminated the surrounding gloom of despotism, as to render the "darkness visible,") was fast going out, leaving only the blackened embers, and a smoke in the nostrils. About this time, almost every vessel arriving here brought fugitives from the infuriated negroes in Port au Prince, or the sharp axe of the guillotine in Paris, dripping night and day with the blood of Frenchmen, shed in the name of liberty, equality, and the (sacred) rights of man. Our city thronged with French people of all shades from the colonies, and those from Old France, giving it the appearance of one great hotel, or place of shelter for strangers hastily collected together from a raging tempest. The characteristic old school simplicity of the citizens, in manners, habits of dress, and modes of thinking and speaking on the subjects of civil rights and forms of government, by the square and rule of reason and argument, and the "rules of the schools," began to be broken in upon by the new enthusiasm of C'ira and Carmagnole. French boarding-houses (pension Française,) multiplied in every street. The one at the southeast corner of Race and Second Streets, having some 40 windows, was filled with colonial French to the garret windows, whistling and jumping about, fiddling and singing, as fancy seemed to suggest, like so many crickets and grasshoppers. Groups of both sexes were to be seen seated on chairs, in summer weather, forming semi-circles near the doors, so displayed as sometimes to render it necessary to step into the street to get along; —their tongues, shoulders and hands in perpetual motion, jabbering away, "talkers and no hearers." Mestizo ladies, with complexions of the 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 "muchoir de Madras," exhibiting their ivory dominos, in social walk with a white or creole;—altogether, forming a contrast to the native Americans, and the emigrants from Old France, most of whom still kept to the stately old Bourbon style of dress and manner, wearing the head full powdered à la Louis, golden headed cane, silver buckles, and cocked hat, seemingly to express thereby their fierce contempt for the pantaloons, silk shoestring, and "Brutus Crop."

The "Courier des Dames," of both, daily ogling and "sighing like a furnace," bowing à la distance—dangling in doorways by day, and chanting "dans votre lit" by night, under the window of our native fair ones, bewildered by the (at that time) novel and delightful incense of flattery, so unusual to them in the manner, and offered so romantically by young French gentlemen, (possibly) elegant and debonaire. The Marseilles Hymn was learned and

sung by the citizens every where, to which they added the American song of "Hail Liberty Supreme Delight." Instrumental music abounded in the city every where, by day as well as by night, from French gentlemen, (may be) amateurs, of the hautboy, violin and clarionet, exquisitely played—and seemingly intended to catch the attention of neighbouring fair ones, at opposite windows."

The gentleman who wrote the articles "Lang Syne," which appeared occasionally, in Poulson's Advertiser in 1828–9, several of which are used in this work, was the late William McKoy, first teller of the Bank of North America. Though scarcely known to the public *as a writer*, he had peculiar qualifications for setting down the impress of his mind. Being a thinking and reading man, he had resources in himself for enriching and enlarging every topic he touched. His mind was full of poetic associations and metaphorical imagery.

Besides the articles of "Lang Syne," to some of which I had stimulated his pen,—he had written two books of "*Characteristics*" of his contemporaries who were remarkable for character. His remarks possessed much harmless humour—a humour which was peculiar to himself. That they were not published, in his lifetime, must have been wholly imputable to his cautious, and instinctive aversion to inflicting any possible pain on others; of them, he said, in a letter now before me, "the humour being only *local*, is only to be relished within our walls;—besides this, the things, though truly told, and to be recognised as such by all observers, yet as Hamlet says, "it might be slander to have it thus set down."—There may be hazard, to throw *towards* a hornet's nest."

I once used to know every face belonging to Philadelphia, and of course, was able to discern *all strangers;* but now I don't know Philadelphians as such, in any mixed assembly—all seem to me another, and an unknown generation. I am now amused and interested in seeing *the changes* on all former known faces and persons, as they now have grown older—the former middle-aged are now aged, and all the former young, now give different aspects from what they formerly did; persons that were thin, become fat or gross, while some that were gross, now become spare and flaccid. I might extend my remarks also to the changes in *houses* and *public* edifices:—and here, I may say that I individually feel obliged and entertained, as I pass along sundry streets, with the efforts made *at their expense*, to interest and entertain *my eye*, with their new inventions all to please and engross my regard. I can feel something like a patriarch among his children, in witnessing their change to what is indicative of their advancement and prosperity. In this way, I have the pleasure *to feel*, that I have an interest in all I behold, and the city in its rising beauty and grandeur, becomes a portion of my own *demesne*. Do not others, who like myself are *passé*, feel this?

Finally, as a specimen of the luxurious state of society as now seen in contrast with the simple manners of the past, we had



J. R.





A. J. D.





J. F. W.



Head-dress Fashions of year 1800.—Page 183.

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gathered a few articles of considerable length, intended to show modern life in its fashionable features; but they are necessarily excluded by our wish to restrict the volume to moderate bounds. They were such tales in picturesque character as we wished to see some day deduced from the materials gathered in this work, to wit: "Winter Parties,"—"Going into the Country," and "Leghorn Bonnets." *Vide* pages 487, 489 and 512, in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

APPAREL.

"We run through every change, which fancy
At the loom has genius to supply."

THERE is a very marked and wide difference between our moderns and the ancients in their several views of appropriate dress. The latter, in our judgment of them, were always stiff and formal, unchanging in their cut and fit in the gentry, or negligent and rough in texture in the commonalty; whereas, the moderns, casting off all former modes and forms, and inventing every new device which fancy can supply, just please the wearers "while the fashion is at full."

It will much help our just conceptions of our forefathers, and their good dames, to know what were their personal appearances. To this end, some facts illustrative of their attire will be given. Such as it was among the gentry, was a constrained and painstaking service, presenting nothing of ease and gracefulness in the use. While we may wonder at its adoption and long continuance, we will hope never again to see it return! But who can hope to check or restrain fashion if it should chance—again to set that way; or, who can foresee that the next generation may not be even more stiff and formal than any which has passed, since we see, even now, our late graceful and easy habits of both sexes already partially supplanted by "monstrous novelty and strange disguise!"—men and women stiffly corsetted—another name for stays of yore, long unnatural-looking waists, shoulders stuffed and deformed as Richard's, and artificial hips—protruding garments of as ample folds as claimed the ton when senseless hoops prevailed!

Our forefathers were excusable for their former cut, since, knowing no changes in the mode, every child was like its sire, resting in "the still of despotism," to which every mind by education and habit was settled; but no such apology exists for us, who have witnessed better things. We have been freed from their servitude;

and now to attempt to go back to their strange bondage, deserves the severest lash of satire, and should be resisted by every satirist and humourist who writes for public reform.

In all these things, however, we must be subject to female control; for, reason as we will, and scout at monstrous novelties as we may, female attractions will eventually win and seduce our sex to their attachment, "as the loveliest of creation," in whatever form they may choose to array. As "it is not good for man to be alone," they will be sure to follow through every giddy maze which fashion runs. We know, indeed, that ladies themselves are in bondage to their milliners, and often submit to their new imported modes with lively sense of dissatisfaction, even while they commit themselves to the general current, and float along with the multitude.

Our forefathers were occasionally fine practical satirists on offensive innovations in dress—they lost no time in paraphrastic verbiage which might or might not effect its aim, but with most effective appeal to the populace, they quickly carried their point, by making it the scoff and derision of the town! On one occasion, when the ladies were going astray after a passion for long red cloaks, to which their lords had no affections, they succeeded to ruin their reputation, by concerting with the executioners to have a female felon hung in a cloak of the best ton! On another occasion, in the time of the Revolution, when the "tower" head-gear of the ladies was ascending, Babel-like, to the skies, the growing enormity was effectually repressed, by the parade through the streets of a tall, male figure, in ladies' attire, decorated with the odious tower-gear, and preceded by a drum! At an earlier period, one of the intended dresses, called a trollopee, (probably from the word trollop) became a subject of offence. The satirists, who guarded and framed the sumptuary code of the town, procured the wife of Daniel Pettitteau the hangman, to be arrayed in full dress trollopee, &c., and to parade the town, with rude music! Nothing could stand the derision of the populace! Delicacy and modesty shrunk from the gaze and sneers of the multitude! And the trollopee, like the others, was abandoned!

Mr. B——, a gentleman of 90 years of age, has given me his recollections of the costumes of his early days in Philadelphia, to this effect, to wit: Men wore three-square or cocked hats, and wigs, coats with large cuffs, big skirts, lined and stiffened with buckram. None ever saw a crown higher than the head. The coat of a beau had three or four large plaits in the skirts, wadding almost like a coverlet to keep them smooth, cuffs, very large, up to the elbows, open below and inclined down, with lead therein; the capes were thin and low, so as readily to expose the close plaited neck-stock of fine linen cambric, and the large silver stock-buckle on the back of the neck, shirts with hand ruffles, sleeves finely plaited, breeches close fitted. with silver, stone or paste gem buckles, shoes or pumps with silver buckles of various sizes and patterns, thread, worsted and

silk stockings; the poorer class wore sheep and buckskin breeches close set to the limbs. Gold and silver sleeve buttons, set with stones or paste, of various colours and kinds, adorned the wrists of the shirts of all classes. The very boys often wore wigs, and their dresses in general were similar to that of the men.

The odious use of wigs was never disturbed till after the return of Braddock's broken army. They appeared in Philadelphia, wearing only their natural hair—a mode well adapted to the military, and thence adopted by our citizens. The king of England, too, about this time, having cast off his wig malgre the will of the people, and the petitions and remonstrances of the periwig makers of London, this confirmed the change of fashion here, and completed the ruin of our wig makers.*

The women wore caps, (a bare head was never seen!) stiff stays, hoops from six inches to two feet on each side, so that a full dressed lady entered a door like a crab, pointing her obtruding flanks end foremost, high heeled shoes of black stuff with white silk or thread stockings; and in the miry times of winter they wore clogs, galoshes, or pattens.

The days of stiff coats, sometimes wire-framed, and of large hoops, was also stiff and formal in manners at set balls and assemblages. The dances of that day among the politer class were minuets, and sometimes country dances; among the lower order hipsesaw was every thing.

As soon as the wigs were abandoned and the natural hair was cherished, it became the mode to dress it by plaiting it, by queuing and clubbing, or by wearing it in a black silk sack or bag, adorned with a large black rose.

In time the powder, with which wigs and the natural hair had been severally adorned, was run into disrespute only about thirty-eight to forty years ago, by the then strange innovation of "Brutus heads;" not only then discarding the long cherished powder and perfume and tortured frizzle-work, but also literally becoming "Round heads," by cropping off all the pendant graces of ties, bobs, clubs, queues, &c.! The hardy beaux who first encountered public opinion by appearing abroad unpowdered and cropt, had many starers. The old men for a time obstinately persisted in adherence to the old regime, but death thinned their ranks, and use and prevalence of numbers at length gave countenance to modern usage.

Another aged gentleman, Colonel M. states, of the recollections of his youth, that young men of the highest fashion wore swords—so frequent it was as to excite no surprise when seen. Men as old as forty so arrayed themselves. They wore also gold laced cocked hats, and similar lace on their scarlet vests. Their coat-skirts were stiffened with wire or buckram and lapped each other at the lower end in

* The use of wigs must have been peculiarly an English fashion here, as I find Kalm in 1749, speaks of the French gentlemen then as wearing their own hair, in Canada.

walking. In that day no man wore drawers, but their breeches (so called unreservedly then) were lined in winter, and were tightly fitted. Very few then could get coats to *set in* at the back.

From various reminiscents we glean, that laced ruffles, depending over the hand, was a mark of indispensable gentility. The coat and breeches were generally desirable of the same material—of "broad cloth" for winter, and of silk camlet for summer. No kind of cotton fabrics were then in use or known; hose were, therefore, of thread or silk in summer, and of fine worsted in winter; shoes were square-toed and were often "double channelled." To these succeeded sharp toes as peaked as possible. When wigs were universally worn, gray wigs were powdered, and for that purpose sent in a wooden box frequently to the barber to be dressed on his block-head. But "brown wigs," so called, were exempted from the white disguise. Coats of red cloth, even by boys, were considerably worn, and plush breeches and plush vests of various colours, shining and slipping, were in common use. Everlasting, made of worsted, was a fabric of great use for breeches and sometimes for vests. The vest had great depending pocket-flaps, and the breeches were very short above the stride, because the art of suspending them by suspenders was unknown. It was then the test of a well formed man, that he could by his natural form readily keep his breeches above his hips, and his stockings, without gartering, above the calf of the leg. With the queues belonged frizzled sidelocks, and toupes formed of the natural hair, or, in defect of a long tie, a splice was added to it. Such was the general passion for the longest possible whip of hair, that sailors and boatmen, to make it grow, used to tie theirs in eel skins to aid its growth. Nothing like surtouts were known; but they had coating or cloth great coats, or blue cloth and brown camlet cloaks, with green baize lining to the latter. In the time of the American war, many of the American officers introduced the use of Dutch blankets for great coats. The sailors in the olden time used to wear hats of glazed leather or of woollen thrumbs, called chapeaux, closely woven, and looking like a rough knap; and their "small clothes," as we would say now, were immense wide petticoat-breeches, wide open at the knees, and no longer. About eighty years ago our workingmen in the country wore the same, having no falling flaps but slits in front; they were so full and free in girth, that they ordinarily changed the rear to the front when the seat became prematurely worn out. In sailors and common people, big silver brooches in the bosom were displayed, and long quartered shoes with extreme big buckles on the extreme front.

Gentlemen in the olden time used to carry mufflees in winter. It was in effect a little woollen muff of various colours, just big enough to admit both hands, and long enough to screen the wrists which were then more exposed than now; for they then wore short sleeves to their coats purposely to display their fine linen and plaited shirt sleeves with their gold buttons and sometimes laced ruffles. The

sleeve-cuffs were very wide, and hung down depressed with leads in them.

In the summer season, men very often wore calico morning-gowns at all times of the day and abroad in the streets. A damask banyan was much the same thing by another name. Poor labouring men wore ticklenberg linen for shirts, and striped ticken breeches; they wore gray duroy-coats in winter; men and boys always wore leather breeches. Leather aprons were used by all tradesmen and workmen.

Some of the peculiarities of the female dress was to the following effect, to wit: Ancient ladies are still alive who have told me that they often had their hair tortured for four hours at a sitting in getting the proper crisped curls of a hair curler. Some who designed to be inimitably captivating, not knowing they could be sure of professional services where so many hours were occupied upon one gay head, have actually had the operation performed the day before it was required, then have slept all night in a sitting posture to prevent the derangement of their frizzle and curls! This is a real fact, and we could, if questioned, name cases. They were, of course, rare occurrences, proceeding from some extra occasions, when there were several to serve, and but few such refined hair dressers in the place.

This formidable head work was succeeded by rollers over which the hair was combed back from the forehead. These again were superseded by cushions and artificial curled work, which could be sent out to the barber's block, like a wig, to be dressed, leaving the lady at home to pursue other objects—thus producing a grand reformation in the economy of time, and an exemption too from former durance vile. The dress of the day was not captivating to all, as the following lines may show, viz.:

Give Chloe a bushel of horse hair and wool,
Of paste and pomatum a pound,
Ten yards of gay ribbon to deck her sweet skull,
And gauze to encompass it round.

Let her flags fly behind for a yard at the least,
Let her curls meet just under her chin,
Let these curls be supported, to keep up the jest,
With an hundred—instead of one pin.

Let her gown be tuck'd up to the hip on each side,
Shoes too high for to walk or to jump,
And to deck the sweet creature complete for a bride
Let the cork-cutter make her a rump.

Thus finish'd in taste, while on Chloe you gaze,
You may take the dear charmer for life,
But never undress her—for, out of her stays
You'll find you have lost half your wife!

When the ladies first began to lay off their cumbrous hoops, they supplied their place with successive succedaneums, such as these, to

wit: First came bishops—a thing stuffed or padded with horse hair; then succeeded a smaller affair under the name of *cue de Paris*, also padded with horse hair! How it abates our admiration to contemplate the lovely sex as bearing a roll of horse hair or a cut of *cork* under their garments! Next they supplied their place with silk or calimanco, or russell thickly quilted and inlaid with wool, made into petticoats; then these were supplanted by a substitute of half a dozen of petticoats. No wonder such ladies needed fans in a sultry summer, and at a time when parasols were unknown, to keep off the solar rays! I knew a lady going to a gala party who had so large a hoop that when she sat in the chaise she so filled it up, that the person who drove it (it had no top) stood up behind the box and directed the reins!

Some of those ancient belles, who thus sweltered under the weight of six petticoats, have lived to see their posterity, not long since, go so thin and transparent, *a la Francaise*, especially when between the beholder and a declining sun, as to make a modest eye sometimes instinctively avert its gaze!

Among some other articles of female wear we may name the following, to wit: Once they wore "a skimmer hat," made of a fabric which shone like silver tinsel; it was of a very small flat crown and big brim, not unlike the late Leghorn flats. Another hat, not unlike it in shape, was made of woven horse hair, wove in flowers, and called "horse hair bonnets,"—an article which might be again usefully introduced for children's wear as an enduring hat for long service. I have seen what was called a bath bonnet, made of black satin, and so constructed to lay in folds that it could be set upon like a chapeau bras,—a good article now for travelling ladies! "The musk melon" bonnet, used before the Revolution, had numerous whalebone stiffeners in the crown, set at an inch apart in parallel lines and presenting ridges to the eye, between the bones. The next bonnet was the "whalebone bonnet," having only the bones in the front as stiffeners. "A calash bonnet" was always formed of green silk; it was worn abroad, covering the head, but when in rooms it could fall back in folds like the springs of a calash or gig top; to keep it up over the head it was drawn up by a cord always held in the hand of the wearer. The "wagon bonnet," always of black silk, was an article exclusively in use among the Friends, was deemed to look, on the head, not unlike the top of the Jersey wagons, and having a pendent piece of like silk hanging from the bonnet and covering the shoulders. The only straw wear was that called the "straw beehive bonnet," worn generally by old people.

The ladies once wore "hollow breasted stays," which were exploded as injurious to the health. Then came the use of straight stays. Even little girls wore such stays. At one time the gowns worn had no fronts; the design was to display a finely quilted Marseilles, silk or satin petticoat, and a bare stomacher on the waist. In other dresses a white apron was the mode; all wore large pockets

under their gowns. Among the caps was the "queen's nightcap," —the same always worn by Lady Washington. The "cushion head dress" was of gauze stiffened out in cylindrical form with white spiral wire. The border of the cap was called the balcony.

A lady of my acquaintance thus describes the recollections of her early days preceding the war of Independence.—Dress was discriminative and appropriate, both as regarded the season and the character of the wearer. Ladies never wore the same dresses at work and on visits; they sat at home, or went out in the morning, in chints; brocades, satins, and mantuas, were reserved for evening or dinner parties. Robes, or negligees, as they were called, were always worn in full dress. Muslins were not worn at all. Little misses at a dancing school ball (for these were almost the only fêtes that fell to their share in the days of discrimination) were dressed in frocks of lawn or cambric. Worsted was then thought dress enough for common days.

As a universal fact, it may be remarked that no other colour than black was ever made for ladies' bonnets when formed of silk or satin. Fancy colours were unknown, and white bonnets of silk fabric had never been seen. The first innovation remembered, was the bringing in of blue bonnets.

The time was, when the plainest women among the Friends (now so averse to fancy colours) wore their coloured silk aprons, say, of green, blue, &c. This was at a time when the gay wore white aprons. In time, white aprons were disused by the gentry, and then the Friends left off their coloured ones and used the white! The same old ladies, among Friends whom we can remember as wearers of the white aprons, wore also large white beaver hats, with scarcely the sign of a crown, and which was, indeed, confined to the head by silk cords tied under the chin. Eight dollars would buy such a hat, when beaver fur was more plentiful. They lasted such ladies almost a whole life of wear. They showed no fur.

Very decent women went abroad and to churches with check aprons. I have seen those, who kept their coach in my time to bear them to church, who told me they went on foot with a check apron to the Arch Street Presbyterian meeting in their youth. Then all hired women wore shortgowns and petticoats of domestic fabric, and could be instantly known as such whenever seen abroad.

In the former days it was not uncommon to see aged persons with large silver buttons to their coats and vests—it was a mark of wealth. Some had the initials of their names engraved on each button. Sometimes they were made out of real quarter dollars, with the coinage impression still retained,—these were used for the coats, and the eleven-penny-bits for vests and breeches. My father wore an entire suit decorated with conch shell buttons, silver mounted.

An aged gentleman, O. J., Esq., told me of seeing one of the most

respectable gentlemen going to the ball room in Lodge Alley, in an entire suit of drab cloth richly laced with silver.

On the subject of wigs, I have noticed the following special facts, to wit: They were as generally worn by genteel Friends as by any other people. This was the more surprising as they religiously professed to exclude all superfluities, and yet nothing could have been offered to the mind as so essentially useless.*

In the year 1685, William Penn writes to his steward, James Harrison, requesting him to allow the Governor, Lloyd, his deputy, the use of his wigs in his absence.

In the year 1719, Jonathan Dickinson, a Friend, in writing to London for his clothes, says, "I want for myself and my three sons, each a wig—light good bobs."

In 1730, I see a public advertisement to this effect in the Gazette, to wit: "A good price will be given for good clean white horse hair, by William Crossthwaite, perukemaker." Thus showing of what materials our forefathers got their white wigs!

In 1737, the perukes of the day as then sold, were thus described, to wit: "Tyes, bobs, majors, spencers, foxtails and twists, together with curls or tates (têtes) for the ladies."

In the year 1765, another perukemaker advertises prepared hair for judges' full bottomed wigs, tyes for gentlemen of the bar to wear over their hair, brigadiers' dress bobs, bags, cues, scratches, cut wigs, &c.; and to accommodate ladies he has tates, (têtes) towers, &c. At the same time a staymaker advertises cork stays, whalebone stays, jumps, and easy caushets, thin boned Misses' and ladies' stays, and pack thread stays!

Some of the advertisements of the olden time present some curious descriptions of masquerade attire, such as these, viz:

Year 1722.—Ranaway from the Rev. D. Magill, a servant clothed with damask breeches and vest, black broad cloth vest, a broad cloth coat, of copper colour, lined and trimmed with black, and wearing black stockings! Another servant is described as wearing leather breeches and glass buttons, black stockings, and a wig!

In 1724, a runaway barber is thus dressed, viz:—Wore a light wig, a gray kersey jacket lined with blue, a light pair of drugget breeches, black roll-up stockings, square-toed shoes, a red leathern apron. He had also white vest and yellow buttons, with red linings!

Another runaway servant is described as wearing "a light short wig," aged 20 years; his vest white with yellow buttons and faced with red!

A poetic effusion of a lady, of 1725, describing her paramour, thus designates the dress which most seizes upon her admiration as a ball guest:

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* The Friends have, however, a work in their library, written against perukes and their makers, by John Mulliner.

"Mine, a tall youth shall at a ball be seen
Whose legs are like the spring, all cloth'd in green;
A yellow riband ties his long cravat,
And a large knot of yellow cocks his hat!"

We have even an insight into the wardrobe of Benjamin Franklin, in the year 1738, caused by his advertisement for stolen clothes, to wit: "Broadcloth breeches *lined with leather*, sagathee coat lined with silk, and fine *homespun* linen shirts."

From one advertisement of the year 1745, I take the following, now unintelligible articles of dress—all of them presented for sale too, even for the ladies, on Fishbourne's *wharf*, "back of Mrs. Fishbourne's dwelling," to wit: "Tandems, isinghams, nuns, bag, and gulix, (these all mean shirting) huckabacks, (a figured worsted for women's gowns) quilted humhums, turkettees, grassetts, single allopeens, children's stays, jumps and bodice, whalebone and iron busks, men's new-market caps, silk and worsted wove patterns for breeches, allibanies, dickmansoy, cushloes, chuckloes, cuttanees, crimson dannador, chained soosees, lemonees, byrampauts, moree, naffermamy, saxlingham, prunelloe, barragons, druggets, floret-tas," &c., &c.

A gentleman of Cheraw, South Carolina, has now in his possession an ancient cap, worn in the colony of New Netherlands about 160 years ago, such as may have been worn by some of the Chieftains among the Dutch rulers set over us. The crown is of elegant yellowish brocade, the brim of crimson silk velvet, turned up to the crown. It is elegant even now.

In the year 1749, I met with the incidental mention of a singular overcoat, worn by Captain James, as a stormcoat, made entirely of beaver fur, wrought together in the manner of felting hats.

I have seen two fans, used as dress fans before the Revolution, which cost eight dollars a piece. They were of ivory frame and pictured paper. What is curious in them is, that the sticks fold up round as a cane.

Before the Revolution no hired men or women wore any shoes so fine as calf skin; that kind was the exclusive property of the gentry; the servants wore coarse neat's leather. The calfskin shoe then had a white rand of sheep skin stitched into the top edge of the sole, which they preserved white as a dress shoe as long as possible. All wives of tradesmen, wore shortgowns of green baize—the same their daughters too.

We feel disposed to make one remark upon females and their dresses, the truth of which we are sure will be confirmed by every one, who is now old enough to have seen the ladies of the last century. It is, that they were decidedly of better form in *the fullness* of their chests, and the *uprightness* of their backs and shoulders. A round-shouldered lady was not to be seen, unless she was such by ill health or accidental deformity. You never saw such a thing on them as *a misfit* in the back; not a wrinkle or

pucker therein was to be noticed. One reason for this was, that all their dresses were *closed* in the back, and all their pinnings and fastenings were *in the front* of the body; and at one time, in some dresses, on the side, *with an overlap.* At that time, the ladies wore their necks and chests nearly bare, and always visible under a thin transparent gauze—their bosoms were their ornaments, and their chests were so full, as visibly to show *the heavings of the bosom*, a thing certainly rarely observed in any modern belle. Such females, had of course no need of artificial paddings. If the construction of modern dress has had the effect to destroy this natural characteristic of the female form, is it not time to operate a change *back again* to olden time principles? What will the doctors say? It is deserving of remark, that no females formerly showed any signs of crumpled toes or corns. They were exempted from such deformities and ills, from two causes, to wit: their shoes were of pliable woven stuff, satin, lastings, &c., and by wearing high heels, they so pressed upon the balls of their feet, as necessarily to give the flattest and easiest expansion to their toes; while, in walking, at the same time, they were prevented from any undue spread in width, by their piked form. There was therefore, some good sense in the choice of those high heels, now deemed so unfitting for pretty feet, that has been overlooked. In a word, ladies then could pinch their feet with impunity, and had no shoes to run down at the heels.

It was very common for children and working women to wear beads made of Job's tears, a berry of a shrub. They used them for economy, and said it prevented several diseases.

Until the period of the Revolution, every person who wore a fur hat had it always of entire beaver. Every apprentice, at receiving his "freedom," received a real beaver, at a cost of six dollars. Their every day hats were of wool, and called felts. What were called roram hats, being fur faced upon wool felts, came into use directly after the peace, and excited much surprise as to the invention. Gentlemen's hats, of entire beaver, universally cost eight dollars.

The use of lace veils to ladies' faces is but a modern fashion, not of more than twenty or thirty years' standing. Now they wear black, white, and green,—the last only lately introduced as a summer veil. In olden time, none wore a veil but as a mark and badge of mourning, and then, as now, of crape, in preference to lace.

Ancient ladies remembered a time in their early life, when the ladies wore blue stockings and party coloured clocks of very striking appearance. May not that fashion, as an extreme ton of the upper circle in life, *explain* the adoption of the term, "Blue stocking Club?" I have seen with Samuel Coates, Esq., the wedding silk stockings of his grandmother, of a lively green, and great red clocks. My grandmother wore in winter very fine worsted green stockings with a gay clock surmounted with a bunch of tulips.

The late President, Thomas Jefferson, when in Philadelphia, on

his first mission abroad, was dressed in the garb of his day after this manner, to wit: He wore a long waisted white cloth coat, scarlet breeches and vest, a cocked hat, shoes and buckles, and white silk hose.

When President Hancock first came to Philadelphia, as president of the first Congress, he wore a scarlet coat and cocked hat with a black cockade.

Even spectacles, permanently useful as they are, have been subjected to the caprice of fashion. Now they are occasionally seen of gold—a thing I never saw in my youth; neither did I ever see one young man with spectacles—now so numerous! A purblind or half-sighted youth then deemed it his positive disparagement to be so regarded. Such would have rather run against a street post six times a day, than have been seen with them! Indeed, in early olden time they had not the art of using *temple* spectacles. Old Mrs. Shoemaker, who died in 1825 at the age of 95, said that she had lived many years in Philadelphia before she ever saw temple spectacles—a name then given as a new discovery, but now so common as to have lost its distinctive character. In her early years the only spectacles she ever saw were called "*bridge* spectacles," without any side supporters, and held on the nose solely by nipping the bridge of the nose. Such as these, were first invented in 1280. What a time for those whose "eyes were dim with age!" *before* that era! happily, they had no reading then to manage.

My grandmother wore a black velvet mask in winter, with a silver mouth-piece to keep it on, by retaining it in the mouth. I have been told that green ones have been used in summer for some few ladies, for riding in the sun on horseback.

Ladies formerly wore cloaks as their chief overcoats; they were used with some changes of form under the successive names of roquelaus, capuchins, and cardinals.

In Mrs. Shoemaker's time, above named, they had no knowledge of umbrellas to keep off rain, but she had seen some few use quitasols—an article as small as present parasols. They were entirely to keep off rain from ladies. They were of oiled muslin, and were of various colours, from India by way of England. They must, however, have been but rare, as they never appear in any advertisements. Their name is derived from the Spanish.

Doctor Chanceller and the Rev. Mr. Duché were the first persons in Philadelphia who were ever seen to wear umbrellas to keep off the rain. They were of oiled linen, very coarse and clumsy, with ratan sticks. Before their time, some doctors and ministers used an oiled linen cape hooked round their shoulders, looking not unlike the big coat-capes now in use, and then called a roquelaue. It was only used for severe storms.

About the year 1771, the first efforts were made in Philadelphia to introduce the use of umbrellas in summer as a defence from the sun. They were then scouted in the public Gazettes as a ridicu-

lous effeminacy. On the other hand, the physicians recommended them to keep off vertigoes, epilepsies, sore eyes, fevers, &c. Finally, as the doctors were their chief patrons, Doctor Chanceller and Doctor Morgan, with the Rev. Parson Duché, were the first persons who had the hardihood to be so singular as to wear umbrellas in sunshine. Mr. Bingham, when he returned from the West Indies, where he had amassed a great fortune in the Revolution, appeared abroad in the streets attended by a mulatto boy bearing his umbrella. But his example did not take, and he desisted from its use.

In the old time, shagreen-cased watches, of turtle shell and pinchbeck, were the earliest kind seen; but watches of any kind were much more rare then. When they began to come into use, they were so far deemed a matter of pride and show, that men are living who have heard public Friends express their concern at seeing their youth in the show of watches or watch chains. It was so rare to find watches in common use that it was quite an annoyance at the watchmakers to be so repeatedly called on by street passengers for the hour of the day. Mr. Duffield, therefore, first set up an out-door clock to give the time of day to people in the street. Gold chains would have been a wonder then; silver and steel chains and seals were the mode, and regarded good enough. The best gentlemen of the country were content with silver watches, although gold ones were occasionally used. Gold watches for ladies were of rare occurrence, and when worn, were kept without display for domestic use.

The men of former days never saw such things as our Mahomedan whiskers on Christian men: but since then our young men have turned cultivators of whiskers, mustachios and sidelocks for street display, and for the Chestnut Street and Broadway markets. That men of no particular business should so parade themselves, might pass; but when it comes to business men who have to live by their employments, it is then we perceive the glaring incongruity, and cannot forbear to wish them unbarbed and uncorsetted, and especially in business houses. The overweening fondness of some for these satyr-like appendages of manhood, presents an admirable measuring reed, whereby to ascertain the calibre of minds. In mixed companies, it may afford, to the considerate, a positive amusement to look around and note the differences of men's attachment to such things. Some may be observed, as direct, though silent, protestors against the innovation, by their close shaving, as if they meant, thereby, to publish that they act in inverse opposition; while, at the same time, others indicate their morbid regard for what seems so *outre* and extreme. Intellectual men, it is observed, are rarely found in this array, unless they also have occasionally some known obliquity of the imagination and taste. It is also a curious fact, that any thing so disagreeable in itself to sight and wear, should be chiefly countenanced *by the ladies!* but so it is; and what is more, some of the wearers have far less

liking for the hairy deformity, than for flaunting with the superficial belles who advocate them. The same remarks might be equally extended to the blowze cut and lengthened sidelocks of the hair of the head. But there is enough for passing remark, and *to preserve the record* of these passing *caprices* of ungain fashion. To "note and observe," is our motto.

The use of boots has come in since the war of Independence; they were first with black tops, after the military, strapped up in union with the knee bands; afterwards bright tops were introduced. The leggings to these latter were made of buckskin, for some extreme beaux, for the sake of close fitting a well turned leg.

It having been the object of these pages to notice the change of fashions in the habiliments of men and women from the olden to the modern time, it may be necessary to say, that no attempt has been made to note the quick succession of modern changes,—precisely because they are too rapid and evanescent for any useful record. The subject, however, leads me to the general remark, that the general character of our dress is always ill adapted to our climate; and this fact arises from our national predilection as English. As English colonists we early introduced the modes of our British ancestors. They derived their notions of dress from France; and we, even now, take all annual fashions from the ton of England,—a circumstance which leads us into many unseasonable and injurious imitations, very ill adapted to either our hotter or colder climate. Here we have the extremes of heat and cold. There they are moderate. The loose and light habits of the East, or of southern Europe, would be better adapted to the ardour of our mid-summers; and the close and warm apparel of the north of Europe might furnish us better examples for our severe winters.

But in these matters (while enduring the profuse sweating of ninety degrees of heat) we fashion after the modes of England, which are adapted to a climate of but seventy degrees! Instead, therefore, of the broad slouched hat of southern Europe, we have the narrow brim, a stiff stock or starched-buckram collar for the neck, a coat so close and tight as if glued to our skins, and boots so closely set over insteps and ankles, as if over the lasts on which they were made! Our ladies have as many ill adapted dresses and hats, and sadly their healths are impaired in our rigorous winters, by their thin stuff-shoes and transparent and light draperies, affording but slight defence for tender frames against the cold.

Since the publication of the former edition, we have gathered and conclude to add the following additional notices under this head, to wit:

The article in my former Annals on dress, (p. 171,) was scarcely published, when, notwithstanding the hint there given, the fashion began to run again into "monstrous novelty and strange disguise." The words then were "while we may wonder at the stiff and formal cut of the old fashions, we will hope never to see

them again return!" They did return quickly, showing corsetted long waists, *big* skirts, and monstrous *sleeves!* These latter held their empire till the winter of 1836—7, and then *tight sleeves* came back as suddenly as if they had come in under a *legal* decree and penalty. The sudden change was then so suitably and humourously noticed, that I here affix a specimen, to wit:—

"It is somewhat refreshing, as the fashionable novelists used to say, to perceive the sudden and effectual banishment that has been decreed and carried into execution, against those vast, unsightly, ridiculous and immense bags, which it has been the pleasure of the ladies, bless their hearts! to insist upon our recognising as sleeves, for the last three or four years. The perverse obstinacy of Petruchio was not more unreasonable, when he made the unhappy and starving Catharine swear that the pale moon was in truth "the blessed sun;" and perhaps, it was from him that the hint was borrowed. Be that as it may, they are gone, bag and baggage, and our belles are no longer compelled to walk the streets, as though suffering the penalties of justice, with eight or ten pounds of silk, chally, gros-de-something, muslin, merino, Circassian, Canton crape, barege white satin, printed calico, or pelisse-cloth, dangling from each shoulder; or to exhibit themselves with a pair of feather pillows stuck upon each side of their graceful figures, and far surpassing them in magnitude. The day of five feet high and six feet wide is gone, we trust, forever, and henceforward, we hope to see the beautiful of our race resembling somewhat more in appearance the model in which nature formed them, and which French milliners have so long succeeded in keeping out of fashion."

The transition has been, as usual in fashionable matters, somewhat violent; the poet's notion of "fine by degrees and beautifully less," has not been thought of; but where there was yesterday a bale, there is to-day a spermaceti candle; the ten yards of last night are replaced this morning by some half ell, or perhaps a quarter. One lady was a sufficient occupant, a week ago, for the seat of a moderate sized carriage; now three may ride right pleasantly in company. Arms are at a tremendous discount, compared with what they have been; and shoulders are like India rubber balls, with the air let out through a pin hole. All this looks queer just now, and may stay looking queer for some time yet, but after a while our eyes will receive their right tone, and then we shall applaud the change most heartily. Nevertheless, we beseech our fair readers not to run to the other extreme, and compress the arm entirely up to the shoulder, as some have already done, thereby giving themselves somewhat the resemblance of the undressed dolls in the packages of Bailly and Ward; or like a giblet-pie—all wings and legs.

Fashion rules the world, and a most tyrannical mistress she is, compelling people to submit to the most inconvenient things imaginable, *for fashion's sake.* She pinches our feet with tight shoes,

or chokes us with a tight neck-handkerchief, or squeezes the breath out of our body by tight lacing; she makes people sit up late by night when they ought to be in bed, and keeps them in bed in the morning when they ought to be up and doing. She makes it vulgar to wait upon one's self, and genteel to live idle and useless. She makes people visit when they would rather stay at home, eat when they are not hungry, and drink when they are not thirsty. She is a despot of the highest grade, full of intrigue and cunning, and yet husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons and daughters, and servants, black and white, voluntarily have become her obedient servants and slaves, and vie with one another, to see who shall be the most obsequious!

The daughter of a merchant of my acquaintance, who was married at Philadelphia in 1835, had her wedding wardrobe furnished at a cost of 1000 dollars; her robe was fringed with gold, her pocket-handkerchief, by reason of its gold hem and decoration, cost 30 dollars! What an advance of style since the war of Independence! This too, for a republican commoner;—for one who passed his hours on wharves, among sailors, and draymen, and casks, bags and boxes —sun-scorched, dusty and wearied! "What a falling off was there!" The course is, however, still "onward." Another merchant, (one and the same day,) paid 300 dollars at a store in Chestnut street, for *three veils* for three daughters. They ride or walk in Chestnut street like princesses; and he, good man of labour, grinds pennies from stocks and transfers, by slavish toil in a close, dark, dingy counting house! The same class of persons pay now one dollar an hour for three or four successive teachers a day, for music, French, Italian, dancing, &c. Only fifty years since, Anthony Benezet taught real ladies a whole quarter for the same money!

Wigs, it is ascertained, were first originated in France, as may be seen by the chronological tables. Perukes, for instance, "first used in 1620;" "wigs for judges first worn in 1674;" and hair-powder first used in 1590." Pindar speaks of wigs in the case of the annoyance in his Majesty's kitchen, and their disuse may be considered as still later. Judge McKean wore one, and was withal so partial to them, that he intended to wear one of the Bench kind. He engaged one of Kid for 100 dollars, and being found, when delivered, to be so strange and outre, he refused it, and was sued for the value.

I have said in the former edition, that in my boyhood days no young men or women were seen using spectacles whilst walking in the streets, and now they are so numerous! We may judge, even now, how useless they may be, by the fact, that at this time, no man sees any coloured person who uses them! It can't be that the two races are so essentially different; it must be the result of fashion rather than otherwise; and that by the non-use of them the eyes which may have been near sighted in youth, accommodate themselves in time to avoid it. It was then not uncommon to see men

puckering up their eyes, and looking queer, because near sighted. I *remember* several.

Ladies' shoes 60 or 70 years ago were made mostly of white or russet rands, stitched very fine on the rand with white waxed thread; and all having wooden heels, called cross cut, common, and court heels; [now the heelmakers are *non est!*] Next came in the use of cork, plug, and wedge or spring heels. The sole leather was all worked, with the flesh side out. The materials of the uppers in the olden time, among us, were of common woollen cloth, or coarse curried leather,—afterwards of stuffs, such as cassimere, everlasting, shalloon, and russet; some of satin and damask, others of satin-lasting and florentine.

All elderly gentlemen had gold headed canes. It was their mark of distinction. Seeing that they were once so general, it is matter of curiosity now, to ask what may have become of the many, now no longer seen! It was usual to see them in the churches and other public places, used ostensibly as a support to *the chin* when sitting; but often times from motives of vanity, as a badge of expensive ability. It was a pride of the same kind, which gave favour and use to gold snuff boxes, and to the free proffering of their contents, to the persons near. Silas Deane, it is remembered, had one, a present from royalty, which he was very proud of displaying with its diamonds. This was so manifest to Charles Thomson, his familiar friend, that he once broke out upon him in full laugh for his manner of urging it upon his notice!

A writer in the Gazette, of 1769, says, "Will the ladies take a law of fashion from such a wanton tyranny of example as is imposed on them by Great Britain? The decent gown which showed the form of the sex in all its native elegance is banished, to give place to *negligées*, using many yards of costly silk, cut into pieces with the most licentious profusion; they have things flapping down on each side which look as if the ladies had turned a most monstrous pair of silk pockets inside out, and drawn them through their pocket holes. The hinder part seems contrived by an upholsterer, for it is as a curtain drawn up;—and for the front, how monstrous is the elegant fall of the petticoat deformed with flounces of massacred silk! Oh! barbarous murder both of beauty and materials!" How very remarkable it is, that in every age *the men* have always been the only critics upon the female dress, and always with so little head way against the tide of encroaching fashion! The ladies, it would seem, had rather lose the men than lose the mode; and in the end, the men had rather take all as they find them, than miss them as brides!

With a view to show that we are not alone in the interest we feel in giving such notices of the passing changes in dress and the vagaries of fashion in altering them, we here add a couple of facetious notices of fleeting transitions of *gentlemen* themselves, even within the memory of the present writer, to wit:—

One, calling himself a beau of the last century, for the century is not long since passed, says, that although he does not mean to represent himself as a gallant during the Revolution, or that he was old enough to carry arms in Shay's rebellion, yet, says he, "I was most certainly born, and made some advance in *belles lettres;* that is to say, in A. B. C., &c., before the commencement of the nineteenth century, and had acquired a pretty considerable many notions of the fitness of things before midnight of December 31st, 1799, which is now very generally admitted, by historians and chronologers of the present day, to be about the last that was seen of the eighteenth century. I have consequently lived to see many mighty revolutions in kingdoms and states, and I have also lived to see many mightier and more important changes in fashion and dress. I have seen periwigs, buckskin breeches and waistcoats, or in modern sartorial phraseology, vests, with flaps and low descending pockets reaching to the knees, drop quietly into the grave. I have seen coats, cut after a pattern of the middle of the eighteenth century, with scarcely any collar, and I have seen them succeeded, in the early part of the nineteenth, by coats with little beside collar; coats the apex of whose collar towered above and overlooked the apex of the wearer. I have seen Hessian boots, Suwarrow boots, white top boots, swell back boots, laced boots start into existence and start out of it. I came into the world as the first generation of square toed boots were about going out of it; and my feet are, at this moment, after an interval of——years, no matter how many, incased in a pair of square toes No. 2. I have witnessed the birth and death of two distinct races of sharp toed shoes. I have seen them both kick up a dust in a ball room; and then, thank heaven, kick the bucket. I have worn out many a pair of round-toed shoes, and do not despair of wearing out many more as soon as they come in fashion again. In the year 1817, I bought in the East Indies, a second hand vest sold by its owner because it was out of fashion; I have it yet, and it is nearly as good as new, although it has been in and out of fashion five times respectively since I bought it."

"But a few years since, the snow-white and nicely plaited ruffle was prevented from fluttering in the breeze by the jewelled breast-pin; and now, whenever I go abroad, I see the idealess, soulless, worshippers of fashion, as carefully hiding every appearance of linen, whether clean or dirty, as a fashionable belle does a gray hair or a freckle, a hole in her stocking, or a flaw in her reputation. An Englishman and a Frenchman disputing upon the comparative improvements their respective nations had made in dress—"Sare," said the exterminator of frogs, "in la belle France we have invent de roffel, one grand ornament for de hand." "Very true," responded the sturdy Briton, "but we English have improved upon your invention, for we have added a shirt to your ruffle."

"But alas! "the glory is departed" from among us of inventing the shirt. Fashion has decreed that the very name of "shirt" like

petticoat—my fashionable paper blushes with fashionable modesty, as I write the words so near to each other on its pure surface—is indecent and not fit to be used by "good society," and even were that not the case, the word must soon perforce become obsolete, because the thing that the word represents has ceased to exist among the votaries of that despotic goddess. Catching inspiration and enthusiasm from the spirit of reform and retrenchment that has invaded the cabinet old and new, of General Jackson, and that characterizes the councils of William the IV; the worshippers of Fashion have at one blow lopped away the entire garment, substituting false wristbands and false bosoms, flinging at the feet of the weeping genius of banished cleanliness, "the empty and bloody skin of the immolated victims." Here, it was to be hoped, would have ceased the destruction, but no, the demon of Fashion and Folly issued another decree, and also collars, and false wristbands, even paper ones disappeared—the false bosom did, indeed, struggle, and gasp for breath, but it was the feeble and ineffectual writhing of a sickly calf in the folds of the Boa Constrictor—after a double-breasted vest, and the false bosom was no more, even *that* "horrible shadow," *that* "unreal mockery" vanished in eternal night. Stocks rose, not U. S. 5 per cent., for 1836, nor Ohio sixes, but *neck* stocks, and the false collar, left its post on the cheek bone of the exquisite, the dickey ceased to excoriate the lobe of the dandy's ear, the false wristband, whether of paper or well starched cotton, retreated up the coat sleeve. A Sanhedrim of tailors decreed that the vest should be double breasted and padded, and its upper button should be located on the shoulder blade, and the "bosom friend," the last feeble and expiring relic of cleanliness, once the pride and boast, as well as the distinguishing mark of a gentleman, was annihilated, smothered, like Desdemona, by its nearest and dearest friend, hitherto, alike its foil and its ornament, its contrast and its comparison—and now

> "Full many a skin, that sweat and dirt begrime,
> The double breasted vests of Fashion hide,
> Full many a ———, from waist to chin may climb, &c."

But I drop the parody, not from inability to follow it further, but because I hold it as a species of high treason to reveal any more secrets of the toilet masculine. I have but one consolation under this affliction, namely the hope that shirts *may possibly* once more come into fashion. Yes, I have another comfort: this abominable and worse than Moloch sacrifice of decency of appearance, as well as reality, has not invaded the fair, for though the garment is with them hidden, there were once and are even now certain *hors d'œuvres*, outworks, as it were, that bear testimony to its existence among the ladies of the present age."

Another observer of the present and past, thus moralizes upon this subject:—

Dress, says he, that was at first our shame, has become our pride;

and we, therefore, glory in our shame. It was first used for our covering; it is now made for display. A fashionable dress may hardly be defined as a covering; it is so scanty, that the plainest coat is half show. The sober drab of the Quaker, cut in straight lines, is yet ornamented in its own way. It is cut in a shape that gratifies the wearer, and that may make him proud of his humility.

All our fashions are fleeting, and the form of a cloud is not more liable to change. In the shoe and the boot, those minor and inferior parts of dress, what change may come ere we have shuffled off this square-toed pair! All human inventions, however, have a limit; for all combinations may be exhausted, and new fashions, like new boots, are but imitations of the old. Of shoes we remember the duck-billed shape, the pointed, the rounded, and the square; shoes horizontal, that exactly coincide with a flat surface, and others so much hollowed, that the heel and toe only leave a track in the sand. Others are turned up at an angle, equal to the eighth of a circle, and my toes are now pinched by a pair, small and square, of the exact fashion that has for centuries prevailed in China, that happy country where wise laws make the fashions unchangeable. Boots have been more mutable than shoes, but after a course of changes return to an old form. In the sculptures around the Parthenon, the work of Phidias himself, the equestrians have boots of as finical a fit and wrinkle as any in later times. Their form is that of the old white tops.

There are boots military, civic, and dramatic; there is the bootee, which is evidently a sheer abridgement, and the jack boot, that would not be filled after having swallowed them all.

The fashion at one time requires the boot to be wide and stiff in the back, and at another close and limber. Suwarrow and Wellington have a greater name among cordwainers than among soldiers. Of their victories, the remembrance will fade away, but their boots promise immortality. I remember my first pair of Suwarrows; they made a part of the great equipment, with which I came from college into the world. Four skeins of silk did I purchase of a mercer, and equal expense did I incur with the sweeper, for aid in twisting them into tassels for the boots. I would incur double the expense now to have the same feeling of dignity that I enjoyed then, when walking in those boots! I stepped long and slowly, and the iron heels, which it pleased me to set firmly on the pavement, made a greater clatter than a troop of horse—"shod with felt." But if I wore them with pride it was not without suffering; nor did I get myself into them without labour. Before I attempted to draw them on, I rubbed the inside with soap, and powdered my instep and heel with flour. I next drew the handle of the two forks through the straps, lest they should cut into my fingers, and then commenced the "tug of war." I contracted myself into the form of a chicken, trussed for the spit, and whatever patience and perseverance Providence had given me, I tested to the utmost. I cursed Suwarrow for

a Scythian, and wished his boots "hung in their own straps." I danced round the room upon one foot many times, and after several intervals for respiration and pious ejaculation, I succeeded in getting my toes into trouble, or I may say purgatory. Corns I had as many as the most fanatic pilgrim would desire for peas in his shoes, yet I walked through the crowd (who were probably admiring their own boots too much to bestow a thought upon mine,) as if I were a carpet knight *pelonaising* upon rose leaves. I was in torment, yet there was not a cloud upon my brow,

Spem vulta simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.

I could not have suffered for principle as I suffered for those memorable boots.

The coat I wore, was such as fashion enjoined; the skirts were long and narrow, like a swallow's tail, two-thirds at least of the whole length. The portion above the waist composed the other third. The waist was directly beneath the shoulders; the collar was a huge roll reaching above the ears, and there were two lines of brilliant buttons in front. There were nineteen buttons in a row. The pantaloons, (over which I wore the boots,) were of non-elastic corduroy. It would be unjust to the tailor to say that they were fitted like my skin; for they sat a great deal closer. When I took them off, my legs were like fluted pillars, grooved with the cords of the pantaloons. The hat that surmounted this dress had three-quarters of an inch rim, and a low tapering crown. It was circled by a ribbon two inches wide.

There is no modern dress that does not deform the human shape, and some national costumes render it more grotesque than any natural deformity. Dress, at present, seems as much worn to conceal the form, as language is used to hide and not to express the thoughts. In a fashionable costume, all are forms alike; there is no difference between Antinous or Æsop; Hyperion or a Satyr."

We know nothing so revolting to the sense of grave people of both sexes as was the first use among us of ladies' *pantalettes*, which came into use slowly and cautiously about the year 1830. We well remember the first female who had the hardihood to appear abroad in their display; she was a tall girl in her minority, always accompanied by her mother, the wife of a British officer, come then to settle among us. Her pantalettes were courageously displayed among us, with a half length petticoat. Often we heard the remark in serious circles, that it was an abomination unto the Lord to wear men's apparel. The fashion, however, went first for children till it got familiar to the eyes, and then ladies, little by little, followed after, till in time they became pretty general as a "*defence from cold in winter*," and for—we know not what—*in summer!*

FURNITURE AND EQUIPAGE.

"Dismiss a real elegance, a little used,
For monstrous novelty and strange disguise."

THE tide of fashion which overwhelms every thing in its onward course, has almost effaced every trace of what our forefathers possessed or used in the way of household furniture, or travelling equipage. Since the year 1800 the introduction of foreign luxury, caused by the influx of wealth, has been yearly effecting successive changes in those articles, so much so, that the former simple articles, which contented, as they equally served the purposes of our forefathers, could hardly be conceived. Such as they were, they descended acceptably unchanged from father to son and son's son, and presenting at the era of our Independence, precisely the same family picture which had been seen in the earliest annals of the town.

Formerly there were no sideboards, and when they were first introduced after the Revolution, they were much smaller and less expensive than now. Formerly they had couches of worsted damask, and only in very affluent families, in lieu of what we now call sofas or lounges. Plain people used settees and settles—the latter had a bed concealed in the seat, and by folding the top of it outwards to the front, it exposed the bed and widened the place for the bed to be spread upon it. This, homely as it might now be regarded, was a common sitting room appendage, and was a proof of more attention to comfort than display. It had, as well as the settee, a very high back of plain boards, and the whole was of white pine, generally unpainted and whitened well with unsparing scrubbing. Such was in the poet's eye, when pleading for his sofa,

"But restless was the seat, the back erect
Distress'd the weary loins, that felt no ease."

They were a very common article in very good houses, and were generally the proper property of the oldest members of the family—unless occasionally used to stretch the weary length of tired boys. They were placed before the fireplaces in the winter to keep the back guarded from wind and cold. Formerly there were no windsor chairs, and fancy chairs are still more modern. Their chairs of the genteelest kind, were of mahogany or red walnut, (once a great substitute for mahogany in all kinds of furniture, tables, &c.) or else they were of rush bottoms, and made of maple posts and slats, with high backs and perpendicular.* Instead of japanned waiters as now, they had mahogany tea boards and round tea tables, which being

* When the first windsor chairs were introduced, they were universally *green*

turned on an axle underneath the centre, stood upright, like an expanded fan or palm leaf in the corner. Another corner was occupied by a beaufet, which was a corner closet with a glass door, in which all the china of the family and the plate were intended to be displayed for ornament as well as use. A conspicuous article in the collection was always a great china punch bowl, which furnished a frequent and grateful beverage,—for wine drinking was then much less in vogue. China tea cups and saucers were about half their present size; and china tea pots and coffee pots with silver nozles was a mark of superior finery. The sham of plated ware was not then known; and all who showed a silver surface had the massive metal too. This occurred in the wealthy families in little coffee and tea pots, and a silver tankard for good sugared toddy, was above vulgar entertainment. Where we now use earthenware, they then used delfware imported from England, and instead of queensware (then unknown) pewter platters and porringers, made to shine along a "dresser," were universal. Some, and especially the country people, ate their meals from wooden trenchers. Gilded looking glasses and picture frames of golden glare were unknown, and both, much smaller than now, were used. Small pictures painted on glass with black mouldings for frames, with a scanty touch of goldleaf in the corners, was the adornment of a parlour. The looking-glasses in two plates, if large, had either glass frames, figured with flowers engraved thereon, or was of scalloped mahogany, or of Dutch wood scalloped—painted white or black, with here and there some touches of gold. Every householder in that day deemed it essential to his convenience and comfort to have an ample chest of drawers in his parlour or sitting room, in which the linen and clothes of the family were always of ready access. It was no sin to rummage them before company! These drawers were sometimes nearly as high as the ceiling. At other times they had a writing desk about the centre with a falling lid to write upon when let down. A great high clockcase, reaching to the ceiling, occupied another corner, and a fourth corner was appropriated to the chimney place. They then had no carpets on their floors, and no paper on their walls. The silver sand on the floor was drawn into a variety of fanciful figures and twirls with the sweeping brush, and much skill and pride was displayed therein in the devices and arrangement. They had then no argand or other lamps in parlours,* but dipped candles, in brass or copper candlesticks, was usually good enough for common use; and those who occasionally used mould candles, made them at home, in little tin frames, casting four to six candles in each. A glass lantern with square sides furnished the entry lights in the houses of the affluent. Bedsteads then were made, if fine, of carved mahogany, of slender dimensions; but, for common purposes, or for the families

* The first which ever came to this country is in my possession—originally a present from Thomas Jefferson to Charles Thomson.

of good tradesmen, they were of poplar and always painted green. It was a matter of universal concern to have them low enough to answer the purpose of repose for sick or dying persons—a provision so necessary for such possible events, now so little regarded by the modern practice of ascending to a bed by steps like clambering up to a hay mow.

A lady, giving me the reminiscences of her early life, thus speaks of things as they were before the war of Independence. Marble mantels and folding doors were not then known, and well enough we enjoyed ourselves without sofas, carpets, or girandoles. A white floor sprinkled with clean white sand, large tables and heavy high back chairs of walnut or mahogany, decorated a parlour genteelly enough for any body. Sometimes a carpet, not, however, covering the whole floor, was seen upon the dining room. This was a show-parlour up stairs, not used but upon gala occasions, and then not to dine in. Pewter plates and dishes were in general use. China on dinner tables was a great rarity. Plate, more or less, was seen in most families of easy circumstances, not indeed, in all the various shapes that have since been invented, but in massive silver waiters, bowls, tankards, cans, &c. Glass tumblers were scarcely seen. Punch, the most common beverage, was drunk by the company from one large bowl of silver or china; and beer from a tankard of silver.

The rarity of carpets, now deemed so indispensable to comfort, may be judged of by the fact, that T. Matlack, Esq., when aged 95, told me he had a distinct recollection of meeting with the first carpet he had ever seen, about the year 1750, at the house of Owen Jones, at the corner of Spruce and Second streets. Mrs. S. Shoemaker, an aged Friend of the same age, told me she had received as a rare present from England a Scotch carpet; it was but twelve feet square, and was deemed quite a novelty then, say seventy years ago. When carpets afterwards came into general use they only covered the floor in front of the chairs and tables. The covering of the whole floor is a thing of modern use. Many are the anecdotes which could be told of the carpets and the country bumpkins. There are many families who can remember that soon after their carpets were laid, they have been visited by clownish persons, who showed strong signs of distress at being obliged to walk over them; and when urged to come in, have stole in close to the sides of the room tip-toed, instinctively, to avoid sullying them!

It was mentioned before that the papering of the walls of houses was not much introduced till after the year 1790. All the houses which I remember to have seen in my youth were whitewashed only; there may have been some rare exceptions. As early as the year 1769, we see that Plunket Fleeson first manufactures American paper hangings at the corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets, and also paper mache, or raised paper mouldings, in imitation of carving, either coloured or gilt. But, although there was thus an offer to

paper rooms, their introduction must have been extremely rare. The uncle of the present Joseph P. Norris, Esq., had his library or office room papered, but his parlours were wainscotted with oak and red cedar, unpainted and polished with wax and robust rubbing. This was at his seat at Fairhill, built in 1717.

The use of stoves in families was not known in primitive times, neither in families, nor in churches. Their fireplaces were as large again as the present, with much plainer mantelpieces. In lieu of marble plates round the sides and top of the fireplaces, it was ornamented with china-dutch-tile pictured with sundry Scripture pieces. Dr. Franklin first invented the "open stove," called also "Franklin stove," after which, as fuel became scarce, came in the better economy of the "ten plate stove."

When china was first introduced among us in the form of tea sets, it was quite a business to take in broken china to mend. It was done by cement in most cases; but generally the larger articles, like punch bowls were done with silver rivets or wire. More than half the punch bowls you could see were so mended.

It is only of late years that the practice of veneering mahogany and other valuable wood has prevailed among us. All the old furniture was solid.

Having got the possession of a copy of an original draft of a letter of Mrs. Benjamin Franklin, written in 1765, to her husband then in Europe, I am enabled to ascertain some facts of household economy which show a state of imported luxuries in the higher classes, at an earlier period than might be inferred, from the facts told in these pages. It is her letter of minute description of their new house, just then erected in the Doctor's absence, in Franklin Court. I give it *as a picture* of domestic doings then. She says, "In the room down stairs is the *sideboard*, which is very handsome and plain, with two tables made to suit it and a dozen of chairs also. The chairs are plain horse hair, and look as well as 'Paduasoy, and are admired by all. The little south room I have *papered*, as the walls were much soiled. In this room is a *carpet* I bought cheap for its goodness, and *nearly new*. The *large carpet* is in the blue room. In the parlour is a *Scotch carpet* which has had much fault found with it. Your timepiece stands in *one corner*, which is, as I am told, *all wrong*—but I say, we shall have all these *as they should be*, when you come home. If you could meet with a *Turkey carpet*, I should like it; but if not, I shall be very easy, for as to these things, I have become quite indifferent *at this time*. In the north room where we sit, we have a *small* Scotch carpet,—the small bookcase,—brother John's picture, and one of the King and Queen. In the room for our friends, we have the Earl of Bute hung up, and a glass. May I desire you to remember drinking *glasses*, and a *large* table cloth or two; also a pair of silver canisters. The closet doors *in your room* have been framed *for glasses*, unknown to me; I shall send you an account of

the panes required. I shall also send the measures of the fireplaces, and *the pier of glass*. The chimneys do well, and I have baked *in the oven*, and found it is good. The room we call yours, has in it a desk,—the *harmonica* made like a desk,—a large chest with all the writings,—the boxes of glasses for music, and for the electricity, and all your clothes. The pictures are not put up, as I do not like to *drive nails*, lest they should not be right. The Blue room, has the *harmonica* and the *harpsicord*, the gilt sconce, a card-table, a set of tea china, the worked chairs, and screen,—a very handsome stand for the *tea kettle* to stand on, and the ornamental china. The paper of this room has lost much of *its bloom* by pasting up. The curtains are not yet made. The south room is my sleeping room with my Susannah,—where we have a bed *without curtains*,—a chest of drawers, a table, a glass, and old black walnut chairs, and some of our family pictures. I have taken all *the dead letters*, [meaning those he had as Post Master General,] and the papers, that were in the garret, with the books not taken by Billy, [his son W. Franklin, at Burlington,] and had them boxed and barreled up, and put in the south garret to await your return. Sally has the south room up two pair of stairs, having therein a bed, bureau, table, glass, and the picture—a trunk *and books*—but *these* you can't have any notion of!"

She finally concludes familiarly and pathetically—"*O my child!* there is a great odds between a man's being at home and abroad:—as every body is afraid they shall do wrong,—so, every thing is left undone!"

Family Equipage.—There is scarcely any thing in Philadelphia which has undergone so great a change as the increased style and number of our travelling vehicles and equipage. I have seen aged persons who could name the few proprietors of every coach used in the whole province of Pennsylvania—a less number than are now enrolled on the books of some individual establishments among us for the mere hiring of coaches! Even since our war of Independence there were not more than ten or twelve in the city, and, rare as they were, every man's coach was known at sight by every body. A hack had not been heard of. Our progenitors did not deem a carriage a necessary appendage of wealth or respectability. Merchants and professional gentlemen were quite content to keep a one horsechair; these had none of the present trappings of silver plate, nor were the chair bodies varnished; plain paint alone adorned them, and brass rings and buckles were all the ornaments found on the harness; the chairs were without springs, on leather bands—such as could now be made for fifty dollars.

James Reed, Esq., an aged gentleman who died in the fever of 1793, said he could remember when there were only eight four-wheeled carriages kept in all the province! As he enumerated them, they were set down in the commonplace book of my friend Mrs. D. L., to wit: Coaches—the Governor's, (Gordon) Jonathan

Dickinson's, Isaac Norris's, Andrew Hamilton's, Anthony Palmer's. Fourwheeled chairs, drawn by two horses: James Logan's, Stenton; David Lloyd's, Chester; Lawrence Growden's, Bucks.

At the earliest period of the city some two or three coaches are incidentally known. Thus William Penn, the founder, in his note to James Logan of 1700, says, "Let John (his black) have the coach, and horses put in it, for Pennsbury, from the city." In another he speaks of his "calash." He also requests the Justices may place bridges over the Pennepack and other waters, for his carriage to pass.

I have preserved, on page 172 of my MS. Annals in the City Library, the general list, with the names of the several owners of every kind of carriage used in Philadelphia in the year 1761. William Allen the Chief Justice, the Widow Lawrence, and Widow Martin, were the only owners of coaches. William Peters and Thomas Willing, owned the only two landaus. There were eighteen chariots enumerated, of which the Proprietor and the Governor had each of them one. Fifteen chairs concluded the whole enumeration, making a total of thirty-eight vehicles.

In the MS. of Dusimitiere he has preserved an enumeration of the year 1772, making a total of eighty-four carriages.

The rapid progress in this article of luxury and often of convenience, is still further shown by the list of duties imposed on pleasure carriages, showing, that in the year 1794, they were stated thus, to wit: thirty-three coaches, one hundred and fifty-seven coachees, thirty-five chariots, twenty-two phætons, eighty light wagons, and five hundred and twenty chairs and sulkies.

The aged T. Matlack, Esq., before named, told me the first coach he remembered to have seen was that of Judge William Allen's who lived in Water street, on the corner of the first alley below High street. His coachman, as a great whip, was imported from England. He drove a kind of landau with four black horses. To show his skill as a driver he gave the Judge a whirl round the shambles, which then stood where Jersey market is since built, and turned with such dashing science as to put the Judge and the spectators in great concern! The tops of this carriage fell down front and back, and thus made an open carriage if required.

Mrs. Shoemaker, as aged as 95, told me that pleasure carriages were very rare in her youth. She remembered that her grandfather had one, and that he used to say he was almost ashamed to appear abroad in it, although it was only a one horsechair, lest he should be thought effeminate and proud. She remembered old Richard Wistar had one also. When she was about twenty Mr. Charles Willing, merchant, brought a calash coach with him from England. This and Judge William Allen's were the only ones she had ever seen! This Charles Willing was the father of the late aged Thomas Willing, Esq., President of the first Bank of the United States.

In the year 1728, I perceive by the Gazette, that one Thomas Skelton advertises that he has got "a fourwheeled chaise, in Chestnut street, to be hired. His prices are thus appointed: "For four persons to Germin-town, 12 shillings and 6 pence; to Frankford, 10 shillings; and to Gray's Ferry, 7 shillings and 6 pence to 10 shillings."

In the year 1746, Mr. Abram Carpenter, a cooper, in Dock street, near the Golden Fleece, makes his advertisement, to hire two chairs and some saddle horses, to this effect, to wit:

"Two handsome chairs,
With very good geers,
With horses, or without,
To carry friends about.

Likewise, saddle horses, if gentlemen please,
To carry them handsomely, much at their ease,
Is to be hired by Abram Carpenter, cooper
Well known as a very good cask-hooper."

In October, 1751, a MS. letter of Doctor William Shippen, to John Godman, in London, wrote to discourage him from sending out two chairs or chaises for sale here, saying, they are dull sale.

The most splendid looking carriage ever in Philadelphia, at that time, was that used by General Washington, while President. There was in it, at least to my young mind, a greater air of stately grandeur than I have ever seen since. It was very large, so much so, as to make four horses an indispensable appendage. It had been previously imported for Governor Richard Penn. It was of a cream colour, with much more of gilded carvings in the frame than is since used. Its strongest attractions were the relief ornaments on the pannels, they being painted medallion pictures of playing cupids or naked children. That carriage I afterwards saw, in 1804–5, in my store yard at New Orleans, where it lay an outcast in the weather!—the result of a bad speculation in a certain Doctor Young, who had bought it at public sale, took it out to Orleans for sale, and could find none to buy it, where all were content with plain volantes! A far better speculation would have been to have taken it to the Marquis of Lansdown, or other admirers of Washington in England.*

Even the character of the steeds used and preferred for riding and carriages, have undergone the change of fashion too. In old time, the horses most valued were pacers—now so odious deemed! To this end, the breed was propagated with care, and pace races were held in preference! The Narraganset racers of Rhode Island were in such repute that they were sent for, at much trouble and expense, by some few who were choice in their selections. It may amuse the present generation to peruse the history of one such

* It became in time a kind of outhouse, in which fowls roosted; and in the great battle of New Orleans it stood between the combatants, and was greatly shot-ridden! Its gooseneck crane, has been laid aside for me.

horse, spoken of in the letter of Rip Van Dam, of New York, of the year 1711, to Jonathan Dickinson of Philadelphia. It states the fact of the trouble he had taken to procure him a horse. He was shipped from Rhode Island in a sloop, from which he jumped overboard and swam ashore to his former home! He arrived at New York in fourteen days passage much reduced in flesh and spirit. He cost 32*£*. and his freight 50 shillings. From New York he was sent inland to Philadelphia "by the next post," i. e., postman. He shows therein, that the same postrider rode through the whole route from city to city! He says of the pacer, he is no beauty although "so high priced," save in his legs; says "he always plays and acts; will never stand still; will take a glass of wine, beer, or cider, and probably would drink a dram in a cold morning!" This writer, Rip Van Dam, was a great personage, he having been President of the Council in 1731, and, on the death of Governor Montgomery, that year was ex-officio Governor of New York. His mural monument is in St. Paul's church in that city.

A letter of Doctor William Shippen, of 1745, which I have seen, thus writes to George Barney, (celebrated for procuring good horses,) saying, "I want a genteel carriage horse of about fifteen hands high, round bodied, full of courage, close ribbed, dark chesnut, not a swift pacer, if that must much enhance his price. I much liked the pacer you procured for James Logan."

Formerly, livery stables and hacks (things of modern introduction,) were not in use. Those who kept horses and vehicles were much restricted to those only whose establishments embraced their own stables. The few who kept their horses without such appendages placed them at the taverns. They who depended upon hire were accustomed to procure them of such persons as had frequent uses for a horse to labour in their business, who, to diminish their expense, occasionally hired them in the circle of their acquaintance. In this way, many who were merchants (the ancestors of those who have now a horse and gig for almost every son,) were fain to get their draymen to exempt a horse from his usual drudgery for the benefit of his employers for a country airing. A drayman who kept two or three such horses for porterage, usually kept a plain chair to meet such occasions. If the vehicles were homelier than now, they were sure to be drawn by better horses, and looked in all respects more like the suitable equipments of substantial livers than the hired and glaring fripperies of the livery-fineries of the present sumptuous days. Then ladies took long walks to the miry grounds of the South street Theatre, without the chance of calling for hacks for their conveyance. There is a slight recollection of a solitary hack which used to stand before the Conestoga Inn, in High street—an unproductive concern, which could only obtain an occasional call from the strangers visiting the inn, for a ride out of town. To have rode in town would have been regarded as gross affectation,—practically reasoning,

that as our limbs were bestowed before hacks were devised, they should be used and worn out first, before the others were encouraged.

CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS IN PUBLIC AND DOMESTIC COMFORTS AND CONVENIENCES.

An attention to the following notices of the alterations and improvements of our city in its streets, houses, &c., for the purpose of increasing public and individual conveniences and comforts, or for facilitating business and trade, will much aid our right conception of things as they once were, and of the means and times used to produce the alterations which we now witness.

Wells and Pumps.—The conveniences of pumps were rarely seen for many years in the primitive city. Even wells for the use of families were generally public and in the streets. Aged persons have told me of their recollections of such wells even in their time. They became the frequent subject of presentments of the Grand Juries. As early as the year 1723, they present "two old and very deep wells lying open at Centre Square," also a pump at Pewter-platter alley. They urge, too, that a pump at the great arch, (Arch street) standing out much into the street, ought to be removed. They recommend to fill up the well in the middle of the footpath in Second street, near Thomas Rutter's. The well in the common shore in High street is noticed as a nuisance "for want of a better covering." In 1741, they present an open well in Second street at William Fishbourne's, and another in Third street at Enoch Story's. In 1735, it is publicly stated in the Gazette, as manifest, that "some public pumps are wanting," and in 1744, the Union Fire Company show their care of them by advertising a reward of £5, "for apprehending the persons who stole the nozles from High street, and other streets." When Kalm was here in 1748, he says there was a well to every house, and several in the streets. The water he praised much, as very good and clear.

Watchmen, Lamps, and Constables.—Aged persons have told me that in their early days there were no watchmen: and that in lieu of them the constables went round every night, before going to rest, to see that all was well. Even the constables were originally citizens, serving for a period by necessity. In the year 1750, the Grand Jury represent the great need of watchmen and paved streets, saying of the former, they would "repress nightly insults," and of the latter, "frequent complaints are made by strangers and others of the

extreme dirtiness of the streets for want of paving." The next year (1751) an act is passed for "a nightly watch and for enlightening the city."* As early as the year 1742, the Grand Jury had before presented the need of "a stated watch and watch house, and not to be conducted by the citizens as formerly." In 1749, the Grand Jury particularly notice the defect of the nightly watch, as very defective for so great a city, containing 2000 or 3000 houses and 15,000 inhabitants. Only five or six men (they say) are employed, who go their rounds in company. I have seen by a MS. Journal of John Smith, Esq., that he notes on the 20th of 9 mo. 1749, that "he called at the tavern where the owners of lamps (in the streets) were met to consult on methods for better lighting them." There, says he, "we agreed with a man, each of us to pay him 3 shillings and 9 pence per month, to light them nightly." When the duties of watchmen and constables were imposed upon the citizens, some, to avoid the onerous service, fell under the vigilance of the Grand Juries. For instance, in 1704, "Gyles Green and William Morris, are presented as not serving their tour of duty as watchmen when nominated thereto." They were nominated in each ward by the constables. In 1706, several instances occur of citizens fined £5, each, "for neglect to serve as constables." Among the respectable citizens thus fined, I noticed the names of Joseph Shippen, Abram Carpenter, George Claypole, Henry Preston. The constables of that day, I perceive, were charged to notify to the Grand Juries the nuisances occurring in their several wards.

Pavements.—Our present excellent streets and foot-pavements, for which our city is distinguished, is a work mostly executed within the memory of some of the remaining ancients. They have told me the streets were once alternately miry or dusty. The foot-pavements were but partially done, having a narrow footwalk of bricks and the remainder filled in with gravel, or the whole with gravel only. In those times galoshes and pattens were necessary and resorted to by the ladies. The venerable Charles Thomson, Esq., told me that Second street from High to Chestnut street, used to be very muddy and was often a matter of complaint. At last an accident determined that a pavement should be made there. One of the Whartons, being on horseback, was mired there, thrown from his horse and broke his leg. Thomson and others made a subscription forthwith and had that street paved,—it being, as I understood, the first regularly paved street in the city. This first enterprise, being an affair of some moment in the moderate resources of the city, became first a subject of discussion in the Junto or Leathern Apron Club, and their wishes being favourable to the measure, it had their patronage, and was executed at an expense of only 4 shillings and 6 pence per cart load of pebbles delivered at the

* On the 3d of October, the same year, the Gazette announces that on Monday last the streets began to be illuminated with lamps according to the act.

shallops. It was on that occasion of paving that a Mr. Purdon became distinguished and useful as a pavier. The first workmen employed were awkward, and Purdon, who was then a British soldier on duty in the city, smiling to see their incapacity from inexperience, interfered to show them a better example. His skill was so manifest he was sought after, and, at the interest of the city officers, was released from the army by a substitute. He was a relative of John Purdon, a respectable storekeeper in Front street, and who used to advertise *in verse.*

I perceive, as early as the year 1719, from a letter of Jonathan Dickinson to his brother, that some foot-pavements and crossing places in the mid streets were about making, to wit: "As to bricks, we have been upon regulating the pavements of our streets,—the footway with bricks, and the cartway with stone, which has made our bricks dear." The Minutes of the City Council about the same time state, that as several of the inhabitants have voluntarily paved from the kennel (gutter) to the middle of the street with pebbles, and others are levelling and following their example, they recommend an ordinance to restrain the weights of loaded carriages passing over them. In 1750 the Grand Jury represent the great need of paved streets, so as to remedy "the extreme dirtiness and miry state of the streets." Very little of a general effort to pave the mid streets was attempted before the year 1761–2. And even then, the first endeavours were limited to the means produced by lotteries—so Second street, north of High street to Race street, was effected; and then every good citizen did what he could to help the sale of the tickets for the general good. In 1762 the act was passed "regulating, pitching, paving and cleansing the highways, streets, lanes and alleys, &c., within the settled parts of Philadelphia." In the regulations which ensued from this act, the streets extending westward, lying south of High street, were thrown from three to five feet more south than before, and occasioned some strange looking encroachments of some houses on the south sides of the streets, and some less obvious recession of others on the northern sides of the same streets. Thus an old brick house, on the southwest corner of Fifth and Walnut streets, so projected into the street as to leave no footwalk. An old inn and other buildings, once on the southwest corner of Chestnut and Fourth streets, were also left so far in the street as to leave but about two feet of footwalk there; while the old houses generally, on the northern side, were thrown back behind the general line of the foot-pavement. Norris' house, built in 1755 on the site of the late Bank of the United States, originally placed three feet back from the line of the pavement, came, in time, (probably in 1766,) to be considered six to eight inches on the footwalk.

The late aged Mr. Pearson, who served a long life as City Surveyor, had great influence in effecting his own views as a City Regulator, and withal, a perverse taste in the opinion of many, in

bringing the whole area of the city to a dull level. Present observers can have little idea of the original graceful inequalities and diversities of undulations which once variegated the city. By the act of 1782, James Pearson and four others were made Regulators. By this act Mr. Pearson, who had influence enough as adviser before, became in effect sole ruler, whereby he so far accomplished his favourite scheme of a general level, that we have been since compelled to excavate the earth in numerous streets to produce subterrane water channels to save the citizens from inundation. Pear street hill, Union street hill, and "the hill" near the present Custom house, originally presented beautiful natural acclivities for hanging gardens, which will be noticed elsewhere. Our present State house, now so dead a level, was originally three to four feet higher than now.

The rise and progress of the street pavings may be generally noticed as follows, to wit: In 1761 a lottery of 12,500 tickets, at four dollars, making 50,000 dollars, is made for raising 7,500 dollars, to be used in paving the streets in such places as the managers may deem most useful. North Second street, called then "the north end," was paved in that year out of the avails of that lottery. First a pavement was effected to Race street; afterwards it was extended to Vine street. The first curb-stones were set in Water street, from High street to Arch street, about the year 1786–8. There criminals were first used as scavengers: they were chained to a bomb-shell, and were attended by Reynolds the jailer.

In 1765 Robert Erwin is made "a scavenger for seeing the streets cleansed once a week." In 1767 the drays of Philadelphia, which before had narrow felloes like carts, were required to be constructed of four inches width for the sake of the pavements. Before those pavements it was not unusual, in wet streets, to see two horses to a dray, drawing only one puncheon of rum. In 1768 another lottery is instituted to raise £5250, for further paving the streets, and for buying a landing in the Northern Liberties. The manner of pebble-paving was formerly different from the present. They did not buttress the arch with large stones, by keeping the largest to the sides of the streets, but they topped the arch with the biggest, and so gave the roughest riding where most needed to be easy. Several of the streets, too, where the passage of water was great, as in Race and Vine streets below Second street, had their channel or gutter in the middle. When the streets were elevated, and the gutters on each side, they were defended by posts. The use of curb-stones is modern.

As a sequel to the foregoing facts on street pavements, it may interest the reader to see some of the facts with which the good citizens were annoyed before they could accomplish a general pavement. They stand exposed by Grand Juries much as follows, to wit: In 1705 they present as bad places in the streets—"In Second

street, by John Parson's, going to Budd's bridge."—Drawbridge; "a dirty place in Second street, over against the great Meeting house,"—Friend's Meeting; "a dirty place in Chestnut street, against John Bedle's House, and Thomas Wharton's;" "a very bad place at Ephraim Johnson's, going up from King street (Water street) to Front street;" "a low dirty place in High street, over against the free pumps, near Doctor Hodgson's house." In 1708 they present Walnut street, from Front to Second street as being considerably diminished of its due breadth of 50 feet; that David Powell has wholly inclosed the breadth of Sixth street on the south side of Chestnut street; that the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth streets are in great part fenced or taken into the several adjoining lots on both sides; that there is a low place, with a great quantity of standing water, not safe and scarcely passable for either horse or cart, in Chestnut street, where Fifth street crosses the same; that there is a deficiency in the arch bridge in Chestnut street, adjoining the lot of the Widow Townsend; that there is a deep, dirty place, where the public water gathers and stops for want of a passage, in the crossing of Third street and High street, to the great damage of the neighbourhood; the owners, too, of the unimproved lots in King street (Water street) above Chestnut street, have not improved the street in front of them.

In 1711 they present the necessity of changing the watercourse in High street, near William Harris' tavern, of the sign of the Three Hats; also, several who do not pave watercourses fronting their lots; also, two fences which stopped the south end of Strawberry alley; a miry place at Second and Chestnut streets, and another at Chestnut and Fifth streets, for want of watercourses.

In 1720 they present an invasion of water "on the common shore," made into King street, and a gully in the street, scarcely passable, near the Hatchet and Shereman's; also an impassable breach made near Pennypot House. They also present several kennels (gutters) as unpaved. The west side of Second street, against Joseph Shippen's brew-house, (between James Logan's and Samuel Powell's,) is presented as wanting filling up and a kennel there,—this means the site of the present Bank of Pennsylvania. In 1726 they present "a pond or puddle in Mulberry street, between the Front and Second streets where several children have narrowly escaped being drowned, as we are credibly informed."

In 1750 they present "the gutter of the north-west corner of Market and Fourth streets, as rendered dangerous for the want of a grate at the common sewer, the passage being large enough for the body of a grown person to fall in; further, that Fourth street, from Market street to the south-west corner of Friends' burying ground, wants regulating, and is now impassable for carriages."

They also present, that "the pavement in Chestnut street, near Fleeson's shop, (corner of Fourth and Chestnut streets,) is exceedingly dangerous, occasioned by the arch (meaning the bridge over Dock

creek, by present Hudson's alley,) being fallen down and no care taken to repair it."

Such are some of the tokens still remaining to us of the busy surveillance of former Grand Juries, found now among the lumber of office. Some of them may appear too trivial for notice now; but who can foresee what future discoveries may be made in digging into some former "fillings up,"—as, for instance, the late discovery of subterrane logs in Chestnut street, the primitive foundation of the bridge above referred to, and which no living persons could explain from memory! Such unexpected developments may call for notices as I have occasionally set down.

Bridges.—It might justly surprise a modern Philadelphian, or a stranger visiting our present levelled city, to learn it was once crowded with bridges, having at least one dozen of them—the subjects of frequent mention and care! I shall herein chiefly notice such as have been disused; as many as six of them traversed Dock Creek alone! The following occasional notices of them, on the records, will prove their existence, to wit:

In 1704 the Grand Jury present the bridge, going over the dock, at the south end of the town, as insufficient, and endangers man and beast. It is also called "the bridge and causeway next to Thomas Budd's long row."

In 1706, the Grand Jury having viewed the place where the bridge going towards the Society Hill lately was, (but then broken down and carried away by a storm!) do present as a thing needful to be rebuilt.

In 1712 they present the passage down under the arch, (meaning at the corner of Front and Arch streets,) as not passable; and again, they present that the same, to wit: "the arch in Front street is very dangerous for children in the day time, and strangers in the night; neither is it passable underneath for carriages."

In 1713 they present the bridge at the Dock mouth, and the causeway between that and Society Hill, want repairs; so also, the bridge over Dock and Second streets; also, the bridge in Third street, where the dock is.

In 1717 they present the bridge over the dock in Walnut street, the breach of the arch whereof appears dangerous, and tending to ruin, which a timely repair may prevent. It was just built, too, by Samuel Powell.

In 1718 they present the great arch in Front street, the arch in Second street and the arch in Walnut street, as insufficient for man and beast to pass over. They recommend the removal of the great arch at Mulberry street, as desirable for affording a handsome prospect of the Front street. The Second street bridge was built of stone in 1720, by Edward Collins, for £125.

In 1719 they present the arch in Chestnut street, between the house of Grace Townsend and the house of Edward Pleadwell, as part broken down. This refers to a bridge over Dock creek, at

Hudson's alley. At the same time the three bridges over the dock in Front, Second and Walnut streets are all declared "unfinished and unsafe." The same year the inhabitants near the Chestnut street bridge petition the Mayor's court for repairs to that bridge, to keep it from falling.

In 1740 they present the "common shore," at Second street and Walnut street bridges as much broken. "Common shore" sounds strange in the midst of our present dry city! It is also found named on the same Dock creek as high as Fourth and High streets. In 1750 they present the Chestnut street bridge as fallen down and extremely dangerous.

Some other facts concerning bridges will be found connected with other subjects, such as those over Pegg's run, the Cohocksink, &c. There was even a small bridge once at the corner of Tenth and High streets.

Balconies.—In the early days of the city almost all the houses of good condition were provided with balconies, now so rare to be seen, save a few still remaining in Water street. Several old houses, which I still see, show, on close inspection, the marks where from that cause they formerly had doors to them in the second stories—such a one is C. P. Wayne's, at the southwest corner of High and Fourth streets, at William Gerhard's, at the corner of Front and Combes' alley, and at the corner of Front and Norris' alley, &c.

As early as 1685 Robert Turner's letter to William Penn says, "We build most houses with balconies." A lady, describing the reception of Governor Thomas Penn on his public entry from Chester in 1732, says, "when he reached here in the afternoon the windows and balconies were filled with ladies, and the streets with the mob, to see him pass." In fact these balconies, or their places supplied by the penthouses, were a part of the social system of our forefathers, where every family expected to sit in the street porch, and these shelters over head were needed from sun and rain.

Window Glass.—The early buildings in Philadelphia had all their window glass set in leaden frames, and none of them to hoist up, but to open inwards as doors. Gerhard's house at Combe's alley, and the house at the southwest corner of Norris' alley and Front street, still retain a specimen of them. When clumsy wooden frames were substituted, panes of six by eight and eight by ten formed the largest dimensions seen among us. It became, therefore, matter of novelty and surprise when Governor John Penn first set the example among us of larger panes,—such as now adorn the house, once his residence, in South Third street near the Mansion House, and numbered 110. They are still but small panes in comparison with some others. The fact of his rare glass gave occasion to the following epigram by his sister-in-law, to wit:

Happy the man, in such a treasure,
Whose *greatest panes* afford him pleasure;

Stoics (who need not fear the devil)
Maintain that pain is not an evil;
They boast a negative at best,
But he with panes is really blest.

Dials on Houses.—It was once a convenience to have sun-dials affixed to the walls of the houses. To appreciate this thing, we must remember there was a time when only men in easy circumstances carried a watch, and there were no clocks, as now, set over the watchmakers' doors, to regulate the time of street passengers. Such a large dial, therefore, still exists against the house (once of Anthony Morris) on the north side of Pine street, opposite Friends' meeting house—it was a timepiece consulted by the congregation visiting there. Another old dial was affixed to the wall, and seen in the rear of one of the first built houses on South Second street, say No. 43. Another could be seen on a house on the north side of High street, four or five doors west of Second street. That was once the great convenience of the market people, of the people at the court house, and at Friends' meeting.

Plate Stoves.—We moderns can have little idea of what cold, comfortless places the public churches and places of assemblage were in the winter seasons in former days, before the invention of "tenplate stoves" and the like. The more prudent or feeble women supplied the defect by carrying with them to church "foot-stoves," on which to place their feet and keep them warm. They were a small square box of wood or tin, perforated with holes, in which was placed a small vessel containing coals. The first idea of those tenplate stoves was given by C. Sower, the printer, of Germantown, who had every house in that place supplied with his invention of "jamb-stoves," roughly cast at or near Lancaster. They were like the other, only having no baking chamber. Tenplate stoves, when first introduced, though very costly, and but rudely cast, were much used for kitchens and common sitting rooms. But, afterwards, when Dr. Franklin invented his open or Franklin stove, they found a place in every parlour. It was for a long while deemed so perfect, they neither needed nor even expected a change! In 1752 first came out the cannon stoves, made at Lancaster and at Colebrookdale, Pa., and were used in churches, court rooms and legislative halls. They were upright cylinders, looking like cannon. Christ church and Friends' meeting used them. Several other churches were without any fires, and the aisles were brick paved. Our forefathers were a hardy race.

Public Stages and Packets.—In 1751 the Burlington and Bordentown line of boats was first established, for transportation through to New York, by Borden, Richards, Wright and others.

The New York stage. via Perth Amboy and Trenton, is first instituted in November, 1756, by John Butler, at the sign of the Death of the Fox, in Strawberry alley, to arrive at New York in three

days. This Butler was thus set up by the old Hunting Club, to whom Butler had been huntsman and kennel keeper.

The same year "British pacquet boats" are first announced between New York and Falmouth. The postage of each single letter to be four pennyweight of silver. In 1765 a second line of stages is set up for New York, to start twice a week, using three days in going through, at 2 pence a mile. It was a covered Jersey wagon, without springs, and had four owners concerned.

The same year the first line of stage vessels and wagons is set up from Philadelphia to Baltimore, via Christiana and Frenchtown, on Elk river; to go once a week from Philadelphia.

In 1766, a third line of new stages for New York, modestly called "the Flying Machine," and of course to beat the two former ones, is set up and to go through in two days; to start from Elm street, near Vine street, under the ownership of John Barnhill. They were to be "good stage wagons, and the seats set on springs." Fare 3 pence per mile, or 20 shillings for the whole route. In the winter season, however, the "Flying Machine" was to cleave to the rough roads for three days as in former times.

In 1773, as perfection advances, Messrs. C. Bessonett & Co., of Bristol, start "stage coaches," being the first of that character; to run from Philadelphia to New York in two days, for the fare of $4. At the same time "outside passengers" were to pay 20 shillings each.

In 1785, the Legislature of New York passed an act of exclusive privilege for ten years, to Isaac Vanwick and others, to run a four horse stage from New York to Albany at 4 pence a mile. This to encourage the experiment.

It may be worthy of remark, in all the foregoing instances of travelling conveyances, that all the force and enterprise originated with the Philadelphia end of the line—showing how much, in that day, Philadelphia took the lead.

Porches.—Philadelphia, until the last thirty-five or forty years, had a porch to every house door, where it was universally common for the inhabitants to take their occasional sitting, beneath their penthouses, then general—for then

> "Our fathers knew the value of a screen
> From sultry sun, or patt'ring rain."

Such an easy access to the residents as they afforded, made the families much more social than now, and gave also a ready chance to strangers to see the faces of our pretty ladies. The lively spectacle was very grateful. It gave a kindly domestic scene, that is since utterly effaced from our manners.

It may further illustrate the uses of street-porches, to say that in the colonial times of 1762–3, sundry gentlemen, and especially *the officers*, took the name of Lunarians, because of their walking the streets of moonlight evenings, and stopping to talk socially with the

families sitting in their porches. At the time of my present writing, I have seen a letter of July 1763, written by Edmund Conyngham Esq., of Philadelphia,to Colonel Joseph Burd, then at Juniata Fort, wherein he says:—"the *Lunarians* met in the evening at the corner of Walnut and Water streets, most of the officers, and their wives were present. We drank your health and experienced the want of your many Indian anecdotes."

When porches were thus in vogue they were seen here and there occupied by boys, who there vied in telling strange incredible stories, and in singing ballads. Fine voices were occasionally heard singing them as you passed in the streets. Ballads were in constant requisition. I knew a tradesman of my age, who told me it was his pride to say he could sing a song for every day in the year, and all committed to memory.

The Banjoe and its Music.—The boys and musical people of former days, gave great countenance to *negroes* from the slave states, who used to visit the town to gather pence from the street passengers. Their *fine voices*, assisted by their homemade *guitars*, made from their home-grown gourds, *then* held the rank and place of the present street organs. They have been poetically described thus, viz:

He stands back by the wall, he abates not his din—
His hat gives him vigour, with boons dropping in,
From the old and the young—from the poorest, and there
The one-pennied boy has a penny to spare!—
His station is there—and he works on the crowd,
He sways them with harmony merry and loud—
What an eager assembly! what an empire is this,
The weary have life, and the hungry have bliss!

Houses altered.—In every direction of the city old houses have constantly been transforming into more modern appearances, especially within the last twenty-five or thirty years. Old black looking brick walls have been renewed in appearance by painting. Small windows and small panes have been taken out and large and showy bulks, &c., have been put in their places. These in their turn have, more recently, been often taken down, and bulks of smaller dimensions supplied. The floors which were below the present raised level of some streets have been raised, (witness C. P. Wayne's, at the southwest corner of Fourth and High streets) and all which were up steps (and this was the way of former buildings) have been lowered even with the streets wherever they have been converted into stores.

A modern innovation, which some regard as defective in good taste, has been to tear down almost universally from the superior houses, all the ancient ornaments which were not conformed to the modern taste. Thus it was general for the best houses to have vestibules and turned pillars, supporting very highly worked pediments over each door, and the ascent to them was up two or three soapstone steps. In such houses the walls were ceiled in their principal

rooms with cedar pannel work, and over the doors were pediments, which, with cornices, &c., were much carved. These have generally been all torn down and cast into the fire, to make way for papered walls and plain woodwork. The old houses, too, had much relief work on the fronts of the houses,—but the taste now is to affect a general plainness combined with neatness. Old Mr. Bradford, speaking of his recollections back to the period of 1750, said there were but few frame houses at that time. The most of houses were of two stories, some of three stories, and very few of one story. He remembered only one or two of stone, and two or three were of roughcast. The act, to prevent the construction of frame houses, was passed in the year 1796. Many of the old houses, in Mr. Bradford's time, still retained their leaden sashes and small panes. He removed those which had once been in the old London Coffee-house. Much he praised the social character and uses of the porches, as once protected from the weather by the penthouses. Stiles' two houses on the south side of Walnut street, next eastward of the Friends' almshouse, are among the finest specimens of the largest and best buildings of their day. So also the large house (now Gibbs',) at the northeast corner of Arch and Fourth streets. The two houses of John Rhea, Chestnut street opposite the present Bank of the United States, so long as they stood unaltered, were buildings of very superior style. He, however, following the innovation of the day, tore out all the rich old pannelled and carved work of the rooms; removed the stately stone steps, and the ample pediments of the front doors; and let down all the basement floors,—thus destroying as much in a few hours, as took months to set up. We have scarcely a vestige left of things as they were, to refer to as an example of what we mean by the ornaments so laid waste. Such as they were, have now their last asylum on the walls of the grand entry in our State house, where we hope they will be perpetuated as long as that structure shall endure! Formerly, every large house, possessing a good entry, had from two to four bull-eye glasses let into the woodwork over the front door, for the purpose of giving light to the passage, when the door should be shut. Each of the window shutters had holes cut in the upper part of them, in the form of crescents and other devices, to give light to the rooms when they should be closed.

Stores altered.—The stores generally retained their old fasnioned small windows, in no way differing from dwelling houses, until about forty years ago. Some, indeed, of the oldest structure had the shutters different,—having the upper one to hoist up, and the lower one to let down to the line of the horizon, where it was supported by side chains so as to enable the storekeeper to display thereon some of his wares intended for sale. Long or deep stores extending the full depth of the house were unknown; none exceeded the depth of the usual front rooms. The most of them went up ascending steps. None were kept open after night, save

grocery and drug stores. They presented no flaunting appearances of competition; no gorgeous nor alluring signs. Every thing was moderate.

The first fancy retail hardware store, with bulk windows, remembered, was the one opened by James Stokes, in what had been the Old Coffee-house, at the southwest corner of Market and Front streets. The buck-handled "Barlow" penknives, the gilt and plated buttons, and the scissors, curiously arranged on circular cards, (a new idea) and the bulk windows, lighted up at night, (a new thing) was a source of great gratification to the boys, and the country market people, lounging about with arms folded, on Tuesday and Friday evenings. One evening, among a group of gazers from about Conestoga, one of them exclaimed to the others in Pennsylvania German, "Cook a mole, har, cook do!" "meiner sale!" The first brilliant fancy dry goods shop, with bulk windows, as remembered, was opened by a Mr. Whitesides, from London, as it was said, in the true "Bond street style," at No. 134 Market street, in the house now occupied by Mr. Thomas Natt. The then uncommon sized lights in the two bulks, and the fine mull-mull and jaconet muslins, the chintses, and linens suspended in whole pieces, from the top to the bottom, and entwined together in puffs and festoons, (totally new,) and the shopman, behind the counter, powdered, bowing and smiling, caused it to be "all the stare" for a time. There being too much of the "pouncet-box" in the display, however, and the "vile Jersey half-pence, with a horsehead thereon" being wrapped up, when given in change in whitey brown paper, with a counter bow to the ladies, seeming rather too civil by half for the (as yet) primitive notions of our city folks.

Cellar Kitchens — now so general—are but of modern use. "Cook's houses," on the southeast corner of High and Third streets, and "Hunter's houses," on the north side of High street above Eighth street, built in my time, were the first houses erected among us with the novelty of cellar kitchens. Those houses were deemed elegant and curious in their day. After that time, cellar kitchens have been increasing in use, to the great annoyance of the aged dames who remembered the easy access of a yard kitchen on the first floor.

Ice Houses.—These have all come into use among us since the war of Independence. After them came the use of ice creams, of which Mr. Segur had the honour, and, besides, the first advantage, to benefit himself and us. Public ice houses for the sale of ice, is a more modern enterprise than either, and when first undertaken was of very dubious success, even for one adventurer. But already it is a luxury much patronised. The winter of 1828, from its unusual mildness, they failed to fill their ice houses for the first time.

Shade Trees.—The chief trees seen in the streets of the city before the revolution, were button woods and willows; several were used by the British for fuel. Such as remained, were attacked by an act of

the Corporation "to guard against fire and stagnant air." To counteract so unphilosophical a remedy for "stagnant air," Francis Hopkinson, Esq., poet and satirical humourist of the day, wrote an amusing "Speech of the standing member of the Assembly against the act." It had the effect to save some. In William Penn's time they also talked of cutting off trees to purify the air. The tall sky-piercers, called Lombardy poplars, were first introduced among us by William Hamilton, Esq., of the Woodlands, who brought them with him on his return from Europe in 1786 7. William Bingham, Esq., first planted them in long lines and closely set, all round his premises in the city. As they were easily propagated and grew rapidly, they soon became numerous along our streets. In time they were visited by a large worm, the bite of which was considered poisonous. It received the name of the "Poplar worm." Many must remember it.

Fruits, Vegetables and Flowers.—The present generation is little aware of how little their forefathers knew of many vegetables, fruits and flowers, which are now seen to be so abundant. These have been successfully increased among us, by the many gardeners, florists, &c. The Landreths, for several years, had almost all this business to themselves, and found it to work heavily enough in the beginning,—they having to make all their sales under a small stall, by the side of the Old Court house.

Tomatoes, ochra and artichokes, were first encouraged by the French emigrants, and had but very slow favour from ourselves. Afterwards came in, cauliflowers, *head* sallad, egg plants. oyster plants, cantelopes, mercer and foxite potatoes, rhubarb, *sweet* corn, &c. The seed of the cantelope was brought to this country from Tripoli, and distributed by Com. James Barron.

Formerly we had only a few fox and other poor grapes. We have since several foreign varieties, and have discovered and propagated among ourselves, the Elsinboro, Catawba and Isabella. Once we had only one sort of small strawberries, and now we have many kinds and large. We had only the small blue plum, and now we have them and gages, of great size. We have now greater varieties of pears, peaches, apricots and apples. The peaches were wholly unmolested by the worms.

Our former garden flowers and shrubberies were confined to lilacks, roses, snow balls, lilies, pinks and some tulips. *Jerusalem cherries* was a plant once most admired, and now scarcely seen. Now, we have greatly increased our garden embellishments, by such new things as, altheas, seringas, cocoras, geraniums, verbenas and numerous new varieties of roses, including champignens and cluster roses, with many new beauties in the class of tulips and other bulbous roots. In olden time, the *small* flower bed stood "solitary and alone" in most family gardens,—and sun flowers, and gay and rank hollihocks, and other *annual* productions, were the chief articles for a greater display. Morning glories and the gourd vine, were the annual dependence for cases of required shade. None scarcely thought of a grape vine for

such a purpose. In the way of gardens, almost every body were *utilitarians*, and scarcely thought of embellishing for the sake of mere vision, until they felt themselves urged onward by the desire of being like their neighbours, in cases where a few of such, little by little, led on the march of improvement. Even the first adventurers in this matter, of decidedly excellent taste, were themselves *allured* into such embellishment of their grounds, by being captivated, in seeing them first cultivated in the gardens of the professional gardeners. We are certainly much indebted *to them* for their steady persistence in an uphill work, until the design succeeded, and to their profit too. It is hardly to be imagined that we should ever, of our own mere motion, have been the separate importers of such floral acquisitions, as we now enjoy!

Cemeteries.—It ought, perhaps, to be mentioned, as among the *changes* of customs and opinions passing upon the public mind, the very striking incident which runs the old burial places in the city into disuse, and so greatly encourages and cherishes, as a place of sepulture, the rural and romantic beauties of the *Laurel Hill Cemetery*. Our forefathers never contemplated, as a possible case of modern improvement, that the home of the dead could be made a place of interest and beauty—such as could invite the visit of the stranger, and soothe the heart of those who go there to revive recollections of departed friends. Such a place, with all its expensive adornments, and with all its allurements of scenery, costs less we understand for sepulture, than in the ordinary burial grounds of the city. No wonder, therefore, that it finds favour with the public;—so that already it has the support of eight hundred lot holders, and has received the deposit of nine hundred interments in its short career of six years. For there, monuments of great variety and device have been executed; and being scattered through the shrubbery and trees, raise grateful images in our contemplation of the dead. We think no longer as if in a charnel-house; but as if associated with grateful shades and fragrant foliage, amid zephyrs, and the carol of birds. It is the place for rest to the soul,—the place for serenity and meditation.

CHANGES IN RESIDENCES AND PLACES OF BUSINESS.

It may afford some surprise to the younger part of the present generation, to learn the localities in which the proper gentry formerly lived, or the central places in which certain branches of business were once conducted—the whole marked by circumstances essentially different from the present.

Merchants lived in Water street.—When merchants and others within the last thirty to thirty-five years began to build dwellings as far west as Seventh street and thereabouts, it was considered a wonder how they could encounter such fatiguing walks from their counting-houses and business. Previous to this change, and especially before the year 1793, when they were dispersed from the river side by the fears of the yellow fever, all of the best and richest merchants dwelt under the same roofs with their stores, situated then in Water or Front street. Some of the richest and genteelest merchants dwelt in Water street till the year 1793, and several of them afterwards. After the merchants (always the most efficient improvers of the city) began to change their domicils from the water side to the western outskirts of the city, the progress of improvement there became rapid and great. It may mark the character of the change to state, that when Mr. Markoe built his large double house out High street, between Ninth and Tenth streets, in the front centre of a fenced meadow, it was so remote from all city intercourse that it used to be a jest among his friends to say, "he lived out High street, next house but one to the Schuylkill ferry."

Forty to forty-five years ago it was much more genteel to "live up High street" than "up Chestnut street," as it is now called. Chestnut street and Arch street were not then even thought of for building upon, westward of Tenth street. The streets were not even traced out. Frog ponds, the remains of former brick-kilns, would have dinned the ears of the gentry by the songs of their frogs. Those fine houses now out Chestnut street were set down before the streets were paved beyond Fifth street, and the house, which successively became the van, was, like a pioneer, to clear the way for others; for, the advanced house, even till now, was always exposed to a wild waste, or, if near any of the former settlers, they were generally mean or vile. Indeed, it was often a question of inquiry among the citizens, in the paved and old improved parts of the city, how genteel families could encounter so many inconveniences to make their "western improvements," so called. Even when Waln built at the corner of Seventh and Chestnut streets, and Sims afterwards at the corner of Ninth and Chestnut streets, they had no street pavements, and they were wondered at to leave their former excellent old dwellings in the neighbourhood of the Delaware. A few such examples made it a fashion; and now men build out as far and in as waste places as they please, hoping for, and generally realizing, that others will follow. Penn street was once a superior residence. There dwelt such families as Robert Morris, Craig's, Swanwick's, Cuthbert's, &c.

To illustrate a little more the state of families resident in Water and Front streets, it may suffice to give a few facts. Abel James, famous as the greatest merchant of his day, had his dwelling on Water street, by Elfreth's alley, and his stores on the wharf. Adjoining him, northward and southward, were other distinguished families in the shipping business.

On Front street, adjoining to Elfreth's alley-steps, were "Cullen-

der's grand houses,' and about four doors above them stood a large double house, once Waln's, and afterwards Hartshorne's. Nearly opposite stood Drinker's house, at the corner of Drinker's alley, large and elegant, and next door, northward, stood the present Henry Pratt's house. The house of Drinker became a fashionable boarding-house in 1766 to '79, kept by Mrs. Graydon, (mother of the author of Graydon's Memoirs,) at which lodged the Baron de Kalb, Colonel Frank Richardson of the Life Guards, Lady More and daughter, Lady O'Brien, Sir William Draper, of Junius notoriety, and others. There generally dwelt all the British officers usually in the town.

An aged lady, S. N., told me, that in her youth the ladies attended balls held in Water street, now deemed so unfit a place! There too, they deemed themselves well dressed in figured chintses. There too, former Governors have held their clubs; and Pegg Mullen's beefsteak house, near the present Mariners' church, was once the supreme ton.

Places of Business and Stores changed.—It is only within thirty-five years, that any stores have been opened in High street above Fourth street, westward. It was gradually extended westward as a place of business. Before this, it had for a few years been deemed the chief street for wealthy families as retired residences. Houses, therefore, of grand dimensions, were running up for dwellings above Fifth and Sixth streets, even while stores were following close after from Fourth street. In a little while the reputation for stands in High street became so great and rapid, that the chief of the large dwellings were purchased, and their rich and beautiful walls were torn to pieces to mould them into stores.

Front street was the former great street for all kinds of goods, by wholesale. Second street, both north and south, for the length of Arch to Chestnut street, were places of great resort for goods. Then no kinds of stores could have succeeded in any part of Chestnut street, westward of Second street, and now we behold so many.

Some places of business are strangely altered. Once Race street, from Second to Third street, had several retail dry goods stores, generally kept by women; now there are none, or scarcely any. Arch street in no part of it had any kind of stores till within thirty-five years. The milliners first clustered there from Second to Third street, and it was for a time quite the place of fashion in that way. Then millinery stores and ladies' shoe stores opened in Second street, from Dock street to Spruce street, where no kind of stores, trades or offices had been found thirty-five years ago. Within forty-five years all the shoe stores opened in High street. Henry Manly began first, below Second street, and was the only shoe store in the city for several years. Before that time all shoes were made to fit customers by the tradesmen. It is, however, true, that before the Revolution John Wallace had a store for the sale of worsted, satin and brocade shoes for ladies only; most or all of which were imported. Stores of any kind in Third street, either north or south, were very rare, even forty years ago, and none were to be found at

all in Fourth or Fifth street. When they began to open here and there in those streets, the general surprise was "how can they think to succeed!" Wholesale grocery stores were once so exclusively in Water street, that when the first attempts at such in High street were made, it was regarded as a wonder. The western world has so rapidly increased as to make a great increase of all kinds of stores in the western part of the city necessary for their demands.

When General Washington and Robert Morris, dignitaries of the nation, lived in the houses in High street, east of Sixth street, only little more than forty years ago, no stores, save Sheaff's wine store, were near them; and probably not an inhabitant could then have been found to guess that that square, and to the westward of it to Broad street, would ever become a street of trade! So limited were the western wagons then in High street, that none appeared above Fifth street, and few or none thought of seeing more!

Offices of the United States Government at Philadelphia. When the Government came from New York to Philadelphia in 1791, the *departments* were located in private houses, to wit: The State department was on the north side of High street a few doors east of Sixth street, (a moderate sized three story house) and was afterwards removed into Arch street two doors east of Sixth street. The General Post Office was on the east side of *Water street*, a few doors below High street!—the same house which had before been *the residence* of the Chief Justice. The location of other offices is already told elsewhere.

It may serve to show the early attachment to Water street as a place of residence and genteel business, to state a few of the facts in the case. The earliest newspapers show, by their advertisements, that much of the goods for retail for gentlemen and ladies' wear, were sold in that street. As early as 1737, Mrs. Fishbourne, living in Water street, below Walnut street, advertises a full store of ladies' goods for sale at her store on the wharf, back of her house! In 1755, at Sims' house in Water street, above Pine street, is advertised all sorts of men and women's wear, by retail, &c. When the present house, No. 12 North Third street, nearly opposite Church alley, was built there by the father of the late John Warder, say about seventy-five years ago, it was then matter of surprise that he should go so far out of town! In the day in which it was built, it was deemed of superior elevation and finish; but now it is surpassed by thousands in exterior show. As late as the year 1762, Mr. Duché had a clay mill and pottery, with a well of water, on Chestnut street, at the house afterwards known as Dickinson's old house, a few doors eastward of Fifth street, where Girard has now built his row.

Tanyards.—It is within the last forty-five years that two or three tanyards, such as Howell's, Hudson's, &c., were extended from Fourth street, south of the Friends' school, down to the rear of Girard's bank, and within forty years, two or three were situated with Israel's stables on the northeast section of Dock and Third streets. A

great fire at this latter place cleared off several lots, and made room for some good houses which since occupy their place. In early times the tanyards were ranged along the line of the Dock creek, and their tan did much to fill it up. They were often subjects of complaint. The Pennsylvania Gazette of October, 1739, No. 566, contains remarks thereon. In 1699, there were but two tanyards in the city, to wit: Hudson's and Lambert's, on Dock creek.

Rope Walks were once much nearer than at present. One once stood along the line of Cable lane, giving origin to that name of the street. Another began at Vine and Third streets, before Third street was opened there, and extended in a northwestern direction. Another used to stand near the Old Theatre in Cedar street, by Fifth street, and thence extended westward. Another, a little south of it, ran towards the Delaware.

Ship Yards.—These, in early days, were much nigher the city than we might now imagine without the facts to assist us. For instance, in 1723, Michael Royll advertises for sale a new sloop on the stocks at the Drawbridge. The activity of ship building was very great when materials were so much lower. West had great ship yards at Vine street. The late aged John Brown saw a ship launched from the yard near the present Old Ferry. His father, Parrock, had his ship yards at Race street. The late William West, Esq., (when aged about 73,) told me the ship yards were numerous in his youth from Vine street down to Race street. Many of the vessels built, were sold as fast as built, for English and Irish houses abroad. Seventy years ago a ship or brig was built a little *below* Race street; and stranger still, a small vessel was built in Lombard street, east of Second street, and was conveyed on rollers to the river.

Blacksmith Shops.—It shows the change of times, to state that seventy to eighty years ago, William Bissell had his blacksmith shop at the northeast corner of Elbow lane and Third street, and that at the northeast corner of Third and High streets, John Rouse had a large frame for his blacksmith shop, and adjoining to the prison, on the south side of High street above Third street, stood blacksmiths and wheelwrights' sheds. All these were seen and remembered by Mrs. S., an aged lady, who told me of them.

Auctions.—Some of us of the present day complain of the great evil of having so many auction rooms—taking the business out of the regular stores, &c. As early as the year 1770, they were considered as a great nuisance to the shopkeepers, and then every man set up for himself wherever he pleased. The Northern Liberties and Southwark were then full of them. They paid no duties to the government, and it was solicited that they might be taxed five per cent. to restrain them. Sometimes public sale was then called "by public cant," and by "public outcry."

At an earlier period the public vendue was held under the northwest corner of the court house in Second street, and on the vacation of the office in 1742, John Clifton offered £100, and Reese Meredith

£110 per annum to the Corporation, to be privileged to become the successor.*

After the peace of 1783, the rivalship of auctioneers became great, being limited to a few for the city; others set up in the Liberties, and such was the allurements to draw customers after them as might excite our wonder now. Carriages were provided to carry purchasers gratis out to the auction held across the Schuylkill at the Upper ferry, and ferriages were paid for those who went across the Delaware to an auction held at Cooper's ferry.

In confirmation, I add a short article from the reminiscences of my friend Mr. P., to wit: In the year 1789, and previous, there were but three auctioneers allowed by law for the City, Northern Liberties and Southwark; and the restriction extended to within two miles of the State house. Several persons were desirous of following that business, but could not obtain appointments from the supreme executive council, and came to the determination of carrying on the same beyond the prescribed limits, and where goods could be sold at auction without being subject to the State duty. The first person who commenced was Jonas Phillips, who held his auction in the large brick house on the rising ground over the middle ferry of Schuylkill. He was followed by John Chaloner, who held his sales in one of the stone stables at the upper ferry kept by Elijah Weed. The sales were always in the afternoon, the mornings being occupied in transporting the goods on drays to the respective auction rooms; where they were displayed on the shelves. The company being conveyed out and home, in the large old fashioned stages, which were in attendance at the houses of the respective auctioneers precisely at one o'clock, P. M., for that purpose. After the sale, the goods were repacked in trunks and cases, brought to the city and delivered to the purchasers next morning at the residence of the auctioneer. Phillips resided opposite the old Jersey market, south side, and Chaloner in Chestnut street, a few doors east of the sign of the Cross Keys, kept by Israel Israel, corner of Third street.

Board Yards.—It is only within the last thirty-five years that board yards and wood yards have been opened in the western part of the city. In former times they were universally confined to the wharves above Vine street. When the first two or three persons opened board yards in the west, it excited surprise and distrust of their success. The north side of Pine street, from Fifth to Sixth street, was once a large board yard, and another was on the south side of Spruce street in the same square. These were among the first inland yards. There was a large board yard on the lot of Ross's store, in Front below Walnut street. There was also the board yard of McCulloch & Patterson on the wharf between Walnut and Spruce streets, in 1785.

* When the City Council rented it to Patrick Baird, in 1730, he paid for the room there only £8 per annum, and not to sell any goods in one lot under the value of 50 shillings.

Chestnut street has, within a few years, become the chief street in Philadelphia, as a fashionable walk. High street once had the preference. Circumstances may yet deprive even Chestnut street of its present pre-eminence. In the mean time its claims to favour and renown have been set forth in song, to the following effect, to wit:

In vain may Bond street, or the Parks,
Talk of their demoiselles and sparks—
Or Boulevard's walks, or Tuileries' shades
Boast of their own Parisian maids;
In vain Venetia's sons may pride
The masks that o'er Rialto glide;
And our own Broadway, too, will sink
Beneath the Muse's pen and ink;
While Chestnut's fav'rite street will stand
The pride and honour of our land!

LOCAL CHANGES IN STREETS AND PLACES.

In these pages, concerning the changes effected in various sections in and about the city, the aged will often be reminded of their former play grounds, then waste and rugged, now ruined to such purposes by the alleged improvements and the stately edifices erected thereon. To be reminded of such localities as they saw them in their joyous youth, is to fill the mind with pleasing images.

"Scenes that sooth'd
Or charm'd me young, no longer young, I find
Still soothing, and of power to charm me still!"

At no period since the origin of Philadelphia has its extension, improvements and changes been so great as within the last forty-five years. It may be truly said that from the peace of 1783, which completed the first century of its existence as a city, it has trebled its buildings and population. That peace gave an immediate impulse to trade and commerce, and these brought the means to make extensive improvements. But the circumstance which peculiarly aided the prosperity and increase of Philadelphia, together with every other city and place in the United States, was the war in Europe and in their colonies, brought on by the French Revolution, and making us, on that emergency, the general carriers of the trade of Europe. It not only diffused general riches among the people, and changed the aspect of the city, but even the habits and manners of the people themselves. From the year 1790, therefore, we may remember a constant change of the former waste grounds of the

city, the demolition of old buildings or of inconvenient ones, and the erection of more stately and modernized houses in their places.

So far as these notices may have to record recent circumstances, I am aware they can afford but little present interest; but, by the same rule, whereby we of the present day can be interested in the doings of our forefathers in times and things which we never saw, so the time is coming when the generations which shall succeed us may feel some of the gratifications, in reading some of these recent facts, which I have felt in collecting those of the past inhabitants. Man naturally desires to know the rise and progress of things around him.

The Governor's Woods was a body of forest trees, which stood till the time of the Revolution, called also Centre Woods, lying between High street and South street, and Broad street and the river Schuylkill. They received their name from being a part of the proprietary's estate. There was an old consequential German, named Adam Poth, (whom the aged may still remember,) who had some care of them, and who used to take on a magisterial air of authority when trespasses were made by wandering boys or poor people. When the British came, and needed fuel, it was found more expedient to cut them down and sell to them what they could, than to leave them to help themselves as conquerors.

An aged lady, now alive, tells me that she and other girls deemed it a great frolic to go out to the woods—she usually went out Spruce street. Between Seventh and Eighth streets they gathered wild strawberries; they entered the woods opposite the Hospital, and proceeded through them out to the Schuylkill. The road leading through them was very narrow, and the trees very lofty and thrifty.

Old George Warner, who died in 1810, spoke with lively recollection of the state of the woods out High street, saying they were of great growth, especially from beyond the Centre Square to the then romantic and picturesque banks of the Schuylkill. In going, in the year 1726, from the Swedes' church to the Blue-house tavern, on the corner of Ninth and South streets, he saw nothing but lofty forests and swamps, and abundance of game.

An aged lady, Mrs. N., says the woods out High street began as far eastward as Eighth street, and that the walk out High street used to be a complete shade of forest trees, cooling and refreshing the whole road to Schuylkill. At about Sixth street used to be a long bench under a shade, to afford rest to the city travellers.

Hudson's Orchard and Neighbourhood.—On the north side of High street, from thence to Arch street, and from Fifth to Sixth street, was Hudson's orchard of apple trees. When the late Timothy Matlack was a young man, he rented the whole enclosure for eight dollars per annum for his horse pasture. At about sixty feet from the northwest corner of Fifth and High streets, in a northwest direction, there was a considerable pond of water, of four feet depth, on which it was the custom of the city boys to skate in

winter. Up by North alley, on Fifth street, was a skindresser's frame house; on High street there also stood an old frame house; and except these, the whole ground was a grass lot. The first brick house ever built therein was owned by Pemberton, the same now Mr. Lyle's, on High street.

At the northeast corner of Sixth and High streets there was a raised footwalk, as a kind of causeway, of two feet elevation, to keep the traveller from the water which settled on the lot on the north side of High street. At this corner, in times of floods, the water ran down the middle of High street, and communicated to the pond aforesaid. Mrs. Pearson said there was a time when, as a curiosity, a boat was brought to the place, and used in crossing the water.

In the year 1731 John Bradley was found drowned in the above mentioned water, "——by accidental death."

The southeast corner of Fifth and High streets, late Sheaff's house, has been dug down as much as five feet in the street, to form the present level.

When Isaac Zane built his house on the north side of High street, above Sixth street, it was set down in such a wet place that it excited talk that he should choose such a disagreeable spot. In confirmation, I have heard from the Pearson family, (Pearson was City surveyor) that when he built his frame house in Seventh street, sixty-five years ago, a little north of the present St. James' church, there was a deep ravine through the church lot out to Market street, which bore off much water in rains, &c., from Arch street. And through the whole summer there was water enough on the north side of High street, and back of St. James', to keep the frogs in perpetual night songs. In connection with this, also, the late mayor, General Barker, told me he remembered very well that a drunken man, crossing this gully on High street, fell off the footlog into the shallow water, and was found drowned, laying upon his face.

City Hills.—Many who understand the subject deem it to have been a bad taste which led to the "system of levelling" the once beautiful natural inequalities of the city ground plot. Had they been preserved, the original varieties of surface would have afforded pleasing changes to the eye. What was emphatically called "the hill" in the olden time, extending from Walnut street in a course with the southern side of Dock street, presented once a precipitous and high bank, especially by Pear street and St. Paul's church, which might have been cultivated in hanging gardens, descending to the dock, and open to the public gaze. Thence crossing beyond Little Dock street you ascended to "Society Hill," situate chiefly from Second to Front street, and from Union to the summit of Pine and Front streets. From that cause, buildings on Union street, north side, might have shown beautiful descending gardens on their

northern aspect.* The same bad taste and avidity for converting every piece of ground to the greatest possible revenue caused the building up of the whole extent of Front street on the eastern or bank side, quite contrary to the original design of the founder. Nothing could be imagined more beautiful than a high open view to the river and the Jersey shore along the whole front of the city! Indeed, such is the opinion of some, that even at this late day it is worth the attempt to restore a part of the eastern front, by razing the houses on the eastern side of Front street. It may be remembered that in the year 1822 this subject was much discussed in the public prints, and the project was strenuously supported by the communications of Paul Beck, Esq. It may be observed, as a general remark, that the high table lands of Philadelphia, verging to "the bank" along the river, never had any where any declination towards the river, but the general high plane gradually raised higher and higher towards the river until it came to the abrupt bluff. Rain-water, therefore, naturally ran back from the Delaware front and found its way into the Dock creek, then extending from Arch street to Spruce street. The water falling between Race and Vine streets from Second street, fell into both those streets from "the hill" once between them; for both those streets were originally natural water courses leading down to the river, and from that cause, when those streets were paved, they had to pave the channel in the middle, and to leave the pebble part much lower than the foot-pavements. There was also once "the hill" along Front street near Combes' alley, so much so, that in the memory of D. Marot, the water once ran from Front street westward in that alley. There was once "the hill" near the "Cherry Garden," inclining from the southeast corner of South and Front streets towards the river. The houses still standing along Front street in that neighbourhood have their yards one story higher than Front street.

Streets cut down and raised.—The streets as they now are graduated are by no means to be considered as presenting the original level of the city. In many places they have been raised, and in others depressed. Thus Market, Arch and Race streets, near Front street, have all been lowered as much as possible; and Front street has also been lowered to as much of a level as possible. On the other hand, at the foot of those hills (below Water street) they have been raised; for instance, the house still standing at the southwest corner of Race and Water streets goes down three steps to the first floor, whereas it used to go up three or four steps, in the memory of some ancients; thus proving the raising of the street there; at the same time, on Front street near by, the street is lowered full one story, as the cellar of the house on the northwest corner of Front and Race streets, now standing out of the ground, fully proves.

* Alderman Plumstead once had such a garden there, which was the admiration of the town.

Clarke's stores, on the southeast corner of Arch and Water streets, show, by the arches above the present windows and doors, that the ground floors have been lowered three feet, to conform to the street there. Forty years ago the ground north of Arch street on Front street to above Race street, western side, was twelve feet higher than the present foot-pavement; for instance, where the row of modern brick buildings north of Arch street now stands, was a Friends' meeting, called Bank meeting, on a green hill, within a brick wall, and to which you went up full twelve feet, by steps—several old houses still there, with cellars out of ground, indicate the same. And below Arch street, in the neighbourhood of Combes' alley, the late old houses of Gerhard's had their first story formed of what was once the cellar part under ground. Second street, from Arch to High street, has been cut down nearly two feet below its former pavement. Fourth street, from Arch street to below High street, has been filled up full two feet.

Walnut street, eastward from Second street, has been raised as much as two feet, sufficiently proved by an old house still standing on the south side of that street, which has its ground floor one foot beneath the present pavement. Walnut street, west of Second street, must have been filled in greatly, as they found near there a paved street six feet beneath the present surface, in laying the iron pipes near to Dock street. In Walnut street, by Third street, the street must have been eight feet higher than now, forming quite a hill there, as the late cake house near there (once a part of an old Custom house) had nearly all of its first story formed of what was once the cellar under ground. The street, at the corner of High and Fourth streets, has been much raised. The house of C. P. Wayne, on the southwest corner, has its floor raised one foot, and originally the house had several steps of ascent. Deep floods have been seen there, by T. Matlack and others, quite across the whole street, in their early days. In Water street, above Arch street, the street must have been raised two or three feet, as a house is still standing there, Nos. 82 and 84, having six steps to go down to what was its first floor. So, too, near S. Girard's, the street is raised, and a house still there descends one step to its ground floor. In Water street, above Chestnut street, the raising is manifest by a house on the bank side having three steps down to its first floor. Several houses midway between Chestnut and Walnut streets, which go down two steps, and several below Walnut street going down one step, sufficiently prove the elevation made in Water street in those sections since those old houses were built. The most of the ground in the southwestern direction of the city, and Southwark, having been raised from two to three feet, has generally caused all the streets in that direction to be formed of earth filled in there; for instance, it may now be observed that all the oldest houses along Passyunk road below Shippen street, are full two feet under the present street. Out Fitzwater street the old houses are covered up three feet. Out

South street, from Fifth to Ninth streets, the ground is artificially raised above all the old houses two and a half feet. Front street, below South street, is cut down as much as twelve feet, as the elevation of the houses on the eastern side now show. Swanson street, from Almond street southward, has been cut down as much as eight feet, as the houses on the western side sufficiently indicate. South street, from Front street to Little Water street, and Penn street continued to Almond street, severally show, by the cellars of old houses standing above ground, that those streets have been cut through a former rising ground there, once called "the hill." Eleventh street, from High street to Arch street, has required very remarkable filling up. A very good three story house at the northwest corner of Filbert street, and several frame ones northward of that street, have been filled up to the sills of the windows.

Miscellanea.—The following facts of sundry changes may be briefly noticed, to wit:

An aged gentleman, T. H., told me he well remembered a fine field of corn in growth on the northwest corner of South and Front streets. He also remembered when water flowed into some of the cellars along the eastern side of Penn street from the river Delaware. The ground there has been made ground. On the western side it was a high steep bank from Front street. On an occasion of digging into it for sand and gravel, two or three boys were buried beneath the falling bank, and lost their lives.

The late aged Mr. Isaac Parrish told me that the square from the Rotterdam inn, in Third above Race street, up to Vine street, and from Third to Fourth street, used to be a large grass lot, enclosed with a regular privet hedge; there he often shot birds in his youth; and the late Alderman John Baker said he often shot partridges there.

The late aged Thomas Bradford, Esq., told me he remembered when the ground from Arch to Cherry street, lying westward of Third street, had all the appearance of made ground, having heaps of fresh earth, and several water holes.

George Vaux, Esq., has often heard it mentioned among his ancestors, that Richard Hill, commissioner to Penn, was once proprietor of the land extending from Arch and Third streets to Vine and Fifth streets, which he used as a kind of farm; and when the Presbyterian church was built on the northwest corner of Third and Arch streets, it was called "on Doctor Hill's pasture."

The row of good houses on the south side of Arch street, between Fourth street and the church ground, was, forty years ago, the area of a large yard, containing a coachmaker's establishment on a large scale.

At Pine and Front streets, the former hill there has been taken down below the former pavement full six feet deeper, about sixteen years ago.

What used to be called Fouquet's inn and bowling green, is now

much altered in its appearance; it used to be very rural. Many trees, of various kinds, surrounded it. It was so much out of town, in my boyhood, that the streets running north and south were scarcely visible; there being nowhere sufficiency of houses to show the lines of the streets, and all the intervening commons marked with oblique footpaths. It stood on rising ground, (a kind of hill,) and towards Race street it had a deep descent into that street, which was quite low in that neighbourhood. I now find that Cherry street (not then thought of) is extended through the premises close to the house. [The old house, still standing, is seen near the south-west corner of Cherry and Tenth streets. It was famous in its day—with many surrounding outhouses.]

Timothy Matlack, when he came to Philadelphia, in 1745, could readily pass diagonally from Third to Fourth street, through the square formed from Chestnut to High street; the houses being only here and there built.

Mrs. Riley, who if now alive would be about 108 years of age, said she could well remember when Sekel's corner, at the north-east corner of High street and Fourth, was once a cow lot which was offered to her father at a rent of £10. She could then walk across from that corner diagonally to Third street by a pathway.

Graydon, in his Memoirs, says, that in 1755, "in passing from Chestnut street up Fourth street, the intervals took up as much space as the buildings, and, with the exception of here and there a house, the Fifth street might then have been called the western extremity of the city."

Colonel A. J. Morris, whose recollections began earlier, (ninety years ago,) says he could remember when there were scarcely any houses westward of Fourth street. The first he ever saw in Fifth street, was a row of two story brick houses (lately standing,) on the east side, a little above High street. He was then about 10 years of age, and the impression was fixed upon his memory by its being the occasion of killing one of the men on the scaffolding.

The wharves along the city front on the Delaware have undergone considerable changes since the peace of 1783, and still more since 1793. Several of them had additions in front, so as to extend them more into the channel; and at several places stores were built upon the wharves; but the greatest changes were the filling up of sundry docks, and joining wharves before separated, so that you could pretty generally go from wharf to wharf without the former frequent inconvenience of going back to Water street to be able to reach the next wharf. For instance, before the present Delaware *avenue* was made, you could walk from Race to Arch street along the wharves, where forty years ago you could not, short of three or four interruptions. We now wish another and final improvement,—a paved wharf street the whole length of the city, with a full line of trees on the whole length of the eastern side. This would invite, and perhaps secure, a water promenade, and be in itself, some

reparation for destroying the once intended promenade of the eastern side of Front street.

Munday's Run was once a brook which crossed High street at Tenth street, as seen and remembered by old Butler. Arch street at the same time was only laid out to Eighth street, and all beyond was woods. Woods in that street, came down as far as Fifth street in his time, say in 1748. When he was 18 he used to drive his father's wagon down that street from his father's place at the Gulf.

Elliott, in his "Enoch Wray," gives an emphatic description of a city, when advancing from its state of out-commons to the form of streets and houses—saying:

> "Now streets invade the country; and he strays,
> Lost in strange paths, still seeking, and in vain,
> For ancient land marks, or the lonely lane,
> Where oft he played at Crusoe, when a boy."
>
> "All that was lovely then is gloomy now.
> Then, no strange paths perplexed thee, no *new streets*,
> Where draymen bawl, while rogues kick up a row—
> And fish-wives grin, while fopling, fopling meets."

It may be worthy of remark, that in the earliest construction of buildings in the city, there must have been some difference from the present, in the magnetic influence of the poles, or other causes of error in ranging the houses—for instance Wigglesworth's old house in Second street above Chestnut, stood too much *westwardly* at its northern corner, and stood out too much on the pavement. So too Savial's house in Front street opposite to Combes' alley. The old house at the southwest corner of Walnut and Water streets did the same. In the streets ranging east and west, the oldest houses stood into the street too far north—for instance, the old Inn once on the corner where the Philadelphia Bank now stands, stood out so far on Chestnut street as to leave only two or three feet of pavement, and seven or eight of the houses on the opposite side of Chestnut street, stood as much back from the present range of houses. The bake house at the southwest corner of Walnut and Fifth streets, stood out too near the present gutterway in Walnut street. We have so often seen other old houses in sundry other places in the city, having the same relations and bearings, as to produce the conviction that there was, for a while, some prevailing misconception or error.

INNOVATIONS AND NEW MODES OF CONDUCTING BUSINESS, &c.

It is very natural that the youth at any given time, should, without inquiry, infer that all the familiar customs and things which they behold were always so before their time, when, often, many of them may have been just introduced. This fact I often realize in my observation even now among the rising generation. This reflection leads us to think that hereafter many customs may be introduced, after the practices of older cities, to which we are now strangers, but which, without some passing notice here, might not be known to be new after they had been familiarized among us a few years. I mention, therefore, customs which do not exist now, but which will doubtless come to our use from the example of Europe—such as shoeblacks soliciting to clean shoes and boots on the wearer, in the streets—dealers in old clothes bearing them on their shoulders and selling them in the public walks —men drawing light trucks with goods, in lieu of horses—men carrying a telescope by night to show through to street passengers—women wheeling wheelbarrows to vend oranges and such like articles—cobblers' stalls and book stalls, &c., placed on the sides of the footpaths—men and women ballad-singers stopping at corners to sing for pennies —porters carrying sedan chairs—women having meat and coffee stalls in the street for hungry passengers, &c.

From thoughts like these we are disposed to notice several of the changes already effected within a few years past, as so many innovations or alleged improvements on the days by-gone.

Candidates for Office.—Those who now occasionally set forth their claims to public favour, by detailed statements in their proper names, would have met with little or no countenance in the public suffrages in the olden time. Sheriffs have usually taken the precedence in these things, and it is known that the first person who ever had the boldness to publish himself as a candidate for sheriff, and to laud his own merits, occurred in the person of Mordecai Lloyd, in the year 1744, begging the good people for their votes by his publications in English and German. At the same time Nicholas Scull, an opposing candidate, resorted to the same measure, and apologized for "the new mode," as imposed upon him by the practice of others.

Rum Distilleries.—Rum distilled from molasses was once an article largely manufactured and sold in Philadelphia. It bore as good a price as the Boston or New England rum, and both of them nearly as much as that imported from the West Indies. About the

year 1762, there used to be frequent mention of Wharton's "great still-house," on the wharf near the Swedes' Church; also, Sims' and Cadwallader's still-house below the Drawbridge; one in Front above Arch street; two large ones in Cable lane; one at Masters', above Point Pleasant, in Kensington; one out High street, between Eighth and Ninth streets.

Pot and Pearl Ashes.—A manufactory of these was first established in Philadelphia in the year 1772, in the stores on Goodman's wharf, (since Smith's) a little above Race street.

Millinery Stores.—It is still within the memory of the aged when and where the first store of this kind was introduced into the city. It was begun by the Misses Pearson, (one of whom married Capt. Sparks,) in a small frame house in South Second street, a little below Chestnut street, and long they enjoyed the sole business without a rival.

Hucksters.—A genus now so prevalent in our market—an irresponsible, unknown, but taxing race, odious as "the publicans" of old, were without their present motives or rewards in the former days.

Pawnbrokers are altogether of modern establishment among us, rising in obscurity and with little notice, till they have spread like a malaria over the morals of the community. Their alarming progress is a real blur upon our character, as it evidences so powerfully the fact of bad living among so many of our population. Only thirty years ago a pawnbroker would have starved among us! Since those in the city have been put under some legal surveillance and control, we are enabled to arrive at some estimate of the contributors taxed to their onerous support. In making some researches among the records of the city police it has been ascertained, as the result of one year's waste in these founts of wretchedness and misery, that there have been 180,000 pledges, and that the exhibit for one week in winter, has shown an array of articles to the following effect, to wit:

Articles of women's dress,	945
Do. of men's dress,	825
Clocks and watches,	240
Gold watches,	45
Silver, table and tea spoons,	235
Ear and finger rings, chains and brooches,	224
Bibles,	9
Other articles not enumerated,	966
Total	3489 in one week!

There were, indeed, poor among us in former years, but then they were in general a virtuous poor, who had the compassion of their neighbours, and, for that reason, could have found temporary relief from articles such as above stated, without the resort to usurious imposts. In short, they did well enough without pawnbrokers, and the change to the present system is appalling!

Lottery Brokers.—These also are a new race, luxuriating on the imaginative schemings of some, and the aversion to honest labour in others. They are a race who hold "the word of promise to the ear

and break it to the hope" of thousands! Their flaring and intrusive signs and advertisements, which meet the eye at every turn, are so many painful proofs of the lavish patronage they receive from the credulity of their fortune-seeking votaries. I never see their glaring signs without a secret wish to add a scroll, both as a satire on them, and as a sentence conveying in much point the pith of all they promise, to wit:

"Batter'd and bankrupt fortunes mended here!"

Our forefathers, it is true, much resorted to lotteries for raising money wanted for public purposes before the Revolution, (as will be noticed in another place,) but then, as "the public good was the aim" the citizens cordially lent their aid to sell the tickets without fee or reward, and in effect gave the price of their tickets as so much willing gift to the object intended by the lottery.

Second-hand Clothes and Shoeblacks.—Shoe blacking and the sale of cast off clothes, as now opened in cellars by the blacks, is quite a modern affair. Old clothes were never sold formerly; when it was rather a common practice to turn them, or to cut them down for children; and all boots and shoes were blacked at home, by children, apprentices, or domestics, with *spit-balls* held in the hand, and much less shining than now. Even the houses now so common for selling ready made garments for gentlemen's wear is quite a new thing, and was first began at the Shakespeare buildings by Burk, who made enough thereby to allure others to his imitation.

Oyster Cellars.—These, as we now see them, are the introduction of but a few years. When first introduced, they were of much inferior appearance to the present; were entirely managed by blacks, and did not at first include gentlemen among their visiters. Before that time, oysters were vended along the streets in wheelbarrows only; even carts were not used for their conveyance, and gentlemen who loved raw oysters were sufficiently in character to stop the barrow and swallow their half dozen without the appendage of crackers, &c.

Intelligence Offices.—These offices for finding places for servants, began within a very few years and upon a very small scale, were very little resorted to except by strangers, and were generally conducted at first by blacks. There was, indeed, an "Intelligence Office" advertised in the Pennsylvania Journal before the Revolution, but it combined other objects, gained no imitations, and died unnoticed. A better scheme than any of these has been recently got up by the citizens themselves, to help servants to places, and to guard and improve their morals, which promises to be a general benefit.

General remarks on various Items of Change.—I notice as among the remarkable changes of Philadelphia, within the period of my own observation, that there is an utter change of the manner and quantity of business done by tradesmen. When I was a boy, there was no such thing as conducting their business in the present wholesale manner, and by efforts at monopoly. No masters were seen exempted from personal labour in any branch of business—living on the

profits derived from many hired journeymen; and no places were sought out at much expense, and display of signs and decorated windows, to allure custom. Then almost every apprentice, when of age, ran his equal chance for his share of business in his neighbourhood, by setting up for himself, and, with an apprentice or two,* getting into a cheap location, and by dint of application and good work, recommending himself to his neighbourhood. Thus every shoemaker or tailor was a man for himself; thus was every tinman, blacksmith, hatter, wheelwright, weaver, barber, bookbinder, umbrella maker, coppersmith, and brassfounder, painter and glazier, cedar cooper, plasterer, cabinet and chairmaker, chaisemaker, &c. It was only trades indispensably requiring many hands, among whom we saw many journeymen; such as shipwrights, brickmakers, masons, carpenters, tanners, printers, stonecutters, and such like. In those days, if they did not aspire to much, they were more sure of the end—a decent competency in old age, and a tranquil and certain livelihood while engaged in the acquisition of its reward.

Large stores, at that time, exclusively wholesale, were but rare, except among the shipping merchants, so called, and it is fully within my memory, that all the hardware stores; which were intended to be wholesale dealers, by having their regular sets of country customers, for whose supplies they made their regular importations, were obliged, by the practice of the trade and the expectations of the citizens, to be equally retailers in their ordinary business. They also, as subservient to usage, had to be regular importers of numerous stated articles in the dry goods line, and especially in most articles in the woollen line. At that time, ruinous overstocks of goods imported were utterly unknown, and supplies from auction sales, as now, were neither depended upon nor resorted to. The same advance "on the sterling" was the set price of every storekeeper's profit. As none got suddenly rich by monopolies, they went through whole lives, gradually but surely augmenting their estates, without the least fear or the misfortune of bankruptcy. When it did rarely occur, such was the surprise and the general sympathy of the public, that citizens saluted each other with sad faces, and made their regrets and condolence a measure of common concern. An aged person has told me that when the inhabitant and proprietor of that large house, formerly the post office, at the corner of Chestnut street and Carpenter's court, suddenly failed in business, the whole house was closely shut up for one week, as an emblem of the deepest family mourning; and all who passed the house instinctively stopped and mingled the expressions of their lively regret. Now how changed are matters in these particulars! Now men fail with hardy indifference, and some of them have even the effrontery to appear abroad in expensive display, elbowing aside their suffering creditors at public places of expensive resort. I occasionally meet with such, by whom I have been injured, who indulge in travelling equipages, with which

* Apprentices then were found in every thing;—now they often give a premium or find their own clothes, &c.

they delight to pass and dust me, and who, nevertheless, would feel their dignity much insulted at even a civil hint to spare me but a little of the disregarded debt. It might lower the arrogancy of some such, to know, there was once a time in our colony when such heedless and desperate dealers and livers were sold for a term of years to pay their just debts.

The overworked and painfully excited business men of the present day, have little conception of the tranquil and composed business habits of their forefathers in the same line of pursuits, in Philadelphia. The excited and anxious dealers of this day, might be glad to give up half of their present elaborate gains, to possess but half of the peace and contentment felt and enjoyed by their moderate and tranquil progenitors. In the former days, all prices were alike; the percentage of gain was uniform—there was no motive to run about town to seek out *undersellers*. They aimed at no such thing. They would have deemed the spirit of *monopoly* a sin of discreditable selfishness. The selfish spirit since introduced, has had its own reward; and the generation which now aims to *engross*, have become their own tormentors. They have increased their necessary cares and labours, without producing the proposed monopoly; for where all are necessarily constrained to aim at rivalry, and to struggle for self-existence, the competition has to become general, and thus we go on afflicting ourselves without avail! Truly, in all these matters, our tranquil, contented, moderately prosperous forefathers, far surpassed the present race of business men in their just estimate of life and happiness. They understood and practised upon the word *comfort* in all they did! At that they steadily aimed.

It strikes me as among the remarkable changes of modern times, that blacksmith shops, which used to be low, rough one story sheds, here and there in various parts of the city, and always fronting on the main streets, have been crowded out as nuisances, or rather as eyesores to genteel neighbourhoods. Then the workmen stood on ground floors in clogs or wooden-soled shoes, to avoid the damp of the ground. But now they are seen to have their operations in genteel three story houses, with warerooms in front, and with their furnaces and anvils, &c., in their yards or back premises.

"Lines of packets," as we now see them, for Liverpool and for Havre abroad, and for Charleston, New Orleans, Norfolk, &c., at home, are but lately originated among us. The London packet in primitive days made her voyage but twice a year. And before the Revolution all vessels going to England or Ireland used to be advertised on the walls of the corner houses, saying when to sail and where they laid. Some few instances of this kind occurred even after the war of Independence. In those days vessels going to Great Britain, were usually called "going home."

Kalm, when here ninety years ago, made a remark which seemed to indicate that then New York, though so much smaller as a city, was the most commercial, saying, "It probably carries on a more

extensive commerce than any town in the English colonies, and it is said they send more ships to London than they do from Philadelphia."

From the period of 1790 to 1800 the London trade was all the channel we used for the introduction of spring and fall goods. The arrival of the London ships at Clifford's wharf used to set the whole trading community in a bustle to see them "haul into the wharf." Soon the whole range of Front street, from Arch to Walnut street, was lumbered with the packages from the Pigou, the Adriana, the Washington, &c.

Great and noisy were the breaking up of packages, and busy were the masters, clerks and porters to get in and display their newly arrived treasures. Soon after were seen the city retailers, generally, females in that time, hovering about like butterflies near a rivulet, mingling among the men, and viewing with admiration the rich displays of British chintses, muslins and calicoes of the latest London modes. The Liverpool trade was not at that time opened, and Liverpool itself had not grown into the overwhelming rival of Bristol and Hull—places with which we formerly had some trade for articles not drawn from the great London storehouse.

PROGRESS AND STATE OF SOCIETY.

When foreigners speak scoutingly of us, because we have not this and that refinement of foreign luxury, they do not consider, as a cause, that we are still a "new world," and a still newer nation; and that the wonder is not, *why* we are not so *finished* as they desire, but that we are already so wonderfully advanced and improved. Our own people, too, are not sufficiently aware of this as a cause, just because so very few of the middle aged among us are acquainted with the facts of things *as they were*, even so recently as the Revolution. We were then, in Pennsylvania, but one hundred years of age as colonists; and it is only since the period of 1800, when, as self-ruled and independent, we "*went ahead*" in wealth, improvement, credit and renown. Till then, we had the plain simplicity and frugal habits of colonists, and were still struggling through the immense debt of costs and losses, incurred as the price of our independence. Before the year 1800 we were unacquainted with the use of carpets, sideboards, massive plate, gigs, barouches and coaches; and were sufficiently satisfied with sanded floors, whitewashed parlours and halls, rush chairs, plain chaises, corner chimnies, corner clocks and glass door buffets and cupboards. Since then,

our roads, bridges, farms, houses, hotels and villas, were all to be made from the rough, by the power of the woodman's axe, &c., and especially so in the state of New York, all westward of Albany and Schenectady. Our mechanism, machinery and manufactures were all to invent and fabricate. Our colleges and schools of learning, and churches, to raise and endow; our literature, publications and press concerns, to originate and sustain; authors, artists, poets and painters, to create and cherish. These, and hundreds of other achievements, not here named in so brief a review of our progress from infancy to manhood,—all done in one hundred and sixty years, since Pennsylvania was "a waste howling wilderness," the home of the aborigines; or in about sixty-six years, since we were set free as a *little people*, to begin a national establishment for ourselves! These are things which ought to be our perpetual praise, and ought to excite the admiration, and not the spleen, of the Halls, Hamiltons and Trollopes, and other visiting journalists, of the day. We have sufficient answers to all their sneers and self-complacency, if we duly respect ourselves, when we point them to the rapid growth of our cities, and inland improvements; to our canals, railroads, steamboats and steam inventions; our commerce, and naval enterprise and glory; to our expensive improvements and embellishments, every where manifest where we journey; and last, but least, if justly estimated, our rapid progress in the luxury of decoration, entertainment and display. For these last, as republicans pledged to simplicity of manners and economy of government, we have least cause to glory or exult; and could we but duly appreciate our own best interests, we should scout the most of them, as being, at best, but corrupting and enervating imitations of kingly pride and exotic vain-glory—not becoming either our profession or our wants. Our proper character and just dignity, as a self-ruled people, should be to make our country a pattern and praiseworthy example, to the corrupt governments and oppressed people of the old world; not the servile and debased imitator of *courtly modes and forms*, from which our fathers so earnestly and devotedly divorced themselves and their posterity. It might be pertinently remarked, that it is a fact, that all the foreigners who visited us as *colonies*, and they were chiefly *British*, gave us full commendation *for every thing;* but, as soon as we set up for ourselves, and especially when we went *fearfully* ahead, then we excited their envy and jealousy, and gave full vigour to their carping *at every thing!* It is still, however, true, that while a class of Englishmen scout at our state of society, another portion of them are actually overrunning us with the number who desire to unite themselves to our state and condition forever.

Our kind and quantity of reading, and polite literature, is wholly changed since the great increase of our printers and publishers. Since the year 1800 there has been an entire change, rapidly invading all the formerly received principles. New books, in every form, have since been flitting across the Atlantic—mere ephemera to live

and perish in the month! As good old Bishop Usher said, even in his day, "the press must be kept going, and if a good book could occasionally be eked out, it might be endured!" But how vastly has times changed since *then!* Who now can tell the number of *forgotten books*, which have had their popularity and run, within the last thirty years, in this country! It requires but the time of a middle aged person among us, to remember when we possessed a stable and standard course of belles-lettres reading; and when it was such, the quotations from them were much more frequent in writing and conversation. A man then could provide himself with a library *at one purchase*, and deemed it an affair *finished* for a life of good reading; but now paper-covered books come out, and *must be bought*, to keep current with the times, faster than we can conveniently find binders to re-cover and finish them! Novels, romances and fictions were scarcely known,—Fielding had furnished our needed supply. The Vicar of Wakefield, Don Quixote and Gil Blas, were conned almost by heart. We read, for style in composition, Addison's Spectator, Johnson's Rambler, and Blair's Lectures and Sermons; but since then, we have quite a new formation of sundry *adverbs*, made on the authority of sundry popular writers. "The invaluable works of our elder writers, (says Wordsworth,) even Shakspeare and Milton, are driven into neglect by frantic novels, sickly and stupid German tragedies, and deluges of idle and extravagant stories in verse." All the poetic works of Pope and Dryden had to be read numerous times; and the Essay on Man was frequently wholly committed to memory. Shakspeare was ten times as much read then as now. Grecian, Roman and English history were really and effectively *studied*—not at *the schools*, as now pretended, but at home, in reading families. Blackstone's Commentaries, and Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, were then fully read by unprofessional gentlemen, as a necessary part of English literature. Milton's, Young's, Thomson's, Wolcott's and Goldsmith's poetry, possessed the mind, and influenced the imagination, of every instructed person. Even the school books of that day were wholly different, and children's minds were beguiled to story reading by a course of class books, now unknown. Thomas Dobson gave the first impulse to book printing. He came soon after the peace of 1783. Before his time, five or six printers used to join to print a *Testament*, &c.! Aitkin got *Congress* to help him to print a small Bible, in two volumes!

There was once far less dependence upon *place and office* than now. No men were to be found living, as now, by the trade or profession of a *politician*. When every man's mind was influenced by the moderate things prevailing around him, all seemed *contented* with their individual callings, as learned from their boyhood; and they rested in the same till death, or increase of goods, changed their position. It is easy now to remember such men as Burd, Biddle, Frebiger, &c., as *perpetual* Prothonotaries, Clerks of Courts, Regis-

ters, Recorders, &c. Indeed, it was once as common to see official papers, stating a record as done "at Brockdens," as at "the Recorder's office." In short, it was only in the *annual elective offices* that we ever witnessed any changes. It was only about the time of Governor M'Kean's service, 1799, that the community ever saw the new principle carried out, that "the spoils of office belong to the victors" in the election! Since then, we have often witnessed distribution of offices without regard to merit or to qualifications. "They had served their party," and *that* constituted their claim to reward! On this new principle of action, we have been but too often reminded of our Bible declaration—that "it is a sorry sight to see princes walking on foot and servants riding on asses;" or, like the cave of Adullam, we find places occupied by every one that is in debt or distress, and every one that has been discarded! There was no such thing as *petitioning* and urging for office in Governor Mifflin's time, and none in Washington's or Adams' administration. The *turning out* system began with M'Kean, Governor of Pennsylvania, to a great degree, and Mr. Jefferson, as President, in a lesser degree; but *they* were the beginners.

The restrictions set upon our mechanics before the Revolution is in general but very little known now to the mass of the people. The mother country purposed to engross the making and vending of almost all we used. Even our very *minds* were put under her teaching, and we were scarcely permitted to think, but in such kind of literature as she chose to command and bestow. In this way, we had our Primers and Dilworth's Spelling books and Arithmetics. We made no *books* for ourselves; and since we have, in more modern times, essayed to form our *own* literature, we have seen it perpetually abused in foreign reviews, &c., as defective and imbecile. Some of our own people have so far subscribed to this selfish and perverted design, as to give no value to our home productions, until they had previously, by unbecoming *subserviency*, gained *first* the foreign *passport* of approbation!

But to return to the former colonial state of our *mechanics*, to notice which this article was specially intended, viz:—The state of former restriction had so far passed away that when the fervid debate in Congress occurred in 1833, upon the tariff, there were hardly any individuals then found who could rightly discuss the real foundation upon which the mechanics of the Revolutionary period entertained hopes of *free trade* and of *protective* rights and privileges. The debaters, who pretended to remember *the past*, affected to claim *far more* for the working class of common tradesmen than they ever desired or expected from their original purpose of self-government and freedom!

Mr. Webster's speech, of February, 1833, against Calhoun, made the case plain, that all who debated *at the time* of our infancy of government, did admit *then* that *our* mechanics should be "protected and encouraged;" and so, the *earliest* act for our revenue

spoke also. But mark sundry coincident facts also:—It was the universal expectation and *promise* of the Revolution, that the former restrictions of the parent country on our *domestic industry* should be released, and that, therefore, numerous *trades* (not properly *manufactories*) would be allowed free exercise, and have also the help of a *duty*, such as a *necessary revenue* could grant. It was upon this principle that the *first petitions* which came before Congress, coming from *Baltimore* and *New York*, claimed *protection* for some domestic trades. There was at no time, in the early days, any hesitancy to grant such requisite aid to any of the branches, which could reasonably expect to stand. In fact, they were only asked by those branches which had already been exercising in the country.

The tariff advocates now, however, used the foregoing facts, so far as understood by them, to bespeak a *gratuity* to all kinds of *manufactories*, upon *large* scales, and with a right to tax the community from 50 to 100 per cent., for their *own support*. Against this indulgence to a *part* of the community, many came forward and demanded *protection* against the *selfishness* and *taxation*, which the others affected to claim *as all their own!* In the strife which this dilemma of opposing interests created, it came to be discovered, *by some*, that although the first framers of the Constitution, and the earliest legislators acting thereon, had thought themselves warranted to couple *protection* with revenue, the *reading* was not to be found in the Constitution itself! From *this necessity* of providing for others, we had been *protected* by an overruling Providence, which had made our fathers to *overlook* such an onerous grant! It is from this cause that the friends of "free trade" feel assured, *as they say*, that if any revenue act shall *now* pass, having the words "for protection of domestic manufactures" included, and as a cause of revenue, the act can be *nullified* by the Supreme Court of the United States!

Under such circumstances, the truest system of tariff is, for each State that has the most interest to encourage any given staples or fabrics, to bestow *premiums* and *bounties* at their *own costs*. The failure of the intended tariff act to take place, was boldly declared to be a general *national* calamity—such as would shake society to its foundation! The Connecticut Courant, for instance, deliberately published thus, viz: "Manufactories must stop; mechanics' shops must be shut up; all kinds of business must be reduced. The *change* of the tariff will destroy tenfold more property, and deprive tenfold more persons of wages and employment, and produce more pecuniary distress, than the burning of every merchant ship in the United States!!" The Baltimore Gazette, at the same time, asserted in substance the same amount of distress. It said, sugar would be abandoned—so, also, all iron works would cease, and flour would fall to $2 50 cts., and beef and pork be at $4 and $5! Not one of the predicted evils came to pass; and it is a part of the history of our country and countrymen, that *political prophecies* are not to be trusted, although vehement and passionate. God, who "careth for

men," will still take care for *men*; society, if virtuous and just, will still live and prosper! God, as a common Father, has *equally* provided and intended *free trade* for all mankind; but such is the prevailing selfishness of man, that, until nations can reciprocally agree to free trade, the selfish policy of home protection must be adhered to for necessary self-defence and protection.

In Philadelphia, before the existence of banks, which have been the life and soul of city trade and fortune making—when all the business was engrossed by the men of estate and property, there was a marked difference of respect and feeling towards the rich,—chiefly because they were then of rare occurrence. Now we have become so familiar with the sudden rise of the fortunate poor to wealth, power and pride, that we no longer feel reverence. The swing of the pendulum now goes too far the other way; for now very little men, with nothing but their self-conceit to sustain them, push into every post of elevation and rank! "Princes go now on foot, and servants ride aloft on asses!"

"No relics of past time (said the Hon. Jonathan Roberts,) ought to be held more precious or more worthy of preservation, than the samples of apparel of our functionaries, civil and military, of the time of the Revolution, and *more especially of our mothers of that day.*" "At the era of the Revolution, when so many were exhausted by the struggle, the people had learned the true value of *food and raiment.* They then lived frugal in all things. But since then, our money is absorbed by a *wanton* consumption of *imported* luxuries; and we are almost perpetually afflicting and scourging ourselves by onerous *balances of trade* on the *wrong* side." We are our own tormentors!

I observe, in 1834–5, that the houses in Philadelphia are *then* being made too high for comfort, convenience or *even interest;* although the last is most manifestly the cause of the *four storied* elevation of stores. Sad havoc, it is to be feared, will some day occur to those buildings in the way of fire; and then they will be found too high for extinguishment by our engines, and thus be subjected afterwards to extra premiums for insurance. I notice, as the old houses of the first erection of the city are receding from use and observation, that, as a general rule, the *tops* of the windows of the second story exactly agree with the *bottom* or sills of the windows of the second story in the modern houses of respectable standing. [I wrote this just before the great fire at New York, and in foresight of their inability to put out the fires in such high houses—*so fully demonstrated.*]

I have been accustomed, for a few years past, to make use of New Year's day, somewhat like a New Yorker, as a special occasion for visiting the city, and there to hunt up *my earliest* and least familiar acquaintances,—thus to keep alive early recollections, and to preserve their respect and remembrance. In January, 1836, (I mark the time for the sake of the present special record,) I made calls upon as many as twenty families. I pass by the notice of

themselves personally—such as their own waning persons, and their new and growing progenies, just starting into life where *I* had once begun—as I wish only to notice the wonderful change of their houses in furniture and in amplitude of rooms, &c. The whole is such as to fully convince me, *that I can no longer* employ my pen to illustrate the changing manners and times of our city. I must be done with that! I can now only say, in general terms, that the change from the olden time is so entire, and the traces of the past are so wholly effaced, that there is *now* scarcely any vestige left! The former was an age by itself of homely and domestic comfort, without pomp, parade or show; and this is now an entire age of luxury and cumbrous pomp. Now our "merchants are princes," and our tradesmen are "men of fortune:" *all dwell in palaces.* The former little parlours are gone; even large parlours now are *not enough*—but two must be permanently cast into one, by double doors:—this not for family use and comfort, (they are too refined and delicate *for use!*) but for admiration and show! while the family itself, for the sake of indulgence and freedom, seek other apartments behind, or upstairs, or in the basement story! These big rooms are *necessary*, because social visits being no longer in vogue, but superceded by parties and "routes," they must thus have halls sufficiently large to hold their semi-annual gatherings! It is really astonishing to contemplate the class of citizens who hold such houses, and the annual expenditures they make, even in the same relations in business wherein their fathers could only live moderately and frugally. One has only to walk along any given fashionable street, and read the names on the costly dwelling houses, and see how generally they comprise the class of fortunate dealers in all manners of merchandise and trades! One cannot but wonder how so many families can find means to sustain their freedom of expense. It is, in fact, *so common now* to be lavish in show, that *riches* can scarcely confer distinction! Surely we have a wonderful country, where the road to wealth is so broad and safe—wherein so many travel and so many "*go ahead!*" We wonder, indeed, how long it may continue! The lessons of universal history has been, that luxury always produces its own downfall and ruin. Shall *we* ever see this? Self-love and self-confidence answer, *No! Nous verrons.*

The increased style of elegance of all public edifices is strikingly manifest since the year 1830. Every thing goes now upon a scale of *magnificence.* Such is our exchange, our banks, our poor house, our prisons, hotels, theatres, market houses, colleges, churches, mint, water works, Girard college, &c., &c. Every thing is now as manifestly made for ornament as for use. This is sufficiently proved in the palace-like appearance of the two great asylums provided for the poor upon the banks of the Schuylkill. The one for poor disabled sailors, and the other for paupers of every kind. It may mark, too, the changing state of things, even beyond our most sanguine expectations, that when the sailor's "Naval Asylum" was constructing, it

was strenuously reprobated by several, because it was located where they could not refresh their eyes and revive their past affections *with the sight of sea-vessels.* Then there was not *one* to be seen upon the Schuylkill, and now there is daily a whole fleet of two and three masted vessels, come there for coal and merchandise to be brought from the inland country! Men of the former age never dreamed of a day to come, when that river would become a place of navigation and commerce; and great has been the rise of the value of property upon the banks of that river, near the city, since the discovery of its advantages.

The calamity which scourged the whole country in 1837, by the madness of overtrading and speculation, promoted too, as alleged, by *political* favours to partizan favourites, intentionally rewarded from the public crib and the public lands—will be long remembered for its destructive ravages in families, by the stoppage of *specie* payments, and by the many persons thrown out of business and labour. *Monopoly* in all things seems to have been the rage and the mania of the day. Patient labour and cautious economy seem to have been scouted as too tame. Some prudent and well-wishing men have indulged the hope, that the excess of such evils would tend to correct themselves; but, so far, they seem only to be longest and strongest remembered and avoided, *in classes*,—and when the evil has been stopped in one breach, another has been ready to open. Thus, in 1838-9, succeeded the silk and mulberry enterprise. It was made so plausible to thousands who had never had a passion for speculation, that they became deeply engaged; and when it was likely to fail by its excess of tree cultivators, the deceptive and knowing ones kept up the illusion by alluring promises and prospects ahead, until the confiding and innocent were overwhelmed in ruin. In 1840 came to its crisis the terrible explosion of all kinds of *stocks*, especially of banks, railroads and public enterprises—induced by the overdealings of ambitious and greedy men, borrowing and lending beyond measure on stocks, so that the revulsion, when it came, involved in ruin thousands and thousands of women, orphans and aged persons out of trade. On the whole, we are an afflicted and deeply agitated people, self-tormented even in the midst of abounding natural advantages, and continual means of sure and moderate thrift. The fulness of the travelling conveyances have latterly marked our countrymen, as men devoted to *the chase* after wealth and new enterprises; thus leaving the repose and comforts of home and family to attain to some sudden elevation by their cherished hopes from speculation. It is the more strange that *Americans* should thus jeopardise comfort and ease to acquire great wealth, while our laws are so peculiarly unfit for the permanency of family grandeur. They are essentially *agrarian*, by reason of our statutes of descents and distributions. Those who may live sumptuously and proudly to-day, as *one* family, fall into littleness when scattered into *pluralities.* The law of *equal distribution*, at

the death of the parent stock, operates quietly and silently in dissolving all the masses heaped up by the toil and diligence of the successful adventurers. How vain, then, is the troublesome ambition of accumulating that which cannot possibly remain long to confer distinction! Successful speculation, after all, is oftener an evil than a blessing. It upsets all right notions of the value of time, industry and money. It is a moral evil, because it violates nature, which wisely requires an every day employment for the good of body and mind. The man who has made a lucky hit, often cuts off from his future life a natural source of pleasure. If he has devoted all his time and energies to mammon, then he is sold to him, and can no more live tranquilly even with his money, than the man devoted to his bottle can live without the stimulus of strong drink! It is all unnatural; and the reward is discontent and petulance.

The great increase of the two diseases of *dyspepsia* and *apoplexy* among us, may justly incline us to regard them as diseases of increased civilization, and as produced by the enlarged cares of the mass of our citizens to sustain the increased modes of expensive living and display of pomp and show. Dr. M'Culloch, in one of his lectures, says, "a man should undertake nothing requiring great intellectual exertion, or sustained energy, after the age of 65. Apoplexy is, perhaps, the natural death, the *euthanasia* of the intellectual. Even while their blood remains pure, and the solids firm, a fragile artery gives away *within the head*, [it being too much exercised,] blood escapes, and by a gentle pressure dissolves sensibility at its source forever." On the other hand, tranquillity and a composed and cheerful mind may prolong life to the close of a century. Savages have no dyspepsia, and rarely apoplexy.

The word *comfort* is a very comfortable word; and it is a pity that the French for their own sake, do not know what it means. But it is a still greater pity *that we* who have the word, and do know its meaning, should so often sacrifice it for the most unsubstantial reasons. The fact is, we are ashamed to be comfortable, lest we should appear ungenteel. The best chamber in the house must be shut up for company; the lightest and the handsomest parlour must be kept closed for the same reason. We must have a large house and few domestics, for the sake of appearances, and we sometimes cut ourselves off from intelligent society, because we cannot afford to receive them with quite so much show and ceremony as our neighbours. All this is foolish. If we cannot afford to be elegant, we can, at least, be comfortable; and if we *can* procure the elegancies of life, why not enjoy them every day? Why must spring cushions, and warm carpets, and airy rooms, and handsome walls, be shut up three hundred and fifty days of the year, for the sake of making a grand show off, now and then? Why do we not consult our comfort by living in smaller houses, and keeping more domestics? Surely, leisure for intellectual and tasteful pursuits is better than the reputation for lofty rooms and venitian windows.

Why should we refrain from seeing cultivated people in a social, cordial way, because another can give them better wine and rarer fruit? I admire splendour, and where circumstances warrant it, I am even strongly in favour of magnificence; but above all things I do love comfort. I believe few people in the world have such concern for public opinion as the Americans. To a certain extent the check is a salutary one; but our domestic life is a matter of much more concern to us than it is to the public; and we ought to have sufficient courage to study our own comfort, and gratify our own tastes. Our manner of visiting, and of receiving visiters, is laborious in the extreme. If friends are staying with us, we feel as if every moment must be devoted to them. We cannot sleep, or ride, or read, or visit, for fear our friends should be left alone. This is making visiting a burden to them, as well as to ourselves. We soon become uneasy at such constraint, and they are restless under a conviction that they impose it upon us. The fact is, it is a luxury to a visiter sometimes to be left alone—to read, or ramble, or sleep, according to fancy. Many a time, when I have really admired and loved my hostess, I would have thanked her from my heart for a little relaxation of attention—the privilege of being sometimes left to my own thoughts—the luxury of a little more freedom, for her and for myself. At the South, they manage these things better than we do Their hospitality is unbounded. Visiters may be at home in a mansion, without depriving the inhabitants of the pleasure of home. Every thing is at the service of friends; but if the hostess wishes to visit, where her guest has no particular inclination to go, she does not hesitate to leave her to herself, to dispose of time as best suits her. What a relief not to be *obliged* to visit, or *obliged* to stay at home. This perfect freedom is the only thing that can make visiting a real pleasure to all parties. A friend lately told me of a very elegant woman he had seen at the South, who formed the most prominent attraction at the fashionable parties. "I saw her once early in the morning," said he, "buying some fine fruit, at her door. She had on a calico morning dress, and a very neat plain cap. I thought her an uncommonly genteel domestic—but never dreamed of its being the brilliant belle I had seen the evening before, until she bowed and spoke to me. We entered into some conversation concerning the fruit she was buying, and simple and commonplace as the remarks must have been, during such an interview, I was absolutely enchanted with the graceful ease of her manner. A New England woman would have escaped into the house, on my approach—or not recognised me; or, if I had spoken first, would have blushed, and fidgeted, and apologized for her morning dress." Which course is the wisest?—not to ask, which is the most comfortable: An ordinary woman will never get a character for real elegance by decking herself for state occasions; and a truly tasteful one will lose nothing by being sometimes seen without coronation robes.

As a looker on, I cannot forbear sometimes to augur from the growing corruptions of the present time, what may be the fate of my country in the future—for I know that nothing but *virtue* and *moderation* can sustain *republicanism*. When we shall lack self-government in our passions, we shall need the strong arm of power to keep in check the overbearing and lawless minds, which aim to engross every thing. I make these remarks in the year 1838, upon the occasion of perusing Doctor Channing's letter to Mr. Clay, upon the subject of *Texas*, to wit:

"We are corrupt enough already. In many respects, our institutions *have disappointed us all:* They have not wrought out for us that elevation of character, which is the most precious, and in truth, the only substantial blessing of *liberty*. Our progress in prosperity has, indeed, been *the wonder of the world;* but this prosperity has done much to counteract the ennobling influence of free institutions. Prosperity (with too many) has become dearer than freedom, and *government* is regarded more as a means of enriching the country, than of securing private rights. It is an undeniable fact, that in consequence of these and other symptoms of corruptions, the confidence of many reflecting men in our free institutions is very much impaired: *Some despair*. A spirit of lawlessness and mob riot and invasions of the rights of other states, (such as Texas and Canada, &c.,) which if not repressed, threatens *the dissolution* of our present forms of society. Men begin to think that we must seek security *for prosperity and life* in *a stronger* government." When I pen this, I do it with much feeling for my country and its future welfare. I think of my sons, and wonder if *they*, when of my age, will find things as peaceful and happy as in the days of my youth. Was ever nation so blessed, and yet how prone, even now, *to abuse* our mercies! *I see and feel it!*

Sometimes, when filled with hopes and good wishes for my country, I look ahead to the distant future, and say to my imagination what may we not expect to be, in 1888? Then we shall number fifty millions of freemen and be, indeed, "the *great nation*." Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, now beginning to be, will be the centre of civilization. The Rocky mountains will be then *the middle* or mountain states, while the great Pacific, will be fronted by the Pacific states. The present "*western* states" will lose their appellation, and be merged into part and parcel of the Atlantic and eastern states, and the then western states, will be those only beyond the Rocky mountains, and bordering on the Pacific ocean. The seat of government itself will be changed, and *St. Louis* as a place more remote, will be *the* seat of American empire.

In the olden time, it was the fashion in some parts of the country, to serve a dish of chocolate, which had just then come into use, in a curious style. The height of the fashion was, to put into the kettle of chocolate several links of sausages, and, after boiling all

together, to serve the guests with a bowl of chocolate and a sausage, which was cut up, and then the mess eaten with a spoon. When tea was first introduced into Salem, the usual mode of serving it up was, to boil the tea in an iron kettle, and after straining the liquor off, the boiled herb was put into a dish, and buttered. This was eaten, while the liquid decoction was drank, without sugar or milk to wash down the greens. But this is nothing to be compared to the exquisite breakfast, which was in common vogue among the people of Salem some eighty or ninety years since. The sour household brewed beer, was put on in the great brass kettle, and simmered over the fire with the crusts of the brown bread crummed in; and occasionally dulcified with a little molasses. This was served up hot to the family, under the name of *Whistle-belly-vengeance.* Surely, the modern mode of taking tea, in French porcelain gilt cups, with patent loaf sugar, and cream, stirred with a silver spoon, is more delicate, refined and elegant.

But among all the changes to which we have ultimately arrived through the mutations of seventy years—the difference between the mode of dress among the apprentices of that remote period, and the present mode among the same class, seems to be well worthy of notice. A modern apprentice must have his suit of fine broadcloth, manufactured in the best looms of Europe, his hat of the finest fur, and the latest fashion; his overcoat of the best and most approved stuff, with capes enough for another, or at least to clothe a whole family of children; his boots of the best cut and style, polished with Day and Martin; his stock of the most approved patent stiffened stuff, with the exact tie in front, and his unmentionables brought up tight about him, with the patent double roller gum-elastic suspenders; and nothing less than a *lepine* gold watch with safety chain, hung round his neck, will give him the finishing touch and qualify his person for the admiration of the gazing belles, equally well dressed and ornamented to match him. Now what a contrast does this afford to the dress of the apprentice of seventy years since. Only figure to yourselves, readers, a young man of eighteen years of age, of good proportions, handsome face, and blooming with beauty, dressed in a pair of deerskin breeches coming hardly down to his knees, which, before they could be allowed to come into the presence of the ladies, at meeting, on the Sabbath, were regularly blacked up on the preceding Saturday night, at the dye kettle of Deacon Holman, in order to give them a clean and fresh appearance for the Sunday. Imagine his legs covered up to the knees with a pair of blue woollen yarn stockings, his feet encased with a thick and substantial pair of shoes well greased, and ornamented with a pair of small brass buckles, a present from his master for his good behaviour. Imagine that he wore a speckled shirt all the week, and a white one on Sunday, which was always carefully taken off as soon as he returned from meeting, folded up, and laid by for the next

Sabbath. Imagine, that the leather breeches, after several years' wear, got greasy as they grew old, and were only flexible so long as they were on and kept warm by the superflux of youthful heat.

Imagine, that in the morning of a cold day in January, when the snow which had blown into the bed chamber through the broken pane, or through the crevices of an old garret, had filled the breeches with snow, and stiffened them up almost into horn—imagine, we say, this young apprentice shaking out the snow, and pulling them on. It makes us shudder to think of it, and to commiserate the poor hapless wight who had to warm them into flexibility by some of that superabundant heat which had been acquired by lying warm in a straw bed, covered up by a good substantial woollen rug, before he could move his legs down stairs to kindle a fire for his master. What a contrast between the dress of an apprentice now and a fellow-sufferer seventy years since!

The vicinity of Philadelphia to New Jersey has had the effect to contribute a great deal of Jersey population to the city, and a good race of citizens they make. They may be considered as a people much formed from the best of Yankee blood. All along the seaboard the first settlers there, as their names show, came from New England in colonial times, especially when the cedar swamps were full, and afforded abundance of posts, boards, and shingles for merchandise and shipment. In the Revolution, the governor (Reed) was from Jersey, so too, the Attorney General Sargent, so also the Commissary General Boudinot. Not long since, all the officers of the mayor's court—the mayor, recorder, prosecuting officers, and even the crier, were Jersey born, and now, even the "Annalist of Philadelphia,"—(Parvis componera magna,—to compare little with great,) though of Philadelphia origin, happened to be born in Burlington county; and these facts may tend to excuse, if *apology* be necessary, for this tribute of respect to the land of "the Jersey blues,"—of whom my own father was one, and his forefathers before him, from the time of the landing day, at Salem. The reader must pardon the last egotism for the sake of the prominent intention—*the commendation* of the "Jersey blues." Water street and Front street, used to be well filled, with *business men* from Jersey.

I sometimes cannot refrain from picturing to myself the light canoes of the Indians, as at no remote period they lay rocking beneath the shelter of that very bluff where are now moored a fleet of deeply laden barges, [such as we now see along the Delaware, Schuylkill, and Susquehanna rivers.] Indeed, these ideas constantly force themselves upon the mind, as one wanders over the changeful face of this singular land, where the print of the moccason is so soon followed by the tread of the engineer and his attendants, and the light trail of the red men is effaced by the *road of iron;* hardly have the echoes ceased to repeat through the woods, the Indian's hunter cry, before it is followed by the angry rush of the steam engine, urged forward! still forward! by the restless pursuer of the

fated race. Each State, north, south, and west, is eagerly thrusting forth her *iron arms* to knit in a closer embrace her neighbours." Thus "the star of empire is onward west!"

I cannot but feel some gratification in seeing some of my conceptions and feelings so truly expressed to my hands in a late number of the Daily Chronicle of Philadelphia—saying, to those who entertain a feeling of affection *for antiquities*, and who look with an eye of veneration upon every thing stamped with the impress of time, "the present rage of improvement must convey any thing but feelings of a pleasurable or enviable cast. The dwellings of our forefathers—the relics of ancient architecture, meet with no more respect at our hands than if they were old rubbish, fit only to be carried off to the commons. This proves us to be a perverted people, so far as it goes. Nay, this may be said to be the cause of our perversion, in as much as by the obliteration of all that appertained to the days of our fathers' greatness, we have at the same time disposed of the very remembrance of their virtues too. ☞*In a little while* and we shall hardly be left an atom to remind us of the hearts and days of "old lang syne!"

In comparing the sober business of former times, it must be seen as quite different from that of the *overdone efforts* of the present day. I had said, under the article of *medical facts*, that *dyspepsia*, was then scarcely known; the cause since, is to be found greatly, in the overworking of *men's minds* by the distracting cares of *ways and means* of living in luxury. "In nine cases out of ten, in that disorder, it is the brain that is the primary cause. Give that delicate organ some rest. Leave your business behind you when you go to your home. Do not sit down to dinner with your brows knit and your mind absorbed in casting up interest accounts. Never abridge the usual hours of sleep. Take more or less of exercise in the open air every day. Allow yourself some innocent recreation. Eat moderately, slowly, and of just what you please. Above all, banish all thoughts of the subject, from the mind. Live temperately and agreeably. *Do not make haste to be rich*, [a fruitful germ of dyspepsia in itself!] cultivate the social affections, banish gloomy and desponding thoughts." These hints may *prevent* the disease—but if the victim is already seized, he must give his stomach less to do, *and above all*, his *brain* less to do. Regimen of any kind will be useless, so long as the brain is left in an over excitement. Let that have *rest* and the stomach will perform its functions. But if a man passes fourteen or fifteen hours a day in a study or a counting-room, the stomach will inevitably become paralyzed,—so that even a biscuit a day would distress it! The fashion of the day is to live *luxuriously*—to show out in fashionable viands and wines. The same class of persons, overwork the brain to provide the ways and means of such display. They are kept constantly on the rack of excitement, are constantly worrying and fretting about their business, and denying themselves needful rest, and equally needful

relaxation! Thus the overstrained brain weakens the overloaded stomach, the latter fails, and dyspepsia is the consequence! A fine motto in contrast to the foregoing is, or *should be*, the golden rule of "never killing ones self to keep ones self!"

When the writer was a lad, the class of *frail women* only showed themselves along *the wharves*. They looked like their profession, shameless and vulgar. They were so conspicuous in their dress and manner as to be hailed and jeered by most of the seamen from the vessels. They were generally in companies of two or three. They never went abroad *in the streets* of the city generally. A genteeler looking class of women, such as now imitate *first rate ladies*, and walk the streets any where, were I think quite unseen and unknown. There were some no doubt: but they lived *retired* in by-places. I believe that they first ventured abroad and made their displays when the theatre (that "school of morals!") became a place of resort. After that, they increased with the luxuries of the times. It was certainly true, that gentlemen who were known to keep such society, were named and avoided in good female society. This subject—sufficiently unpleasant in itself, is not mentioned here, from unconsciousness of its indelicacy of bearing, but for the sake of *the moral*, which may be *inferred* from *facts as they are*.

The badness of the roads near the city as they were in former days, before turnpikes, and more improvements were made upon them, is now very little considered or known, I give some facts—

Jonathan Tyson, a farmer of 68 years of age, of Abington, saw, at 16 years of age, much of the difficulty of going to the city: a dreadful mire of blackish mud rested near the present Rising Sun village, where is now the long row of frame buildings. He saw there the team of Mr. Nickum, of Chestnut hill, stalled; and in endeavouring to draw out the forehorse with an iron chain to his head, it slipped and tore off the lower jaw, and the horse died on the spot. There was a very bad piece of road nearer to the city, along the front of the Norris estate. It was frequent to see there horses struggling in mire to their knees. Mr. Tyson has seen thirteen lime wagons at a time stopped on the York road, near Logan's hill, to give one another assistance to draw through the mire; and the drivers could be seen with their trowsers rolled up, and joining team to team to draw out; at other times they set up a stake in the middle of the road to warn off wagons from the quicksand pits. Sometimes they took down fences, and made new roads through the fields. Now good turnpikes efface all such difficulties upon the main roads. When they first came into use, all farmers commended them and used them; but, in time, they forgot their benefactors, and have *tried to shun them*—leaving the stockholders to get but half an income. Had no turnpikes been made, roads would have become as claypits, by the continual increase of population and use.

I have always felt an objection to the prevailing air of *sameness*

in Philadelphia. We seem to regulate every thing in the way of *building* by "an act of uniformity." I could wish that we had something more picturesque. How different are we from the fanciful taste of the Hollanders: for instance—in their city of *Saardam* every house is separated by its own garden, and every house is of *different* style of architecture. Such a place must be like wandering in a perpetual museum.

The *first* Philadelphia Directory, a small octavo volume, of the year 1785, is *now become* a curiosity in itself. It was done by *Francis White*, a broker, who also advertised an intelligence office, in Chestnut street near Third street. Such an office meant a different thing from now—he meant to give information in buying and selling scrips and brokerage. In the same year, the eccentric Captain John Macpherson also made a city directory of an opposition kind of character—only *his subscribers* had their *occupations* given. Some persons, who gave huffish answers, had them so recorded: such as, "no name"—"what you please"—"none of your business," &c. In White's Directory, there being then no numbers to the houses, names are generally given thus, viz.: "Alibone, Wm., captain, Front (between) Callowhill and Vine streets." The word "between" being the nearest designation, unless on "corners" of streets. In looking over this directory, we are often struck with the fact of names of eminence or reputation, then, or now, who lived in *places* not now respectable. Thus, Dr. A. Chovet has his anatomical theatre in *Water* street near Arch street; Doctor Benjamin Vanleer is in *Water* street between Race and Vine streets; P. S. Duponceau, Esq., lawyer, is in *Front* street opposite the Coffee house, at High street; Jacob Bankson, lawyer, is in *Lombard* street near Second street, and Myers Fisher, Jno. D. Coxe and S. Sitgreaves, are *lawyers* in *Front* street; Gen. Thomas Mifflin (governor) is in *Vine* street, between Second and Front streets; Captain Charles Biddle, vice president of the council, is in *Front* street, between *Callowhill* street and *Pool's Bridge;* Wm. Masters, Esq., magistrate, Front street, next door to Callowhill street; the Probate of Wills office, by George Campbell, was at the corner of Key's alley and Second street; the Prothonotary's office, by Edward Burd, Esq., was in Third street near Arch street; the Admiralty office, by Francis Hopkinson, Esq., was in Race street, between Fourth and Fifth streets and the Register's office, by James Read, Esq., was at the corner of Front and Vine streets; the Sheriff's office, by Joseph Cowperthwaite, Esq., was in Front street, between Vine and Callowhill streets; the Health office, by Jno. Jones, Esq., was in *Water* street below Spruce street; the Custom house and Naval office were in Front street, corner of Black Horse alley. We see in this directory such a man as our great steamboat inventor, thus—"Robert Fulton, *miniature painter*, corner of Second and Walnut streets." A name is given, (Jacob Lawerswyler,) as "Collector of cash and notes for the American bank." Hogan published a directory in

1796 upon a *new plan.* Clement Biddle also published one, while he was marshal.

When we consider the abundance and amount of cotton goods and calicoes, and of woollens and cloths, now manufactured in our country—malgre all the early struggles and losses—it affords some interest now to set down the fact, little known, that *cotton goods* were tried to be made here even in colonial times. I find in the Complete Magazine, printed in England, for August, 1764, this special notice of these efforts, to wit: "Some *beautiful samples* of the *cotton* manufactures, now carried on at *Philadelphia*, have been lately imported, and *greatly admired.*" To this we may add the fact, that General Washington, when he first appeared as President at New York, and took his *public oath* of office before the people there assembled, was wholly clothed in beautiful *cloth* of American fabric.

Mr. Cornelius now makes the most elegant mantel and hanging lamps: his manner of *succeeding* in that, and in *silver plating*, is a *very curious history*, and would deserve to be well told at length. How very plain were the best candlesticks in my early years! Dr. Betton's drug store first showed argand lamps about the year 1795. Several successive attempts were made to import and sell Italian alabaster mantel ornaments—such as vases and urns: one after another *broke*, and so their articles were distributed cheap, and diffused the taste for such display. They generally kept store but for about a year. In the same way the first large pictures with *gilded* frames were all wondered at, but not bought, until they *broke up*, and distributed them at low prices! There are many curious facts concerning the *first efforts* to introduce the arts—especially in forming *drugs*, *paints* and *dyes*, &c., at our chemical laboratories.

The *outlots* of the city have most surprisingly increased in value—and especially since 1800. I saw a lease of Thomas and Richard Penn, of the year 1737, to M. Hellier, of the *whole square* from High street to Chestnut street, and from Tenth to Eleventh streets, Delaware side, which was then leased for twenty-one years, at the price of 40*s.* sterling per annum! in consideration of his fencing and planting it with *English grass.* Low as it was, the same M. Hellier sells out his title and interest in the ground, in 1740, to Richard Nixon and Wm. Smith, for the remainder of his term, for only £5—a sum possibly nearly consumed in fencing and tilling it! Consider *now* the value of the same ground! If sundry of the *scriveners*, as I have before suggested, would be so considerate as to make memoranda of the original prices given for city lots in colonial times, as told in old deeds passing under their notice, how very greatly they would surprise the present generation by their contrast.

CHANGES IN THE PRICES OF DIET.—NOTICES OF THE FORMER FISH MARKET, &c.

"For the money quite a heap."

We cannot fail to be surprised at the former abundance (as indicated in the cheapness of prices) of many articles formerly, which are now scarce and dear.

Sheepshead, now so high priced, used to be plentiful in the Jersey market. They came from Egg harbour. The price was the same whether big or little, say 1s. 6d. apiece—some weighed six to seven pounds each. The rule was, that he who came first took the biggest. Unreasonable as this seemed, the practice long prevailed. At last the sellers attempted to introduce the sale by weight. They fixed the price at 4d. per lb. (now they are at 1s. 10d.!) but the purchasers stood aloof, and none would buy! Then they returned to 1s. 6d. apiece again. However, sometime after, they succeeded to sell at 4d. to 6d. per lb., and so continued for years. These things were told to me by Mr. Davenport Marrot, an old gentleman, when 80 years of age. Mr. John Warder too, of nearly the same age, related much the same facts, saying, that when he was a boy all their sea fish were brought over land from Egg harbour and landed at the Old Ferry, (then the first and only one) where a small bell was rung from the top of the house, which was sufficient to inform the chief part of the town that the fish were come. There, he said, sheepshead were always sold at 18d. apiece, without any regard to size; but the first comers getting always the best.

This selling of sea fish, it is to be observed, occurred only in cool or cold weather, because when there were *no ice houses*, there was, of course, no way of preserving them during their necessary transportation across the Jerseys. In those days we, of course, saw no sea fish or lobsters, as now, in summer;—but their lack was well supplied, by an abundance of fine rock and perch, caught with hook and line, in the Delaware. The fishing then was far more successful than now; there were more fish, and fewer people to consume them. Increase of shipping and steamers have, probably, contributed to scare them away from their former haunts.

Wild pigeons were once innumerable. Mr. Thomas Bradford, when aged 84, remembers when they were caught in nets, and brought in cart loads to the city market. He said he had heard his forefathers say they once saw a flock fly over the city so as to obscure the sun for two or three hours, and many were killed from the tops of the

houses. They were, therefore, plentiful enough in general to sell at from 6d. to 12d. per dozen.

The same informer stated his recollections of the earliest market prices thus, viz.; Butter at 6d. to 9d.; fowls 1s.; ducks 15d.; geese 1s.; 10d.; eggs 4d. per dozen; beef at 3d. to 6d. per lb.; greens, sallads, &c., were as much for a penny as is now given for a 6d. Shad used to be retailed at 3d. to 4d., and herrings at 1s. 6d. a hundred.

Colonel A. J. Morris, when 90 years of age, has told me of his recollection of shad being sold, in several seasons of his early days, at 10s. a hundred!

The occasional prices, published in the ancient Gazettes, state prices as follows, to wit:—

1719—Flour per cwt. 9s. 6d. to 10s.; tobacco 14s. cwt.; Muscovado sugar 40 to 45s. per cwt.; pork 45s. per barrel; beef 30s.; rum 3s. 9d. per gallon; molasses 1s. 6d.; wheat 3s. 3d. to 3s. 5d. per bushel; corn 1s. 6d., and bohea tea—mark it, what a luxury—at 24s. per lb.!

1721—"Flower" 8s. 6d. to 9s.; turpentine 8s.; rice 17s.; fine salt 2s. 6d.; bohea tea at 30s.! pitch 12s.; tar 8s.

1748—The time of war, prices are high, say, wheat at 6s. 4d. to 7s.; flour 20s.; beef 43s., and pork 60s.

In 1755, hay is named at 50s. a ton, and now it is occasionally at 20 dollars!

1757—Flour is 12s. 6d.; wheat 3s. 6d.; corn 1s. 9d.; beef 40s.; pork 60 to 67s.; pipe staves £7; barrel staves 67s.; West India rum 2s. 11d.; New England rum 2s 7d.; Pennsylvania rum 2s. 7d.; molasses 2s. 6d.; hemp 5s.; pitch 11s.; tar 10s.; flaxseed 4s. 3d.; and, last of all, bohea is down from 30s. to only 7s.!

In 1760, I notice the fact, that several thousand barrels of flour were purchased in London for the American provinces at 8s. 6d. per cwt.—mark that!

In 1763, I perceive prices of sundry game, &c., incidentally stated to wit: a quail 1½d.; a heath-hen 1s. 3d.; a teal 6d.; a wild goose 2s.; a brandt 1s. 3d.; a snipe 1d.; a duck 1s.; a cock turkey 4s.; a hen turkey 2s. 6d.

1774—Flour 18s. 6d.; wheat 7s. 9d.; Indian corn 2s. 8d.; pipe staves £10; barrel staves 70s.; West India rum 3s. 1d.; pitch 16s.; tar 13s.; turpentine 18s.; rice 17s.; Lisbon salt 15d.; hemp 5d.; cotton 16d.; bar iron £26; pig iron £8 10s.; pork £4 5s.; beef £2 15s.

The pebble stones used in paving the city, when first paved, cost but 4s. 6d. per cartload, delivered from the shallops.

Price of Flour—Comparative Table.—We subjoin a highly interesting table giving a comparative view of the price of flour in this city for the first three months in the year, from 1796 to 1837. For this document, our acknowledgments are due to the kindness of a mercantile friend, by whom it was carefully and accurately prepared from authentic data. It possesses peculiar interest at the pre-

sent moment, showing as it does, the great and rapid fluctuations of the market, and stating the fact that, at periods when labour did not obtain more than half the price it now commands, flour has sold at much higher prices than those which are now complained of. In 1796, for instance, it sold as high as $15 a barrel.

PRICES OF FLOUR FOR THE THREE FIRST MONTHS OF THE YEAR, FROM 1796, TO 1837, INCLUSIVE.

Years.	*January.*	*February.*	*March.*
1796	$12 00	13 50	15 00
1797	10 00	10 00	10 00
1798	8 50	8 50	8 50
1799	9 50	9 50	9 25
1800 } 1801 }	11 50	11 25	11 50
1802	7 00	7 00	7 00
1803	6 50	6 50	6 50
1804	7 50	7 50	7 00
1805	11 00	12 25	13 00
1806	7 50	7 50	7 00
1807	7 50	7 50	7 50
1808 (Embargo)	6 00	5 75	5 50
1809 do.	5 50	7 00	7 00
1810 In July and August, this year $11 & 12	7 75	8 00	8 25
1811	11 00	10 50	10 50
1812 (War)	10 50	10 12½	9 75
1813 do.	11 00	10 00	9 50
1814 do.	9 25	8 25	8 00
1815 do.	8 00	8 00	7 75
1816	9 00	9 00	8 00
1817	13 50	13 75	14 25
1818	10 00	10 75	10 50
1819	9 00	8 75	8 25
1820	6 00	5 50	5 00
1821	4 00	4 00	3 75
1822	6 25	6 25	6 25
1823	7 00	6 75	7 00
1824	6 00	6 00	6 12
1825	4 87	5 12	5 12
1826	4 75	4 62	4 50
1827	5 75	6 00	5 75
1828	5 00	4 87	4 75
1829	8 50	8 25	8 00
1830	4 62	4 50	4 50
1831	6 12	6 25	7 00
1832	5 50	5 50	5 50
1833	5 75	5 00	5 50
1834	5 25	5 00	5 87
1835	4 87	5 00	5 00
1836	6 50	6 62	6 75
1837	11 00	11 00	11 00

At and after the period of the Revolution, when wheat was 5s. a bushel, the price of labour in the harvest time was 2s. 6d., and for boys, 1s. 3d. a day. I have seen wealthy men, in Chester county, who had, in their boyhood, worked many days at reaping for 1s. 3d a day, and afterwards, in manhood, at 2s. 6d. The sons of such men won't now labour at all!

There were no *two prices* in stores and markets in Philadelphia, until after the introduction of the French from St. Domingo;—they would insist, in all cases, upon abatement, and they and the public generally, in time, found themselves accommodated accordingly!

Changes in Prices of Land.—In such a growing city it was to be expected that the occasional changes in the value of lots and property would be very great.

To begin with Gabriel Thomas' account of 1698, he says, within the compass of twelve years that which might have been bought for 15 or 18 shillings, is now sold for £80 in ready silver, and some other lots, that might have been purchased for £3, within the space of two years were sold for £100 a piece, and likewise some land that lies near the city, that sixteen years ago might have been purchased for 6 or £8 the hundred acres, cannot now be bought under 150 or £200.

The ancient Mrs. Shoemaker, told me that her grandfather, James Lownes, was offered for £20, the whole square from High street to Arch street, and from Front to Second street, by William Penn himself. He declined it, saying, how long shall I wait to see my money returned in profit.

The aged Owen Jones, Esq., informed me that he had heard at several times that William Penn offered his hired man, a coachman, &c., the whole of the square of ground included between Chestnut and Walnut, and Front and Second streets, in lieu of one year's wages—probably of £15.

Mr. Abel James, the father of the late Doctor James, used to tell him that one Moon, of Bucks county, a Friend, was the person above alluded to, and that he used to visit Mr. James' family, and told him he had chosen a moderate tract of land in Bucks county in preference to the above mentioned square.*

The same Mr. Owen Jones said the greatest rise of city plots he had ever known, were the sales of proprietaries' city lots after the sales of their estate. They rising, in hundreds of instances, he said, to have ground rents at more than double the price of the first purchase.

He related to me what he heard from the grandson of the first or second Samuel Powell, that he bought the two whole squares in-

* I might mention, that I used to hear a tradition that Penn's coachman had been offered the square on which Lætitia court is located; as that was but half a square it is the most probable story. And possibly the offer to Lownes was the same square also, and mistold in a lapse of years. The other squares were soon out of Penn's disposal, as belonging to purchasers and drawn by lot.

cluded between Spruce and Pine streets, and Fifth and Seventh streets, for £50 each—a rise of more than one thousand for one! Even when he gave those prices he bought reluctantly and at two or three several times—for he afterwards, I believe, added, at the same terms, the square from Fourth to Third street. This was originally the property of the "Free Society of Traders," and is certainly one evidence how ill they managed their interests for their eventual good. Powell, on the contrary, by holding on, realized a great for tune for his posterity from such slender occasion.

The aged Colonel Morris informed me that he heard old Tratnal say, that Governor Palmer offered him a great extent of Kensington lots, fronting on the river street, at six pence per foot ground rent forever.

Anthony Duché, a respectable Protestant refugee from France, ancestor of the well known Parson Duché, came with his wife over to Pennsylvania in the same ship with William Penn, who had borrowed a small sum of about £30 from him. After the arrival Penn offered him, in lieu of the return of the money, "a good bargain," as he said—a square between Third and Fourth streets, with only the exception of the burial ground occupied by Friends on Mulberry and Fourth streets,* the proprietor observing that he knew the lot was cheap, but that he had a mind to favour him, in return for his kindness. Mr. Duché replied, "You are very good, Mr. Penn, and the offer might prove advantageous, but the money would suit me better." "Blockhead!" (rejoined the proprietor, provoked at his overlooking the intended benefit,) "Well, well, thou shalt have thy money, but canst thou not see that this will be a very great city in a very short time?" "So I was paid," said Duché, who told this story, "and have ever since repented my own folly!" The above anecdote was told by Charles Thomson, Esq., to Mrs. D. Logan, and to her brother, J. P. Norris, at different times, saying he had received it from the son of Duché.

During the whole time of the carrying trade in the Revolutionary war of France, our city and landed property near it constantly rose in value—as men got rich in trade and desired to invest funds in buildings, &c. In this state of things, John Kearney contracted with Mr. Lyle to buy the estate called Hamilton's wharf and stores, near the Drawbridge, for $50,000. He gave $20,000 in part payment, built $11,000 additional buildings thereon, and after all chose to forfeit the whole rather than pay the remaining $20,000! This was, indeed, an extraordinary case; but it shows the great reduction of value after the peace.

The same James Lyle, as agent, sold the Bush hill estate of two hundred acres to General Cadwallader and associates, for the laying out of a town. They were to give a perpetual ground rent of nearly $100 daily—say $36,000 per annum, and after actually paying in $200,000 they surrendered back the whole!

* It was first offered to Thomas Lloyd, whose wife was the first person interred there.

SUPERSTITIONS AND POPULAR CREDULITY.

"Well attested, and as well believ'd,
Heard solemn, goes the goblin story round,
Till superstitious horror creeps o'er all!"

Our forefathers (the ruder part) brought with them much of the superstition of their "father land," and here it found much to cherish and sustain it, in the credulity of the Dutch and Swedes, nor less from the Indians, who always abounded in marvellous relations, much incited by their conjurers and pow-wows. Facts which have come down to our more enlightened times, can now no longer terrify; but may often amuse, as Cowper says,

"There's something in that ancient superstition,
Which, erring as it is, our fancy loves!"

From the provincial executive minutes, preserved at Harrisburg, we learn the curious fact of an actual trial for witchcraft. On the 27th of 12 mo., 1683, Margaret Mattson and Yeshro Hendrickson, (Swedish women) who had been accused as witches on the 7th inst. were cited to their trial; on which occasion there were present, as their judges, Governor William Penn and his council, James Harrison, William Biles, Lasse Cock, William Haigne, C. Taylor, William Clayton and Thomas Holmes. The Governor having given the Grand Jury their charge, they found the bill! The testimony of the witnesses before the Petit Jury is recorded. Such of the Jury as were absent were fined forty shillings each.

Margaret Mattson being arraigned, "she pleads not guilty, and will be tried by the country." Sundry witnesses were sworn, and many vague stories told—as that she bewitched calves, geese, &c., &c.—that oxen were rather above her malignant powers, but which reached all other cattle.

The daughter of Margaret Mattson was said to have expressed her convictions of her mother being a witch. And the reported say-so's of the daughter were given in evidence. The dame Mattson "denieth Charles Ashcom's attestation at her soul, and saith where is my daughter? let her come and say so,"—"the prisoner denieth all things, and saith that the witness speaks only by hear say." Governor Penn finally charged the Jury, who brought in a verdict sufficiently ambiguous and ineffective for such a dubious offence, saying they find her "guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in the manner and form as she stands indicted." They, however, take care to defend the good people from their future malfaisance by exacting from each of them security for good be-

haviour for six months. A decision infinitely more wise than hanging or drowning! They had each of them husbands, and Lasse Cock served as interpreter for Mrs. Mattson. The whole of this trial may be seen in detail in my MS. Annals, page 506, in the Historical Society.

By this judicious verdict we as Pennsylvanians have probably escaped the odium of Salem. It is not, however, to be concealed that we had a law standing against witches; and it may possibly exonerate us in part, and give some plea for the trial itself, to say it was from a precedent by statute of King James I. That act was held to be part of our law by an act of our provincial Assembly, entitled "an act against conjuration, witchcraft and dealing with evil and wicked spirits." It says therein, that the act of King James I. "shall be put in execution in this province, and be of like force and effect as if the same were here repeated and enacted!" So solemnly and gravely sanctioned as was that act of the king, what could we as colonists do! Our act as above was confirmed in all its parts, by the dignified council of George II., in the next year after its passage here, in the presence of eighteen peers, including the great duke of Marlborough himself!*

The superstition, such as it was, may have been deemed the common sin of the day. The enlightened Judge Hale himself fell into its belief. Our sister city, New York, had also her troubles with her witches. Soon after the English began to rule there, in 1664, a man and wife were arraigned as such, and a verdict found by the Jury against one of them; and in 1672, the people of West Chester complained to the British governor, of a witch among them. A similar complaint, made next year to the Dutch governor, Colve, was dismissed as groundless. The Virginians too, lax as we may have deemed them then in religious sentiments, had also their trial of Grace Sherwood, in Princess Ann county—as the records still there may show. The populace also seconded the court, by subjecting her to the trial of water, and the place at Walks' farm, near the ferry, is still called "witch duck!" The Bible, it must be conceded, always countenanced these credences; but now, "a generation more refined" think it their boast to say "we have no hoofs nor horns in our religion!"

An old record of the province, of 1695, states the case of Robert Reman, presented at Chester for practising geomanty, and divining by a stick. The Grand Jury also presented the following books as vicious, to wit:—Hidson's Temple of Wisdom, which teaches geomanty. Stott's Discovery of Witchcraft, and Cornelius Agrippa's Teaching Negromancy—another name probably for necromancy.

* Nor was the dread of witchcraft an English failing only. We may find enough of it in France also; for six hundred persons were executed there for that alleged crime in 1609! In 1634, Grandiere, a priest of Loudun, was burnt for bewitching a whole convent of nuns! In 1654, twenty women were executed in Bretagne for their witcheries!

The latter latinized name forcibly reminds one of those curious similar books of great value, (even of fifty thousand pieces of silver,) destroyed before Paul at Ephesus—"multi autum curiosa agentium, conferentes libros combusserunt coram omnibus."

Superstition has been called the "seminal principle of religion," because it undoubtedly has its origin in the dread of a spiritual world of which God is the supreme. The more vague and undefined our thoughts about these metaphysical mysteries, the more our minds are disposed to the legends of the nursery. As the man who walks in the dark, not seeing nor knowing his way, must feel increase of fear at possible dangers he cannot define, so he who goes abroad in the broad light of day proceeds fearlessly, because he sees and knows as harmless all the objects which surround him. Wherefore we infer, that if we have less terror of imagination now, it is ascribable to our superior light and general diffusion of intelligence, thereby setting the mind at rest in many of these things. In the mean time there is a class who will cherish their own distresses. They intend religious dread, but from misconceptions of its real beneficence and "good will to men," they,—

> "Draw a wrong copy of the Christian face
> Without the smile, the sweetness, or the grace."

We suppose some such views possessed the mind of the discriminating Burke, when he incidentally gave in his suffrage in their favour, saying, "Superstition is the religion of feeble minds, and they must be tolerated in an intermixture of it in some shape or other, else you deprive weak minds of a resource, found necessary to the strongest." Dean Swift has called it "the spleen of the soul."

Doctor Christopher Witt, born in England in 1675, came to this country in 1704, and died at Germantown in 1765, at the age of 90. He was a skilful physician, and a learned religious man. He was reputed a magus or diviner, or in grosser terms, a conjurer. He was a student and a believer in all the learned absurdities and marvellous pretensions of the Rosicrucian philosophy. The Germans of that day, and many of the English, practised the casting of nativities. As this required mathematical and astronomical learning, it often followed that such a competent scholar was called a "fortuneteller." Doctor Witt cast nativities for reward, and was called a conjurer, while his friend Christopher Lehman, who could do the same, and actually cast the nativities of his own children, (which I have seen,) was called a scholar and a gentleman.

Germantown was certainly very fruitful in credulity, and gave support to some three regular professors in the mysterious arts of hocus pocus and divination. Besides the Doctor before named, there was his disciple and once his inmate, Mr. Fraily—sometimes dubbed doctor also, though not possessed of learning. He was, however, pretty skilful in several diseases. When the cows and horses, and even persons, got strange diseases, such as baffled ordinary medi-

cines, it was often a dernier resort to consult either of these persons for relief, and their prescriptions, without seeing the patients, were often given under the idea of witchcraft somehow, and the cure was effected!

"Old Shrunk," as he was called, lived to the age of 80, and was also a great conjurer. Numerous persons from Philadelphia and elsewhere, some even from Jersey, went often to him to find out stolen goods and to get their fortunes told. They used to consult him, to learn where to go and dig for money. Several persons, whose names I suppress, used to go and dig for hidden treasures of nights. On such occasions, if any one "spoke" while digging, or ran from terror without "the magic ring," previously made with incantation round the place, the whole influence of the spell was lost.

An idea was once very prevalent, especially near to the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, that the pirates of Blackbeard's day had deposited treasure in the earth. The conceit was, that sometimes they killed a prisoner, and interred him with it, to make his ghost keep his vigils there as a guard "walking his weary round." Hence it was not rare to hear of persons having seen a shpook or ghost, or of having dreamed of it a plurality of times; thus creating a sufficient incentive to dig on the spot.

"Dream after dream ensues:
And still they dream that they shall succeed,
And still are disappointed!"

To procure the aid of a professor in the black art was called hexing; and Shrunk in particular had great fame therein. He affected to use a diviner's rod, (a hazel switch) with a peculiar angle in it, which was to be self-turned while held in the two hands when approached to any subterrane minerals. Some still use the same kind of hazel rods to feel for hidden waters, so as thereby to dig in right places for wells.

Colonel Thomas Forrest, who died in 1828, at the age of 83, had been in his early days a youth of much frolic and fun, always well disposed to give time and application to forward a joke. He found much to amuse himself in the credulity of some of the German families. I have heard him relate some of his anecdotes of the prestigious kind with much humour. When he was about 21 years of age, a tailor who was measuring him for a suit of clothes, happened to say, "Ah! Thomas, if you and I could only find some of the money of the sea robbers, (the pirates) we might drive our coach for life!" The sincerity and simplicity with which he uttered this, caught the attention of young Forrest, and when he went home he began to devise some scheme to be amused with his credulity and superstition. There was a prevailing belief that the pirates had hidden many sums of money and much of treasure about the banks of the Delaware. Forrest got an old parchment, on which he wrote the dying testimony of one John Hendricks, executed at Tyburn for

piracy, in which he stated that he had deposited a chest and pot of money at Cooper's Point in the Jerseys. This parchment he smoked, and gave to it the appearance of antiquity; and calling on his German tailor, he told him he had found it among his father's papers, who had got it in England from the prisoner, whom he visited in prison. This he showed to the tailor as a precious paper which he could by no means lend out of his hand. This operated the desired effect.

Soon after the tailor called on Forrest with one Ambruster, a printer, whom he introduced as capable of "printing any spirit out of hell," by his knowledge of the black art. He asked to show him the parchment; he was delighted with it, and confidently said he could conjure Hendricks to give up the money. A time was appointed to meet in an upper room of a public house in Philadelphia, by night, and the innkeeper was let into the secret by Forrest. By the night appointed, they had prepared by a closet, a communication with a room above their sitting room, so as to lower down by a pulley, the invoked ghost, who was represented by a young man entirely sewed up in a close white dress on which were painted black eyed sockets, mouth, and bare ribs with dashes of black between them, the outside and inside of the legs and thighs blackened, so as to make white bones conspicuous there. About twelve persons met in all, seated around a table. Ambruster shuffled and read out cards, on which were inscribed the names of the New Testament saints, telling them he should bring Hendricks to encompass the table, visible or invisible he could not tell. At the words "John Hendricks, *du verfluchter cum heraus*," the pulley was heard to reel, the closet door to fly open, and John Hendricks with ghastly appearance to stand forth. The whole were dismayed and fled, save Forrest the brave. After this, Ambruster, on whom they all depended, declared that he had by spells got permission to take up the money. A day was therefore appointed to visit the Jersey shore and to dig there by night. The parchment said it lay between two great stones. Forrest, therefore, prepared two black men to be entirely naked except white petticoat breeches; and these were to jump each on the stone whenever they came to the pot, which had been previously put there. These frightened off the company for a little. When they next essayed they were assailed by cats tied two and two, to whose tails were spiral papers of gunpowder, which illuminated and whizzed, while the cats whawled. The pot was at length got up, and brought in great triumph to Philadelphia wharf: but oh, sad disaster! while helping it out of the boat, Forrest, who managed it, and was handing it up to the tailor, trod upon the gunnel and filled the boat, and holding on to the pot, dragged the tailor into the river—it was lost! For years afterwards they reproached Forrest for that loss, and declared he had got the chest himself and was enriched thereby. He favoured the conceit, until at last they actually sued him on a writ of treasure trove; but their lawyer was persuaded to give it up as idle. Some years afterwards Mr. Forrest wrote a very humorous

play, (which I have seen printed)* which contained many incidents of this kind of superstition. It gave such offence to the parties represented, that it could not be exhibited on the stage. I remember some lines in it, for it had much of broken English and German-English verses, to wit:

"My dearest wife, in all my life
Ich neber was so frighten'd,
De spirit come and I did run,
'Twas juste like tunder mit lightning."

For many years he had great reputation for hexing, [conjuring.] He always kept a hazel rod, scraped and smoked, with which to divine where money was hid. Once he lent it to a man, who for its use gave a cart load of potatoes to the poor house. A decent storekeeper once got him to hex for his wife, who had conceited that an old Mrs. Wiggand had bewitched her, and made her to swallow a piece of linsey woolsey. He cured her by strong emetics, and a piece of woolsey, which he showed dripping wet, came out of her stomach! He made his Dutch girl give up some stolen money, by touching her with cow itch, and after laying down on his couch and groaning, &c., till she began to itch and scratch, he seemed to be enraged, and said, now I am putting fire into your flesh, and if you do not immediately tell how and when you took my money, I'll burn you up by conjuration, and make your ghost to be pained and tell it out before your face. She made full confession, and the circumstance got abroad, and added still more to his fame. He has told me he has been gravely told many times where ghosts have been seen, and invited to come with his hazel rod and feel if the money was not there. All this superstition has now subsided, and can be laughed at by the present generation as harmless and amusing anecdotes of the ancient day.

Timothy Matlack, Esq., when 95 years of age, a close observer of passing events in his youth, has assured me there was much more of superstition prevalent in olden time than now: wherefore, fortune-telling, conjuration, and money digging, were frequent in his youth. He declared it was a fact, before his time, that a young man, a stranger of decent appearance from the south, (the rogues lived there in the ancient days, in the transport colonies of Maryland and Virginia) gave out he was sold to the devil! and that unless the price was raised for his redemption by the pious, he would be borne off at midday by the purchaser in person! He took his lodgings at the inn in Lætitia court, and at the eventful day he was surrounded, and the house too, by the people, among whom were several clergymen. Prayers and pious services of worship were performed, and as the moment approached for execution, when all were on tiptoe, some expecting the verification, and several discrediting it, a murmur ran

* A copy is now in the Athenæum, called "The Disappointment, or Force of Credulity, 2d edition, 1796."

through the crowd of "there he comes! he comes!" This instantly generated a general panic—all fled, from fear, or from the rush of the crowd. When their fears a little subsided, and a calmer inquisition ensued, sure enough, the young man was actually gone, money and all! I should have stated that the money was collected to pay the price; and it lay upon the table in the event of the demand! Mr. Matlack assured me he fully believed these transactions occurred. The story was as popular a tale as the story of the "Paxtang boys."

In confirmation he told me a fact which he witnessed. Michael H——, Esq., well known in public life, who lived in Second street above Arch street, gave out (in a mental delirium it is hoped,) that he had sold himself to the devil, and would be carried away at a certain time. At that time crowds actually assembled near the premises to witness the denouement and catastrophe! There must have been truth in this relation, because I now see by the Gazette of 1749, a public notice of this public gathering as an offensive act to the family. I see that M. H. is vindicated from some malicious reports, which said he was distracted, &c., and witnesses appear before Judge Allen, and testify that he was then sane, &c. It was certainly on every side a strange affair!

Something like this subject occurred when I was a child. I remember very well to have been taken to a house on the south side of Race street, a few doors east of Second street, where was a black man, who was stated to have sold himself to the devil, and to have come from Delaware or Maryland peninsula, by the aid of the pious in Philadelphia, to procure his ransom or exemption. I can never forget his piteous and dejected countenance, as I saw him, in the midst of praying people, working fervently at his exorcism in an up stairs chamber. I heard him say he had signed an instrument of writing with his own blood. It was probably at black Allen's house, as he was among the praying ones. My mother told me since that hundreds went to see him. Among these was the Rev. Dr. Pilmore, who finally took him to his own house, where at last, I understood, he concluded, from his habits, that his greatest calamity was laziness. I conclude he escaped translation, as I never heard of that.

Several aged persons have occasionally pointed out to me the places where persons, to their knowledge, had dug for pirates' money. The small hill once on the north side of Coates street, near to Front street, was well remembered by John Brown as having been much dug. Col. A. J. Morris, since dead, has told me that in his early days very much was said of Blackbeard and the pirates, both by young and old. Tales were frequently current that this and that person had heard of some of his discovered treasure. Persons in the city were named as having profited by his depredations. But he thought those things were not true. T. Matlack, Esq., told me he was once shown an oak tree, at the south end of Front street, which was marked KLP, at the foot of which was found a large sum of

money. The stone which covered the treasure he saw at the door of the alleged finder, who said his ancestor was directed to it by a sailor in the hospital in England. He told me, too, that when his grandfather Burr died, they opened a chest which had been left by four sailors, "for a day or two," full twenty years before, which was found full of decayed silk goods. Samuel Richards and B. Graves confirmed to me what I had heard elsewhere, that at the sign of the Cock, in Spruce street, about forty-five years ago, there was found in a pot in the cellar a sum of money of about $5,000. The Cock inn was an old two story frame house, which stood on the site of the present easternmost house of B. Graves' row. A Mrs. Green owned and lived in the Cock inn, fifty to sixty years ago, and had sold it to Pegan, who found the money in attempting to deepen the cellar. It became a question to whom the money belonged, which it seems was readily settled between Mrs. Green and Pegan, on the pretext that Mrs. Green's husband had put it there! But it must appear sufficiently improbable that Mrs. Green should have left such a treasure on the premises if she really knew of it when she sold the house. The greater probability is that neither of them had any conception how it got there, and they mutually agreed to support the story, so as to hush any other or more imposing inquiries. They admitted they found $5,000. It is quite as probable a story that the pirates had deposited it there before the location of the city. It was of course, on the margin of the natural harbour once formed there for vessels. In digging the cellar of the old house at the northeast corner of Second street and Gray's alley, they discovered a pot of money there; also some lately at Frankford creek.

As late as the year 1792, the ship carpenters formed a party to dig for pirates' money on the Cohocksinc creek, northwest of the causeway, under a large tree. They got frightened off. And it came out afterwards that a waggish neighbour had enacted *Diabolus* to their discomfiture.

In the year 1762, one Tristram Davies, of Bethlehem, advertises that he has discovered a sure means of ascertaining where any metals of any kind lay in the earth; for, every metal, says he, has an attraction which he can feel after by his instruments. This shows some reason why so many were credulous in digging for concealed money and mines in former days.

Haunted houses were subjects of frequent mention. Some of them were known even down to the time of my early days. On the northeast corner of Walnut and Fifth streets once stood a house very generally called "the haunted house," because of Mr. B. having there killed his wife. He gave the property to Hamilton, the Attorney General, to purge him from his sins by pleading his acquittal at the bar. It long remained empty from the dread of its invisible guest—about ninety-five years ago. Such as I can still remember were these: Emlen's house, at the south west corner of Noble and Second streets; Naglee's house, far out Second street, near the rope-

walk—there a man was to be seen hanging without a head; a house out by the Centre Square, where "the five wheelbarrow men" committed the murder for which they were executed; the country seat (in ruins) at Masters' place, where was lately Cook's farm, out North Fourth street, was another haunt of disturbed spirits.

I have seen aged people who well remembered the town talk of the people about seeing a black coach driven about at midnight by an evil spirit, having therein one of our deceased rich citizens, who was deemed to have died with unkind feelings to one dependant upon him. I suppress names and circumstances; but there were people enough who were quite persuaded that they saw it! This was before the Revolution.

The good people of Caledonia have so long and exclusively engrossed the faculty of "second sight," that it may justly surprise many to learn that we also have been favoured with at least one case, as well attested as their own! I refer to the instance of Eli Yarnall of Frankford. Whatever were his first peculiarities, he in time lost them. He fell into intemperate habits, became a wanderer, and died in Virginia, a young man. He was born in Chester county, and with his family emigrated to the neighbourhood of Pittsburg. There, when a child of seven years of age, he suddenly burst into a fit of laughter in the house, saying he then saw his father (then at a distance) running down the mountain side, trying to catch a jug of whiskey which he had let fall. He saw him overtake it, &c. When the father came in, he confirmed the whole story, to the great surprise of all. The boy after this excited much wonder and talk in the neighbourhood. Two or three years after this, the family was visited by Robert Verreé, a Friend, and afterwards by Joseph Potts with other visiting Friends from Montgomery county. I have heard, in a very direct manner, from those who heard Verreé's narrative, that he, to try the lad, asked him various questions about circumstances then occurring at his own house in Montgomery county; all of which he afterwards ascertained to have been really so at that precise time! Some of the things mentioned were these, viz: "I see your house is made partly of log and partly of stone; before the house is a pond which is now let out; in the porch sits a woman, and a man with gray hairs; in the house are several men," &c. When Verreé returned home, he ascertained that his mill pond before his house had just been let out to catch muskrats; that the man in the porch was his wife's brother Jonathan; that the men in the house were his mowers, who had all come in because of a shower of rain. In short, he said every iota was exactly realized.

The habits of the boy, when he sought for such facts, was to sit down and hold his head downward—his eyes often shut; and after some waiting declared what he saw in his visions. He has been found abroad in the fields, sitting on a stump, crying—on being asked the reasons, he said he saw great destruction of human life by men in mortal combat. His descriptions answered exactly to sea

fights and army battles, although he had never seen the sea, nor ships, nor cannon; all of which he fully described as an actual looker on. Some of the Friends who saw him became anxious for his future welfare, and deeming him possessed of a peculiar gift and a good spirit, desired to have the bringing of him up. He was therefore brought away by Joseph Potts, a public Friend, and committed to the mastery of Nathan Harper, a Friend, engaged in the business of tanning in Frankford. There he excited considerable conversation; and so many began to visit him as to be troublesome to his master, who did what he could to discourage the calls. Questions on his part were, therefore, shunned as much as he could. He lost his faculty by degrees, and fell into loose company, which of itself prevented serious people from having any farther wish to interrogate him.

To instance the kind of inquiries which were usually presented to him it may be stated, that wives who had missed their husbands long, supposed by shipwreck for instance, would go to him and inquire. He would tell them (it is said) of some still alive, what they were then about, &c. Another case, was a man, for banter, went to him to inquire who stole his pocket book, and he was answered—no one; but you stole one out of a man's pocket when at the vendue—and it was so!

His mother would not allow him "to divine for money," lest he should thereby lose the gift, which she deemed heaven-derived. The idea is not novel, as may be seen in John Woolman's life, where he speaks of a rare gift of healing, which was lost by taking a reward.

These are strange things, evidencing matters "not dreamed of in our philosophy." I give these facts as I heard them—I "nothing extenuate, nor aught set down in malice."

The minutes of Council of 1683, thus state the indictment against Margaret Mattson before named, for witchcraft, to wit:

"Henry Drystreet said he was told twenty years before that she was a witch and that several cows were bewitched by her—and James Saunderling's mother told him she had bewitched her cow, but was afterwards found not so."

Charles Ashcom told that Anthony's wife said she sold her cattle, because her mother had bewitched them—having taken the witchcraft of Hendrick's cattle and put it on their oxen. Also that one night the daughter of Mrs. Mattson called him up hastily and she said there was a great light passed before, and that an old woman with a knife in her hand stood at her bed feet, and there cried out that John Symcock should take away his calves, or else she would send them to hell.

Amnakey Coolin attested that her husband took the heart of a calf that died by witchcraft and boiled it, and that then Mrs. M. came in and asked what they were at—when she ridiculed it, by saying they had better boiled the bones, &c.

The case of a strange woman, from whose breast were taken out

pins. John Richards and his wife accused Robert Guard and his wife, as having bewitched her. The case being found trivial was dismissed.

As late as the period of the Revolutionary war, the notion of witchcraft was still very prevalent, and especially *in the country.* It occurs to me, as the memory of the facts in the case are now so fast receding from present notice, to state sundry circumstances within my own knowledge, and which are withal *a fair specimen* of the prevalent credulity. While writing, one cannot but wonder, at its general extinguishment now as a matter of belief or practice, and this without any known direct means to suppress it. I proceed to my relations, to wit: A respectable man, a farmer in Chester county—and a religious professor, had a daughter, a young woman supposed to be affected with witchcraft. She would often be strangely shivered and agitated, without any heart sickness—often she would scratch the walls, the floor, &c. The father was urged to go to Doctor Fraley, a witch doctor *in Germantown;* he was unbelieving and reluctant; he was, however, persuaded by the general voice of the neighbourhood—he mounted a very fine steed horse, and put up one night on his way. The next morning he was amazed to find his horse, most strangely lank and jaded, as if the very witches had ridden him all night!—he however mounted him and rode onward; and was surprised to find him improve in appearance at every mile. Arrived at Doctor Fraley's, he assured him that the daughter was really bewitched, and his medicine would certainly cure her—it was a black liquid contained in a bottle which she was to drink. He was told that she would utterly object to even tasting it. It was truly so; they had to force her; she was speedily and surprisingly cured.

S. H. a Methodist minister, near Valley Forge, remembered perfectly the case of his brother, when a boy, he was strangely diseased, rapidly pining and wasting away, not able to stand up, his mother who was a pious Quaker woman, insisted that he must be bewitched, and that her husband must go with her to "a witch doctor" living in Chester Valley. They went, taking the child with them. He soon said he was bewitched, and that he could cause the witch to show herself. When he saw the child could not stand up, he said he could make him quickly, and he did so in the same moment by standing him on his bed—as if that was a charmed place—to the amazement of the parents. The mother declined seeing her! but he said she would certainly visit their house once or more on an errand *of "begging the loan of something,"* and that they must "be sure *to lend or give* her nothing"—for if they did, the child *would die!* but if they did not he would recover. Soon after they got home, an old woman, already bearing the fame and blame of a witch, came to beg an axe, until she could get a helve to her own axe—she was refused. She then begged a little rye meal to make a poultice. This she was also refused. A day or two afterwards,

she came to borrow a bag—and not getting that, she finally asked for a drink of water, and was told that there was the well, and she might draw for herself. Finding herself wholly baffled, she desisted, and the child quickly recovered, and is now a man alive and well. About this same period of time, the reliance upon dreams, was very prevalent. It was a common practice in families and neighbourhoods to treasure them up in the memory for relation to one another. They had *rules* of interpretation, both in books and in traditionary practice. They believed in general, that they forewarned and premonished. Many strange "true ones" as they called them, I have heard; and even now several families remain, in which, through the influence of early parental tales, they still give heed to their dreams.

SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS.

"We, shifting for relief, would play the shapes
Of frolic fancy—call laughter forth,
Deep shaking every nerve."

It may help our conceptions of the olden time to be led into an acquaintance with the nature of their sports and amusements; to this end, the following facts may be contemplated with some advantage, to wit:

The dances of the polite part of society were formal minuets. Country or contre dances, although understood, were of rarer occurrence. Hipsesaws and jigs were the common dances of the commonalty. It was long before dancing was encouraged in Philadelphia sufficiently to present a school for a dancing master. The aged Mrs. Shoemaker told me she supposed the first dancing master ever named in Philadelphia was one Bolton, who taught about eighty-five years ago. In the year 1730, Mrs. Ball, in Lætitia court, advertises her school for French, playing on the spinet, and dancing, &c. When Whitfield laboured in Philadelphia, in 1739, such was the religious excitement of the time, that the dancing school, the assembly and concert room were shut up as inconsistent with the gospel. This was opposed by some others; so far so, that some of the gentlemen concerned broke open the doors, but no company went to the assembly room.

In later time, however, the dancing assembly among the gentry had high vogue, partaking, before the Revolution, of the aristocratic feelings of a monarchial government—excluding the families of mechanics, however wealthy. The subscription was £3 15s.; admitting no gentleman under 21 years, nor lady under 18 years.

The supper consisted of tea, chocolate, and rusk—a simple cake, now never seen amidst the profusion of French confectionary. For then we had no spice of French in our institutions, and consequently did not know how to romp in cotillons, but moved with measured dignity in grave minuets or gayer country dances. Every thing was conducted by rule of six married managers, who distributed places by lot; and partners were engaged for the evening—leaving nothing to the success of forwardness or favouritism. Gentlemen always drank tea with their partners the day after the assembly—a sure means of producing a more lasting acquaintance, if mutually desirable.

Fox hunting formerly formed the field exercise of some of our wealthy citizens, within the memory of several of the aged whom I have conversed with. There was a kennel of hounds kept by one Butler, for the company. It was situated then as out of town, but in a place now populous enough—say on the brow of the hill north of Callowhill street, descending to Pegg's run, and at about sixty feet westward of Second street. Butler himself dwelt in the low brick house adjoining the northwest corner of Callowhill street on Second street. As population increased, their game decreased; so much so, that the establishment had to remove over to Gloucester, so as to make their hunts in the Jersey pines. At the same time the company provided for their old huntsman, Butler, by setting him up, in the year 1756, with the first public stage for New York. Old Captain Samuel Morris, dead about thirty years ago, was for many years the life and head of the club. I well remember to have seen the voracious and clamorous hounds in their kennel near Gloucester ferry.

Horse races appear to have been of very early introduction, and bringing with them the usual evils—hard to be controlled. They were, at an early period, performed out "Race street,"—so popularly called because of its being the street directly leading out to the race ground, cleared out for the purpose, through the forest trees, still long remaining there.

As early as the year 1726, I see that the Grand Jury present, "that since the city has become so very populous the usual custom of horse racing at fairs in the Sassafras street is very dangerous to life; also, it is an evil that they who erect the booths, &c., in that street, at the fairs, do sell all sorts of liquors, &c." It is not improbable, from this description, that they then ran straight races along the line of the cleared street—then a street but very little used for travelling.

The late very aged T. Matlack, Esq., was passionately fond of races in his youth. He told me of his remembrances out Race street. In his early days the woods were in commons, having several straggling forest trees still remaining there, and the circular course ranging through those trees. He said all genteel horses were pacers. A trotting horse was deemed a base breed! All these

Race street races were mostly pace races. His father and others kept pacing studs for propagating the breed.

Captain Graydon, in his Memoirs, says racing was a great passion of his young days. The race horses, in 1760, were kept at Mrs. Nicholls' stables, which extended down Fourth street, two-thirds of the way to Chestnut street, from the rear of her tavern then at the corner of High street. "The enthusiasm of the turf (says he) pervaded the Academy; and the most extravagant transport of that sport was transferred to the boys' foot races round the whole square in which the Academy stood—stripped to the shirt, the head and waist bound up with handkerchiefs, and with the shoes off, they ran near half a mile at a heat!"

Thomas Bradford, Esq., telling me of his recollections of the races, says he was told that the earliest races were scrub and pace races, on the ground now used as Race street. But in his younger days they were ran in a circular form on a ground from Arch or Race street down to Spruce street, and from Eighth street of Delaware to Schuylkill river—making thus two miles for a heat. About the same time they also run straight races of one mile, from Centre Square to Schuylkill, out High street.

In the year 1761, I notice the first public advertisement of a race; wherein is stated the terms of running the intended races "at the centre race ground—to run three times round the course each heat." The grounds themselves at the same time were familiarly called "the Governor's woods."

At the Centre square the races used to be continued till the time of the war of 1775. None occurred there afterwards; and after the peace, they were made unlawful.

The first equestrian feats performed in Philadelphia, was in 1771, by Faulks; he executed all his wonders alone—himself riding from one to three horses at a time.

Bull baiting and cock fighting were much countenanced. The late aged and respectable T. M. had once a great passion for the latter, so that some wags sometimes called him Tim Gaff; thereby affecting to slur a latin signature which he sometimes assumed as a political writer, of which T. G. were the initials of his two latin words.

As respectable a person as Doctor William Shippen, in 1735, in writing to Doctor Gardiner, says, "I have sent you a young game cock, to be depended upon—which I would advise you to put to a walk by himself with the hen I sent you before—I have not sent an old cock—our young cockers have contrived to kill and steal all I had." This is the same gentleman who speaks of "his beloved friend Mr. Whitfield, the Rev. preacher."

Very aged persons have told me of a celebrated place of amusement out Third street by Vine street. It was the place of Charles Quinan's—always pronounced Queen Ann's place. It stood on the site of Third street, not then opened; and was famous for alluring the citizens of middle life. There he kept "flying coaches and

horses;" they were affixed to a whirligig frame. The women sat in boxes for coaches, and the men strode on wooden horses—in those positions they were whirled around!

Aged persons inform that bullbaiting, bearbaiting, and horseracing, were much more frequent in old time than since the war of Independence. T. B., Esq., tells me that many men of rank and character, as well as the butchers, reared and kept dogs for the sport. John Ord, an Englishman, southeast corner of Second and High streets, kept a pair of bull-dogs for the purpose of the breed.

In the days of my youth, the barbarous sport of bullbaiting was but too frequent on the commons in the Northern Liberties. Happily, however, they have been quite laid aside for the last thirty years. They were got up and supported by butchers—a class of men much more ferocious and uncivilized than now. They were stopped by Squire Wharton—our spirited mayor. He went out to the intended sport seemingly as a friendly observer—and so they expected. When all was prepared for the onset of the dogs he stepped suddenly into the ring, and, calling aloud, said he would, at the peril of his life, seize and commit the first man who should begin; at the same time, calling on names present to support him at their peril, he advanced to the bull and unloosed him from the stake. He then declared he would never desist from bringing future abettors of such exercises to condign punishments. They have never been got up since—a happy circumstance, for which we owe him many thanks!

In the year 1724, slack rope and tight rope dancing by men and women is announced in the Gazette as to be exhibited for twenty evenings at the new booth on Society hill. This was of course then out of town—somewhere near South and Front streets.

They used to have a play at the time of the fairs, called "throwing at the joke." A leather cylinder, not unlike a high candlestick, was placed on the ground over a hole. The adventurers placed their coppers on the top of the joke, then retired to a distance and tossed a stick at it so as to knock the whole down. The pennies which fell in the pot were to belong to the thrower, those which fell out, to the owner of the joke. The leather was pliable and was easily bent to let the pennies drop. They played also at the fairs the wheel of fortune, nine holes, &c.

In former days the streets were much filled with boys "skying a copper,"—a play to toss up pennies and guess heads or tails; "pitch penny," too, was frequent—to pitch at a white mark on the ground; they pitched also "chuckers"—a kind of pewter pennies cast by the boys themselves. All these plays have been banished from our city walks by the increased pavements, and still more by the multitudes of walkers who disturb such plays.

The game for shooters much more abounded before the Revolution than since. Fishing and fowling were once subjects of great recreation and success. Wild pigeons used to be innumerable, so

also black birds, reed birds, and squirrels. As late as the year 1720, an act was passed, fining 5s. for shooting pigeons, doves, or partridges, or other fowl, (birds) in the streets of Philadelphia, or the gardens or orchards adjoining any houses within the said city! In Penn's woods, westward of Broad street, used to be excellent pigeon shooting.

The skaters of Philadelphia have long been pre-eminent. Graydon in his Memoirs has stated his reasons for thinking his countrymen are the most expert and graceful in the world! quite surpassing the Dutch and English. He thinks them also the best swimmers to be found in the civilized world!

Mr. George Tyson, a broker of Philadelphia, weighing 180 to 190 pounds, is the greatest swimmer (save a companion, who swims with him) we have ever had, not excepting Doctor Franklin himself. He and that companion have swum from Philadelphia to Fort Mifflin and back without ever resting, save a little while floating off the fort to see it! He says he never tires with swimming, and that he can float in perfect stillness, with his arms folded, by the hour. He deems his sensations at that time delightful. He went across the Delaware, drawn by a paper kite in the air. He is short and fat—his fat and flesh aid his specific lightness, no doubt, in the water, and cause him readily to swim high out of the water.

During the old fashioned winters, when, about New Year's day, every one expected to see or hear of an "Ox Roast" on the Delaware, upon the thick ribbed ice, the river surface was filled with skaters. Of the very many varieties of skaters of all colours and sizes mingled together, and darting about here and there, "upward and downward, mingled and convolved," a few were at all times discernible as being decidedly superior to the rest for dexterity, power, and grace—namely, William Tharpe, Doctor Foulke, Governor Mifflin, C. W. Peale, George Heyl, "Joe" Claypoole, and some others; not forgetting, by the way, a black Othello, who, from his apparent muscle and powerful movement, might have sprung, as did the noble Moor, from "men of royal siege." In swiftness he had no competitor; he outstripped the wind; the play of his elbows in alternate movement with his "low gutter" skates, while darting forward and uttering occasionally a wild scream peculiar to the African race while in active exertion of body, was very imposing in appearance and effect. Of the gentlemen skaters before enumerated, and others held in general admiration by all, George Heyl took the lead in graceful skating, and in superior dexterity in cutting figures and "High Dutch" within a limited space of smooth ice. On a larger field of glass, among others he might be seen moving about elegantly and at perfect ease, in curve lines, with folded arms, being dressed in red coat (as was the fashion) and buckskin "tights," his bright broad skates in an occasional round turn flashing upon the eye; then again to be pursued by others, he might be seen suddenly changing to the back and *heel forward* movement, offering them his

hand, and at the same time eluding their grasp by his dexterous and instantaneous deviations to the right and left, leaving them to their hard work of "striking out" after him with all their might and main.

The next very best skater, and at the same time the most noted surgeon of the day, was Doctor Foulke, in Front street, opposite Elfreth's alley. Skating "High Dutch," and being able to cut the letters of his own name at one flourish, constituted the Doctor's fame as a *skater*. In the way of business, the Doctor was off-hand, and quick in his speech and manner, but gentlemanly withal.

C. W. Peale, as a skater, was only remarkable for using a remarkable pair of "gutter skates," with a remarkable prong, capped and curved backwards, with which he moved leisurely about in curve lines. They looked as though they might have been brought to him from somewhere about the German ocean, as a subject for his Museum.

"May-days" were much more regarded formerly than now. All young people went out into the country on foot, to walk and gather flowers. The lads too, when the woods abounded, would put up as many as fifty poles of their own cutting, procured by them without any fear of molestation.

The "Belsh Nichel" and St. Nicholas has been a time of Christmas amusement from time immemorial among us; brought in, it is supposed, among the sportive frolics of the Germans. It is the same also observed in New York, under the Dutch name of St. Claes. "Belsh Nichel," in high German, expresses "Nicholas in his fur" or sheep-skin clothing. He is always supposed to bring good things at night to good children, and a rod for those who are bad. Every father in his turn remembers the excitements of his youth in Belshnichel and Christ-kinkle nights, and his amusements also when a father, at seeing how his own children expressed their feelings on their expectations of gifts from the mysterious visiter! The following fine poetry upon the subject must gratify the reader:

It was the night before Christmas, when all through the house
Not a creature was stirring, not even a mouse;
When what in the air to my eyes should appear,
But a miniature sleigh and eight tiny reindeer;
With a little old driver so lively and quick,
I knew in a moment, it must be Saint Nick!
Soon, on to the house top, his coursers, they flew,
With the sleigh full of toys and Saint Nicholas too—
As I roll'd on my bed and was turning around,
Down the chimney Saint Nicholas came with a bound!
He was dressed all in fur, from his head to his foot,
And his clothes were all tarnished with ashes and soot:
The stump of a pipe he held fast in his teeth,
And the smoke it encircled his head like a wreath.
He had a broad face and a little round belly,
That shook when he laughed, like a bowl full of jelly;
He spoke not a word, but went straight to his work:
Soon filled all the stockings, then turned with a jerk;

And laying his finger aside of his nose,
And giving a nod, up the chimney he rose.
He sprang to his sleigh, to his team gave a whistle
And away they all flew like the down of a thistle;
And I heard him exclaim, ere he drove out of sight,
"Happy Christmas to all, and to all a good night!

In my youthful days it was a great sport with the boys to sled down hills in the city, on the snow in winter. Since the population and the wheel-carriages have increased, the danger of being run over more than formerly, and the rarity of the snow, has made boys leave it off for some years. Thirty to forty boys and sleds could be seen running down each of the streets descending from Front street to the river. There was also much sledding down the streets and hills descending to Pegg's run.

The boys at Friends' school in south Fourth street were formerly (although gravely disciplined) as mischievous and sportive as others. Some still alive may be amused to be reminded of their puerilities; when they were taught by Jonah Thompson, who was a man of good military port and aspect, accustomed to walk at the head of his corps of scholars to week-day meetings in a long line of "two and two." On such occasion the town was surprised to see them so marching with wooden guns, (a kind of received Quaker emblem) and having withal a little flag! These they had succeeded to take up as they walked out of school without the knowledge of their chieftain, who had preceded them without deigning to look back on their array. On another occasion, when Robert Proud, the historian, was their teacher, and was remarkable for retaining his large bush-wig, long after others had disused them, they bored a hole through the ceiling over his sitting place, and by suspending a pin-hook to a cord, so attached it to his wig as to draw it up, leaving it suspended as if depending from the ceiling. At another time they combined at night to take to pieces a country wagon which they lifted on to a chimney wall then building, there replacing the wheels, awning, &c., to the astonishment of the owner and the diversion of the populace. Some of those urchins lived, notwithstanding their misapplied talents and ingenuity, to make very grave and exemplary members of society. Youth is the season of levity and mirth, and although we must chide its wanton aberrations, we may yet feel sensations of indulgence, knowing what we ourselves have been, and to what they with ourselves must come,—

"When cherish'd fancies one by one
Shall slowly fade from day to day;—
And then from weary sun to sun
They will not have the heart to play!"

The time was when the "uptown" and "downtown boys" were rival clans, as well understood in the city precincts as the bigger clans of feds and anti-feds. They used to have, according to the streets, their regular night-battles with sticks and stones, making the

panes of glass to jingle occasionally. But the appearance of "old Carlisle" and the famous West (the constable) would scatter them into all the hiding-places—peeping out from holes and corners when the coast was clear. Those from the south of Chestnut street were frequently headed by one whose naval exploits, since that time, in the Mediterranean and on the Atlantic, have secured to him imperishable fame; also by his faithful friend and ardent admirer, well known since throughout the community for his suavity and exquisitely polished manners. They were the Achilles and the Patrocles of the "downtowners."

The Northern Liberties about Camptown and Pegg's run used to be in agitation almost every Saturday night by the regular clans of "rough and tumble" fighting, between the ship-carpenters from Kensington, and the butchers from Spring Garden—the public authority not even attempting to hinder them, as it was deemed an affair out of town.

All this spirit of rivalry and fighting was the product of the war of Independence. Their ears, as boys, were filled with the echoes of battles lost or won. They felt their buoyant spirits inspired with martial ardour too, and having no real enemies to encounter, they invented them for the occasion. In this way the academy boys were accoutred as young soldiers, and they much piqued themselves as the rivals of another class of school-boys. Each had their officers, and all of them some emblems *a la militaire*—all aspiring to the marks and influence of manhood; burning to get through their minority, and to take their chances in the world before them:

> "Then passions wild and dark and strong,
> And hopes and powers and feelings high,
> Ere manhood's thoughts, a rushing throng,
> Shall sink the cheek and dim the eye!"

THE CITY DANCING ASSEMBLY.

This association in its time—like another Almacks, embodied the exclusives of the day. The elite and fashionables of the city then were far more peculiarly marked by its metes and bounds of separation, than now. It only professed to enroll and retain in its union, those who had ancestral bearings and associations.

Some of the original MSS. lists of the day having been put into my hands, it may be curious at this time to here copy the record, and to furnish to sundry of the descendants this roll of remembrance of their ancestors—to wit:

"A list of subscribers for an assembly, appointed under the direction of Joseph Shippen, James Burd, Redmund Conyngham, and Joseph Sims, for the season (the year 1749). Each subscription to be £3—to be paid to any of the Directors at subscribing."

The Governor,	paid.	John Kidd,	paid.
William Allen,	paid.	William Bingham,	paid.
Archibald M'Call,	paid.	Buckridge Sims,	
Joseph Turner,		John Swift,	JB.
Richard Peters,	paid.	John Kearsley, junr.	
Adam Thompson,	paid.	William Plumsted,	paid.
Alexander Steadman,	paid.	James Burd,	paid.
Patrick Baird,	paid.	William Franklin,	paid.
John Sober,		Henry Harrison,	paid.
David Franks,	JB.	Daniel Boyle,	paid.
John Inglis,		Thomas White,	paid.
William Taylor,	paid.	John Lawrence,	
James Trotter,	JB.	Thomas Græme,	
Samson Levy,	JB.	John Maland,	paid.
Linford Lardner,		Alexander Barclay,	paid.
Benjamin Price,	paid.	James Young,	JB.
John Francis,	paid.	Peter Bard,	
William Humphreys,	paid.	Mr. Venables,	
Alexander Hamilton,	paid.	Thomas Cross,	paid.
Thomas Lawrence, junr.	paid.	George Smith,	paid.
John Wallace,	paid.	Thomas Bond,	paid.
Phineas Bond,		Thomas Willing,	J. Shippen.
Joseph Shippen		John Ross,	paid.
Samuel M'Call, junr.	JB.	Hugh Davey,	paid.
George M'Call,		Daniel Roberdeau,	paid.
Edward Jones,		Joseph Marks,	JB.
Samuel M'Call, senr.	paid.	Christopher Carnan,	paid.
Redmund Conyngham,		John Hesselius,	paid.
Joseph Sims,	paid.	Robert Warren,	paid.
Thomas Lawrence, senr.	paid.	Lawrence Deniedy,	paid.
David M'Ilvaine,	paid.	William M'Ilvaine,	
John Wilcocks,	paid.	John Nelson,	JB.
Charles Steadman,	paid.		

List of Belles and Dames of Philadelphia fashionables, of about the year 1757. An original list for the ball of the City Assembly.

Mrs. Allen,	Mrs. Robertson,
Mrs. Taylor,	Mrs. Francis,
Mrs. Hamilton,	Mrs. Greame,
Mrs. Brotherson,	Mrs. Joseph Shippen,
Mrs. Inglis,	Mrs. Dolgreen,
Mrs. Jeykell,	Mrs. Phineas Bond,
Mrs. Franks,	Mrs. Burd,
Mrs. Lydia M'Call,	Mrs. Charles Steadman,
Mrs. Samuel M'Call, senr.	Mrs. Thomas White,
Mrs. Samuel M'Call, junr.	Mrs. Johnes,
Mrs. Swift,	Mrs. Warren,
Mrs. Sims,	Mrs. Oswald,
Mrs. Willcocks,	Mrs. Thomas Bond,
Mrs. Lawrence, senr.	Mrs. Davey,
Mrs. Lawrence, junr.	Mrs. William Humphreys,

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Mrs. Pennery,
Mrs. Henry Harrison,
Mrs. Bingham,
Mrs. Clymer,
Mrs. Wallace,
Mrs. Ellis,
Mrs. Alexander Steadman,
Mrs. Hopkinson,
Mrs. Hockley,
Mrs. Marks,
Miss Molly Francis,
Miss Betty Francis,
Miss Osburn,
Miss Sober,
Miss Molly Lawrence,
Miss Kitty Lawrence,
Mrs. George Smith,
Miss Nancy Hickman,
Miss Sally Hunlock,
Miss Peggy Harding,
Miss Molly M'Call,
Miss Peggy M'Call,
Mrs. Lardner,
Miss Patty Ellis,
Miss Betty Plumstead,
Miss Rebecca Davis,
Miss Jeany Greame,
Miss Nelly M'Call,
Miss Randolph,
Miss Sophia White,
Mrs. Venables,
Miss Hyatt,
Miss Betty Clifften,
Miss Molly Dick,
Miss Fanny Jeykell,
Miss Fanny Marks,
Miss Peggy Oswald,
Miss Betty Oswald,
Miss Sally Woodrop,
Miss Molly Oswald,
Mrs. Willing,
Miss Nancy Willing,
Miss Dolly Willing,
Mrs. M'Ilvaine,
Miss Betty Grayden,
Miss Sally Fishbourn,
Miss Furnell,
Miss Isabella Cairnie,
Miss Pennyfaither,
Miss Jeany Richardson,
Mrs. Reily,
Mrs. Graydon,
Mrs. Ross,
Mrs. Peter Bard,
Mrs. Franklin,
Miss Lucy De Normondie,
Miss Phebe Winecoop,
Mrs. Harkly.

I have also preserved a card of admission, of the year 1749, addressed to Mrs. Jeykell, a lady of pre-eminent fashion and beauty, the then leading lady of the ton. She was the grand-daughter of the first Edward Shippen, a mayor, merchant, and Quaker. She was married to the brother of Sir Joseph Jeykell, the secretary of Queen Anne; and when in her glory in Philadelphia, she dwelt in and owned the house next southward of "Edward Shippen's great house" in south Second street, where is now Nicholas Waln's row.

It is worthy of remark, now that we have such elegant devices in the form of visiting and admission cards, that *this card*, and all the cards of that day, were written or printed upon common *playing* cards; this from the circumstance that *blank* cards were not then in the country, and none but playing cards were imported for sale. I have seen, at least a variety of a dozen in number, addressed to this same lady. One of them, from a leading gentleman of that day, contained on the back, the glaring effigy of *a queen* of clubs! One of the cards to her of the year 1755, was a *printed one* upon a playing card, and read thus, to wit:

"The gentlemen of the Army present their compliments to Mrs. Jeykell, and beg the favour of her company to *a ball* at *the State house* on Monday next. Saturday, September 20, 1755."

An elderly gentleman informs me that the aristocratic feelings continued to prevail in their full force, down to the time of the

Revolution. And as a case in point he mentions that when squire Hillegas' daughter was married to John A—, an extensive goldsmith and jeweller, in High street, she was no longer admitted to her former place in the "old city assembly." About the same time there was another assembly not so fastidious—and when it so happened that General Washington was invited to both balls *on the same night* on some special public occasion, he went to the latter and danced with a mechanic's daughter. "I tell the story as it was told to me." At one time, it was proposed to give, (in ill nature, it is presumed,) the genealogy of the old city assembly. The same old gentleman told me that he saw part of it in poetic MSS., and thinks it still exists. It quoted documents and records, to blur, so far as it might, "the vellum of pedigree."

One of the really honourables of the colonial days has told me of his mother (the wife of the chief justice) going to a great ball *in Water street*, in her youthful days, *to Hamilton's stores* on the wharf, on Water street next to the drawbridge—she going to the same in her *full dress on horseback!*

EDUCATION.

"Thus form the mind by use of alphabetic signs."

It is greatly to the credit of our forefathers, that they showed an early and continued regard to the education of their posterity. They were men of too much practical wisdom not to foresee the abiding advantages of proper instruction to the rising generation. What they aimed to impart was solid and substantial. If it in general bore the plain appellation of "reading, writing and arithmetic" only, it gave these so effectively as to make many of their pupils persons of first rate consequence and wisdom in the early annals of our country. With such gifts in their possession, many of them were enabled from suitable books, to become their self-instructers in numerous branches of science and belles-lettres studies. In that day they made no glaring display, under imposing names and high charges, of teaching youth geography, use of maps and globes, dictionary, history, chronology, composition, &c. &c. &c. All these came as matter of course, by mere readings at home, when the mind was matured and the school acquirements were finished. They then learned to read on purpose to be able to pursue such branches of inquiry *for themselves;* and having the means in possession, the end as certainly followed without the school bill charge as with it. They thus acquired, when the mind was old enough fondly to enlist

in the inquiry, all they read "by heart," because, as it was mental treasure of their own seeking and attainment, it was valued in the affection: They therefore did not perplex their youth by "getting" lessons by head or dint of memory—of mere facts, forgotten as fast as learned, because above the capacity of the youthful mind to appreciate and keep for future service. All they taught was practical; and, so far as it went, every lesson was efficient and good. The generation has not yet passed away who never "committed" a page of dictionary learning in their lives, who as readily attained the common sense of words by use and reading, as any of their offspring now possess them by lessons painfully conned memoriter.

It is gratifying to add that the mass of our forefathers were also an instructed and reading community. A letter of Mr. Jefferson's, of the year 1785, well sustains this assertion, saying, "In science the mass of the people in Europe is two centuries behind ours; their literati is half a dozen years before us. Books, really good, acquire just reputation in that time, and so become known to us. In the mean time, we are out of reach of that swarm of nonsense which issues from a thousand presses and perishes almost in issuing." But since then solid reading is less sought after—"the press must be kept going" even as abroad. The ephemera of England flutter across the ocean and breathe once more a short-lived existence ere they finally perish.

As early as 1683, Enoch Flower opened the first English school. The prices were moderate—to read English 4s., to write 6s., and to read, write, and cast accounts 8s., and for teaching, lodging and diet £10 per annum. A curious autograph letter from his ancestor is preserved in my MS. Annals, page 334, in the Historical Society.

In 1689, the Friends originated the Friends' public school in Philadelphia—the same which now stands in Fourth below Chesnut street. It was to be a grammar school, and to teach the learned languages. George Keith, a Scotch Friend and public preacher, (afterwards an Episcopal clergyman and a bitter foe to Friends!) became the first teacher, assisted by Thomas Makin, who in the next year became the principal. This Makin was called "a good latinist;" we have the remains of his ability in that way in his long latin poem "descriptive of Pennsylvania in 1729." His life was simple, and probably fettered by the "res angusti domi;" for his death occurred, in 1733, in a manner indicative of his pains-taking domestic concerns. In the Mercury of November, 1733, it is thus announced: "Last Tuesday night Mr. Thomas Makin, a very ancient man, who for many years was a schoolmaster in this city, stooping over a wharf end to get a pail of water, unhappily fell in and was drowned." He appears to have passed Meeting with Sarah Rich, in 1700, the same year in which he became principal to the academy or school. During the same time he served as the clerk of the Assembly.

At this early period of time, so much had the little Lewistown at our southern cape the pre-eminence in female tuition, that Thomas

Lloyd, the deputy governor, preferred to send his younger daughters from Philadelphia to that place to finish their education.

Our first most distinguished seminaries of learning began in the country before the academy in Philadelphia was instituted. The Rev. William Tennent, who came from Ireland, arrived at New York in 1718, and in 1721 removed to Bensalem in Bucks county; soon after he settled in a Presbyterian church, of small consideration, at "the forks of Neshamina," (he had been ordained a churchman) where he opened a school for teaching the languages, &c. There he formed many of the youth of early renown; and many of the early clergymen of the Presbyterian church, among whom we may name, Rowland, Campbell, Lawrence, Beatty, Robinson, Blair. From its celebrity among us, it received the popular name of the "Log college." He died in 1743, and was buried there. His four sons all became clergymen, well known to most readers, especially his sons Gilbert and William—the former was remarkable for his ardour in Whitfield's cause and the schism he formed in the first Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, which led to the secession and the building of the church on the northwest corner of Third and Arch streets.

In connexion with this subject we are to introduce the name of James Logan, Esq., already so favourably known to the public as the patron of learning in his valuable gift of our public library. As early as 1728, we find him the patron and endower of this "Log college;" for he then bestows fifty acres of his land there to the above named Rev. William Tennent, his cousin by his mother's side —this to encourage him to prosecute his views and make his residence near us permanent. The early fare of Mr. Tennent accorded with the rude materials of his house and school; for, it appears from the correspondence of James Logan, that he was obliged to procure and send him provisions, at his first settlement, from Philadelphia. Such was the proper *alma mater* of the chief scholars of that early day.

The next school of pre-eminence was that of the Rev. Francis Allison, another Irishman, who came to this country in 1735, and in 1741, opened his school at New London, in Chester county, where he taught the languages, &c. Several clergymen, of subsequent reputation, were educated there. He was zealous and benevolent; and educated some young ministers gratuitously. At one time he resided at Thunder Hill in Maryland, and there educated such men as Charles Thomson, George Reed, Thomas M'Kean, &c.—men who were remarkable in our Revolutionary struggle for their abilities and attachment to the cause of their country. In later life, Mr. Allison became the provost of the college of Philadelphia, and was, when there, accustomed to assist his pupil Doctor Ewing, the pastor of the first Presbyterian church in High street, in occasionally serving his pulpit. He died in 1777, "full of honours and full of years."

In 1750, about the time that the Philadelphia academy and college began to excite public interest and attention, the City

Council expressed some sense of the subject on their minutes, to wit: A committee report on the advantages to be gained by the erection of an academy and public school, saying, "the youth would receive a good education at home, and be also under the eye of their friends; it would tend to raise able magistrates, &c. It would raise schoolmasters from among the poorer class, to be qualified to serve as such in the country under recommendation from the academy, and thus prevent the employment of unknown characters, who often prove to be vicious imported servants, or concealed papists—often corrupting the morals of the children." Upon the reading of this report, the board decided, unanimously, to present the trustees towards such a school £200, also £50 per annum to charity schools, for the next five years; also £50 per annum, for five years, for the right of sending one scholar yearly from the charity school to be taught in all the branches of learning taught in said academy.

The city academy, began in 1750, under the exertions and auspices of Doctor Franklin, was originally built for Whitfield's meeting house in 1741; the academy started with a subscription sum of £2600. In 1753, it was created a "college," and in 1779, "the university." For further facts concerning "the academy," see that article.

In 1770, a Mr. Griscom advertises his private academy, "free from the noise of the city," at the north end. It may surprise some to learn that this was a long stone building on Front and Water streets a little above Vine street;—being two stories high on Front street, and three stories on Water street, once beautifully situated, when no population was crowded near it, and having a full and open view to the river; it afterwards stood a desolate, neglected looking building, filled with numerous poor tenantry, until a few years ago, bearing with its inmates, the name of "the College," although they had long lost the cause of such a name.

This Mr. Griscom may be regarded as the first individual among us who ventured to assume the title of "Academy" to any private institution. The simple, unassuming appellation of "school" was the universal name till about the year 1795; after that time "academies," "seminaries," "lyceums," "institutes," &c., were perpetually springing up in every quarter among us. Before those days "ladies' academies and Misses boarding schools" were unknown; boys and girls were accustomed to go to the same schools.

Mr. Horton first started the idea of a separate school for girls, and with it the idea of instructing them in grammar and other learning; and about the year 1795, Poor's "academy for young ladies," in Cherry street, became a place of proud distinction to "finished" females; and their annual "commencement days" and exhibition in the great churches, was an affair of great interest and street parade.

Old Mr. Smith taught for Friends, at Pine street meeting. After he got very old, he was allowed, as an indulgence, to keep it at his own house, in the third story, in Walnut street near Front street.

One of his scholars, now in years and grave enough, tells me that it was his custom to have them all stand up to read from the Bible, while he set copies and made pens. He did not perceive that for three or four months *we* always read, "Nebuchednezar, the king, set up an image of gold." When prizes arrived they would fire, then the boys would contrive to slip off and bring in the news! The names of all the privateers and captains were quite familiar to them. Andrew Brown was a noted teacher after the peace, at the northwest corner of Third and Vine streets. He began the Philadelphia Gazette—his whole family and house were burnt. W. Kid had a large school at the old Mason's lodge.

My school boy days—my school boy days,
Oh! how they flit across the mind,
With all their little gairish plays,
Like some bright vision, far behind.

How beautiful—how fresh—how fair—
How purely vivid every scene:
Life's very newness printed there,
With scarce a shade to intervene.

Yes—there they stand—life's greatest spot—
Never retraced—yet never forgot!

My facetious friend, Lang Syne, has presented a lively picture of the "schoolmasters" in the days last referred to, when "preceptors," "principals, &c.," were yet unnamed. Those who can recollect those instructers which he describes, in connexion with their own boyhood and school discipline, will feel the force of many interesting associations—long forgotten emotions will revive in the mind as they look on the painted picture so feelingly touched to the life, to wit: About that time there were no boarding schools, nor "didactic seminaries" in the city. The young ladies' academy, by Mr. Poor, used to hold its commencement in the Moravian meeting house. The old academy on Fourth street was the only one (as such) in the city for young gentlemen. The principal of the academy, in person, was middle size, round, and strongly built, habited as a clergyman, in parson's gray suit, cocked hat, and full bottomed powdered wig—with an imperturbable stare, and prominent gray eyes. Of single schools, Lyttle, Gartly, and Yerkes, were the only ones remembered. What is now known as "Friends' Academy," in Fourth, below Chestnut, was at that time occupied by four different masters. The west room, down stairs, by Robert Proud, Latin master; the one above him, by William Waring, teacher of astronomy and mathematics; the east room, up stairs, by Jeremiah Paul; and the one below, "last not least in our" remembrance, by J. Todd,—severe he was. The State house clock, being at the time visible from the school pavement, gave to the eye full notice when to break off marble and plug top, hastily collect the "stakes," and bundle in, pell mell, to the school room, where, until the arrival of the "master of scholars," John Todd, they were busily

employed, every one, in finding his place, under the control, for the time, of a short Irishman, usher, named Jimmy M'Cue. On the entrance of the master, all shuffling of the feet, "scrougeing!" hitting of elbows, and whispering disputes, were hastily adjusted, leaving a silence which might be felt, "not a mouse stirring." He, Todd, dressed after the plainest manner of Friends, but of the richest material, with looped cocked hat, was at all times remarkably nice and clean in his person—a man of about 60 years, square built, and well sustained by bone and muscle.

After an hour, may be, of quiet time, every thing going smoothly on—boys at their tasks—no sound, but from the master's voice, while hearing the one standing near him—a dead calm—when suddenly a brisk slap on the ear or face, for something or for nothing, gave "dreadful note" that an irruption of the lava was now about to take place—next thing to be seen was "strap in full play over the head and shoulders of Pilgarlic. The passion of the master "growing by what it fed on," and wanting elbow room, the chair would be quickly thrust on one side, when, with sudden gripe, he was to be seen dragging his struggling suppliant to the flogging ground, in the centre of the room—having placed his left foot upon the end of a bench, he then, with a patent jerk, peculiar to himself, would have the boy completely horsed across his knee, with his left elbow on the back of his neck, to keep him securely on. In the hurry of the moment he would bring his long pen with him, griped between his strong teeth, (visible the while,) causing the both ends to descend to a parallel with his chin, and adding much to the terror of the scene. His face would assume a deep claret colour—his little bob of hair would disengage itself, and stand out, each "particular hair," as it were, "up in arms, and eager for the fray." Having his victim thus completely at command, and all useless drapery drawn up to a bunch above the waistband, and the rotundity and the nankeen in the closest affinity possible for them to be, then, once more to the "staring crew," would be exhibited the dexterity of master and strap. By long practice he had arrived at such perfection in the exercise, that, moving in quick time, the fifteen inches of bridle rein (alias strap) would be seen, after every cut, elevated to a perpendicular above his head; from whence it descended like a flail upon the stretched nankeen, leaving, "on the place beneath," a fiery red streak at every slash. It was customary with him to address the sufferer at intervals as follows:—Does it hurt?—(O! yes master, O! don't, master,) then I'll make it hurt thee more—I'll make thy flesh creep—thou sha'n't want a warming pan to night—intolerable being!—Nothing in nature is able to prevail upon thee, but my strap. He had one boy named George Fudge, who usually wore leather breeches, with which he put strap and its master at defiance. He would never acknowledge pain—he would not "sing out." He seized him one day, and having gone through the evolutions of strapping, (as useless in effect as if he had been thrashing a flour bag,) almost breathless with rage,

he once more appealed to the feelings of the "reprobate," by saying—Does it not hurt? The astonishment of the school and the master was completed on hearing him sing out No!—Hurray for Leather Crackers! He was thrown off immediately, sprawling on the floor, with the benediction as follows: Intolerable being! Get out of my school—nothing in nature is able to prevail upon thee—not even my strap!

'Twas not his "love of learning was in fault," so much as the old British system of introducing learning and discipline into the brains of boys and soldiers by dint of punishment. The system of flogging on all occasions, in schools, for something or for nothing, being protected by law, gives free play to the passions of the master, which he, for one, exercised with great severity. The writer has at this moment in his "memory" a schoolmaster, *then* of this city, who, a few years ago, went deliberately out of his school to purchase a cow skin, with which, on his return, he extinguished his bitter revenge on a boy who had offended him. The age of chivalry preferred ignorance in its sons, to having them subjected to the fear of a pedagogue—believing that a boy who had quailed under the eye of the schoolmaster, would never face the enemy with boldness on the field of battle; which, it must be allowed, is a "swing of the pendulum" too far the other way. A good writer says: "We do not *harden* the wax to receive the impression!—wherefore, the teacher seems himself most in need of *correction!*—for he, unfit to teach, is making them unfit to be taught!"

I have been told by an aged gentleman, that in the days of his boyhood, sixty-five years ago, when boys and girls were schooled together, it was a common practice to make the boys strip off their jackets, and loose the trousers' band, preparatory to hoisting them upon a boy's back, so as to get his whipping, with only the linen between the flesh and the strap. The girls too,—we pity them! were obliged to take off their *stays* to receive their floggings with equal sensibility. He named one distinguished lady, *since*, who was so treated, among others, in his school. All the teachers then were from England or Ireland, and brought with them the rigorous principles, which had before been whipped into themselves at home.

"*Young Ladies' Academy, No.* 9 *Cherry Street.*"—I see this so noticed in the City Directory of 1802, saying of it then, that "this is the only *incorporated* institution for young ladies *in the United States*, and is now in a very flourishing state." It was incorporated the 2d February, 1792, (see the act.) The same, I believe, called also "Mr. Poor's Academy," which professed to teach "reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, with the use of the maps and globes; rhetoric and *vocal music.* Mr. Poor himself was a good singer of psalmody from New England, a member of the Presbyterian church. The incorporated academy had a good army of names, say in 1802,—Rev. Samuel Magaw, President; Rev. Henry Helmuth, Vice president; James A. Neal, Principal; Benjamin Say,

Secretary; and twelve trustees, six of whom were clergymen, the other six, laymen. It died at last, by what cause I know not; probably by too much rivalship, and a lessened support.

The preceding intimation of *vocal* music as being, then, *first* so taught, as a part of female accomplishment, brings up to the memory much of the recollections of the past concerning young ladies. At that time, *pianos* were just beginning to be introduced, slowly and discouragingly to the teachers. They were just then beginning to supersede the former occasional use of the harpsicord and spinet, and sometimes the guitar. It may possibly surprise the present race of young ladies, to learn that their dames and grand-dames, with far less painful drilling and practice, much surpassed them in *agreeable and touching singing*. They not only sang far more *natural* and in character with their sex, but the *sense and fitness* of the subject, were considered with far more *good sense and solid entertainment*. This they might well cherish and require then,—for no singing was deemed "*singing for company*," which did not distinctly *give the sense*. None then had heard or dreamed of a singing which was to be *screamed*, *secundum artem*, in alto voices, or shivered into trills of thirty-two demisemiquavers in a breath,—and, in which the *words and sense* are to be strangled in the overwhelming execution! For this morbid fashion and change for the worse, we are wholly indebted to "the band of foreign *artistes*." It comes, indeed, from *art* and *contrivance*, and can only please those who may themselves have experienced the abundance of pains-taking, which it must have cost the performer to be thus, as far as possible, removed from the proper excellence "of the human voice divine."

One can hardly write upon the subject of education, looking at the present and thinking of the past, without a disposition to go out of our usual track, and give a passing notice of things *as they are*. We talk of the march of mind, and please ourselves with the notion, that "the school master is abroad,"—and thence, easily slide into the belief that we are effecting great and useful changes for the better. But is it really so? Let us look a little at facts, for we are all deeply interested—first for our own children, and next for their posterity. The *constitution* has provided for the general education, and our legislators, too willing to leave to others what should be faithfully managed by the state, make grant after grant to endow sectarian establishments. They give up to a few dominant churches to rule and engross—not sufficiently considering, that although it may be popular with the ascendant beneficiaries, it is not in its nature, like a liberal provision, equally and alike *for the whole*. Even those who are benefited, as things now operate, would not be well pleased to see the same measures of assistance extended to Papists, Unitarians, Universalists, and others. And at this time, the Friends, Moravians, Papists, Lutherans, Swedenborgians, Jews, &c., have no portion or share in the matter, whilst Deists and non-professors, as a matter of course, have no claim or pretension, although

equally citizens of the state, and in the opinion of many, most needing right education. All this is the obvious result of sectarian legislation, and may be considered as its natural consequence, when it is conceded, as it has been, that the clergy, as a class (we speak it with deference,) are to be considered as charged, by virtue of their office and ministry, "to raise up your future judges, legislators, lawyers, physicians, and school masters;" "to provide for the future career of the rising generation, by giving them the aid of science and literature;"—and, "to instruct the people, and *send out* teachers by thousands for the schools." It was not always so! "So did not St. Paul." And, as early as the Blue Laws of Connecticut, it was there provided that "no minister should teach a school." They had, perhaps, seen with regret *the union of church and state* in their fatherland; and had witnessed how the two great colleges in England, originally endowed for *poor scholars*, had come to be possessed by chancellors, vice-chancellors, pro-vice-chancellors, proctors, &c., with their fat livings; and how the chambers and forms were engrossed by the gentry and nobility, and their religious bias pledged to the dominant sect.

It has been a commended practice of modern times, that the colleges can annually send out educated school masters to teach common schools, for short seasons, while they themselves are actually students to higher ulterior purposes. This, in its effect, is but a sadly retrograde motion. What care they for the advancement of the scholars, who are themselves only using them as stepping stones to higher aims? How can they give sufficient and efficient aid to heedless boys, who are themselves engrossed with other designs? We may set it down as true, that no *elementary* teachers should be ambitious and aspiring, nor even "liberally paid," as has been so often reiterated. Common education, to become general, should be low in price, and the places be occupied by patient, unambitious men, of peculiar minds —such as most like retirement and freedom from business excitements, and who, for that cause, are well satisfied to content themselves *with small things*. There are such men—and there were such men. The good Anthony Benezet taught his scholars at ten shillings a quarter; and we can remember the long and quiet lives of such school masters as Lyttle, Todd, Trip, Clark, Rankin, Yerkes, Gartly, and others, at the same terms. They acquired a little home in a long life,—were quite content,—and only aimed at most to qualify *their children* for more aspiring situations. They never thought of vacations and indulgences, wherein the pupils lost half as much by absence as they had acquired. They conceived, and conceived truly, that their business was to make their scholars good writers, good arithmeticians, good readers, and intelligent grammarians;—and then they justly inferred, that they were *qualified* by their own separate exertions, to improve themselves at home, if they would, in all manner of intellectual attainments, such as history, philosophy, belles-lettres, &c.

Now, teachers go upon the principle that children have no natural friends to look after their improvement when out of school, and they thus affect to take the *exclusive* charge of them, and to make their pupils learn *memoritur*, the very things which they might attain by their own unassisted powers, after they had learnt the first principles in the schools. So much is this the case, that even boys and girls are to be taught, at a charge, how they may romp and play, to preserve their health, under the name of Gymnastics, &c.

On the whole, education is more perplexed, wearisome and annoying than it used to be, at far greater charge, and *with less effect.* It affects to teach boys and girls chemistry, astronomy, botany, and ornamental branches, and leaves them with much less of arithmetic, fine running hands, good spelling and grammatical composition. The teachers, in the mean time, affect to imitate colleges in their vacations—a grant needful and well placed there, where the young men are deemed to be *self-moved* aspirants after fame and learning,—going there *to finish* their previous education, and being obliged to go home twice a year to distant places, to see relatives and friends, and to get new outfits. It is easy to believe that no day schools have any real occasion to become their imitators.

Coincident with all these innovations is the unsettled variety of school books; so that every school seems to have its own class and order. Some grammars are so new and unlike those of the reading world, that after learning it, there is an occasion to learn the other, as a means to understand the ordinary terms of other men. Arithmetic, too, is changed from its fixed principles to be an affair of dexterity, formed to wonder-strike parents and guardians in examination days. It destroys all former progressive gradation of addition, multiplication, division, &c., and under the mixed up form of "mental arithmetic," and perplexing abstraction of tender minds, wears and tears our children to sickness or disgust.

We hardly know whether we should ask pardon for so lengthened an article on schooling and school learning or not. Many parents, we feel persuaded, will understand the subject and agree with our frank animadversions. Some teachers, we fear, will feel aggrieved, and we are sincerely unwilling to offend any. At the same time, we do know, that there are sundry instructers who do really deprecate the use of all *mode and fashion* in the exercise of education, and who sincerely believe that all time occupied in committing to memory in schools, whether in history, chronology, astronomy, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, natural and moral philosophy, &c., and all teachings in those branches, told in forms, which could be equally or better comprehended by *mere reading*, when freed from schools, is all a waste of precious time. In all these things, they could trench themselves behind the warrant of the great Locke, who wisely said: — "Let your rules be as few as possible—else one or two things must happen, either to punish often for breaches which *they cannot avoid*, or else to overlook them, and so impair your authority and influence.

But rather settle in them in a succession of *practice*, and this not by books, in abstract consideration, but by your personal explanation and help." Again, we have it from Lord Bacon, that, "*reading* makes a full man, and *thinking* a correct man;" and Mr. J. O. Taylor has said, "if we will but give the people books, and *this ability to read, they can educate themselves;* and self-education is always the best education!" Will any consider?

The youth of the present day have little or no conception of the great advance of agreeable and useful reading got up for their use, and especially by such an establishment as the Sunday School Union. In former days some half a dozen little popular works constituted their little all. They were such as Goody Two Shoes, Tom Thumb, Jack the Giant Killer, Jack and Gill, Poor Richard, Gulliver, Robinson Crusoe, Baron Trenck, The Babes in the Wood. "Sure you remember the Babes in the Wood!" These were read out of school, and the New England Primer was a book of universal use in schools. It was called "New England," to contradistinguish it from the old England Primer, used in the colonial times. Little as was this sixpenny book, it was a formidable concern to *publish it*. The extensive sale of it could alone sustain it as an undertaking, intended to compete with the imported copies. It was early undertaken by M. Carey and others of the trade, and in 1824 was *stereotyped* by Chandler & Co. Two or three of the various editions, now rare to be seen, are lying before me, from which I here make a few specimen extracts. I give them, under a conviction that, simple and rude as the work may seem, it will revive numerous grateful recollections in many of the present aged, who will thus be called back to the contemplation of their school days, when

> "With satchel and shining morning face,
> Creeping like snail—unwillingly to school."

The primer was entitled "easy lessons for attaining the true reading of English," beginning with a, b, c; and next followed by ba, be, bi, bo, bu. Lesson 12 says, "Billy, what do you think the world stands on? I don't know, says Harry, but our Tom says it stands on a great turtle." It was a great thing to get onward as far as the middle, where rude little marginal pictures, done in lead engravings, were affixed to short couplets in alphabetical order, thus, viz:—

A. In *Adam's* fall, ... We sinned all.
B. Thy life to mend, ... This book attend.
C The *Cat* doth play, . . . And after slay.*
D. The *Dog* will bite, ... The thief at night.
E. An *Eagle's* flight, ... Is out of sight.
F. The idle *Fool*, ... Is whipt at school.
G. As runs the *Glass*, ... Man's life doth pass.
H. My book and *Heart*, ... Shall never part.
J. *Job* feels the rod, ... Yet blesses God.
K. Britain's *King* in spleen, . . . Lost States thirteen.

* The picture represents puss erect playing the fiddle, and the rat dancing to it.

L. The *Lion* bold, ... The *Lamb* doth hold.
M. The *Moon* gives light, . . In time of night.
N. *Nightingales* sing, . . . In time of spring.
O. The royal *Oak* it was the tree, That saved his royal majesty.
P. *Peter* denies . . . . His Lord and cries.
Q. *Queen* Esther comes in royal state, To save the Jews from dismal fate
R. *Rachel* doth mourn, . . . For her first born.
S. *Samuel* anoints, . . . Whom God appoints.
T. *Time* cuts down all, . . . Both great and small,
U. *Uriah's* beauteous wife, . . Made David seek his life.
W. *Whales* in the sea, . . . God's voice obey.
X. *Xerxes* the great did die, . And so must you and I.
Y. *Youth* forward slips, . . . Death soonest nips.*
Z. *Zaccheus* he did climb the tree, His Lord to see.

At the close of the whole, came the awful picture and history of the burning of Mr. John Rogers, minister of the gospel, the *first martyr* in the time of Queen Mary, accompanied by his wife with nine small children, and one at the breast. Then followed many mournful and pathetic verses of advice to his children, saying:

Give ear, my children, to my word,
Whom God hath dearly bought.
Lay up his laws within your heart,
And print them in your thought.

I leave you here a little book,
For you to look upon,
That you may see your father's face,
When he is dead and gone.

The picture and verses solemnized many a little heart, and were probably intended thus early to generate in protestant minds, an early and abiding aversion to papacy, once deemed an essential part of English education; and it may not escape notice, that Mr. Carey, who was himself a papist, was liberal enough to give it the passport of his imprint as a publisher. It was in keeping with his publishing afterwards, and selling numerous copies of the protestant Bible.

The little book had also some little counsels and maxims, now none the worse for age, such as:

All's well that ends well
You must not buy a pig in a poke.
Time and tide wait for no man.
As you brew so you must bake.
When wine is in, wit is out.
The more haste the worse speed.
Out of sight, out of mind.

Good children must

Fear God all day, Love Christ alway,
Parent's obey, In secret play,
No false thing say, Mind little play,
By no sin stray, Make no delay,
in doing good.

* The picture shows a Death's anatomy, with his dart, in swift pursuit of a running boy.

PRIMITIVE COURTS AND TRIALS.

"Where gross misconduct meets the lash of law."

In the first judicial proceedings of the city, the governor and council exercised a general jurisdiction, so that all matters, whether original or appellate, down to the most trivial events, were subject to their decision. The punishments, too, were such as they might choose to decree. These earliest records *are* preserved. The first are dated Philadelphia, 10th of 1st mo. 1682–3. Some cases which I deem most curious I here preserve, to wit:

At the *first* court held 11 January, 1682—the list of the Juries were thus:

GRAND JURY.

Henry Lewis,	Wollis *Swenson*,
John Goodson,	Andrew *Swenson*,
Patrick Robinson,	Gunner Rambo,
Thomas Crosse,	John Stiller,
Thomas Bowman,	Mounts Cock,
Henry Waddy,	Andrew Binkson,
Thomas Livesy,	Richard Wall, senr.
William Howel,	John Cock,
Erick Mulleker,	John Parsons.

PETIT JURY.

Charles Pickering, (foreman.)	Erick Cock,
Thomas Phillips,	Christian Thomas,
Samuel Buckley,	Peter Dalbow,
John Tibby,	Evan Oliver,
Charles Lee,	Lacy Anderson,
Andrew Grissman,*	Nehem. Michel.

The Grand Jury present, to wit:

1st. That the swamps coming into the Blue anchor (Dock creek,) be forthwith made passable for footmen. 2d. That *Coquenakar* [Pegg's Run] creek, at the north end of the city, be made also passable for footmen. 3d. That the creek called *Coanxen* [Coacksink,] going to *Shakamaxon* be bridged, or cannowed [passed by canoes.] 4th. That the creek at Tankanney [Takony] and Gunner Rambo's be bridged or cannowed. 5th. That the king's road from *Scuilkill* (Schuylkill) through Philadelphia to Neshemeney creek may be *marked* out and made passable, for horses and carts, where needful. and to ascertain, with Chester and Bucks, *where* to fix *the ferries*

* Spelt Andrew Grescome.

of those creeks, the Scuilkill and Neshemeney. 6th. We present the want of a county court house.

In the said first court, appeared sundry Swedes, Finns and Dutch, to be naturalized, by their petitions for allegiance, according to an order of Assembly, held at Chester the 7th of 10th mo. 1682, to wit:

Lacy Cock,	Peter Nelson,
Peter Rambo,	Christian Thomes,
Swan Swanson,	Erick Mulloker,*
Andrew Swanson,	Peter Cock, jun.
Wollis Swanson,	John Bowles,
Lacy Anderson,	Andrew Galem,
Mounts Cock,	John Stiller, [now Stille.]
Erick Cock,	Lacy Dalbo.
Gunner Rambo,	

The examination of the evidence of Christian Closses' dead child is stated to this effect, the 22d of 10th mo. 1682. It is signed by ten names, examiners on jury, and by Doctors Thomas Wynne and John Goodson, and by John Longhurst, as justice. The child was found dead—had black and blue spots, and a crooked leg. It was proved the mother had a quarrel in the harvest field, with her husband, and that she got then bruised in the same places generally. The two physicians thus certify, that "they found it much after the manner that the witnesses proved." The Grand Jury—mark it "we finde not."

At the second court, held 7th February 1682, I see among names of the Petit Jury, to wit:

William Warner, senr.	James Kite,
Thomas Phillips,	Richard Tucker,
Peter Yoakum,	Nathaniel Allen,
Matthias Underhille,	Nathaniel Harden,
John Warner,	Jonas Nelson.

GRAND JURY NAMES, (some.)

Patrick Robinson, (foreman.)	John Stiller, (Stille.)
Thomas Crosse,	John Matson,
Jonathan Fisher,	Kinder Peterson.
William Cobb,	

Among the presentments, I read: stumps in the streets to be removed. The want of a bridge on Chooxunck (Tomamamby) near Shackamaxon; a bridge or ferry over Takonie, Pomobem, Pootquessing, Neshamaneh, &c. That Mr. Jacobus Fabritius, &c. hath broken the ceremony of their own church, by making John Skeetch and Mary Smith believe they were married, and causing them to lie together, which is unseemly. They present that men do come armed with swords and guns, and especially one young man, name unknown—[on a side slip, the above Indian names are

[* Is not this the name of Mulliker's hill, N. J.]

plainer spelled thus: Cooxen, Tamaramaming, Tackaney Pemapecka, now Pennepack.]

Benja. Chambers is Sheriff. John Cock constable, for lower part of county, and Nathaniel Harden, for upper part of county.—The indictment against said Skeetch, said he had before two wives in Bristol, England; and had now taken Mrs. Smith here to wife—"not found." His petition was filed praying to be *stocked*, rather than to be beaten with *twenty lashes;* J. Fabritius signed their marriage as "pastor," &c.

An arrest was granted upon Andrew Ball, for Swanson's geese. I see the name of Lasse Cock, in its original, pretty good! [two years after he was naturalized,] company meets at the Blue anchor Inn, I see occasionally.

The third court 7th of 1st mo. 1683.—The Grand Jury present John Day and Thomas Phillips, overseers, for not removing stumps, &c., out of the front lots,—also a want of a prison. They present a ship firing guns, on the *first day of the week*. They present Griffith Jones, *one of the Justices*, for selling victuals and drink without a license—a *true bill*.

At the fourth court 4th of 2d mo. 1683.—The Grand Jury present the want of rings to snouts of swine. They present those who know their lots in the Front street, and do not clear them of stumps and roots.

At the fifth court 20th of 12th mo. 1683.—Benjamin Acrod high constable returns nine names which neglected to attend to make a foot bridge at Pemma-pecca [Pennepack,] making those which did attend discontented. Say William Ball, Joseph Ashton, John Summers, Christian Closson, and *Benjamin Duffill*, &c.

The Grand Jury present, the trees that are offensive in this city shall be cut down. The want of a bridge at *Qucinomin* creek.

At this court is a case of an award of "the peace makers," (say William Warner, Henry Lewis, and Gunner Rambo,) who decided, that the six men shall pay Justa Andrason his demand. They are all Swedes, and each to pay 40 gilders 10 stivers severally to him.

Two Swedish women are indicted for drunkenness.

At the sixth court 1st of 6th mo. 1683.—A mittimus was ordered to be drawn to commit *Jos. Fisher* to the Sheriff for affronting the court!

The Grand Jury present the necessity of a prison for the county, and recommend that a tax be laid, and that an estimate be made and reported to the next court.

At the eighth court 2d of 7th mo. 1685.—The Grand Jury agree, that in lieu of £60 to be paid to Lassy Cock, for building of *a log house* in the Second street intended *for a county gaol*, he shall have the said log house with the ground it stands on, with the spot of ground adjacent, and a legal title thereto to be procured from the governor with a proportionable lot in the Second street, for which the said county shall satisfy the governor, and shall pay to said Lassy

Cock £6 out of the first collected publick levy, on consideration, that it doth appear that the said log house cannot be sufficient for the purpose aforesaid *intended.*

The court notified the above agreement, and "the rather, because the said Lassy Cock was satisfied with the same."

In 1693—Indian Ben petitions the court for his freedom—states, that he was originally a native Indian of New England, brought from Rhode Island by William Coddington, Esq., that after his death, the widow became the wife of Robert Ewer, [a Friend, owner of Blackhorse alley,] who now holds him still to service. He prays release, &c.

The 17th October, 1693—appears an order for the regulation of the Market by the governor and council, to be located in High street, where the Second street crosses it, and in no other place. That the market shall be opened twice a week by ringing of bell. That none shall vend, and none shall buy on the way, under a penalty. A clerk of the market is appointed, and his fees are derived from the sellers.

The 29th November, 1693—Michael Gambler and Joan Sellers, on their marriage, give bond to the king and proprietary, to forfeit and pay, in case there should thereafter appear any lawful impediment—so also Joseph Davenport and Margaret Bradshaw, in 1696, [fine signatures to their bonds.] From another book of record, I extract the following, to wit:

20th of 1st mo. 1683, Nathaniel Allen complained to the governor and council, that he had sold a servant to Henry Bowman for six cwt. of beef, with the hide and tallow, and £6 sterling; also that he had hired his boat to the said Bowman and another, for one month, which they detained eighteen weeks. The beef, tallow, hide, and money were all detained. He prayed redress of those grievances; whereupon it was ordered that William Clarke, John Simcoe, and James Harrison, should speak to Henry Bowman concerning this matter. The simplicity of the subject, brought before the Governor of a great country, reminds one strongly of the Patriarchal tribunal of Moses, when he was worried with petty complaints, until he got him seventy of council to help him!

9th of 4th mo. 1683, a proclamation issued by the governor and council, saying, that ye constables in this city should go to public houses to see good order kept, and the people should not stay longer at an ordinary than such an hour.

20th of 4th mo. 1683, the County Court of Philadelphia is fined £40 "for giving judgment against law." The property for which action was brought, was a tract of land in Bucks county. The case was brought before the governor and council by appeal. It was decided by "the board" that an appeal did not lie. They ventured, however, while the matter was fresh in their memory, to fine the County Court of Philadelphia as above stated.

On the 26th of 4th mo. 1683, Nicholas Bartlet, plaintiff, *vs.* F.

Whitwell, who claims redress for an underrated appraisement, receives a decree that the defendant pay three cows and calves.

As a sample of the condescension of the governor and council of Pennsylvania, take the following extract, to wit:

8th of 7th mo. 1683, Philip England made his complaint against James Kilner, who denieth all alleged against him, only the kicking of the maid, and that was for spilling a chamber vessel upon the deck; otherways he was very kind to them.

On the 24th of 8th mo. 1683, Charles Pickering, Samuel Buckley and Robert Fenton, "for putting away bad money," are put to their trial. The foreman of the jury desired that the prisoner, C. P. would tell him who he had the money of that he paid to several people; but he sought to evade, saying "the money any person received of him, he would change it, and that no man should lose by him." The governor (William Penn) charged the jury, and afterwards (the verdict of the jury being given) gave the sentence of the court, that "Charles Pickering should make full satisfaction in good and current pay to every person that shall within the space of one month bring in any of this false, base, and counterfeitt coyne, (to be called in by proclamation,) and that it shall be melted into gross before returned to thee, and thou shalt pay a fine of £40 towards the building of a court house in this *towne*, and stand committed till *payd*, and *find* security for thy good *abearance*." The sentence of Samuel Buckley was, that "the court, considering thee more ingenious than he who went before thee, hath thought fit to fine thee £10 towards a public court house." And Robert Fenton, "because of his being a servant and of his ingenuity, [candour,] in confessing the truth, is to set an hour in the stocks on the next day."

16th of 2 mo. 1684, William Penn being present, the council determined that there shall be a Provincial Court of five Judges to try all criminal cases and titles to land, and to be a court of equity to decide all differences upon appeals from the County Courts. And it being afterwards conceded that the Governor had the power by charter to choose Judges for life, he therefore,

On the 4th of 6 mo. 1684, did appoint the first Judges to wit: Nicholas Moore, William Welsh, William Wood, Robert Turner and John Eckley, of whom Nicholas Moore was Chief Justice. These were first appointed for but two years. In the next year it appears the council appointed Judges, and in the absence of some of them the council sat for making decisions. After this time, the same Judges often received renewed commissions under the Broad Seal.

The 10th of 3 mo. 1684, the governor informs council that he had called the Indians together and proposed to them to let them have rum if they would be contented to be punished as the English were, which they did agree to, provided that the law of not selling them rum be abolished.

13th of 3 mo. 1684, "Andrew Johnson *vs.* Hanse Peterson.

There being a difference depending between them, the Governor and council advised them to shake hands and to forgive one another, and ordered that they should enter into bonds for £50 apiece, for their good abearance, wh. accordingly they did. It was also ordered, that the records of court concerning that business should be burnt."

15th of 3 mo. 1684, "Ordered that four of the members of this board acquaint the Assembly of their breach of privilege, and that they send their amendments in, short; and reproved Henry Stretcher for being disordered in drink."

26th of 5th mo. 1684, "Thomas Lloyd, Thomas Holmes, and William Haignes appointed to draw up a charter for Philadelphia, *to be made a burrough*, consisting of a Mayor and six Aldermen, and to call to their assistance any of the council."

11th of 3 mo. 1685, proclamation of James II. and the papers relative to ye death of Charles II. and the speech of his successor, solemnly read "before ye Governor's gate in ye towne of Philadelphia."

18th of 3 mo. 1685, "The speaker with the Assembly attended this board, and declared that they were abused by Patrick Robinson, who said 'you have drawn up an impeachment against President Moore at *hab nab*,' Random, for which they desire satisfaction."

"The President and council taking into consideration the words spoken by Patrick Robinson, clerk to this board, concerning the Assembly, that the impeachment against Judge Moore was drawn *hab nab*, which expressions of his we doe unanimously declare to be undecent, unallowable and to be disowned."

This subject was taken up in council a few days after, when it was decided that Patrick Robinson could not be removed from "his clerk's office" until he was legally convicted of the offence; after which, "it is resolved that he shall be readily dismissed from any public office of trust in this government," and which was eventually done.*

17th of 9 mo. 1685, all the families living in caves, ordered to appear before ye council. (What a groupe for the pencil of a Hogarth!) This order was occasioned by the representations of the Magistrates of Philadelphia, and enforced by a letter they had received from the Governor, who was then in England. No one, however, thought proper to obey the order. The council gave "further notice, that the Governor's orders relating to the caves, will be put in execution in one month's time."

9th of 11 mo. 1685, (erroneously' 89 in the record,) all retailers of "strong liquor" in Philadelphia, ordered to hand in their licenses to the council, which were to be void after the day appointed for giving them in, which was "the 15th instant," to be renewed by "such as think fit."

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* The above Patrick Robinson's house was rented by the Sheriff as the prison. I see him on another occasion acting as a lawyer, at the court in Bucks county.

The preceding examples of cases are extracted through the politeness of James Trimble, Esq., from "the minutes of the Provincial Executive," preserved at Harrisburg, where more of similar ancient story remains to be explored by the industry of others, favourable to this kind of research.

I have had access to some of the court records still preserved in Philadelphia; being those of the Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas, written in curious and difficult black-letter hand. I extract the following facts, to wit:

Year 1685—John Rambo is indicted, and gives Peter and Gunner Rambo securities in £500 for his appearance, to answer an indictment preferred by Peter Cock of Kiphah [all Swedish families I think] for his having had criminal intercourse with his daughter Bridget. The witnesses testify that about the time of Christmas, 1684, the said John Rambo came at midnight to the house of her father, and by pulling off a plank of the house, on the loft, near the chamber, he jumped down to the floor, and directly after got into the bed wherein said Bridget, and her two sisters (aged 16 and 19) were also laying; saying he was resolved to be the husband of Bridget, (even as his brother had before taken another sister,) and must therefore lie there. Whereupon, there being a crowded place, the two sisters, with strange submission, withdrew and lay upon the floor all night in a cold December! The court, after the verdict of the jury, adjudged John Rambo to marry Bridget before she be delivered, or then maintain the child. Both to be fined £10 each. This Bridget was sister to Lassey Cock—a name before mentioned in Penn's council, and a Justice of Peace. Afterwards said Rambo was fined £150 for non-compliance. Some may wonder who and where are now the descendants of this disputed love! The name of Rambo is still among us; Jonas Rambo, a good man, of Upper Merion, died lately in his 70th year, at the same farm held by his family one hundred and forty years.

The court about this time appointed the justices, constables, road overseers, &c., from time to time. William Orion is fined five shillings for being twice drunk.

The Grand Jury present Joseph Knight, for suffering drunkenness and evil orders in his cave, and several drinking houses to debauch persons, are also presented. They present also the want of a prison, also the want of a convenient road from Schuylkill ferry to Darby. They present the County Attorney, Samuel Herset, for not securing a robber in fetters when committed to him. They present the want of a bridge in the road at the north end of the town [meaning at Poole's.] They present all caves by the water side as unfit for houses of entertainment, and as giving many an occasion there to forestal the market.

All deeds for conveyances of land are acknowledged in this court, and the names, dates and quantities are recorded on its minutes.

John Moon is fined £20 and his servant, Martha Williams, £10

for fornication, and to be obliged to be married before the delivery of the child. William Penn had a servant of this name who settled in Bucks county—a Friend.

April, 1686—The Grand Jury present several names for selling drink to Indians. They present the want of a finished road by the new bridge (Poole's) to the Governor's mill—Globe mill; several for encroaching on the streets; and a gate in the road towards the said mill.

The court, at the request of William Carter, the appointed Weigher of Bread, affix the value of the loaf by the price of wheat then current.

The earliest attorneys named in the actions are Samuel Herset, Pickering, David Lloyd, Thomas Clarke. John Moore, and P. Robinson. The Pickering just named is supposed to be the same Charles Pickering, the counterfeiter, and probably the same who was first settled at Pickering creek in Chester county. He was drowned at sea, on a voyage to England, and left none of his name in that neighbourhood.

Year 1700—In the court of Quarter Sessions, William Penn being present, after his return, the Justices of Peace disputed about their willingness to be sworn into their new commission—some alleging they could not in conscience take an oath, and others insisting it was their duty. The court was adjourned from time to time to determine the case, and, finally, the dilemma was settled by the Governor, in substituting new names in the place of those who demurred, and then all were sworn.

Lewd men and women and disorderly drinking-houses are very often presented. Elizabeth Glann is presented for fornication with Peter Packonet. She is fined £10, or to be lashed twenty-one strokes. Nothing is said of Packonet! Perhaps he was not then before the court!

In 1703, the court appoint four persons to report the cost of a new prison and Court-house.

In 1703, John Bowling, Esq., is confirmed Collector of his Majesty's Customs for the Port of Philadelphia, he having made, as was required, his abjuration of the Prince of Wales. This is the first Collector on record. In this year many roads are appointed to be made about the city to the country, especially of cross roads from township to township. It may seem strange to many to be informed that the early records of Friends' monthly Meetings in Philadelphia show that committees were frequently appointed by that Meeting to lay out roads.

I have seen a pamphlet of 19 pages, printed by William Bradford at Philadelphia in 1691–2, containing "the first case of this nature happening in this part of the country before"—the whole published under the sanction of the clerk of the court, Samuel Hedge. It elucidates several facts of local interest; it is entitled, "Blood will out, or an Example of Justice in the Tryal, Confession and Execu-

tion of Thomas Lutherland, who murthered John Clark of Philadelphia, Trader,—Tried and Executed at Salem, W. J. the 23 Feb. 1691–2." The whole points in the trial are too long to be given in this place; but the facts and proceedings, of an unusual character, are preserved in my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society, page 194 to 196. All the jury took their averment. The "clark" asketh: Art thou guilty? He answers—"not of the murther, but of the fellony." When first apprehended, he was confronted with the corpse and bid to touch it, which he did, saying, "If I have murthered him he will bleed afresh, and saying, poor innocent man, why should I destroy him—if I hurt him I wish the earth may open and swallow me up!"

Bold and hardened as he thus appeared, and although he had no direct witnesses against him, he betrayed himself, by answering questions, into so many contradictions concerning himself at the time of the murder, that he got confused, and finally came to open and general confession, saying the deceased was in his own little vessel, alone by the creek side, when he passed a rope round his neck in his cabin, telling him I would not destroy him, whilst he said, I think you intend to choke me. I then asked him if he had got some money, and he said he had some wampum, a piece-of-eight and some double bits. He cryed—spare my life and take all; but I pulled both ends of the rope together, whilst he cryed, Lord have mercy upon my soul, repeatedly, even till he was dead. It does not appear that there was any attorney or pleadings in behalf of the prisoner; but the court had some one as "King's Attorney." When he demanded judgment after the verdict of guilty, the court was much perplexed to pass sentence of death, they being only Justices of Peace; but as there were "no superior courts in the province," the Coroner's Inquest, the jury, and the most part of the country then present, joined in a written petition to the court to give their sentence, which was thereupon done accordingly, and in five days afterwards he was executed, a penitent, &c.

In the year 1705, men were fined (by law) 20 shillings for labouring on the Sabbath-day, and 10 shillings for being found tippling in a tavern on that day.

The same year (1705) there was made an act against fornication and adultery. For the latter, the parties received twenty-one lashes and hard labour for one year, or pay £50 fine, (the injured party had a right of divorce) and for a second offence seven years imprisonment. For fornication, twenty-one lashes or pay £10 fine each. Severe laws! as the lecherous would judge now! At that time men were fined 12 pence for smoking in the streets! Think of this, ye moderns!

In 1720, Edward and Martha Hunt, man and wife, are sentenced to death for making and passing counterfeit dollars. It is said to be the first case in which death was inflicted in the colony for a like offence.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

"Self-banished from society, prefer
Their hateful crime to honourable toil."

We have been so long happily delivered from the former exhibitions of the pillory, whipping-post, ducking-stool, wheelbarrow-men, and even hanging itself, that it may serve to show the aspect of quite another age, to expose the facts in the days of our forefathers, as derived from the presentments of Grand Juries, trials in the Mayor's court, or from the Gazettes, to wit:

1702—John Simes, ordinary, and others, are prosecuted "for keeping a disorderly house to debauch the youth. John Smith was disguised in women's clothes walking the streets openly, and going from house to house, against the laws of God and this province, to the staining of holy profession, and against the law of nature. Edward James, a like offender, at an unreasonable time of night. Dorothy, wife of Richard Canterill, is indicted also for being masked in men's clothes, walking and dancing in the house of said John Simes at ten o'clock at night. Sarah Stiver, wife of John Stiver, was also at the same house, dressed in men's clothes, and walked the streets, and went from house to house, to the encouraging of vice," &c.—the house was in Front street. Probably there was no further attempt at "Masquerade Balls" from that time till about twenty-four years ago, when some foreigner publicly proposed to introduce them at his dancing room. It was promptly suppressed by an act of the Legislature, got up, before the night of intended execution, by John Sargent, Esq. It was then supposed for a while that the steady habits of our citizens would have frowned down any future attempt; but the inroads of luxury have since succeeded to evade the force of law, by getting through some "Fancy Balls," so called, without molestation, and even without any expose by themselves of their rare enactments in "monstrous novelty and strange disguise." We have heard, however, it was a strange medley of strange personages and habiliments.

"Oh, a Fancy Ball's a strange affair,
Made up of silks and leathers,
Light heads, light heels, false hearts, false hair,
Pins, paint, and ostrich feathers:
There dullest wight in all the town
One night may shine a droll one:
And rakes, who have not half a crown,
Look royal with a whole one."

Bingham, had a Masquerade Ball at his mansion, when he had finished it.

1702—George Robinson, butcher, is indicted as a common swearer and drunkard, "for swearing three oaths in the market-place, and for uttering two very bad curses."

They afterwards present the same George Robinson for "uttering a grievous oath, on the 13th of 7 mo. and another on the 10th day of the 8th month." In those days all cases of drunkenness and profane swearing were punished.

A riot was committed at Israel Townsend's inn, sign of the Broad Axe, in Chesnut street, [close by Hudson's alley] where they beat the constables with clubs.

1702—The Grand Jury present, to wit: Sons and servants robbing orchards on the First or Lord's day; the ill consequence of many negroes assembling and acting tumultuously on the same day; the loss of sheep by unnecessary quantity of dogs; the evil of having so many hay and reed stacks in the yards of city houses in case of fires; the great annoyance, daily occurring, of butchers killing their meat in the street, [at the market-place probably] and leaving their blood and offals there.

1703—The Grand Jury present Henry Brooks, the Queen's Collector at the Hore-kills, [Lewestown] and three others, for raising a great disturbance and riot in the city at the dead of night. They present all houses and persons individually known to play at cards publicly, and they give the names of all the persons so concerned. They present nine persons at one time, for selling strong drink without license.* Three barbers are presented for trimming people on First-day. John Walker is presented for using Sassafras street as a rope-walk, for the last year; and John Jones, Alderman, is presented for making encroachments on Mulberry street, by setting up therein a great reed stack, and making a close fence about the same. These Grand Juries, almost all of them affirm—very few swear.

1704—1st of 7 mo.—The Grand Jury present some of the young gentry, for an assault on James Wood, constable, and James Dough, watch,—making a riot at the inn of Enoch Story by night—[in Combes' alley.] The names were William Penn, jun. (Proprietary's son,) John Finny, the sheriff, Thomas Gray, scrivener, and Joseph Ralph. [Quondam infidel, and friend of Benjamin Franklin?] It is stated that young Penn called for pistols to pistol them, &c. Their host, Story, was also of their party.

1705—They present Thomas Docherty, barber, for trimming, about three weeks ago, on the first day of the week.

1715—The Grand Jury find 35 true bills against unlicensed taverns, in one session.

1717—Women are publicly whipt for having an illegitimate

* All tavern licenses are petitioned for, and granted generally to widow-women—occasionally to decrepit or unfortunate prudent men.

child; and poor runaway apprentices and others, who are whipt, are charged 6s. for the unwelcome service.

1718—William Wright, merchant, is presented for publicly and maliciously declaring aloud that our Saviour was a bastard.

1721—Nicholas Gaulau, (a foreigner, by his name,) "by colour of his art, as a butcher, did, with his breath and wind, blow up the meat of his calf, whereby the meat was made unwholesome to the human body." He was fined 13s. and 4d. for introducing this odious practice—still known among some of us.

1729—Charles Calaghan was convicted of intent to ravish a child of ten years—he was whipt round the town at the cart's tail, and received thirty-five lashes. Another man, at the same time, received twenty-one lashes for stealing a saddle.

Several executions occasionally occur, as mentioned in the Gazettes. Prouse and Mitchell, who were to be executed together, were reprieved under the gallows.

1730—G. Jones, and one Glasgow, an Indian, stood an hour in the pillory, and were whipt round the town, at the cart's tail—both for assaults, with intent to ravish—the one, a girl of six years of age Margaret Cash is also whipt for stealing.

I find it remarked, that the number of criminal offences occur from the great emigration of evil persons, who bought their passages by servitude.

1731—At New Castle, Catharine Bevan is ordered to *be burned alive*, for the murder of her husband; and Peter Murphy, the servant who assisted her, to be hanged. It was designed to strangle her dead by the previous hanging over the fire, and before it could reach her; but the fire "broke out in a stream directly on the rope round her neck, and burnt off instantly, so that she fell alive into the flames, and was seen to struggle therein!" A shocking spectacle for our country!

1733—December—There was the greatest number of felons arraigned for crimes, ever known in Philadelphia, at one Quarter Sessions. Thirteen men and women were convicted of grand larceny, and sentenced to be whipt.

1738—Three negro men were hung for poisoning sundry persons in Jersey. They said they had poisoned Judge William Trent, the founder of Trenton, among that number—but when he died, none were then suspected. A lad of five years of age, who had heard much of their hanging, took it into his head to make some imitations, and actually hung himself to death from the stake of a fence!

A negro man of Robert Hooper's, Esq., of Rocky Hill, in Somerset, New Jersey, was executed by fire, for having killed the child of his overseer, and firing his master's barn.

1743—A black man, brought up to the whipping-post to be whipt, took out his knife and cut his throat before the crowd, so that he died immediately—in Philadelphia.

1750–1—About this time, a great deal of hanging occurs. They

hang for house-breaking, horse-stealing, and counterfeiting. It seems that imported criminals swell the list, and many evil persons come out as redemptioners. This remark is made, to wit: "When we see our papers filled so often with accounts of the most audacious robberies, the most cruel murders, and other villanies, perpetrated by convicts from Europe—what will become of our posterity! In what could Britain injure us more, than emptying her jails on us! What must we think of those merchants, who, for the sake of a little paltry gain, will be concerned in importing and disposing of these abominable cargoes!" It is probable they got premiums abroad for bringing them out here.

1759—I observe that the number of criminal offences and executions appears much diminished for some time—so far as the silence of the Gazettes respecting them may be evidence.

1761—A strange freak seized the minds of some of the young citizens, which was shown "in several women being stabbed in the streets," in the evening, "by some unknown persons." The terror being great, the Governor offered a reward for their apprehension. The evil was probably magnified according to the terror of the relaters. In time, however, it was so far brought to light as that the Wardens got hold of the facts. The venerable Charles Thomson having been one of those city officers, and acquainted with the facts, ventured to tell them after many years had elapsed and the parties concerned were likely to pass unmolested. It was to the following effect, to wit:

The insulting of several women in the streets, by cutting their gowns and petticoats with a razor, rendered it dangerous for them to appear therein without protection, as also breaking of knockers and bells, cutting the spouts, &c., was nightly committed, and caused considerable alarm. The soldiers in the barracks were at first blamed for it, but by an arrangement with their commanding officer it was immediately discovered they were not implicated. The Wardens then silently increased the watch more than one half, and soon came across these blades in their depredations. They proved to be the sons and relations of some of the most respectable citizens, and whose parents and friends thought them absent from the city, as at New York, Lancaster, Chester county, &c. By day they lay concealed and slept in the tavern at the south-west corner of Chestnut and Fourth streets, and from thence sallied forth at night to commit their depredations. Robert M. had a brother among them; Anthony W. a son; Doctor A. a son; Mr. W. a brother, &c. In the morning they were carried before the Mayor, appeared penitent, received a very serious lecture, and their friends gave high bail for their good behaviour and appearance, and made restitution to all persons who had been injured by them. On this discovery the city instantly became safe and orderly as usual, and the thing was suffered to sleep. I believe they were never prosecuted.

It cannot but be noticed, in a review of the preceding items of

crimes, how little there appears of that *dexterity* of vice which has so alarmingly grown up within the last thirty years! Crimes formerly occurred occasionally from sheer love of mischief, or were perpetrated by low and vulgar miscreants, of drunken and debased habits—but now, they are too often executed by men of good manners and good education;—by men who "glory in their shame," who seem to prefer every trick of wickedness to honorable industry. They are spoiled men, who with a different direction of their faculties, might shine in any creditable pursuit. They are such men as seem to have been affected by the introduction of luxury, and their addiction to expensive habits. Where are the reforming "Schoolmasters" in their case!

THE EXCELLENCIES OF PENN'S LAWS.

"————————To the general good
Submitting, aiming, and conducting all.
For this the patriot council met—the full,
The free, and fairly represented Whole;
And with joint force, oppression chaining—set
Imperial justice at the helm."

THERE is probably no subject within the scope of our history, to which a Pennsylvanian may look with more just pride and satisfaction, than to the whole tenor of the laws instituted for the welfare of the people by the Founder and his successors.

Every thing in our laws has been popularly constituted, even from the beginning. The Founder, although born and brought up within the precincts of an arbitrary Court, was essentially a republican in its best acceptation. In this his wisdom was advanced a century beyond the light of his generation. It was not learned of his cotemporaries; but was a beam of light derived from that book of gospel statutes, rarely regarded by Rulers, but which he made his manual. Following its plain dictates, that we were all children of one common Father, and "all ye are brethren," he struck at once upon the disinterested and magnanimous effort of framing a form of government, which, while it should "be an example," should also "show men as free and happy as they could be!"

Freedom of mind and conscience had here free operation, leaving it solely to "the Almighty, the only lord of conscience, to judge." "Privilege and toleration," words of such deep import in Europe, were terms unknown to Penn's laws. We possessed the right, without the grant, to worship freely.

His first frame of government provided instantly for universal

suffrage. No distinctions of rank, fortune, or freehold, then obtained; and the ballot-box, which, where it is indulged, produces more valuable revolutions than the sword, was introduced, "probably for the first time, on this continent."

The controlling power of the Governors was restrained with the most cautious limitations. They had no other influence in the passage of the laws than what they could derive from presiding at the council-board.

The Judges were even more limited in their dependence on the people than has since been claimed by any free people. They were at first appointed annually by the Governors, from lists elected by the Provincial Council. The people at the same time might appear and "plead their own causes!" They could say—

> "The toils of law, laid to perplex the truth,
> And lengthen simple justice into trade,
> How glorious was the day—that saw thee broke,
> And every man within the reach of right."

Even the children were the subject of public care. They should early learn their duties to society, by reading "the laws that shall be printed, and taught in schools." It was expressly provided that "all children of twelve years of age, without discrimination, should be taught some useful trade." It was also enacted that "all children should be taught to read and write by twelve years of age—thus determining betimes that all should be first educated, and then usefully employed!

With a mind so intent on the happiness and just freedom of men, we are prepared to expect that the evils of "woful Europe" should find some marked correctives in his statutes: We, therefore, find such beneficent novelties in legislation as the age had not elsewhere produced. We may name such as follow, to wit:

Aliens, who by the laws of England are debarred of almost every common benefit and privilege, were here made integral members of the common stock. In England an alien is disabled from holding land, either by lease or purchase; and, if a manufacturer or mechanic, he is forbidden to work on his own account. If he be even naturalized by special act, at much expense, he can never be admitted to any office of whatever kind. Penn early perceived the hardship of such restrictive laws, and made it the law of his new country that the property of an alien should be held entire and sacred to the alien and his heirs.

He excluded every thing like the "game laws" of his own country—declaring, that "the food and sustenance which God hath freely afforded" should be freely used; wherefore, all might "fowl and hunt upon the lands they hold, and fish in all the rivers and rivulets."

The English laws seize upon the estate of all suicides, leaving their helpless families in penury and want; but the good sense of

our Founder rejected this severity, by enacting that "if any person, through temptation or melancholy, shall destroy himself, his estate shall, notwithstanding, descend to his wife and children or relatives."

At a single stroke of his pen he struck off all the sanguinary laws of his parent country respecting felonies, substituting, in lieu of death, temperate punishment and hard labour—the Great Law saying, "all prisons shall be workhouses." Indeed, in former times "the workhouse" was the prevalent name of our jails. These mild laws, however, caused the offence and severe rebuke of the Privy Council in England—they ordered that the English laws should be enforced. Our Assembly, thus resisted, continued to re-enact, and to so retain their first principles as to preserve a mitigation of punishment for many years; and, finally, when they had to yield to the necessity of the case, they took the earliest occasion, produced by the Revolution, for establishing codes of prison discipline and reformation, which has made this State peculiar among the nations.

He suffered not in this land the English law of descents, whereby, when a son dies leaving a real estate, it cannot go to his father, although he had no children, but must pass to other relatives, however remote they may be. But Penn's law declared, in such case, one half should go to the parents, and the other half to his next of kin.

He introduced a simple means of making lands pay debts, notwithstanding all English precedents were against such a measure; and, to avoid the wordy redundancy of English conveyancing, briefer forms of transfer were enacted and used, until repealed by a later Assembly.

The law of primogeniture, so grateful to the lordly feelings of great families, was excluded from our Great Law at the very outset. It declared the equal distribution among all the children. So very early was the spirit of aristocratical selfishness and pride repressed by the wholesome and distributive rules of equal justice to all.*

With such marked condescension and good feeling in the ruler, and such cherished freedom in the governed, it was but matter of course that changes from good to better and to best should occur, where all were intent on the general good. Penn's charters, therefore, soon underwent three several changes, to wit:

In the beginning of his colony, say on the 2d of April, 1683, he gave his second charter, to supersede the first, before formed in theory when still in England, and which was found encumbered with an inconvenient number of Assemblymen—it calling for two hundred from the then six counties, which were only able to furnish seventy-two members. Although this second charter reduced the council to eighteen, and the assembly to thirty-six, a third charter,

* As early as 1705, and subsequent, measures were repeatedly taken to restrain, and finally to prevent, the importation of slaves, which were as often defeated by the Privy Council.

granted in November, 1696, reduced that number to one-third less; at the same time the former general right of suffrage was restricted to such as were worth £50, or possessed of fifty acres of land, and had been two years before the election resident in the province; it also admitted the right of affirmation. On the 28th of October, 1701, the founder himself being in the colony, and just before his final leave, granted his people his last and final charter—the same which endured till dissolved by our Revolution.

The liberal and enlightened expression of principles which governed and directed this distinguished founder, deserve, for his just fame, to be engraved in capitals of gold. In his first frame of government, he says: "We have, with reverence to God, and good conscience to man, to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the frame and law of this government, viz. to support power in reference with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience, is confusion, and obedience without liberty, is slavery. Where the laws rule, and the people are a party, any government is free; more than this is tyranny, oligarchy or confusion." In his letter of 1681, he says: "For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief—that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country."

In the manifesto, published by Penn before the arrival of his colony, he declared sundry of the noblest and wisest principles of political sagacity, viz. "Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, *so by them they are ruined too:* wherefore governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men *be good*, and the government *cannot be bad;* if it be ill *they will cure it.* But if men *be bad*, let the government be ever so good, they will endeavour to warp *and spoil it to their turn.* That, therefore, which makes *a good constitution* [such, for instance, as we have since made for the United States] must keep it, viz., *men of wisdom and virtue*—qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be *carefully propagated* by a virtuous education of youth; for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of *founders*, and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies." [Excellent!]

Embued with such maxims of government, it was to be expected that the efficiency of his practical philosophy should have an instructive and benign influence on other communities of men: wherefore this article may properly conclude in the energetic eulogy of a modern observer, (T. I. Wharton, Esq.,*) to wit: "In the early constitutions of Pennsylvania are to be found the distinct

* See his able and instructive discourse before the Penn Society, 1826.

enunciation of every great principle—the germ, if not the developement, of every valuable improvement in government or legislation which have been introduced into the political systems of more modern epochs. Name to me," says he, "any valuable feature in the constitutions of our confederacy, or for which patriots are contending in other quarters of the globe, and I will show you that our Pennsylvania statesmen, before the Revolution, had sought out the principle, and either incorporated it with their system, or struggled with the rulers of the darkness of the old world for its adoption."

We mean no disparagement in comparing facts. The facts were, that there was in Penn's institutions a general adherence to equality, not seen among the other colonies at any given time in the same degree; for, if we advert to the south, there was a baronial and lordly style of ascendency over the poor and the enslaved, while in New England there was, from the beginning, a dictatorial control in the Congregational and Presbyterian clergy. While these assumed a rigid control of religious sentiments there, the ministers of the established church ruled the minds of the people of the south, until the Revolution, by divesting them of their salaries, destroyed their power.

THE PHILADELPHIA BAR.

"Theirs be the task to mark with awe
The mighty edifice of law!"

It would have been gratifying to have been able to make some notices of the gentlemen composing the Bar of Philadelphia from its earliest known period; but although unusual efforts were bestowed, and applications made to those who should have imparted something, almost nothing was attained. It was certainly once a diminutive concern, compared with the present, when all the courts managed their business in the chambers of the small court house on Second and High streets, now used for city watchmen. This building was used for some of the courts long after the present state-house was built, and afforded some of the bar a more enlarged and genteel accommodation.

The earliest names of attorneys which have come to my knowledge, as pleaders or counsellors in the primitive city, were Samuel Herset, David Lloyd, P. Robinson, Thomas Clarke, Nicholas and John Moore, Judge Mompesson, and Pickering. This last I have suspected to have been the same person, called Charles Pickering, who was prosecuted for uttering base money. I supposed he was

the same person who owned lands at Pickering creek, in Charles township, in Chester county, and a large city lot in Front street, between High and Chesnut streets. If it was he, he was drowned at sea in going to England, and has left no posterity among us. The Patrick Robinson above-named was also clerk to the Provincial Council, and owner of the first hired prison. In 1685 he gave offence to the council, and they resolved, "that the words spoken by him concerning the impeachment against Judge Moore was drawn *hab nab*, which expression of his we do unanimously declare to be undecent, unallowable, and to be disowned." Soon after it was further resolved, that Patrick Robinson could not be removed from his clerk's office until he was legally convicted of the offence. They, however, determine "that he shall be readily dismissed from any public office of trust in this government." The same was eventually done. He appears afterwards named in suits in Bucks county.

The MS. correspondence of Secretary R. Peters with the proprietaries, which I have seen, for ten years—say from 1739 to '47,—often speaks disparagingly of the Philadelphia Bar, whether truly or from umbrage is not made out, as they are but simple declarations of opinion, without the reasons assigned. From his letters I perceive that in July, 1740, Mr. Murray and Mr. Smith, lawyers of eminence, were engaged from New York, to cope with Mr. Andrew Hamilton, then the best lawyer at Philadelphia. In 1743, he speaks of John Ross as being successful beyond his merit, by engrossing as much as all the others, Hamilton only excepted. In 1749, he says of them generally—"all of whom, except Francis and Moland, are persons of no knowledge, and, I had almost said, of no principle." Hamilton was always represented as a man of high honour and ability, both by Mr. Peters and by James Logan. The Bush-hill estate was given to him, by the advice of Logan, for his retained services for the proprietaries' interest. John Ross acquired a good estate, and had his dwelling "well out of town,"—the building now the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank.

The bringing of lawyers from New York to manage an important cause, had been before matched by our furnishing the New York Bar with one of our champions, who acquitted himself with great eclat. The case was this:—In 1735, the above named Andrew Hamilton went on to New York, a volunteer in the case of the persecuted printer, J. P. Zenger, whom he succeeded to bring off triumphant "from the arbitrary governor and council," to the great joy of the people. The City Council was so grateful to Hamilton, that they presented him the freedom of the city, in a gold snuff-box with many classical inscriptions. Where is it now?

When lawyers practised in the old court house, lawyers Ross and Lawrence held their offices in the small alley, called since Chancery lane, a name derived from them.* It would now be deemed an

* Since known to have been derived from Chancellor, who was once the owner of the corner house on Arch street.

ignoble place for such an honoured profession; but it marked "the day of small things," and verified the toast called for by the same John Ross, of Mark Watson: (both being wits and jesters)—"The day he hoped for—when two lawyers should have to ride on one horse!"

In the absence of more substantial facts, I may here supply a little of the comic of the bar. A fragment of poetic wit, by Collinson Reed, has fallen into my hands, and which we shall call, by way of distinction, the *Case of Catherine Kutzen.*

Mr. Collinson Read was contemporary with Joseph Thomas and Edward Tilghman, at the Philadelphia Bar, or a little before them. He was not very distinguished, but had a respectable rank in the profession; he was the author of the first "Digest" of the Laws of Pennsylvania, from which the digests of Mr. Purdon are evidently formed. He was a man of considerable wit, and well read as a classical scholar. The following sprightly Latin sapphic verses were written by him, for a Mr. J. C., a subordinate, but a decent lawyer, whose morals were much more respectable than his learning or judgment. He had not a quick sense to see the point and humour of the lines, and it is said either actually did, or attempted to file them, as a declaration in an action of slander which he had instituted, and which this declaration states with much drollery. It may be added merely, that it is in fact almost an exact translation into Latin of the ordinary declaration or plaint in suits of slander

Narr. de Termino Decembri, 1763.

Catherina Kutzen* attachiata fuit—
Ad respondendum Johanni Currie
De placito transgressionis super
Casum, & c'a.
Et unde idem quæritur Johannis
Quod eam sit bonus, verus et fidelis,
Subditus status bonorum nominis
Atque gesturæ.
Ac per totum tempus vitæ retroactum
Ab omni modo sceleris nec stupri,
Totius intactus, liber et immunis,
Adhuc remansit.
Per quod favorem ac benevolentiam
Omnium vicinorum, nec non aliorum
Quibus natus erat, sibi non immerito
Conciliavit.
Cumque per multos annos jam elapsos,
Fuit, et adhuc est, unus alternatum
De communi banco, ad Philadelphiam
Legi peritus.
Rationi inde diversis sectis
Magni mementi, in eadem curia,
Tam prosequendo, quam defendendo
Retentus fuit.

* Such a person settled in Germantown, and died there.

Unde, profectus magnos, et ingentes
Denariorum summas acquesivit,
In meliorem manutenentiam,
Ejus famitiæ.
Predicta tamen Catherina Kutzen
Sciens premissa, sed malitiose
Intendens ipsum Johannem Currie
Scandalizare.
Vigenti die mensis Decembri
Anno predicto, ad Philadelphiam
Hæc falsa ficta scandalosa verba
De illo dixit.
Scilicet "He, eandem Johannem
Currie, innuendo, is a whoremaster
And has a bastard at his mill in Saucon,
And I can prove it."
Quarum pretextu idem Johannis
Non solum bonis nomine et fama
Quibus præantea reputabatur
Læsus existit.
Verumque multæ graves personæ
Ipsum in sectis suis retinere
Nec non cum eo, quicquid habere,
Penitus recusant.
Undeque dixit quod sustinuit damna
Centum Librorum et produxit sectam
Sunt atque plegii de prosequendo
John Doe et Richard Roe.

We shall close this article with the outline characters of such gentlemen of the bar as flourished about the period of the Revolution. Their names, persons and talents are such as still dwell upon the memory of many of our aged citizens—such as Wilson, Sergeant, Lewis, Ingersoll, Edward Biddle, George Ross, &c. Their contemporary, the elder Rawle, still among us, has drawn his recollections of them to the following effect, to wit:

Mr. Chew was one of the prominent characters of earlier times. In 1772 he was preferred to the bench. Perhaps no one exceeded him in an accurate knowledge of common law, or in the sound exposition of statutes; his solid judgment, tenacious memory, and persevering industry, rendered him a safe and steady guide. At the bar his language was pertinent and correct, but seldom characterised by effusions of eloquence; his arguments were close, and frequently methodised on the strict rules of logic; his object always seemed to be to produce conviction, not to obtain applause.

But in those times the sphere of the lawyer was somewhat limited. In provincial courts no great questions of international law were discussed—no arguments on the construction of treaties—no comparisons of legislative powers with constitutional restrictions—even admiralty cases had little interest—every thing great and imposing was reserved for the mother country. Till the ebullitions produced by the stamp act, political interests were local and confined. Penn-

sylvania was divided between two parties, that of the proprietaries, and a considerable section of the people.

Two lawyers, Galloway and Dickinson, took active parts in this controversy. Each published a speech which he had delivered in the legislative assembly; and it was remarkable that the introduction to each (one composed by Dr. Franklin, who co-operated with Galloway in opposing the proprietary interest, and the other by Dr. Smith, the coadjutor of Dickinson,) were at the time more admired than the principal compositions. Yet they were both men of talents.

Of Galloway's manner I have no personal knowledge; from inspection of the dockets his practice appears to have been extensive. He adhered to the royal cause, and migrated to England, where, after exciting considerable public attention, by attacks on the conduct of Sir W. Howe in this country, he remained till his death.

Very different were the opinions and conduct of Dickinson. At the commencement of our difficulties with Great Britain, he displayed his powers with fervour and courage in defence of what he deemed his country's rights. Assuming the title of a *Pennsylvania Farmer*, he assailed, with a due proportion of learning and an irresistible cogency of argument, the unjust attempt of the British legislature to impose internal taxation on the colonies.

These publications had the happiest effect. The resistance which seemed at first to be founded rather on natural impulse than deliberate research, was clearly shown, not only to be meritorious in itself, but justifiable under the laws and constitution, by which all British subjects ought to be governed.

Of Dickinson's manner of speaking I have some recollection—he possessed, I think, considerable fluency, with a sweetness of tone and an agreeable modulation of voice, not well calculated, however, for a large audience. His law knowledge was respectable, though not remarkably extensive, for his attention was more directed to historical and political studies. In his defensive publications against the attacks of Valerius, in 1783, the man of taste will be gratified by a pure and elegant style, though the statesman must discover some political errors. Wholly engaged in public life, he left the bar soon after the commencement of the Revoluuon. At this period a new band arose.

They contributed with other instances to prove, notwithstanding the arrogance of European prediction, that America, even at the instant of putting on the toga virilis, was equal to the duties of mature and accomplished man.

I have already given some names, I will more particularly describe two or three others.

Perhaps few of those now present can recollect Wilson in the splendour of his talents, and the fulness of his practice.

Classically educated, and in the outset employed as a tutor in a public seminary, his subsequent success in a narrow circle of country

courts, encouraged him to embark in the storm which, after the departure of the British troops, agitated the forum of Philadelphia.

The adherents to the royal cause were the necessary subjects of prosecution, and popular prejudice seemed to bar the avenues of justice.

But Wilson and Lewis, and George Ross, never shrunk from such contests, and if their efforts frequently failed, it was not from want of pains or fear of danger.

Other questions of the highest moment also became the daily subject of forensic discussion—questions for which previous study no doubt had qualified them, but with which no previous practice had familiarized them.

In respect to them, Wilson soon became conspicuous. The views which he took were luminous and comprehensive. His knowledge and information always appeared adequate to the highest subject, and justly administered to the particular aspect in which it was presented. His person and manner were dignified, his voice powerful, though not melodious, his cadences judiciously though somewhat artificially regulated.

His discourse was generally of a reasonable length; he did not affect conciseness nor minuteness, he struck at the great features of the case, and neither wearied his hearers by a verbose prolongation, nor disappointed them by an abrupt conclusion.

But his manner was rather imposing than persuasive—his habitual effort seemed to be to subdue without conciliating, and the impression left was more like that of submission to a stern than a humane conqueror.

It must, however, be confessed, that Mr. Wilson on the bench was not equal to Mr. Wilson at the bar, nor did his law lectures entirely meet the expectations that had been formed.

The talents of George Ross were much above mediocrity. His manner was insinuating and persuasive, accompanied with a species of pleasantry and habitual good humour. His knowledge of the law was sufficient to obtain respect from the court, and his familiar manner secured the attention of the jury. But he was not industrious, and his career after the commencement of the Revolution was short.

The powers of Reed were of a higher order. His mind was perspicuous, his perception quick, his penetration great, his industry unremitted. Before the Revolution he had a considerable share of the current practice. His manner of speaking was not, I think, pleasing; his reasoning, however, was well conducted, and seldom failed to bear upon the proper points of controversy. When he had the conclusion of a cause, he was formidable. I have heard an old practitioner say that there was no one at the bar whom he so little liked to be behind him as Joseph Reed.

Bradford was the youngest of those who flourished at this active and interesting period, and his history merits the attention of the

younger part of my brethren, as indicating that, however discouraging the prospects may be, one should never despair.

I have understood that, for three or four years after his admission, he had scarcely a single client; his circumstances were slender, and his hopes so faint, that he had at one time determined to relinquish the profession, and go to sea; but his abilities, though known to few, were justly appreciated by Mr. Reed, then President of the Supreme Executive Council.

On the resignation of Mr. Sergeant, in 1780, he was unexpectedly appointed Attorney-general. At that time the office required no feeble hand. The executive administration was involved in the most serious responsibilities. The ability of his predecessor had been eminently useful to them. If Bradford had proved unequal to its duties, the appointment would have covered both him and the administration with disgrace—if otherwise, it elevated him to honour, while it highly promoted the political interests he belonged to—the latter was the result.

Those of his brethren who had only noticed him as a mute and humble attendant on the courts, now watched his progress with political if not professional jealousy, and soon perceived with surprise the first displays of eloquence in a style not common, of knowledge not suspected, of judicious management not frequent in youth.

He advanced with a rapid progress to an eminence of reputation which never was defaced by petty artifices of practice, or ignoble associations of thought—his course was lofty as his mind was pure—his eloquence was of the best kind—his language was uniformly classical—his fancy frequently interwove some of those graceful ornaments which delight when they are not too frequent, and do not interrupt the chain of argument.

His temper was seldom ruffled, and his speeches were generally marked by mildness. The only instance in which I remember much animation was in a branch of the case of *Gerard* vs. *Basse* and *Soyer*, which is not in print. The principal case is in 1 *Dallas*, 119; he was concerned for the unfortunate Soyer.

All those lawyers once exercised in the small old court-house on Second and High streets.

The following presents a list of all the lawyers, called "counsellors at law," as they existed in Philadelphia soon after the peace of 1783, with their residences, which are here added for the sake of showing what were then deemed their best locations for business, viz:—

Wm. Bradford, Attorney General, Third street, between Arch and Market streets.

Edward Burd, Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, Third street, between Arch and Market streets.

Wm. Barton, do., do.

Jacob Bankson, (sailors' lawyer,) Lombard street, between Front and Second streets.

John Blair, *Market* street, between Fourth and Fifth streets.

George Campbell, Register of Wills, Second street, between Race and Vine streets.

John D. Coxe, *Front* street, between Market and Arch streets.

Matthew Coulthurst, Walnut street, between Second and Third streets.

Daniel Clymer, *Market* street, between Fourth and Fifth streets.

George A. Dallas, Third street, between Union and Pine streets.

Myers Fisher, *Front* street, between Walnut and Spruce streets.

John Haley, Clerk of City Court, Vine street, between Second and Third streets.

Ashton Humphreys, *Front* street, between Market and Chestnut streets.

Charles Heath, Second street, between Chestnut and Walnut streets.

Jacob Howell, Fourth street, between Market and Arch streets.

Jared Ingersoll, *Market* street, between Third and Fourth streets.

Moses Levy, Chestnut street, between Second and Third streets.

Wm. Lewis, south-east corner of Third and Walnut streets.

Joseph Moylan, Second street, between Walnut and Spruce streets.

Joseph B. M'Kean, Third street, near Pine street.

John F. Mifflin, Second street, between Walnut and Spruce streets.

Robert Millignn, Chestnut street, between Third and Fourth streets.

Governeur Morris, *Market* street, between Second and Third streets.

P. S. Duponceau, *Front* street, near Market street, bank side.

Wm. Rawle, Arch street, between Second and Third streets.

Thomas Ross, *Market* street, between Fourth and Fifth streets.

Samuel Sitgreaves, *Front* street, between Arch and Race streets.

Jonathan Sergeant, Arch street, between Third and Fourth streets.

Charles Swift, Second street, between South and Shippen streets.

Edward Tilghman, Walnut street, between Front and Second streets.

John Vannost, *Market* street, between Fourth and Fifth streets.

James Wilson, Chestnut street, between Fourth and Fifth streets.

Alexander Wilcox, Arch street, between Third and Fourth streets.

Those of the foregoing dwelling in Front and Market streets are marked in *italics,* as showing streets in which *none* now reside!

MILITIA AND COLONIAL DEFENCE.

"Where duty placed them at their country's side."

It has been long a received opinion that the first militia of Pennsylvania was originated by the exertions of Dr. Franklin, in opposition to the pacific wishes of the Friends employed in colonial government. This misconception most probably arose from the first act for a militia which he procured to be passed in the year 1755. But we learn from facts derived from several sources that there was such a thing as a voluntary militia, deriving commissions from the Governors, at much earlier periods.

In the Minutes of Council of 10 May 1693, Benjamin Fletcher being the Governor, it was proposed by the Governor and urged, that it was *necessary* to build *a fort* in some convenient place upon the river Delaware, to command the channel, for the security and the defence of trade, and the inhabitants. And upon being put to the vote, was carried in the affirmative. Present William Markham, Andrew Robeson, Patrick Robinson, Robert Turner, Lawrence Cott, William Clarke.

A letter from William Penn, of 1703, says, "Colonel Hamilton (the Governor) did grant a commission to raise a militia on purpose to quell the complaints to government of Colonel Quarry; and then it was that Quarry and his party fiercely opposed it!" He opposed it on the pretext of its inequality in resting the defence on those who would fight, while it would exempt those, like the Friends, who were averse to defence.

In 1704, "they raised three companies in town, three in New Castle, two in Kent, and two in Sussex." And when Colonel Markham, the former deputy, died in Philadelphia, they buried him with the honours of war.

James Logan's letter, 1702, to Penn says, "The Governor, (Andrew Hamilton,) upon publishing his commission in 1701, put the people in expectation of a militia. This he always intended after he should learn that his office had been confirmed. However, it will be found shortly necessary, both in the opinion of the government at home and many here, that some defence of this place should be provided. Should we be attacked by the Iroquois, (we,) who are quite destitute of Indians, are in the worst condition. I am sure it is worth thy consideration." He further adds, "Thy dispute at home, the war without defence here, the example of the Jerseys surrendering, (back to the crown,) makes this government too precarious to be called one."

It is manifest from the preceding and other facts (derived from the Logan MSS.) that James Logan, although he was a Friend, held it admissible to sustain defensive war.

In 1707, Governor Evans had a kind of fort constructed at New Castle, and there required a tribute from vessels passing, to pay for "powder money." A spirited Friend went down in his vessel and resisted the claim valiantly. Evans tried some expedients, but without success, to raise a militia spirit.

It might serve to show the simplicity of the time, and the defenceless state of the city and river, to cite a fact from the records of the Common Council of May, 1706, to wit: "Whereas, the Governor having received an express from the Governor of Maryland of several vessels lately seen some few leagues off the Capes of Virginia, and two of them chasing and firing several shots at an English vessel bound to Virginia or Maryland, which are supposed to be French vessels, and probably may have a design upon some of the Queen's colonies, it is therefore *ordered* that the watch of this city be carefully and duly kept, and that the constables at their peril take care of the same; and in case there appears any show of danger of the enemy, that they give the alarm by ringing of the market bell!—and further, that every night one of the Aldermen see the watch, and see that two constables be set thereon, till further orders."

In 1718, William Penn, jun., in writing to Governor Keith, speaks for a militia, saying—"if you can, procure a militia to be settled by law." About the same time Sir William celebrates the death of the father in a martial funeral, with his city militia of volunteers!

In the year 1744, the time of the war with France, there being then no law for a militia, Benjamin Franklin proposed the scheme of voluntary associations, to be founded upon their individual subscriptions. Immediately twelve hundred signers were found in Philadelphia, and Franklin was nominated to the colonelcy, but declined the service. It was said the paper gained ten thousand signers in the province!

In the year 1748, there were great efforts made in Philadelphia to raise a defence for the city. Some of the Friends, then in government, admitted the right of defensive war—among these the most conspicuous was James Logan. I have seen several letters on this subject from Benjamin Franklin to James Logan, recorded in the Logan MS. selections. Franklin appeared to be a leading man in this measure,* having seen, he said, similar efforts at Boston, in 1743, by the volunteers there training in like manner at the Castle, &c. He expressed great satisfaction at finding James Logan "approved of their proceedings." They proposed to fortify at Red Bank, because of the difficulties there from a narrow channel. The

* Secretary Peters, in his letter to the Penns, in 1747, says he concerted the first measures, by a meeting held at Chancellor's sail loft.

soldiers were all to be volunteers—"much unanimity prevailed in all ranks." They called themselves "the Association"—eight hundred persons signed at the outset. "The Dutch (i. e. Germans) were as hearty in the measure as the English," and one entire company was formed of Dutchmen (i. e. Germans.) They trained men to be their gunners, by forming an artillery club to go down weekly to the battery to exercise the cannon. "In this, following the example of the Bostonians, who by similar exercises formed from their tradesmen and shopkeepers the best engineers against Cape Breton." The soldiers of Philadelphia were described as making fine reviews —as meeting as often as once a week in general muster, and several of them in squads three or four times a week. They purchased thirty-nine battering cannon, of Spanish make, at Boston, for £1500, fifteen of them of twenty-eight pounders, and twenty-four of them of fourteen pounders. They were brought over land from New York for fear of a Spanish armed vessel off the coast. Secretary Peters says fourteen of the battery guns were borrowed from New York.

At this time they erected the "Association Battery," four hundred feet long, a little below the Swedes' church. They had before erected another battery, called "the Battery on Atwood's wharf," consisting of thirteen guns of six and nine pounders.* Its situation was, I presume, under the bank of Society Hill in Southwark. I observe that as early as 1734, "the guns on Society Hill, probably then a redoubt on the hill, were then fired because of the arrival of the Governor, John Penn. The shot for all those cannon were cast for them by John Pass.† The cartridges, &c., were prepared by a committee of citizens. The expenses of these defences were defrayed mostly by lotteries, and by individual subscriptions.‡ The Germans (called Dutchmen then) were influenced by addresses called "Plain Truth," "The Association," &c., translated and printed in German. It was a time of great excitement in Philadelphia among all ranks—it disturbed many of the Friends—it brought out John Churchman to some public acts as a public Friend *against* defence, and, under his advice and leadings, some public declarations from the Society, to advise Friends to refrain from participating in war measures, &c.

For the same reasons that the new battery was called "the Association Battery," the regiments of volunteers, formed in the winter

* This is said to be the place, afterwards Cuthbert's wharf, between Pine and South streets—so remembered by Colonel Morris, who, eighty-five years ago, recollects that he used to go with boys to swim thereabouts, at a place they then called "the Battery," though no signs of defence then existed. It had probably been erected as a water battery—below the supposed redoubt, above it, on the hill, where "the flag staff" is often mentioned as a preaching place for Whitfield, &c. The petition of the Common Council, of 1744, to the King, says, however, "the city is without batteries or any kind of fortifications."

† The same who re-cast the state house bell.

‡ The City Corporation subscribed for two thousand tickets in the lottery.

of 1747–8, were also called the "Association Regiments"—to form thirteen companies in Philadelphia, and as many in the counties as one hundred companies in all; all being understood as done by the voluntary contrivance of the people, without the legislative sanction, which was still too much under the spirit and influence of the Friends' Meetings to come into such a measure by any public sanction of the Legislature. Thus showing the majorities of Friends that still ruled there, and their firmer dependence on "the arm of the Lord," and the "Great Watcher of Israel."

The regiments of association, of the winter of 1748, had the colours given to them by the ladies, who procured their material by their subscription. Some of their mottos or devices were striking. I name such as these, (told in the Gazette of the day) to wit: "A Deo Victoria,"—"Deus adjuvat Fortes,"—"In God we trust,"*—"Pro aris et focis," &c. The drums were also given by them.

An old gentleman, B. L., tells me he remembers to have seen several of the stockades still standing in his youth. They were of heavy pieces of timber twenty feet long. Every county also raised volunteers in companies, and it was concerted with them, that in case the city was menaced by a foe, they should all march to Philadelphia and be there quartered gratis among the people.

The exciting cause of these military measures arose from frequent threats given out in the West Indies and at Havanna, that their privateers should come and sack Philadelphia; also from the fact of a French privateer coming into the bay in December, 1747, and there committing some depredations nearly as high up as New Castle. The citizens thereupon met at the "new Meeting house," then at the north-west corner of Third and Arch streets, and concerted their resolves of defence—they projected a lottery to raise £3000. The Rev. Gilbert Tennent, the minister there, soon afterwards preached them a sermon on the lawfulness of war, and in favour of the association for defence. To this the Friends published a rejoinder. On the whole it was a moving and busy time of deep excitement.

Several publications appeared at the same time, says Kalm, pro and con, and when the danger appeared imminent, many withdrew their opposition. They feared that French and Spanish privateers had combined an expedition in the West Indies.—So was the town talk and alarm!

Familiar as the public became with military parade, and embued, as the rising youth felt, with "the pomp and circumstance of war" from seeing its operations for a few years, with much to allure the eye, and no experience of disaster, the mind grew better prepared in time to approbate any legal enactments which might be suggested for a permanent defence at the public expense. This period arrived in the year 1755, by the occasion of Braddock's defeat. The panic

* The very mottoes the Friends would have used without the arms!

then became extreme in the country from the fear of savage inroads. Alarms were frequent at Tulpehocken—at the present Harrisburg—at Lancaster, &c. They had fearful rumours of French and Indian invaders! On this exciting occasion, Franklin dexterously introduced a militia law and procured it to be passed; he became at the same time the colonel of a regiment of 1200 men in Philadelphia. How very few of the admirers of his character and renown have ever named him as *Colonel* Franklin!

This memorable *first* militia act was passed on the 25th of November, 1755, and was of peculiar construction. It was so formed as to pass the sanction of the Legislature, even while a majority of the Assembly were Friends, and for whom therefore the act itself provided a salvo for conscience. It declares that to compel men to defence against the will, would be a violation of their constitutional rights; and that as men formerly chose officers without law, the present is to sanction them with law. The militia, therefore, were to be volunteers, and to choose their own officers, &c. At the same time they vote £50,000 to raise additional troops by voluntary enlistment, and offer two hundred acres of land severally to such as bounty. These were all strange things for the pacific and reluctant Friends—but the world around them was fast growing beyond their control and management. Yet it was a part of the original grant to the pacific Penn himself—that he and his heirs should "muster and train, make war and vanquish, or put to death all enemies by sea and land!" Vide his patent.

We are not, however, to presume that the preceding notices of military citizens formed the only array of war which our forefathers had witnessed. There had been occasional enlistments for the crown for foreign countries, and often very active exertions and armaments in the way of privateering, as will be briefly stated, to wit:

In 1740, eight companies of infantry go from Philadelphia county under captains appointed over them by the Governor. They go out to the West Indies to join Admiral Vernon in his expedition against the Spaniards. Similar companies, under voluntary enlistments, go also at the same time from Virginia and Carolina—all of them to rendezvous at Jamaica. It was probably on this occasion of excitement that our General Washington, then but eight years old, was once purposed to join Admiral Vernon as a midshipman.

In the French war of 1744, the Governor of Jamaica sends his lieutenants to Philadelphia to enlist for his regiments there. The men were to have six shillings sterling per week extra, and after the terms of their service to receive land there. Families were to go passage free. The recruiting officer gave his attendance for enlistments at the widow Roberts' coffee house in Front street.* At the same time recruits are solicited by the Gazette, for recruits to join Dalzel's regiment in Antigua.

* Then a little below Blackhorse alley.

In June, 1744, proclamation is made at Philadelphia of war with France, and vessels are promptly fitted out as cruisers. Several advertisements forthwith appear for "gentleman sailors." They soon compute one hundred and thirteen privateers sent out by the colonies! Soon after this, prizes appear named in almost every Gazette. During the years 1747–8, almost every column under the Philadelphia and New York head, is filled with privateer news. It would seem as if this pursuit engrossed the attention of all. The peace occurs in October, 1748.

In 1745, the rejoicings were excessive all through the colonies for the American prowess displayed at the capture of Louisburgh—it is called "a perpetual honour to his Majesty's American arms." The New Englanders held themselves very high on this event—an expedition planned by a lawyer, and executed by a farmer, with a merchant to lead them on! Our self-gratulation was so high it rather alarmed Great Britain to see our rising military ability and ardour, and they, to mortify us as it was then believed by many, gave it up at the peace of 1748. It was then a heart-burning surrender to the Americans. Every child of that day was familiar with "the Walls of Breton," singing in the streets. "Here we go round—here we go round the walls of Breton, the walls of Breton," &c. Great fireworks were exhibited on floating machines on the Delaware to commemorate the important conquest!

In 1748, the governor recommends measures to be taken to support a vessel of war at our capes. Then John Churchman, the public Friend, goes, by permission, "with a message" to the Assembly, to advise them against such measures of defence as is incompatible with true Friends' principles.

About the same time it appears that the Otter sloop of war is up at Philadelphia—a novel sight, I presume, there! and the city authorities, to animate gallantry in their behalf, (vide council proceedings,) present her captain with a pipe of wine and other stores.

Captain Ballat, however, notwithstanding his good cheering, soon gave great umbrage by his backwardness to help their cause; for a Spanish privateer (as represented in Secretary Peters' letter to the Penns, of 1748,) stole up as far as Elsenborough, "thirty-five miles from the city," near Salem, and intended to sack and burn New Castle. But an Englishman on board leaped overboard and swam ashore in the night, and so prepared the people by the morning. In this extremity, the authorities applied to Captain Ballat to be their champion, but no entreaties could avail with him till his careening should be accomplished. Thus tardy he was, although every assistance was offered him, and he was purposely sent for their protection!

As early as the year 1744, the citizens for themselves, and the Common Council in behalf of the city, (vide the minutes in this book) prepared and forwarded a petition to the king to send them a military force, saying, as a part of their argument, that the preva-

lence of the Quaker principle "denies them that security which is the main end of society." The citizens' petition is signed by several names well known as nominal Friends at least. Their names may be seen to the copy of the petition in my MS. Annals in the Philadelphia Library, page 245.

The first foreign military, however, that ever reached our peaceful city of brotherly love, was those arriving and preparing for Braddock's expedition to the west. All the Highlanders encamped in the Northern Liberties—whence the popular name of "Camping-town,"—and all the British were arrayed in Southwark. After the defeat, in 1755, such troops as returned, occupied for a time the same positions. Those in Southwark, under Colonel Dunbar, were located several months on the ground west of Fourth street, and between Pine and South streets. It was soon after this that the long ranges of barracks in the Northern Liberties were constructed. The history of which, and the occurrences there, before their demolition, will be found under its appropriate head.

I should have mentioned also that after the peace, in 1750, the proprietaries' present of fourteen new pieces of cannon (eighteen pounders) arrived at Philadelphia for the use of the Association Battery—thus making them upwards of fifty pieces of cannon in all. There was among them a thirty-two pounder, presented by the Schuylkill Company, which, in after years, was called the Old Schuylkill. This got its trunnions broken off by us when abandoning the city to the British, and it has since had its rest at Fort Mifflin.

In April, 1765, there was much surprise and uneasiness excited at Philadelphia, by finding that all the great guns at the fort, (at Wiccacoa) and all those at the barracks, in the Northern Liberties, were spiked up!—Many conjectures were abroad—finally it was deemed the act of mere wantonness, and a person was arrested as the perpetrator.

As a conclusion to the whole, I give the following facts of more modern times, as reminiscences of my friend Lang Syne, to wit:

City Volunteers.—From the peace of 1783, until the famous western expedition of 1794, the pride, pomp, and circumstance of the glorious war of independence, continued to be shadowed out in this city on muster days, and on the glorious fourth of July, by two regiments of militia, flanked on the parade ground, by the only two volunteer companies (1791) then in the city.—During this "piping time of peace" the only command obtainable was in the militia; and such command, it seems, was sought after, and held by gentlemen of the first respectability at the time, either for wealth, or services rendered by them during the war. Every thing relative to uniform or tactics still partook, largely, of the old school, colonial, or revolutionary models, framed by that oracle in the art of war, in this country, Baron Steuben. Tradition says, the regiment "down town" was commanded by Colonel Daniel Smith, Majors Joseph

Sims and Philip Pancake. The one "up town" by Colonel William Will, (Sheriff at the time,) Majors Andrew Geyer and Alexander Boyd. The two regiments forming the one, and the only brigade in the city, under the command of Brigadier-General Francis Gurney.

After the peace, the first infantry company was commanded by Sempler, next by Claypole. The second was formed under Colonel Oswald, printer, &c.—Sproat another, also Gravenstine. Two artillery companies by Fisher and Rice. There were two troops of horse besides the old city troop. There was a county troop by Captain Hopkins, afterwards by Colonel M'Pherson—Colonel Gurney told me he had once served as a Sergeant at the defeat of Ticonderoga, in 1758, under Abercrombie, who was killed in Egypt. Many men disapproved of the volunteer companies, as tending to bring the *regular* militia into disrepute—for this cause Levi Hollingsworth always mustered with the militia. About the year 1785–6, an attempt was made by many respectable men, to make the roll strong enough by their presence and example, and to get in better officers—it fell through.

In this article it is intended merely to revive in the memory of some, and to place before the mind's eye of others, but now in their majority, who are "*natives here*, and to the manner born," who, consequently, may have a sympathetic feeling, and relish for the recollections of Lang Syne, in our beloved city; as articles snatched, like drift wood, floating on the stream of time, which otherwise would naturally seek the ocean of oblivion for ever, and be to them as the unrecorded years before the flood.

The "Buck Tail Company" was commanded originally by Captain Sproat, who was viewed at the time by the ladies, and others who spoke of him, as a model, in his day, of smartness and military elegance on parade. The uniform consisted of a short dark blue cloth coatee, lapelled with red, and turned up with red at the skirts; white dimity vest, and breeches, (tights,) white cotton stockings, black knee-bands, short gaiters, sharp-pointed, long-quartered shoes, and buckles. The Captain, and every member of the company, wore a long cue, or club of powdered hair, pendent behind. The head was surmounted by a felt hat or cap, the front presenting a flat surface, being turned up smartly, in an oval shape, above the crown, and ornamented by way of plume or pompon, with a tail (Buck Tail) separated from the dried undressed hide of the forest buck or deer. The other flank company was of artillery, commanded by Captain Jeremiah Fisher. He, and some of his company, had served during the war, having fought in famous battles, under the gallant Colonel Proctor. The artillery uniform consisted of a long dark blue coat, lapelled, with gilt buttons down the front, and turned up with red at the skirts, and reaching almost to the heels; yellow vest and breeches; stiffened wide ruffles; white cotton stockings, and black leggings, buttoned down the side; sharp toed shoes, and large buckles, almost covering the toes. In con-

formity with the universal fashion at the time, they all wore long hair, *powdered*, clubbed or cued, and dangling below the shoulder blade. They also wore the large "artillery cocked hat," square to the front, in marching, with a long black feather waving aloft at every step.

Martial music in those days was wholly confined to *drum and fife; a band*, so called, was then wholly unknown. The whole war of the Revolution was led on by

> "The spirit stirring fife,
> And soul inspiring drum."

The cavalry, only, had the use of the horn or bugle. Such a bugle, used by Gideon of Philadelphia, as trumpeter to Washington's life-guard, is still preserved in Philadelphia.

"*Macpherson's Blues.*"—For several years after the Revolutionary war, it was much the practice of the times, to bring out in the military displays, those individuals who had seen service, and manifested their *patriotism*, in that struggle for national independence. They were seen mostly in the grade of officers—the common soldiers being generally exempt from age, or by their impaired bodily strength. The last remembered exhibition in which the mass of them were so gathered, was the occasion of the La Fayette national visit. It was melancholy, even then, to observe *how few* could then be thus mustered! [Only one hundred and seven could be got present, at the Bunker Hill Monument.]

A view of these facts, causes the present writer sometimes to say facetiously to his friends and former companions in arms, that the next best *substitute* for Revolutionary men, will be *the men* of the once celebrated "Macpherson's Blues." These, at the time of their first embodying, in 1794, surpassed all former volunteer array in our city, both for numerical force, and the respectability of the young men enrolled. They were originally formed for the Western or Whisky Insurrection, to serve under General Macpherson, (of the Revolutionary army,) and to be attached to General Washington's command. As such, they went forward over the mountains to their place of rendezvous. After their return, they continued to muster and display, and to grow in numbers; when at length came out "the affair of the Chesapeake," which gave a new impulse, and a new accession of strength. They did not believe that Commodore Barron was bound to encounter such unequal odds, with his *unprepared* armament, and were willing to avenge the national affront themselves. They forthwith offered "their lives and sacred honours" to their country. The consequence was, that the corps soon formed an entire regiment of Infantry, one or two companies of Grenadiers, one of Artillery, and a corps of Cavalry. For array, discipline and exercise, they were *the Lions* of that day, and "won golden opinions" readily, from all. The writer, himself, then a minor, and brim full of patriotism, joined them about the time of the "Northampton Insurrection," [for Insurrections were then rife, with

some!] and although not draughted to that expedition, felt as martial as those who "marched up, and then came down again!"

These now, in their turn, though once numbering over their thousand men, are also "receding from the things that be;" and if they were now called to some public *fete*, to exhibit the remains of their former selves, would be not unlike *the few* Revolutionary men which preceded them.

Those who remain should, some of these days, make a gathering around some festive board, if not "to note and book their dead," at least to generate brotherhood and fellowship with the few that remain. What vicissitudes have since gone through their ranks, or changed their relative lives! We begin now to see sundry of them falling into "the sear and yellow leaf" of decay. Some of them, indeed, by sickness, or by the wear and tear of life, expose "sad remnants of themselves." At the same time, others of easier life, still show vigour and strength, even for another war. Of our officers, it is believed that scarcely any remain—such were M'Ewen, Hale, Baynton, Willing, Heysham. Our uniform then was blue cloth jackets and pantaloons, the last tight as the skin, *the same* both for *summer* and winter; with fur hats covered with bear skins, and adorned with a black cockade and a buck's tail. Our pantaloons, as I remember, were a sad affair for self-discomfiture on a hot summer day! Strange that none should have been wise enough to suggest their attire in white summer pants! But so is all knowledge, by degrees! And even *now*, the military are not wiser, which admit no cover for the face, in their present form of caps!

This great corps having been formed *for service*, rather than for city display, was allowed to go down, after they had come to the conclusion that no service remained to be performed. They were therefore *non est*, when the subsequent call for *the second* British war came up, under President Madison, in 1812.

One ought not to close so *military* a chapter, without saying a few words for *the uniform*, so peculiarly *American*, as is *the Hunting Frock or Shirt. That* is the thing, *in which to deck our whole American Militia!* It is a thing to be adopted, as at the head and front of all other expedients to please the militia, by its great *economy*, and at the same time, to produce such uniformity of appearance, as to make the wearers respect themselves; and by consequence, to give such attention to their array and exercise, as to become efficient soldiers; not inferior to more costly parades of "Volunteers," themselves.

Hunting frocks, of blue, or other coloured, strong muslin, with red or white fringe, could be made in quantities, at $1.50 each, to be worn over the common under dress of citizens; and caps of varnished cotton cloth could be had at half a dollar. Both of these could be readily procured, by every man above the condition of a pauper. Will any consider, will any try it?

In honour of this *American Frock*, we are to say, that such *was*

the uniform of the Maryland line under General Smallwood, during the Revolutionary war. His command was formed of the sons of good farmers, from around and about Baltimore. With such dress, they once quartered in Philadelphia, and afterwards fought and won many a battle. Such was, in effect, the Riflemen's garb, under the celebrated General Morgan, during all of that war. Such, too, was the common scouting dress of all those Kentuckians, Wood Rangers, and Western Pioneers, who won all our Western country from the Indian tribes. Has no one a Hunting song for the Hunting frock? It has *incident* enough, in itself and associations, for poetry and romance!

DUELS.

"The world accounts an honourable man,
Because, forsooth, his courage has been tried
And stood the test,—perhaps on the wrong side."

HARD is the force of tyrant custom, which constrains men to seek its sanctions, even when opposed to their better reason and against the common feelings of nature and humanity. The "world's dread laugh which scarce the firm philosopher can scorn" has its frequent victims, in those chiefly who make its applauses their all. The combatant, seeking "the bubble reputation," feels sensibly that he is flinging away his life in the midst of his years, even while the allurements and blandishments of the world he is about leaving, or, perchance, the fond family he is about bereaving, may be still clinging to his heart. Yet he must wrap himself up in his solitary and secret misery—making himself of sterner stuff than his common nature, and freezing with the necessary dread that in a few hours he may be a cold and bloody corse. This is appalling enough, and all further fate he smothers, as needs he must, in "heroic want of thought." Cheerless they go to their appointment with countenances pale and scowling, or reddened with internal emotions—wrapped in moody silence, and inwardly cursing the silly custom to which they thus sacrifice present and future peace. The heartless apathy of some, whose indifference proceeds from atheism—who believe in no offended God, and rest their hope "in an eternal sleep,"—these may scout "the anguish of a wound," and brave death on terms too unequal for a better informed mind. On whatever terms they occur, they are always an evil deeply to be deplored. Many aged persons have deemed them of such rare occurrence among our citizens as not to have been known before the Revolu-

tion, but as I have found here and there a trace of them in all former times, I have been induced to note them, not for commemoration or perpetuity, but as marking the state of society at every time, and in all its relations, to wit:

It may sound "passing strange" that a gentleman of the holy office, should possess the scandalous pre-eminence of being the first on the list in the peaceful city of Penn. He did not indeed fight, but his demeanour was so far secularized as to provoke and receive a challenge. The case was this, to wit:

In the year 1715, the court enter proceedings against Peter Evans, gentleman, for sending a challenge to Francis Phillips, clergyman. The original challenge in the clerk's office has been in my possession, and, as a curiosity, reads as follows, to wit:

"To Mr. Francis Phillips, Philadelphia,—Sir, You have basely scandalized a gentlewoman that I have a profound respect for. And for my part shall give you a fair opportunity to defend yourself tomorrow morning on the west side of Joseph Carpenter's garden, [the present Arcade, I believe,] betwixt seven and eight, where I shall expect to meet you *gladio cinctus*, in failure whereof, depend upon the usage you deserve from—y'r ever—

PETER EVANS,
at the Pewter Platter [Inn.]

At the same time a *billa vera* is found against the clergyman himself, for some mal-conduct, and not long after, his people, sensible of his misconduct, dismiss him from his pastoral care.

I perceive by the letters of James Logan [in Logan's MSS.] that "he was taxed with scandalous expressions—boasting of undue intimacy with some women of reputation." "Was carried to gaol for a day, when the Governor took sides with him as a churchman, and entered a *nulle prosequi*. Some others of the Church in the mean time met at the Court house and voted him to have acted scandalously, and to receive no farther countenance"—a determination which must of course exempt the Church itself from blame.

The People's Magazine says, that about the year 1760, "Duels were frequent among *Clergymen*." In 1764, the *Rev.* Mr. Hill was killed in a duel by Cornet Gardiner. The Rev. Mr. Bates fought two duels, and was subsequently created a baronet and preferred to a deanery after he had fought another duel. The Rev. Mr. Allen killed a Mr. Delany in a duel in Hyde Park. Surely such clergymen forgot their office, and needed their own reform, far more than to pretend to be instructers to the people!

1721—The Grand Jury present the case of Selom Fry, mariner, who challenged Francis Jones to fight with swords—and both were wounded.

1750—Thomas Crosse, gentleman, challenges Hugh Davy to fight with swords, whereby the latter was wounded.

About the time of the Revolution there were three cases of duels: Colonel Cadwallader accepted the challenge, and fought General

Conway; the latter was wounded. Doctor W. fought a duel with another gentleman about a young Quaker lady.—The former shot his pistol in the air, and so made it a bloodless case and a drawn battle. A singular case of duel occurred in 1778 or '79, between Henry Laurens, President of Congress, and John Penn, member of Congress from North Carolina. The parties were fellow boarders, and breakfasted together the same morning. They started to go out Chestnut street to the vacant lot *vis-a-vis*, present Masonic Hall. In crossing at Fifth street, where was then a deep slough, Mr. Penn kindly offered his hand to aid Mr. Laurens, who was much the oldest, and when it was accepted he suggested to him that their meeting (solicited by Laurens) was a foolish affair, &c.—to which Mr. L. assenting, it was made up on the spot. This Penn was no relative of William Penn.

On the 12th June, 1777, John Sargent, Esq., laid before Congress a challenge which he had received from Gunning Bedford. The next day Congress *resolved* that Mr. Bedford "should answer before the house for his conduct." He appeared and made his justification, whereupon the House resolved that Mr. B. is expected to ask pardon of the House and of the members, which he did accordingly, and the matter was dismissed.

While the Congress sat in Philadelphia, about the year 1798–9, the Hon. James A. Bayard, then a member, fought a duel with another member in a disused saw-pit shed, then standing at the north end of Front street, at the corner where the roads lead over the stone bridge to Kensington. It was a rainy day, and they took shelter there. Both this place, and that above-mentioned, present themselves to our minds now as strangely exposed places, by present public resort, for fighting duels! But these facts evince how surprisingly population has extended westward and northward.

In the year 1824 there appeared in the Philadelphia "City Register," and other gazettes, a detailed account of all the known duels occurring in the United States from the year 1801—published with a design "to awaken more attention to the wide-spread and overwhelming misery occasioned by duelling." The list exhibits the names of nearly one hundred killed. Of the duellists more than thirty were officers of the navy, and nearly thirty were officers of the army: this, too, although the rules and articles of war say, "the parties shall be cashiered."

THE DRAWBRIDGE AND DOCK CREEK.

As early as the year 1691, it appears from "the petition of the inhabitants of Philadelphia to the Governor and Council," signed by thirty-two inhabitants, that there was then a request made that the open area of Dock swamp, &c., might be for ever left open as a public highway for the general benefit of the citizens. The petition appears to have been occasioned by Jeremiah Elfreth, and others, attempting to build on some parts of it. I abstract the pith of the reading in the words following, to wit:

"Whereas, Philadelphia was located because of its natural advantages of easy landing and contiguous coves, that by little labour might be made safe and commodious harbours for vessels, safe from winter and storms. [This alludes to Dock swamp, and probably the area from Green street to Kensington Point Pleasant.] Accordingly the first settlers, invited by those conveniences, seated them there, in the year 1682, and landed their goods at that low sandy beach, since called the Blue Anchor—(tavern.) [This beach means the lot of one hundred feet breadth on Front street, in front of Budd's row, (as then called,) being the first ten houses north of the Drawbridge, and extending two hundred and fifty feet into the river.] Since then all persons have used it as a common free landing for stones, logs, hay, lumber, and such other goods as could not with like ease and safety be landed at any other wharf and place—We, the inhabitants, to our great grief, have been informed that some persons, obtaining a grant from the Commissioners, have encroached on a part of that public flat sandy beach, and thus diminishing the common landing—and knowing no landing is so convenient, we beseech the Governor and Council would be pleased to order the bounds and breadth of the same."

"And we also further beg, that all, or at least so much of the cove, at the Blue Anchor, [the house now Garrett's tobacco store, north-west corner of Front and Dock streets,] as possible, may be laid out for a convenient harbour, to secure shipping against ice or other dangers of the winter—there being no other place by nature so convenient for the ends proposed." Signed by—Humphrey Murrey, [called "Mayor,"] John Holme, [Surveyor General,] David Lloyd, [Speaker of Assembly and Clerk of Court,] Thomas Budd, [owner of the row,] William Bradford, [the first printer, and who was printer of the New York government for fifty years,] James Fox, Nathaniel Allen, Philip Howell, William Say, Thomas Griffith, Andrew Griscom, Philip Richards, and twenty others.

It appears that a meeting of the Governor and Council was accordingly convened on the 3d of 6 mo., 1691.—Present, Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor, and John Simcock, John Delavall, Thomas Duckett, Griffith Owen, William Stockdale and John Bristow,—and they proceed to de-

cree and order, "that in consequence of the application of the Mayor, Humphrey Murrey, in behalf of the said city," praying them "to regulate the landing place, the end of the street, near the Blue Anchor, being the only cartable landing place to serve the south end of the town, and has been so used and enjoyed, till of late it was granted away by the Commissioners of Property, whereupon it is ordered, that the said Mayor and Aldermen [of course it is probable the preceding petition, signed by thirty-two inhabitants, were they] have notice to attend the Governor and Council, to view the same—[which was done accordingly.] And upon the subject of a harbour for shipping, &c., near where the Blue Anchor stood, the Governor and Council duly weighing the powers granted by the King to Governor Penn for erecting keys, harbours and landings, it is hereby declared and ordered, that there shall be left a vacancy between the north side of John Austin's frame of a house, upon the bank, and Society Hill, extending about four hundred feet in breadth towards the point of said hill, for a public landing place and harbour for the safety of ships and other vessels, and the same so to continue, until the proprietary's pleasure be known to the contrary, (which it is certain he never did signify, and more especially as his city charter, of 1701, did confirm this very area,) notwithstanding any encroachments, grants or patents made of the said vacancy by the Commissioners of Property to any person whatsoever."

"And it is further ordered, that Jeremiah Elfreth, and all other persons concerned, pretending to have any title or right to the said vacancy or landing place, [meaning in front of Budd's row and north of the Drawbridge,] shall desist and forbear encumbering the same—but that they be repaid for their materials put upon the same."

It appears, respecting the premises, that the Commissioners of Property, who had granted the above invasions, became dissatisfied with the above supreme decree of the Council—they, therefore, did what they could, by a nugatory protest, under date of the 19th of 11 mo., 1691, to wit: Captain William Markham, Robert Turner and John Goodson, saying. "Whereas, complaint was made to us by William Salloway, Griffith Jones and Jeremiah Elfreth, that Thomas Lloyd, (Governor,) Humphrey Murrey, (Mayor,) and others, did often last summer come on their bank lots, and commanded their workmen to desist, to their delay and damage; and whereas, William Salloway was refused by David Lloyd, Clerk of Court, to have his patent recorded—all which enormities we consider to infringe on the rights of the proprietary to dispose of all lots and lands within this province, &c., by his commission to us; therefore, we do in his name assert the patents granted by us to the above-named persons to be good and sufficient to them."

It now becomes a question which are the places referred to above: I should judge that John Austin's frame house must have stood on the area, now open, north of the Drawbridge, on the east side of Front street; and that the four hundred feet was to extend from the north side of that house, down town, southward, to the extreme projecting point (towards the river) of Society Hill, (which lay below Spruce street,) and had its boundary northward, about the sixth house below Spruce, in Front street, and thence it inclined

south-eastward, over Water street, to the river, having its margin watered by the Dock swamp. We ought, therefore, by this grant, to have had now an open view, from about the late Hamilton's wharf and store, down towards Pine street, of as much extent, as it now is, from Front to Second street, which is so near four hundred feet as to be three hundred and ninety-six feet. I infer, that what was called the "sandy beach," before Budd's row, was called also the bank lots, because it was in the line of Front street, which are, and were, so called; and especially because the complaints of Elfreth and others, who encroached on the beach, said they were molested on their bank lots.

In the year 1701, October 25, William Penn grants the charter of the city of Philadelphia, and therein ordains, that the landing place now and hereafter used at the Penny-pot house, (Vine street,) and the Blue Anchor, (Drawbridge,) saving to all persons their just and legal rights and properties in the land so to be open; as also the swamp, between Budd's buildings and the Society Hill, shall be left open and common for the use and service of the said city and all others, with liberty to dig docks and make harbours for ships and vessels in all or any part of said swamp.

"The first house, (says R. Proud) was built by George Guest, and not finished at the time of the proprietor's arrival." This house of Guest's was in Budd's row, and was kept by him as a tavern, called the Blue Anchor—the same afterwards called the Boatswain and Call, and lately superseded by a new building as a large tobacco-house, by Garrett.

Robert Turner, in his letter of 1685 to William Penn, says, John Wheeler, from New England, is building a good brick house by the Blue Anchor—Arthur Cook is building him a brave brick house, near William Trampton's, on the Front street—and William Trampton has since built a good brick house by his brewhouse and bake-house, and let the other for an ordinary.

Mrs. Lyle, an ancient inhabitant, seen by Charles Thomson, who had come out with William Penn, said they chose to locate on the Dock creek as a place of business, because of its convenient and beautiful stream, which afforded them the means of having vessels come up close under their bakehouse, located below Second street. The ancient Mrs. Claypole too, who lived on the north side of Walnut street, east of Second street, spoke much of the beautiful prospect before their door, down a green bank to the pretty Dock creek stream.

Henry Reynolds, of Nottingham, (Md.) a public Friend, lived to the age of 94 years, and at his 84th year came to Philadelphia with his grandson Israel, who since told me of it. He there showed him an old low hipped-roof house in Front street, above the Drawbridge, (western side) at which place he said he had often cultivated corn. He said he often used to sit in a canoe in Dock creek, at the back end of that lot, (which belonged to him,) and there caught many and

excellent fish. He told him also of many occasions in which he was in the company and converse of William Penn, both before and after his leaving Chichester in England, from which said Henry came.

What is curious in the above case is, that the above-described lot of Henry Reynolds, which ran from Front to Second street quite across the creek, was at first so little regarded by him, (who had gone to his lands, of 1000 acres, at Nottingham, near the line, and deemed at the time as within Penn's province,) that he took no measures nor pains to exclude the city squatters. It was assumed by others; and the pacific principles of the owner would not allow him to contend for it. The holders had procured a fictitious title, from two maiden women of the name, in Jersey, but they were not relatives, and had made no claim! The present Israel Reynolds, of Nottingham, and other heirs, where the family is numerous, tried the case of ejectment some years ago before Judge M'Kean, who charged the jury not to allow such long unmolested possession to lapse, as a necessary means of preventing numerous other contentions; for, in truth, many of the country settlers who became entitled to corresponding city lots, so little regarded their value, as to utterly neglect them—or, at best, they leased them for a trifle for one hundred years, which they then deemed equivalent to an eternity; but which now, in several cases, I am told, is becoming an object to reclaim by unexpected heirs, or, more properly, by sordid persons with no better titles than their knowing the defects in the titles of present and long undisputed occupants.

In 1699, the only two tanyards, then in the city, were then on Dock creek, viz.: Hudson's and Lambert's, and but few houses near them; and yet, from those few houses, many died of yellow fever, communicated from Lambert, who sickened and died in two days!

"In 1704, the Grand Jury present "the bridge, going over the dock at the south end of the town," as insufficient and dangerous to man and beast. It was for a while before used as a ferry place.

In 1706, the Grand Jury again speak of the place of the bridge, saying they have viewed the same, and found the bridge had been broken down, and carried away by storm, and recommend it to be rebuilt.

They present also the wharves between Anthony Morris' brewhouse (above the bridge) and John Jones', as very injurious to the people along King street—(now Water street.)

In 1712, they again present the public kennel there as full of standing water.

In 1713, they present, as not passable, the Drawbridge (the first time so named!) at the south side of Front street, and the causeway at the end of said bridge. And again, they say, "the bridge at the dock mouth," and the causeway betwixt that and Society Hill, want repair—so also the bridge over the dock and Second street.

In 1739, the citizens present a petition that the six tanners on

dock creek shall be obliged to remove their yards out of the town, and as being nuisances and choking up the dock, which used to be navigable formerly as high as Third street. They compromise, by agreeing to pave their yards, &c., and not thereafter to burn their tan on the premises, so as to smoke the neighborhood.

In 1739, Hamilton's fine new buildings near the bridge [the same place lately bearing his name, on the north side of the dock,] took fire, and were called a great loss, as an ornament to the town—they had been used for a dancing room. They were consumed before they were finished. Only three years before, Budd's long row took fire, but was extinguished.

In 1740—A stone bridge was erected over Dock creek at Third street—the mason work done by Thomas Hallowell for £28, and the stone and lime costing £51. The original account of which, in the handwriting of Andrew Hamilton, Esq., is in my possession.

In 1741, the Grand Jury present the streets laid out along each side of the dock between Second and Third streets, as well as the said dock, as much encumbered by laying great heaps of tan therein. In High street the water-course, from the widow Harman's to the common-shore across High street, is very much gullied and dangerous. Thus intimating, as I conceive, that there was then a common-shore or landing for wood, &c., as high up Dock creek as to the corner of Fourth and High streets.

In 1742, John Budd, as heir to "Budd's long row," claims the ends of the lots bordering on the dock, and publicly proposes to convey "the whole swamp" (the present Dock street) to any who will buy his titles.

In 1747, the Grand Jury present that it is the universal complaint of all the neighbours adjacent to the dock, that a swamp, near it, for want of cleansing, &c., [by not draining along Spruce street, I presume,] has been of fatal consequence to the neighbourhood in the last summer.

In 1747—October—On a representation made to the Common Council, that "the swamp between Budd's row and Society Hill," as it now lies, is a great nuisance, and injurious to the health of those near it, it was resolved to appoint Benjamin Franklin, William Logan, &c., as a committee to consider of the best means of removing the nuisance, and of improving the said swamp—[laying along on the north side of Spruce street, where is now the city lot.] At the same time an address was moved to the proprietor on the same occasion. Afterwards, in February, 1748, the committee report, that there shall be a convenient dock of sixty feet wide as far as the said swamp extends westwards,—a branch of thirty feet wide on the south-west, and forty feet wide on the north-west, to be left open for the reception of flats, boats, and other small craft—that the remainder ought to be filled up above the side, and walled in with a stone wall, and made landing places for wood, &c.—that the said dock be dug out, so deep that the bottom may always be covered

with water—that the common sewer on the south-west branch (Little Dock street now) be continued to the dock. They further add, that the owners, adjoining to the dock, have agreed to dig out their respective shares, provided the city bear the expense of the floodgates at the several bridges.

In 1748, Secretary Peters, in writing to the proprietaries, speaks of filling up the dock swamp ground on the northern side of Spruce street, by using the ground from the neighbouring hills. As the Dock creek, by neglect, was suffered to fill up and so have its bottom exposed to the eye and to the sunbeams, it was deemed by some likely to be pernicious to health. Such physicians as were unfriendly to its continuance openly declared it pernicious. Doctor Bond, for instance, asserted that fewer ounces of bark would be used, after its filling up, than pounds before! Doctor Rush, after him, in later time, gave his influence to have it filled up, by exciting the people to an alarm for their health; for some time he stood quite unsupported. On the other hand, those who thought a stream of water, changing with the tide, an ornament to the city, (among whom Tench Francis appeared as a leader and a writer,) were strenuous in endeavouring to preserve the original creek. In the present day, we are aware that a dredge could keep it deep enough, and the rich deposit for the use of land might defray the expense.

In 1750, they present the arch over the Dock creek, on Chesnut street, as fallen down and dangerous,—and

In 1751, they present that part of Front street southward of the Drawbridge, and opposite to the city lots, as impassable for want of filling up, &c.—and

In 1753, they present Spruce street, from Front to near Second street, as impassable.

In 1753, "The Mayor and Commonalty of Philadelphia" propose to let the lot of ground of one hundred feet in breadth on the east side of Front street, north of the Drawbridge, thence two hundred and fifty feet into the river. In consequence of this, the Wardens, Commissioners, Assessors, and Overseers of the poor, at the request of the Freemen of this city, present a memorial to the Mayor and Commonalty, assembled on the 16th of February, 1753; an abstract of which reads, to wit: "That by the mutual consent of our worthy proprietary and the inhabitants, the two public landing places, at the Penny-pot house and Blue Anchor, were appointed to be left open and common, for the use of the inhabitants, and as much so as any of the streets."

"That the landing place at the Blue Anchor, was at first very large and commodious, and of much greater extent than it is at present. That in or about the year 1689, the proprietary commissioners made grants to several persons for lots on the river Delaware, which were a part of the said landing place."—

"That the Mayor and inhabitants, knowing these grants were an infraction of their rights in the same, petitioned the Governor and

Council for redress; that therefore, the said Governor and Council decreed the removal and clearance of materials from the same, so as to restore the same to the original design of a public and common landing; that therefore, the landing place remained free and open upwards of sixty years—that the charter of 1701 ordained the said landing places to be left open and common. That by long experience, the said landings appear to be of great service, affording landing for fire-wood, charcoal, bark, timber, boards, stones. That the inhabitants are much dissatisfied with the proposal to let the said landing place on ground-rent for ever, and therefore hope they will rescind their Resolutions to let the same." It was not let.

In 1764 the Common Council resolve to build a fish-market, "for the purpose of filling up the vacancy between the new stone bridge on Front street and the wooden bridge on King street, (Water street.) The stone bridge was built the year preceding. About this time parts of Front and Water streets were paved. The same building which was the fish market was standing, in altered condition, as a store until lately. It was raised chiefly by subscription.

The present aged Colonel A. J. Morris told me he remembered, in his youth, seeing men digging for the foundation of the Second street bridge over Dock creek, to make a bridge of stone. There he saw the Irish diggers rejoicing, and saying they had dug up pure Irish turf! He saw lumps, from a great depth, having a congeries of black roots. This agrees with the fact of having to drive piles for the Insurance Office on the north-east corner, and also with the fact of having to dig seventeen feet for the foundation of F. West's house in Dock street, where, at twelve to thirteen feet, they came to complete turf.

1667.—The Walnut street and Third street bridges, across the Dock creek, existed as late as this time, because both are publicly referred to then, in relation to a bill of sale for ground there. Very lately, too, remains of the Third street bridge were found under ground in digging near Girard's Bank.

The aged Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Congress, told me he remembered an acquaintance who came out at the first settlement with Penn, and wintered his vessel at the lower part of Dock harbour, as a security against the ice. He also told me that he had, himself, seen sloops and schooners loading and unloading flour, grain, &c., in all the length of Dock creek, up to Second street bridge. The foot-pavements of Dock street are much higher now than then, probably as much as four to five feet. Some of the old houses lately in Dock street would prove this, by going down steps to the first floor, where they originally were up a step or two above ground. The making a great tunnel through Dock creek, and filling up so much earth, was a labour of great magnitude, in the year 1784, when it was executed. Tanyards on Third street, south of Girard's Bank, adjacent to Dock creek, remained there until a few years ago, resting full three feet lower than the level of Third street.

I am much indebted to the intelligence and observation of the late Samuel Richards, a long resident of "Budd's row," for his accurate knowledge of facts and occurrences in his neighbourhood. He was a silversmith—of the Society of Friends—died in September, 1827, in his 59th year. I connect his communications with the following facts, to wit:

Budd's row was formerly ten houses in all. Five houses on the west side of Front street nearest to the Drawbridge, on the north end, were built first; then five more in continuation and further north. They were the first built houses in Philadelphia—(that is, the first five; and the "sixth house," was the house, now down, the second door north of Walnut street, on the west side of Front street.) The houses of Budd's row were all two stories, were first framed of heavy timber and filled with bricks; the wood, however, was concealed, and only showed the lintels or plate pieces over the windows and doors, which were covered with mouldings; the uprights for windows and doors were grooved into that cross timber, and looked like ordinary door and window-frames. The whole buildings were founded under ground on a layer of sap slab-boards, and yet, strange to tell, when some of them were taken up, twenty-two years ago, by Richards, to build his present three-story brick house, No. 136, they were all hard and sound; but after a week's exposure to the sun and air, crumbled into dust!

This "row" of houses was so much lower than the present Front street, that for many years (I remember it) the paved carriage-street was from three to four feet higher towards the Drawbridge than the foot-pavement along the row, and, therefore, there was at the gutter-way a wall of defence, to keep the pebble-pavement from falling in on the foot-pavement, and a line of post and handrail also protected it. At the south end of the foot-pavement, to ascend up into Dock street, there was a flight of four steps and a handrail—this was before the old tavern, then called the Boatswain and Call, but which was originally Guest's "Blue Anchor," the first built house in Philadelphia, and where William Penn first landed from Chester.

The houses numbered 126 and 128, were the only houses lately remaining of the original row, and they were of the second row. They had heavy girders exposed along the ceiling overhead, and have had their lower floors raised, and they are still below the street; they were very respectable looking houses, now modernised with large bulk windows. The whole row of ten houses went up to the "stone house" of Andrew Doe, now plastered over. All the houses once had leaden framed windows, of diagonal squares, and all the cellars were paved, and used to have water in them occasionally.

The houses on the east side of Front street, too, of the first day, were all lower than the street, and had also a wall of defence; the descent of Front street began at the "stone house" on the west; and on the east side as high up as the present high observatory house—(probably the tenth house from the present south end.) Morris' malthouse was there, and his brewhouse was on the east side of Water street. In one of these the Baptists, in 1700, kept their Meeting.

Dock street was left open, forming a square (oblong) at the Draw-

bridge, so as to be dug out, down to Spruce street, for ships; but while it was in a state of whortleberry swamp (or unchanged from that, its original state,) old Benjamin Loxley, who died in 1801, at the age of 82, filled it up, when a young man, for his board-yard. Old John Lownes (who lived in Budd's row) told Richards that he often gathered whortleberries in the swamp, on the north side of Spruce street. He and others told Richards too, that Dock creek, before directed out under the present bridge, used more naturally, or at least equally so, to go out to the river across Spruce, west of Front street, and then traversed Water street, north of Sims' house.

Samuel Richards, when digging down the old cellar to lay a deeper foundation to build his present house, (No. 136,) at the depth of ten feet, came to the root or stump of a tree, eighteen inches in diameter, and in its roots, at their junction with the stump, he found a six-pound cannon ball, of which he made me a present; it was not imbedded, but appeared to have been shot into the cluster of roots.

At the house, No. 132, Front street, where John Crowley lately lived, which was built up in 1800, and Budd's house taken down, for Judge Mark Wilcox, near the first cellar wall, and deeper than the first foundation, (below the slabs,) they came to an entire box of white pipes! Richards saw them.

Richards' father, and others, often told him that tidewaters used to go as high up Little Dock street water as to St. Peter's church. The tunnel now goes there in the old bed, and under the lot which was Parson Duché's house. They also told Richards, that when Penn first came to the city, he came in a boat from Chester, and landed at Guest's Blue Anchor tavern—this was an undoubted tradition, and was then, no doubt, the easiest means of transportation or travelling. [Guest was a Friend, and was in the first Assembly.] When Richards was a boy (and before his time) the Blue Anchor was kept by three Friends in succession—say, Rees Price, Peter Howard, and Benjamin Humphreys—they told of Penn's landing there.

In rebuilding Garrett's house, on the site of the Blue Anchor inn, they had to drive piles thirty to forty feet deep to get a solid foundation; they cost $800. [Does not this indicate a much deeper original creek in Dock street than is generally remembered!]

A foot-bridge used to cross Dock creek, from the west end of Garrett's stores, (on the south end of Dock street,) over to near Hollingworth's stone house. It was a bridge with handrails, and was very high to permit vessels to pass under it.

In the cellar door area of Levi Hollingsworth's stone house, there was formerly a very celebrated spring, which was much resorted to; and John Townsend, when aged 78, an uncle of Richards, told me he often drank excellent water from it—it still exists, and is covered over in Hollingsworth's cellar. Formerly there was a frame house directly in front of the stone house—both were owned by William Brown, a noted public Friend.

A little north of this spring stood a high mast-pole, surmounted at the top with what was called "the nine-gun battery," being a triangle, on each angle of which were three wooden guns, with their tomkins in, &c.

Isaac Vannost was a pumpmaker, and this was his sign; before his yard lay many pine logs floating in the dock.

The lots appertaining to Budd's row all run out to Dock street, and now one of the ancient houses remain there, a two-story brick; which is three feet below the pavement.

Mr. Menzies, a watchmaker, at the south-west corner of Spruce and Front streets, and Paul Freno, a neighbour, told me that Loxley told them, that about thirty years ago, at digging the pump-well in Spruce street, before B. Graves' door, the diggers dug into something like the stern part of a vessel, and that the blue earth which came up, when dried and put to the fire, inflamed like gunpowder, which he believed it was. Menzies seemed to discredit this; but Freno believed, and so did the sisters of Loxley, (son of the old Captain Loxley,) whom I consulted, and who said they saw the blue earth, and heard it said that it would inflame.

These stories, being somewhat current, induced a belief that when Graves, some sixteen years ago, took down the old buildings along Spruce street there, to rebuild his present three houses, that he should probably find some remains of a vessel, and also that it would prove a boggy foundation. He, therefore, prepared large flat stones to found his foundation upon; but, to his surprise, it was not necessary, and he found at a proper depth good sand. But as the imagination was active, some of the workmen, whom I saw, told me they had actually come to the deck of a vessel! But I am satisfied it was merely the remains of a kind of tanyard, which had sunk hogsheads and such slender vats for lime-pits, as Mr. Graves assured me he was satisfied they were. Some of the boards there they took for a deck!

There is direct evidence that the river came, in some early day, up Spruce street, probably to Little Dock street, because all the houses on the south side of Spruce street have now to have very shallow cellars, and as high up as P. Freno's house, No. 28, (three doors west of Graves') water still occasionally overflows his shallow cellar. Graves' cellars are all very shallow. The houses on both sides of Front street, below Spruce street, to the fifth house on the west, and to the sixth house on the east, have all water in their cellars, and some have sink wells, and others have wells and pumps in them. The bakehouse, No. 146, (an old house on the west side,) is now emptied every morning of some water, and the house at the south-east corner of Spruce and Front streets is pumped out every day. None of these houses on the east side of Front street have any privies in their cellars, because of the inability to dig them there. The house on the east side of Water street, No. 135, at the corner of the first alley below Spruce street, has a drain, running down that alley (Waln's) to the river. It was discovered by Mr. P. Freno, thirty years ago, while he lived there; he told me he found the pebble pavement to cave in just in front of the sill of his cellar door, and he had the curiosity to dig down to it: at two feet below the cellar level, he found a wooden trunk of two and a half feet square, somewhat decayed; before he came to it, he could distinctly hear the flapping of fish in it from the river; he believed it traversed Water street, and was an original drain from the dock water in Front street, &c. Others persons tell me that that alley has since several times caved in and been filled up, but with-

out digging down to examine the cause. I expect the wharf has now cut off the drain.

Mr. Freno told me, that in laying the water pipes they found in Spruce street, near Graves', small brick tunnels, as if intended for drains originally from the houses; and at the corner of Spruce and Front streets there appear two or three drains of flat stones, inclining towards the river. At about the sixth house in Front below Spruce street, the *gravel hill* of Society Hill begins to show itself in digging to lay the water pipes.

Mrs. Jones, and Mrs. Reese, daughters of old Captain Benjamin Loxley, who died in 1801, at 82 years of age, related to me that they were told by their father, that when he built the row of three three-story brick houses in which they dwell, called Loxley's Court, (probably one hundred and thirty feet back from the south side of Spruce street) he built it near the margin of Society Hill, and there were then no houses in advance of him on Spruce street, as there are now. His court yard, now of thirty feet depth, in which used to be a fine green bank and beautiful fruit trees, (which the British cut down,) went to the extreme margin of the original swamp ground. His houses were cut into the hill, for the garden of his house in the rear is full five feet higher than the front lot yard.

He told his daughters that all the open square on the north side of Spruce street, from Front up to Little Dock street, he had filled up at great expense, and with many thousand loads of earth, for the use of the area for a term of years for a lumber yard. (I find he advertises lumber there for sale in 1755.) He told them it was all a whortleberry swamp before he began to fill it up.

He told them he had gone in a boat up the south-west branch of the dock water, in high tides, up as high as Union and Third streets.

He told them he had heard Whitfield preach from the balcony of his house, No. 177 south Second street, at the corner of Little Dock street, and that there was a spring open then opposite, at the foot of a rising ground, on the lot where Captain Cadwallader lived, and where Girard has since built four large houses. He had to drive piles to make the foundation over the spring. Samuel Coates confirmed this same fact to me of the spring, and Whitfield's preaching there.

Some amusing traits of old Captain Loxley's usefulness as an artillery man, to defend the city against the Paxtang boys, is told by Graydon in his memoirs. He was made a lieutenant of artillery, in 1756, on the alarm of Braddock's defeat the year before.

Mr. Thomas Wood told me he remembered Dock street water—the sides of the water passage were all of hewn stone, and had several steps occasionally down to the water. He remembered several tanyards on the western side, near to the southern end, viz: Morris', Rutherford's, Snowden's; and next to these was Isaac Vannost's pump and block shop, having many pine logs laying before it in the water.

At Thomas Shield's house, No. 13 Dock street, in digging for a foundation, they came to a regular hearth and chimney; the hearth

lay one and a half feet below spring tide mark. It might be questioned whether tides rose so high formerly as before.

The streets verging to Dock street had formerly a very considerable descent—thus down Walnut street from Third street, was once a hill, and the same could be said of its going down hill from Walnut street towards Girard's Bank. Where little Dock street joins to Second street some of the houses, still there, show that the street has been raised above them fully four feet; there was originally a hollow there.

Mr. Samuel Richards told me he saw the laying of the first tunnel (in 1784) along the line of Dock creek—it is laid on logs framed together and then planked, and thus the semicircular arch rests upon that base. He thinks nothing remarkable was seen or dug out, as they did not go deeper than the loose mire required. He said boys were often drowned there before it was filled up. Much of the earth used in filling it up was drawn from Pear street hill, and from Society Hill—from that part of it which lay on the west side of Front street, between Lombard and South streets. It was there ten feet higher than the present street. While digging there the bank fell in and smothered four boys in their play.

An old bakehouse, at the south-west corner of Dock and Second streets, of large size, was occupied by Middleton in war times; and *there* a friend of mine has seen shallops bring flour—they had falling masts to pass under the Second street bridge. Another bakehouse was just below Second street, on the east side, and is mentioned, because it was *celebrated then* for baking *family dishes.* The dock was then bare at low tide.

Floods at the corner of Fourth and High streets were frequent. Houses near the corner had cellar drains, and guard walls before cellar windows two or three feet high; even the doors had a sliding board to fit tight to exclude floods. All this was indispensable before the tunnel was made, and proves the *natural* rush of waters along "the deep valley," *once* there, and along the Dock creek, down to Chestnut and Third streets. On the 1st July, 1842, a sudden and heavy rain, which could not find sufficient passage in the culvert, there flooded all the basement stores of the buildings at the north-west corner of Fourth and High streets.

An elderly gentleman has given me his recollections and opinions of Dock creek, and what he deems sufficient reason for filling it up and leaving only a tunnel there. He says, "few people at the time regretted the dock being arched over; a dredge would have had constant employ. It was bare at half tide; at high water great patches of green mud floated on it. The fish kept out of it, except suckers, and they soon floated belly up, *gasping.* Several privies are still emptied into it. Raynal's "European Settlement" gives a description of the dock as "a beautiful stream, bordered with rows of trees, and between the trees benches." As early as he could remember, it was a nuisance from Walnut street to the river. A few refugee

whale boats (prizes) used to be in it, which were used by the boys. I have been in one of them under the arch from Walnut street towards Third street, covered over before my time. Towards the end of the war, a large number of the boys embodied and had regular parades on Saturdays. They formed a kind of fortification in the dock, near the end of Pear street, by raising the mud so as to be above the usual high water, mounted with cannon, of which many an old fashioned pewter dish and plate formed the metal. When the dock was arched over from Walnut street to the drawbridge, there were several openings left in different places. One, I well remember, thirty or forty feet from the north-east corner of Dock and Second. It was four or five feet square, and had a strong plank cover on hinges. The raising this door, and letting it suddenly fall, was a great amusement to the boys, and became an annoyance to the neighbourhood. It sounded loud as a cannon; they were closed when Dock street was paved over. For making the arch, two large logs were bedded in the mud, and on them a stone wall was built two or three feet, and then the arch of brick. The floor was of thick pine plank, or sleepers of the same, and made dishing. The old arch, from Walnut to Third street, was not, I think, disturbed. From Third it was continued to Fourth street, and then brought down from High street to join it, and another branch went up to the jail wall, passing under a house near Fifth, afterwards built by B. W. Morris. In the middle of Dock street, nearly in a range with the alley on the south side of the Bank of Pennsylvania, was a sink hole fenced round. It was there Governeur Morris met with the accident which cost him his leg. He was driving in his phaeton, and ran against the posts of the sink and upset, and broke his leg. He was carried to a house close by, and had his leg amputated with great courage and composure, holding his own leg with both hands, and saying, 'make haste, gentlemen.' The arch gave way not long after it was finished, between Second and Walnut streets, but was soon repaired. I believe that was the only place in the new arch." [In 1830 it required to be repaired twice near there, say exactly in the centre of Walnut and Dock streets.]

The Merchants' Exchange being now an edifice of grandeur, and of general public interest, I have set down some special facts concerning it.

In digging for the foundation of the new Exchange, to build which they took down several brick houses, they came beneath their foundations to the remains of numerous tan vats, in sound condition; saw the traces of a run or brook leading into Dock creek. The vegetable remains in it had formed a kind of peat, which was capable of burning. An old stone was found with an inscription of *a name and date*, which has been worked into the wall in the cellar of the Exchange, and may be seen.

In the time of my youth its site was wholly occupied, except for necessary yards, by newly built three storied brick houses, at the

triangular corner formed at the south-easternmost end, with bulk windows, and showy, for stores and dwellings, (never in much repute as stands,) and about four houses on Walnut street, finished as merchants' warehouses, with hoisting tackle, &c., outside. The houses from *thence* along Walnut to Third street were good creditable brick three-storied houses, built before my observation. The corner house, at the north-east corner of Third and Walnut streets, was a very good looking house. The buildings along Third street, up to Dock street, were small two-storied frames, very old; when originally built, were on *a descending hill*, or inclined plane, down to the original Dock creek, except that at the north-west corner of Third and Dock streets, where now stands M'Gowan's three-storied brick wine store, there was before, an old brick house, pretty good, of two stories. Along Dock street there was a yard and fence from that corner house to the next house, a three-storied brick tavern, by Gebler, and then again a yard and fence, being the rear yards of two houses on Walnut street, from it to the next six houses in the aforesaid line of new houses on Dock street to the south-easternmost corner.

The new exchange was estimated to cost 160,000 dollars for its building. The area of its ground cost 75,000 dollars by the purchase of the stockholders, and subject to 1375 dollars a year in ground rents, (the probable *first value* of the ground, when first taken up for original buildings.) Now, it is estimated to produce in rents 15,000 dollars a year.

The whole of the Dock street side of the area was *originally* taken up, and used for numerous years, as a collection of tanyards; and considerable of their remains, (such as posts, rail fence, &c.,) could be traced in the yards, when digging down for the foundations and cellars of the Exchange. There is some entertainment to the mind, when, in contemplating the present marble edifice, to consider *its former* state and character; and also, to contemplate, in comparison, the smallness *now* of the once *big* "Old London Coffee House," at the south-west corner of Front and High streets.

Some of the houses built along Dock street, about the time of the revolution, as then seen by my informant, were constructed of logs at the bottom, and the frame work filled in with stone and mortar, to prevent their sinking more than ten or twelve inches afterwards.

THE OLD COURT HOUSE AND FRIENDS' MEETING.

The old Court House, long divested of its original honours by being appropriated during the years of the present generation to the humble purposes of offices and lumber rooms for city watchmen and clerks of the markets, &c., had long been regarded by many as a rude and undistinguished edifice.

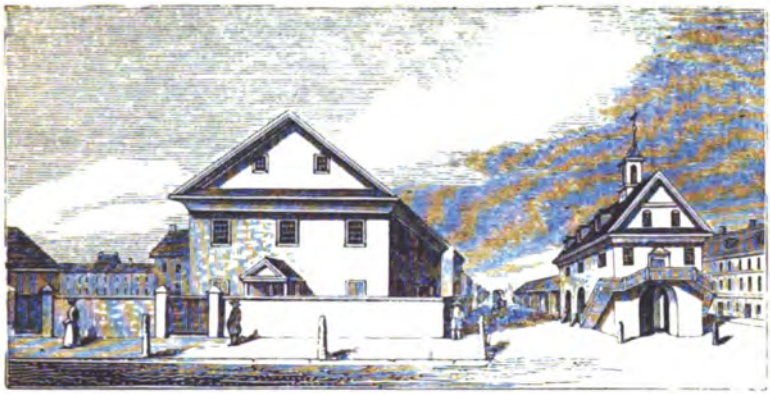
But this structure, diminutive and ignoble as it may have appeared to our modern conceptions, was the *chef-d'œuvre* and largest endeavour of our pilgrim fathers. Assessments, gifts and fines, were all combined to give it the amplitude of the "Great Towne House," or "Guild Hall," as it was occasionally at first called. In the then general surrounding waste, (having a duck pond on its northern aspect,) it was deemed no ill-graced intrusion to place it in the middle of the intended unencumbered and wide street;—an exception, however, to which it became in early days exposed, by pamphlets, pasquinades, &c., eliciting on one occasion "the second (angry) address of Andrew Marvell," &c.

Before its erection, in 1707, its place was the honoured site of the great town bell, erected upon a mast, whence royal and provincial proclamations, &c., were announced. That bell, the centenary incumbent of the cupola, could it rehearse its former doings, might, to our ears, "a tale unfold" of times and incidents by-gone, which might wonder-strike our citizens!—

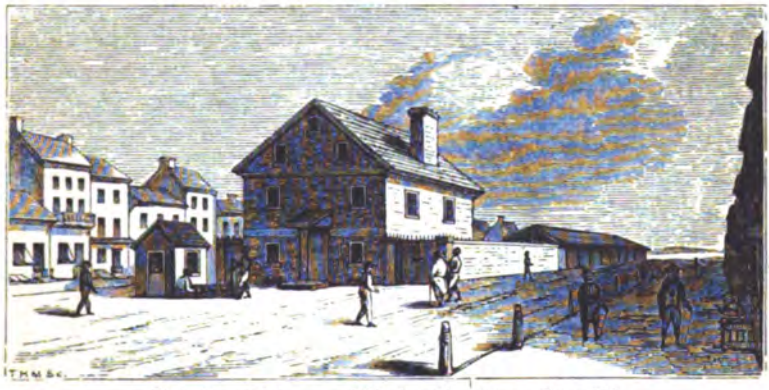
> 'Twould tell of things so old, "that history's pages
> Contain no records of its early ages!"

Among the relics which I have preserved of this building, is a picturesque view, as it stood in primitive times, having a pillory, prison cage, &c. on its eastern side, and the "Great Meeting house" of Friends on the south, secluded within its brick wall-enclosure, on ground bestowed by the Founder "for truth's and Friends' sake." I have, too, an original MS. paper giving in detail the whole expenses of the structure, and the payments, "by the penny tax," received for the same, and showing, in that day, a loss of "old currency" of one-third, to reduce it to new,—and withal, presenting a curious exhibit of the prices of materials and labour in that early day—such as bricks at 29s. 6d. per m., and bricklaying at 14s. per m., making, in all, an expense of £616. Samuel Powell, who acquired so much wealth by city property, was the carpenter.

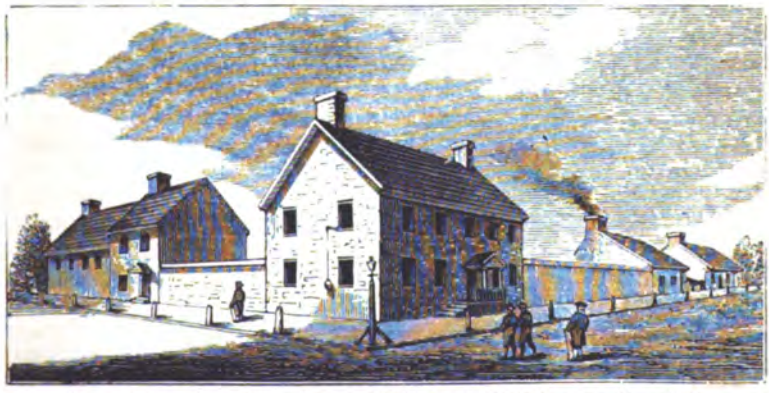
The window casements were originally constructed with little panes set in leaden frames—and the basement story, set on arches, had one corner for an auction room, and the remainder was occupied



Old Court House and Friends Meeting.—Page 350.



High Street Prison, and Market Shambles.—Page 356.



Stone Prison, South West Corner of Third and High Streets.—Page 360.

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by the millers and their meal, and by the linen and stocking makers from Germantown. Without the walls on the western side stood some moveable shambles, until superseded, in 1720, by a short brick market house.

The meal market was kept afterwards at the end next Third street. It was built something like the under part of the old court house. It was pulled down and made uniform with the other part of the market.

We have long since transferred our affections and notices to its successor, the now celebrated "Hall of Independence," (i. e. our present State-house,) now about to revive its fame under very cheering auspices,—but, this Town House was once the National Hall of legislation and legal learning. In its chambers sat our Colonial Assemblies; there they strove nobly and often for the public weal; opposing themselves against the royal prerogatives of the Governors; and though often defeated in their enactments by royal vetos or the Board of Trade, returning to their efforts under new forms and titles of enactments, till they worried kingly or proprietary power into acquiescence or acknowledgment. Within those walls were early cherished those principles of civil liberty, which, when matured, manifested themselves in the full spirit of our national Independence. Here David Lloyd and Sir William Keith agitated the Assemblies as leaders of the opposition, combining and plotting with their colleagues, and forming cabals that were not for the good of the people nor for the proprietaries. Here Isaac Norris was almost perpetually President, being, for his popularity and excellence, as necessary an appendage of colonial enactments as was the celebrated Abram Newland to the paper currency of England. Here came the Governors in state to make their "speeches." On some occasions they prepared here great feasts to perpetuate and honour such rulers, making the tables, on which they sometimes placed their squibs and plans of discord, become the festive board of jocund glee and happy union. From the balcony in front, the newly arrived or installed Governors made their addresses to the cheering populace below. On the steps, depending formerly from the balcony on either side, tussled and worried the fretted Electors; ascending by one side to give in their votes at the door at the balcony, and thence descending southward on the opposite side. On the adjacent ground occurred "the bloody Election" of 1742—a time when the sailors, coopers, &c., combined to carry their candidates by exercise of oaken clubs, to the great terror and scandal of the good citizens—when some said Judge Allen set them on, and others that they were instigated by young Emlen; but the point was gained—to drive "the Norris partisans" from "the stairs," where, as they alleged, they "for years kept the place," to the exclusion of other voters. I have in my possession several caricatures, intended to traduce and stigmatize the leaders in those days. Two of them, of about the year 1765, give the Election groupes at the stairs and in the street; and appended

to the grotesque pictures, pro and con, are many verses:—One is called "the Election Medley and Squire Lilliput," and the other is "the Counter Medley and Answer to the Dunces." In these we see many of the ancestors of present respectable families portrayed in ludicrous and lampooned characters. Now the combatants all rest in peace, and if the scandal was revived, it would be much more likely to amuse than to offend the families interested. Then arrests, indictments and trials ensued for the inglorious "riot," which kept "the towne" in perpetual agitation! A still greater but better disposed crowd surrounded that balcony, when Whitfield, the eloquent pulpit orator, stirred and affected the hearers, raising his voice "to be readily heard by boatmen on the Delaware!"—"praising faith," and "attacking works," and good Bishop Tillotson; and incensing the papists among us greatly. The Friends, in many instances, thought him "not in sober mood"—and, among themselves, imputed much of his influence on the minds of the unstable "to priestcraft, although in himself a very clever conversable man." From the same stand, stood and preached one Michael Welfare, "one of the Christian philosophers of Conestoga," having a linen hat, a full beard, and his pilgrim staff, declaring himself sent to announce the vengeance of the Almighty against the guilty province! and selling his "warning voice" for 4d.

Such were the various uses to which this Town House was appropriated, until the time of "the new State House, erected in 1735; after which, this before venerated hall was supplanted and degraded to inferior purposes; but long, very long, it furnished the only chambers for the courts of the province. There began the first lawyers to tax their skill to make "the worst appear the better cause,"—enrolling on its first page of fame the names of David Lloyd, Samuel Herset, Mr. Clark, Patrick Robinson, the renter of the first "hired prison," and Mr. Pickering, for aught we now know, the early counterfeiter. Then presided judges "quite scrupulous to take or administer oaths," and "some, for conscience sake," refusing Penn their services after their appointment. In aftertimes John Ross and Andrew Hamilton divided the honours of the bar—the latter, in 1735, having gone to New York to manage the cause of poor Zenger, the persecuted printer, (by the Governor and Council there,) gave such signal satisfaction to the city rulers and people, that the corporation conferred on him the freedom of the city, in an elegant golden snuff-box, with many classical allusions. Descending in the scale to later times, and before the Revolution, we find such names, there schooled to their future and more enlarged practice, as Wilson, Sergeant, Lewis, Edward Biddle, George Ross, Reed, Chew, Galloway, &c. This last had much practice—became celebrated in the war for his union to Sir William Howe when in Philadelphia, suffered the confiscation of his estate, and, when in England, wrote publicly to disparage the inefficient measures of his friend the general, in subduing "the unnatural rebellion" of his

countrymen. These men have long since left their renown and "gone to their reward," leaving only, as a connecting link with the bar of the present day, such men as the late Judge Peters and William Rawle, Esq., to give us passing recollections of what they may have seen most conspicuous and interesting in their manners or characters as public pleaders.

Finally, "the busy stir of man," and the rapid growth of the "busy mart," has long since made it a necessary remove of business from the old court house. Surrounding commerce has "choked up the loaded street with foreign plenty." But, while we discard the venerable pile from its former ennobling services, let us strive to cherish a lively remembrance of its departed glory, and with it associate the best affections due to our pilgrim ancestors—though disused, not forgotten.

The following facts will serve still further to enlarge and illustrate the leading history of the building, to wit:

High street, since called Market street, was never intended for a market place by Penn. Both it and the court house, and all public buildings, as we are told by Oldmixon, were intended to have been placed at the Centre square. When the court house was actually placed at Second and High streets, it was complained of by some as an infraction of the city scheme, and as marring its beauty. Proud calls it and the market buildings "a shameful and inconvenient obstruction."

In the year 1705 the Grand Inquest resolved to recommend a tax of 1d. per £. to be levied, to build a court house on pillars where the bell now stands. They also before present the market place as a receptacle for much rainwater. On another occasion they present a dirty place in Second street over against the "Great Meeting-house," and a low dirty place in High street over against the free pump, near Doctor Hodgson's house.

As early as the year 1684, (1st of 2d mo.,) William Penn and council determined there should be a Provincial Court, of five judges, to try all criminal cases, and titles to land, and to be a Court of Equity, to decide all differences upon appeals from the county courts. Soon after the first judges were appointed, to wit: Nicholas Moore, Chief Justice; William Welsh, William Wood, Robert Turner and John Eckley.

In the year 1717, the court house being then ten years built, the Grand Jury present the county and city court house as very scandalous for want of being finished; and whereas the several sums heretofore raised, for bridges, &c., have not been enough, they recommend a further tax, for those objects and to complete the court house, of 1d. per £.

In the year 1736, Mr. Abel Noble preached, on Monday, from the court house steps, to a large congregation standing in Market street, on the subject of keeping the Sabbath. In the same year Michael Welfare appeared there to give his "warning voice."

What was done by the celebrated Whitfield in his way will be found under his proper name.

In the year 1740, the Gazette describes "the customary feast at the court house, at the expiration of the Mayoralty," at which were present—the Governor and council, the corporation, and many of the citizens.

In 1742, on the vacation of the office of "Public Vendue, formerly held under the court house in Second street," John Clifton proposes to pay for it £110 and Reese Meredith proposes to give £100 per annum, to be allowed to enjoy the privilege.* This office seems to have been in the north-west corner. The general vacancy was a meal market; and in the south-east corner, in Timothy Matlack's time, they had a temporary prison under the steps;† the north-east corner, in T. Bradford's early days, was the stocks. Both of these were under the stairs on Second street, depending on either side from the balcony over the arch, making an angle at the corner, so as to land the people in High street.

On page 328 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society is an original manuscript, showing the first cost of materials, &c., employed in the construction of the court house, to wit: £616.

The aged Robert Venables, a black man who died in 1834, aged 98, told me he remembered all the courts there, and such Judges as John Kinsey, Growden, William Allen, Stedman, &c.—and also such lawyers there as Ross, Molden, Francis, and John Kinsey the Judge. These were deemed the first in character. Old Lawyer Hamilton figured before his time, but was called great and acute. He told a story of his cunning in saving a criminal who had stolen a hog and was *seen* in the act by the owner. He got the felon to bring him *half* of the animal quickly, and then he testified in court against the evidence of the seer, that *he mistook* the man "for he had no more of the hog than he had!" Such a story, more at large, *rung* his fame among the commonalty.

This primitive building was demolished in March and April 1837, with far less expressions of regret, than could have been wished. Some few wrote against the measure in the public journals, but they were only ridiculed by the unpoetic and sordid *utilitarians*. Americans—as a people, have few or no sympathies with the antique and venerable. They, however, like well enough whatever is imposing in grandeur, costliness and show. To show out in *greater things*, they are willing to demolish any thing associated with the memory of their forefathers. It seems to give much more general satisfaction to sit as worshippers in *new* and *splendid* churches, where their vanity and self-importance may be felt and indulged, than to assemble in any ancient Temple, where they may contemplate the re-

* The vendue room in the north-west corner, was rented by Council to Patrick Baird, in 1730, at £8 per annum.

† This place under the steps, in Second street, was originally constructed by an order of the City Council, of the year 1711, "for a shop, to be let out to the best advantage."

membrance of a long line of forefathers, as once the occupants of the same seats, and the active vocal worshippers, within the same walls. Exactly the same love of *new* and *splendid*, induces families to change all their furniture every few years, for newer fashions. This however is a passion of modern years only. Before the year 1800, none ever dreamed of any change, even in a whole life, not even among the rich. Even the plain, unchanging Friends, have been "pulling down to build greater;" and only Christ church remains in internal structure a relic of the olden time. Yet hardly so either; for it has lately changed its former brick *paved* aisles, for boarded and carpeted passages;—its straight high-backed seats are also changed;—and its old organ is supplanted by another, of modern fabric.

All these reflections have been induced, by the fact of the demolition just now of the old Court house in High street. It was vain in me to try to resist its fall—it had been too long degraded to inferior purposes, and therefore lost its former characteristics in the consideration of the mass of the people. Some lament its fall! but they are *only some*. I might mention a fact to show how little sympathy I might expect to excite by whining or fretting about a contrary spirit in others, to my own. One of my nearest and dearest friends, who has often expressed a sincere gratification at any occasional public approval of my olden time affection and researches, has been so unconscious of *the loss* of "the venerable Towne house and Guild hall" as to have actually passed the place of destruction and removal twice or thrice within two or three days, and *never missed the absent Towne Hall!* It makes me smile while I write, to think how very blank that friend looked, when I inquired how *the area looked* since the demolition! [I have preserved some of the wood of its steeple and joist.]

"*The Great Meeting House*" *of Friends*, at the south-west corner of Second and High streets, was originally constructed in 1695; and "great" as it was in the ideas of the primitive population, it was taken down in 1755, to build greater. That, in time, became so shut in, and disturbed by the street-noise of increased population, that it was deemed expedient to sell off the premises, in the year 1808, and construct the large Meeting on their Arch street ground.

This "Market street Meeting," as it was often called, had its original lot through the gift of George Fox, "for truth's and Friends' sake," he giving at the same time the lot at Fairhill for a like purpose. His idea was, that it might be located in the centre of the town, and have as much as two acres as a ground to put their horses in! The land itself was due to him under some promise of William Penn, and it is known that Penn was reluctant to have it chosen where it was, saying he was not consulted on the occasion by his commissioners, &c. In the final sale of it, for the present dozen houses which stand upon the original site along High street and Second street, it produced a large sum of money to the Society.

The first meeting-house was surmounted on the centre of its four-

angled roof, by a raised frame of glass work, so constructed as to pass light down into the Meeting below, after the manner of the former Burlington meeting-house.

The few facts concerning this house, in some instances, have fallen into other portions of this work. Only one anecdote remains to offer here: When the Friends were rebuilding in 1755–6, for the purpose of enlargement, one Davis, who had been expelled, seeing the work progressing, waggishly observed to the overseers:—"Only continue to weed the garden well, and you may yet find room enough!" At another time the poll parrot belonging to the adjoining house in High street, came into the meeting, calling out "Hannah Roberts, poll wants her breakfast!" She had been neglected, and sought her mistress *there.*

HIGH STREET PRISON AND MARKET SHAMBLES.

"The gloomy jail where misery moans,—
Spotted with all crimes."————

In primitive days, when culprits were few, and society simple and sincere, the first prisons were small and of but slender materials. There was at first a small cage for offenders—next a hired house with bars and fetters—then a brick prison on the site of the present Jersey market, fronting towards the old court house, at one hundred feet of distance. The facts are these, viz:

Year 1682—16th of 11 mo.—The Council ordered that William Clayton, one of the Provincial Council, should build a cage against the next council-day, of seven feet long by five feet broad.

1685—The High Sheriff declared in court, that the hired house of Patrick Robinson, [the clerk of the Provincial Council, &c.,] used by him as a prison, was refitting, and that, with the fetters and chains, &c., and his own attendance and deputies, he has a sufficient gaol; and if any escapes occurred he would not blame the county, for want of a gaol, nor for the insufficiency of said house; whereupon, at the request of said Robinson, the yearly rent began this day for said house.

It became a matter of curiosity in modern times to learn the primitive site of such a hired prison. No direct testimony could be found; but several facts establish the idea that it occupied the ground on the western side of Second street, between High street and the Christ Church—for instance, Mr. C. Graff, the present owner of the house on the north-west corner of Second and High streets, (the premises first owned by Arthur Cook,) has a patent of the year 1684

which speaks of the prison on his northern line, to wit: "I, William Penn, proprietary, &c. Whereas, there is a certain lott of land in said city, containing in breadth fifty feet, and in length one hundred and two feet, bounded northward with the prison, eastward with the Second street, southward with the High street, westward with a vacant lott, &c."—Then grants the same to Arthur Cook, by patent dated "6 mo. 14th, 1684.—Signed William Penn."

The foregoing prison is confirmed by some modern facts:—Some years ago, when pulling down an old house which stood upon Second street, on the site on which S. North, druggist, built the house No. 14, north Second street, they discovered the party walls, as they supposed, of the old jail—it was of four inch poplar plank, dove-tailed at the corners. Old Isaac Parrish, who told this and witnessed the disclosure, was pleased to add, that as he was showing it to Judge M'Kean, the latter remarked:—Times are changed indeed—formerly wood was sufficient for confinement; but now, stone itself is no match for the rogues! On searching the original patent for North's lot, it appears to have been granted by Penn on the 1st of December, 1688, and makes no reference to a prison. Mr. North has informed me that in digging along the northern line of his yard he has found, under ground, a very thick stone wall, such as might have been a prison wall.

As late as the year 1692, we have facts to evince that there was a prison held within a private dwelling-house,—for, at that time it appears in George Keith's Journal, that William Bradford, the first printer, and John Macomb, were then its inmates, for Keithien measures, and they refusing to give securities in their case, Keith says, their opponents pretended they were not so imprisoned, but that he, to make out an affecting story for them, went to the porch of the prison to sign and date a paper of complaint against the Quakers, just as if he had been its inmate! To repel this, he adduces the paper of their Samuel Jennings, to show that he there admits that they, Bradford and Macomb, "signed a paper from the prison, when they signed it in the entry common to the prison and the next house." Thus evincing, as I presume, that in the hired house of Patrick Robinson, the prison was held on one side of a common entry, and the family lived on the other side of it. George Keith proceeds to say, that the real facts were, that as Bradford and Macomb were delayed to be brought to trial, the jailer, after some time, granted them "the favour to go home,—and, as they were still prisoners, when they wished to petition for their trial at the next sessions, they then went to the prison to write and sign it there; but it happened the jailer was gone abroad and had the key of the prison with him; so, as they could not get in, they signed that paper in the entry or porch!" Such was the simple character and state of the first prison used in Philadelphia. Something more formidable is about to be told of the

Prison on High street, to wit:—It seems that something more

imposing than the hired house was desired as early as the year 1685, and was afterwards, from time to time, laid aside, till its execution about the year 1695.

In 1685, the Court of Quarter Sessions receives a report on the subject of building a prison, to wit: Samuel Carpenter, H. Murray, and Nathaniel Allen, &c., report that they have treated with workmen about the many qualities and charges of a prison, and have advised with Andrew Griscomb, carpenter, and William Hudson, bricklayer, about the form and dimensions, which is as followeth: The house twenty feet long and fourteen feet wide in the clear, two stories high,—the upper seven feet, and the under six and a half feet, of which four feet under ground, with all convenient lights and doors, and casements—strong and substantial, with good brick, lime, sand and stone, as also floors and roofs very substantial; a partition of brick in the middle through the house, so that there will be four rooms, four chimneys, and the cock-loft, which will serve for a prison; and the gaoler may well live in any part of it, if need be—the whole to cost £140.

The late aged Miss Powell, a Friend, told me her aged mother used to describe to her that prison as standing once in the middle of High street, eastward of the court house on Second street.

On the 3d of February, 1685-6, the Grand Jury then present the want of a prison.

In 1702 the Grand Jury present the prison house and prison yard, as it now stands in the High street, as a common nuisance.

In 1703 the Court of Quarter Sessions appoints four persons to report the cost of a new prison and court house.

In 1705, July, the Common Council order that Alderman Carter, and John Parsons, do oversee the repairs of the old cage, to be converted into a watch-house, for present occasion. They had before ordered, in December, 1704, that a watch-house should be built in the market place, of sixteen feet long and fourteen feet wide.

In September, 1705, the same Alderman Carter is continued by the Council to see the repairs of the watch-house, and is also appointed to take care of the building a pair of stocks, with a whipping post and pillory, with all expedition.

In 1706 a petition of forty-four poor debtors, (some of them imprisoned,) all wrote in their proper hands, in good easy free style, is offered to Governor John Evans, stating their great objections to the fee bill for debts under 40 shillings, creating an expense, in case of sheriff's execution, of 17 shillings each, which was formerly, when in the magistrate's hand, but 3 shillings; and "some of your poor petitioners (say they) have been kept in the common jail *until they could find persons to sell themselves unto for a term of years to pay the same, and redeem their bodies!*" See act of Assembly in the case. It might surprise many moderns, who see and hear of so many, now-a-days, who "break" with indifference, to learn that, sixty years ago, it was the custom to sell single men for debt; and

it had then a very wholesome restraint on prodigals—few then got into jail, for then those who saw their debts burthensome would go betimes and seek a friendly purchaser, and so pay off their debts.

In 1707 the Grand Jury present the jail of this city, in that the upper and middle windows of the said jail are not sufficient. And they present the want of a pair of stocks, whipping post and pillory.

In 1712 the Grand Jury present "as a nuisance the prison and wall standing in the High street, and the insufficiency of the county jail not fit to secure prisoners." This latter clause might seem to intimate two characters of prisons at once. The words "common jail" in the following paragraph might intimate some one different from that of "county jail."

In 1716 the Grand Jury "present the common jail as insufficient, and concur and agree with the County Grand Jury that the same be removed from the place it now stands upon; and we do all concur with the County Grand Jury in laying a tax of one penny per pound, to be assessed and levied on the inhabitants—April 4th, 1716." Two years after this the act for a big prison, on the corner of Third and High streets, was passed.

In the year 1717 sundry persons offered large subscriptions for erecting a new prison at the new site.

The Grand Jury present at this time (1717) the great need of a ducking stool, saying that, whereas it has been frequently and often presented by several former Grand Juries, the necessity of a ducking stool and house of correction for the just punishment of scolding drunken women, as well as divers other profligate and unruly persons, who are become a public nuisance,—they, therefore, earnestly pray the court it may no longer be delayed. I have never understood that it was adopted.

In 1719 the Grand Jury present "the prison and dead walls in the street."

In 1722, April, it was ordered by the Common Council "that the old prison be sold to the highest bidder," &c. Perhaps there are houses at this day in the use of part of those materials!

At or about the year 1723 the new prison, at the south-west corner of Third and High streets, was finished, and about the same time the Grand Jury present "the old prison much in the way and spread over the street."

As appurtenant to the High street prison, there stood the market shambles, on the site of the present Jersey market. They were at first moveable, and were not placed there in the line of the prison till about ten years after the town had erected the permanent brick market at the western end of the court house. The facts are these, to wit:

In 1729, January, the Common Council agreed to erect twenty stalls, for the accommodation of such as bring provisions from the Jerseys—to be erected between the court house and the river, at one hundred feet eastward from the court house, and

In October, 1740, the Council agreed to place moving stalls on the east side of the court house as far as Lætitia court, and it is ordered that the middle of the street, from the pillory to the said Lætitia court, be forthwith posted and gravelled, to the breadth of twenty feet.

Mr. Davenport Merrot, an aged person, told me the permanent Jersey market, when finally built about the year 1765, was many years without a foot-pavement on the inside of it.

In May, 1763, the Common Council having put the Market street, eastward from the Second street, under regulation and pavement, the former wooden stalls of the "Jersey market" being ruinous, they order that they shall be pulled down, and their place supplied with stalls, brick pillars, and roofed—the eastern end to serve the purpose for greens and roots, as a "green market," and also at the end thereof an Exchange; and that the sum of £500 be applied out of the "Exchange Stock," to defray the expense. The latter, however, was not attempted—but the fund was applied afterwards to the City Hall.

THE STONE PRISON,

SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF THIRD AND HIGH STREETS.

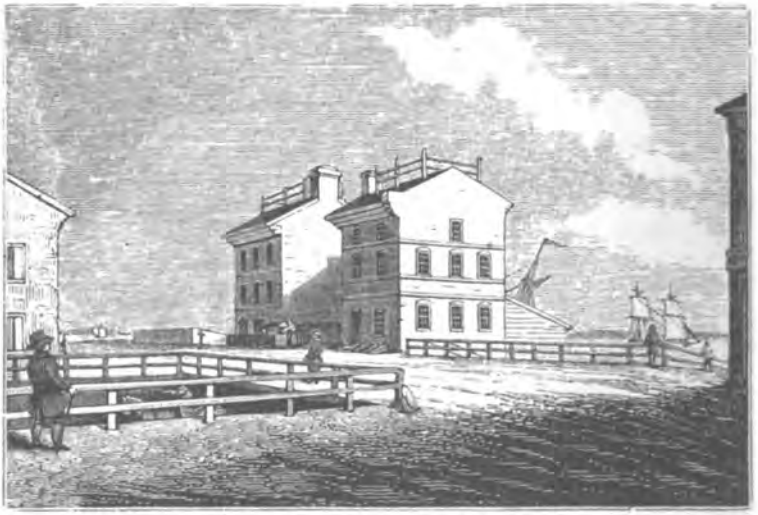
"There see the rock-built prison's dreadful face."—MAKIN'S POEM, 1729.

As the city enlarged its bounds by increase of population, it became necessary to seek out a new prison establishment of greater dimensions, and with more room about it—such as could be then found well out of the town. All those advantages were deemed sufficiently attained when they accomplished this stone prison, under the act of Assembly of 1718. As it was a very popular measure, it appears that in the year 1717, sundry persons offered large subscriptions towards defraying the expense of it, and "to be made upon the ground intended for that use,"—besides this, the Grand Jury joined in recommending a tax on the city and county for effecting the same.

When finished, about the year 1723, the pile consisted of a two-story stone building, fronting on High street, for the debtor's jail, and another two story similar building, fronting on Third street, for the criminals, called the workhouse—the latter some distance from the former, but joined to it by a high wall forming a part of the yard enclosure. The buildings were of hewn stone; half of the cellar story was above ground; the roofs were sharp pitched, and the gar-



Walnut Street Prison.— Page 361.



Arch Street Bridge at Front Street.—Page 364.

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rets furnished rooms for prisoners. As population increased, even this place was found too much in the town, and another remove had to be made to the Walnut street prison by Sixth street. This was done in 1784—the year in which the prisons spoken of in this article were demolished.

The aged Mrs. Shoemaker, who died in 1825, at the age of 95 years, told me, that when she was a girl she could easily, from Third street near the prison, look over to Fourth street, so as to see the people walking the streets—meaning thereby, there were not houses enough then built up to intercept the view. The Dock creek was also open then, and showed a considerable gully. There were also several paths by which to make a short cut across the square.

I observe several evidences on the old houses on the northern side of High street, near this prison, to indicate that the former grounds in this neighborhood were originally three feet higher than now. As early as the year 1708, it was complained of by the Grand Jury, as having no proper water-passage then, so that the crossing there was much impeded "by a deep dirty place where the public water gathers and stops for want of a passage, to the great damage of the neighbourhood."

In 1729, a city poet has given some graphic touches of the neighbourhood, to wit:

> "Thence half a furlong west, declining pace,
> And see the rock-built prison's dreadful face,
> Twixt and beyond all these, near twice as far,
> As from a sling a stone might pass in air,
> The forging shops of sooty smiths are set—
> And wheelwrights' frames—with vacant lots "to let"—
> A neighborhood of smiths, and piercing dins
> From trades—from prison grates—and public inns!"

Kalm, who was here in 1748, speaks of those furnaces, saying, "they have several about the town for melting iron out of ore."

The barbarous appendages of whipping-post, pillory and stocks were placed full in the public eye, hard by, on High street directly in front of the market, and on the eastern side of Third street. The last remembered exhibition there was that of a genteel storekeeper, —quite as clever as several who now escape. He had made too free with other names to support his sinking credit, and there made his amends, by having his face pelted with innumerable eggs, and his ears clipt adroitly by the "delicate pocket scissors" of the sheriff—he holding up his clippings to the gaze and shouts of the populace!

These barbarous measures of punishment were not in accordance with the spirit and feelings of our forefathers, who early aimed at commuting work and confinement for crime; but the parent country, familiar with its sanguinary code, always revoked the laws formed upon our schemes of reformation. They, therefore, generally prevailed till the time of our self-government, when measures were speedily taken, first by societies of citizens, and afterwards by the

legislature, to introduce those reforms into prison discipline, &c., which have made our city and state to be celebrated for its early "Penitentiary System." The measures pursued by the Society formed in 1787, "for alleviating the miseries of public prisons," form already a small history, which may be profitably read in the book called "Notices of the Prison," &c., by Roberts Vaux, Esq.

MARKET HOUSES.

PHILADELPHIA has long been distinguished for its long range of market buildings, and equally so for the general excellence of its marketing. It is not much known, however, that it was not according to the original plan of the city to have such an extended market house, and still less to have had it located in High street. Penn expected it to have been placed at the Centre square, in the event of settling the chief population there. We shall see, in the course of the present notice, that objections were from time to time made against the extension of markets in High street; and Proud has called it "a shameful and inconvenient obstruction."

The first notice of a permanent market house appears in the minutes of City Council in July, 1709, to wit:—"The new market house being thought to be of great service to the town, 'twas put to the vote how money should be raised for the doing thereof, and voted that every Alderman shall contribute and pay double what the Common Council-men should do." And in May, 1710, it was unanimously agreed that it should be built up with all expedition. It appeared that the members severally subscribed the fund necessary as a loan, to be repaid to them out of the rents from the butchers. The market so made extended from the court house to about half way to Third street.

In January, 1729, the Council agreed to erect twenty stalls on the site of the present Jersey market, for the accommodation of such as brought provisions from the Jerseys.

In 1737 the Clerk of the market complained to the Council of several nuisances—"that of persons who blow their meat—selling goods—bringing empty carts and lying of horses in the market place."

In a poetic description of High street, in 1729, the court house and market house are thus described, to wit:

"An yew bow's distance from the key-built strand
Our court house fronts Cæsarea's pine tree land.
Through the arch'd dome, and on each side, the street
Divided runs, remote again to meet.
Here, eastward, stand the traps for obloquy
And petty crimes—stocks, posts and pillory:
And, twice a week, beyond, light stalls are set,
Loaded with fruits, and flowers, and Jersey's meat.
Westward, conjoin, the shambles grace the court,
Brick piles their long extended roof support.
Oft, west from these, the country wains are seen
To crowd each hand, and leave a breadth between."

At a subsequent period the market was extended up to Third street, where, for many years, its Third street front was marked with the appendages of pillory, stocks and whipping-post.

About the year 1773 the subject was agitated for constructing another market, to extend in continuation from Third to Fourth street—a measure much opposed by property-holders along High street, who preferred an open wide street. In some of the paper discussions, which appeared in print at that time, it was proposed to take the market out of High street altogether, and to locate it in the centre of the square from High street to Chestnut street, and from Third to Fourth street,* leaving the dwelling-houses still on the front streets, on Third and Fourth streets; to pull down the stone prisons on the south-west corner of Third and High streets, and to erect there a court house, town house, &c. In time, however, the advocates for the market prevailed, and the building went on daily; but a measure, not foreseen, occurred every night:—The housekeepers who lived along the line of the market, employed persons in the night time to pull down the mason-work of the day. This being persevered in for some time excited considerable interest.

Something like a similar excitement occurred about the year 1749, when the older market was extended from Bank alley up to Third street. While some then pulled down by night what was set up by day, Andrew Marvell's addresses came out to the people, denouncing the building thereof, saying, in his second address, that "the persons who before bought lots on High street, because of its superior width, were thus to have their expectations and interests ruined thereby, by creating a greater grievance than they remove." He adds, that "the advice of several eminent counsel in the law has satisfied the people that an opposition is not only legal and justifiable, but also their duty; for the lawyers have assured them the corporation has no right, either in charter, laws, or custom, to sustain the building of shambles in any street of the city; but, on the contrary, have pointed out some laws which limit and restrict their power in this instance."

* The place of Dr. Franklin's mansion.

We have all heard of *Fairs* once held in our markets before the Revolution, but few of the present generation have any proper judgment of what manner of things they were. A few remarks on them shall close this article, to wit:

A fair was opened by oral proclamation in these words, (Vide a city ordinance of 1753,) saying: "O yez! &c. Silence is commanded while the Fair is proclaiming, upon pain of punishment! A. B., Esq., Mayor of the city of Philadelphia, doth hereby, in the King's name, strictly charge and command all persons trading and negotiating within the Fair to keep the King's peace, and that no person presume to set up any booth or stall for the vending of strong liquors within this Fair—that none carry any unlawful weapon, or gallop or strain horses within the built part of the city. And if any person be hurt by another, let him repair to the Mayor here present. God save the King!"

The fair-times in our market were every May and November, and continued three days. In them you could purchase every description of dry goods, and millinery of all kinds, cakes, toys and confectionaries, &c. The stalls were fancifully decorated, and inclosed with well made patchwork coverlets. The place was always thronged, and your ears were perpetually saluted with toy trumpets, hautboys, fiddles and whistles, to catch the attention of the young fry who on such occasions crowded for their long-promised presents at fair-time. They were finally discontinued, by an Act of the Legislature, somewhere about the year 1787. It is really surprising they should ever have been adopted in any country where regular stores and business is ordinarily found sufficient for all purposes of trade!

THE ARCH STREET BRIDGE AT FRONT STREET.

The tradition of such a bridge, over a place where there was no water, (taken down about the year 1721,) had been so far lost, that none among the most aged could be found to give a reason for Mulberry street, over which the bridge or arch stood, being called "Arch street." My MS. Annals in the City Library, pages 24, 31 and 46, show three several reasons given by the most aged citizens for the change of name to Arch street, all of which were erroneous. The truth is, I should not have known the cause but by perceiving it was implied in the presentments of the Grand Juries, &c. The facts were, that in the neighbourhood of Front and Mulberry streets was originally a hill, or knoll, rising above the common elevation

of the river bank. In opening the street down Mulberry street to the river as a necessary landing place, they found the Front street on each side of it so high, that in preference to cutting it down, they constructed a bridge there so as to make the passage up and down Front street *over* the Mulberry street. As they usually called such a bridge an arch, and that arch was a notable enterprise then, all things in the neighbourhood was referred to it, so that the street itself where stood "the great arch," became subject to its name, i. e. the Arch street.

The neighbourhood was made conspicuous too by the house of Robert Turner, (still standing,) constructed of brick as a pattern model for others, and also by two of those early houses, whose flat roofs, (see the picture) by the primitive regulations, were not to intercept the river prospect along the eastern side of Front street.

The following facts will serve to illustrate and confirm the preceding introduction, to wit:

Robert Turner in his letter, of 1685, to William Penn, says: "Since I built my brick house, [at the north-east corner of Front and Arch streets,] the foundation of which was laid at my going, which I design after a good manner to encourage others, and that from (their) not building with wood; it being the first, many take example, and some that built wooden houses are sorry for it. Brick building is said to be as cheap, and bricks are exceeding good, and better and cheaper than when I built, say now at 16s. English per thousand, and many good brick buildings are going up, with good cellars."

"I am building another brick house by mine, [on the east side of Front street, No. 77,] which is three large stories high, besides a good large brick cellar under it of two bricks and a half thickness in the wall, and the next [i. e. Front street first story] half under ground. The cellar has an arched door [still visible there] for a vault to go to the river, and so to bring in goods or deliver out." The first story "half under ground,"—now no longer so, was doubtless owing to the highness of the ground then in the street, and intended afterwards to be cut down.

Gabriel Thomas in his account of the city, as he saw it before the year 1698, thus speaks of his impressions, saying, "they have curious wharfs and large timber yards, especially before Robert Turner's great and famous house, where are built ships of considerable burthen—they cart their goods from that wharf into the city under an arch, over which part of the street is built.

In 1704, the Grand Jury present Edward Smout, sawyer of logs, &c., for encumbering "the free wharf, used as a landing, on the east end of Mulberry street, with his logs and timber left too long there." In the same report, it is stated to be for "encumbering the street and wharf near the arch."

Patty Powell, an aged Friend, told me that her mother told her of seeing the arch, and that it was so high that carts, &c., passed

under it to the river, so that those who went up and down Front street went over it.

At a Common Council held at "the Coffy House," December, 1704, a committee was appointed to view the arch in the Front street, and to report how to repair the same, &c.,—found to be £12; whereupon it was ordered that the ground on each side of the arch, fronting King street, (Water street now) be built upon by such persons as shall be willing to take the same on ground-rent.

In the year 1712, the Grand Jury present "that it is highly necessary to repair the arch, by paving the same, and fencing it on either side above." Another Grand Jury, at the next session, present the passage down under the arch, for that it is worn in holes and gullies, and is not passable—it wants a fence upon the walls of the said arch—it being dangerous in the night both to man and beast. At another session, they present the want of walls to secure the street in the going down to the arch, also two fences (palisades) on the top of it to secure people from falling down.

In 1713, they again present the arch in the Front street, for that it is very dangerous for children in the day time, and for strangers in the night; neither is it passable underneath for carriages.

In 1717, the Grand Jury present "the great arch" in the Front street,—the arch in Second street—as insufficient for man and beast to pass over. The pump at the great arch, being now out of use and standing much in the street, ought to be removed. King street, as a cart-way, they recommend to be kept thirty feet wide.

In 1718 they present the arch at the east end of Mulberry street, as so much out of repair as to endanger life, and as injurious to the neighbourhood, by stopping the channels from descending to the river; and they therefore recommend, as most advantageous to the handsome prospect of the Front street, [of course it must have been high and conspicuous,] to pull down the said arch, and to regulate the two streets there.

In 1720, December, it was fully debated in Common Council whether to pull down the arch. The parties aggrieved being then again heard, and the charges of continual repairs considered, it is the opinion it will be for the general good to take it down—even to those who then petition against the same.

In 1723 the Grand Jury present deep gullies from Front street, "where the arch stood, to the arch wharf." Thus intimating that the arch had been taken away.

In April, 1723, the Common Council, in ordering the old prison to be sold, determine the money shall be applied to making good the Arch street and wharf, as far as the same will go. They state as a reason, that the end of Mulberry street, from the east side of the Front street to the river, since the arch was removed, had been very ruinous, by reason of the late great rains, for want of a free passage for the water. It being thought impracticable then to lay a tax for that and other needful things, the Mayor, James Logan, with great

liberality, (to prevent further damage,) presented the corporation with £20, to be laid out there,—which was accepted with hearty thanks, and workmen to be ordered to pave the channel and to set posts, &c. The same generous Mayor invites the company of the board to a public dinner with him, provided at the Plume of Feathers.

In 1727, the Grand Jury present two ponds of water "in Arch street," [the first time I have seen it so named,] between Front and Second streets.

In 1736 a ship near Arch street wharf took fire within, as they were burning her bottom without, occasioned by a flaw in one of her planks. This was not perhaps a ship-yard then, but used as a careening place.

The former high elevation of the grounds near "the arch" are even now peculiarly marked. The house No. 10, Arch street, on the south side, two doors west of Front street, presents a clear evidence that the second story was once the level of the street there, and that the present first story, which goes up several steps, was originally so much cellar part under ground. It is proved by showing now the lines and marks in the second story of the side alley once there, and afterwards filled up! J. P. Norris, Esq., told me it was so explained to him in his youth, by aged persons who remembered the facts. The present three-story house there was, therefore, originally but a two-story house. The present north-west corner house there had its door out of the present second story; the Friend's Meeting House near there, though originally on a high level, was left on a bank of ten feet elevation; and we know, by an ordinance of 1713, that the gutters were then declared, by law, as running from Arch street down to High street!

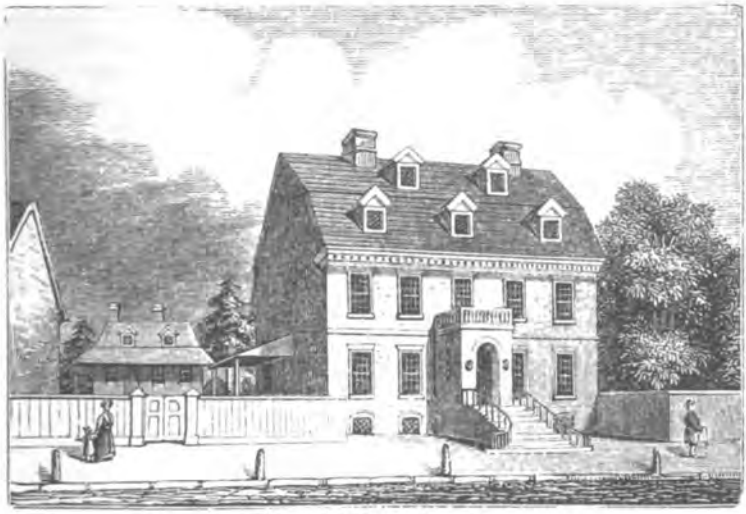
I had an opportunity in April, 1825, to witness unexpectedly a relic of the primitive manner of topping the Water street bank side houses, as originally constructed, when intended not to intercept the view of the river from the Front street. The very ancient brick house in Water street (part of the block of two two-story old frame houses on Front street above Arch street, Nos. 83 and 85,) has now the original flat roof with which it was originally covered. It has been well preserved, by having since constructed over it, at one story additional elevation, a cedar roof,—by this act the first roof was made a floor of small descent. I found it made of two inch yellow pine plank, laid on white pine boards—the planks are caulked with oakum, with deep grooves near the seams to bear off the water, and the whole has now much remains of the original pitch which covered the whole. The elevation of this floor roof is about eight feet above the present Front street; and as the street there has been cut down full six feet or more, it proves the former elevation of that roof. The general aged appearance of the premises, now about to be pulled down, indicate a very early structure. It is said there was once a ship-yard here about.

I have observed other curious facts in digging out the cellars of the two houses adjoining them on the northern side, to wit: No. 87 and 89. In digging down to the level of Water street, in the Front street bank, (which is of fine red gravel,) they came, at about twelve feet from the line of Front street, to a regular stone wall of sixteen inches thickness, eight feet high, and of twelve feet square; (all this was below the former cellar there,) in a corner of the wall it appeared smoked, as if the remains of a chimney. I thought it indicated an original cave. The area of the square was nearly filled up with loose stones, a considerable part of which were of flat slabs of marble one inch thick, smoothed on one surface, and broken into irregular fragments of one to two feet width. In clearing away these stones, they came to a grave head-stone, standing somewhat declined; on which were engraved, "Anthony Wilkinson—London—died 1748." The stone is about fourteen inches by two and a half feet high—[some small bones also found there.] On further inquiry I learn, that Anthony Wilkinson was an early and primitive settler on that spot. The Cuthbert family are descended from him, and one of them is now named Anthony Wilkinson Cuthbert. Mr. T. Latimer, merchant, near there, claims the head-stone, as a relative, and says old Mr. Cuthbert, who died when he was a boy, told him and others of the family, that old Anthony Wilkinson had his cabin once in this bank, which got blown up by a drunken Indian laying his pipe on some gunpowder in it.

SHIPPEN'S HOUSE.

This venerable edifice long bore the name of "the Governor's House." It was built in the early rise of the city—received then the name of "Shippey's Great House," while Shippen himself was proverbially distinguished for three great things—"the biggest person, the biggest house, and the biggest coach."

It was for many years after its construction beautifully situated, and surrounded with rural beauty, being originally on a small eminence, with a row of tall yellow pines in its rear, a full orchard of best fruit trees close by, overlooking the rising city beyond the Dock creek, and having on its front view a beautiful green lawn, gently sloping to the then pleasant Dock creek and Drawbridge, and the whole prospect unobstructed to the Delaware and the Jersey shore. It was indeed a princely place for that day, and caused the honest heart of Gabriel Thomas to overflow at its recollection, as he spoke of it in the year 1698, saying of it, that "Edward Shippey, who



Shippen's House.—Page 368.



Benezet's House and Chestnut Street Bridge.—Page 371.

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lives near the capital city, has an orchard and gardens adjoining to his great house that equals any I have ever seen, being a very famous and pleasant summer house, erected in the middle of his garden, and abounding with tulips, carnations, roses, lilies, &c., with many wild plants of the country besides."

Such was the place enjoyed by Edward Shippen, the first Mayor, under the regular charter of the year 1700. Shippen was a Friend, from England, who had suffered "for truth's and Friends' sake" at Boston, by a public punishment from the misguided rulers there. Possessing such a mansion and the means to be hospitable, he made it the temporary residence of William Penn and his family, for about a month, when they arrived in 1699. About the year 1720 it was held by Governor Keith, and in 1756 it became the residence of Governor Denny. As it usually bore the name of "the Governor's house" in aftertimes, it was probably occupied by other rulers.

The Shippen family came out from York in England to Boston. One of the family, Joseph Shippen, married there Abigail Gross, in 1702, and when she visited her relations in Philadelphia, some time after, she came all the way from Boston *on horseback*,—nor is this all, she brought a baby with her safely, resting it all the way on her lap. Think of that, ye ladies of the present day! We know, from Madame Knight's horseback journey to New York, the long and arduous concerns of such an enterprise. The postman was the guide on such occasions.

A minute of the City Council of the year 1720, while it shows the then residence of Sir William Keith on the premises, shows also the fact of keeping open and beautifying the prospect to the river, to wit: "The Governor having requested the Mayor to propose to the board the grant of the piece of ground on the south-west side of the dock, over against the house he now lives in, for such term as the corporation shall think fit, and proposes to drain and ditch the same, this board agree the Governor may enjoy the same for the space of seven years, should he so long continue in the said house." It was probably during his term of use that the green lawn had a few tame deer, spoken of as seen by Owen Jones, the Colonial Treasurer.

Thomas Storey, once Master of the Rolls, who married Shippen's daughter Anne, must have derived a good portion of the rear grounds extending out to Third street, as the late aged Colonel A. J. Morris tells me that in his time "Storey's grounds," sold to Samuel Powel, were unbuilt, and enclosed with a brick wall from St. Paul's church down to Spruce street, and thence eastward to Laurel Court.

The lofty pine trees were long conspicuous from many points of the city. Aged men have seen them sheltering flocks of blackbirds; and the late aged Samuel R. Fisher remembers very well to have seen crows occupying their nests on those very trees. The fact impresses upon the mind the beautiful lines made by his son on

that bird of omen and long life. Some of them are so very descriptive of the probable state of scenes gone-by, that I will not resist the wish I feel to connect them with the present page, to wit:

"The pine tree of my Eyry stood
A patriarch mid the younger wood,
A forest race that now are not,
Other than with the world forgot;
And countless herds of tranquil deer,
When I was fledged, were sporting here.

And now, if o'er the scene I fly,
'Tis only in the upper sky:
Yet well I know, *mid spires and smoke*,
The spot where stood *my* pine and oak.
Yes! I can e'en replace agen
The *forests* as I knew them *then*,—
The *primal scene*, and herds of deer,
That used to browse so calmly *here!*

Such musings in the "bird of black and glossy coat," so renowned for its long endurance of years, may readily be imagined in an animal visiting in numerous return of years "its accustomed perch." It saw all our city rise from its sylvan shades—

"It could develope, if his babbling tongue
Would tell us, what those peering eyes had seen,
And *how the place looked* when 'twas fresh and green!"

The sequel of those trees was, that the stables in the rear of them on Laurel Court took fire not many years ago, and communicating to them, caused their destruction.

The house too, great and respectable as it had been, possessed of garden-grounds fronting on Second street, north and south of it, became of too much value as a site for a plurality of houses, to be longer tolerated in lonely grandeur, and was therefore, in the year 1790, pulled down to give place to four or five modern houses called "Waln's Row." The street there as it is now levelled is one story below the present gardens, in the rear.

BENEZET'S HOUSE, AND CHESTNUT STREET BRIDGE.

THE ancient house of Anthony Benezet, lately taken down, stood on the site of the house now No. 115, Chestnut street. It was built in the first settlement of the city for a Friend of the name of David Breintnall. He, deeming it too fine for his plain cloth and profession, hired it for the use of the Governor of Barbadoes, (or of Bermuda, as said by some,) who had come here for the recovery of his health. While he lived there he used to come in a boat by the Dock creek to his own door. David Breintnall in the mean time occupied the house and store at the south-west corner of Hudson's alley, where he died in 1731. The house having been a good specimen of respectable architecture was drafted by Mr. Strickland just before it was taken down in 1818, and an engraving made from it was published in the Port Folio of that year.

The bridge near it was long lost to the memory of the oldest inhabitants, and none of the youths of the present day have any conception that a bridge once traversed Dock creek in the line of Chestnut street! In the year 1823, in digging along Chestnut street to lay the iron pipes for the city water, great surprise was excited by finding, at six feet beneath the present surface, the appearance of a regularly framed wharf—the oak logs so sound and entire as to require some labour to remove them, and some of the wood of which was preserved for me in the form of an urn, as a memento. It was in fact the abutment wharf of the eastern end of the original bridge, where it has been preserved one hundred and forty years, by its being constantly saturated with water.

The fact of the original wooden bridge, and of the later one of brick and stone after the year 1699, is set forth in the following copy of an original MS. petition, which I have seen in the records of the Mayor's Court, dated the 7th of 2d mo., 1719, to wit: "We, whose names are hereunto written, livers in Chestnut street, humbly show—that at the laying out of the city, Chestnut street crossed a deep vale, which brought a considerable quantity of water, in wet seasons, from without and through several streets and lots in the town,—[emptying into the Dock creek,] this rendering the street impassable for cart and horse, a bridge of wood was built in the middle way, which for many years was commodious; when that decayed, an arch of brick and stone was built the whole breadth, which with earth cast thereon made the street a good road, except that walls breast high, to keep from falling from the top, were neglected—not being finished, as the money fell short. Now this we think to be

about twenty years ago; since which, nothing to prevent danger or of repairing has been done, save some small amendments and fencing by the people of the neighbourhood;* and as there is now a great necessity for those walls, or one wall, and as the arch (i. e. the bridge,) is in very great danger of sudden breach in some parts, whereby horses and people's lives may be endangered, we *nigh inhabitants* give you this timely notice thereof, and crave the remedy." To show those ancients, I add their names, to wit: Samuel Richardson, David Breintnall, John Breintnall, Thomas Roberts, Solomon Cresson, William Linyard, Henry Stevens, Daniel Hudson, John Lancaster and William Tidmarsh.

In the same year, 1719, the Grand Jury sustained the above petition by their presentment, saying: "The arch in Chestnut street, between the house of Grace Townsend and the house of Edward Pleadwell, is part broken down,—much of the fence wanting and very unsafe,—Chestnut street itself between the Front and Fourth streets is very deep and irregular."

It would appear that this bridge was continued by repairs for thirty years longer at least, for we find that in the year 1750 the Grand Jury present that "the pavement in Chestnut street, near Fleeson's shop, [north-east corner of Fourth and Chestnut streets,] as exceeding dangerous, occasioned by the arch joining thereto being fallen down and no care taken to repair it."

The former state of the "deep vale" along the line of Dock creek is indicated by some modern observations: In the year 1789, when Richard Wistar's house, at the south-east corner of Hudson's alley and Chestnut street, was built, the builder, Mr. Wogle, said he had to dig twenty feet deep to procure a firm foundation. The house, too, rebuilt by Prittchet, on the opposite corner, on the site of "Whalebone house," (once David Breintnall's,) had to be dug down fourteen feet for a foundation on the creek side, and but nine feet on the western side; the deepest part was the corner on Chestnut street. Every thing indicated a shelving gravelly shore once there. In the course of their digging they found several large bones of whales and a great tail of a fish, four to five feet under the ground; some of which are now nailed up on the premises. The original old house had been used for some whale purposes. On the northern side of Chestnut street, in digging for the foundation of the house of Mr. Storey, No. 113, they found themselves in the bed of the same creek, and had to drive piles there. At this place and the adjoining lot was originally a tanyard, next a coachmaker's shop and yard. At twelve feet they came to the top of the old tunnel.

James Mintus, a black man, living with Arthur Howell till he died, in 1822, at the age of 75 years, used to say in that family, that his father, who lived to the age of 80, used to tell him there was a

* In the year 1708 the Grand Jury present, that there is "a deficiency in the arch bridge in Chestnut street, adjoining to the lot of the widow Townsend."

wharf under Chestnut street before Mr. Howell's house. The discovery there in 1823 verified his assertions.

The dangerous state of the bridge, and of the water there while it lasted, was verified by the fact that John Reynalls lost his only daughter "by drowning in Dock creek by Hudson's alley."

The very estimable character of Anthony Benezet confers an interest on every thing connected with his name; it therefore attaches to the house which he owned and dwelt in for fifty years of his life, keeping school there for children of both sexes of the most respectable families, for several years, and finally dying there in 1784.

The house had in the rear of it a two-story brick kitchen, and in entering its present proper ground floor you descend from the yard down two steps. This was far from being its original state; for it was plain to be seen, in looking down into its open area, that it has two brick stories still lower under the ground. My opinion is, that this kitchen was once on the bank of Dock creek, on the shelving edge; that the eastern side of it was never any part of it under ground, and that the area, or western side, (from the creek,) was originally only one story under the ground, and the rest has since been filled up to make the yard agree with the raising of Chestnut street. I am confirmed in this idea from having heard, in a very direct manner, that Anthony Benezet, at an early period of his residence there, was accustomed statedly to feed his rats *in his area*. An old Friend, who visited him, having found him at that employment, expressed his wonder that he so kindly treated such pernicious vermin, saying they should rather be killed out of the way. Nay, said good Anthony, I will not treat them so; you make them thieves by maltreating and starving them, but I make them honest by feeding them; for, being so fed, they never prey on any goods of mine! This singular fact may be confided in. It was further said, that on the occasion of feeding them he was used to stand in the area, when they would gather round his feet like chickens. One of his family once hung a collar round one of them, which was seen for years after, feeding in the groupe. These facts coincide with the fancy of the London gentleman who has been lately noticed as reconciling and taming the most opposite natures of animals, by causing them to dwell together in peace. Benezet's sympathy was great with every thing capable of feeling pain,—from this cause he abstained for several years from eating any animal food. Being asked one day to partake of some poultry on the table at his brother's house, he exclaimed: "What! would you have me to eat my neighbours?"

Before the house came into the hands of Anthony Benezet, it was known as a public house, having the sign of "the Hen and Chickens."

Anthony Benezet, as I have been told by eye-witnesses, had the largest funeral that had ever been seen in Philadelphia. One-third of the number were blacks, who walked in the rear.

Parson Peters, being known to be unfriendly to Friend's doctrines, was presented by A. Benezet with a copy of Barclay's Apology, for his perusal. It broke down some of his aversions, as may be seen by these lines of poetry, which he sent him in return as his acknowledgment, to wit:

Long had I censured with contemptuous rage,
And scorn'd your tenets with the foolish age,
Thought nothing could appear in your defence
Till Barclay shone with all the rays of sense.
His works at least shall make me moderate prove
To those who practise what he teaches—love.
With the censorious world no more I'll sin,
In scouting those who own the light within;
If they can see with Barclay's piercing eyes,
The world may deem them fools, but I shall think them wise.

CLARKE'S HALL, &c.

Clarke's Hall was originally constructed for William Clarke, Esq., at an early period of the city. He was by profession a lawyer, and at one time held the revenue of the customs at Lewistown. The house was deemed among the grandest in its day; and even in modern times was deemed a large and venerable structure—it was at all times notable for its display and extent of garden cultivation. It occupied the area from Chestnut street to the Dock creek, where is now Girard's Bank, and from Third street up to Hudson's alley; the Hall itself, of double front, faced on Chestnut street—was formed of brick, and two stories high. Its rear or south exposure into the garden, descending to Dock creek, was always deemed beautiful. At that early day Dock creek was crossed in Third street over a wooden bridge*—thence the creek went up to the line of present Hudson's alley, and by it, across Chestnut street—passing under the bridge there close by Breintnall's house—the same afterwards the residence of Anthony Benezet. All this neighbourhood was long deemed rural and out of town; only two other houses and families of note were near it, say—that of Thomas Lloyd, once the Governor, on the north-east corner of Chestnut and Third streets, and that of William Hudson, once the Mayor, near the south-east corner of the same streets, having its front and court yard

* I see this bridge referred to as still standing as late as the year 1769, and lately some remains of it were found in digging in Third street, although none of the lookers-on could conjecture what it meant.



Clarke's Hall, on Chestnut Street.—Page 374.



Carpenter's Mansion, on Chestnut Street.—Page 376.

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upon Third street, wherein were growing two very large buttonwood trees.

In the year 1704, in consequence of the arrival of William Penn, Jun., and his love of display and expense, James Logan rented and occupied these Clarke Hall premises—saying, as his reasons for the measure, (to the father,) that as no house in the town suited the enlarged views of his son, he had taken Clarke's great house, into which himself, William Penn, Jun., Governor Evans, and Judge Mompesson, had all joined *en famille* as young bachelors.

In 1718 an act was passed, (but repealed in a few months,) vesting this house and grounds, as "the property of the late William Clarke of Lewes town," in trustees for the payment of his debts, &c.

For some years the premises were occupied by some of the earliest Governors. It next came into the hands of Andrew Hamilton, the Attorney General, who derived it from the Clarke family; an aged daughter of whom long remained in the Hamilton family, and afterwards in John Pemberton's, as an heir-loom upon the premises. Thence the estate went into the hands of Israel Pemberton, a wealthy Friend, in whose name the place acquired all its fame, in more modern ears, as "Pemberton's house and gardens." It once filled the eyes and the mouths of all passing citizens and strangers, as the nonpareil of the city—say at the period of the Revolution. The low fence along the garden on the line of Third street, gave a full expose of the garden walks and shrubbery, and never failed to arrest the attention of those who passed that way. The garden itself being upon an inclined plane, had three or four falls or platforms. Captain Graydon, in his Memoirs, speaks in lively emotions of his boyish wonders there, and saying of them, "they were laid out in the old style of uniformity, with walks and alleys nodding to their brothers—decorated with a number of evergreens, carefully clipped into pyramidal and conical forms. The amenity of this view usually detained him a few minutes to contemplate the scene." The building itself, of large dimensions, had many parlours and chambers; it stood on the south side of Chestnut street, a little westward of Third street. After the decease of Mr. Pemberton, it was engaged by Secretary Hamilton for the offices of the Treasury of the United States, and was so occupied until the year 1800. Soon afterwards it was sold and taken down, to cut it up into smaller lots, and to make more modern buildings.

To a modern Philadelphian it must seem strange to contemplate the garden as having its southern termination in a beautiful creek, with a pleasure boat joined to its bank, and the tides flowing therein—but the fact was so. Patty Powell, when aged 77, told me that her aged mother often told her of her having spoken with aged persons who had seen a schooner above Third street; and Israel Pemberton used to say he had been told of sloops having been seen as high as his lot in early years.

CARPENTER'S MANSION.

This ancient structure was originally built as the residence of Joshua Carpenter, the brother of Samuel. It was, in truth, in its early days, a proper country seat, remote from the primitive town. Its respectable and peculiar style of architecture has been a motive for preserving this brief memorial; it has, besides, been sometimes remarkable for its occasional inmates. The present marble Arcade now occupies a part of its former site, and while the beholder is standing to gaze on the present expensive pile, he may remember the former with all its inmates gone down to the dust. It was taken down in April, 1826.

Here once lived Doctor Græme, who died in 1772, a distinguished physician, long holding an office in the customs. His wife was the daughter of Sir William Keith, by his first wife. Græme's house, besides his own hospitable manner of living, was long made attractive and celebrated by the mind and manners of their daughter, the celebrated Mrs. Ferguson,—the same whose alleged overtures to Governor Reed produced the noble and patriotic repulse—"go tell your employers, poor as I am, the wealth of the King cannot buy me!" A mind like hers, embued with elegant literature, and herself a poetess, readily formed frequent literary coteries at her father's mansion, so much so, as to make it the town talk of her day.*

While Governor Thomas occupied those premises, from 1738 to 1747, the fruit trees and garden shrubbery had the effect to allure many of the townfolk to take their walk out Chestnut street to become its spectators. The youth of that day long remembered the kindness of the Governor's lady, who, seeing their longing eyes set upon their long range of fine cherry trees, (fronting the premises on Chestnut street,) used to invite them to help themselves from the trees; and oft as May-day came, the pretty misses were indulged with bouquets and nosegays; to such purposes the grounds were ample, extending from Sixth to Seventh streets, and from Chestnut street back to the next street, the mansion resting in the centre.

A letter from John Ross, Esq., attorney at law, of the year 1761, then owner of the premises, agrees to sell them for the sum of £3000 to John Smith, Esq., who afterwards became the occupant. The

* She died at Græme Park, in Horsham, about twenty-five years ago, beloved in her neighborhood for her religion, and her goodness to the poor. Her literary remains are said to be in possession of Dr. Smith, of the house of Lehman and Smith. Colonel A. M'Lane assured me she was always the friend of our country, although she may have had the confidence of the British because of her known integrity.

dimensions of the lot then given, were two hundred and thirty-seven feet on Chestnut street, and then back one hundred and fifty feet to "the lane." It may surprise us, in our present enlarged conceptions of city precincts, to learn by the said letter of J. Ross, that "he sells it because his wife deems it too remote for his family to live in!" And he adds, if he sells it, "he must then look out another airy place to build on; and how to succeed therein, he knows not!" We know, however, that he afterwards found it on the site where is now United States Hotel, *vis-a-vis* the Bank of the United States—then a kind of out-town situation!

It afterwards became the property of Colonel John Dickinson, who, in 1774, made to it a new front of modern construction, facing on Chestnut street—such as we saw the premises when taken down in April, 1826. It was next owned by General Philomon Dickinson. It being empty in the time of the war of Independence, it was taken possession of for our sick soldiery, when it became an actual hospital for the sick infantry of the Virginia and Pennsylvania line, who died there rapidly, in hundreds, of the camp fever! On that occasion our ladies were very assiduous in supplying the poor sufferers with soups and nourishments. General Washington himself joined in those succours, sending them a cask of Madeira, which he had himself received as a present from Robert Morris. At that place Mrs. Logan's mother witnessed an affecting spectacle—the mother of a youth from the country, in the Pennsylvania line, came to seek her son among the dead—whilst wailing over him as lost, but rubbing him earnestly at the same time, he came again to life to her great joy and surprise!

After this it was fitted up as the splendid mansion of the Chevalier de Luzerne, who, while there as the Ambassador of France, gave a splendid night entertainment of fire-works, rockets, &c., in honour of the birth of the Dauphin of France. The whole gardens were gorgeously illuminated, and the guests were seen by the crowd from the street under an illuminated arcade of fanciful construction and scenery.

About the year 1779, Monsieur Gerard, the French Ambassador, being then the occupant, gave an elegant dinner there to about one hundred French and American officers. Colonel M'Lane, who was among the guests, told me that while they were dining the house was thunder-struck, and the lightning melted all the silver spoons and other plate upon the table, stunning all the company, and killing one of the French officers! What a scene—and what associations!

In time, as ground became enhanced in value, large encroachments were made upon these rural grounds by selling off lots for the theatre, &c., but the mansion, with its court yard upon Chestnut street, long continued a genteel residence in the possession of Judge Tilghman—the last owner preceding the sale to the Arcade Company, in 1826. The view of the old house, as given in the picture, is a side view, opening on Sixth street, and is a part of the same building retained by Judge Tilghman as the rear part of his residence.

CHRIST CHURCH.

"————————Monument of ancient taste,
And awful as the consecrated roof—
Re-echoing pious anthems."

THIS venerable looking and ornamental edifice was constructed at various periods of time. The western end, as we now see it, was raised in 1727, and having enlarged their means, they, in 1731, erected the eastern end. The steeple was elevated on or about the year 1753–4.

The facts concerning the premises, gleaned from a variety of sources, are to the following effect, to wit:

The first church built under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Clayton, in the year 1695, is specially referred to by Gabriel Thomas' publication of 1698, who says, "the Church of England built a very fine church in this city in the year 1695." The most we should infer from his commendation of it is, that it was probably sufficiently sightly for its then size. We know it was his general manner to extol other buildings, which still remain to convince us that good buildings then are but ordinary in our present enlarged conceptions of beauty and greatness. Such as it was, it was enlarged in 1710.

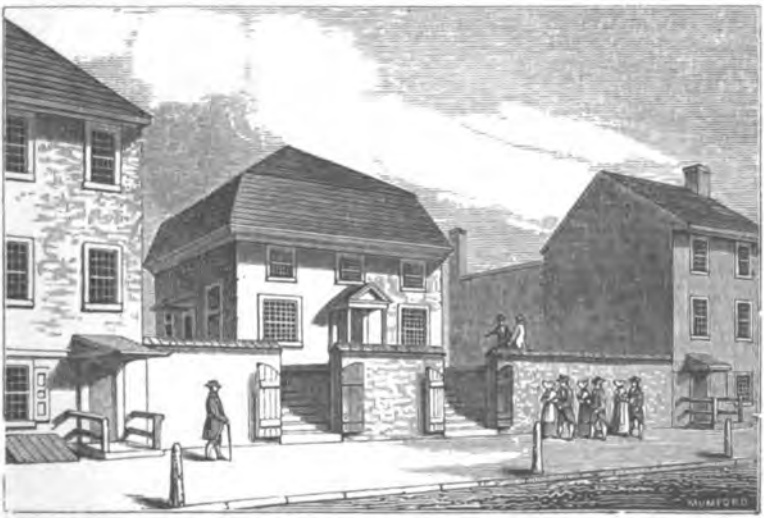
We know that the Rev. Mr. Clayton was first in charge of it, from the book of the Rev. Morgan Edwards, who has therein left us the record of his letter to the Baptists of Philadelphia of the year 1698, wherein he invites them to a public conference on the merits of their several religions, in hopes thereby to surpass them in argument, and win them over to his faith as proselytes; but they stood firmly to their defence, and the breach was widened.

The original records were accidentally destroyed by fire; of course, what we can now know must be such as has been incidentally mentioned in connexion with other facts.

Among the witnesses who had once seen the primitive church, and had been also cotemporary with our own times, was old black Alice, who died in 1802, at the advanced age of 116 years. She had been all her long life a zealous and hearty member of that church. At the age of 115 she came from Dunk's ferry, where she lived, to see once more her beloved Christ Church. She then told my friend Samuel Coates, Esq., and others present, that she well remembered the original lowly structure of wood. The ceiling of it, she said, she could touch with her lifted hands. The bell, to call the people, was hung in the crotch of a tree close by. She said, when it was superseded by a more stately structure of brick, they run up their



Christ's Church.—Page 378.



Friends' Bank Meeting.—Page 390.

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walls so far outside of the first church, that the worship was continued unmolested until the other was roofed and so far finished as to be used in its stead. Facts since brought to light by the present rector, the Rev. Dr. Dorr, seem to show that the original *wooden* structure must have been a temporary shed, constructed within the walls of brick, and used till the out-walls and roofing could be finished. In some such way Whitfield used his church, (the old Academy,) by preaching in it *while the walls* were building. Or, the building may have been a frame, found on the premises, when the lot was first taken up, and in which Mr. Clayton may have preached when first visiting the city *as a missionary* from Jersey, where he was *at first* engaged.

As early as the year 1698, the Rev. Evan Evans, who appears to have succeeded Mr. Clayton, is mentioned as the church pastor, in a public Friends' journal of the time. He calls him "Church Missionary," and names him for the purpose of saying he had been out to visit the Welsh Friends at Gwyned, in hopes to convert them over to his fellowship.* From his name and visit to Welsh people, we should infer that he was himself a Welshman. About this time the church was served by the Swedish minister, Mr. Rudman, for nearly two years.

The Rev. Mr. Keith, who visited Philadelphia in 1702, as church missionary,† speaks of having then found the Rev. Evan Evans in charge of Christ Church as its first Rector, and said to have been sent out in 1700 by Bishop Comptin of London. That time was probably referred to, because, although he had been here at an earlier time, he may have been in London in 1700 also. Certainly he is mentioned as there by William Penn himself, in his letter to James Logan of 1709, to wit: "Governor Gookin has presented Parson Evans with two gaudy costly prayer-books as any in the Queen's chapel, and intends as fine a communion table also; both which charms the Bishop of London as well as Parson Evans, whom I esteem."

It was probably on some such occasion of the presence of the Rector in London that Queen Anne made her present of a *service of church plate* for the use of Christ Church—the same which now bears the impress of her arms, &c.

We may be justified, we presume, in speaking *of all the truth*, to say a little of what was called "the church party,"—a name expressive at the time of mutual dissatisfaction between the churchmen and the Friends; probably not so much from religious differences of opinion, as from dissimilarity in views of civil government, to wit:

In 1701, James Logan writes to William Penn, saying, "I can see no hopes of getting any material subscriptions from those of the church against the report of persecution, they having consulted

* His diligence and zeal must have been great; for, besides Sunday service in Philadelphia, he held public prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays—preaching also at Chichester, Chester, Concord, Montgomery, Radnor, and Perkiomen, occasionally.

† This George Keith had himself been a public Friend not long before, at Philadelphia.

together on that head, and, as I am informed, concluded that not allowing their clergy here what they of right claim in England, and not suffering them to be superior, may justly bear that name."*

A letter from William Penn, of 1703, says: "The church party with a packed vestry, headed by his enemy, John Moore, [once Attorney General,] complimented by an address the Lord Cornbury, wherein they say, they hope they shall prevail with the Queen to extend the limits of *his* government over them, that so they may enjoy the same blessing as others under his authority." Penn calls this "a foul insubordination to him."

The "Hot Church Party," as it was called, began its opposition to Friends' rule, about the year 1701–2; (much of it from civil causes,) for instance, James Logan, in writing to William Penn, in 1702, says: "Orders having come to the Governor to proclaim the war, he recommended to the people to put themselves into a posture of defence, and since has issued commissions for one company of militia, and intends to proceed all the government over. Those of the hot church party oppose it to their utmost, because they would have nothing done that may look with a countenance at home. They have done all they can to dissuade all from touching with it," &c.†

When Lord Cornbury was again in Philadelphia, on his second visit, in 1703, Colonel Quarry, and the rest of the churchmen, congratulated him, and presented an address from the church vestry, requesting his patronage to the church, and closing with a prayer that he would beseech the Queen to extend his government over this province! Colonel Quarry also said, "they hoped they also should be partakers of the happiness Jersey enjoyed under his government."

William Penn, after hearing of this act to a mere visiter in his colony, treats it as an overt act of anarchy—a treason against his supremacy! He therefore sends a copy of the address (called "Colonel Quarry's packed Vestry's Address,") to the Lords of Trade, to be by them punished as an "impudent" affair. "I offered the Lords, that they should either buy us out, or that we might buy out the turbulent churchmen."

William Penn, Jun., in writing to James Logan, in 1703, says, "I am told the church party are very desirous of my coming over, as not doubting but to make me their property; but they will find themselves mistaken.‡ I should not encourage a people who are such enemies to my father and the province."

The Rev. Mr. Evans' services to Christ church terminated in

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* It was ascertained that Colonel Quarry, who was at the head of Penn's enemies, had taken over to England secret subscriptions on that subject, intending them there to injure Penn.

† The reason they assigned was, that they would not engage to defend and fight, while Friends could be exempted.

‡ Yet he did, not long after, join the communion of the Church of England.

1719; he was then succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Vicary—after whom the succession continued downward thus, to wit: The Rev. Mr. Cummings was installed in 1726—next, by Rev. Robert Jenney, in 1742,—then by Rev. Richard Peters, in 1762, and by the late Bishop White in 1772—the same who became Rector in 1779. The Rev. Mr. Duché began his services in 1775. From the year 1747 to 1766, the Rev. William Sturgeon, Curate, was assistant minister of Christ church and St. Peter's—at the same time he was in the service of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." Several other missionaries of that society were also here, to wit: the Rev. William Currie, missionary for Radnor, the Rev. N. Evans, for Gloucester, the Rev. E. Ross, for New Castle, also the Rev. Mr. Barron there, the Rev. Mr. Barton, for Lancaster; another is also designated for Oxford, in 1758.

In the year 1727 was begun the enlargement of the present venerable Christ church. The occasion was thus noticed in the Gazettes of the day, to wit: April 28th, 1727.—"Yesterday the Hon. P. Gordon, our Governor, with the Mayor, Recorder, and the Rev. Mr. Cummings, our minister, and sundry gentlemen, laid the first stone of the additional building designed to be made to the church of this city." I regard this to have been the present western end, including the base of the tower—as will hereafter appear more obvious from subsequent facts to be told.

In the year 1729 Thomas Makin's Latin description of the city thus hints at its unfinished state then, to wit:

> "Of these appears one in a grander style,
> But yet unfinished is the lofty pile.
> A lofty tow'r is founded on the ground
> For future bells to make a distant sound."

The tower was probably not extended above the first or second story till the year 1753, when they began the present elegant steeple. In the mean time it may have been used for other purposes.

From some incidental facts it appears, in the year 1729, to have been first furnished with an organ, and to have had there a Welsh preacher, of the name of Doctor Wayman—for the Gazette states, that the Welshmen in the city, having formed themselves into a fellowship, chose Doctor Wayman to preach them a sermon in the Welsh language, and to give them a Welsh psalm on the organ. This organ I presume to have been at Christ church, for a writer says, "I have subscribed £5 towards carrying on the new church, and 50s. to the organ, and 20s. to the organist."

As soon as they could bring the western end to a finish, by measures adapted to their limited means and resources, they set upon the building of the front or eastern end, which I found more than once ascribed to the year 1731.

For the impressive architectural style of Christ church, (as well as of the State-house also,) we are indebted to the taste and direction

of Doctor John Kearsley, the elder, an eminent physician of Philadelphia.* Robert Smith was the carpenter.

The grounds in the rear of the church were originally very different from the present level appearance. At first the ground along the rear wall of the yard descended into a very extensive pond, reaching from near High street to Arch street—once a place for wild ducks, afterwards a skating place for boys. An aged lady, named Betty Chandler, knew the site when she had gathered blackberries and whortleberries near there, and so described it. Davenport Marrot (he died in 1831 aged 84 years,) had seen the pond open and skated upon; and the late aged Thomas Bradford, Esq., said the site of the church itself is artificial ground, filled in to some extent even out to Second street. In digging in the rear of the lot on the northern side boundary for the foundation of Mr. Haines' house there, they found a very marshy bottom, and at fourteen feet below the present surface they came to the remains of a horse stall once there.

The present alley along the south wall, leading into Church alley from Second street, was originally part of the church burial ground. Samuel Coates, Esq., told me he could remember when the grave-hillocks still existed there; and, in confirmation, when the iron pipes for the Schuylkill water was laid along that alley, they found bones enough to fill a large box, which Mr. North, the druggist near there, had reinterred.

In the year 1727, Robert Asheton, Esq., Recorder and Prothonotary, died, at the age of 58, and was buried after the English manner of people of distinction, in much pomp, by torch-light, at Christ church ground. He was probably a cousin of William Penn's, as he had cousins of that name in Philadelphia.

In 1741 the churchmen of Philadelphia manifested some disaffection to the alleged supremacy of the Bishop of London, saying, in the case of the Rev. Richard Peters, who was serving as the secretary and agent of the proprietaries, that as the Bishop declined to license him for their church, after they had chosen him, (alleging for his reason, his living by his lay functions,) they would not accept any person whom he might license, they saying, his diocess did not extend to this province. Mr. Peters himself alleged that the right of presentation lay in the proprietaries and Governor. This Rev. Mr. Peters was uncle to our late venerable and respected Judge R. Peters.

Christ church, as it appeared in 1748–9, is described by the Swedish traveller Professor Kalm. Although he speaks of it as "the finest of all then in the city," he, notwithstanding, states that "the two churches then at Elizabethtown surpassed any thing in Philadelphia!" For at that time Christ church had "a little inconsiderable steeple, in which was a bell, and also a clock, (now gone!)

* He died in 1772, at the age of 88 years, leaving three of his houses as a legacy to the poor widows of the church. He was a very popular man, member of Assembly, &c.

which strikes the hours. It had (he says) been lately rebuilt, (by an addition,) and was more adorned than formerly." He mentions that the two ministers to this church received their salary from England; and that beween forty and fifty years before, the Swedish minister, Mr. Rudman, performed the functions of a clergyman for this congregation for nearly two years.

The Rev. Mr. Peters, Secretary, in writing to the proprietaries, in 1749, speaks of "the church" as having "no funds for repairs, although we beg around the town—no steeple—no wall—no gates—no bells."* "The church, too, [as big then as now!] is too little by one half to hold the members, [then the only church,] and there is an absolute necessity for building another church; but as this, (other) when built, [alluding to St. Peter's,] must be a chapel of ease to the present church, it may perhaps promote the finishing the old church with quicker expedition."

The year 1752-3 was very fruitful in expedients for adorning and beautifying the city. The war had ended in 1748, and had given a little time to devise expedients. Several new improvements were started upon lotteries; among these was that of November, 1752, for aiding in raising a steeple for Christ church. It is called a "scheme to raise £1012, 10s—being half the sum required to finish the steeple to Christ church, and to purchase a ring of bells and a clock." The lottery was drawn in March, 1753. As it was deemed a Philadelphia ornament, it was appropriately enough called "the Philadelphia steeple lottery." The managers therefore say, "We hope that a work of this kind, which is purely ornamental, will meet with encouragement from all well-wishers to the credit, beauty and prosperity of Philadelphia." The vestry had previously attempted a subscription, but as it fell "much short" of the necessary sum, it became necessary to resort to a lottery. Two lotteries were instituted for this object, and both for the same amount; the one immediately succeeding the other, to wit: in May, 1753. Each lottery contained four thousand five hundred tickets, at $4 each, making $36,000, and to net £2,025. Jacob Duché was treasurer. The subscriptions amounted to about £1000.

This "Philadelphia steeple" being one of peculiar beauty of symmetry and grace, since deemed worthy to be imitated by the Episcopal cathedral at Quebec, has been thus extolled by Joseph Sansom, Esq., who had seen numerous similar architectural ornaments abroad, to wit: "It is the handsomest structure of the kind, that I ever saw in any part of the world; uniting in the peculiar features of that species of architecture, the most elegant variety of forms, with the most chaste simplicity of combination."

The steeple was finished in November, 1754, at a cost of £2100,

* This may possibly be a purposed desolate picture, as a begging hint to them, since Kalm then saw the little steeple, heard the bell and clock, and saw some ornaments—still all was much inferior to what we now see them.

and the bells were purchased in England, at a cost of £900,—they were brought out, freight free, in the ship Matilda, Captain Budden; and as a compliment to his generosity, as often as he arrived in subsequent years, the bells put forth a merry peal to announce their gratitude. The whole weight of the eight bells was said to be eight thousand pounds—the tenor bell weighing eighteen hundred pounds. They were cast by Lester and Pack, men of most note in their day. They were hung here by Nicholas Nicholson, a native of Yorkshire, in an entirely new manner.

These bells, heavy as they were in mounting, had to be taken down in the year 1777, by the Commissary General of military stores, to keep them from falling into the hands of the British, for military purposes; they were again returned and hung after the evacuation of the city.*

When the bells were yet a novelty, they excited very great interest to hear them chime and ring tunes. They used to ring the night before markets; and on such occasions numbers of persons would go from villages like Germantown, half way to the city, to listen to the peals of merry music.

The first time the bells were tolled was long remembered, as being for the occasion of Governor Anthony Palmer's wife, the mother of twenty-one children, all of whom died with consumption! The ringing was also doubly memorable in having caused the death of one of the ringers, by his ignorance and ill-judged management of the bell rope.

Christ church steeple was built by Robert Smith. Its height is one hundred and ninety-six feet eight inches from the base to the mitre. On the mitre is engraved Bishop White's name, as first Bishop. It has thirteen holes in it, for the thirteen original States; is inscribed, "The Right Rev. William White, D. D., consecrated Bishop of the Episcopal church of Pennsylvania, February 4th, 1787." The mitre is four feet in circumference at bottom, and two and a half feet in length. The vane is seven feet seven inches in length, and two feet two inches in breadth. The four balls are each one foot ten inches in circumference. The extremities of the four balls are three feet ten inches. The big ball measures seven feet nine inches in circumference. These may seem unimportant facts in themselves, if we really saw them as little, as they seem at their elevation; but it must add to their interest to thus know them as large as they actually measure.

The Hon. Charles Thomson said he well remembered being present when a man fell from a high elevation on the steeple, down to the ground unhurt! While he was up, some commotion occurred in the crowd below, and he, turning his head and body backwards to look, gave occasion to the wind to pass between him and the

* They had been taken with the State House bell to Trenton—another account says to Allentown.

steeple, and so forced him to let go his hold by the hands, and he fell! What horrors he must have felt in his terrified thoughts, rapid as his descent! "Mercy he sought, and mercy found," for he fell, providentially and strangely enough, into a large mass of mortar, and his great fall was harmless!

After the steeple had been built some years, it was found it was getting into the same decay at its sleepers as caused the taking down of the steeple of the Presbyterian church, on the corner of Third and Arch streets, and of the State House steeple. On that occasion Owen Biddle, an ingenious carpenter, undertook to supply new sleepers of red cedar, which he got into place, on each of the four angles, by extending ropes with pullies, &c., from the spire into each of the streets a square off, so as to keep the steeple both in place and in check when needful; the fact I had from Owen Jones, Esq., an aged gentleman, who saw the display of ropes in the streets.

The Rev. George Whitfield, though no favourite in the church, was admitted to preach in Christ church to a great concourse in September, 1763, and soon after at St. Paul's also.

The parsonage house has long been disused as such, so much so, that scarcely an inhabitant remains that remembers to have heard of such a building, although it is still existing entire, but altered from a house of double front to the appearance of two or three modern stores. Its position is No. 28, North Second street, was originally a two-story brick building, having five chamber windows in front, placed at about twelve feet back from the line of Second street, and having a grass-plot, shrubbery and a palisade in front; additional buildings are now added in front to make it flush with the street, but the three dormer windows and roof of the original house may be still seen from the street. It was once the Custom House, under Collector F. Phile. The garden ground originally ran back half through the square. The premises now pay a ground-rent of $300 a year to the church.

The two frame houses south of it, Nos. 24 and 26, were, till lately, the two oldest wooden houses remaining in Philadelphia, and it may be deemed strange that such mean structures should so long occupy the place of better buildings in so central a part of the city.

Since writing the foregoing, I learn that the ancient communion plate of Christ church consists of the following articles, to wit: a large silver baptismal font, inscribed as a gift from Col. Quarry, a goblet and two tankards of silver, from Queen Anne, are severally inscribed, "Annæ Anglican æ apud Philad., A. D., 1708." The two latter are decorated with figures of the apostles. Another antique-looking goblet is inscribed, "the gift of Margaret Tresse, to Christ church in Philadelphia." Besides these, might be added the primitive altar-piece of antique character, now disused, and an early library of many and rare books.

The original deed for the ground-plot is from the family of Jones,

conveyed per Joshua Carpenter, as their agent, for the sum of £150 for one hundred feet of front. The deed being later than the erection of the Church, may possibly lead to the idea that the ground was at first held on ground-rent.

The Rev. Thomas Coombe, the Rector, resigned his place and took refuge with the British in New York, because he could not swear allegiance to the new government of the States: on that occasion Doctor Wm. White was made his successor. It was from the family of Mr. Coombe, I believe, that we have derived the name of Coombe's alley. He was an American, and much esteemed.

In the year 1782, *stoves*, as a new article of comfort, were provided —whereby we may know how our forefathers were wont to endure the cold! They were of the kind called cannon stoves.

At one time, Judge Francis Hopkinson, the poet, was the temporary organist of Christ church, as a volunteer, in the absence of Mr. Bremner, the regular organist.

We may know the fact, that the church originally had little panes of glass set in leaden frames, (most probably made by our celebrated Godfrey, as *a plumber* and glazier,) by its appearing on record on the minutes, that in June, 1767, there is a call for their repair; and Mr. Denormandie is engaged to repair the glass, and to *new lead* the windows for the sum of £12.

It may possibly please some of the present day, who do not like the introduction of some modern music of orchestra taste and caste, to learn, that in 1785 it was gravely determined by the vestry, "that the clerks be required to sing *such tunes only* as are *plain* and *familiar* to the congregation; and that the singing of other tunes, and the frequent *changing* of tunes, are deemed disagreeable and inconvenient."

It appears from the church records, that the six feet alley along the south wall of the yard was opened in 1756, in consequence of a gift of £100 from Hugh Roberts and A. Shute, as a Second street opening to Church alley. Some interments had been made there before the change.

In June, 1777, the steeple was *struck with lightning*, by which the conductor and lightning rod were so ruined as to require new ones. It also melted down the *Crown* before there—ominous.

The burial ground on Arch and Fifth streets was purchased of James Steel in 1719, and surrounded by a board fence, and in 1770 it was taken down, and the present brick wall erected—finished by the year 1772.

The street before the church was first paved by the church and the near inhabitants in 1757.

When the additions were made, bodies which had been interred were removed, to prepare the place of the new foundations.

The bells of this church are said to be the oldest on this side of the Atlantic, and the only ones which are rung in peals in the United States; if so, this is going ahead of the New Yorkers, notwithstand-

ing their greater attachment to bells and spires. They were so rung at the Declaration of Independence, and it might be, that the expected offence of the British at that act, might have caused their expensive and laborious removal from the steeple to Allentown, for their preservation.

When the mitre was put up, after the war, it was in place of the crown, before there.

Bishop White, when a little boy, (in High street between Fourth and Fifth streets,) dwelling next door to a Quaker family of the name of Pascal, used, as a child, to play with their little daughter. She, when grown up, used to say, in her own style of speech, that Billy White was born a bishop, for she never could persuade him to play any thing but *church*. He would tie her apron round his neck for a gown, and stand behind a chair for his pulpit, whilst she, seated before him on a low bench, was to be the congregation.

"The history of this church (says the Protestant Episcopalian of March, 1838,) is in a measure identified with the first organization and establishment of the church in the United States;—for here it was, that the first general convention of clerical and lay deputies, from seven of the thirteen states, met to frame an Ecclesiastical Constitution in 1785, and again in 1786.

The minutes of the vestry (now extant, the earlier ones being gone by fire, *it is said*,) begin in 1717, but a *cash book* goes back to 1708. In that book is a charge in April, 1709, "for 2250 bricks for the belfry;" and in May, 1711, (when the first alteration was made,) there is a charge "for 3700 bricks for an addition to the church,"—and at same time another charge "for pulling down *the gable end* and *cleaning the bricks*." This naming of "*bricks*" is supposed to indicate a *brick* church, contrary to the saying of "Alice, the black woman," who said *she remembered* the *first* church as of *wood*, as herein before *explained*.

The same cash book intimates *a belfry*, contrary to her intimation of "the bell in the crotch of a tree," to wit: in November, 1708, is a charge "for four cedar posts to support *the belfry*;" and in April, 1709, is a charge "for 2250 bricks for the belfry," as before mentioned. In 1712 there is a mention in the minutes of the vestry of "the little bell," and "the great bell."* The minutes of December, 1723, make mention of their address to the Bishop of London, wherein it says, "it is now about 28 years since the foundation of this church was laid (in 1695,) by *a very few* of her communion, since which the congregation has so increased, that *two* additions have been made thereto."

The enlargement to the *west* end, of thirty-three feet, so as to hold sixty-seven pews, was not *finished* till March, 1731; and the enlargement at the east end began seemingly, in 1740, is spoken of as

* The bell in the crotch of the tree was confirmed to me by Bishop White himself, who added, it was *the same*, afterwards the best tenor bell at St. Peter's.

finished in August, 1744, and votes of thanks are passed to Doctor Kearsley for his aid therein; and in 1747, he is voted a present of plate of £40 for his services in superintending the architectural embellishments, &c. The city and the country seem to have been indebted to "Mr. Harrison for a plan of the tower and spire, as agreed upon, to be erected for a ring of bells." [Henry Harrison was one of the vestry.]

The subscription paper put forth by the vestry in May, 1739, states that "it was resolved by two vestries, in 1727, that a sum should be raised by subscription, for *erecting a new, larger, and more convenient* building, which has been since carried, and a steeple laid, and the *body* of the new church *outside* almost finished; wherefore, to finish the inside with additional pews, &c., a new subscription is now to be instituted."

The minutes of 1744 make an entry "for building *the outside of the church*, which was done at two several times—there was paid then by Dr. Kearsley £2197." In the preceding year (1743) it reads, that Dr. John Kearsley has served since the year 1727, "as trustee and overseer in carrying on and rebuilding the church, and for five years of the time had given daily attendance." [Possibly old Alice vaguely spoke of "outside walls *after* 1727, as above, and the lowness of the ceiling may have meant *some part* of the church, such as *the gallery* for blacks, which "she could reach." On the whole, she must not be allowed to invalidate the better authority of Gabriel Thomas, who said it was "a very fine church," possibly such as he considered the then new Swedes' church to be; and Keith, who preached in it in 1702, said it then held five hundred persons.]

'Tis a gratification to consider that this ancient church, though it has been lately *reformed*, in the modern passion for innovation and change, yet there has been a steadfast desire in some of the vestry to retain, as far as practicable, the *preservation* of the former appearances of things once there. The "long drawn aisles," formerly of *brick*, have been superseded by floors and carpets, and the stone memorials once there under the passing foot-tread, now no longer seen, have been memorized on the side walls;—the once high and straight backs in the pews, have been replaced by ones of lower size, and inclined backwards for more reposing comfort. The whole reminds one of Mrs. Seba Smith's poetry, to wit:

> ——————There might be seen
> Oak timbers large and strong,
> And those who reared them must have been
> Stout men when they were young—
> For oft I've heard my grandsire speak,
> How men were growing thin and weak.
> Alas! that he should see the day
> That rent those oaken planks away.
> His heart was twined, I do believe,
> Round every timber there—

For memory loved a web to weave
Of all the young and fair
Who gathered there, with him to pray,
For many a long—long Sabbath day.
Old churches, with their walls of gray,
Must yield to something new:
Be-gothic'd things, all neat and white,
Greet every where the traveller's sight;
And stern old men, with hearts of oak,
Their *bed-room* pews must quit,
And like degenerate common folk,
In cushioned *slip* must sit.
Then pull them down, and rear on high
New-fangled, painted things,
For these but mock the modern eye,
The past around them brings,
Ay, pull them down, as well ye may,
Those altars stern and old—
They speak of those long pass'd away,
Whose ashes now are cold.

We thank the sparing hand that has still preserved one vestige of the past, the elaborate sounding board—*one* now *rare and curious specimen* of a thing once deemed so indispensable in audible prayer and supplication:

"That sounding board, to me it seemed
A cherub poised on high—
A mystery I almost deemed
Quite hid from vulgar eye.
And that old pastor, wrapt in prayer,
Looked doubly awful 'neath it there."

We are glad to add that it was always the fond wish of Bishop White, that as much as possible of the original church, and its olden form and appurtenances, should remain *unchanged.*

It is the architectural style and arrangements of the interior of Christ church, which give it a peculiar claim to public regard, as an elegant relic of the olden time. There is a hallowed and holy feeling in worshipping in such an edifice, because the place is full of associations connected with our domestic history and forefathers:

"For memory loves a web to weave
Of all who gathered there."

There went all the Colonial Governors and other officers of state, with their families—there went Washington and Franklin and their families. In such a place we may contemplate our forefathers as being once engaged in the same duties, confiding in the same faith, hearing the same service and the same doctrines,—and even occupying the same seats. Such reflections must generate grateful family remembrances—must solemnize us, as in their ideal presence; and, finally, must admonish us that we are also in a state of transit, and "know not what a day may bring forth." Christ church is a place *to think.*

FRIENDS' BANK MEETING ON FRONT STREET.

THE Friends' Meeting, in Front above Mulberry street, built in 1685, was originally intended as an "Evening Meeting," while the one at the Centre Square (south-west corner) was then erected as a Day Meeting. Part of the surplus materials used at the latter were removed to aid in building the evening meeting. It was called, in that day, "the Evening Meeting." In after years, when they constructed, in 1753, "the Hill Meeting," on Pine street, they called this house, in relation to its position, the "*North* Meeting." After they cut down the Front street before the house, so as to leave the meeting on a high table land, they then called it, "the *Bank* Meeting." It was sold and taken down in 1789, at the time it became useless by their building "the new meeting-house" in Keys' alley, which soon afterwards took the name of "the Up-town Meeting."

The Bank Meeting, as aforesaid, had its front on the Front street. The pediment at the front door was supported by columns—at that door the men entered. On the southern side was a double door, covered by a shed, by one of which the women entered. At those doors was the entrance for men and women to the gallery—the men going to the east, and the women to the west. Originally the meeting had no board partition, but a *curtain* was used when they held the preparative meeting. The preachers' gallery was on the northern side. The house was fifty feet front by thirty-eight feet wide, and the green yard in front, within the brick enclosure or wall, was fourteen feet wide. Originally, the street and house were on the same level. The present James C. Fisher, Esq., has preserved the oak column which supported the gallery, and which had been brought from the Centre Square Meeting.

Such minute detail may seem too circumstantial to some who never gave the place, when standing, their regard or inspection; but those who were accustomed to assemble there in their youth, conducted and controlled by parents now no more, will be thankful for every revived impression, and every means of recreating the former images of things by-gone.

"Ilk place we scan seems still to speak
Of some dear former day——
We think where ilka ane had sat,
Or fixt our hearts to pray,
Till soft remembrance drew a veil
Across these een o' mine!"

Thus—"when we remembered Zion, then we sat down and wept."

Richard Townsend, the primitive settler and a public Friend, says

the Friends set up, in 1682, a boarded meeting-house near to the Delaware. We presume it was on this premises; it meant a temporary building. "The meeting on Front street was opened first for worship in *the afternoon*, and began on the 1st day of the 20th of 7mo., 1685."

Robert Turner, in writing to William Penn, in 1685, says, besides the brick meeting-house at the Centre, we have a large meeting-house, fifty by thirty-eight, going on, the front of the river, for an Evening Meeting.

The meeting-house, elevated as it was, as much as ten or twelve feet above the street from which you beheld it, gave it a peculiar and striking appearance, and the abundance of green sod, seen from the street when the two gates were opened, contrasted with the whitish stone steps of ascent, gave the whole a very attractive aspect.

Its original advantages for prospect and river scenery must have been delightful; it had no obstruction between it and the river, so that all who assembled there could look over to the Jerseys and up and down the river, from a commanding eminence. The houses answering to Nos. 83 and 85, opposite to it, were built with flat roofs, caulked and pitched, and did not rise higher above Front street than to serve as a breast-high wall.

The meeting-house, when taken down, was superseded by a uniform row of three-story houses now flushing with the line of Front street. It may be still seen near there that the old houses have marks of having once had their present first stories under ground, and their street doors formerly in what is now their second story.

FRIENDS' MEETING AT CENTRE SQUARE, &C.

This building was originally constructed in the year 1685, at the south-west corner of the Centre Square, then in a natural forest of oaks and hickories. It might surprise some, now, to account for a choice so far from the inhabitants dwelling on the Delaware side of the city. The truth was, that expectations were originally entertained that the city would expand from the centre towards both rivers; but it was soon found that the commerce of the Delaware engrossed all, and Centre Square Meeting came, in time, to be deserted, and the house itself in time disappeared.

Penn's letter, of 1683, to the Free Society of Traders, sufficiently intimates the cause of its location there, showing that Penn expected business to concentre there, he saying, "Delaware is a glorious river; but the Schuylkill being one hundred miles boatable above

the falls, and its course north-west, towards the fountain of Susquehanna, (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own,) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age." In concurrence with these ideas, Oldmixon's book says, "the Centre Square, as he heard it from Penn, was for a state-house, market-house, and chief meeting-house for the Quakers."

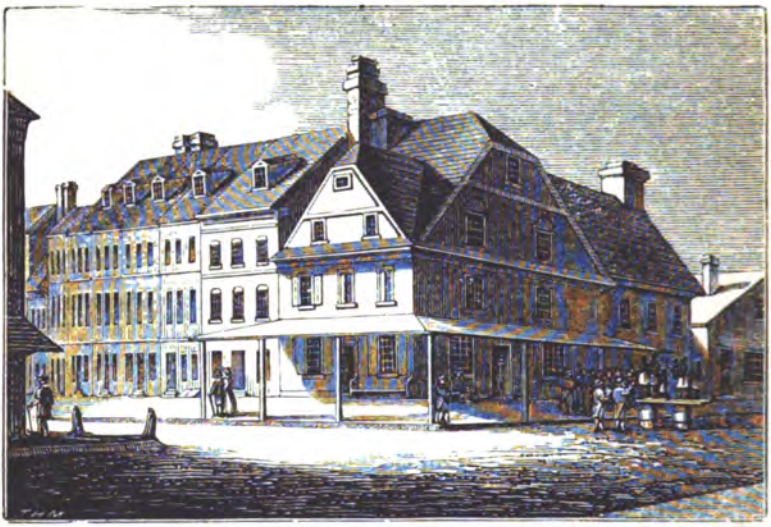
Robert Turner's letter, of 1685, to William Penn, says: "We are now laying the foundation of a large plain brick building for a meeting-house in the Centre, sixty feet long by forty feet broad, and hope to have it soon up, there being many hearts and hands at work that will do it." "The dimensions were altered afterwards, and the house was not built for more than a year after the above date." The late aged D. Merrot and B. Kite, Friends, have told me they remembered to have seen brick remains of the foundation, in the days of their youth, on the south-west corner of the square. Whether they meant the present Centre I am not able to say; for, it is to be observed, there was at some period a re-appointment, by which the Broad street is now placed more westward than was originally appointed. At first it was placed, on paper, five hundred and twenty-eight feet west from Eleventh street; but now Twelfth and Thirteenth streets intervene, making one thousand and twenty-four feet now westward of Eleventh street.

The general state of woods in which the meeting-house was originally located continued much the same till the time of the revolution. It was once so far a wild forest, that the grandmother of the late aged Col. A. J. Morris told him that when they used to go out from the city to the Centre Square Meeting, she had seen deer and wild turkeys cross their path. At that time they had a resting seat under a fine shade at the corner of High and Sixth street, then far out of town, and called "the half-way rest."

These woods were long reserved as the property of Penn, he conceding, however; that "they should remain open as commons to the west of Broad street, until he should be prepared to settle it." But as early as the year 1701, Penn complained much of "the great abuse done in his absence by destroying his timber and wood, and suffering it to overrun with brush, to the injury and discredit of the town," being, as he said, "his fourth part of the city, reserved by him for such as were not first purchasers, who might want to build in future time."

At the time the British possessed Philadelphia, in the winter of '77 and '78, the woods were so freely taken for the use of the army, that it was deemed most politic in the agent to cut them down and sell them. This was the business of one Adam Poth, a German of much self-consequence, well known to the city lads as a vigilant frustrater of many of their schemes to cut saplings, shinny-clubs, &c., in his woody domains.

In 1726, the Grand Jury presented two old wells, very deep, which lie open at the Centre Square." And about the same time an order



The London Coffee House.—Page 393.



State House and Congress Hall.—Page 396.

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of the City Council directs a well there to be filled up. Perhaps these may yet be discovered to the surprise of many.

When the writer was a lad the Centre Square was never named but in connexion with military trainings, or as an object of universal terror to boys, as the gallows ground. Wo to the urchin then that should be found there after evening-fall among the spectres who then possessed that region. The woods were all gone, and a green commons occupied their place all the way out to Schuylkill. As late as the year 1790 the common road to Gray's ferry ran diagonally across those commons, so few then had fenced in their lots.

On page 507 of my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society, is a long article containing facts on the lines and uses in the grants of the Centre Square, not expedient to insert here.

THE LONDON COFFEE HOUSE, &c.

WHAT was called the old London Coffee House before and after the revolution, now the property of James Stokes, Esq., was originally built about the year 1702, by Charles Reed, who obtained his lot, in the year 1701, from Lætitia Penn—in the same year in which William Penn patented it, with other grounds, to his daughter, to wit: the 29th of 1st mo., 1701. The original lot to Charles Reed contained twenty-five feet upon Front street, and one hundred up High street. This his widow conveyed in 1739 to Israel Pemberton. In December, 1751, he willed it to his son John, and at his death his widow sold it at Orphans' sale to the Pleasant family, who, on the 20th of September, 1796, sold it with but 82 feet of depth of lot for the great sum of £8216 13s. 4d. to James Stokes.

This celebrated house, as a Coffee House, was first introduced to its new employment by William Bradford, the printer, in the year 1754, upon the occasion of the declining of the widow Roberts, who till then had kept a Coffee House in Front street below Black-horse alley.*

The original petition of William Bradford to the Governor, for his license to keep the house, is somewhat strange to our modern conceptions of such a place, by showing that coffee was ordinarily drunk as a refreshment then, even as spirituous liquors are now. It is dated July, 1754, and reads verbatim thus, to wit: "Having been advised to keep a Coffee House for the benefit of merchants and traders, and as some people may at times be desirous to be furnished with other

* At the house now Dixon's, the same which became the store of Rhea and Wikoff, in 1755.

liquors besides coffee, your petitioner apprehends it is necessary to have the Governor's license."

At this Coffee House, so begun, the Governor and other persons of note ordinarily went at set hours to sip their coffee from the hissing urn, and some of those stated visiters had their known stalls. It was long the focus which attracted all manner of genteel strangers; the general parade was outside of the house under a shed of but common construction, extending from the house to the gutter-way, both on the Front street and High street sides. It was to this, as the most public place, they brought all vendues of horses, carriages, and groceries, &c., and above all, here Philadelphians once sold negro men, women and children as slaves.

When these premises were rented in 1780, to Gifford Dally, the written terms with John Pemberton, a Friend, the then proprietor, were so unusual and exemplary for a tavern as to deserve a record, to wit: On the 8th of 7mo., 1780, the said Dally "covenants and agrees and promises, that he will exert his endeavours as a Christian to preserve decency and order in said house, and to discourage the profanation of the sacred name of God Almighty by cursing, swearing, &c., and that the house on the *first day* of the week shall always be kept closed from public use, that so regard and reverence may be manifested for retirement and the worship of God;" he further "covenants, that under a penalty of £100 he will not allow or suffer any person to use, play at, or divert themselves with cards, dice, back-gammon, or any other unlawful game." To secure the fulfilment of these purposes he limits his lease for trial to but one year, and next year he renews a like lease for two years—after this, to my knowledge, he solicited Mr. Stokes to occupy it as a dwelling and store, and finally to purchase it for private use—a thing which Mr. Pemberton said he much preferred.

Such religious scruples in regard to a public city tavern, would look strange enough to Europeans accustomed to the licensed gambling and licentiousness practised at the Orleans palace at Paris! The submission to such terms, in such a city as Philadelphia then was, strongly marked the moral feelings of the town.

It might be curious to connect with this article the little history we possess of any anterior coffee houses. The earliest mention we have seen of a coffee house, was that built by Samuel Carpenter on some of his ground at or near to Walnut street. In 1705, he speaks of having sold such a building some time before to Captain Finney, who was also Sheriff.* I am much inclined to think it was on the east side of Water street, adjoining to Samuel Carpenter's own dwelling, being probably the same building which in the time of the colony was called Peg Mullen's celebrated beef-steak and oyster house, and stood then at or near the present Mariner's church. The

* The Common Council proceedings, of 1704, are dated at Herbert Carey's inn, and, at other times, at "the Coffee House."

water side was the first court end of the town, and in that neighbourhood Carpenter had erected a bakery, crane, public scales,* &c. It is also possible it may have been on the north-west corner of Front and Walnut streets, where was once a frame building, which had once been what was called the first Coffee House, and, at another period, the first Papal chapel. The late owner of that corner, Samuel Coates, Esq., now having a large brick building there, told me he had those facts from his uncle Reynalls, the former owner, who said that at a very early day the coffee house there was kept by a widow, Sarah James, afterwards by her son James James, and lastly by Thomas James, jun. The Gazettes too, of 1744 and 1749, speak of incidents at James' Coffee House.† Mrs. Sarah Shoemaker, who died in 1825, at the age of 95, told me that her father or grandfather spoke of their drinking the first dish of tea, as a rarity, in that coffee house. But I perceive a sale at auction is advertised in the year 1742, as to take place at Mrs. Roberts' Coffee House," which was in Front street below Blackhorse alley, west side—thus indicating that, while she kept her house there, Mr. James was keeping another coffee house at Walnut street. I notice also, that in 1744, a recruiting lieutenant, raising troops for Jamaica, advertises himself as to be seen at "the widow Roberts' Coffee House." There she certainly continued until the year 1754, when the house was converted into a store. I ought to add, that as early as the year 1725, I noticed a case of theft, in which the person escaped from "the Coffee House in Front street by the back gate opening out on Chestnut street;" from which fact I am inclined to think it was then the same widow Roberts' house, or some house still nearer to Chestnut street.

In the year 1741, John Shewbart makes an advertisement in the Gazette, saying, he is about to remove "from the London Coffee House, near Carpenter's wharf," to the house in Hanover square, about half a mile from the Delaware, between Arch and Race streets, "which is a short walk and agreeable exercise."

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* I since perceive that Edward Bridges, in 1739, advertises his dry goods store "at the corner of Front and Walnut streets, commonly called the Scales."

† The Philadelphia Mercury, of 1720, speaks of the then Coffee House in the Front street.

STATE-HOUSE AND YARD.

This distinguished building was begun in the year 1729, and finished in the year 1734. The amplitude of such an edifice in so early a day, and the expensive interior decorations, are creditable evidences of the liberality and public spirit of the times.

I have in my possession the original bills and papers, as kept by Andrew Hamilton, Esq., one of the three commissioners charged with the erection of the same. It seems to have cost £5600, and the two wings seem to have been made as late as 1739–40; Edmund Woolley did the carpenter work, John Harrison the joiner work, Thos. Boude was brick mason, Wm. Holland did the marble work, Thos. Kerr, plasterer, Benjamin Fairman and James Stoopes made the bricks; the lime was from the kilns of the Tysons. The "glass and lead" cost £170, and the glazing in leaden frames was done by *Thomas Godfrey*, the celebrated. The interior brick pavement was made of clay *tiles*, by Benjamin Fairman.

I may here usefully add, for the sake of comparison, the costs of sundry items, to wit. Carpenter's work at 4s. per day, boys at 1s., master carpenter, E. Woolley, 4s. 6d.; bricklaying by Thos. Boude, John Palmer and Thos. Redman, at 10s. 6d. per M.; stone work in the foundation at 4s. per perch; digging ground and carting away 9d. per yard; bricks 31s. 8d. per M.; lime, per 100 bushels, £4; boards 20s. per M.; lath wood 18s. per cord; laths 3s. per C.; shingles 20s. per M.; scantlings 1½d. per foot; stone 3s. per perch, and 5s. 5d. per load. Laborers receive 2s. 6d. per day; 2100 loads of earth are hauled away at 9d. per load.

Before the location of the State-House, the ground towards Chestnut street was more elevated than now. The grandmother of S. R. Wood remembered it when it was coverd with whortleberry bushes. On the line of Walnut street the ground was lower, and was built upon with a few small houses, which were afterwards purchased and torn down, to enlarge and beautify the State-House square.

The late aged Thomas Bradford, Esq. who has described it as it was in his youth, says the yard at that time was but about half its present depth from Chestnut street—was very irregular on its surface, and no attention paid to its appearance. On the Sixth street side, about fifteen to twenty feet from the then brick wall, the ground was sloping one to two feet below the general surface—over that space rested against the wall a long shed, which afforded and was used as the common shelter for the parties of Indians occasionally visiting

the city on business.* Among such a party he saw the celebrated old King Hendrick, about the year 1756, not long before he joined Sir William Johnson at Lake George, and was killed.

In the year 1760 the other half-square, fronting on Walnut street, was purchased. After pulling down the houses there, among which were old Mr. Townsend's at north-east corner of Walnut and Sixth street—a brick house with a large walnut tree before it, which he lamented over as a patrimonial gift forced out of his possession by a jury valuation, the whole space was walled in with a high brick wall, and at the centre of the Walnut street wall was a ponderous high gate and massive brick structure over the top of it, placed there by Joseph Fox. It was ornamental but heavy; *vis-a-vis* to this gate, the south side of Walnut street, was a considerable space of vacant ground.

About the year 1783–4 the father of the late John Vaughan, Esq., coming to Philadelphia from England to reside among us, set his heart upon improving and adorning the yard, as an embellishment to the city. He succeeded to accomplish this in a very tasteful and agreeable manner. The trees and shrubbery which he had planted were very numerous and in great variety. When thus improved, it became a place of general resort as a delightful promenade. Windsor settees and garden chairs were placed in appropriate places, and all, for a while, operated as a charm. It was something in itself altogether unprecedented, in a public way, in the former simpler habits of our citizens; but after some time it became, in the course of the day, to use the language of my informant, Mr. Bradford, the haunt of many idle people and tavern resorters; and, in the evening, a place of rendezvous to profligate persons; so that in spite of public interest to the contrary, it ran into disesteem among the better part of society. Efforts were made to restore its lost credit; the seats were removed, and loungers spoken of as trespassers, &c.—but the remedy came too late; good company had deserted it, and the tide of fashion did not again set in its favour.

In later years the fine elms, planted by Mr. Vaughan, annually lost their leaves by numerous caterpillars, (an accidental foreign importation,) which so much annoyed the visiters, as well as the trees, that they were reluctantly cut down after attaining to a large size. After this, the dull, heavy brick wall was removed to give place to the present airy and more graceful iron palisade. Numerous new trees were planted to supply the place of the former ones removed,† and now the place being revived, is returning again to public favour; but our citizens have never had the taste for promenading public walks, so prevalent in Londoners and Parisians—a subject to be regretted, since the opportunity of indulgence is so expensively provided in this and the neighbouring Washington square.

* This shed afterwards became an artillery range, having its front gate of entrance upon Chestnut street

† Doctor James Mease has been active in getting trees planted before the State house, and also at our public squares.

We come now to speak of the venerable pile, the State-house, a place consecrated by numerous facts in our colonial and revolutionary history. Its contemplation fills the mind with numerous associations and local impressions—within its walls were once witnessed all the memorable doings of our spirited forefathers—above all, it was made renowned in 1776, as possessing beneath its dome "the Hall of Independence," in which the representatives of a nation resolved to be "free and independent."

The general history of such an edifice, destined to run its fame co-extensive with our history, may afford some interest to the reader.

The style of the architecture of the house and steeple was directed by Doctor John Kearsley, Sen.—the same amateur who gave the architectural character to Christ church. The carpenter employed was Mr. Edward Woolley. The fact concerning its bell, first set up in the steeple, (if we regard its after-history,) has something peculiar. It was of itself not a little singular that the bell, when first set up, should, in its colonial character, have been inscribed as its motto—"Proclaim liberty throughout the land, and to all the people thereof!" But it is still stranger, and deserves to be often remembered, that it was the first in Philadelphia, and from the situation of the Congress then legislating beneath its peals, it was also the first in the United States to proclaim, by ringing, the news of "the Declaration of Independence! The coincidents are certainly peculiar, and could be amplified by a poetic imagination into many singular relations!

This bell was imported from England, in 1752, for the State house, but having met with some accident in the trial-ringing, after it was landed, it lost its tones received in the fatherland, and had to be conformed to ours, by a recasting! This was done under the direction of Isaac Norris, Esq., the then speaker of the Colonial Assembly, and to him we are probably indebted for the remarkable motto so indicative of its future use! That it was adopted from Scripture (Lev. 25, 10,) may to many be still more impressive, as being also the voice of God—of that great Arbiter, by whose signal providences we afterwards attained to that "liberty" and self-government which bids fair to emancipate our whole continent, and in time to influence and meliorate the condition of the subjects of arbitrary government throughout the civilized world!

"The motto of our father band
Circled the world in its embrace:
'Twas "Liberty throughout the land,
And good to all their brother race!"
Long here—within the pilgrim's bell
Had linger'd—tho' it often pealed—
Those treasured tones, that eke should tell
When freedom's proudest scroll was sealed!
Here the dawn of reason broke,
On the trampled rights of man;
And a moral era woke,
Brightest since the world began!

And still shall deep and loud acclaim
Here tremble on its sacred chime;
While e'er the thrilling trump of fame
Shall linger on the pulse of time!

It was stated in the letters of Isaac Norris, that the bell got cracked by a stroke of the clapper when hung up to try the sound. Pass and Stow undertook to recast it; and on this circumstance Mr. Norris remarks: "They have made a good bell, which pleases me much that we should first venture upon and succeed in the greatest bell, for aught I know, in English America—surpassing too (he says) the imported one, which was too high and brittle—[sufficiently emblematic!]—the weight was 2080 lbs."

At the time the British were expected to occupy Philadelphia, in 1777, the bell, with others, was taken from the city to preserve them from the enemy. At a former period, say in 1774, the base of the wood work of the steeple was found in a state of decay, and it was deemed advisable to take it down, leaving only a small belfry to cover the bell for the use of the town clock. It so continued until lately, when public feeling being much in favour of restoring the venerated building to its former character, (as seen when it became the Hall of Independence) a new steeple was again erected as much like the former as circumstances would admit. The chamber in which the representatives signed the memorable declaration, on the eastern side, first floor, we are sorry to add, is not in the primitive old style of wainscotted and pannelled grandeur in which it once stood in appropriate conformity with the remains still found in the great entry and stairway. To remove and destroy these, made a job for some of the former sapient commissioners, but much to the chagrin of men of taste and feeling, who felt, when La Fayette possessed that chamber (eighteen years ago) as his appropriate hall of audience, that it was robbed of half its associations! For that eventful occasion, and duly to honour "the nation's guest," (who cordially invited all our citizens to visit him) all the former interior furniture of benches and forms occupying the floor were removed, and the whole area was richly carpeted and furnished with numerous mahogany chairs, &c.

To revert back to the period of the revolution, when that hall was consecrated to perpetual fame, by the decisive act of the most talented and patriotic convention of men that ever represented our country, brings us to the contemplation of those hazards and extremities which "tried men's souls." Their energies and civic virtues were tested in the deed. Look at the sign-manual in their signatures; not a hand faltered—no tremor affected any but Stephen Hopkins, who had a natural infirmity.* We could wish to sketch with pic-

* Their plain and fairly legible hands might shame the modern affectation of many who make signatures not to be read. When John Hancock signed his name, he did it in a large strong hand, and rising from his seat, said, "There! John Bull can read my name without spectacles, and may now double his reward of £500 for my head. *That* is my defiance."

turesque effect the honoured group who thus sealed the destinies of a nation. The genius of Trumbull has done this so far as canvass could accomplish it. Another group, formed solely of citizens, was soon afterwards assembled by public call, to hear the declaration read in the State-house yard.

It is a fact, that the Declaration of Independence was not actually *signed* on the 4th July, nor was there that intrepid and concurrent enthusiasm in all the members of Congress which has been generally imputed. The facts, as I have seen them stated by Judge M'Kean, were in substance these, viz.: On the 1st July the question of *Independence* was taken in committee of the whole, when the *whole seven* representatives of Pennsylvania *voted against it*, and Delaware, which had but *two* members present, *divided*. These were the *only* states which so demurred! It was at this crisis that Judge M'Kean sent an express for Cæsar Rodney, the other member for Delaware; and soon after his arrival, the important question was put, when Mr. Rodney arose, and in a few words said he spoke the voice of his constituents and his own, in casting his vote for Independence. On the 4th of July, five representatives from Pennsylvania (Dickinson and Morris, who before voted against it, being absent,) gave their votes three to two, Messrs. Humphries and Willing voting in the negative.

No person actually *signed* on the 4th July. Mr. Read, whose name appears among the list of subscribers, was then actually against it; and Morris, Rush, Clymer, Smith, Taylor and Ross, whose names also appear, were not members on that day, for, in truth, they were not appointed delegates by the State Convention till the 20th July. The Declaration was only ordered to be *engrossed on parchment* on the 4th July, and it was not until *many days after* that all the names were affixed; for instance, Thornton of New Hampshire, who entered Congress in November, then placed his name,—and Judge M'Kean, though he was once present and voted for Independence, did not sign till after his return from Washington's camp, where he had gone at the head of his regiment of City Associators, *of temporary soldiers*, gone out to support the general until the formation of the flying camp of 10,000 men.

It has been said that it was a *secret* resolution of the house, that no member of the first year should hold his seat, unless he became a subscriber; this, as a measure to prevent the presence of spies and informers.

When the regular sessions of the Assembly were held in the State-house, the Senate occupied up stairs, and the Lower House in the same chamber since called the Hall of Independence. In the former, Anthony Morris is remembered as Speaker, occupying an elevated chair facing north—himself a man of amiable mien, contemplative aspect, dressed in a suit of drab cloth, flaxen hair slightly powdered, and his eyes fronted with spectacles. The representative chamber had George Latimer for Speaker, seated with face to the west—a

well-formed, manly person, "his fair large front and eye sublime declared absolute rule."

The most conspicuous persons which struck the eye of a lad was Mr. Coolbaugh, a member from Berks, called the Dutch giant, from his great amplitude of stature and person; and Doctor Michael Leib, the active democratic member, a gentleman of much personal beauty, always fashionably dressed, and seen often moving to and fro in the House, to hold his converse with other members.

But these halls of legislation and court uses were not always restricted to grave debate and civil rule. It sometimes (in colonial days) served the occasion of generous banqueting, and the consequent hilarity and jocund glee. In the long gallery up stairs, where Peale afterwards had his Museum, the long tables had been sometimes made to groan with their long array of bountiful repast. I shall mention some such occasions, to wit:

In September, 1736, soon after the edifice was completed, his honour, William Allen, Esq., the Mayor, made a feast at his own expense, at the State-house, to which all strangers of note were invited. The Gazette of the day says, "all agree that for excellency of fare, and number of guests, it was the most elegant entertainment ever given in these parts."

In August, 1756, the Assembly then in session, on the occasion of the arrival of the new Governor, Denny, gave him a great dinner at the State-house, at which were present "the civil and military officers and clergy of the city."

In March, 1757, on the occasion of the visit of Lord Loudon as Commander-in-chief of the King's troops in the colonies, the city corporation prepared a splendid banquet at the State-house, for himself and General Forbes, then commander at Philadelphia, and southward, together with the officers of the royal Americans, the Governor, gentlemen strangers, civil officers, and clergy.

Finally, in 1774, when the first Congress met in Philadelphia, the gentlemen of the city, having prepared them a sumptuous entertainment at the State-house, met at the city tavern, and thence went in procession to the dining hall, where about five hundred persons were feasted, and the toasts were accompanied by music and great guns.

For many years the public papers of the colony, and afterwards of the city and state, were kept in the east and west wings of the State-house, without any fire-proof security as they now possess. From their manifest insecurity, it was deemed expedient about nineteen years ago to pull down those former two-story brick wings, and to supply their place by those which are now there. In former times such important papers as rest with the Prothonotaries were kept in their offices at their family residences. Thus Charles Biddle long had his in his house, one door west of the present Farmers and Mechanics' Bank, in Chestnut street; and Edward Burd had his in his office, up a yard in Fourth street below Walnut street.

In pulling down the western wing, Mr. Grove, the master mason,

told me of several curious discoveries made under the foundation, in digging for the present cellars. Close by the western wall of the State-house, at the depth of four or five feet, he came to a keg of excellent flints; the wood was utterly decayed, but the impression of the keg was distinct in the loam ground. Near to it he found, at the same depth, the entire equipments of a sergeant—a sword, musket, cartouch-box, buckles, &c.—the wood being decayed left the impressions of what they had been. They also dug up, close by the same, as many as one dozen bomb-shells filled with powder. And two of these, as a freak of the mason's lads, are now actually walled into the new cellar wall on the south side. But for this explanation a day may yet come when such a discovery might give circulation to another Guy Faux and gunpowder-plot story!

An elderly gentleman requests me to add as supplemental to the State-house and its yard, that the wall along Fifth street was much older than that along Sixth street, and that the ground at Sixth and Walnut, where once stood James Townsend's brick house, was much the lowest part.

He says, that in the first construction of the State-house, there was no place assigned for the stairs, and to remedy the mistake, the great stairs in the rear are made so disproportionate. The Convention which met to form the Constitution of the United States, met *up stairs*, and at the same time the street pavement along Chestnut street was covered with earth to silence the rattling of wheels.

The Declaration of Independence was read publicly on the 8th of July, from the platform of "the observatory" before erected there, by Rittenhouse, to observe the transit of Venus. Captain Hopkins, who read it, belonged to the Navy. It was about twenty feet high, and twelve to fifteen feet square, at fifty to sixty feet south of the house, and fifteen to twenty feet west of the main walk. It seems to have been used occasionally as a stand for public addresses, it being referred to as such by Stansberry, in his militia poem.



State House Inn.—Page 403.



Robert Morris' Mansion.—Page 409

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STATE-HOUSE INN.

THE crowds of gay passengers who now promenade the line of Chestnut street, especially the younger part, who behold the costly edifices which crowd the whole range of their long walk, have little or no conception of the former blank and vacant features of the street, devoid of those mansions in which they now feel their pride and admiration. It is only forty years ago since the north side of Chestnut street, facing the State-house, now so compact and stately in its houses, had but two good houses in the whole line of the street from Fifth to Sixth street; but one of these now remain—the present residence of P. S. Duponceau, Esq., at the north-east corner of Sixth street. The whole scene was an out-town spectacle, without pavement, and of uninviting aspect. In the midst of this area stood the State-house Inn, a small two-story tavern, of rough-dashed construction, very old, being marked with the year 1693 as its birth-year. It stood back a little from the line of the street, but in lieu of a green court-yard to gratify the eye, the space was filled with bleached oyster shells—the remains of numerous years of shells left about the premises at occasions of elections, &c. It looked like a sea-beach tavern. That single and diminutive inn for a long time gave all the entertainment then taken by the court-suitors, or by those who hung about the colonial Assemblies and the primitive Congress. But desolate as it looked in front and rear, having a waste lot of commons instead of garden shrubbery, and the neighbouring lots equally open and cheerless, there was a redeeming appendage in a range of lofty and primitive walnut trees, which served as distant pointers to guide the stranger to the venerable State-house—itself beyond the verge of common population.

Of those trees we have something special and interesting to say: They were the last remains within the city precincts of that primitive forest which had been the cotemporary of Penn the founder. There they had stood at the infant cradling of our nation, and had survived to see our manhood and independence asserted in that memorable "Hall of Independence" before which they stood.

When Richard Penn first came to this country, and was shown by Samuel Coates these primitive remains of his grandfather's eventful day, the crowd of associations which pressed upon his mind made him raise his hands in exclamation, and his eyes burst forth in tears.

It would have been grateful to have retained those trees, but they came to the axe before their time, to make way for city improvements. The last of them was taken down in 1818, from before the

office of Mr. Ridgway, No. 183, from a fear that its height and heaviness, in case of being blown over, might endanger the houses near it. In falling across the street diagonally, it reached with its branches the eastern end of the State-house—as if to take its last leave of the Hall of Independence there. It was found to be sound, and to have had one hundred and forty-six years' growth. Several snuff-boxes, inlaid with other relic wood, have been made from its remains, and distributed among such as have fellowship with such local recollections.*

As early as the days of William Penn, the inn had been used as an out-town tavern. The ancient black Alice, who lived there, used to tell with pleasure, that Master William Penn would stop there and refresh himself in the porch with a pipe, for which she always had his penny.

In the colonial days it was long known as "Clarke's Inn," at which he had the sign of the "coach and horses." All that we can say of "mine host" is, that he prepared dogs—real dogs!—for cooking the meat of the epicures and gentry! In 1745 he advertises in the public prints, that "he has for sale several dogs and wheels, much preferable to any jacks for roasting any joint of meat." Few Philadelphians of modern times would be likely to understand what was meant. Our modern improvements are so great that we have little conception of the painstaking means they once employed for roast meats. They trained little bow-legged dogs, called spit-dogs, to run in a hollow cylinder, like a squirrel, by which impulse was given to a turn-jack, which kept the meat in motion, suspended before the kitchen fire. We pity the little dogs and their hard service while we think of them! As cooking-time approached, it was no uncommon thing to see the cooks running about the streets looking up their truant labourers. What a relief to them was self-moving jacks! and, still more, what have tin kitchens since produced for us!

Mr. Edward Duffield tells me that when he was a boy he saw the voters of the whole county giving in their votes at Clarke's Inn. On that occasion he saw the whole crowd put in commotion by an accident which befel a horse there. He had been hitched to a fence, and in pulling backward fell into a concealed and covered well of water; after being got up once he fell down a second time, and was again recovered—strange to tell—without injury! Such a covered and concealed well, of excellent water too, was lately discovered near there in the garden of Jacob Ridgway.

After the Revolution the inn was known as the "Half Moon," by Mr. Hassell; and much its attractions were increased by the charms of his only daughter Norah, "passing fair," who drew after her the Oglebies of the day.

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* Since penning the above publication, "La Fayette in America," Vol. 2, page 232, speaks with much commendation of such a box given to General La Fayette.

WASHINGTON SQUARE.

This beautiful square, now so much the resort of citizens and strangers, as a promenade, was, only twenty-five years ago, a "Potter's Field," in which were seen numerous graves, generally the receptacles of the poor, and formerly of the criminals from the prison. It was long enclosed in a post and rail fence, and always produced much grass. It was not originally high and level as now, but a descending ground, from the western side to a deep gulley which traversed it in a line from Doctor Wilson's large church to the mouth of the present tunnel on Sixth street below Walnut street. Another course of water came from the north-west, from beyond Arch street, falling into the same place. The houses on the street, along the south side of the square, were but a few years ago as miserable and deformed a set of negro huts and sheds as could be well imagined.

In the centre of the square was an enclosed ground, having a brick wall of about forty feet square, in which had been interred members of Joshua Carpenter's and the Story families, caused by the circumstance of a female of the former family having been interred there for suicide—a circumstance which excluded her from burial in the common church grounds of the city. There was an apple tree in the centre, under which Mr. Carpenter was buried.

Those who remembered the place long before my recollections, knew it when the whole place was surrounded by a privet-hedge, where boys used to go and cut bow-sticks, for shooting of arrows. Timothy Matlack remembered it as early as the year 1745 to '50, and used then to go to a pond where is now the site of the Presbyterian church, to shoot wild ducks. A. J. Morris, at the same period, remembered when a water-course, starting from Arch street near Tenth street, traversed High street under a small bridge at Tenth street, and thence ran south-eastward through the Washington Square, thence by the line of the present tunnel under the prison, by Beek's Hollow, into Dock creek, by Girard's Bank. The late aged Hayfield Conyngham, Esq., when he was young, caught fish of six inches in length in the above mentioned water-course, within the present square. Another aged person told me of his often walking up the brook, barefooted, in the water, and catching crayfish.

There was a deep gulley from the end of the tunnel, to which a floodgate was fixed by the commissioners, so as to retain the water in the hollow basin then in the field at that place, and when a large quantity was gathered after a great rain, it was all let off suddenly, so as to drive out and cleanse the tunnel. There used to be two or three small frame houses on the north-east corner, near the jail, after-

wards used by the commissioners as stables for the horses of the dirt carts. Up Walnut street, nigh the corner of Eighth street, was a row of red painted frame houses; in 1784–5 they were the nearest houses to Schuylkill.

It was the custom for the slave blacks, at the time of fairs and other great holidays, to go there to the number of one thousand, of both sexes, and hold their dances, dancing after the manner of their several nations in Africa, and speaking and singing in their native dialects, thus cheerily amusing themselves over the sleeping dust below! An aged lady, Mrs. H. S., has told me she has often seen the Guinea negroes, in the days of her youth, going to the graves of their friends early in the morning, and there leaving them victuals and rum!

In the time of the war of independence the place was made awful by the numerous interments of the dying soldiers destroyed by the camp fever. Pits of twenty by thirty feet square were dug along the line of Walnut street by Seventh street, which were closed by coffins piled one upon another until filled up; and along the southern line long trenches, the whole width of the square, were dug at once, and filled up as the voracious grave required its victims. A letter of John Adams, of the 13th April, 1777, says, "I have spent an hour this morning in the congregation of the dead. I took a walk into the 'Potter's Field,' (a burying place between the *new* stone prison and the hospital,) and I never in my whole life was so affected with melancholy. The graves of *the soldiers* who have been buried in this ground from the hospital and bettering-house during the course of last summer, fall and winter, dead of the *small pox* and *camp* diseases, are enough to make the heart of stone to melt away! The sexton told me that upwards of *two thousand soldiers* had been buried there, and by *the appearance* of the graves and *trenches*, it is most probable to me that he speaks within bounds. To what cause this plague is to be attributed, I don't know—disease has destroyed ten men for us where the sword of the enemy has killed one! We have *at last* determined on a plan for the sick, and have called into the service the best abilities in physic, &c., that the continent affords." Its final scene, as a Golgotha and ghostly receptacle, occurred in the fever of 1793, after which, the extension of improvements westward induced the City Council to close it against the use of future interments at and after the year 1795.

Some of my cotemporaries will remember the simple-hearted innocent Leah, a half-crazed spectre-looking elderly maiden lady, tall and thin, of the Society of Friends. Among her oddities, she sometimes used to pass the night, wrapped in a blanket, "between the graves at this place, for the avowed purpose of frightening away the doctors!"

The place was originally patented in 1704–5, under the name of "the Potter's Field," as "a burial ground for strangers," &c. The minutes of Council, in September, 1705, show that the Mayor, Re-

corder, and persons of various religious denominations, were appointed to wait on the commissioners of property for a public piece of ground for "a burial place for strangers dying in the city." With a run of ninety years it was no wonder it looked well filled!

That it was deemed a good pasture field, is evidenced by the fact of its being rented by the council for such a purpose. A minute of council of 14th April, 1766, is to this effect: "The lease of Potter's Field to Jacob Shoemaker having expired, it is agreed to lease it to Jasper Carpenter for seven years, (to the year 1773,) at ten pounds per annum."

It was begun as a public walk in the year 1815, under the plan of G. Bridport, and executed under the direction of George Vaux, Esq. It has from sixty to seventy varieties of trees, mostly of native growth. In a few years more they will have extended their shade in admirable beauty, and those who may exercise beneath their branches will no longer remember those "whelmed in pits and forgotten!"

BEEK'S HOLLOW.

This was the familiar name of ground descending into a brook or run, which traversed Walnut street a little above Fourth street, in the line of the present tunnel, called after a resident owner near the place of the intersecting streets. Before the tunnel was constructed it was an open watercourse coming from the present Washington square, crossing under Fourth street above Walnut street by an arch, and out to Dock creek by the way of the present Girard's Bank.

Many men are still living who remember it as an open, deep and sluggish stream, from Walnut street near the present Scotch Presbyterian church, in a line towards the corner of Library street and Fourth street—then a vacant commons there. In proof of the low ground once there it may be said, that when they were digging the cellar for the house No. 73, South Fourth street, western side, below Library street, at the depth of nine feet they came to an old post and rail fence!

I can myself remember, when, a little westward of the brook, on the north side of Walnut street, there stood back from the street a very pleasant two-story old cottage, the residence of the widow Rowen, having a grapevine clustering about the lattice of the piazza, and a neat garden in front. I believe Doctor Cox built his dwelling house on the same premises, nearly forty years ago. The south side of Walnut street was then generally vacant lots; and where the present range of fine houses extends westward from the south-west

corner of Fourth and Walnut streets, was a long yard occupied many years by a coachmaker, whose frame shop stood upon the corner. The rear of Doctor Rush's former residence shows a gradual descent of sloping garden into Beek's Hollow; and an old house or two in Prune street, north side, show themselves buried as much as three steps beneath the present surface—thus marking there the range of "the Hollow" once so familiar in the mouths of all persons passing up Walnut street.

NORRIS' HOUSE AND GARDEN.

Norris' house, a respectable-looking family mansion, occupied till lately the site on which is now placed the Bank of the United States. When first built, it was deemed out of town. Such as it was before the war of Independence, when adorned with a large and highly cultivated garden, has been well told in a picturesque manner by its former inmate, Mrs. L——.* Its rural beauties, so near the city, were once very remarkable; and for that reason made it the frequent resort of respectable strangers and genteel citizens. In that house, when Isaac Norris was Speaker, and was confined at home, infirm, the Assembly of Pennsylvania, for the sake of his presence, sometimes held their deliberations. In the time of the war, the patriots took off its leaden reservoir and spouts to make bullets for the army. It was occupied by several British officers when the British army possessed the city. In those gardens Admiral Howe and several British officers were daily visiters. A few years ago an aged female Friend from Baltimore, who lived there by selling cakes, &c., was present at a Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, and then told her friends that her grandfather had once been given the ground whereon the Bank stands, with as much as half the square, for his services as chain-bearer in the original survey of the city. Now, when old and needy, she sees the Bank erected thereon, at a cost for the site of 100,000 dollars!

The range of large brick houses on the south side of Chestnut street, extending from the Bank of the United States up to Fifth street, were built there about 35 years ago, upon what had been previously Norris' garden. The whole front was formerly a garden fence, shaded by a long line of remarkably big catalpa trees, and, down Fifth street, by trees of the yellow willow class, being the first ever planted in Philadelphia—and the whole the product of a wicker-basket found sprouting in Dock creek, taken out and planted in Mr. Norris' garden at the request of Dr. Franklin.

* In a family manuscript for her son.

On the Fifth street side of the garden, extending down to Library street, there stood a rural-looking cotttage, near the site of the present library. It was the gardener's residence, standing back from the street 'midst deep embowering shade, every way picturesque to the eye, and having near it an open well of water of peculiar excellence, famed far and wide as "deep and cold," and for which families often sent at several squares' distance. It was impossible to see the *tout ensemble* as it then was, without associating the poetic description of "the drawwell and mossy bucket at the door!" The well still remains, as a pump, on the north side of Library street, about 60 or 70 feet eastward of Fifth street, but its former virtues are nearly gone.

The eastern side of the garden was separated from Fourth street by the Cross-Keys Inn and some two or three appurtenant houses, once the estate of Peter Campbell, in whose hands they were confiscated, and then purchased by the late Andrew Caldwell, Esq. By mistake of the original surveys they had been built out four feet upon the Chestnut street pavement, so that when the street became public, they closed the front doors and entered the house on the western side by a gateway, and a long piazza. The whole produced an agreeable oddity, which always made the block of buildings remarkable.

ROBERT MORRIS' MANSION.

This great edifice, the grandest ever attempted in Philadelphia for the family purposes of private life, was erected at the request and for the use of the great financier, Robert Morris, Esq. The whole proved to be a ruinous and abortive scheme, not so much from his want of judgment to measure his ends by his means, as by the deceptive estimates of his architect, Major L'Enfent, a name celebrated in our annals for the frequent disproportion between his hopes and his accomplishments. A gentleman was present at R. Morris' table when L'Enfent was there, and first broached the scheme of building him a grand house for 60,000 dollars. Mr. Morris said he could sell out his lots and houses on High street for 80,000 dollars, and so the thing was begun.

Mr. Morris purchased the whole square, extending from Chestnut to Walnut street, and from Seventh to Eighth street, for £10,000, a great sum for what had been, till then, the capital, at which the Norris' family had used it as their pasture ground! Its original elevation was twelve to fifteen feet above the present level of the adjacent streets. With such an extent of high ground in ornamental

cultivation, and a palace in effect fronting upon Chestnut street, so far as human grandeur was available, it must have had a signal effect.

Immense funds were expended ere it reached the surface of the ground, it being generally two, and sometimes three stories under ground, and the arches, vaults and labyrinths were numerous. It was finally got up to its intended elevation of two-stories, presenting four sides of entire marble surface, and much of the ornaments worked in expensive relief. Such as it then was may be seen in an accurate delineation of it as made in 1798, and preserved in my MS. Annals, page 243, in the City Library. It was then perceived too late—

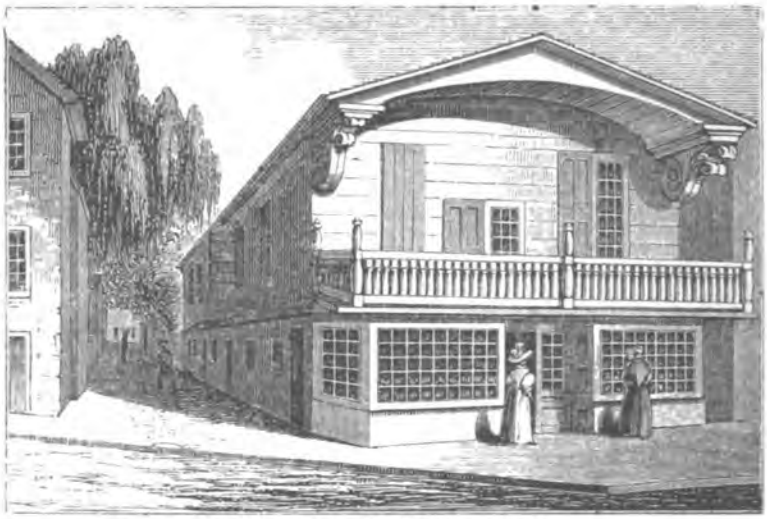
> "————that finished as it was,
> It still lack'd a grace, the loveliest it could show—
> A mine to satisfy the enormous cost!"

Mr. Morris, as he became more and more sensible of his ruin in the above building, was often seen contemplating it, and has been heard to vent imprecations on himself and his lavish architect. He had besides provided, by importation and otherwise, the most costly furniture; all of which, in time, together with the marble mansion itself, had to be abandoned to his creditors.

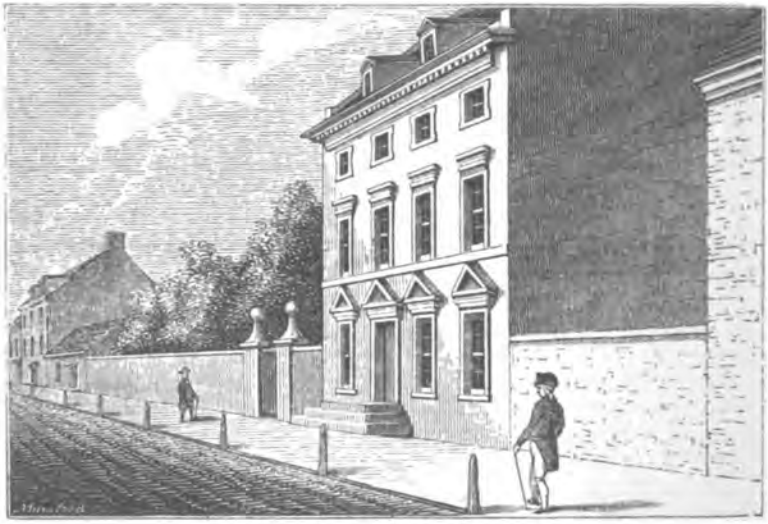
> "Drained to the last poor item of his wealth,
> He sighs, departs, and leaves the accomplished plan
> Just where it meets his hopes!"

He saw it raised enough to make a picture and to preserve the ideal presence of his scheme; but that was all—for the magnitude of the establishment could answer no individual wealth in this country; and the fact was speedily realized, that what cost so much to rear could find no purchaser at any reduced price. The creditors were therefore compelled, by slow and patient labour, to pull down, piece-meal, what had been so expensively set up. Some of the underground labyrinths were so deep and massive as to have been left as they were, and at some future age may be discovered to the great perplexity of the *quid nuncs*. The materials thus taken down were sold out in lots; and the square being divided into building lots, and sold, gave occasion to employ much of the former material therein. Mr. William Sansom soon procured the erection of his "Row" on Walnut street, and many of the houses on "Sansom street," thereby producing a uniformity in building ranges of similar houses, often since imitated, but never before attempted in our city.

It always struck me as something remarkable in the personal history of Mr. Morris, that while he operated for the government as financier, his wisdom and management was pre-eminent, as if "sky-guided and heaven-directed," leading to a national end, by an over-ruling providence; but, when acting for himself, as if teaching us to see that fact by contrast, all his personal affairs went wrong and to ruin!



Loxley House, Second Street.—Page 411.



Washington's House, High Street.—Page 583.

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LOXLEY'S HOUSE, AND BATHSHEBA'S BATH AND BOWER.

THE frame house of singular construction, No. 177 south Second street, at the junction of Little Dock and Second streets, was memorable in its early day for affording from its gallery a preaching place for the celebrated Whitfield—his audience occupying the street (then out of town) and the opposite hill, at the margin of Bathsheba's bath and bower. All these facts must sound strange to modern ears, who so long have regarded that neighbourhood as a well compacted city. It may therefore serve as well to amuse the reader, as to sustain the assertions above, to adduce some of the authorities on which those traditions are founded.

I had long heard traditional facts concerning the rural beauty and charming scenes of Bathsheba's bath and bower, as told among the earliest recollections of the aged. They had heard their parents talk of going out over the Second street bridge into the country about the Society hill, and there making their tea-regale at the above-named spring. Some had seen it, and forgotten its location after it was changed by streets and houses; but a few, of more tenacious memories or observing minds, had preserved the site in the mind's eye—among these was the late aged and respectable Samuel Coates, Esq. He told me that, when a lad, he had seen Whitfield preaching from the gallery, and that his audience, like a rising amphitheatre, surrounded the site of the bath and bower, on the western side of Second street. That the spring, once surrounded by shrubbery, sprang out of the hill on the site of the lot on which Captain Cadwallader (afterwards a General) constructed his large double house—the same site on which the late S. Girard, Esq., has since erected four brick houses. Mrs. J. and Mrs. R., daughters of Mr. Benjamin Loxley, the owner of that house, told me that they had heard him say he had heard Whitfield preach from that balcony, and also that there was originally a celebrated spring on the opposite side of the street. The springy nature of the ground was sufficiently indicated, to the surprise of the citizens and the builders, when Mr. Girard attempted to build the above-mentioned houses further out than Cadwallader's house; they could find no substantial foundation, and were obliged to drive piles on which to build. Mrs. Logan, too, had a distinct recollection of an old lady who used to describe to her the delightful scenery once around the spring, and that it lay somewhere towards the Society Hill.

Mr. Alexander Fullerton, when aged 76 years, told me he was familiar with this neighbourhood when a boy, and was certain the spring here was called "Bathsheba's Spring and Bower." He knew also that the pump near there, and still at the south-east corner of Second and Spruce streets, was long resorted to as a superior water, and was said to draw its excellence from the same source.

When I first published my Annals, I had to make much inquiry and search, before I could fully determine the location of this spring. I since find, by the Rev. Mr. Clay's Annals of the Swedes, that the whole place was named after and fitted up by, the aunt of his grandmother, Ann Clay. Her name was *Bathsheba Bowers.* The MS. life of Ann Clay reads thus: "Under Society Hill she (Bathsheba Bowers, her maiden aunt,) built a small house, close by the best spring of water that was in our city. The house she furnished with books, a table and a cup, in which she, or any that visited her, drank of the spring. Some people gave it the name of *Bathsheba's Bower*, and the spring has ever since borne the name of Bathsheba's Spring."

The street in front of Loxley's house was originally much lower than it now appears to the eye, being now raised by a subterrane tunnel. It was traversed by a low wooden bridge half the width of the street, and the other half was left open for watering cattle.

The yards now in the rear of Girard's houses are much above the level of Second street, and prove the fact of a former hill there; on which Captain Cadwallader used to exercise and drill his celebrated "silk stocking company."

Mr. Loxley, himself, was a military chieftain of an earlier day—made the talk and dependence of the town in the days of the Paxtang boys. His intended defence of the city against those outlaws has been facetiously told by Graydon in his Memoirs. He had been made a lieutenant of artillery in 1756, on the occasion of Braddock's defeat. His father, before him, owned these premises; and the family mansion near there, now shut in and concealed from Spruce street, was once at the base of a rural and beautiful hill, displaying there a charming hanging garden, and the choicest fruits and grapes. The Loxley house is deserving of some further distinction, as the residence, in the time of the Revolution, of Lydia Darrach, who so generously and patriotically undertook to walk beyond the lines to give our army timely information of the meditated attack. Under her roof the Adjutant General of the British army had his office; and upon a particular occasion she there overheard the plan of attack, and started off, beforehand, to reveal it to her countrymen.



Duche's House.—Page 413.



The British Barracks. Page 415.

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DUCHÉ'S HOUSE, &c.

This was one of the most venerable looking, antiquated houses of our city, built in 1758, for Parson Duché, the pastor of St. Peter's church, as a gift from his father, and taken down a few years ago, to give room to erect several brick houses on its site. It was said to have been built after the pattern of one of the wings of Lambeth Palace. When first erected there it was deemed quite out of town, and for some time rested in lonely grandeur. In after years it became the residence of Governor M'Kean, and when we saw it as a boy, we derived from its contemplation conceptions of the state and dignity of a governor which no subsequent structures could generate. It seemed the appropriate residence of some notable public man.

Parson Duché was as notable in his time as his mansion, and both for a time ran their fame together. He was withal a man of some eccentricity, and of a very busy mind, partaking with lively feelings in all the secular incidents of the day. When Junius' Letters first came out, in 1771, he used to descant upon them in the Gazettes of the time under the signature of *Tamoc Caspina*, a title formed by an acrostic on his office, &c., as "the assistant minister of Christ church and St. Peter's in North America." At another time he endeavoured to influence General Washington, with whom he was said to be popular as a preacher, to forsake the American cause; and for this measure he was obliged to make his escape for England, where he lived and preached some time, but finally came back to Philadelphia and died. His ancestor was Anthony Duché, a respectable Protestant refugee, who came out with William Penn.

The church of St. Peter, to which he was attached, on the southwest corner of Third and Pine streets, (the diagonal corner from his own house,) was founded in the year 1758, as a chapel of ease to the parent Christ church. It was built by contract for the sum of £3310, and the bell in its cupola, (the best at present in the city for its tones) was the same, as told to me by Bishop White, which had occupied the tree-crotch at Christ church. The extensive ground was the gift of the proprietaries; level as the whole area was, it was always called "the church on the hill," in primitive days, in reference to its being in the region of "Society Hill," and not, in familiar parlance, within the city walks.

In September, 1761, just two years after it was begun to be built, it was first opened for public worship. On that occasion all the clergy met at Christ church, and with the wardens and vestry went in procession to the Governor's house, where, being joined by him and some of his council, they proceeded to the new church, where they heard a sermon from Doctor Smith, the Provost of the college,

from the words "I have surely built thee a house to dwell in," &c The same words were also set to music and sung by the choir.

BINGHAM'S MANSION.

Long after the peace of 1783, all of the ground in the rear of "the Mansion House" to Fourth street, and all south of it to Spruce street, was a vacant grass ground enclosed by a rail fence, in which the boys resorted to fly their kites. The Mansion House, built and lived in by William Bingham, Esq., about the year 1790, was the admiration of that day for its ornaments and magnificence. He enclosed the whole area with a painted board fence and a close line of Lombardy poplars, the first ever seen in this city,* and from which has probably since come all the numerous poplars which we every where see. The grounds generally he had laid out in beautiful style, and filled the whole with curious and rare clumps and shades of trees; but in the usual selfish style of Philadelphia improved grounds, the whole was surrounded and hid from the public gaze by a high fence. An occasional peep through a knot hole was all the pleasure the public could derive from such a woodland scene. After Mr. Bingham's death, the whole was sold off in lots, and is since filled up with finely finished three-story houses. When the British were in Philadelphia they used this ground as a parade and exercise.

Mr. Bingham being the richest man of his time, and having made a fortune in the West Indies, as agent for American privateers, he was exposed to the shafts of obloquy. In giving a specimen of the pasquinades and detractions, we must add, that we do not mean to endorse them, but merely to show the history of the day. Peter Markoe, in his poem called "the Times," of 1788, was libellously severe upon the senator, saying, among other things:

> "*Rapax*, the muse has slightly touched thy crimes,
> And dares to wake thee from thy golden dream,
> In peculation's various arts supreme—
> Tho' to thy "*mansion*" wits and fops repair,
> To game, to feast, to flatter, and *to stare*.
> But say, from what bright deeds dost thou derive
> That wealth which bids thee rival British Clive?
> Wrung from the hardy sons of toil and war,
> By arts, which petty scoundrels would abhor."

Some of his enemies sometimes called him the bloodhound certificate man. Nevertheless, he had his choice of city company, and when he first opened his house, he gave the first masquerade ball ever seen in this city.

* The Athenian poplars have only been introduced here about sixteen or eighteen years. William Hamilton, at the Woodlands, first planted the Lombardy poplars there in 1784, from England.

THE BRITISH BARRACKS.

THESE were built in the Northern Liberties soon after the defeat of Braddock's army; and arose from the necessity, as it was alleged, of making better permanent provision for troops deemed necessary to be among us for our future protection. Many of the people had so petitioned the king—not being then so sensitive of the presence of "standing armies" as their descendants have since become.

The parade and "pomp of war" which their erection produced in the former peaceful city of Penn, gave it an attraction to the town's people, and being located far out of town, it was deemed a pleasant walk to the country and fields, to go out and see the long ranges of houses, the long lines of kilted and bonneted Highlanders, and to hear "the spirit stirring fife and soul inspiring drum!" Before that time, the fields there were a far land, severed from all connexion with the city by the marsh meadows of Pegg. No Second street road before existed; and for the convenience and use of the army a causeway was formed across those wet grounds in the line of the present Second street, along the front of what is now called Sansom's row.

The ground plot of the barracks extended from Second to Third street, and from St. Tamany street to Green street, having the officers' quarters—a large three-story brick building, on Third street, the same now standing as a Northern Liberty Town Hall. The parade ground fronted upon Second street, shut in by an ornamental palisade fence on the line of that street. The aged John Brown told me the whole area was a field of buckwheat, which was cut off, and the barracks built thereon and tenanted by three thousand men, all in the same year; the houses were all of brick, two stories high, and a portico around the whole hollow square. These all stood till after the war of Independence, when they were torn down, and the lots sold for the benefit of the public. It was from the location of those buildings that the whole region thereabout was familiarly called Campingtown.

In 1758, I notice the first public mention of "the new barracks in Campingtown;" the Gazettes stating the arrival there of "Colonel Montgomery's Highlanders," and some arrangement by the City Council to provide them their bedding, &c.

An earlier attempt had been made to construct barracks out Mulberry street, on the south side, west of Tenth street—there they proceeded so far as to dig a long line of cellars, which having been abandoned, they lay open for many years afterwards.

In the year 1764, the barracks were made a scene of great interest to all the citizens—there the Indians, who fled from the threats of the murderous Paxtang boys, sought their refuge under the protection of the Highlanders; while the approach of the latter was expected, the citizens ran there with their arms to defend them and to throw up intrenchments. Captain Loxley of the city artillery was in full array with his band. In time those Indians became afflicted with the smallpox, and turned their quarters into a very hospital, from which they buried upwards of fifty of their companions.

It may serve to show the former vacant state of the Northern Liberties, to know, that on the king's birthday, as late as June, 1772, "it was celebrated at the British barracks by a discharge of twenty-one cannon." Indeed, the artillery park, and the necessary stores erected along the line of the present Duke street, gave to that street its well-known former name of "Artillery lane."

THE OLD ACADEMY.

This building, now in part the Methodist Union church, was originally constructed on subscription moneys raised by the celebrated Whitfield, for the use of itinerant preachers for ever, as well as for his peculiar religious views and tenets, then called "New Light;" and for which cause his former friends, in the first Presbyterian church, no longer held fellowship with his followers.

It was begun in the year 1741, and when the walls were but about four feet high, it was preached in by Whitfield to a great congregation. It was finished in 1744, faster than money had been procured to pay off its expenses. From this cause Dr. Franklin procured it to be purchased, in 1749, for £777, to be converted into the first Academy of Philadelphia,* with the condition of partitioning off and reserving, to the use of itinerants, a preaching hall therein for ever. In 1753 it was made "the College" of Philadelphia, and in 1779 "the University." Dr. William Smith was inducted provost in 1754.

This Dr. Smith was a graduate of Aberdeen, and when inducted provost was but 27 years of age. He held his place but a few years, when he fell into an embarrassment which created great public sensation. As agent for "the Society for promoting Knowledge among the Germans," he published in his German newspaper, in 1758, the defence of a certain Judge Moore of Chester county, who

* The subscription fund amounted then to £2600.

had officially given umbrage to the Legislature. Smith and Moore were arraigned before the house; and Smith, in his speech, resisting their privileges, was greatly cheered by the people in the lobby! Smith and Moore were imprisoned for contempt, but visited by crowds of their friends. As a writer and speaker he was very popular. He delivered several military sermons in the time of the revolution. The one he delivered in 1775, to Cadwallader's battalion at Christ church, was much eulogized by the whigs, went through several editions in America, and was reprinted in London in an edition of ten thousand, by the chamberlain of London! He died in 1803.

It may serve to show some of the efforts by which the college was got up and sustained, by quoting a MS. letter of Thomas Penn's, of May, 1762, to wit: "Dr. Smith's soliciting here goes on well. Most of the bishops have given; and he is now applying, with their sanction, to the principal people among the laity. He has been at Oxford, and expects some assistance there, and from the Archbishop of York, and many others." In June, 1764, Dr. Smith, who had been commissioned as solicitor in 1761, returned from England, bringing with him £13,000, collected in conjunction with Sir James Jay for the Philadelphia and New York colleges collectively. Those English gifts were certainly very munificent.

A MS. letter of Richard Peters', of 1753, to Thomas Penn, speaks of the Academy as then in great repute, having sixty-five boys from the neighbouring colonies.

A letter of Thomas Penn's, of 1754, states that while we were forming the Academy and College for Pennsylvania under Dr. Smith, then in England, (seeking redress for his short imprisonment at Philadelphia by the Assembly, for an alleged contempt,) the people of New York persuaded Dr. Johnson to be president for their college to be established, saying, as their "argument, they hope to draw pupils even from Philadelphia, and that they regard the Philadelphia Academy as a school to fit boys for them." This he treats as their boast.

The pomp and circumstance of the "commencement days" were then got up with much more of public feeling and interest than have since existed. At a time when every man of competency in the community contributed to endow the establishment, it left none indifferent to its prosperity or success.

The site of the Academy is said by Thomas Bradford to be made ground, filled in there from cutting down a part of the hill once in the Friends' burying ground opposite, it having been four or five feet higher within their wall than on the street. His idea was, that the Friends' ground originally sloped across Fourth street into the Academy ground; which seemed to have been a bed of an ancient water-course along its western wall.

About forty years ago, the trustees having purchased the "President's house" in south Ninth street, for a more enlarged place, removed "the University" there; and that great building they have again pulled down to renew in another way.

I might add some remembered anecdotes of teachers and pupils, but I forbear. Graydon's Memoirs contain amusing facts of the youths there, his companions, before the revolution:—such as jostling off Master Beveridge's wig, and pranks of less equivocal insubordination:—vexing and fretting Master *Dove*—a doggereliser and satirist of severe manners—far more of a falcon than a dove;—making long foot-races round the square, and priding themselves in their champion—another swift-footed Achilles. These are the revived images of fathers now, who were once young!

> "The fields, the forms, the bets, the books,
> The glories and disgraces"—
> "Now leaping over widest ditch,
> Now laughing at the tutor!"

To such the "University boys" of the present day may go for their apologies for breaches of discipline now—not for wilful transgressions but for lapses of prudence and discretion—

> "He will not blush that has a father's heart,
> To take in childish play a playful part."

The days are gone when I could roll
My hoop along the street,
And with a laughing jest or word
Each idle passer greet;
Where'er I go, I now move slow,
In early years I ran;
Oh! I was then a happy child,
But now I am a man.

I used to whistle as I went,
Play marbles in the square,
And fly my kite and play my top,
My coat and trousers tear!
I "whistle" for my whistle now,
"*Fen*" marbles is the plan:
The only vent on which I'm bent
Is money—I'm a man.



Carpenter's Hall and Place of First Congress.—Page 419.



Office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs.—Page 423.

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CARPENTERS' HALL AND CONGRESS.

THIS respectable looking building back, in Carpenters' court, originally constructed for the hall of meeting for the Society of House Carpenters of Philadelphia, was taken and used by the *first Congress*, when met in Philadelphia to deliberate on the *incipient* measures of the war of the revolution. It was afterwards used, for several years, as the first Bank of the United States. Now, it has fallen into humbler purposes as an auction house. The citizens of Philadelphia who pass and repass it daily seem to have forgotten its former glory, but not so an enlightened and feeling *Virginian*, who, visiting it in 1829, thus describes its character *and associations*, in a letter to his friend.

"I write this (says he) from the celebrated Carpenters' Hall, a structure that will ever be deemed *sacred* while rational liberty is cherished on earth. It stands in a court at the end of an alley leading south from Chestnut, between Third and Fourth streets. It is of brick, three stories high, surmounted with a low steeple, and presents externally rather a sombre aspect. The lower room, in which the first Congress of the United States (perhaps I should say colonies) met, comprehends the whole area of the building—which, however, is not very spacious. Above are the committee rooms, now occupied by a very polite schoolmaster, who kindly gave me permission to inspect them. Yes! These sublime apartments, which first resounded with the indignant murmur of our immortal ancestors, sitting in secret consultation upon the wrongs of their countrymen, now ring with the din of urchins conning over their tasks; and the hallowed hall below, in which the august assembly to which they belonged daily convened, is now devoted to the use of an auctioneer! Even now, while I am penning these lines at his desk, his voice stuns my ear and distracts my brain, crying 'how much for these rush-bottom chairs? I am offered $5—nobody more?—going! going!! gone!!!' In fact the hall is lumbered up with beds, looking glasses, chairs, tables, pictures, ready made clothes, and all the trash and trumpery which usually grace the premises of a knight of the hammer. I must do him the justice, however, to say, that he very readily granted me the privilege I am now enjoying when he understood my purpose. The building, it is gratifying to add, still belongs to the Society of Carpenters, who will by no means part with it, or consent to any alteration.

"It was here that the groundwork of our independence was laid—for here it was, on the 4th September, 1774, after the attempt on the part of 'the mother country' to tax the colonies without their con-

sent, and the perpetration of numerous outrages by the *regulars* upon the defenceless inhabitants, that the sages of America came together to consider of their grievances. Yes! these walls have echoed the inspiring eloquence of Patrick Henry, 'the greatest orator,' in the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, 'that ever lived'—the very man who 'gave the first impulse to the ball of our revolution.'

"In this consecrated apartment, in which I am now seated—this unrivalled effort of human intellect was made!—I mark it as an epoch in my life. I look upon it as a distinguished favour that I am permitted to tread the very floor which Henry trod, and to survey the scene which, bating the changes of time and circumstance, must have been surveyed by him. O, that these walls could speak! —that the echo which penetrates my soul as I pronounce the name of Patrick Henry, in the corner I occupy, might again reverberate the thunders of his eloquence! But he has long ago been gathered to his fathers, and this hall, with the ancient State-house of the "Old Dominion,' I fervently hope may exist for ages as the monuments of his glory.

"I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing from Mr. Wirt's book a passage in one of Henry's speeches, which I think, for sublimity and pathos, has never been and never will be equalled. It was delivered before a Convention of Delegates from the several counties and corporations of Virginia, which assembled in the old church at Richmond, on the 20th of March, 1775. Mr. Henry had been declaiming, in his usual manner, against the doctrine of those who were for trying once more the experiment of conciliatory measures in order to obtain a redress of grievances; and he broke forth at the close of his argument with the following splendid peroration.

"'It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace—but there is no peace. The war is already begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but, as for me,' he cried, with both his arms extended aloft, his brows knit, every feature marked with the resolute purpose of his soul, and his voice swelled to its boldest note of exclamation—'give me liberty; or give me death!'

"Mr. Henry rose to be governor of Virginia, and consequently was obliged by his duties to mingle much with what was then called the aristocracy; but as he had sprung from the yeomanry, and was in truth their own dear child and adored champion, he never deserted them in the hour of need, or abandoned their society. It is said that while practising law, previous to the revolution, he often came into court from a shooting excursion, dressed in a course hunter's shirt and greasy leather breeches, and without any preparation pleaded

his cause with an ability that seldom failed of success. He was the first that uttered the words '*Declaration of Independence*,' and predicted the separation of the colonies from the mother country long before others dared think of it. Such is the respect which the Virginians entertain for his memory that they have named two counties after him, the one called *Patrick*, and the other *Henry*."

Perhaps no collection of men ever excelled this congress for talents, firmness and judgment. Doctor Franklin, in his letter to Charles Thomson, of 5th February, 1775, speaking of the materials of that Congress says, "the congress is in high esteem here (in England) among the friends of liberty. Lord Chatham said, he thought it the most honourable assembly of men that had ever been known. The same, in effect, was said by Lord Cobham, the Duke of Richmond, and the Duke of Manchester."

If the reader will cast his eye on the history of that splendid epoch, and glance over the *res gestæ* of the men who then figured in our two first national councils, he cannot but be astonished at the number and greatness of the minds which were engaged in that eventful crisis. Their eloquence in the halls of legislation—their political contributions to the public presses—their skill and wisdom as commanders, and their devotion and patriotism as men, have never been surpassed. The cause of the selection of such suitable men was to be found in the then purity of the elections, made such by the intensity of national devotion which pervaded all ranks of society. No selfish or private aims then biased "the high emprise," but all hearts glowed with patriotism, and "dear country and home" stimulated every breast. It was, in a word, the spectacle of *American energy and talent*, when pure and purged of faction.

Congress afterwards, in the expressed opinion of Charles Thomson, their secretary, depreciated much in point of talents, and weight of individual character. That which sat in York, Pennsylvania, in 1777–78, was but a weak body of men in comparison with former men.

When we contemplate the magnificence of the present stately hall of Congress at *Washington*, and then carry back our recollections to the hall with which *we* furnished the congress after the adoption of the Constitution, we cannot but be struck with "the change of times and circumstances." In the brick building, now occupied as court rooms, at the south-east corner of Chesnut and Sixth streets, we once accommodated the collected wisdom of the nation—there they once deemed themselves accommodated in ample room and elegance. Let the reader just look at the picture of *that hall*, as given in this work.

Doctor Thomas C. James related to me an anecdote of the first Congress, which he received from the lips of the late venerable Bishop White, then its chaplain, and which he said he received directly from Charles Thomson, the secretary, to this effect. As soon as the body had organized by choosing Peyton Randolph president, all

seemed impressed with a sense of the high responsibility they had assumed, and a most profound silence ensued, as if to say, *what next!* None seemed willing to break the eventful silence, until a grave-looking member, in a plain dark suit of "ministers' gray," and *unpowdered* wig, arose,—all became fixed in attention on him.

"Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant."

Then, the gentleman informant said, he felt a sense of regret that the seeming *country parson* should so far have mistaken his talents and the theatre for their display! But, as he proceeded, he evinced such unusual force of argument, and such novel and impassioned eloquence, as soon electrified the whole house. Then the excited inquiry passed from man to man, of who is it? who is it? The answer from the few who knew him was, it is *Patrick Henry!*

"Ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet."

The honourable body having thus received its impulse, moved onward with energy and concord.

It was on this same occasion that General Washington, then a member from Virginia, was observed to be the only member to *kneel*, when Bishop White first offered his prayer to the Throne of Grace—as if *he* was thus early impressed with a sense of *his and their dependence* on "the God of battles."

OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

"Yet still will memory's busy eye retrace
Each little vestige of the well-known place."

OUR city, justly fond of her pre-eminence as the home of the founders of an important State, has also the superadded glory of possessing within her precincts the primitive edifice in which the great national concerns of this distinguished Republic were conceived and sustained. The small building of but twelve feet front, represented in the annexed drawing, now occupied as a small shop for vending cakes and children's trifles, was once the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. From that humble looking bureau were once fulminated those determined and national resolves which made our foreign foes to cower, and secured our Independence among the nations: "Tho' small our means, great were our measures and our end!"

From the contemplation of such a lowly structure, so seemingly disproportionate to our present great attainments, ("a generation more refined, improved the simple plan!") the mind recurs back instinctively to those other primitive days, when the energies of the pilgrim founders were in like manner restricted within the narrow bounds of "Lætitia Court," and within the walls of "Lætitia House," on which occasion, Penn's letter of 1687, (in my possession,) recommends "a change of the offices of State, from his cottage, to quarters more commodious."

The "Office for Secretary of Foreign Affairs," under present consideration, is the same building now on the premises of P. S. Duponceau, Esq., situate on the eastern side of south Sixth street, No. 13—a house appropriately owned by such a possessor; for, in it, he, who came as a volunteer to join our fortunes, and to aid our cause, as a captain under Baron Steuben, became afterwards one of the under Secretaries to our Minister of Foreign Relations, and in that building gave his active and early services. In the years 1782 and '83, under that humble roof presided, as our then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the Hon. Robert R. Livingston. Up stairs, in the small front room facing the street, sat that distinguished personage, wielding by his mind and pen the destinies of our nation. In the adjoining back room, sat the two under Secretaries, to wit: Louis R. Morris, since Governor of Vermont, and our present venerated citizen, Mr. Duponceau. There, having charge of the archives of a nation, they preserved them all within the enclosure of a small wooden press! The only room down stairs, on the ground floor, was that occupied by the two clerks and the interpreter. One of the clerks,

Mr. Henry Remson, has since become the President of a Bank in New York, and the other, Mr. Stone, has been Governor of Maryland. The Translator was the Rev. Mr. Tetard, the pastor of the French Reformed church. Such was the material of our national infancy, since grown to such vigorous and effective manhood!

Mr. Duponceau, from whom I have derived much of these facts, which passed under his immediate observation, has occasionally delighted himself and me in describing, with good humoured emotion and picturesque delineation, the various scenes which have there occasionally occurred, and the great personages who have frequently clambered up the dark and narrow winding stairs to make their respects to or their negotiations with the representative of the nation!—such as the Marquis La Fayette, Count Rochambeau, the Duke de Lauzun, Count Dillon, Prince Guemenee, &c. Our own great men, such as Madison, Morris, Hamilton, Mifflin, &c., were visiters of course. After the peace, in the same small upper chamber, were received the homage of the British General, Allured Clark, and the famous Major Hanger, once the favourite of the late George IV. The Major received much attention while in Philadelphia.

This frail fabric, in veneration of its past services, (though a thing now scarcely known to our citizens as a matter in "common parlance,") is devoted during the life of its present generous and feeling owner "to remain (as he says) a proud monument of the simplicity of the founders of our Revolution." It is, in truth, as deserving of encomium for its humble moderation, as was the fact, renowned in history, respecting the Republic of the Netherlands in her best days, when her Grand Pensionary, Heinsius, was deemed superlatively ennobled, because he walked the streets of the Hague with only a single servant, and sometimes with even none. Quite as worthy of memorial was the equivalent fact, that our then venerable President of Congress, the Hon. Samuel Huntingdon, together with Mr. Duponceau, often made their breakfast on whortleberries and milk. On such occasions, the President has facetiously remarked:—"What now, Mr. Duponceau, would the princes of Europe say, could they see the first Magistrate of this great country at his frugal repast!"

Long may our sons remember and respect these facts of our generous and devoted forefathers! And long may the recollection of the memorable deeds of this house,

> "———a great example stand, to show,
> How strangely high endeavours may be blest!"

There are other facts connected with these premises which gave them celebrity in their day, although of a nature quite dissimilar; but in redeeming from oblivion all the facts of times by-gone, we may also hint at this, to wit:

In the year 1773, when the houses on this lot were erected for the Lawrence family, and when the house now Mr. Duponceau's

dwelling, on the north-east corner of Chestnut street, was then used as the residence of the other, it was then deemed far beyond the verge of city population. It was, indeed, a country house, and virtually chosen as a "Buenos Ayres." In digging there for a well, they discovered, as they thought, an excellent mineral water, "supposed to exceed in strength any chalybeate spring known in the province;" great was its fame; crowds of persons came there to partake of its efficacy. The Gazettes of the day vaunted of it as a valuable discovery. It benefited every body; and especially a reduced French lady, to whom Mrs. Lawrence gave the privilege of taking the fees for the draughts of water she handed out to the numerous visiters. It enjoyed its fame, but for a short year, when, by the intrusive interference of science, the discovery was reluctantly confessed, that it owed all its virtues to the deposit of foul materials; even from the remains of a long covered and long forgotten pit!

FORT WILSON.

THIS was the name popularly given to a large brick house formerly on the south-west corner of Walnut street and Third street, (where Caldcleugh 25 years ago built a large store, &c.) It was, in the year 1779, the residence of James Wilson, Esq., an eminent attorney, who became offensive to many for his professional services in behalf of Roberts and Carlisle—men arraigned and executed as tories and traitors; he gave also umbrage from his support of those merchants who refused to regulate their prices by the town resolves. A mob was formed, who gave out an intention to assault his house and injure his person. His friends gathered around him with arms —soon the conflict was joined—many muskets were fired—some were wounded, and a few died. It was a day of great excitement, and long the name and incidents of "Fort Wilson" were discussed and remembered.

Among those in the house were Messrs. Wilson, Morris, Burd, George and Daniel Clymer, John T. Mifflin, Allen M'Lane, Sharp Delaney, George Campbell, Paul Beck, Thomas Laurence, Andrew Robinson, John Potts, Samuel C. Morris, Captain Campbell, and Generals Mifflin, Nichols and Thompson. They were provided with arms, but their stock of ammunition was very small. While the mob was marching down, General Nichols and Daniel Clymer proceeded hastily to the Arsenal at Carpenters' Hall, and filled their pockets with cartridges: this constituted their whole supply.

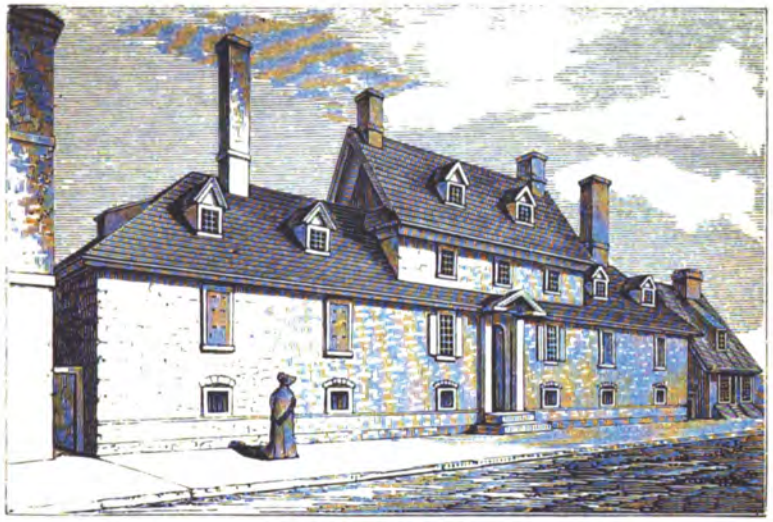
In the meantime, the mob and militia (for no regular troops

took part in the riot) assembled on the commons,* while a meeting of the principal citizens took place at the Coffee House. A deputation was sent to endeavour to prevail on them to disperse, but without effect. The first troop of city cavalry assembled at their stables, a fixed place of rendezvous, and agreed to have their horses saddled, and ready to mount at a moment's warning. Notice was to be given to as many members as could be found, and a part was to assemble in Dock below Second street, and join the party at the stables. For a time a deceitful calm prevailed; at the dinner hour the members of the troop retired to their homes, and the rebels seized the opportunity to march into the city. The armed men amounted to two hundred, headed by low characters. They marched down Chestnut to Second street, down Second to Walnut street, and up Walnut street to Mr. Wilson's house, with drums beating and two pieces of cannon. They immediately commenced firing on the house, which was warmly returned by the garrison. Finding they could make no impression, the mob proceeded to force the door; at the moment it was yielding, the horse made their appearance.

After the troop had retired at dinner time, a few of the members, hearing that the mob were marching into town, hastened to the rendezvous: these members were Majors Lennox and the two Nichols, Samuel Morris, Alexander Nesbitt, Isaac Coxe and Thomas Leiper. On their route to Wilson's they were joined by two troopers from Bristol, and turning suddenly round the corner of Chestnut street, they charged the mob, who, ignorant of their number, at the cry of "the horse, the horse," dispersed in every direction, but not before two other detachments of the first troop had reached the scene. Many of them were arrested, and committed to prison; and as the sword was very freely used, a considerable number were severely wounded. A man and a boy were killed in the streets; in the house, Captain Campbell was killed,† and Mr. Mifflin and Mr. S. C. Morris wounded. The troop patroled the streets the greater part of the night. The citizens turned out, and placed a guard at the powder magazine and the arsenal. It was some days before order was restored. Major Lennox was particularly marked out for destruction. He retired to his house at Germantown: the mob followed and surrounded it during the night, and prepared to force an entrance. Anxious to gain time, he pledged his honour, that he would open the door as soon as day-light appeared. In the meantime, he contrived to despatch an intrepid woman, who lived in his family, to the city for assistance; and a party of the first troop arrived in season to

* They assembled at and began their march from Arch above Fifth street. General Arnold came to repress the mob, but he was so unpopular, they stoned him. The two men who used the sledges and stove in the door were both killed: three also from Spring Garden, and a great funeral was made for them by the populace.

† A Colonel Campbell, who came to the door and opened it, was seized and bayoneted with a dozen wounds, and survived them.



Friends' Alms House, Walnut Street.—Page 427.



First Presbyterian Church, High Street.—Page 448.

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protect their comrade; but he was compelled to return to town for safety. He was, for a number of years, saluted in the market by the title of "brother butcher," owing in part to his having been without a coat on the day of the riot; for having on a long coat, he was obliged to cast it aside, to prevent being dragged from his horse.

The gentlemen who had comprised the garrison were advised to leave the city, where their lives were endangered. General Mifflin and about thirty others accordingly met at Mr. Gray's house below Gray's Ferry, where it was resolved to return to town without any appearance of intimidation. But it was deemed expedient that Mr. Wilson should absent himself for a time: the others continued to walk as usual in public, and attended the funeral of the unfortunate Captain Campbell.

Allen M'Lane and Colonel Grayson got into the house after the fray began. The mob called themselves Constitutionalists. Benezet's fire in the entry from the cellar passage was very effective.

FRIENDS' ALMSHOUSE.

This ancient and antiquated looking building, fronting on Walnut street, near Third street, was founded more than a century ago, for the benevolent purpose of providing for the maintenance of the poor of that Society. The ground plot, and a large one too, was given to Friends by John Martin, on condition that they should support him for life.

The front edifice was built in 1729; and those wings in the garden were built about sixteen years earlier, they being then sufficient for the wants of the Society. The neat and comfortable manner in which the inmates have always lived is very creditable to their benefactors. The Friends having employed this building exclusively for females, and it being on a lot next to the Papal chapel, induced the Irish papists worshipping there to call it the Quakers' Nunnery. One of them writing to my friend, the *greatest* lawyer in Philadelphia, addressed his letter "to the stout, honest lawyer in Walnut street opposite the Quaker Nunnery."

The present elevation of the garden, as much as ten feet above the street in front, proves the former higher ground along Walnut street. The aged Mrs. Shoemaker, who died 16 years ago at the age of 95 years, told me that she remembered when the whole neighbourhood looked to the eye like a high hill from the line of Dock creek. The road, for many years, in her time, from Third street up Walnut street, and from Walnut street along Third street, going southward, were narrow cartways ascending deep defiles, and

causing the foot passengers to walk high above them on the sides of the shelving banks.

WHITPAIN'S GREAT HOUSE.

This was the name given to a stately house built on the bank side of Front street below Walnut street, for an owner of that name in England. Having been built of shell lime, it fell into premature decay, and "great was the fall thereof."

In 1687, William Penn, by his letter to T. Lloyd, R. Turner, &c., says: "Taking into consideration the great expenses of Richard Whitpain to the advancement of the province, and the share he taketh here (in England) on all occasions for its honour, I can do no less than recommend to you for public service his great house in Philadelphia, which, being too big for a private man, would provide you a conveniency above what my cottage affords. It were reputable to take at least a moiety of it, which might serve for all the offices of State."

In 1707, Samuel Preston, writing to Jonathan Dickinson, then in Jamaica, says "his house is endangered; for that Whitpain's great house then decaying, threatened to fall upon and crush his house."

In February, 1708–9, Isaac Norris, writing to Jonathan Dickinson, says: "It is not prudent to repair thy house next to Whitpain's ugly great house; we have applied to authority to get power to pull it down. In the mean time the front of that part next to thine, being all tumbled down, lies open."

In after years a great fire occurred near there, and burnt down all the property belonging to Dickinson, so that the place long bore the name of "the burnt buildings." Ross' stores now occupy, I think, the same premises.

WIGGLESWORTH'S HOUSE.

This house is entitled to some notice, as well for its ancient and peculiar location as for the rare person, "Billy Wigglesworth," who gave it fame in more modern times. As a house, it is peculiar for its primitive double front, (Nos. 43 and 45, south Second street,) and heavy, squat, dormer windows, and above all, for having been built

so early as that they did not find the right line of Second street!—of course presenting the earliest-built house in its vicinity;—for it now stands north-east and south-west! The character of its original finish under the eaves, &c., as any one may discern who inspects it, evinces that it was superior in its day. I perceive it was first recorded in 1685 as the property of Philip Richards, merchant, for whom the house was built. Joseph Richards, the son, possessed it by will in 1697, and sold it to John Brown in 1715. In 1754, the present two houses, then as one house, was occupied by William Plumstead, Esq., Alderman, who was buried in 1765, in a peculiar manner, having, by will, no pall, nor mourning dresses, &c. On the north end of the house was once "Hall's alley." The premises many years ago was occupied as the Prince of Wales' Inn. In the rear of the house was a good garden and a sun-dial affixed to the wall of the house, and still there.

"Billy Wigglesworth," as he was universally called, long kept a toyshop, the wonder of all the boys in the city; and the effigies of human form which dangled by a string from his ceiling had no rivals, but in his own gaunt and gawky figure. But Billy's outward man was the least of his oddities; his distinguishing characteristic was a fondness for that mode of self-amusement at the expense of others, called manual wit. His exploits in that way have been humorously told by a writer whose sketches have been preserved under the article "Wigglesworthiana," in my MS. Annals, page 534, in the Historical Society.

THE OLD FERRY.

This first ferry and its neighbourhood was described to me by the late aged John Brown, Esq., whose father before him once kept that ferry, and had near there at the same time his ship yard. When John Brown was a small lad, the river then came close up to the rear of the present house in Water street, and when they formed the present existing slip, they filled up the area with chalk imported for ballast. At that time the Front street bank was vacant, and he used with others to sled down the hill from Combes' alley, then called Garden alley, and Penny hill, quite down to the ice on the river. The bank of Front street was reddish clay. The shed stables for the old ferry were set into that bank. His father's ship yard was opposite to Combes' alley, and Parrock's ship yard was then at Race street.

The fact of the then open bank of Front street is confirmed by an advertisement of 1761; then Francis Rawle, storekeeper, and attorney for the "Pennsylvania Land Company of Pennsylvania,"

advertises to sell the lots from his house, by the ferry steps, down to Clifford's steps, in lots of 22 feet front, each then unimproved.

It was in this same year, 1761, the Corporation permitted Samuel Austin, the owner of the river lot on the north side of Arch street, to erect there another ferry house, which, in relation to the other, soon took the name of the "New Ferry."

The original act for establishing a ferry to Daniel Cooper's land was passed, in 1717

OFFLY'S ANCHOR FORGE.

This was established about the year 1755, in a large frame building on the Front street bank, directly opposite to Union street. The owner and director was Daniel Offly, a public Friend, whose voice in speaking was not unlike the sound of his own iron falling on a brick pavement. The reminiscent has often looked through the Front street low windows down into the smoking cavern, in appearance, below, fronting on Penn street, where, through the thick sulphurous smoke, aided by the glare of forge light, might be seen Daniel Offly directing the strokes of a dozen hammermen, striking with sledges on a welding heat produced on an immense unfinished anchor, swinging from the forge to the anvil by a ponderous crane, he at the same time keeping his piercing iron voice above the din of the iron sound!

> The high sun sees not on the earth, such fiery fearful show—
> The roof-ribs swarth, the candent hearth, the ruddy lurid row
> Of smiths, that stand, an ardent band, like men before the foe;
> As quivering through his fleece of flame, the sailing monster, slow
> Sinks on the anvil,—all about the faces fiery grow:—
> "Hurrah"! they shout, "leap out"—"leap out"; bang, bang, the sledges go!
> A hailing fount of fire is struck at every squashing blow."
> While *Offly* sternly cries—***strike, strike,*** while yet our heats so glow.

BAPTISTERION.

On the bank of the Schuylkill, at the end of Spruce street, there was, in the early times of the city, an oak grove, selected by the Baptist Society as a Baptisterion, to lead their initiates into the river to be baptized, as did John in Enon.

Morgan Edwards, their pastor, who describes it as he saw it before

the year 1770, (he arrived here in 1758,) says of it—"Around said spot are large oaks affording fine shade—under foot is a green, variegated with wild flowers and aromatic herbs, and a tasteful house is near for dressing and undressing the Proseuches." In the midst of the spot was a large stone, upon the dry ground, and elevated above it about three feet—made level on the top by art, with hewn steps to ascend it. Around this rock the candidates knelt to pray, and upon it the preacher stood to preach to the people. "The place was not only convenient for the purposes used, but also most delightful for rural scenery, inducing people to go thither in summer as a place of recreation." To such a place resorted Francis Hopkinson, Esq., with his bards and literati, to sweep their lyres, or to meditate on justice and religion.

A part of one of the hymns sung upon their baptismal occasions reads thus, viz.

"Of our vows this stone's a token—
Stone of Witness,* bear record
'Gainst us if our vows be broken,
Or, if we forsake the Lord."

What a shame that all these rural beauties have been long since effaced and forgotten!—none of them left to remind us of those rural appendages, woods, &c. I have since learned that the property there belonged to Mr. Marsh, a Baptist, and that the British army cut it down for fuel. The whole place is now all wharfed out for the coal trade, so that those lately baptized near there, had to clamber over heaps of coal. The "Stone of Witness" is buried in the wharf —never to be seen more!

FORT ST. DAVID.

A SOCIETY of gentlemen of Philadelphia, many years ago,† had a house at the falls of Schuylkill, called Fort St. David, where they used to meet at fishing seasons, by public advertisement, beginning with the first of May, and continuing every other Friday during the season. Much good living was enjoyed there. The building, a kind of summer pavilion, stood on the descent of the hill, leading to the Falls bridge, at the position since excavated as a free stone quarry; a sketch of it, such as it was, is preserved in the Dickinson family, being on an elegant silver box, presented to John Dickinson in 1768, for his celebrated "Farmer's Letters." In the house and

* Joshua 24, 26. † Said to be 100 years.

along its walls were hung up a great variety of curious Indian articles, and sometimes the president of the day was dressed in the entire garb of an Indian chief.

The same association still exists, but have transferred their place of meeting to Rambo's rock below Gray's Ferry; the former attractions at the Falls, as a celebrated fishing place, having been ruined by the river obstructions, &c. They now call their association the "State in Schuylkill," &c.

In former times it was quite different. Old Godfrey Shrunk, when about 74 years of age, a well known fisherman near the Falls in his younger days, has told me he could often catch with his dip-net 3000 catfish in one night! Often he has sold them at two shillings a hundred. The perch and rockfish were numerous and large; often he has caught 30 to 80 lbs. of a morning with a hook and line. He used to catch fish for the Fishing Company of St. David, which used to cook 40 dozen of catfish at a time.

He described the company house as a neat and tasteful structure of wood, 70 feet long and 20 feet wide, set against the descending hill side on a stone foundation, having 14 ascending steps in front; the sides consisting entirely of folding or moveable doors and windows, were borne off by the Hessians for their huts 1777–8, and so changed and injured the place, that it was never used for its former purposes after the Revolution.

BACHELORS' HALL.

This was once a celebrated place of gluttony and good living, but highly genteel and select, situated in Kensington on the main river street, a little above the present market house. It was a square building of considerable beauty, with pilasters, &c., and was burnt before the Revolution. It was built for a few city gentlemen, and the last survivor was to take the premises. It fell into the hands of the Norris family; many dancing parties were given there. It had a fine open view to the scenery on the Delaware, and at the time of its institution was deemed retired; tea parties were made there frequently for the ladies of their acquaintance, and once it was lent to the use of Murray, the Universalist preacher, keeping then the doctrine cannon shot distance from the city.

Among the members of the joint tenantry were Robert Charles, William Masters, John Sober, P. Græme, Isaac Norris; the whole space was in one room. The few partners that remained in 1745, induced Isaac Norris to buy them out, and the premises afterwards vested solely in him.

While the place was in vogue it received the flattery of the muse in the following lines, published in the Gazette of 1730, and styled "an Invitation to the Hall," to wit:

"Phœbus, wit-inspiring lord,
Attic maid for arts ador'd,
Bacchus with full clusters come,
Come rich from harvest home.
Joys and smiles and loves and graces,
Gen'rous hearts and cheerful faces,
With ev'ry hospitable god,
Come and bless this sweet abode!"

The mysteries of the place, however, were all unknown to the vulgar, and for that very reason they gave loose to many conjectures, which finally passed for current tales, as a bachelor's place, where maidens were inveigled and deceived. I had myself heard stories of it when a boy, which thrilled my soul with horror, without one word of truth for its foundation!

It was burnt in 1776, and a smith's shop was built on its ruins. Hopkinson's "Old Bachelor" has some verses on its burning.

THE DUCK POND,

CORNER OF FOURTH AND HIGH STREETS.

It will hardly be credited that there should have been once a great pond, filled with spatterdocks, and affording a place of visitation to wild ducks, situate along High street, westward of Fourth street, and forming the proper head of Dock creek. The facts which warrant this belief are to the following effect, to wit:

The family of Anthony Klincken settled in Germantown at its foundation, in 1683. Anthony, then a lad, became in time a great hunter, and lived to the year 1759. Before his death he told his grandson, Anthony Johnson, an aged man, who died thirteen or fourteen years ago, that he knew of no place where he had such successful shooting of ducks and geese as at the above-mentioned pond. Indeed, he said, he never visited the city, in the proper season, without taking his gun along, and making his visits there. The relaters were good people of the Society of Friends, and their testimony to be credited.

The poetic description of High street, in 1729, describes it then as a *plashy* place—equivalent to a water lot or puddle, to wit:

"Along their doors the clean hard paving trends
Till at a *plushy* crossing street it ends,
And thence a short arm's throw renewed tends;
Beyond,—the street is thinly wall'd, but fair,
With gardens paled, and orchards here and there."

As early as the year 1712, the Grand Jury present that the High street, near the crossing of Fourth street, is very much out of repair for want of water courses.

When Dr. Franklin visited Philadelphia, in 1723, then a lad of 18 years of age, he tells us he walked up High street as far as Fourth street, and thence down that street to Chestnut street. The reason was, I presume, that the city walk went no further westward at that time.

In the year 1740 the Grand Jury present the upper end of High street, between John Kinsey's [near the corner of Fifth street] and the widow Kennarsh's, as almost impassable after great rains. In the same street, they presented the water course from the widow Harmen's to the common shore* across High street as very much gullied and dangerous.

In the year 1750 the Grand Jury presented the gutter of the north-west corner of Fourth and High streets, as rendered dangerous for want of a grate at the common-sewer—the passage being large enough for the body of a grown person to fall in, and that Fourth street, from Market street to the south-west corner of Friends' burying ground, wants regulating, and is now impassable for carriages.

The origin of the above-named sewer is probably expressed in the minutes of City Council of August, 1737. It was then determined that Alderman Morris and Israel Pemberton, two of the persons appointed at the last council to get the arch made over High street at Fourth street, have prepared now to continue the said arch along the said Fourth street, until the water falls into the lots of Anthony Morris, and to pave the same, it being about 200 feet, if they can have the liberty of getting voluntary subscriptions and £25. paid, the most of the money which may hereafter be raised by a tax; which proposal being considered, was agreed to by the Board.

The late Timothy Matlack, Esq., confirmed to me what Lawrence Sickle, an aged gentleman not long since dead, said of their neighbourhood—to wit: That back from the north-west corner of Fourth and High streets, there used to be a spring in which river fish, coming up by Dock street creek in large tides, used to be caught by boys. This was before their time, but they had so often heard it, that they believed it was so.

He told me, however, that he (T. M.) saw the spring—that it was about 70 feet north-west of the present corner house, and that one Humphreys in his time had put a blacksmith shop over it, set

* I think this may equally mean the shore at Water and High streets.

on stakes. The blacksmith shop was confirmed to me by others. Mr. Matlack told me that before they made the great improved tunnel (running from this place down Fourth street to Walnut street, in 1789,) there was some kind of small tunnel traversing High street, as a bridge, and leading out to an open gully back of the Indian Queen inn, on the east side of Fourth street. The floods of water which came down to this place, especially down High street and north Fourth street, were immense; and once, when he was a young man, he had occasion to wade across the street at Fourth and High streets when the water was up to his waist. The old tunnel or brick bridge above referred to, was not visible above ground, and he supposes he should not have known of its existence there, but that he once saw a horse's leg sink very deeply into the ground, and on examining for the cause found some bricks had been forced through an arch there. I understood Mr. Matlack to say that this arch had then no communication by which to let off the above-mentioned floods, and it could have only been of use when water formerly came from ground at a distance down a creek or marsh laying up the west side of Fourth street, to somewhere near the old Academy, and thence traversing Arch street, by the north-east corner of the Christ church ground. Both he and Thomas Bradford thought they once saw the remains of such a water-course, and they understood it had been deeper.

When the long range of buildings which occupy the site along the west side of Fourth street, from the corner of High street, were erected about 40 years ago, for Jacob Miller, merchant, it was observed by Mr. Suter, a neighbour there, that he saw at the bottom of the cellar several large logs traversing it east and west, or nearly so, which, in his opinion as well as others, appeared to have been very ancient, and to have been intended to serve as a wharf, or a fence to land jutting into a water-course. The whole earth taken from the cellars appeared to have been made-ground, although the cellars went many feet northward; at a later period, in digging a foundation for the buildings back of the Hotel on Fourth street, it proved to be all made-ground. This range has since been all taken down and rebuilt by Joseph and Thomas Wood, with basement story stores to the same—on the 1st July, 1842, a sudden and great fall of rain, overran the culvert there and flooded all those stores! Two women and a child therein, had nearly drowned before they were released!

Mr. Joseph Crukshank, when about the age of 82 years, told me that old Hugh Roberts, about 38 years ago, told him he had caught perch at about were Stanly's pot-house stood, [say in the rear of Duval's and Twells' lots on High street above Fourth street,] and that he had seen shallops once at the corner of Fourth and High streets. He was about 25 years older than Crukshank.

Mr. Grove, now alive, was present when they dug out the south east corner of the present Christ church burial ground (on Arch and Fifth street) and he then saw that the area was made-ground to the

depth of seventeen feet, consisting of a great deal of rubbish and broken pottery. The whole depth was replaced with loam earth for burial purposes. This fact, concerning ground actually adjoining Stanly's pottery, before alluded to, confirms, as I conceive, the former fishing pond there.

Mr. Grove's father, born in Philadelphia, showed him a place in Arch street, near about the north-east corner of the same burying ground wall, next to Sansom's houses, where he said some of his ancestors used to tell him a brook or creek once crossed Arch street; a hut, he said, stood near to it, where dwelt a child which was borne off by a bear. His father believed it as a straight family tradition. A note from Joseph Sansom says "the appearance of the soil, in digging for his brother's cellars, indicated the course of a rivulet from north to south, apparently one of the head branches of Dock Creek." The grave digger also confirms the idea of considerable depth of made-ground at the said north-east corner.

PEGG'S RUN, &C.

No part of Philadelphia has undergone such great and various changes as the range of commons, water-lots, &c., ranging along the course of this run, primarily known under the Indian name of Cohoquinoque. A present beholder of the streets and houses now covering those grounds, and the hidden tunnel now concealing the former creek, along Willow street, could have no conception of things as they were, even only forty years ago. The description is unavoidably complicate.

At the north end of Philadelphia the high table land of the city terminated in a high precipitous bluff, at about two hundred and fifty feet north of Callowhill street. This extended from Front street, at Poole's bridge, up as high as Fifth and Sixth street, bounding the margin of Pegg's run. On the north side of this whole range of Pegg's run, which rises in Spring Garden, (where was once a spring at its source), there was an extensive marsh into which the Delaware flowed, and into which, in cases of freshets or floods, boats could be used for amusement. Beyond the north side of this marsh, in the writer's time, (say till within the last forty years,) from near Front quite up to Second street, was a high open and green grazing common; it also had a steep but green hill descending into the marsh, at about one hundred and fifty feet in the south rear of Noble street.*

* See a picture of this place on page 280 of my MS. Annals in the Philadelphia Library.



Pegg's Run.—Page 436.

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On this common there was Joseph Emlen's tanyard, with a spring on the south rear, and on the east side of it a powder magazine, then converted into two dwelling houses; these were the only lots occupied. From Second to Third street, beyond the same north side of the marsh, was a beautiful green enclosure, with only one large brick house, now standing on the south-west corner of Noble and Second streets, called Emlen's haunted house, and then occupied by the Rev. Dr. Pilmore. Not one of the present range of houses on either side of Second street, from Noble to the Second street bridge, was standing there till within the last thirty years. Before that time, a low causeway made the street and joined the two bluffs, and was universally called "the Hollow." Even the Second street and Third street stone bridges were made since the writer's time, (forty years) and the Second street one was worked at by the "wheelbarrow-men," who were chained felons from the prisons. The writer, when a boy, remembers two or three occasions when the floods in the Delaware backed so much water into all this marsh from Front to Third street, as that boats actually rowed from bank to bank, even on the top of the causeway, several hundred feet in length. In that time, the descent of the Second street from Callowhill to the bridge, was nearly as great as at Race and Front street now; and it used to be a great resort for boys in winter to run down their sleds on the snow; they could run at least one hundred and fifty feet. In that time, the short street (Margaretta) south of the bridge did not exist; but the brick house which forms the south side corner house, was the utmost verge of the ancient bluff. On the west side of Second street, south of the bridge, were a few houses and a sheep-skin dresser's yard, which seemed almost covered up (full the first story) by the subsequent elevation of the street. In raising the street, and to keep the ground from washing off, the sides of the road were supported by a great number of cedar trees with all their branches on, laid down and the earth filled in among them, and water-proof gutter ways of wood were laid over them, to conduct the street water into the water channels of the bridge. The wheelbarrow-men, who worked at such public works, were subjects of great terror, even while chained, to all the boys; and by often seeing them, there were few boys who had not learned and told their several histories. Their chief desperado, I remember, was Luke Cale. Five of them, whom we used thus to know, were all executed on Centre Square (the execution ground of that day) on one gallows and at the same time, for the murder of a man who dwelt in the then only house near that square—(say on the south side of High street, five or six doors east of the centre street circle, all of which was then a waste common.) From St. John street (now, but not then, opened) up the whole length of Callowhill street to Fourth street, beyond which it did not then extend, there were no houses in the rear of any houses then on the north side of Callowhill street, and of course all was waste grass commons down to Pegg's run. This high waste ground had some occasional

slopes, which gave occasion to hundreds of boys to "sled down hill," as it was called, in the intervals of school.* As the snows lasted long then, this was a boy-sport of the whole winter. The marsh ground had much of vegetable production in it, and when not flooded, had some parts of it green with vegetation; this, therefore, was a great resort for snipe, kildear, and even plover, and many birds have been shot there. Doctor Leib was a frequent visiter there for shooting purposes. In other places, earth had been taken to make an embankment all along the side of Pegg's run, and this left such ponds of water as made places where catfish, brought in by the floods, were left, and were often caught by boys. In the summer, the water which rested in places on this marsh, gave life and song to thousands of clamorous frogs; and in the winter the whole area was a great ice pond, in which all the skating population of Philadelphia, even including men, were wont to skate. This was more particularly the case before the ice in the Delaware closed for the season, which was usually by New-year's day, and lasted till March. There were two springs, and perhaps several rills near them, proceeding from the north bank of this marsh—one at Emlen's tanyard east of Second street, and one west of Second street; from these springs went an embankment on the marsh side parallel with the bank, and inclining east until one reached Second street, and till the other reached the rear of the house (say Rogers' glue factory) on Front street; thence they went each at right angles south until they severally struck into Pegg's run. In these channels the tides of the Delaware flowed, and especially the lower one near Rogers', over which was once a little foot bridge to pass on to the marsh in dry seasons. In process of time, (the time of my day,) these embankments got so wasted away, as to precisely answer the purpose of holding all the water which high tides could deposit, and so kept it in for shallow ponds, (at the eastern side of the marsh chiefly,) for the great amusement of the boys. Now, while I write, all these descriptions are hid for ever from our eyes; the marsh is intersected by streets, and filled up with houses. The filling up was not a short work; it became long a deposit for all the loose rubbish of the city—first, the corporation who filled up the streets, then the occupant or builder of each house would bring a little earth for his yard, and support his enclosure with stakes, &c., until another would build alongside of him; and he would frame rough steps up to his door until successive deposits of earth, as time and means would enable, have enabled them, at last, to bring their streets now to a general level. From Third street to Fourth street, on the north side of Pegg's run, the land was nearer the level of Pegg's run, and was filled to Noble street with many tanyards, and one very fine kitchen garden of about one acre of ground. The tanyard which bounded on the west side of Third

* From Third to Sixth street on the south side of Pegg's run, being very high, furnished all the gravel used in the city end of the Germantown turnpike.

street, (as the Commissioners filled up Third street) rested at least one story below the common walk; and the house at the south-west corner of Noble street, which went up steps to the door sill, is now levelled with the street. New Fourth street, across Pegg's run, was not opened at all until lately, nor none of the houses were built between it and Callowhill street. The causeway at Second street was something narrower than the present street; and the footway, which was only on the west side of it, was three feet lower than the street; (for they were for years casting refuse earth, shoemakers' leather, and shavings, &c., into it.) At the north end, where it joined to the present pavement way, it was separated by so deep and yawning a ravine, caused by the rain floods rushing down it into the marsh and pond below, that it was covered with a wooden bridge. Such are the changes wrought in this section of the Northern Liberties in from thirty-five to forty years!

The name of Pegg's run was derived from Daniel Pegg, a Friend, who, in 1686, acquired the three hundred and fifty acres of Jurian Hartsfelder's patent of the year 1676. He therefore once possessed nearly all of the Northern Liberties south of Cohocksinc creek, in their primitive state of woody waste. He appears to have sold about one hundred and fifty acres of the northern part to Coates, and to have set upon the improvement of the rest as a farm—to have diked in his marsh, so as to form low meadows, and to have set up a brick-kiln. His mansion, of large dimensions, described to me as of two stories, with a piazza and double hipped roof, was always called, in the language of early days, "the big brick house," at "the north end." It was situate upon Front street, west side, a little below Green street. Whatever was its appearance, we know it was such that William Penn, in 1709, proposed to have it rented for his residence, that he might there be in the quiet country. Back of Pegg's house, from Front to Second street, and from Green to Coates' street, he had nearly a square of ground enclosed as a field, by numerous large cherry trees along the fences. This same space was a fine green meadow when the British possessed Philadelphia, and they cut down the fine cherry trees for fuel.

When we see the present compactly built state of the Northern Liberties, so like another city set beside its parent beyond the run, it increases our wish to learn, if we can, from what prior condition it was formed.

To this end, the will of Daniel Pegg, formed the 9th of January, 1732, a short time before he died, will lead us into some conceptions of things as they were, to wit:

To his wife Sarah he gave "his northernmost messuage or tenement and the piece of ground thereunto belonging, bounded on the north by land in the tenure of William Coates, on the east by the great road leading to Burlington, [*i. e.* Front street,] southward by a lane dividing that tract from his other land, and westward by the New York road," [*i. e.* old Fourth street.] To his nephew, Daniel Pegg,

(son of Nathan,) he gave all his "southernmost messuage or tenement, where he then dwelt, together with the piece of ground bounded northward by the lane aforesaid, eastward by the Burlington road, southward by the second row of apple trees in his orchard, carrying the same breadth westward to a fence at the west end of an adjoining pasture, and westward by the said fence." He further gives his said nephew "all his ground and marsh between the front of the house and ground, therein before given him, and the Delaware river, of the same breadth aforesaid." To his daughter, Sarah Pegg, he gave "the ground bounded northward by the ground before given to his nephew, Daniel Pegg; eastward by the Delaware river; southward by a forty foot road, beginning at ten feet southward of the south fence of his orchard, and to extend the same breadth westward to the westernmost fence of his pasture, (lying west of his orchard,) and westward by the same fence."* To his nephew, Elias Pegg, (the second son of Nathan,) he gave "the ground, of fifty feet breadth, bounded northward by the forty feet road, eastward by Delaware river, southward by his other ground, and westward by other ground, then or late his, at the extent of three hundred feet from the west side of Burlington road aforesaid." He grants similar lots lying along the same to his nephews, Daniel Coates, and John Coates, (sons of Thomas,) extending in length from John Rutter's, north-west corner on the New York road, to Edmond Wooley's bars." His small fenced pasture of two and a half acres, lying near the brick-kilns, he orders to be sold, to pay off his debts, &c."

This farm, at its wildest state, is marked by William Penn's letter of the year 1700, showing there were then Indians hutted there, he saying he wishes that "earnest inquiry may be made for the men who fired on the Indians at Pegg's run, and frightened them," saying, "they must be appeased, or evil will ensue."

The value of this farm in primitive days is shown in a letter of Jonathan Dickinson's, of December, 1715, saying, "he can buy Daniel Pegg's land fronting the Delaware, and lying in N. Liberty Corporation, at 50s. per acre, having thereon a well built brick house, a piece of six to eight acres of meadow," &c.

In the year 1729 Daniel Pegg advertised his land for sale, and then he described it thus, viz. "To be sold or let, by Daniel Pegg, *at the great brick house at the north end of Philadelphia*, thirty acres of upland, meadow ground and marsh." The house, about the period of the Revolution, was called "the Dutch house," both because its form was peculiar, and especially because it had long been noted as a place for holding Dutch dances, called *hupsesaw*—a whirling dance in waltz style.

In 1724 there was erected on his former premises the first powder house ever erected in Philadelphia; it was at the expense of William

* To this daughter Sarah he also gives "his southernmost pasture adjoining his meadow, with all his adjoining marsh or meadow and improvements."

Chanceller, a wealthy sailmaker, who placed it on the northern bank of Pegg's marsh—say a little south of present Noble street, and about sixty yards westward of Front street. It now exists as a dwelling house. Chanceller was privileged as exclusive keeper, for twenty-one years, at 1s. a keg per month.

As the name of Pegg has thus connected itself with interesting topographical facts, it may possibly afford further interest to add a few items of a personal nature, to wit: It appears he must have had at least two wives before the widow Sarah, mentioned in his will; for I found his name as married on the 28th of 2d mo., 1686, to Martha Allen, at her father Samuel Allen's house, at Neshamina, in the presence of twenty-two signing witnesses; and again in 1691 he marries, at Friends' Meeting in Philadelphia, Barbara Jones. His brief history shows the vicissitudes of human affairs: Possessed of the fee simple of three hundred and fifty acres of now invaluable building lots, he left no rich heirs; and, the possessor of three wives or more, he left no male issue to keep up his name, even in our City Directory! It appears, by the letter of Secretary Peters, of 1749, that the heirs of D. Pegg then appeared to make a partition. He left an only daughter.

Connected with Pegg's marsh meadows are some curious facts of

Subterrane and Alluvial Remains, to wit:

Christian Witmeck, a digger of wells, told me, that in digging a well for Mr. Lowber at Pegg's run, by St. John's street, at thirteen feet depth he cut across a fallen tree; at thirty-four feet came to wood, which appeared to be decayed roots of trees, in pieces of six inches square; near the bottom found what looked like isinglass—so they called it—then came to black sand; they dug through twenty-four feet of black mud; the volume of water procured is large. These facts were confirmed to me by Mr. Lowber himself. The same C. Witmeck, in digging a well near there for Thomas Steel, at No. 81 St. John street, at forty feet northward from the run, found, at the depth of twenty-one feet, real black turf filled with numerous reddish fibres of roots—it was ten feet in depth, and below it the well rested, at the depth of thirty feet, upon white sand; at twenty-six feet depth they found the crotch of a pine tree; between the well and the creek they found a brick wall, two feet under the surface, of six feet of depth and apparently thirty feet square. May not this have been the ruins of some ancient mill?

The well of Prosper Martin, at No. 91 St. John street, at about one hundred feet northward from Pegg's run, is a great curiosity, although it has excited no public attention. A single well of fifteen feet diameter at surface, and narrower at bottom, having its surface full sixteen feet lower in the yard than the present St. John street, (which has twenty feet depth of made earth,) being dug thirty feet, has the surprising volume of discharge of sixty thousand gallons a day without ever running out! It (by aid of steam to elevate it)

turns the machinery of two mahogany saws, which are running all day, every day—(save Sundays.) Prosper is a young man, and deserves great credit for his perseverance in prosecuting this digging. To use his own words, he was determined on water power, and determined to get below the bed of the Delaware and drain it off! His name, and the prosperity likely to crown his enterprise, seem likely to be identified. The original spring which I used to see, when a boy, is about forty feet west of it, on the west side of St. John street, at Dunn's cellar, No. 96.

Mr. Martin tells me he first attempted a well of smaller diameter nearer to the natural spring, but did not succeed to get through the mud deposit, owing to the narrowness, which did not allow him to repeat enough of curbs into it. He, therefore, undertook this second one; he went through twenty feet of black mud, and came for his foundation to coarse round pebbles, and manifest remains of shells. They seemed like (in part) crumbled clam shells. Several springs flowed in at the bottom; but in the centre there bursted out a volume of water of full six inches diameter, which sent forth such a volume of carbonic acid gas as to have nearly cost the life of the last of the two men, who hurried out of the well when it flowed in. Previously to this great discharge, there was so much of the same gas issuing as to nearly extinguish the candle, and to have made it, for some time previously, very deleterious to work there. The water thus flowing has uniformly a purgative quality on any new hands which he may employ, and who drink it. It deposits a concretion, a piece of which I have, which makes an excellent hone; this concretion enters so readily into ropes laying in it, as to make them calculous, and when the works on one occasion lay idle for some repairs, he found a deposit of full three bushels of salt; a large portion of which seemed to possess the quality of Glauber's salt. I intend now, for the first time, to have some chemical examination of its properties.* The hone, when triturated, gives out a nauseous smell, arising from the sulphur in it, as well as in Glauber's salt. The lime came from the shells, and the sulphureted hydrogen gas from the animal matter once in them.

Mr. P. Martin, who is an intelligent man, and seems to have examined things scientifically, gives it as his opinion that this low ground of Pegg's swamp must have been once the bed of Schuylkill, traversing from near the present Fairmount. He says the route of the whole is still visible to his eye. His theory is, that at an earlier period the original outlet of the Schuylkill was by the Cohocksinc creek, and he thinks that stream, in two divisions, can be still traced by his eye, meandering and ascending to the Falls of Schuylkill—that at the Falls, which was once a higher barrier, the river was

* I have since done this. Sulphuret of lime was in the spring, and the gas must have been sulphureted hydrogen gas. The hone was carbonate of lime containing sulphureted hydrogen gas.

turned shortly to the eastward; when that barrier was partially destroyed the river flowed down its present course to the present Fairmount works, or thereabouts, where it turned shortly to the eastward again, in consequence of a great barrier there—being the great Fairmount, then extending in elevation quite across Schuylkill; he thinks the identity of strata on both sides proves this former union. Until it was broken away, the Schuylkill then run out by Pegg's run.*

Such was the yielding character of the mud soil on the western side of Second street, where Sansom's row is built, that, to keep the houses from falling by the sinking of their western walls, they had to rebuild several of those walls, and to others to put back-houses as buttresses. To keep their cellars dry they dug wells of 28 feet depth before coming to sand. They went through considerable depth of *turf* filled with fibrous plants. Mr. Grove, the mason who saw this, told me he actually saw it dried and burnt. When they first came to the sand there was no water, but by piercing it the depth of the spade water spouted up freely, and filled the wells considerably.

The same Mr. Grove also told me that in digging at the rear of Thatcher's houses on Front below Noble street, all of which is made-ground redeemed from the invasion of the river into Pegg's marsh, they came at 28 feet depth to an oak log of 18 inches diameter, laying quite across the well.

To these subterrane discoveries we might add that of a *sword*, dug out of Pegg's run at the depth of 18 feet, resting on a sandy foundation. It was discovered on the occasion of digging the foundation for the Second street bridge. Daniel Williams was at that time the commissioner for the superintendence, and was said to have given it to the City Library. This singular fact was told to me by Thomas Bradford and Col. A. J. Morris, and others, who had it so direct as to rely upon it. On inquiry made for the cause, a blacksmith in the neighbourhood said his father had said a Bermudian sloop had once wintered near there, although the stream since would scarcely float a board.

SPECIMENS OF THE BEST HOUSES.

As the style of former architecture in its best character is passing away, I have herein endeavoured to notice a few of the last remains of the former age, to wit:

* Hill's Map of Philadelphia certainly shows both of the water courses as nearly united. The mill of Naglee, at Front street and Cohocksinc swamp, has never dug its well quite through the mud deposit, although very deep.

Two large houses on the south side of Walnut street, a little west of Third street, originally built for Mr. Stiles.

One of the excellent houses of the olden time was the large house on the north-east corner of Union and Second streets, built for William Griffith, who dwelt there at the same time; it was then sold to Archibald M'Call—it had once a fine large garden extending along Union street. At that house General Gage used to make his home and have his guard, he being related to M'Call's wife.

The house at the north-west corner of Second and Pine streets, built about 75 years ago for Judge Coleman, was a grand building at that time; it having a five window front on Second street, a great high portico and pediment, a fine front on Pine street, and a large garden along the same street. It is now altered into several stores and dwellings.

There were two fine houses on the site of the present Congress Hall Hotel, opposite to the Bank of the United States; the one next to the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank was built for and occupied by John Ross, a lawyer. The bank was the residence of John Lawrence, and when the British possessed Philadelphia, was the house of Admiral Howe.

The present Gibbs' house, on the north-east corner of Fourth and Arch streets, was a very large and superior house, having a long range of windows on Fourth street.

The house at the north-west corner of Vine and Third streets, owned and dwelt in by Kinneer, presenting a great array of windows on Vine street, was long deemed the nonpareil of that end of the town. It is now down and a bank occupies its place.

Markoe's house, south side of High street between Ninth and Tenth streets, was when built called "the house next to Schuylkill," in reference to its being so far out of town. It was of double front, is now standing, and altered into stores. It had a whole square of meadow about it. It was remarkable for being *the first house* with *marble* lintels over the windows, and for that cause was visited by hundreds every sabbath, as a wonder of unusual grandeur; now it is but a common house.

Edward Pennington's great house at the north-west corner of Crown and Race streets, was one of the most respectable and most substantial of its day—built for Edward Pennington about the year 1760. When erected, it was so far out of town, as to have the chief of its adjacent fences of plain post and rails;—and being on the most elevated part of the town—which gave rise to the name of Crown street, as the crowning or topmost elevation, it was a very conspicuous object, from the closer built parts of the then city;—it having also, before it, a descending green bank along the southern side of Race street, falling into low wet meadows—down the western side of Fourth street, until it reached the head of Dock creek, then terminating near the corner of Fourth and High streets.

The house and grounds were erected out of the funds accruing

from the Pennington estate in Goodnestone manor, in Kent in England, formerly belonging to Isaac Pennington, a distinguished preacher and writer among the early Friends in England. The same who was also father-in-law to William Penn.

During the war of the Revolution, this house was the residence of Colonel Johnson of the 28th regiment, the same officer who afterwards commanded at Stony Point, when it was surprised and taken by Gen. Wayne,—as his conqueror.

RARE OLD HOUSES.

THE only house of size now in Philadelphia with gable end front on the street, is to be seen at the south-west corner of Front street and Norris' alley. It formerly had a balcony and door at its second story, and its windows in leaden frames; one of which still remains on the alley side of the house. It is a very ancient house. It was, in the year 1725, the property and home of Samuel Mickle, the same unnamed gentleman who talked so discouragingly to Benjamin Franklin when he first proposed to set up a second printing office in the city.

The house on the west side of Front street, second door north of Walnut street, pulled down a few years ago, was remarkable for having in its foundation a large brick on which was scratched before burning—"This is the sixth house built in Philadelphia."

A house of Dutch style of construction, with double hipped roof, used to stand, with gable end to Second street, on the south side of the Christ church wall. It was but one and a half story high, built of brick. In the year 1806 it was pulled down, to build up the present three story house there. In the ancient house they found a big brick inscribed "I. G. S. founded 1695." This is now conspicuously preserved in the chimney of the new house, and visible from the street. In the rear of the same new house is preserved a small section of the primitive old wall.

A very ancient house of two stories and double front used to be occupied, in Front street below Chestnut street, on the bank side, by Dorsey, as an auction and dwelling. An ancient lady pointed it out to Mrs. Logan, as a place in which the Assembly of the Colony had held their session.

The north-east corner of Front and Walnut street, till a few years ago, had a curiously formed one and a half story brick house, having a double hipped roof.

The houses on the west side of Water street, north of Carpenters'

stairs, *vis-a-vis* Norris' alley, present the oldest appearance of any now remaining of the original bank houses.

There were two ancient and singular looking houses on the north side of Chestnut street, back from the street, where Girard has now built a new range of three houses, near to Fifth street. They were marked 1703, and at an early period was the residence of Mr. Duché, who had a pottery connected with it.

At the north-east corner of Vine and Second streets there stood, about 45 years ago, a large old-fashioned house; it originally stood on a hill ten feet higher than the street—had a monstrous buttonwood tree before it, and a long and high garden down Vine street.

Many years ago there was a range of low wooden houses on the west side of Front street, extending from Combes' alley nearly up to Arch street, on much higher ground than the present; they were often called "Sailor's town," being boarding houses and places of carousal for sailors. Mr. Pearson, the late city surveyor, and John Brown, remembered them in their early days.

Something like a similar collection of one story houses occupied the western side of Third street, and extended southward from Race street. They got the name of Hell-town, for the bad behaviour of their inmates. Two of them still remain, one of brick, and one of wood, and present a strange contrast in their mean appearance to other houses near there.

In 1744, the Grand Jury presented them as disorderly, and as having acquired such a name for their notoriety; an orchard lay between them and Cherry street.

"Jones' row," so called in early times, was originally a range of one large double house and one single one, forming an appearance of three good two story brick houses on the west side of Front street, adjoining to the south side of Combes' alley—now the premises of Mr. Gerhard, and greatly altered from its original appearance, by having what was formerly its cellar under ground now one story out of ground, and converting what was once a two story range of houses into three story houses. It once had a long balcony over Front street, and the windows were framed in leaden lattice work, only one of which now remains in the rear of the house. This house was razed in 1837, and I have the *leaden frames* of its windows—certainly *the last* in the city. The present elevation of the yard ground proves the fact of having cut down Front street and Combes' alley eight or ten feet.

This row was built in 1699 for John Jones, merchant, he having a lot of 102 feet width, and extending quite through to Second street.

The best specimens of the ordinary houses of decent livers of the primitive days, now remaining in any collection, are those, to wit: On the north or sun side of Walnut street, from Front up to Dock street, generally low two story buildings. Another collection extends from Front to Second street, on the north or sun side of Chest-

nut street. They appear to have avoided building on the south or shaded side of those streets. In both these collections there is now here and there a modern house inserted, of such tall dimensions as to humble and scandalize the old ones.

CHURCHES.

THE following facts, incidentally connected with sundry churches, may possibly afford some interest in their preservation, to wit:

The Presbyterian and Baptist churches began their career about the year 1695, and so far united their interests as to meet for worship in the same small building, called "the Barbadoes-lot store"—the same site where is now the small one-story stocking store, on the north-west corner of Chestnut and Second streets.* The Baptists



first assembled there in the winter of 1695, consisting only of nine persons, having occasionally the Rev. John Watts from Pennepeck as their minister; for then, be it known, the church at Pennepeck was both older and more numerous than that of the "great towne" of Philadelphia. At the same place the Presbyterians also went to worship, joining together mutually, as often as one or the other could procure either a Baptist or Presbyterian minister. This fellowship

* The valuable lot is since occupied by some four or five stately houses. It was long a city wonder that so small a wooden shop should occupy such valuable ground. It was probably with the intention of running out its hundred years for the sake of its title. A belief of that kind made me cautious to say much about it in the former edition. As a part of the property of the "Barbadoes Company," their interests in Philadelphia had been neglected, and eventually, probably, abandoned. It may be seen by the minutes of council of 1704, that at that time the London members of the Society of Freetraders "complain that their books and papers, &c., *are broken up*, and they pray relief against their agents *here*, and a *right* knowledge of their interests." Finally, they gave their whole remaining interests to the Society for Propagating Religion in Foreign Parts. A society still existing.

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continued for about the space of three years, when the Presbyterians having received a Rev. Jedediah Andrews from New England, they began, in the opinion of the Baptist brethren, to manifest wishes for engrossing the place to themselves, by showing an unwillingness to the services of the Baptist preachers. This occasioned a secession of the latter from the premises, (although they had been the first occupants,) and they afterwards used to hold their worship at Anthony Morris' brewhouse—a kind of "Mariner's church location, on the east side of Water street, a little above the Drawbridge, by the river side. There they continued to meet until the spring of 1707, lowly and without means for greater things; when, being invited by the Keithians, (seceders from the Quakers, under their follower, George Keith,) they took possession of their small wooden building on the site of the present first Baptist church, in Second street below Mulberry street. In that house they continued their worship, several of the Keithians uniting with them, until the year 1731, when they pulled it down, and erected in its stead a neat brick building of forty-two by thirty feet. That was also displaced by another of larger dimensions in 1762, and since then it has been much altered and enlarged.

Long letters of remonstrance on the one hand, and of justification on the other, passed between the Baptists and Presbyterians, headed by John Watts for the Baptists, and by Jedediah Andrews for the Presbyterians; these are of the winter of 1698, and are preserved in the Rev. Morgan Edward's History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania. They ended in the withdrawing of the Baptists, who said Mr. Andrews wrote to his friend thereupon, saying, "Though we have got the Anabaptists out of the house, yet our continuance there is uncertain; wherefore we must think of building, notwithstanding our poverty and the smallness of our number." The house which they did eventually build was that "First Presbyterian church" in High street, long called the "Old Buttonwood"—because of such trees of large dimensions about it. It was built in 1704; after standing about a century it was rebuilt in Grecian style, according to the picture given in this work, and finally all was taken down in 1820, and the ground converted to uses of trade and commerce. The din and crowd of business had previously made it an ill-adapted place.

It is curious enough of the first church of the Baptist order—founded in Philadelphia county, to wit, at Pennepeck, one year before that in Philadelphia—that it originated under a gentleman who first appeared at Philadelphia under a kind of freak, acting as an impostor. The case was this. Elias Keach, son of "the famous Benjamin Keach of London," who arrived here a wild young man, about the year 1686, passed himself off for a minister, dressing in black and wearing his band. Many people resolved to hear the young London divine! He went on well for a time in his sermon, but all at once stopping short, and looking astonished, he was supposed to have been suddenly disordered; and upon being questioned, he frankly confessed, with

tears and much trembling, that he was practising *deception* in holy things! In his distress, hearing that there was a Baptist minister from Rhode Island, Thomas Dungan, at Coldspring, Bucks county, he repaired to him, was baptized and ordained. He was very successful in raising churches in Pennsylvania, and having married the daughter of Nicholas Moore, he went back to England in 1692. He believed in, and practised also, the efficacy of anointing the sick with oil—a faith inculcated by many of his order *in that day*. The Rev. John Watts was ordained to the Pennepeck church in 1688, and, at the same time, took charge of the few first Baptists to be found in Philadelphia. [Some of the foregoing facts may be found in Morgan Edwards' book of 1770.]

Friends' Meeting in Arch street.—This house, built about thirty-two years ago, is placed near the area where they had buried their dead from the foundation of the city. The wall now around the whole enclosure has replaced one of much less height. When the first wall stood, it was easy to see the ground and graves over the top of the wall, in walking along the northern side of Arch street.

The first person ever interred in their ground was Governor Lloyd's wife; she was a very pious woman. William Penn himself spoke at her grave—much commending her character. Because of his high estimation of her and her excellent family, he offered, after her burial there, to give the whole lot to that family. The descendants of that family, including the Norrises, have ever since occupied that south-west corner where Mrs. Lloyd was buried, as their exclusive ground.

The aged Samuel Coates told me that Indians, blacks and strangers were at first buried freely in Friends' ground; and he gave it as his opinion that they were at first not very particular to keep out of the range of Arch street—a circumstance which was afterwards verified; for in September, 1824, when laying the iron pipes along Arch street, off the eastern end of the meeting house, they dug up several coffins in corresponding rows. They were left there unmolested. The tradition of this encroachment of the street on the former ground was known to some of the ancients. This was told to Mrs. Logan by her aged aunt; and a lady of the name of Moore would never ride along that street, saying it was painful to ride over the dead.

There was lately dug up in Friends' ground a head-stone, of soapstone, having an inscription of some peculiarity, to wit:

"Here lies a plant
Too many seen it,—
Flourisht and perisht
In half a minvit:
Joseph Rakestraw,
The son of William,
Shott by a negro
The 30 day of Sept.
1700, in the 19th year
and 4th month of his age."

A letter of Mr. Norris of the year 1700, explains the circumstance, saying that "Jack, a black man belonging to Philip James, was wording it with Joseph, half jest and half earnest, when his gun went off and killed him on the spot. The negro was put to his trial." The stone is now in the possession of Joseph Rakestraw, the printer.

There was also formerly another ancient grave-stone there for Peter Deal, called in Gabriel Thomas' book, of 1698, "a famous and ingenious workman in water-mills." The stone was inscribed, to wit:

> "Here lies the body of one Peter Deal,
> Whose life was useful to the common weal;
> His skill in architecture me'ts praise
> Beyond what this frail m[illegible]ment displays—
> He died lamented by his wife and friends,
> And now he rests, they hope, where sorrow ends."

Presbyterian Churches.—The ancient *first* church in High street, built in 1704, continued its peace and increase until the time of the Rev. George Whitfield, when he and his coadjutors, Tennent, Davenport, Rowland, &c., produced such a religious excitement as gave umbrage to many: the consequence was, that a party drew off, under the name of *New Lights*, to Whitfield's separate church, erected in 1744, and in 1750 made into "the Academy." The same year the New Lights, concentred under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, laid the foundation of the Presbyterian church at the north-west corner of Third and Arch streets, then bearing the name of the "New Meeting house." It was at first without a steeple; but an effort to raise one was attempted among the society, "and it falling much short," they, in the year 1753, succeeded to draw a lottery, to have it finished. That steeple was taken down thirty-five or forty years ago, from an apprehension that it might be blown over. It was a very neat and ornamental structure. In the period of its construction some thought it too much like aspiring to the airy honours just before acquired by Christ church; it therefore gave rise to a satirical couplet in these words, to wit:

> "The Presbyterians built a church, and fain would have a steeple;
> We think it may become the *church*, but not become the people."

When they were doing something at the steeple in 1765, a young man, engaged thereon, fell down and was killed in a few minutes.

When the Rev. Gilbert Tennant lived at Bedminster *country seat*, (north-east corner of Fourth street and Brewer's alley, now Wood street,) he was one day overtaken in a storm of rain, and put into the tavern, the White Horse, at the north-west corner of same alley and Third street; having hitched his horse to the buttonwood then there, and gone into the house, while he was seated *by the fire*, drying his clothes, lightning came down the chimney, and melted the silver buckles in his knee-bands and shoes! The people thought him invulnerable as a saint of God. I was told it by an old lady of

his church, as a fact known to herself. She also said that she often knew the women and others of his church to *scream* for mercy, "equal to any thing since seen among the Methodists."

In connexion with the church above named, the society also built a brick meeting house at the north-east corner of St. John and Coates street, since converted into three dwelling houses, and these again into a theatre.

In time Mr. Tennant expressed his regrets at the secession, and the whole people afterwards became reunited to the parent stock, under the name of the Second Presbyterian church. The third Presbyterian church, at the south-west corner of Pine and Fourth streets, was built by the High street congregation, about the year 1760, on purpose to accommodate that part of the congregation which, in the language of the day, lived "*down* on the hill." The pastors of the two churches were to interchange. In a few years after, the Pine street people called the Rev. Mr. Duffield, contrary to the will of the mother society, and by force opened the doors on a Sabbath morning, and put their pastor into the pulpit! This, of course, was matter of great scandal in that day. After some private altercation, the High street people sued for the recovery of their property. Their right was awarded by several successive courts; and, finally, an appeal was made to England. Before, however, the cause was decided there, the revolution put an end to her jurisdiction, and the Pine street "revolters" (as some called them) kept possession, until the matter was at length terminated by the possessors agreeing to purchase. But the price agreed on was never executed by the original society. This society, in some twenty or twenty-two years ago, fell into another schism among themselves and divided; part remaining and calling in the Rev. E. S. Ely, and the other part building a new church in Spruce near Sixth street, and calling in the Rev. Dr. Neill. These bickerings are painful; but it is the business of the historic pen to record the conduct of our progenitors, as we are thus endeavouring to revive the recollections of all the interests and the passions which once agitated and affected them.

The Lutheran Churches.—The first was built in 1743, for Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg, who came out to this country in 1742, as the first ordained clergyman. The first church was built on Fifth street, at the corner of Appletree alley, and had a steeple affixed thereto, which had to be taken down in 1750, owing to having been erected too soon upon the new walls. This church was used by the British while in the city, as their garrison church, and the congregation using it also a part of each Sunday.

Their next built church was the large church on Fourth street, corner of Cherry street, built there in 1772. The site which they took up had been the board yard of General Roberdeau. While the British occupied Philadelphia, they took out the pews of this church and used it as their hospital.

The Lutherans had been accustomed to hold separate meetings of

worship before they had a pastor in Dr. Muhlenberg, or a church of their own to assemble in. On these occasions they were instructed by the Rev. Mr. Dylander, the Swedish minister at Weccaco,—a very zealous minister, who often preached sixteen sermons in a week!

The church which they had before used was a building on Allen's lot, used alternately by the Lutherans and the Moravians. While the latter were once using it, the Lutherans came and drove them out, taking forcible possession. Indictments, &c., followed. This was in the year 1742.

The German Reformed Church.—The first was built in Race street near Fourth street, about the year 1747, and was made in an octagon form, having a steeple. They built their schoolhouse by a lottery in 1753–4. The octagon church they tore down in a few years, and built the present larger one on the same site in 1762. Again pulled down in 1836. The first church was built for the Rev. Michael Schlatter who was sent from the Society in Holland,—his old journal I have seen, wherein he states, that before his coming they were preached to by a Mr. Bœhm, a layman, at a hired house. When Mr. Schlatter arrived, he found 165 communicants in Philadelphia, and 115 in Germantown.

"An Almanac Forever" was found affixed to one of the rooms of the house they pulled down to give room for the new enlarged church. It being of curious construction it has been preserved in my MS. Annals, page 202, in the City Library.

In the year 1750 this church had to encounter an unpleasant incident; a great strife in the church between the two contending pastors, Mr. Schlatter and the former minister from Dortrecht; they disputed about the possession of the pulpit several Sundays. The former at last took the pulpit on Saturday and stayed in it all night! The other and his followers being thus excluded, some beating and bruising occurred, much to the scandal of religious profession. At length the Magistrates interfered and decided in favour of Mr. Schlatter. Mr. Kalm, who saw the first church, described it as being like a church near Stockholm.

The Roman Catholic Churches.—It was always the enlightened and peculiar characteristic of Pennsylvania, even when yet a colony, that it respected and cherished the unfettered rights of conscience in matters of religion. In this respect it was more indulgent and free than the parent country, so that when we would countenance freedom of religious exercise, there were those among us, jealous of parental prerogative, who cried "Church and State in danger!" To this cause probably arose the caution of Penn, in his letter of 1708, to James Logan, saying: "With these is a complaint against your government, that you suffer public mass in a scandalous manner; pray send the matter of fact, for ill use is made of it against us here."

This early-mentioned mass probably had its origin in the frame building once a Coffee House on the north-west corner of Front and Walnut streets. Samuel Coates, the late aged owner of that lot,

has told me that when he received the premises from his uncle Reynell he told him, jocosely, to remember it was holy ground, and had been once consecrated as a chapel. Mr. Coates also told me that he remembered to have seen a neighbouring man often passing the house to the Green Tree pump for water, who always made his genuflexion in passing, and on being questioned, said he knew it was consecrated ground.

Fifteen years ago I saw a lady, Sarah Patterson, born in 1736, who dwelt in her youth at the house south-east corner of Chesnut and Second streets; she had often heard her parents say it was built for a Papal chapel, and that the people opposed its being so used in so public a place.

There was a Roman chapel near the city of Philadelphia, as early as the year 1729; at that time, Elizabeth M'Gawley, an Irish lady, and single, brought over a number of tenantry, and with them settled on the land (now Miss Dickinson's) on the road leading from Nicetown to Frankford; connected with her house (now standing opposite to Gaul's place) she had the said chapel.* Mrs. Deborah Logan has told me that much of it was in ruins when she was a girl; but even now the spot is visible. It was then called "the haunted place." These facts in general have been confirmed to me also by the late Thomas Bradford, Esq., of Philadelphia, when 88, who told me he remembered well, when a lad, to have heard of this chapel as a haunted place. It was the report of the time in Philadelphia, &c., and he added, as a fact, that a person, to test the reality of the thing alleged, went to the road, by the premises, at midnight, and walking with his hands behind him, was suddenly alarmed with a sensation of an application of death coldness to his hands! Too terrified to turn and examine the cause, he endeavoured to rouse his courage by calling on the familiar names of some dogs; at last hitting on one that had lost his owner, which ran before him at the call, and offered to caress him, he was led to discover that the terrific coldness had been the dog's nose. It may be a question whether the aforesaid Roman chapel may not have been there before Elizabeth M'Gawley settled there, even from the earliest origin of the city, and that such chapel was put there for Roman Catholics, because their religion, however agreeable to Penn's tolerant spirit, was not so to most protestants then in power; for we may remember that one of Penn's letters from England to his correspondent in Philadelphia, says, "It has become a reproach to me here with the officers of the Crown, that you have suffered the scandal of mass to be publicly celebrated." To avoid such offence, this chapel may have been at an inconvenient distance, and as if in secrecy. At a very early period the first chapel in Philadelphia was on the premises now Samuel

* Near the place (one eighth of a mile off) is a stone enclosure, in which is a large tombstone of marble, inscribed with a cross and the name "John Michael Brown, Ob. 15 Dec., A. D. 1750, R. I. P." He was a priest.

Coates', at the north-west corner of Front and Walnut streets. And as early as 1686, I have recorded William Penn's letter to Harrison, (his steward) wherein he tells him he may procure fine smoked shad of the *old priest* in Philadelphia. And in 1685, his letter spoke of Charles De la Noe, the French minister, coming to settle among them with servants as a Vigneron. These remarks may prove interesting inquiries to papists themselves among us; none of whom I am satisfied have any idea of any older chapel than the one now in Willing's alley, built in 1753, and now called the oldest. The Rev. Dr. Harrold, of the Catholic church, assured me that they have no records in Philadelphia of any earlier church than that in the said alley, although he thinks there may be some records in the College of St. Mary at Georgetown, which may (if any where to be found) exhibit where the first Catholic worship occurred in Philadelphia.

We, however, know that Governor Gorden, in 1734, informed the Council that a house had been erected in Walnut street, [probably at the north-west corner of Walnut and Front streets, or else St. Joseph's on Willing's alley and back from Walnut street,] for the open celebration of mass, contrary to the statutes of William the Third. The Council advised him to consult his superiors at home. In the mean time they judged them protected by the charter, which allowed "liberty of conscience."

The minutes of the Council, at the same time, calls their proceedings thereon "the Consideration of the Council upon the building of the Roman mass house, and the public worship there," July 1734.

In the year 1757 Mr. Harding, the popish priest, made a report of the Catholics in Pennsylvania, at the request of the Governor, viz.: in Philadelphia, 139; in Chester county, 40. The whole number, in all the state, including Germans, &c., men, women and children, about two thousand souls.

The Moravian Church.—This church, at the corner of Race and Bread streets, was built in 1742; before that time they appear to have held their meetings at a building on Allen's lot, in conjunction with the Lutherans; the latter using the place every third Sunday, and the others three times a month. Some jealousy got among them, so that while Mr. Pyrlaus was preaching for the Moravians, the Lutherans came in force, and violently excluded the others.

Although the Gazettes of the day called the above opponents "Lutherans," there is reason to believe they were mistaken in the society named, and that they must have been the *German Reformed sect;* because I see, in the Lutheran account of their mission in Philadelphia *at this time*, that they state that "the Reformed and Lutherans had rented a house in common for public worship. That on one occasion a Mr. Pyrlaus, *the Moravian preacher*, entered the house by force without the keys, in order to preach, and that because he so entered against the will of the lawful owners, the *Reformed* pulled him from the pulpit, and put him without the doors." See for these facts *Nachrichten von einiger Evan., &c.*, p. 136.

Secretary Peters, who mentions this event to the Penns, in 1742, says these indicted the others for a riot, but lost their cause. It probably educed good from evil, by inducing them to build that year a church for themselves.

Kalm, the Swedish traveller, at a later period, speaks of the Moravians and the German Reformed hiring a great house, in which they performed service in German and English, not only two or three times every Sunday, but likewise every night! But in the winter of 1750 they were obliged to desist from their night meetings, because some young fellows disturbed them by an instrument sounding like the cuckoo, and this they did at the end of every line when they sang their hymns.

St. Paul's Church.—This was originally founded in 1760, with a design to be more in accordance with Mr. Wesley's church conceptions, than was tolerated in other Protestant Episcopal churches. It was built in 1762. The walls were run up by subscription; after which a lottery was made to complete it.

When the church was to be plastered, the men not being skilful in constructing so large a scaffolding, it fell, and killed and wounded several persons.

The church was first got up for the Rev. Mr. Clenachan. He preached at one time specially against the lewdness of certain women. Soon after a Miss H., celebrated in that day for her beauty and effrontery, managed to pluck his gown in the streets. This gave rise to some indignation, and a mob of big boys went in a strong body and demolished her house, with some others in her fellowship—"down town."

The Methodist Church.—Methodism was first introduced into Philadelphia in the year 1769, by the late Rev. Dr. Joseph Pilmore of St. Paul's church, he having then as a young man arrived here on a mission from the Rev. Mr. John Wesley. He preached from the steps of the Statehouse in Chesnut street, and from stands put up in the race fields. being, as he has told me, a true field preacher, and carrying his whole library and wardrobe in his saddlebags. His popularity as a preacher soon led to his call to St. Paul's. Among the novelties of his day, he was occasionally aided in preaching by Captain Webb, the British barrack-master at Albany, who being a Boanerges in declamation, and a one-eyed officer in military costume, caused attraction enough to bring many to hear, from mere curiosity, who soon became proselytes to Methodism. The Methodism of that day was not so exclusive as now; it collected people of any faith, who professed to believe in the sensible perceptions of divine regeneration, &c., and required no other rule of association than "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and having the form of godliness, were seeking after the power thereof." Calvinists and Arminians were therefore actual members of this first association. The Methodists of that day, although remarkable for their holiness of living, were not distinguished by such violent emotions and bodily

exercises in their assemblies as often occur now. There were no jumpers among them, nor fallers down, nor shouters.

The first regular meetings of this society were held in a pot-house in Loxley's court, a passage running from Arch to Cherry street, near Fourth street.

The first church owned by the Methodists, was the present St. George's, in Fourth near New street. It was an unfinished building, which they bought of the Germans; it having no floor laid when the British possessed the city, they took it to the use of their cavalry as a riding school. In the rear of that church was an artillery yard of cannons and balls after the peace.

The reminiscences of that church, given by another hand, as seen by him when Methodism was young, shall close this article, to wit:

Saint George's Methodist church in Fourth street, and the only one at the time in Philadelphia, was without galleries within or railing without, a dreary, cold-looking place in winter time, when, from the leaky stove pipe, mended with clay, the smoke would frequently issue, and fill all the house. It was then customary with the female worshippers to carry with them small "wooden stoves" for the feet, such as are to be seen used by the women in market. The front door was in the centre; and about 20 feet from the east end, inside, there stood a square thing not unlike a watch box, with the top sawed off, which in that day served as their "pulpit of wood," from whence the Rev. Mr. Willis used to *read* prayers previous to the sermon, from Mr. Wesley's Liturgy, and John Hood (lately living) raised the hymn standing on the floor. Mr. Willis, during service, wore a black silk gown, which gave offence to many, and was finally laid aside. "Let all things be done soberly and in order" seemed to be the standing rule, which was first broken in upon by a Mr. Chambers, from Baltimore, who, with a sharp penetrating voice and great energy of manner, soon produced a kind of revolution in the form of worship, which had assimilated itself with that of the Church of England.

About the same time, the far-famed (among Methodists) Benjamin Abbott, from Salem county, New Jersey, used to "come over and help" to keep alive the new fire which had been kindled in "the church at Philadelphia." He was at the time an old man, with large shaggy eye-brows, and eyes of flame, of powerful frame, and great extent of voice, which he exerted to the utmost, while preaching and praying, which, with an occasional stamp with his foot, made the church ring. It was like the trumpet sounding to battle, amidst shouts of the victorious and the groans of the wounded. His words ran like fire sparks through the assembly, and "those who came to laugh" stood *aghast* upon the benches—looking down upon the slain and the wounded, while, to use a favourite expression of his, "The shout of the king was in the camp."

American Churches, before the American revolution, were all considered as appendages of the mother country, so far as to be

generally governed by the rules at home. The Protestant Episcopal church had to receive its ordinations and book of forms from the bishop of London. Both Dr. White of Philadelphia and Mr. Provost of New York had their consecrations as bishops in London, even as late as 1787. The Presbyterian churches were guided by Scottish precedents; and the American students of divinity were accustomed to read Stewart's Scottish Collections as a book of authority on discipline and government. The Methodists took all their authority and rules from John Wesley. The general synod of the Dutch church, which began to construct its laws as early as 1787, had them under advisement down to the year 1792, when they determined on the constitution by which its churches are now governed.

The Presbyterians, it is understood, took very great pains to make their ecclesiastical laws of enduring and unchangeable character. To this purpose, they were subjected to several reconsiderations and revisals in the several Presbyteries—and after three years of consideration, they were finally adopted, in May, 1788. Little or no part of the Confession of Faith was altered, save that which related to the civil government and the civil magistrate. In the Scottish form, the civil magistrate had power to "call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that all done therein should conform to the mind of God." In place of that, the American Presbytery declared it to be the duty of the civil magistrate *to protect equally* the churches of our common Lord, *without* a preference to any one denomination above the rest; to the end, that "*all* should *enjoy* full and free liberty of action, without violence or danger." This constitution, it has been said, is sufficient in itself to show, that they as a people can have no power, even if they had the wish, to unite church and state. The Scottish form also included a declaration, that "it was a sin to tolerate a false religion," which was left out here, by a unanimous vote.

The Friends, at all times, had been most free from this foreign influence. They have indeed always received annual epistles from abroad, reporting their views and feelings on given subjects of religious character, and in return the American Friends have been equally free to send their responses "in reciprocal interchanges of brotherly love."

Concluding and general remarks.—We shall herein endeavour to sketch some few of the remembered differences between the past and the present, in the ways and circumstances of public worship. Formerly there were no choirs set apart as singers: and an obvious reason was, that there were no tunes used of such complicated and artificial construction as to require a separate order or class to manage them. There was, from that circumstance, a much more general and hearty *co-operation* of the whole body of worshippers. In the Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist churches, the singing was led by one good singer standing below the pulpit, and bearing the appellation of "the setter of tunes." Such were "Josey Eastburn" and

"Johnny Hood," names long endeared to many. In Christ church, the singer, there called the clerk, was Joseph Fry—a small man with a great voice, who standing in the organ gallery, was wont to make the whole church resound with his strong, deep and grave tones.

It was the *forte*, and the purposed system of the Methodists, to have very superior and attractive singing—always of such popular cast and spirit, as would easiest please the ear and enchain the attention; and it well succeeded with all those who were unsophisticated with high artificial refinements. The "sweet singer" of that church, familiarly called "Johnny Hood," (as was much the wont of that day with all familiar and cherished names,) was himself a singer wholly of nature's own make, one who had never learned one note of gamut-music, and yet he never jarred or failed! His sweet smiling face too, whilst he sang, was only equalled by the charm of his clear, mellifluous voice. His utterance, too, was so clear and distinct, as that most people could join in his singing without a book, following only his words.

The Methodist churches had a quicker and more animated style of singing at all times, than prevailed in the slower, heavier cadence of the other churches of the city. It was not uncommon to find many persons who went purposely to Methodist churches to hear the singing. We have known such "who remained to pray."

The very first perceptible innovations in the public singing of the Protestant churches, generally, was seen to come in from that cast and character of public singing which has been seen to catch the curious and artificially prepared ears of the amateurs. This style of singing and chanting was first witnessed in Philadelphia in the Papal churches, and came to be but slowly imitated. At last, however, by the force and prevalence of the piano teachers, a style of lessons came to be imposed, which put down natural music in churches, almost as generally as in parlours.

In the present day, there is no very marked difference in the general appearance of the congregations who worship in the different churches in the city. But there was a marked distinctive difference formerly. The Episcopalians showed most grandeur of dress and costume,—next the Presbyterians,—the gentlemen of whom freely indulged in powdered and frizzled hair;—the Baptists showed a graver and humbler style, with scarcely any powdered head visible among them. The Methodists desired to be "a peculiar people," and for a time effected their purpose. No powdered heads of men, and no gay bonnets or ribands were to be seen among them. It was really so, that persons gaily dressed shunned to go there lest they might be "preached at." We could name such an individual, with powdered and toupeed hair and ruffles over his hands, who was so preached at, and afterwards became a Methodist preacher himself.

They aimed in general to dress much like the Friends, except that they intended not to be mistaken for them, and therefore they wore

collars to their coats, and their clothes of various colours—avoiding only such as should be esteemed gay,—and such as were *drab*, because *that colour* was then a much more prevalent one among the Friends than now. Indeed, it was the exclusiveness of this drab to them, then, as a class, which caused the sneering Tom Paine to say, that if they had their will, there would be nothing but drab as a colour, to all created things! The Methodists all wore "shad breasted" coats, and low-crowned hats;—the women all wore plain black satin bonnets—straw bonnets were never seen among them—no white dresses—no jewellery—no rings. No male persons were to be seen with tied or queued hair, but lank long locks straitly combed down in thick and natural profusion. The females wore no curls, no side locks, or lace or ornaments. Their ministers, as such, could be readily recognized when abroad in the streets. They moved with solemn looks and pace—never in black, but in a kind of "parsonic attire" called "parsons' gray"—a gray in which a proportion of blue was given; their coats were without lapels—and their hats were generally white and large-brimmed. They wore small clothes and vests of cotton-velvet of *olive* colour, and sometimes of black-lastings, such as are now used in shoes. Their bishop, Asbury, wore an entire suit of blue-gray cloth, with a big white hat, and a fine, solemn, venerable looking man he surely was. He had greatly the dignity and port of a ruler.

Such was the adherence to the things afore mentioned *for principles' sake*, that it was long before all these distinctive marks of a people could be broken down. The first ministers that wore *pantaloons* and *frock coats* were scarcely tolerated; and the members who first began to wear lapels, and frock coats, and the women to wear straw bonnets, were subjects of concern. But in time, as if wearied in watching at invading breaches,—one and another of the barriers which marked them from the world around them gave way,—and now, if the heart be right, they leave their own consciences to regulate their sumptuary obligations.

It might be remarked also, that they did not as a people value or expect an educated ministry. They went solely upon "*the call*," and upon *that*, like the Friends, they rested their *sufficiency*, as "able ministers." In this way it occasionally happened, that "Black Harry," who accompanied Mr. Asbury as his travelling assistant or servant, would serve the pulpit as a preacher, although he knew not a letter. He has so preached in Philadelphia.

It may be remarked also, that the Methodists were not originally an Episcopacy in this country—they were "followers of Mr. Wesley." Their first leaders here,—Asbury, Whatcoat and Coke, were "superintendents" under Mr. Wesley, who himself earnestly disclaimed Episcopacy for himself and people;—but in time, Mr. Asbury took the title of bishop—which title has since been perpetuated, on the ground, that as the epithet of bishop meant in effect a superintendency or oversight, in the original Greek, it was at most a harmless

conformity with apostolic usage to use the term Bishop (*Episcopus*) for the future.

From these, as a precedent, arose afterwards in Philadelphia, among the coloured Methodists, the separate Methodist church of Episcopal order. It was begun under Richard Allen, who finding himself in the actual ministry of the first black church in Philadelphia, chose to assume the title of bishop, and has since ordained many other ministers. They *thus purpose* to preserve their perpetuity and independency in their own way. Such *independency* to Bishop Allen may have been peculiarly sweet, for he, like another Onesimus, had once been a servant. He had belonged to the Chew family.

In the mean time, the Presbyterians, as if less reverent to bishops as a class of eminence, have latterly grown into the occasional practice, in a semi-official way, of calling any of their ministry bishops. They had always regarded "presbyter" and "bishop" as convertible terms, but until lately, we had never noticed the use of the single title of bishop to those who were only ordained as presbyters. We believe the first departure from former practice occurred in some of the controversial writings of Dr. Ely of Philadelphia.

We give the foregoing *notitia* of passing events, as "notes by the way," and as marking such changes and characteristics in matters and things as it is our proper business to express.

HOSPITALS.

The earliest Hospital, separate from the Poor-house, to which in early times it was united, was opened and continued for several years in the house known as "Judge Kinsey's dwelling and orchard" —the same two-story double-front brick house now on the south side of High street, third door west from Fifth street. The Hospital there, nearly eighty years ago, was under the general government of Mrs. Elizabeth Gardiner, as matron.

In the year 1750 several public spirited gentlemen set on foot a proposition for another and more convenient building than was before possessed for the sick at the Poor-house—then on the lot occupying the square from Spruce to Pine street, and from Third to Fourth street.

By the MS. Diary of John Smith, Esq., I see noted that on the 5th of 5 mo., 1751, he, with other managers of the Hospital Fund, went out to inspect several lots for a place for a Hospital, and he states that none of them pleased them so much as one on the south side of Arch street between Ninth and Tenth streets. But after-

wards, on the 11th of 8th mo., 1751, he notes, that he, with Dr. Bond and Israel Pemberton, inspected the late dwelling-house of E. Kinsey, Esq., and were of opinion it would be a suitable place to begin the hospital in. The year 1751, therefore, marks the period at which the Hospital in High street began. It there continued four or five years.

The Pennsylvania Hospital was founded in the year 1755. At the occasion of laying the corner stone, the celebrated John Key, "the first born," was present from Chester county. The inscription of the corner stone, composed by Dr. Franklin, reads thus:

"In the year of Christ
MDCCLV,
George the Second happily reigning,
(For he sought the happiness of his people,)
Philadelphia flourishing,
(For its inhabitants were public spirited,)
This Building,
By the bounty of Government,
And of many private Persons,
Was piously founded
For the relief of the sick and miserable.
May the God of Mercies
Bless the Undertaking."

When the Hospital was first placed there it was deemed very far out of town, and was approached not by present rectilineal streets, but across commons the length of several squares. The only building then finished for several years was the present eastern wing, then entered by its front gate on Eighth street.

I have seen in the possession of Mr. B. Otis, portrait painter, a large coloured engraving of the Hospital and Poor-house near by, and all the scenery of the adjacent open commons, as drawn by Nicholas Garrison, about the time of 1768.

At and before the year 1740 it was the practice when sick emigrants arrived, to place them in empty houses about the city. Sometimes diseases were imparted to the neighbourhood, as once occurred, particularly at Willing's alley. On such occasions physicians were provided for them at the public expense. The Governor was induced, in 1741, to suggest the procuring of a Pest-house or Hospital; and in 1742 a Pest-house was erected on Fisher's island, called afterwards Province Island, because purchased and owned by the province, for the use of sick persons arriving from sea.

POOR-HOUSES.

THE original Poor-house for the city was located down town, on a green meadow, extending from Spruce to Pine streets, and from Third to Fourth streets. Its front was to the east, and nearest to Third street. Its great gate was on Spruce street, and its entrance by Third street was by a stile. The house was much such a structure as to height and general appearance as that of the Friends' Alms-house in Walnut street; it had a piazza all round. It contained the sick and insane as well as the poor. There were also some parts of the necessary buildings formed near the corner of Union and Fourth streets, on the site now occupied as the premises of Doctor Physick, from which cause, I find, in 1758, it was called, "the Alms-house down Fourth street," and "the Alms-house square," &c.

The present Alms-house out Spruce street, begun in 1760, was first occupied in the year 1767. The square of nearly four hundred feet square, on which the buildings stand, cost then but £800. Who can tell its rise of value since! It was then, however, quite a place in the country, and near the woods, and having a fine orchard on the square on its northern front.

LIBRARIES.

WE are indebted to Doctor Franklin for the first project of a public library. He started one in 1731, consisting of thirty-eight persons, to pay 40*s.* each, and to contribute afterwards 10*s.* annually. It was at first located in a chamber of Robert Grace's house in Pewter Platter alley. In 1740 it was placed in the State-house. In 1773 it went to Carpenters' Hall till 1790, when the present library was built and received the books. It was incorporated in the year 1742, as "the Library Company of Philadelphia." Previous to this company the members of the Junto used to each bring their books to their debating room, and leave them there as common stock at Grace's house—the same premises, I believe, now belonging to Benjamin Horner.

In 1759, Governor Denney confirmed the charter of "the Union

Library of Philadelphia." They built themselves the neat house still standing at the corner of Third and Pear streets. About the same time, in 1757, I notice an advertisement to call the members of "the Association Library" to meet at their literary room in Lætitia court.

In 1769 it is announced in the Gazette that "the Union Library," which had existed many years, resolved to merge itself into "the Library Company of Philadelphia," and thus to make but one institution.

At one time, as I was told by the aged Isaac Parrish, the Union Library kept their books and reading room in Chestnut street, in the second house from Second street, south side. They went up stairs by a flight of steps on the outside.

. The Loganian Library of nearly three thousand volumes was the generous gift of James Logan, Esq., to the city of Philadelphia for ever, together with a house and £30 per annum. In 1792, his son James procured an act of the Legislature, vesting the library, &c., in "the Library Company of Philadelphia,"—thus eventually merging "the Library Company of Philadelphia," "the Union Library of Philadelphia," and "the Loganian Library," all three in one—"*tria una in juncta.*"

TAVERNS.

In the primitive days the grant of tavern licenses was restricted to widows, and occasionally to decrepit men of good character. I am aware of this fact from inspecting several of the early petitions of about the year 1700 for such licenses.

In the year 1683, William Penn's letter says: "We have seven ordinaries for the entertainment of strangers and workmen that are not housekeepers, and a good meal is to be had for sixpence sterling."

There was, however, at an early period much effort made by base people to keep private tippling houses, which were ferreted out by the Grand Juries with much vigilance.

In 1709, the Grand Jury present many tippling and disorderly houses.

In 1714, no less than thirty-five true bills were found against unlicensed taverns in one session!

In 1744, the Grand Jury present the enormous increase of public houses as a great nuisance, and they say it appears by constable returns that there are then upwards of a hundred houses licensed, which, with all the retailers, make the houses which sell drink nearly a tenth part of the city!

In 1752, there were found in the city a hundred and twenty taverns with licenses, and a hundred and eighteen houses that sold rum by the quart.

In 1756, the number of licensed inns in the city was ascertained to be a hundred and seventeen.

In 1759—until this year it had been the occasional practice for Justices of the peace to hear and to decide causes at public inns, which was found to have a demoralizing effect in bringing so many people to drinking places. The Governor therefore in this year publicly forbids its use any longer. The Common Council itself, in the year 1704, dated its minutes at an inn and at the Coffee House.

The late Indian King tavern in High street near Third street was the oldest inn in the city, and was in numerous years among the most respectable; when kept by Mr. Biddle it was indeed a famous house. There the Junto held their club, and assembled such men as Doctor Franklin, Hugh Roberts, Charles Thomson, &c. In the year 1742 it was kept by Peter and Jonathan Robeson.

The Crooked Billet Inn on the wharf above Chestnut street (end of the first alley) was the tavern of longest "uninterrupted succession" in the city, being named in earliest times, but it has ceased its operations as an inn some years past. It was the first house entered in Philadelphia, in 1723, by Doctor Franklin, in his first visit to the city. It then was a more considerable building than afterwards, having then its front upon Water street, and extending down to the river.

The Pewter Platter Inn once stood at the corner of Front and Jones' alley; its sign was a large pewter platter. The oddity of the device made it so famous that it gave a lasting name to the alley, to the utter oblivion of Jones' name.

A Mrs. Jones kept a celebrated public house in the old two-story house now adjoining the south end of the City Tavern; besides its present front on Second street it had a front towards Walnut street, with a fine green court yard all along that street quite down to Dock creek. At that house Richard Penn and other governors, generals and gentry used to be feasted. The tavern was designated by the sign of the Three Crowns.

The present City Tavern adjoining it was erected on the site of two frame buildings* in the year 1770. It was then made a distinguished eating and boarding house. In later time it took the name of Coffee House, had a portico formed in front, and its former smaller rooms opened into one general front room.

A very noted public house, in the colonial days, was Pegg Mullen's "beef-steak house," on the east side of Water street, at the corner of Wilcox's alley; she was known and visited by persons from Boston to Georgia. Now the house, herself, and all who feasted

* Those two-story frames were once "the timber houses" of Edward Shippen, Sen., sold to Samuel Powell, to which family the present Coffee House belongs.

there, are gone—for ever gone! The late aged Colonel Morris says it was the fashionable house of his youthful days. Governor Hamilton, and other governors, held their clubs in that house—there the Free Masons met, and most of the public parties and societies. The alley was called "Mullen's alley," and the site was the same where Robert Morris built up his range of stores, on the north side of the Mariners' church. It was also the same premises originally belonging to *Carpenter*, where he made many primitive buildings on a large scale. The stores were of wood, and stood next south of Pegg Mullen's, which was on the south-east corner of the alley—"Carpenter's wharf" was at the same place.

In the year 1768–9, Mrs. Graydon opened a celebrated boarding house "up Front street," at Drinker's house, at the north corner of Drinker's alley. That house had generally several British and other officers as inmates, and at different times was nearly filled by officers of the 42d Highland and Royal Irish. Baron de Kalb boarded there—Lady Moore and Lady Susan O'Brien. Sir William Draper too (immortalized by Junius!) was an inmate, and while in Philadelphia was distinguished as a great racket player. At one time he was a resident at Newbern, North Carolina, living among them without display, as if seeking to hide himself from the lash of Junius.

Dibley's tavern was an ancient house of some note in its day, at the east corner of Bank alley and Chestnut street, where Hide once had his dwelling and book-bindery. At that house an event occurred, about the year 1782, sufficiently remarkable for romance; indeed it gave rise to some poetry which I have seen. A man came there to be an upper ostler, having with him a wife and two daughters (young women grown) of great gentility and beauty; and the whole family being in much poverty, made use of the harness room over the stable for their dwelling! The case was this, viz.: The ostler, on an excursion in Maryland as a horse jockey, heard of the widow S. as a lady of wealth; by dress and pretensions he succeeded to marry her; he lived extravagantly, and brought the family to ruin. They came to Philadelphia to hide themselves from their former intimates. After trying several expedients without success, he began as the ostler to Dibley. The daughters were very pretty and engaging; one attracted the attentions of a French gentleman who kept his horse at the stable, and he made interest with the father, but the girl saw cause to repel him. To avoid her father's control, she sought a place in Mrs. Dibley's house as a seamstress for a few weeks, and to be concealed from her father's knowledge. She had been there but a day or so, when she was seen accidentally by Mr. M. of Mount Holly, a rich iron-master. He was instantly pleased with her charms; inquired into her history of the landlady, made overtures of marriage—was accepted—presented the young lady 2000 dollars for wedding preparations—soon he married her and took her to his home in Mount Holly, and being a very popular man, had great entertainments at his mansion; among the rest a great ball, in which his

bride danced with great grace; her exertions to please and entertain her guests led her into unusual perspiration, and in going into the entry where the air was cool, she took a chill, and in five days after her wedding died, being but the seventh week after their acquaintance! The generous husband was inconsolable; he fell into frequent convulsions the night of her interment, for she was buried by torchlight, after the English manner, in solemn pomp.* After this he took the younger sister under his care, settled a large estate upon her, and she married to advantage. Such singular transitions in one family in so short a time were indeed rare. I have heard all these incidents from a lady who was one of the guests, both at the wedding and at the funeral.

The foregoing notices all preceded my personal recollections. Those remembered by me as most conspicuous, forty-five years ago, were the St. George and Dragon, at the south-west corner of Arch and Second streets; the Indian Queen, by Francis, in south Fourth street above Chestnut street, where Jefferson, in his chamber there, as was mistakingly alleged, first wrote the celebrated Declaration of Independence—an original paper which I am gratified to say I have seen and handled; the old fashioned inn owned by Sober, south-west corner of Chestnut and Fourth streets, and called the Cross Keys Inn, by Campbell—pulled down to make way for the present Philadelphia Bank—it was a house so old, with double hipped roof fronting Fourth street, that they knew no Chestnut street to which to conform its gable end, and fairly set it down close by the gutter side, leaving no proper foot pavement to foot passengers in after years! Another Cross Keys Inn (once Governor Lloyd's dwelling) was kept by Israel Israel, at the north-east corner of Third and Chesnut streets.

Mrs. Jenkins once kept a famous house in Market above Fourth street; and the Conestoga Inn, by Major Nicolls, in the same neighbourhood, was quite a military and western-men hotel.

There used to be a very old two-story frame building used as a public house, called the Black Bear, on the south side of High street, about forty yards eastward of Fifth street—it was a great resort, for many years, of western people and wagons; it stood on an elevated ground, and had a great wagon yard; it is now all superseded by large modern houses, and the old concern has *backed out* upon Fifth street.

The George Inn, at the south-west corner of Arch and Second streets, so called from its sign of St. George and the Dragon, had at one time the greatest reputation and the biggest landlord in the city. "Mine host" was Michael Dennison, an Englishman, who made his house at once popular to Britons as a countryman, and to American travelling gentlemen as the great concentration of the northern and southern stages. My friend, Lang Syne, has furnished some reminiscences of the inn, its landlord and guests, preserved in my

* Mr. M. was a bachelor of about fifty, and she but eighteen years of age.

MS. Annals in the Historical Society, page 525, from which I shall take occasion here to insert some lines of poetry made upon Mr. Dennison's quitting the concern and going back to England with his acquired riches, to wit:

Lines on Michael Dennison.

His bulk increased by ale and venison,
Alas! we soon must lose good Dennison.
City of *Penn!* his loss deplore,
Although with *pain* his bulk you bore!
Michael, farewell! Heaven speed thy course,
Saint George take with thee and thy horse;
But to our hapless city kind,
The watchful Dragon leave behind.
Michael! your wealth and full-spread *frame*,
Shall publish Pennsylvania's fame.
Soon as the planks beneath you crack,
The market shall be hung with black.
Michael! her stores might sure content ye;
In Britain, none boast greater plenty:
The Bank shall with the market join,
To weep at once—thee, and thy coin;
Thy guineas, ranged in many a pile,
Shall swell the pride of Britain's Isle:
Whilst England's Bank shall smiling greet,
The wealth that came from Chestnut street.

Finally, as a supplement to the whole, the reader is presented with some notices of tavern signs, such as they generally were in times by-gone. Indeed, the character of signs in general was different from things now. The storekeepers as well as taverns hung out their signs to the extremity of the foot payment; tailors had the sign of the Hand and Shears—druggists the Pestle and Mortar—tobacco sellers showed a Pipe—school masters a Hand and Pen—blacksmiths the Hand and Hammer. Among the taverns was Admiral Warren, the Turk's Head, the Rattlesnake, the Queen of Hungary, the Queen's Head, the Blue Lion, and last not least, "the man loaded with mischief," (carrying a wife on his back,) an inn at the corner uniting Little Dock and Spruce streets, north side. In Front street above the Drawbridge was a fine painted sign, in fine keeping for a "mirth house,"—a fiddler in good style scraping his instrument "as though it wept and moaned its wasted tones." When the sign of Franklin was set up at Homly's inn, in 1774, at the south-west corner of Walnut and Fifth streets, it was supported by this couplet—

"Come view your patriot father! and your friend,
And toast to freedom, and to slavery's end!"

In conclusion, I add the notices of my friend Lang Syne, who manifests some tact in this matter, to wit:

The reminiscence of some gentleman of the "Old School," in the progress of sign painting (not lettering) in this city, for the last fifty years, would be a good subject for a leading article in one of our magazines.

The first sign I remember to have noticed was one "down town," of a groupe of dogs barking at a full moon, which, smiling down upon them, said

"Ye foolish dogs, why bark ye so,
When I'm so high, and ye're so low?"

Another, in Third street, of Sir Walter Raleigh smoking, his servant throwing water over him, thinking his master to be on fire. Another, of a man "struggling through the world"—(a globe.) These must have been very inferior articles, but at the time very interesting, to my judgment. "Creeping lazily to school," I have often loitered, sometimes looking through the office windows of Squire Fleeson, (north-west corner of Chestnut and Fourth streets,) and the shop door of George Rutter, gazing upon the wonders (to me) of his pencil, in a variety of finished and unfinished signs—consequently often "out of time" at the Quaker Academy over the way, for which I was sure to feel "the *flesh creep*" under "*the strap*," well laid on by old John Todd. How often have I stood viewing the productions of Rutter's pencil, in different parts of the city—his Fox-chase, Stag hunt, the hounds in full cry. At the north-west corner of Third and Market streets one Brooks had a delightful sign of an Indian Chief, drawing his arrow to the head at a bounding deer. These have all gone with Rutter to "the Capulets," or, like Cæsar's clay,

"May stop a hole to keep the wind away."

When they first numbered the houses he painted the finger-boards for the corners; one of which, the "last of the Mohicans," may be seen at the corner of Fifth and Spruce streets, (south-west,) and though nearly defaced by time, forms a contrast to the clumsy hand-boards that succeeded them. The sign of a cock picking up a wheat ear drew the public attention to Pratt, who painted also "the Federal Convention"—a scene within "Independence Hall"—George Washington, President; William Jackson, Secretary; the members in full debate, with likenesses of many of those political "giants in those days"—such as Franklin, Mifflin, Madison, "Bob" Morris, Judge Wilson, Hamilton, &c. This invaluable sign, which should have been copied by some eminent artist, and engraved for posterity, was bandied about, like the *casa santa* of Loretto, from "post to pillar," till it located in South street near the Old Theatre. The figures are now completely obliterated by a heavy coat of brown paint, on which is lettered Fed. Con. 1787.

Another observer says, the subject is so far from exhausted, that old signs, from various quarters, still crowd upon my remembrance; in particular, I remember a very hideous one of Hudibras, which was placed at a tavern in Second street, near the entrance into the old Barracks, to which was affixed the following couplet:

"Sir Hudibras once rode in state,
Now sentry stands at Barracks' gate."

I am unwilling to leave unnoticed a new edition of one of our ancient subjects for a sign, where it has been continued for a great number of years, at a very old beer house in Chestnut near Front street; it is now, or lately was, the "Turk's Head," but in the former part of last century was "Kouli Khan," when the fame of that conqueror made his portrait a popular sign. In this respect the King of Prussia was once a great favourite, and still maintains his sway in some places, so that I have known a landlord, upon the decrease of his custom, to again have recourse to the old subject for a sign, that the house was formerly known by, with good success.

The Bull's Head Inn, No. 18 Strawberry alley, had a finely executed sign of a bull's head, which was lately sold to an Englishman as the remains of something done by Benjamin West. West once lived in that alley when young. It was well done, but after the said sale, it came out, that it had been painted by one Bernard Wilton, a painter and glazier who came from England in 1760, and kept his shop at the corner of the alley and Chestnut street. One day, while sitting in that tavern, when it had no sign, a farmer's bull chanced to push his head in at the window. The painter, seizing upon the occasion, said it should prove a lucky hit, for he should paint the subject for a sign and so let the fact and the sign attract custom together. But B. West did paint a sign in Swanson street:—the carriers of a cask of beer. I should suppose, too, he painted the sign of the Fiddler, still preserved by Mr. Williamson, druggist.

An old gentleman says there used to be, in war times and after, a sign painted by Benjamin West. It was in Swanson street below William Clifton's smith shop; one side represented a man sitting, I think, on a bale and holding up a glass of liquor as if looking through it. This was on the north side, and was somewhat weather-beaten; on the other side the colours, still fresh and lively, represented two brewer's porters carrying a cask of beer, slung with can hooks to a pole, which was in olden time the way beer was carried out. Often in going down to a launching I have stopped to admire it. I had very direct information of his being the painter.

The same gentleman says he used to catch *sun-fish* in the Blue House pond, [this proves its *alleged* connexion once running down to Dock creek via Union street.] There were leeches in it also; he could not remember its *outlet*.

Old Robert Venables told me it was called Blue House because of the colour of the mortar outside, with which it was plastered. It was celebrated for its garden, and was deemed very far out of town.

"Peg Mullen's" was the south corner, or next the corner, of Tun alley. An old gentleman, who remembers it and its vicinity, says that rump steaks, cut with the grain, and only one brought in at a time, was the order—always red hot and no detention. Fifty years ago

Mullen's Dock was the famous swimming-place for boys. I have seen more than 100 in the water there at once. The Dock extended from Morris' stores towards Walnut street. It was good gravel bottom. During the war, 25 prize New York pilot-boats were in it. They were named the Mosquito fleet, and were taken by a Philadelphia privateer.

In the Indian Queen tavern, south Fourth street, in the second story front room south end, Jefferson had his desk and room where he wrote and studied, and from *that cause*, it has been a popular opinion that he there wrote his "Declaration of Independence." I have seen the place of the desk, by the side of the fire place west side, as pointed out by Cæsar Rodney's *son*.

But my friend, John McAllister, told me in 1833, that he was told by the stepmother of the present Hon. John Sergeant, that Dr. Mease had inquired of Jefferson himself, by letter, and that he was informed by *him* that when he wrote that instrument, he lived in a large *new* house, belonging to the Hiltzheimer family, *up Market street* at the south-west corner of *some* crossing street. Mrs. Sergeant said there was no doubt it was *the same* since so well known as Gratz's store, at south-west corner of Seventh and High streets.

In the rear of said inn, in the yard and extending northward, is a long house of two story brick stabling, with a good cupola, thought by some to have been once made for a market house. It might look as if it had seen better days, but a very aged man told me it was used as stables, in his youth, to the Indian Queen inn, *then* at the south-east corner of High and Fourth streets, kept by Little, and afterwards by Thomson. Graydon also spoke of those stables and of the inn at the corner by the widow Nicholls, in 1760, of seeing there many race horses. The vane on the stables has some shot holes in it, made by some of the Paxtang boys, who came into the city in 1755, after the accommodation, and took up their quarters on the inn premises.

A tavern, "far out of town," once occupied the site of the present beautiful St. Philip's church on the north side of Vine street, between Seventh and Eighth streets. The tavern was old, built of wood and red painted. It was for years the great rendezvous for the enlistments for the army in the revolution, and for the Indian wars afterwards. It was afterwards much of a home for drovers' cattle. Between it and the city were extensive green commons and sheep-grazing, &c.

The Indian King, the oldest inn in High street, sold for 42,000 dollars in 1831 and was pulled down to make large stores.

The Prussia Inn, kept by a Prussian colonel, long owned by the Wister family, standing on the north side of High street between Third and Fourth streets, consisted originally of two three-storied brick houses, built in 1731, and which rented *together* to the year 1798, for only 400 dollars a year. Then they were converted into stores. Lately, they have been pulled down, and new stores of fou

stories put in their place at 2000 dollars each by contract, which together now bring 4000 dollars a year rent! Thus the houses which only brought 400 dollars bring now 4000 dollars in the lifetime of the same, and but middle aged owners.

THEATRES.

"Totus mundis agit histrionem."

Much opposition was originally made to the introduction of theatrical entertainments into Philadelphia, chiefly by the religious part of the community. From this cause those which were first regularly established, opened their houses just beyond the bounds and control of the city officers. Finally, when it was first attempted to set up the Chestnut street theatre in the city, in 1793, great efforts were made by both parties to get up memorials pro and con.

The earliest mention of theatrical performance occurred in the year 1749, in the month of January. Then the recorder of the city reported to the common council, that certain persons had lately taken upon them to act plays in the city, and, as he was informed, intended to make frequent practice thereof, which, it was to be feared, would be attended with very 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; whereupon the board unanimously requested the magistrates to take the most effectual measures for suppressing this disorder, by sending for the actors, and binding them to their good behaviour, or by such other means as they should think proper. From the premises it is probable they were Thespians of home-made production, of such untutored genius as had never trod the stage.

In the year 1754 some real Thespians arrived, called "Hallam's Company" from London, including Mrs. Hallam and her two sons. In the month of March they obtained license to act a few plays in Philadelphia, conditioned that they offered nothing indecent or immoral. In April they opened their "new theatre in Water street"—in a store of William Plumstead's, corner of the first alley above Pine street. Their first entertainment was the Fair Penitent, and Miss in her Teens.—Box, 6s. pit, 4s. and gallery, 2s. 6d. said to have been offered "to a numerous and polite audience,"—terms of attraction intended for the next play. In the prologue to the first

performance some hints at their usefulness as moral instructors were thus enforced, to wit:

> "Too oft, we own, the stage with dangerous art,
> In wanton scenes, has play'd a Syren's part,
> Yet if the Muse, unfaithful to her trust,
> Has sometimes stray'd from what was pure and just;
> Has she not oft, with awful virtue's rage,
> Struck home at vice, and nobly trod the stage?
> Then as you'd treat a favourite fair's mistake,
> Pray spare her foibles for her virtue's sake:
> And whilst her chastest scenes are made appear,
> (For none but such will find admittance here)
> The muse's friends, we hope, will join the cause,
> And crown our best endeavours with applause."

In the mean time those who deemed them an evil to society were very busy in distributing pamphlets gratis, if possible, to write them down. They continued, however, their plays till the month of July.

We hear nothing of this company again till their return in 1759; they then came in the month of July to a theatre prepared the year before at the south-west corner of Vernon and South streets, called the theatre on "Society Hill." It was there placed on the south side of the city bounds, so as to be out of the reach of city control, by city authorities; and "Society Hill" itself was a name only, having no laws. Great efforts were now made by the friends and other religious people to prevent plays even there; much was written and printed pro and con. The Presbyterian Synod, in July, 1759, formally addressed the governor and legislature to prevent it. The Friends made their application to Judge William Allen to repress them. His reply was repulsive, saying he had got more moral virtue from plays than from sermons. As a sequel, it was long remembered that the night the theatre opened, and to which he intended to be a gratified spectator, he was called to mourn the death of his wife. This first built theatre was constructed of wood, and is now standing in the form of three dwelling-houses at the corner of Vernon and South streets. The chief players then were Douglass, who married Mrs. Hallam; the two Hallams, her sons; and Misses Cheer and Morris. Francis Mentges, afterwards an officer in our service, was the dancing performer,—while he danced, he assumed the name of Francis. The motto of the stage was "Totus mundis agit histrionem." F. Mentges had talents above his original profession, and was, in the time of the Revolution, esteemed a good officer, and was continued in the United States' service long after the peace.

In the course of ten years these comedians had so far acted themselves into favour as to need more room, and therefore they had got themselves ready, by the year 1760, to open another theatre—a larger building, constructed of wood, situated also in South street,

above Fourth street, and still keeping within the line of Southwark and beyond the bounds of city surveillance. The managers were Hallam and Henry.

To evade the law the bills used to read—"a Concert of music," after which will be presented gratis a lecture or dialogue on the vice of scandal, &c., giving a few lines of the play.

As a parting measure, in quitting their former theatre for the last mentioned one, they, in 1759, announced their regard to church by proposing to give the play of George Barnwell "at their theatre on Society hill," as a benefit to the College of Philadelphia, "for improving the youth in the divine art of psalmody and church music," meaning thereby to help to buy an organ for the use of the charity children in the old academy.

While the British occupied Philadelphia, they held regular plays in the Southwark theatre, the performers being officers of Howe's army,—the box tickets at one dollar, and the proceeds used for the widows and orphans of soldiers. Major André and Captain Delancy were the chief scene painters. The waterfall scene, drawn by the former, continued on the curtain as long as that theatre lasted. It was burnt down a few years ago.

When the theatre was erected in Chestnut street in 1793, it received and retained the name of the "New Theatre," in contradistinction to the Southwark theatre, which afterwards generally was called the old theatre. Mr. Wignell was first manager.

There was a small wooden theatre, about the year 1790, on the wharf up at Noble street; it was turned into a boat shed. "Jack Durang," as Scaramouch, is all that is remembered by those who saw the company of that day.

The reminiscences of the "old theatre" of 1788–98, as furnished by my friend Lang Syne, are to the following effect, to wit:

"The old theatre (Southwark) was the only theatre with a regular company, all 'Stars,' in the United States, or at that time in the new world. The building, compared with the new houses, was an ugly ill-contrived affair outside and inside. The stage lighted by plain oil lamps without glasses. The view from the boxes was intercepted by large square wooden pillars supporting the upper tier and roof. It was contended by many, at the time, that the front bench in the gallery was the best seat in the house for a fair view of the whole stage.

"The stage box on the east side was decorated with suitable emblems for the reception of *President* Washington, whenever he delighted the audience by his presence; at which time the Poor Soldier was invariably played by his desire. 'Old Hallam' prided himself on his unrivalled Lord Ogleby in the Clandestine Marriage, and Mungo in the Padlock. 'Old Henry' was the pride of the place in Irishmen. An anecdote is related of his being one night in a passionate part, and whirling his cane about, when it flew out of his hand into the pit, without doing any damage; on its being

handed to him, he bowed elegantly and said, in character, 'Faith, whenever I fly in a passion my cane flies too.' Another; that, on being hit with an orange from the gallery, he picked it up, and bowing said, 'That's no Seville (civil) orange.'

"A gentleman of this city, known familiarly to the inhabitants generally as 'Nick Hammond,' used to play for his amusement in Jews. Wignell's Darby was always beheld with raptures. Hodgkinson was the universal favourite in Tragedy, Comedy, Opera and Farce, and was supposed to be one of the best actors of '*All Work*,' that ever trod the boards. His Robin, in No Song No Supper, and Wignell's Darby, in the Poor Soldier, were rivals in the public taste, and have never been equalled here. Does none remember? About this time Wignell and Reinagle being about to build a new theatre, the corner stone of which had been laid at the north-west corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, and Wignell having started 'for England,' to beat up for theatrical forces, Hallam and Henry made arrangements to retire from 'Old South' to New York, where an immense pile of stone work was put up opposite the Park, for their reception, as a theatre. The old company went out, and the new company came into public notice, in the winter of 1793. The only house on the 'other side of the gutter' at the time, was Ooller's Hotel, which was fired by flames from Ricketts' Circus, (erected some years afterwards,) and both were burnt to the round one evening."

CUSTOM HOUSES.

Among the earliest remembered Custom Houses, and Collectors of Customs, was William Peters, Esq., father of the late Judge Peters; then succeeded Abraham Taylor, Esq.—these kept their offices at their own dwellings. Next followed John Swift, Esq., who had his residence and office in the house now Henry Pratt's, in Front below Race street. He continued in office from the year 1760 to the time of the revolution. The first collector after the revolution was Frederick Phile, who had his office in Second street above Christ church, *vis-a-vis* the Sorrel Horse inn. From thence he removed it to the corner of Blackhorse alley and Front street. After this the office was held by Sharp Delany, Esq., who dwelt at the south-east corner of Walnut and Second streets, and there did the business of the port of Philadelphia, within my recollection—these were "the days of small things." Its next remove was to something greater, to wit: to "Ross' buildings," a collection of two

or three good houses on the east side of Front street below Walnut street. As business increased, the government of the United States finally determined on building the present large Custom House in south Second street. In providing for that location they pulled down a large expensive house, not long built there by Doctor Hunter, as a laboratory, &c.

There was a tradition that the very old buildings which till lately stood on Walnut street, at the south-east corner of Third and Walnut streets, had been "the old custom house," but I never had any facts to sustain the idea, until they were confirmed to me by direct *facts* from the aged Mr. Richardson of the Mint.

Delany's dwelling house, adjoined his custom house, as above; and at the rear of his house, fronting on Dock street, stood a house of lath and plaster, marked 1686, a real primitive!

BANKS.

"Gold imp'd by thee can compass greatest things."

Our city enjoys the pre-eminence in this department of finance, as having been the first city in the union to establish a bank. The first permanent bank was that of the North America in Chestnut street, although it is also true that there was an earlier one called "the Bank of Pennsylvania," established by some patriotic gentlemen in 1780, for the avowed *temporary* purpose of "supplying the army of the United States with provisions for two months"—creating thereby a specie subscription of £300,000, by about ninety persons, and the two highest subscriptions by Robert Morris and Blair M'Clenachan—£10,000 each. The particulars of this bank may be seen in Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, vol. ii, p. 250.

The Bank of North America, founded in 1781 by Congress, began its career of specie with coin sent out from France, at the instance of Robert Morris, by Mr. De Chaumont—it was landed at Boston. This fact was told me by Mrs. Morris not long since. She also told me that the same generous friend, Mr. De Chaumont, extended to her an annual pension, by which she was enabled to live without assistance from others. From the government her husband had so nobly served she received no succours. Coin sent to this country to pay the French army, and not a little left among us by the British enemy, was sufficiently present to form a starting specie basis.

On page 248 of my MS. Annals in the City Library is an exhibition of a small "one penny bill" of the Bank of North America, of the year 1789. It is to be sure a small exhibit of a National Bank, but it had much greater concerns; and its history, as an

eventual restorer of sound credit and a good circulating medium, is already familiar to the public. The little bill reads—

"The President and Directors of the Bank of North America promise to pay to the bearer, on demand, one ninetieth of a dollar.

"*August*, 1789. TENCH FRANCIS, *Cashier.*"

But it was issued to supply change at a time that *coppers* were *debased*, and had to be rejected. The corporation of New York issued similar little bills.

The next Bank, the Pennsylvania, was originally located in Lodge alley, (the same now called Bank street) in a three story double front brick house, which had once been a distinguished lodging house by Mrs. Sword and Mrs. Brodeau. To rear the present stately marble bank, they pulled down several houses which had themselves once enjoyed the reputation of "great things" in their early day. The facts concerning them is all that is intended in this notice, to wit:

On Second street, on the south-west corner of Lodge alley, stood D. Griscom's house, of antiquated construction, called in an old Almanac "the first built house of brick erected in Philadelphia;"* adjoining to it, southward, stood the house of James Logan, Jun., bought of Thomas Storey, who derived it from the first owner, Edward Shippen, Sen. It was a large house of double front, and a great display of dormer windows, with five or six steps ascent. These two buildings occupied the whole present front of the bank. The latter had "the privilege of the wharf on the dock, at Dock creek, for ever!" On the Lodge alley, westward of the former bank there, stood the Masonic Lodge. The house which had been Shippen's and Storey's was thus described in 1707–8, by Samuel Preston, in his letter to Jonathan Dickinson, then in Jamaica, to wit: "In choosing thee a house I am most inclined to Thomas Storey's—it adjoins to David Lloyd's, [originally Griscom's, 'directly opposite to Norris'' slate-house]—it is most like Edward Shippen's, [where is now Waln's row] but larger—a story higher, and neatlier finished, with garden, out-houses, &c., [down to Dock creek] and I know it will suit, or none in Philadelphia. The rent is prodigious high—he asks £70. I offer £50, and rather than fail will give £10 more."

The present Girard's Bank, built originally for the first Bank of the United States, was erected upon what had been the rear of Pemberton's fine garden, upon ground much lower than the present Third street.

The Philadelphia Bank occupies the site of an old inn called the Cross Keys, an antiquated house, with double hipped roof, fronting on Fourth street, and having a range of stables at the Fourth street side. It had a heavy brick portico at the front door, and the house stood out far upon Chestnut street pavement.

Where the present Bank of the United States now stands was once Norris's house and gardens, once much distinguished as a beautiful place "out of town."

* Leed's Almanac, printed by W. Bradford, New York, 1694, says, it is now eleven years since Andrew Griscom built the first brick house in Philadelphia.

NORTH END.

In early times, "North End" was the common name given to the Northern Liberties, when having its only road out Front street. In the present notice it will include the region of Cohocksinc creek over to Kensington, and westward over the former Campington. The object is to bring back to the mind's eye "its face of nature, ere banished and estranged" by improvement.

The whole region was originally patented to Jurian Hartsfielder, in 1676, by Governor Andros, of New York government. In ten years afterwards he sold out to D. Pegg his whole three hundred and fifty acres, extending from Cohocksinc creek, his northern line, to Pegg's run, his southern line. That part beyond Cohocksinc, northward, which came under Penn's patent, was bought, in 1718, by J. Dickinson, (say 495 acres,) at 26s. 8d. sterling, and extending from the present Fairhill estate over to Bush hill. Part of the same estate has been known in more modern times as "Masters' estate and farm," and some of it is now in possession of Turner Camac, Esq., who married Masters' daughter.

The primitive state of the North End, near the Cohocksinc creek, is expressed in a petition of the year 1701, of the country inhabitants (one hundred and fifteen in number,) of Germantown, Abington, &c., praying the Governor and Council for a settled road into the the city, and alleging that "they have lately been obliged to go round new fences, from time to time set up in the road by Daniel Pegg and Thomas Sison,"* for that as they cleared their land, they drove the travellers out into uneven roads, and very dangerous for carts to pass upon. They therefore pray "a road may be laid out from the corner of Sison's fence straight over the creek [meaning the Cohocksinc, and also called Stacey's creek,] to the corner of John Stacey's field, and afterwards to divide into two branches—one to Germantown, and the other to Frankford." They add also that Germantown road is most travelled—taking thereby much lime and meal from three mills, with much malt, and a great deal of wood, timber, &c. At the same time they notice the site of the present long stone bridge and causeway over to Kensington, by saying "they had measured the road that is called the Frankford road, over the long bridge from about the then part of the tobacco field, to a broad stone upon Thomas Sison's hill near his fence, and find it to be three hundred and eighty perches, and from thence to the lower corner of John Stacey's field to the aforesaid tobacco field three hundred and seventy-two perches,

* The name was spelt Tison in another place.

beside (along) the meadow and creek by John Stacey's field, and of the latter we had the disadvantage of the woods, having no line to go by, and finding a good road all the way and very good fast lands." I infer from this petition (now in the Logan collection) that they desired the discontinuance of the then road over the long bridge to Frankford,* and that both Germantown and Frankford might be in one, until they passed over the Cohocksinc creek on the present Germantown road, and then the Frankford road should diverge, "by as near a road, having fast land all along."

A letter of Robert Fairman's, of the 30th of 8 mo., 1711, to Jonathan Dickinson, speaks of his having a portion of thirteen acres of his land next the Coxon creek (Cohocksinc) and in Shackamaxo.† In another letter of the 12th of 3 mo., 1715, he says, "the old road and the bridge to it being so decayed and dangerous for passengers, my brother Thomas, with Thomas Masters, and others, thought it proper to move your court for a new road, which being granted, a new bridge was made and the road laid out, and timber for the bridge was cut from my plantation next the creek; but not being finished before my brother Thomas died, has been since laid aside, and the old bridge and road repaired and used—thus cutting through that land of mine and his, so as to leave it common and open to cattle, &c., notwithstanding the new road would have been a better route. This has proceeded from the malice of some who were piqued at my brother."

In the year 1713, the Grand Jury, upon an inspection of the state of the causeway and bridge over the Cohocksinc, on the road leading to "the Governor's mill,"—where is now Craig's manufactory—recommended that a tax of one pence per pound be laid "to repair the road at the new bridge by the Governor's mill, and for other purposes." In 1739 the said mill took fire and was burnt down. It was thought it occurred from the wadding of guns fired at wild pigeons.

This mill seems to have been all along an ill adventure; for James Logan, in 1702, speaking of the Governor's two mills, says, "those unhappy expensive mills have cost since his departure upwards of £200 in dry money. They both go these ten days. The "Town Mill," (now Craig's place,) after throwing away £150 upon her, does exceedingly well, and of a small one is equal to any in the province." The other mill alluded to was at Chester.

In 1739, Mrs. Mary Smith and her horse were both drowned "near the long bridge in the Northern Liberties." "'Twas supposed it occurred by her horse attempting to drink at that place where the

* It is possible, however, that the long bridge may have been one on piles directly out Front street as it now runs, as such piles were there in my youth, and a narrow causeway. It was either the remains of old time, or it had been made by the British army when they flooded that land.

† Thus determining, as I presume, that Shackamaxon began at Cohocksinc creek, and went up to Gunner's creek.

water is very deep." At the same causeway was quicksand, in which a horse and chair and man all sank!

When the long stone bridge was built, in 1790, (its date is marked thereon and done by Souders,) they came, at the foot of the foundation, to several curiosities, described to me by those who saw them, to wit:—a hickory hand-cuff, perfectly sound—several leaden weights, for weighing—a quantity of copper farthings, and a stone hollowed out like a box, and having a lid of the same.

Old Mr. Wager (the father of the present Wagers,) and Major Kissell have both declared, that as much as sixty-six to sixty-eight years ago they had seen small vessels, with falling masts, go up the Cohocksinc creek with grain to the Globe mill—the same before called the Governor's mill. Old Captain Potts, who lived near there, told me the same thing when I was a boy.

While the British army occupied Philadelphia, in the years 1777 and '78, they dammed in all the Cohocksinc meadows, so as to lay them all under water from the river, and thus produced to themselves a water barrier of defence in connexion with their line of redoubts across the north end of the city. Their only road, and gate of egress and ingress northward, was at the head of Front street where it parts to Germantown, and by Kensington to Frankford.

On the 29th July, 1824, the course of the Cohocksinc creek was overwhelmed with the heaviest and most sudden torrent of rain ever before remembered. The water rested four feet on the lower floor of Craig's factory. White's dwelling house had nine inches depth on its lower floor. It flowed four feet above the crown of the arch of the bridge at Second street. All this unprecedented flood was occasioned by three hours of rain at midnight. The general desolation that was presented at daylight will be long remembered by those who witnessed it.

Formerly, the Delaware made great inroad upon the land at the mouth of the Cohocksinc, making there a large and shallow bay, extending from Point Pleasant down to Warder's long wharf, near Green street. It is but about thirty-six years since the river came up daily close to the houses on Front and Coates' street, and at Coates' street the dock there, made by Budd's wharfed yard, came up to the line of Front street. All the area of the bay (then without the present street east of Front street, and having none of the wharves now there,) was an immense plane of spatterdocks, nearly out to the end of Warder's wharf, and on a line with Point Pleasant. The lower end of Coates' street was then lower than now; and in freshets the river laid across Front street. All the ten or twelve houses north of Coates' street, on the east side, were built on made ground, and their little yards were supported with wharf logs, and bush willows as trees. The then mouth of Cohocksinc was a wooden drawbridge, then the only communication to Kensington, which crossed at Leib's house opposite to Poplar lane; from thence a raised causeway ran across to Point Pleasant. The stone bridge north of it, leading to Kensington, was not then in existence. On the outside of this

causeway the river covered, and spatterdocks grew, and on the inside there was a great extent of marshy ground alternately wet and dry, with the ebbing and flowing of the tide; the creek was embanked on the east side. The marsh was probably two hundred feet wide where the causeway at the stone bridge now runs. The branch of this creek which ran up to the Globe mill, [on the place now used as Craig's cotton manufactory,] was formerly deeper than now. Where it crosses Second street, at the stone bridge north of Poplar lane, there was in my time a much lower road, and the river water, in time of freshets, used to overflow the low lots on each side of it. The houses near the causeway, and which were there thirty-six years ago, are now one story buried under ground. The marsh grounds of Cohocksinc used to afford good shooting for woodcock and snipe, &c. The road beyond, "being Front street continued," and the bridge thereon, is all made over this marsh within the last twenty-six years; also, the road leading from the stone bridge across Front to Second street—the hill, to form that road, has been cut down full twenty to twenty-five feet, and was used to fill up the Front street causeway to the York road, &c. The region of country to the north of this place and of Globe mill, over to Fourth street mill dam, was formerly all in grass commons, with scarcely a single house or fence thereon, and was a very great resort for shooting kill-deer and snipe. It was said the British had burned up all the former fences, and for many years afterwards no attempt was made to renew them. On these commons bull baiting sometimes occurred, and many military trainings. None of the present ropewalks were then there; but one ran where Poplar lane now lies, from Front to Second street—that not having been a street till within thirty-five years ago. The British redoubts remained till lately—one on the Delaware bank in a line with the stone-bridge street—then no houses were near it; now it is all built up, and streets are run where none were seen. The next redoubt, west, stood in an open grass lot of Captain Potts, on Second street, and in front of where St. John's Methodist church now stands. [John street was not then run there.] Another redoubt stood on Poplar lane and south-west corner of Sixth street,—another back of Bush Hill house, and another was on Fair-mount,—another on the hill south of High street, where the water-works were located. Barriers of trees and stockades extended from one redoubt to another. All the Cohocksinc marsh is now filled up and built upon, and an immense long wharf and a bridge from it is made to join a street to Kensington.

There was a creek or inlet of water, as told to me by the aged John Brown, which went up from the river at the north side of Coates' street and Front street, and thence westward over Second street at midway from Coates' to Brown street (named after this Brown, who is a large owner) up to the south side of Coates' burial ground. Up this creek he has gone in a boat as high as Second street, and gathered wild plums from small trees which overhung

the sides of it; this was only done in times of floods. At the burial place were several springs, and all the vaults there have sinks in them to drain off the water. He gave it as his opinion that several springy pieces of ground lay under the present St. John's church there.

From Coates' street to two hundred feet up Front street, it used to be formerly overflowed from the river, even after the causeway there was formed. John Brown has seen boys many times ferrying passengers up and down Front street in times of spring-tides. Before the causeway was formed spatterdocks grew there, and the tide flowed in there as high as Budd street.

I remember that when the present Butler's row, near the said creek, was built, the cellar foundations were begun upon the then surface, and the ground was then filled up around them one story high. Between this low ground and Coates' street was a descending hill, and on that hill, a friend, aged 66 years, tells me they used to dig deep pits, in his boyhood, in search of pirates' money. The same they did also at Pegg's run from Front to Third street.

At the spot of ground east of Oak street, and on the north side of what was called Warder's wharf, then a water dock for vessels, (now firm ground) a young woman of good connexions was driven into the river there at night and stoned and drowned by some miscreants who had abused her person. It occurred about forty-five years ago, and the perpetrators have never since been found out. It was then a very forlorn place at night.

There were no wagon-pavements in any part of the Northern Liberties till within the last thirty-five years, and in many streets within twenty years; several of the present streets were not even run, and of course there were no houses built. Thus Fourth, Fifth and Sixth streets from Vine or Pegg's run out to the Germantown road are all opened, and the bridges built thereon, and the low grounds filled up (some places running over deep brick-kiln ponds and gullies, &c.) within the last twenty-two and twenty-six years. The market houses from Coates' street to Poplar lane, were only begun thirty-six years ago, and the northern end was finished within twenty years. The Presbyterian church, at the corner of Coates' and Second streets, and the Episcopal at the corner of St. John street, and the Methodist church at the north end of St. John street, are all within twenty-eight years. The Baptist church, now on Budd street near Noble street, is placed on a street now opened down to Vine street, which was not even run (and when it did, it run down some small houses) twenty-six years ago. Old Fourth street was, indeed, an old road, and was called the Old York road before the Revolution.

Within forty-five years the whole of Third street from Noble lane up to Coates' street, out westward from thence, was all in grass lots, commons, or ponds. At the north-east corner of Green and Old Fourth streets was a great skating pond, and near it, towards Third

street, was another. Ponds were also beyond Fourth street. These had been dug out for bricks in former years. The Northern Liberties were incorporated in 1803.

Mr. John Brown told me that all the lots on the western side of Second street, from Green to Coates' street, were originally let for lower ground rents than will pay the present taxes, so that they were virtually lost to the primitive owners.

Thomas Bradford spoke of his sometimes visiting what was called Coates' woods; they consisted of four or five acres, near about the present Coates' burial ground, at the south-east corner of Brown and Third streets. The most of it was cut down by the late Colonel Coates, for pocket money, when he was young. Another aged gentleman, W. W., informed me that he used to go out to the neighbourhood of Robin Hood, on Poplar lane, to gather chestnuts and hickory nuts, there being there plenty of such trees when he was a youth—say seventy-five years ago. Mr. John Brown said that in his youth the woods thereabout were so far primitive and wild, as that he and other boys used to go there of nights with a dog to tree rackoons, and then shake them off to let the dog seize them.

1741 Thomas Penn laid out the plot up town, at Callowhill street and Cabal lane, for a market house and town, and endeavoured to have the adjacent lots sold. "Arbuckle's Row," along Callowhill street, and the market houses were made in consequence, but none of them answered. It was then a speculation too far off from Philadelphia.

In 1743 the scheme was also first projected of making a Second street over Pegg's marsh—called then "the Swamp"—but it did not quickly take.

Since my edition of 1830 this North End, far out in the Northern Liberties, Kensington, and in Spring Garden and Penn Township, has been very fully built up with excellent new houses—thus effacing all appearance of former commons.

SOUTH END AND SOCIETY HILL.

The southern section of the city, although incorporated nine years earlier than the Northern Liberties—say in 1794—did not make such rapid improvements. About the New Market square the change, as a place of business, has been greatest, occasioned in part by the lengthening of the market house, building it up from Lombard street to Pine street, and by the increase of wealthy population out Pine and other southern streets. Forty-five years ago no dry-goods, hardware,

or fancy stores, as now there, were then seen. Thirty-five years ago none of the streets below South street running westward, were laid out beyond Fifth street; and Catharine and Queen streets were only laid out as far as Second street. All beyond was commons or fenced lots. The south-western part of the city was always a *wooden town*, with a surplus population of the baser sort; and the general level of the ground there was lower than the general level now required for Southwark, especially all that part lying south of Pine street and westward of Sixth street. Numerous houses still there show the streets now raised above their door sills one or two steps. Toward the river side, however, the ground was high, so much so, that along Swanson street from below Almond street, the oldest houses now remaining there show themselves much higher than the present level of the street. From this cause the old house at the south-west corner of Swanson and Almond streets may be seen to have its original cellar, once under ground, now at least ten feet out of ground; and several houses now on western side of Swanson street, below there, may be seen to have a high ascent of steps. Similar notices may be made of houses north of Catharine and Queen streets, which show that their doors, once on the ground floor, are now in their second stories. The same, too, may be seen of houses in Front and Penn streets below South street. At one time a great portion of the south-western end of Southwark belonged to Edward Shippen. In the year 1730, after his death, his estate was advertised as containing "240 acres on the south side of said city."

Southwark, especially in the neighbourhood of the present market house, by Pine and South streets, was so new and unsettled as late as the year 1767, that then we see public advertisement is made by Joseph Wharton and others, proposing to *bestow* lots "for the promotion of religion, learning, and industry," and, *sub rosa*, to benefit themselves, by making grants of lots for school houses, meeting houses, and market houses; saying also that the market place was already fixed upon, having a length of 1200 feet, and a width of 100 feet.

By this fact we learn the measures which were taken to hasten the improvement of the South End, and to convert the former commons of Society Hill into something more productive to the landholders.* Before this time it had been the locality for field trainings or for field preachings, and before Penn street was formed through the high bluff formerly along the line of that street, the flag staff possessed the ground a little north of South street, to designate the Water Battery which lay at the base of the bank.

As late as the year 1750 there was a place called "the Vineyard,"

* Mr. Powel, who dwelt there about that time, to encourage the establishment of the market there used to give out he would buy all the butter which should be left unsold on market days. His ancestor, Samuel Powel, built the row of houses on the north side of Pine street, east of Second street; and although three stories, they brought but £15 rent, eighty years ago!

and sometimes "Stanly," [William Stanly was an original purchaser of five thousand acres,] which belonged then to Edward Jones, and contained eight and a half acres of meadow, orchard and garden, having its garden front on the south side of South street, not far from Second street, an abundance of cherries and peaches, and a spacious house with a piazza on its eastern and southern sides.

Anthony Cuthbert, Esq., now aged, remembers when woods were general in Southwark from Third and Fourth streets to Schuylkill, and when a ropewalk extended from Almond street and Second street westward. Mrs. H. S., now 88, remembers gathering whortleberries at the new market place, and blackberries at the corner of Pine and Fourth streets.

"Society Hill," a name once so prevalent for all the region south of Pine street, even down to the Swedes' church, has been discontinued for the last sixty-eight or seventy-eight years. In olden time we used to read of "Cherry Garden on Society Hill," the "Friends' Meeting on Society Hill," the "Theatre (in 1759) on Society Hill," "George Wells' place on Society Hill, near the Swedes' church," &c. The name, we take for granted, was derived from the "Free Society of Traders," who originally owned all the land "from river to river, lying between Spruce and Pine streets," including of course part of the promiment hill once a knoll at and about Pine and Front streets. The aged Thomas Bradford, however, suggests that it took its name from the Welsh Society of Landholders, who, he says, once had a residence there in a large long building made by them. As I never met with any other mention of such a Society and building, I can only speak of it as *his* opinion.

From Robert Venable, a black man, aged ninety four, I learned the following facts:

"The flag staff" on Society Hill stood near the bank, *east* side of Front street, precisely between Pine and Union streets. Had not heard of a battery near it. Whitfield preached on the ground below Pine street. He said he heard and saw him often; had great crowds; Friends did not like his ways, but some Friends joined him. "They who built the old Academy for him, hoped thereby to keep him here among them always." He could hear Whitfield preaching on Society Hill, by the flag staff, corner of Pine and Front, while he, (Robert) stood in his yard in Walnut street near Front street, not as to sense, but sound.

Since my former edition of 1830, the South End has extended southward and westward, with numerous well constructed houses,—The former commons being now no longer open,—nor requiring any particular notice of mine.

WESTERN COMMONS.

WITHIN the short period of forty years of the memory of the writer, the progress of change and improvement in the western bounds of the city has been very great. If we take a survey of that section of the city lying south of Walnut street and westward of Sixth street, we shall say that it does not exceed thirty-five years since all the houses out Walnut street were built, a still shorter period for those out Spruce street, and still later than either out Pine street. Before the houses were built they were generally open commons, clothed with short grass for cows and swine, &c.

When the Roman Catholic church at the corner of Sixth and Spruce streets was built, it was deemed far out of town,—a long and muddy walk, for there were then no streets paved near to it, and no houses were then nigh. From this neighbourhood to the Pennsylvania Hospital, then having its front of access on its eastern gate, was quite beyond civilization. There were not streets enough marked through the waste lots in the western parts of the city to tell a traveller on what square he was travelling. Jamestown weeds and briers then abounded.

We shall be within bounds to say, that 35 years ago so few owners enclosed their lots towards Schuylkill, that the street roads of Walnut, Spruce, and Pine streets, &c., could not be traced by the eye beyond Broad street, and even that was then known but upon paper drafts. Roads traversed the commons at the convenience of the traveller; and brick kilns and their ponds were the chief enclosures or settlements that you saw. The whole area, however, was very verdant, and of course agreeable in summer.

The ground forming the square from Chestnut street to Walnut street, and from Sixth to Seventh streets, was all a grass meadow under fence, down to the year 1794,* when it was sold out for the benefit of the Gilpin and Fisher families. On the Chestnut street side it was high, and had steps of ascent cut into the bank, and across it went a footpath as a short cut to the Almshouse out Spruce street; towards the Walnut street side, the ground declined, so as in winter to form a little ice-pond for the skaters near the north-west corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. On page 238 of my MS. Annals in the City Library, is a picture of a military parade as seen there in 1795, and showing that then there was nothing but open field,—the fences being then removed. The only houses to be seen,

* Persons of but seventy years of age remember when they were accustomed as boys to gather blackberries there.

were the low brick building once the Logan Library, on Sixth street, in 1793 made an asylum for the orphans; and the Episcopal Academy, built in 1780, on Chestnut street, *vis-a-vis* the Arcade, converted afterwards into Oeller's hotel. About the year 1797 or '98, "Ricket's Circus," of brick, was constructed upon the south-west corner of Chestnut and Sixth streets, which burnt down in 1799. As it stood *vis-a-vis* the Chestnut street Theatre, and combined theatrical farces, it excited rivalship. The theatre, to cast the Circus into ridicule, used to exhibit "scrub races," and performances called "Across the Gutter."

At the south-east corner of Seventh and Chestnut streets, where Waln's house was afterwards erected, stood an old red-painted frame house, looking strangely to the eye, by being elevated at its ground floor full fifteen feet higher than the common level of the street. By cutting through the street there, the whole cellar stood exposed, and the house was got up to by a coarse flight of steps on the outside of the house. The next square beyond, westward, was Norris' pasture lot, where the boys sometimes made their battle ground—afterwards made into Morris' square, to ruin him in the erection of an intended palace. On the north-west corner of Chestnut and Seventh streets was a high grass lot in a rail fence extending half-way to Eighth street. Except one or two brick houses at the corner of Eighth street, you met not another house to Schuylkill.

There were no houses built out Arch or Race street, save here and there a mean low box of wood beyond Sixth street,—of course no pavements, but wide ranges of grass commons "close cropt by nibbling sheep." None of the present regular and genteel rows, in long lines of uniformity, were known there beyond 35 years ago, and those now beyond Tenth street are the fabric of the last twenty years.

'Tis but lately that about sixty large houses have been constructed by William Sansom, Esq., and others, at the place called Palmyra square, out Vine street beyond Tenth street. Thirty years ago, or even twenty, to have made such an investment of capital would have been deemed gross folly, but now such is the march of improvement westward, that the houses are all occupied, and the whole is fairly united to what was before the older city.

From the west side of Fourth street north of Vine street out to Spring Garden, except a row of two story brick houses called the "Sixteen Row," on the present Crown street, there was not to be seen a single house, nor any line of a street,—it was all green commons, without any fences any where, till you got among the butchers at Spring Garden, where they formed a little village *far off by themselves.* From the corner of Vine and Sixth streets the commons was traversed to Pegg's run in a north-easterly direction by a deep and wide ravine—the same route in which a concealed tunnel is now embedded. The run was called Minnow run, and afforded many of them and cray-fish too.

Finally, we shall close this article by some of the observations and

musings of Robert Proud, the historian, made by him in the year 1787, as he made his walk over these western ranges, at a period anterior to those scenes and impressions, which I have also attempted to trace. They may afford some interest by their comparison with things now. Withal it comes to us like the visit of an old friend, and leaves us almost the only specimen we have from the historian —of the picturesque or sensitive, to wit:

"In the afternoon of the 18th of 8 mo. 1787, I left the place of my usual residence in Fifth street, about three o'clock in the afternoon; I went up Arch street two or three squares, from which, turning up to Race street, I passed between the brick-kilns and Byrne's, then turning to the right I proceeded directly to Vine street, or the north boundary of the city plan, which led me westward to near the place called Bush Hill, formerly the property of Governor Hamilton, where, opposite to his former mansion house, I went over the fence, and stood and sometimes walked under a grove of trees for about a quarter of an hour.

"Here I contemplated a small water-course which ran pleasantly under these trees, near Vine street, south of Hamilton's house, and which, as far as I could here observe, came hither from the northeast through some low meadows, and in appearance might probably originate somewhere about John Pemberton's ground, near Wissahiccon road, westward of Joseph Morris' old villa. From the place where I now was, this stream runs west, southward, to the Schuylkill, being increased in its passage by some springs issuing from the high grounds about Bush Hill and Springetsbury, &c., but wasting nearly in proportion." [We may now (in 1842) make the general remark, that *all* of the western commons is so far built upon and the streets so generally run and paved, as no longer to present any open commons,—well built houses now extend out to the Schuylkill, and from Callowhill to South streets, so as to leave little room for any further remark or observation. The most of this change has been effected on the Schuylkill side in the course of only ten years.]

"I thence passed on within the fence, in Hamilton's meadow, to the western boundary of the field, and westward of the house; from thence turning north I kept that course, between Springetsbury and Bush Hill, along the eastern side of the fence, or Hamilton's western boundary, where grew many plants, shrubs, bushes, wild flowers, &c., watered by a small stream, issuing from the springs in the higher grounds, a little above, northward,—here I broke off a sprig of American willow, observing along the water-course a variety of plants and wild flowers, and raising divers wild fowl on passing along, till I ascended the high ground, north-westward from Hamilton's house aforesaid. From thence turning round on the right hand above, or northward of the place where the gardens formerly belonging thereto used to be, I directed my course towards the east, observing, as before, many plants and flowers in bloom."

"But what more particularly drew my notice and reflection in this

place, was, in observing the ground formerly occupied by pleasant large gardens, walks, groves and woods, now all naked and desolate, without a tree, and laid in common, like a barren wilderness or desert, heightened by the sight of the ruins at the place called the Vineyard, near the same—the woods entirely gone, fences down, the garden places covered with wild shrubs and bushes, and joined to the common ground, a kind of general desolation! &c., [caused no doubt by the presence of the British army] a few years ago exhibiting a very different appearance to me, when I have visited those then pleasant places, &c., now affording cause of solemn reflection on the transitoriness and uncertainty of human affairs, besides the neglectful management of the present owner, which may properly bear such strictures as at present I forbear to make.

" Passing along, eastward, through divers fields now laid in commons, fences down, &c., I directed my course towards the city, here in full view from one end of it to the other, appearing, as it were, under or lower than my feet,—a beautiful prospect; thence going right forward over divers fields, I came to John Pemberton's ground in a lower situation, where I stood awhile to look about and consider where I was; for at first I did not know, though I had often been here many years ago; so great a change had taken place, even in this part of the vicinity of Philadelphia, &c. In this ground I noticed a spring of water which I had formerly observed when here; this spring in its course from its fountain forms a pretty large stream running towards the city, to a still lower ground; I followed it till I came to a low place, where it divides into two. One stream manifestly appeared to me to run south-westward towards Schuylkill, as before observed, south of Hamilton's house or Bush Hill, and the other, eastward to the Delaware, neither of them appearing to have much fall or descent, except the former, where it approaches near Schuylkill. I followed the latter through divers fields, till I came near the brick-kilns before observed, when this stream, crossing the Wissahiccon road, forms what is called Pegg's run, and falls into Delaware river northward of the city plan.

" From my observation it appeared to me, that probably by means of these two streams, and other circumstances, which two streams manifestly appear to form at present one water-course between the two rivers, aided by other springs issuing from the high lands about Bush Hill and Springetsbury, &c., a very useful canal of water might easily be effected, and that without very much expense, to the great future utility of the city and vicinity in divers respects, all the way or space between the two rivers, at or near the boundary of the city plan, where the ground is lowest.

" From this place I came home by David Rittenhouse's new dwelling, north-west corner of Arch and Seventh streets; after this I immediately wrote these notes,—this in the space of an hour and a half nearly, slowly walking, and sometimes standing."

Fairmount.—The glory of Philadelphia is its water works.

These unite in themselves, and the adjacent country and river prospect, beauty of scenery, usefulness of purpose, magnitude of design, excellence of effect, nature and art, all harmoniously blended. What delightful scene, more worthy of the painter's art and the poet's pen! There we see the graceful, glittering river winding amongst its wooded banks, the artificial cascade at your feet, the lovely jet d'eaux all around, the green plats and gravelled walks through which you have walked, the picturesque views wherever you cast your eyes, these go to make up the picture which is spread out in rich luxuriance before you. All this change of Fairmount, by the hand of art, is a fair exchange for the loss of its original rugged, woody and romantic cliffs, then all solitary and silent, now all busy with active life, and useful, by its public utility, sustaining the health and blessing the city inhabitants.* [It is a curious fact concerning these works, so uniformly visited and extolled by *strangers*, that they have never been *hitherto* the admiration or pride of Philadelphians themselves. It surely proves that they are not puffers. There are at this moment (1842) thousands of our citizens who have never visited them, and many of them have been first induced to visit them from hearing them extolled by people at a distance, when they have been travelling on summer tours.]

SPRINGS.

"Yet *often* from the *spring* the draught *is sought*,
Which here *to all* doth *freely flow* unbought."

MAKIN'S POEM, 1729.

PENN expressed his surprise, when here, at our numerous brooks, and added besides, "there are mineral waters, which operate like *Barnet* and *North Hall*, that are not two miles from Philadelphia." Gabriel Thomas too, in his description of 1698, speaks probably of the same springs, saying: "Not two miles from the metropolis are purging waters that pass by siege and urine, all out as good as Epsom." The idea of some good springs about the city was also expressed in the motto above, from Thomas Makin's Latin poem, descriptive of Philadelphia in 1729. At this day none have any knowledge of any existing springs, and almost as little of any that are past. When Dr. Bond came to Philadelphia to settle as a physician, in 1734, he found such fine chalybeates near the city as to attract his admiration; and it is known that he gave much encouragement to their free use by the sick and infirm.

* These thoughts we borrow from a *stranger's* description.

Having never been able to find one person who had any idea of the location of any of the springs so clearly referred to in the above citations, I have felt myself stimulated to find out, if possible, all and every case of springs, at any time formerly known to the ancients. I give the following facts, to wit:

"The mineral springs" I presume to have been the same found at "Bath town," in the Northern Liberties, and at a run a little this side of "Lemon Hill" seat, near the Schuylkill. The latter at present excites little or no attention; the former was brought into much celebrity by the influence of Dr. Kearsley. In the year 1765, we see an advertisement of John White and wife, who advertise their bath at the town of Bath, saying they will provide refreshments for those who visit it; and they hope, from the virtues of the water, to answer the salutary purposes which the founder (Dr. Kearsley) originally intended. Their house at that day stood on a pleasant farm, called White's farm, having about the house a grove of grateful shade—itself on a green bank gently declining into the Cohocksinc creek. The house was sometimes called the "Rose of Bath," because of the sign of a *rose* attached to the house. The house is now standing, dismantled of all its former rural and attractive charms, a two story brick building, on the lot next north of the Methodist church in St. John street; and the spring, now obliterated, once flowed on the south side of that church, on ground now converted into a tanyard by Pritchet, nearly due east from the Third street stone bridge. The spring, over which Dr. Kearsley had erected a bath house, stood about twenty to twenty-five feet west from the line of St. John street, on the southern side of the tanyard, as I have been told. I mention the location with such particularity, that it may at some day cause a better speculation for some of our citizens, to revive it there by digging or boring, than that of "Jacob's Well" at New York. "The town of Bath," so imposing in name, never existed but on charts. It was a speculation once to make a town there, but it did not take.

Under the article "Pegg's Run" I have already spoken largely of an extraordinary spring there, the property of Prosper Martin, which is also of purging quality, though not a chalybeate, throwing out sixty thousand gallons of water in a day! This also was near the line of St. John street.

Bathsheba's "Spring and Bower," sometimes called "Bath and Bower," near the junction of Little Dock and Second streets, has been described elsewhere, under the article "Loxley's House."

Dock creek in early days abounded with springs, and I have been able to trace as many as three of them on the western side, to wit: At Morris' brewery, now called Abbott's, at the junction of Pear street and Dock street, there is now a spring arched over, which has a vault from it into the great tunnel. The fact was told to me by Timothy Matlack, who had it so covered in his early days, when once concerned in that brewery. They once esteemed their beer as

surpassing that of any in the city, from the use of that spring, which they then concealed and kept a secret. It stood twenty feet east from the east end of the brewhouse premises, and fifteen feet back from the street. With such a guide I was afterwards enabled to detect some issues from it in the cellar of Upton's eating house, now on the place.

The late aged Owen Jones, Esq., told me he remembered a spring in the cellar of a brewhouse on the western side of Dock street, nearly opposite the present custom house.

There was formerly an excellent and much used spring on the west side of Dock creek, nearly due west from the Drawbridge. It may now be found under a platform in the area of the cellar door appertaining to the stone house late of Levi Hollingsworth. John Townsend, an aged Friend, who died ten or twelve years ago, told me, when in his 78th year, that he well remembered when the spring was open, and was much visited by boatmen, to take in their water for sea voyages. It had seats around it, and some shade trees about it. Wm. Brown, a public Friend, afterwards built the stone house there, having previously built a frame house in front of it, which was pulled down, as lying beyond the proper line of the street.

The late aged Colonel A. J. Morris, when ninety years of age, told me he well remembered the spring which he presumed gave name to "Spring Garden." He saw it in his youth when there was no village there, but so much in nature's wildness, that he hunted bird's nests, and got stung by some hornets, whose nests he was inspecting. At that time he knew an elderly lady who told him that when she was young she and other company used to go up Pegg's run, then beautifully rural, and lined with shrubbery,* going in a boat up to the spring at its source, and there drinking their tea and making their regale in a place of great rural attraction. As early as the year 1723, I observe "the house and land called Spring Garden, well known to most people, is offered for sale by Dr. Francis Gandovet."

I think I have found the site of this, and that it must be a chalybeate. It is on the premises, bought in April 1839, by John C. Sculer of Frederic Uber, who bought it of Joseph Harmer in 1799. It lies in the cellar of a brick house, at about 100 feet east from Ninth street, on the north side of Pegg's run, very near to where there is now an *entry port* into *the sewer* on the street called Garden street, formerly called Spring street. The brick house which covers *the spring* fronts upon this said Spring or Garden street, on the western side. Mr. Schuler had promised me to procure me a bottle of the water of the spring for analysis, but neglected it, until it has been paved over the whole cellar, and a conduit from the spring has been laid out into the culvert close by. Mr. Schuler and wife told me

* Some scrubby remains of these I can even remember in my time; and along the race of Craig's factory, and at his dam, the usual water bank shrubbery abounded, such as alder and rose bushes.

the water tasted disagreeable and for that reason was not valued or esteemed. It deposited a yellowish deposit wherever it rested, it showed it soon in a tumbler; on my asking if it did not taste like rusted iron, they said it tasted like copper. They are Germans. They said it was walled round with brick, seemed five or six feet deep and lower than the cellar floor, which was probably only the level of the original ground; that in some seasons it raised and overflowed the cellar upwards of two feet deep. They made efforts to destroy or stop the spring, but could not succeed! but could never find its point of issue, although they pumped out often to find it.

In the year 1773 the citizens were much excited to the admiration of a fine mineral spring accidentally discovered on the lot of ground at the north-east corner of Chestnut and Sixth streets, now the premises of P. S. Duponceau, Esq. It was then pronounced, "from many accurate experiments then made, to exceed in strength any chalybeate in the country." While it enjoyed its fame many were supposed to have been benefited, but in a little while they discovered it owed its character to the remains of a sunken pit.

The late aged Joseph Crukshank told me he was shown by the aged Mr. Pearson, formerly City Surveyor, where a creek ran into the Schuylkill, somewhere nigh or between Pine and South streets. It was then dry and partially filled up. But he believes his kinsman, who now occupies a steam engine at the corner of Pine and Schuylkill Seventh streets, derives his well-water from the hidden springs of that creek, as they have a surprising supply even when the wells around have generally failed.

The house of Christopher Marshall, in Carter's alley, north side, has had a good spring in its cellar, even from its foundation. And his daughter, Mrs. Haines, told me that the well of the pump on Chestnut street, a little west of Second street, had such a peculiar character many years ago, that Mr. West, at Vine street, who salted up provisions, used to send there for the water used in pickling his meat.

There was a powerful spring, now covered with a pump, at the corner of Dock street and Goforth alley, in the rear of the Bank of Pennsylvania. It was discovered about 45 years ago, in digging there a pump-well. All the ground was alluvial to the depth of 28 feet, and no appearance of water; but in striking in the spade below that depth, still in alluvial soil, the water spouted up powerfully, and rose so rapidly, to 15 feet, that they could never pump it dry enough to be able to build the well wall. The spring was excellent. Mr. Thomas Dixey, who told me these facts, then had a wooden curb sunk, and settled a brick wall in it.

GARDENS.

UNDER this head we shall present slight notices of places conspicuous in their day, as places of observation or resort.

The garden belonging to Isaac Norris at Fairhill, was kept up in fine cultivation as early as the year 1718. F. D. Pastorius, who was himself distinguished at Germantown as a *terri cultore*, gives the praise of Fairhill garden to the wife,—saying to her and her sisters, as daughters of Governor Thomas Lloyd,—"I write an article respecting the treating of gardening, flowers and trees, knowing that you are lovers of gardens,—the one keeping the finest (at Fairhill) I hitherto have seen in the whole country, filled with abundance of rarities, physical and metaphysical,—the other a pretty little garden much like mine own, producing chiefly cordial, stomachic and culinary herbs."

Of his own garden, Pastorius, who was a German, a scholar and a poet, thus speaks at Germantown—

"————What wonder you then
That F. D. P. likewise here many hours spends,
And, having no money, on usury lends
To's garden and orchard and vineyard such times,
Wherein he helps nature and nature his rhymes,
Because they produce him both victuals and drink,
Both med'cine and nosegays, both paper and ink."

His poetry having been written in different colours, he remarks, that of turmerick and elder leaves

"He forms his red and green, as here is seen."

The taste which governed at the Fairhill place most probably inspired the fine arrangements of the garden grounds of "Norris' garden" in the city, on the site of the present Bank of the United States, there occupying nearly half the square, and when still out of town, alluring strangers and people of taste to visit it.

In the olden time, gardens where they sold "balm-beer and cakes" were common as places of resort. Such a one of peculiar celebrity, called the "Cheese-cake-house," once occupied the ground on the west side of Fourth street opposite to the Lutheran church—having there many apple and cherry trees, arbours and summer-houses, extending from Cherry street to Apple-tree alley—names probably derived from the place which they now serve to commemorate. The Cake-house was ancient.

There was a small "Mead-house" long known up High street,

vis-a-vis to Markoe's, above Ninth street. It was chiefly remarkable for its enormously large buttonwood trees.

"Cherry Garden," *down* on Society Hill, in the parlance of its day, was a place of much fame as a place of recreation. It was a large garden fronting on Front street *vis-a-vis* to Shippen street, occupying half the square and extending down to the river. The small house of one story brick, in which the refreshments were sold, is now standing with its dead wall on the line of Front street. In 1756, it was advertised for sale as the property of Harrison, who advertised to sell off some of it in lots "on Front and Water streets to the river in Cherry Garden." Colonel Morris spoke of it as he remembered it in the time of Clifton as its owner—said it had abundance of every shrubbery and green-house plant. See a picture of the house in my MS. Annals in the City Library, p. 282.

Clement Plumstead, Esq., Alderman, &c., had a finely cultivated garden, distinguished in its day, at the north-west corner of Front and Union streets. In January, 1729, it was thus noticed in the Gazette, viz.: "Some vile miscreants one night this week got into the fine gardens of C. P., and cut down many of the fine trees there."

The Spring Garden has been described under the article of its spring for which it was once famed.

There was once a range of beautiful sloping gardens, declining from Front street houses into Dock creek, so as to be seen by passengers along the western side of Dock street. They belonged to Stedman, Conyngham, and others. They were seen by T. Matlack and such aged persons. Conyngham's garden, as it existed in 1746, in the ownership of Redman Conyngham, Esq., was peculiarly beautiful, it had stone steps descending into the Dock creek, to which was chained a pleasure boat always ready for excursions and fishing parties. The mansion was the same now No. 96 south Front street.

At Turner's country-seat, called "Wilton," down in the neck, was some remarkable garden cultivation, inviting the strangers visiting the city to inspect it, which has been noticed in connexion with the premises, under the article "Country Seats."

Gray's garden, at Schuylkill ferry, after the time of the Revolution, then enjoyed the last and greatest fame. It was begun about the year 1790.

There was a noted mead house in Chestnut street, east of Sixth street, on the north side.

PONDS AND SKATING PLACES.

"The playful days of other years like shadows stole."

To those who still feel they "love the play-place of their early days," it may afford some interest to see herein revived the recollection of those places, where on "sounding skates" they once made their vigorous and gladdening speed. I speak only of those once within the present thickly inhabited places, to wit:

There used to be a deep pond at the north-east corner of Arch and Eighth streets, close by what was once called Dr. Church's family burying ground on Arch street. Another was on the south side of Arch street above Seventh street, called "Everly's pond." In 1842, in excavating a cellar on the north side of Arch street, between Seventh and Eighth streets, the workmen came to two headstones of the afore-mentioned Church family, which have been now built into the foundation wall, *in perpet. vie mem.*, to wit: John Church died 17th September, 1740, aged 63; the other, Rhoda Church died in 1720, aged 36. When so found none could be found to explain the cause of their existence there! So easily is the knowledge of the past obliterated. Their skulls, with sound teeth, were found.

There was "Evans' pond," on the north side of Race street, extending back to Branch street.

A small pond lay at the north-west corner of Arch and Fourth streets.

A pond, called "Hudson's pond," lay at the north-west corner of High street and Fifth street. Another lay near it, called "Kinsey's pond," on the south side of High street between it and Minor street at the western end, where Washington's house stood.

Pegg's run had ponds in the marsh there, always much visited and celebrated, of which mention has been made under the article "Pegg's Run."

Colonel A. J. Morris, when 90 years of age, formerly told me of his skating on a deep pond on the west side of Third street above Pine street; and Owen Jones, nearly as old as he, told me of a pond once on the site where Duché's lot on the opposite side of Third street was formed. There he once saw an enraged bull driven in by dogs and pursuers. The fact of former much lower grounds on the western side of Third street is even now evidenced by a house in Union street, still standing fully two feet lower than the present street.

The foregoing were generally such ponds as had been previously formed by brick-kilns, or by raising streets higher than some miry lots. They were generally of that period when skated upon by such aged persons as Colonel Morris, Thomas Bradford, Alexander Fullerton. These spoke of them to me.

Both Morris and Fullerton spoke to me of the "great Blue-house pond,"* at the south-east corner of South and Ninth or Tenth streets. It was surrounded by numerous willow trees, the great stumps of which even now remain there, although the former appearance of the pond is almost obliterated. From that pond, they concurred in saying they could skate by a continued line of water down to its outlet at Little Dock creek, by the way of the present St. Peter's church in Pine street—then the whole range being in commons. This long water communication only showed itself in the winter seasons or in heavy rains.

Mr. Thomas White, now but 73 years of age, tells me he used to skate at "Nevill's pond," lying front of the present Presbyterian church in Pine street, and extending to Spruce street up to Fifth street. He also skated on a pond on the north side of Spruce street, up to St. Mary's church, and reaching nearly from Fourth to Fifth street.

Those ponds and those days are no more! The youths who sported on their mirror surface have gone or are going hence. Those who survive may even yet—

> "Be moved amidst the shifting scene
> To smile on childhood's thoughtless joy,
> And wish they had for ever been
> A careless, laughing, happy boy!"

FIRES AND FIRE-ENGINES.

"Red flames and blaze, there all amaze."

In 1683, William Penn speaks of a fire in the city, in which the newly arrived Germans were sufferers, and proposes a subscription for their relief.

1711—Samuel Preston, the mayor, acquaints the board of council that he has frequently had in his consideration the many providences this city has met with, in that fires, that have so often happened, have done so little damage. He thinks it is our duty to use all possible means to prevent and extinguish fires for the future, by providing of buckets, hooks, *engines*, &c., which being considered,

* The blue house was an old inn on the opposite south-west corner.

it is the opinion of the Board that such instruments should be provided; the manner of doing it is referred to the next Council. This was *beginning* pretty early considering that fire engines themselves, were but a new thing in England itself—being only invented in 1663.

1724—The Grand Jury recommend the repair of the water engine, and that the city ladders, buckets, &c., be kept in order.

1730—A fire broke out in a store near Mr. Fishbourne's wharf, and consumed all the stores there, damaged several houses on that side of the street, and crossing the way seized the fine house of Jonathan Dickinson with two others towards Walnut street, which were all ruined. The loss is £5000. The area was for 20 years afterwards called Dickinson's burnt buildings.—[The site was the same, in modern times, called Ross' buildings, in Front street, south of Walnut street, eastern side.] A subscription was forthwith set on foot "to supply the town" with every thing requisite to put out fires. "It was then thought that if the people had had good engines the fire might have been put down." This was the greatest fire experienced.

The same year we find by the minutes of Council that fire materials were speedily procured, to wit:

Thomas Oldman produced a leather fire bucket as a sample: whereupon they agree to pay him nine shillings a-piece for 100 buckets. The Mayor, soon after, acquainted the Board that the two fire engines and 250 fire buckets sent for to England had arrived in July, and requests a provision of suitable places for their reception.

Whereupon it was ordered that the buckets be hung up in the court house, and that measures be used to place the engines, to wit: —one at the corner of the great meeting house yard (south-west corner of Second and High streets)—one at Francis Jones' lot, corner of Front and Walnut streets, and the old engine, in a corner of the Baptist meeting yard, in Second street near Arch street. We can perceive by this distribution that there were but three engines in all, (two having just arrived) and shows that the great fire just before, had had but *one engine* to help to subdue it!

1735—A writer in the Gazette says respecting fires: We have at present got engines enough, but I question if water enough can be had to keep them going, in many places, for half an hour. It seems to me some public pumps are wanted. At the same time he advises the forming of fire companies.

1736—The houses of "Budd's long row" (north of the Drawbridge in Front street) took fire and threatened to consume the whole, but the engines were worked successfully.

1738—Benjamin Franklin instituted the first fire company organized in Philadelphia.

1753—By an advertisement in the Gazette, I see that "baskets and bags of the fire companies" are called upon to be returned. Thus showing the early use of them, as we used to see them hung

up in the old halls and entries where now our ladies hang elegant lamps.

I give in conclusion a list of fires occurring in Philadelphia during the years 1821 to '24 inclusive, making a total of 96 cases. It may be curious hereafter as a matter of reference. The facts were derived from official minutes.

Number of fires in each month of the following years :—

	1821.	1822.	1823.	1824.	Totals.
January, . .	0	1	3	1	5
February, . .	3	2	7	2	14
March, . . .	4	1	4	5	14
April, . . .	4	1	4	3	12
May, . . .	3	2	4	0	9
June, . . .	4	0	3	0	7
July, . . .	3	1	2	0	6
August, . .	0	2	2	1	5
September, . .	2	3	1	0	6
October, . .	3	3	0	0	6
November, . .	2	2	0	0	4
December, . .	1	4	1	2	8
Totals, . . .	29	22	31	14	96

The fires which happened in the latter part of 1822, and beginning of 1823, were generally supposed to be the work of incendiaries.

The only fires of consequence which occurred during the year 1824 are two—March 29th, in Front above Arch street, and April 18th, in Second below Market street.

The present manner of subduing fires presents an aspect quite different from former doings in such cases. When there were no hose in use and no hydrants, but only pumps and buckets to keep the engines supplied, the scene was much more busy than now. Few or no idlers could be seen as lookers on. They made long lines of people to "hand along the buckets," and if the curious and idle attempted to pass, the cry was passed along the line—"fall in, fall in!" If disregarded, a bucket of water was discharged upon them. Then it was quite common to see numerous women in the ranks, and it was therefore more provoking to see others giving no help, but urging their way as near to the fires as they could. Next day was a fine affair for the boys to look out all the buckets they knew of their several neighbourhoods, and to carry them home. The street posts too, all along the streets, far from the fire, could be seen capped here and there with a stray bucket, asking for its owner.

THE FRIENDS.

"In stillness thus the little Zion rose."

THE following constitute such special notices of the Friends as I occasionally met with in the course of my researches.

In 1684, Thomas Lloyd in writing a letter to the Friends' Meeting at Dolaran, in North Wales, dated the 2d of 6 mo., says, that there were then 800 people at Friends' Meeting in the city. At that time, says another writer, all denominations assembled with the Friends in much harmony and good fellowship, until discord and confusion was introduced by George Keith's schism.

In 1691 a scene of rare confusion was exhibited in Friends Meeting. The facts in the case have been told by Thomas Wilson, a public Friend, who was present. George Keith, who had just separated, sent T. Wilson and his companion, James Dickinson, a challenge to dispute. They readily agreed to meet, and many Friends of both parties assembled. George Keith railed much. He and his abettors requested another meeting, which was also granted. At another time George Keith went into Friends' Meeting while James Dickinson was there, and preached fawningly, as though he and James Dickinson were in unity; but James stood up and confuted him. Then Keith withdrew in much wrath, and the people of other denominations present, being numerous, cried aloud,—"Give way and let the devil come out, for the little black man from England (J. D.) has got the day!"

The Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, in their account of the services of George Keith as their Missionary, telling of course their opinion, *in their own way* say; that this Mr. Keith "first joined about the year 1691, with a party of Quakers in opposing some of their errors—especially in their notion of the sufficiency of the light within every man to salvation, without any thing else," and the other party joined with Mr. Thomas Lloyd the deputy governor, and a great preacher among them; thus severally creating separate meetings in the province. It must have been a singular spectacle to have seen one who had been a plain public Friend, attired in drab and broad brim, cast off his garb, and go abroad among them in his black gown as a church minister. A convincement certainly of strange occurrence. It is but justice to suggest, that at that time, the Friends could not have gone over wholly to the doctrine of plenary illumination, because, that William Penn's writings against Perot, Luff, and others, declare that such took the doctrine of the Holy Spirit speaking in men in a larger sense than was just, so that they ran out into extravagances thereby.

In 1702—8th of 9 mo. Isaac Norris' letter says, "George Keith hath been twice here, but has not yet disturbed our Meeting as hath been his custom to the eastward. He is now the talk and news of the town; but has little to boast of in all his progress hitherto. His own party is like to fall with him. All his sermons are railings against the Friends."

During the time of this schism there came out a printed pamphlet of 24 pages against orthodox Friends, which might be deemed a curiosity for its rare and gross scurrility. It is without imprint, but shows from its context that it was done at Philadelphia about the year 1701. Ample extracts of the whole have been preserved in my MS. Annals in the City Library, on pages 190 to 193. There indeed they deserve to be buried, were it not that their style of abuse is so unique as to show a characteristic of some minds of that day, which we could not conceive of in modern times; besides they contain some local references which may possibly serve on some needful occasion to illustrate some local incidents. The whole has the appearance of of being set forth as the venom of Keith's adherents. It assails the characters, by name, of every leading man in Friends' Society, making them severally immoral men (though sly) of the grossest kind. It is called "the "Cage of unclean Birds,"—because George Fox had so called false professors. I have purposely suppressed all the names, and refer to the whole now rather as a matter of amusement than of scandal. The Friends, then vilified, must have been endowed with much moderation, to have endured such a publication, or else the doctrine of libels was ill understood and without practice among them. Some of the facts are ludicrous enough.

One, a minister too, is accused by name of packing his flour barrels with only good flour at the ends! and also of *blowing* in money scales to make his light money pass off as weight! It reproaches them of vain-glory in building "a great Cathedral Meeting Place at Philadelphia,"—corner of Second and High streets.

The Friends, who generally held a majority in the civil rule of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, found themselves more and more embarrassed as mixed population increased. They had difficulties in serving in judicial offices where oaths were required, and also in providing public defence against enemies. The feuds and animosities raised against Friends in the Assembly were very high, and went on increasing from 1701 to 1710. War with France occurred in the interval. A French privateer plundered Lewestown, —and several of them plundered and burnt vessels in the bay. In 1709, the city of Philadelphia was got into high commotion for a defence. "The hot church party" were all in favour of it. The people petitioned the Queen for defence, and objected at the same time to the passive principles of the Friends, as unfit for civil rule, &c. When I have seen so much correspondence as I have, in that day, on that subject, and have witnessed how perplexed the Friends were with their unruly charge,—made up of many nations and many

minds,—I have thought them (to use a homely domestic figure) not unlike the perplexed hen with her *duck*-chickens, which perpetually counteract her nature by taking to the water, and leaving her in embarrassment and distress! If they governed for a while, retaining therein their religious views, it was still a daily work of shifts and expedients to keep the approbation of other sects. It was, as Doctor Johnson says, "like a dog who walks upon his hinder legs;—he does not walk well, but we are surprised he walks at all!"

James Logan, in speaking of these facts, in 1709, says, "The clamours and abuses from such men to the Friends in government tires them and makes them weary of the load. When the queen asks for our quota for Canada, Friends know not how to act or how to refuse, seeing that all the other colonies contribute more than is required."

Isaac Norris, in 1709–10, speaking of these facts, says, "Those of the church grew very uneasy and unneighbourly in their expressions, because of the defenceless situation of the place. They are for a coercive law, that all may be obliged to bear arms, or else they will do nothing. They manage this craftily, in order to lay Friends aside in government,—the holding of a place in which is extremely difficult to Friends, and we can hardly judge which has the worst prospect,—whether to hold it under such difficulties as daily fall in the way, or to resign it to some men who are of no honourable principles. Embarrassed and discordant as we are, I often think of the frogs' petition to Jupiter, and fear it must be a governor immediately from the crown that must set us to rights. We are a mixed people, who all claim a right to use their own way. Some Friends still in places and offices that cannot be exercised without great difficulties and sometimes full stops,—so that a very great hardship falls upon the Assembly. To me it seems impracticable to do any thing that will please and hold!"

In another place, to James Logan, he says, "We say our principles are not destructive or repugnant to civil government, and will admit of free liberty of conscience to all, yet to me it appears, (although I get into a labyrinth when I turn my thoughts that way,) to be concerned in government and hold them, we must either be independent and entirely by ourselves, or, if mixed, partial to our own opinion, and not allow to others what we desire from them!"

To illustrate some of the difficulties, supposed to exist in civil matters because of the religious objections of Friends to oaths, I give the following facts—to wit:

In 1703, William Penn writes, that "the lords of trade spake to me of the insufficiency of the government of Pennsylvania,—saying, the first of the council was not able to register ships, administer an oath, or perform some other requisites; but I told them this could not hinder government, while three or four of the council were churchmen, and of age and experience,—and no matter who of the council transacted them, so that they were qualified to do it;—and yet, by

our constitution, our Friends were so:—besides, I told them it was not to be thought that a colony and constitution, made by and for Quakers, would leave themselves, and their lives and fortunes, out of so essential a part of government as juries:—nay more, that we would not have gone thither to be so precarious in our security as to be deemed incapable of being jurymen,—if so, that the coming of others shall overrule us who are the originals and made it a country."

On one occasion, stated by James Logan, the grand jury being summoned of such as could swear, it was found the number present were insufficient. "On the sheriff's calling for more out of the tales, one and another, being offered the oath, declined it, some for one reason, and some for another. The design evidently was by those factious persons who contend for nothing more than our confusion. They would herein prevent all things that might take away occasion of complaint against us, and they hoped the delay of justice might prove a great one!"

On another occasion it happened that only three of the five judges being present, and those only who could swear, "they administered an affirmation according to law, which gave cause of many discourses among the discontented. But through these men's restless endeavours, it is found extremely difficult fully to discharge the duties of government incumbent on us;—they taking all advantages of throwing in our way whatever may perplex us, by reason of oaths, and such other things as are inconsistent with the principles of most of us:—besides, that many things occur in the administration according to the law of England, as well as immunities by our own law, which cannot well be executed by men of our profession. Such objections against us, being what they daily court, when, by their endeavours, they by any means bring them to bear, they greedily lay hold of them."

William Penn, in reply to these and similar statements, makes a remark, in 1704, saying, "I am grieved to think that you ever gave way to any other affirmation than that appointed by law in the province, by which you have given away a most tender point, not easily recoverable. My regard to the queen is known almost to partiality; but I shall never obey her letters against laws, into which she may be drawn by interested persons."

James Logan was never averse to measures for protection,—i. e. for just defensive war; and there is reason to infer that Penn himself and some other Friends were of the same opinion. The idea gained ground as the colony increased, and therefore members were often found in the assemblies of the Friends' Society, who, in the opinion of "the most straitest" of the sect, were too lax in their discipline of "testimony," &c. We find, therefore, that such a public Friend as John Churchman deems himself called to express his disapprobation of their public callings generally, as too exposing, in its general tendency, for tender minds,—and about the same time, the year

1758, we see a warning voice from "The Watchman," by a Friend, in the Pennsylvania Journal, wherein he says, "From the moment we Friends began to lose sight of our original institution, we erred greatly; for, when we saw so much corruption interwoven in the affairs of this world, we were unfit to be concerned in them, and should have rested satisfied on a dependence on the arm of the Lord, and what protection the laws of our country would have given us. But we must needs have that power in our own hands; and having so exceeded their native moderation and self-command, they knew no bounds,—they grasped at more, by which means the life of our old and respected friend and governor, William Penn, was made a life of trouble. Let us return to our original plan, and leave the concerns of this world entirely to the men of this world!"

I have seen the first record of marriages among Friends in Philadelphia for the first 32 years of the city. The first named is in 1682, of Thomas Smith with Priscilla Allen. These had before passed one Meeting in the Isle of Wight. The next marriage is that of David Brientnall with Jane Blanchard, in 1683. In 1684, eleven couples are married there. My own name—of Watson, is of very frequent occurrence among them. One singular name is, I presume, intended to commemorate a providence of God to the parents in their voyage, to wit:—Sea-mercy Adams, married to Mary Brett in 1686.

I have in my possession the original parchment certificate of one of those early marriages. It is chiefly curious as showing several signatures of the primitive leading Friends, and the verbal form of the instrument, too, is somewhat different from the present.

In early days the bride, among Friends wore a black silk hood over the head, with long ends hanging down the front of the shoulder. It was neat and graceful. By this token she was universally known in the street as one "adorned as a bride." She always went on foot publicly to meeting in a kind of procession of eight or ten couples. She was preceded by the father and mother of the groom, then by her own parents,—next "the happy pair"—then their special friends.

The wedding entertainments in olden times were very expensive and harassing to the wedded. The house of the parent would be filled with company to dine. The same company would stay to tea and supper both. For two days punch was dealt out in profusion. The gentlemen visited the groom on the first floor, and then ascended to the second floor to see the bride in the presence of her maids, &c. Then every gentleman, even to 150 in a day, severally took his kiss —even the plain Friends submitted to these doings. I have heard of rich families among them which had 120 persons to dine—the same who had signed their certificate of marriage at the monthly meeting —these also partook of tea and supper. As they formerly passed the meeting twice, the same entertainment was also repeated. Two days the male friends would call and take punch, and all would kiss the bride. Besides this, the married pair for two entire weeks saw large

tea parties at their home; having in attendance every night the groomsmen and bridemaids. To avoid expense and trouble, Friends have since made it sufficient to pass but *one* meeting. When these marriage entertainments were made, it was expected also, that punch, cakes, and meats should be sent out generally in the neighbourhood, even to those who were not visiters in the family. Some of the aged now alive can remember such weddings.

An advertisement of the year 1778, to be copied here, may serve to show the kind and costliness of female attire then among female Friends of the wealthy class. It is in the form of a call for family apparel stolen from the house of Mrs. Sarah Fisher, "in Second street below the *Bridge*;" and offering ten guineas reward for the recovery of the same, or five guineas for the watch alone, viz., one white satin petticoat quilted with flowers, one rich pearl coloured satin gown, lined with cream coloured Persian; also several yards of the same pearl coloured satin, one white mantua gown, one blossom coloured satin cloak lined with white mantua, a baby's cloak of purple and yellow changeable mantua, lined with white mantua, a number of aprons and handkerchiefs of cambric, muslin, lawn and holland, all marked S. L., several frocks, &c., belonging to a child. Also, a gold watch with a *steel* chain and crystal seal set in gold, with engraved arms. The above Mrs. Fisher had been Sarah Logan, the daughter of William Logan, and she was a much respected member of the meeting.

When the walking on the side-walks in Philadelphia streets was impeded with heavy snows, as in days of yore, the Friends were notable for their early care to provide good paths to Meeting. When Richard Hill (a distinguised man) married Miss Stanley, in 1727, they swept the snow from the corner of Norris' alley and Front street, where he lived, up to the Meeting-house at the corner of Second and High streets—thus making a snow-path of three squares in length. An old doggerel used to say,—

"The rain rains, and the winds blow:
High heads—what a panic seize 'em!
Old Friends—to meetings go,
Sweeping their way with a besom."

Another expressed the fact in these words to wit:

"The Quakers will to Meetings go,
And if their streets be full of snow,
They sweep it with their besom."

When the Hectors and Hotspurs of the day were fierce for war measures on the Indians, finding they could not get the sanction of the Friends to their intended embroiling measures, they fell upon expedients, such as satires and caricatures could enforce. Thus an ancient pamphlet, printed at Ephrata,* contains a tirade called the "Cloven Foot Discovered," some of which reads thus, viz.:

* Supposed by Parson Barton, of Lancaster.

"Pray, worthy friends, observe the text:
Get money first, and virtue next.
Nought makes our Carolina curs
To bark and bite, but skins and furs."

In another place it reads thus:

"In many things, change but the name,
Quakers and Indians are the same,
I don't say all, for there are such,
That honest are—e'en of the Dutch:
But those who the Indians' cause maintain
Would take the part of bloody Cain,
And sell their very souls for gain!" &c.

When, in the year 1756, the governor had proclaimed a day of fasting and prayer on account of the calamity of the Indian war, the Friends did not join in it as a ceremony. Some squibs appeared against them; one reads thus, to wit:

"Perseverance is a breach in the spirit:
Quakers (that like to lanterns bear
Their light within them) will not swear.
Like mules—who, if they've not their will
To keep their own pace, stand stock still!"

The passions and the writers who gave point and effect to such trifles in their day are all dead. I presume I need scarcely add, I give no revival to any of them but in sheer good nature, treating them rather as the comic of history, than as of any power to revive harm in our day!

The state of the Friends as a part of the civil community, down to the year 1739, has been thus noticed in a MS. account by William Fishbourne of that Society, saying, "As the chief part of the inhabitants were Quakers, they with others were and are concerned in acts of government; but as the province increased and prospered in every respect, many of other persuasions came and settled here with worldly views, who have formerly attempted to wrest the civil power out of the Quakers' hands, as it is very probable they may and will again; as they publicly begin to think and observe the country in its increased wealth and commerce "cannot be safe" under the conduct of men who from their principles (of religion) would continue it in a defenceless state and leave it an easy prey to any enemy. Thus not regarding (the fact) the peaceable introduction, and continuing from the first settlement both in time of peace and war."

In the year 1748 there were great efforts made in Philadelphia for the defence of the city, by erecting and furnishing two batteries at the Southwark end, and rasing about 1000 volunteers. On this occasion some of the Friends, then in public employ, admitted the right of defensive measures, among whom were James Logan, whose letters to Benjamin Franklin on the occasion I have seen. Kalm, the Swedish traveller, who was then here, remarks, "When the re-

doubt was erected at Swedes' church to prevent the French and Spanish privateers from landing, there was much opposition and debate, for the Quakers opposed the measure. Papers were printed and circulated pro and con; but when the danger became imminent at the close of the war, many of the Quakers withdrew their opposition, and helped the measure with their money." This is probably an overdrawn picture—giving the act of a few under the name of "many."

In the same year, Governor Thomas having required of the Assembly measures for protection and defence, made some excitement there among the Friends, then members. On this occasion John Churchman, a public Friend, deemed himself called to visit that body and to set forth his testimony against war measures. It perhaps shows the kind feelings of that day, and the influence which Friends then enjoyed in the House, to say, that on making his wish known to speak, through the Speaker, he was allowed to go in and deliver his religious counsel. The sum of what he then said at considerable length is preserved in his Journal. "Beware (said he) of acting to oppress tender consciences, for many whom you now represent would be greatly grieved to see warlike preparations carried on by a law, consented to by their brethren in profession, contrary to the charter, for it is concluded that a reverent and true fear of God, the ancient arm of power, would be our greatest defence and safety."

A writer, of the year 1755, (Samuel Wharton's MS.,) writing on the political influence of the Friends, and wishing to see them excluded, tells the opinion of his day, as held by him and his party, saying, "But if it be asked by what means the Quakers, whose measures (against war) are so unpopular, get continually chosen into our Assemblies, I answer—they enter into cabals in their yearly meeting, which is convened just before the election, and being composed of deputies from all the monthly meetings, provides a fit place for conducting political intrigues under the mask of religion." I presume few of the present day will credit this scandal; but, as the feature of that day, it may now amuse a modern Friend thus to see such a novel use of their religious meetings! They are also accused of procuring great influence in the elections among the Germans, through the aid of C. Sower's German paper, which always advocated Friends' principles. Sower himself was a very good man, and therefore had a deserved influence over his countrymen. In 1759, four Friends, then members of Assembly, vacated their seats at the desire of the Council of the Crown, because it was a time of war.

I have seen in the possession of Mr. Henry Pemberton of Philadelphia, among other letters of William Penn of about the year 1677, one of them, having a postscript to which is the signature of the celebrated George Fox. He used, like Penn and other writers of that day, two small effs, in lieu of one capital, as thus—"G-ff." Another autograph of Fox and of Barclay I have seen with R. Haines.



Nicholas Waln.—Page 507.

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The Friends were long accustomed to hold night meetings on the Sabbath; their house on the Bank Hill, in Front near Arch street, was at first called Evening Meeting, because chiefly made for such a convenience when that at the Centre Square was too far off. They continued the evening meetings till after the Revolution, when they were constrained, by their sense of "not letting their good being evil spoken of," to disuse them, because their young women (as at some other meetings almost ever since) were mobbed by rude young men, who assembled in long lines of idlers, generating and cherishing more evil without the walls, than the good people could counterbalance within. The change met the approbation of the discreet—of those who virtually aim by every means "to suppress vice and immorality."

My friend Lang Syne, who has good feelings for those kind of reminiscences, has left some picturesque traces of some of the old preaching Friends, and of some of their school teachers, calculated to revive pleasing images of the past to those who love the associations of their early days. He thus speaks of his recollections of the preachers, saying, "James Pemberton, Nicholas Waln, Daniel Offley, Arthur Howell, William Savery and Thomas Scattergood were the then "burning and shining lights." From the preacher's gallery, as beheld through the "mist of years," James Pemberton sat at the head of the gallery—an immovable figure, very erect, and resting with both hands crossed on the top of his cane. Nicholas Waln appeared at all times with a smile of sunshine upon his countenance. An imperturbable severity rested on the dark features of Thomas Scattergood. Arthur Howell always sat shrouded beneath his hat drawn down over his face, and the upper part of his outside coat elevated to meet it—like unto a prophet "in his mantle wrapt," and isolated in thought from all sublunary things. William Savery possessed a mild solemnity of voice and feature, which distinguished him as a preacher above other men; his softer and solemn tones and words in preaching, like those which may be imagined of the Eolian harp rudely touched by the wind, sunk through the ears down into the heart, as "the dew of heaven" falling gently to the earth. The voice of Daniel Offley was as a sound produced by the falling of a bar of his own iron on the brick pavement before his furnace door. Among his dozen hammermen he was always accustomed to raise his piercing voice distinctly above their pattering sounds.

Of the teachers, more will be said in another place under the article "Education." Friends' academy then consisted of four different masters:—Robert Proud, Latin master; William Waring, teacher of astronomy and mathematics; Jeremiah Paul; "The Master of Scholars" was John Todd.

As a curiosity, now that the scandal has lost its sting, I present here some extracts from an old publication of London imprint of 1703—36 pages 12mo. It is entitled "News from Pennsylvania

respecting the government of the Quakers." It bears the style of an embittered "*churchman*" writing to London from Philadelphia;—one of those whom Penn and Logan called "the hot church party." I give some extracts. Whoever he may have been, he seems to have been a theologian in reading and quotations.

Of *the Quakers*, he says,—"Quakerism and heresie here go hand in hand. It is a grim and deformed mass of hypocrisie, atheism, paganism, &c. In their meetings *William* leads the van like a mighty champion of war. After him follow the mighty Dons according to their several movings, and then for the chorus, the *Feminine* prophets tune their quail pipes, and having ended as they began,—with hawlings and yawlings, gripings and graspings, hic labor hoc opus!—they spend the remaining part of the day in feasting each other."

Some personalities are thus brought out:—"R—— E—, a great holder forth, was found too free with a quaking woman, the wife of R—— W—, seen by one Whitpin (Whitpaine?) One Moore too, of the ministry, had raised up seed unto the Lord by his servant maid. One A—— M—— packed tobacco cut and dried into flour barrels to cheat the customs, and it is supposed he has got his estate by this means." He is also slurred as having been once *a tradesman.* E—— S—— is called a great man and a great usurer.

In September, 1777, the Friends at Philadelphia, as Howe's army was approaching, were regarded by some of the strong Whigs of the day with distrust, because they could not fall into their common measures of defence, &c. Their *Testimonies*, so called, were deemed exceptionable by some. The result was that seventeen of the society were exiled for a time to Virginia. The Testimony of December, '76, was found fault with, and the Testimony of 24 of 1 mo., 1775, given in the Pennsylvania Evening Post, No. 402, contains words of this kind. "We have by repeated public advices and private admonitions, used our endeavours to dissuade the members of our religious society from joining with the public resolutions prompted and entered into by some people, which, as we apprehended, so we now find, have increased contention, and produced great disorder and confusion." It says also, "From our past experience of the clemency of the King, we believe that decent and respectable addresses, would avail towards obtaining relief and restoring the public tranquillity!—*and we deeply deplore* that contrary modes of proceeding have involved the colonies in confusion." Signed by James Pemberton, clerk, in behalf of the meeting held at Philadelphia.

The Evening Post of 4th November, 1778, reports that John Roberts, miller, and Abraham Carlisle, a citizen, both of the society of Friends, were executed for treason on the public commons, where both behaved with great resolution. This was a measure, as I have understood since from many judicious persons, not of that persuasion, that ought not to have been done. The ultra Whigs were much

excited on the occasion, and had often been bearded by men of tory feelings that they *dared not* to take such an attitude of self-protection as they regarded such an example to be. It was the general opinion to the last that they would be reprieved. Mr. Carlisle, I have been assured, was a very respectable and inoffensive man. He had been urged by the British, while in Philadelphia, to serve as an umpire at the Pass Gate up Front street, so as to say what American persons should pass or repass under their licenses or protections: this to guard against abuse. For his judgment and action in these matters, in which he acted without reward or known benefit, he forfeited his life. Of Roberts I have heard less; his enemies said he poisoned his flour. Great exertions by numerous subscriptions and personal influences were made to save them.

Parson Peters and Anthony Benezet were personal friends, and good Anthony, knowing the prejudice of the reverend gentleman against Friends' principles or profession, got him to read Barclay's Apology, which he lent him. After its perusal he sent his approbation in some poetic lines, of which I here give about half, in extract, latter part, viz.:

Long had I censured, with contemptuous rage,
And cursed your tenets, with the foolish age;
Thought nothing could appear in your defence
Till Barclay shone with all the rays of sense.
His works at least shall make me moderate prove,
And those who practise what he teaches, love.
With the censurious world no more I'll sin,
In scouting those who own the light within;
If they can see with Barclay's piercing eyes,
The world may deem them fools, but I shall think them wise.

Miss Gould has endeavoured to illustrate the character of Penn and Pennsylvania, and the society of Friends, in poetic measure, after this manner,

"I'll seek," said the Quaker, "a happier shore,
Where I and my people may kneel before
The shrine we erect to the God we adore,
And none shall our rights molest."
And sick of the sounding of empty things,
Of beggarly strife in the island of kings,
His dove-like spirit unfurled her wings,
For a bold and a venturous sweep.
She wafted him off, o'er billow and spray,
Twixt the sea and the sky, on a pathless way
To a beautiful *sylvan scene*, that lay
Far over the boiling deep.
Then the tomahawk dropped from the red man's hand
When he saw the Quakers advance, and stand
Presenting his purse, but to share the land
He had come to possess with him.
"Thou'lt find," said the Quaker, "in me, and in mine

But friends and brothers to thee and to thine,
Who abuse no power, and admit no line
Twixt the red men and the white."
And bright was the spot where the Quaker came,
To leave it his hat,* his drab and his name,
That will sweetly sound from the trump of fame
Till its final blast shall die.
The city he reared from the *sylvan shade,*
His beautiful monument now is made!
And long have the rivers their pride displayed
In the scenes that are rolling by.

The dress of Friends, at first, was not intended to differ greatly from the common mode of the time, save that it was to exclude all show, and to appear simple and neat; I mean that they have since *seemed* more peculiar in their dress from the fact that fashion changed since from what was their starting point, and to which they have adhered with more steadiness and sobriety than others. When they started as a sect, broad-brimmed felt hats with loops at the side were common. So of their coats and the straight collars. The *drab* was their prevalent colour, because least removed from the uncoloured state of cloth or *drap.* They excluded the use of metal buttons, because of their former extreme tinsel finery, and they wore cloth-covered or stained horn ones. They used *ties* to shoes, when buckles were worn with much display. At present friends are much departing from their uniformity of drab, and resort to many shades of brown, olive, &c., and only avoiding black, which with some of the younger people is now used in effect under the name of invisible green. A Friends' meeting at present shows very little of *former* "plain garb," as seen in such meetings in very early days, or along the streets. The females keep nearest to former dress.

The Friends, as we have been informed, were much perplexed, at the time of the Revolution, to settle the course which they should pursue in those unsettled and troublous times. They held extra and protracted meetings, even till after night, to determine measures;—and finally, when they came out with their published advice, called *a Testimony*, it gave offence to sundry persons not of their society, and also to some among themselves. Some went off and made a separate meeting,—building themselves a brick meeting-house at the south-west corner of Fifth and Arch streets; others were found so far seceding, as to form a military company under Captain Humphries, and taking the distinctive name of "*the Quaker company.*" The city common at that time was daily filled with train bands of many kinds, exercising, and preparing themselves for the tug of war.

During this exciting period, Mary Harris, a friend from Wilmington, visited the then *three* meetings in the city, in the time of the Congress in May 1775, and walking through each of the preachers'

* In allusion to Penn's "bland and noble face far under the hat's broad brim."

galleries, in much seeming distress of mind, she exclaimed, "See now to your standing, for thus is the Lord about to search and examine his camp." About the same time another Friend, of the name of Robert Walker, publicly declared that their counsels were double minded, and that the end would show it. As if to add to the stir of the day, one of the Friends,—whose name I purposely omit,—acting with more zeal than discretion, delivered to a ship master, going to England, and then at anchor down the river, sundry letters to correspondents abroad, much censuring therein men and measures, &c. Of these letters, the Committee of Associators got wind, went down to the vessel by night,—brought off the letters, and made an expose and blow-up, much to the annoyance of sundry individuals.

I give the facts without comment and "without partiality," as things picturing the incidents of an eventful period. Their descendants have some right, I suppose, to know, even by a little, that their forefathers were once so straightened, in a very narrow pass.

PERSONS AND CHARACTERS.

"A mingled group—of good or ill."
"The charm of biography consists of minor truths neglected by graver history."

THE following facts concerning the persons severally named, are not intended as their proper biography, but as slight notices of individual character, which might be usefully preserved. As a general list, it will embrace alike, noble or ignoble—not solely a roll of merit, but rather of notoriety, to wit:

The First Born—John Key.

John Key, "the first born" of our *city*, of English parentage, was born in 1682, in a cave at "Penny-pot landing," i. e. at the north-west corner of Vine and Water streets. William Penn was pleased to distinguish the person and the circumstance, by the gift of a city lot; the original patent of which is in my possession through the politeness of George Vaux, Esq. The tradition of the spot granted was utterly lost to common fame; but this patent shows its location to have been on the south side of Sassafras street, nearly opposite to Crown street, say *vis-a-vis* to Pennington's sugar house.

The parchment and seal are in fine preservation. The seal is flat, circular, four inches wide, of brown wax, appended by a green riband. It may be curious to preserve the following abstract, to wit: "William Penn, Proprietary and Chief of Pennsylvania, sends

greeting, &c., that a certain lot of ground between the Fourth and Fifth streets, bounded on the north by Sassafras street, &c.—in breadth 49½ feet and in length 306 feet; first granted *by warrant* from myself bearing date the 26th day of 3 mo. 1683, unto John Key, then an infant, being the first-born in the said city of Philadelphia," &c. The patent to confirm the warrant aforesaid is dated the 20th of July, 1713; the first-born being then a man of 31 years of age. The lot it appears he sold at the age of 33 years (say on the 24th of May, 1715,) to Clement Plumstead; and the latter, in 2 years afterwards, sold it to Richard Hill for only twelve pounds! This he joined to many other lots, and made of it "Hill's Farm." Further particulars may be read in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, page 50.

This notable first-born lived to good old age at his home in Chester county, and was accustomed to come occasionally to the city, always walking the streets with an unusually active step, although necessarily wondering at the changing scenes he constantly witnessed. Considering that he only died in his 85th year, as late as the year 1767, (July) persons may be still alive who may have heard him talk of those things! When the hospital was founded in 1755, he was present by request, to lay the corner stone!

It was remarkable that the same year (August 10th, 1767,) was also the year of the death of "the first-born" child in the *province* of English parents, born in 1681, one year before John Key, in a cave by the side of the Delaware river. This venerable man of 86 died at Brandywine Hundred, Emanuel Grubb by name. He was active and vigorous to the last, and actually rode to Philadelphia and back on horseback, equal to forty miles—only a few months before his death. His habits were temperate, never drinking any ardent spirits.

As those two venerable "first-borns" lived both near Chester, they had means of intercourse; and strange must have been their several emotions in talking over the years of improvement which they had witnessed down to the year 1767! What a feast they might have afforded to younger minds!

But another and a still earlier first-born, than either of the preceding, dwelt also in their neighbourhood, in the person of Richard Buffington, (son of Richard) he being "the first-born Englishman in *Pennsylvania*," having been born in what was afterwards "the province," in the year 1679. The facts in his case were peculiarly commemorated in the parish of Chester on the 30th of May, 1739; on that day the father, Richard, having attained his 85th year, had a great assemblage of his proper descendants, to the number of 115 persons, convened in his own house, consisting of children, grandchildren, and great-grand-children—the first-born being then present in his 60th year.

These affections and respects to "first-borns" were alike commendable and natural. They possessed a peculiarity of character,

and a relationship to things around them, which none others could enjoy, or even share with them. They were beings by themselves —alone! Others also have had and signalized their *first-born!* The New Yorkers had their *first-born*, in the person of Sarah Rapaelje, born in 1625, and the maternal ancestor of the Bogerts and Hansens. When she became the widow Forey, Governor Stuyvesant, in consideration of her birth, granted her a valley of land near the city. The Virginians had theirs, and such was their respect to him, that in the case of his rebellion, his life was spared to him, and he lived to be 80 years of age.* Our sister city of Baltimore honoured their *first-born*, in the person of Mrs. Ellen Moale, who died in that city in 1825, in her 84th year—she having been the *first-born* white woman in that place. Strange it was, that she in her own person could say of such a city as Baltimore, that she had seen it first, covered with woods, then become a field, next a village, and at last a city of 70,000 souls!

Edward Drinker.

Edward Drinker was born on the 24th of December, 1680, in a small cabin, near the present corner of Walnut and Second streets, in the city of Philadelphia. His parents came from Beverly, in the state of Massachusetts. The banks of the Delaware, on which the city of Philadelphia now stands, were inhabited, at the time of his birth, by Indians, and a few Swedes and Hollanders. He often talked to his companions of picking whortleberries and catching rabbits, on spots now the most improved and populous in the city. He recollected about the time William Penn came to Pennsylvania, and used to point to the place where the cabin stood, in which he, and his friends that accompanied him, were accommodated upon their first arrival. At twelve years of age, he went to Boston, where he served his apprenticeship to a cabinet maker. In the year 1745, he returned to Philadelphia with his family, where he lived until the time of his death. He was four times married, and had eighteen children, all of whom were by his first wife. At one time of his life, he sat down, at his own table, with fourteen children. Not long before his death he heard of the birth of a grand-child, to one of his grand-children, the fifth in succession to himself.

He retained all his faculties till the last year of his life. Even his memory, so generally diminished by age, was but little impaired. He not only remembered the incidents of his childhood and youth, but the events of latter years; and so faithful was his memory to him, that his son has informed that he never heard him tell the same story twice, but to different persons, and in different companies. His eye sight failed him many years before his death, but his hearing was uniformly perfect and unimpaired. His appetite was good

* Vide Samuel Bownas' Journal

till within a few days before his death. He generally ate a hearty breakfast of a pint of tea or coffee, as soon as he got out of bead, with bread and butter in proportion. He ate likewise at eleven o'clock, and never failed to eat plentifully at dinner of the grossest solid food. He drank tea in the evening, but never ate any supper; he had lost all his teeth thirty years before his death, which was occasioned, his son said, by drawing excessive hot smoke of tobacco into his mouth: but the want of suitable mastication of his food did not prevent its speedy digestion, nor impair his health. Whether the gums, hardened by age, supplied the place of his teeth in a certain degree, or whether the juices of the mouth and stomach became so much more acrid by time, as to perform the office of dissolving the food more speedily and more perfectly, is not known; but it has often been observed, that old people are most disposed to excessive eating, and that they suffer fewest inconveniences from it. He was inquisitive after news in the last years of his life. His education did not lead him to increase the stock of his ideas any other way. But it is a fact well worth attending to, that old age, instead of diminishing, always increases the desire of knowledge. It must afford some consolation to those who expect to be old, to discover, that the infirmities, to which the decays of nature expose the human body, are rendered more tolerable by the enjoyments that are to be derived from the appetite for sensual and intellectual food.

He was remarkably sober and temperate. Neither hard labour, nor company, nor the usual afflictions of human life, nor the wastes of nature, ever led him to an improper or excessive use of strong drink. For the last twenty-five years of his life, he drank twice every day of toddy, made with two table spoonfuls of spirit, in half a pint of water. His son, when a man of fifty-nine years of age, said that he never saw him intoxicated. The time and manner in which he used spirituous liquors, it is believed, contributed to lighten the weight of his years, and probably to prolong his life. "Give wine to him that is of a heavy heart, and strong drink to him that is ready to perish with age, as well as with sickness. Let him drink and forget his sorrow, and remember his misery no more."

He enjoyed an uncommon share of health, insomuch that in the course of his long life he never was confined more than three days to his bed. He often declared that he had no idea of that most distressing pain called the headach. His sleep was interrupted a little in the last years of his life with a defluxion on his breast, which produced what is commonly called the old man's cough.

The character of this aged citizen was not summed up in his negative quality of temperance: he was a man of the most amiable temper: old age had not curdled his blood; he was uniformly cheerful and kind to every body; his religious principles were as steady as his morals were pure. He attended public worship about thirty years in the Rev. Dr. Sprout's church, and died in a full assurance

of a happy immortality. The life of this man is marked with several circumstances, which perhaps have seldom occurred in the life of an individual. He saw and heard more of those events which are measured by time, than has ever been seen or heard by any man since the age of the patriarchs; he saw the same spot of earth, which at one period of his life was covered with wood and bushes, and the receptacle of beasts and birds of prey, afterwards become the seat of a city not only the first in wealth and arts in the new, but rivalling in both many of the first cities in the old world. He saw regular streets where he once pursued a hare: he saw churches rising upon morasses, where he had often heard the croaking of frogs; he saw wharves and warehouses, where he had often seen Indian savages draw fish from the river for their daily subsistence, and he saw ships of every size and use in those streams, where he had often seen nothing but Indian canoes; he saw a stately edifice filled with legislators, astonishing the world with their wisdom and virtue, on the same spot, probably, where he had seen an Indian council fire; he saw the first treaty ratified between the newly confederated powers of America and the ancient monarchy of France, with all the formalities of parchment and seals, near the spot where he once might have seen William Penn ratify his first and last treaty with the Indians, without the formality of pen, ink or paper; he saw all the intermediate stages through which a people pass, from the most simple to the highest degrees of civilization. He saw the beginning and end of the empire of Great Britain, in Pennsylvania. He had been the subject of seven successive crowned heads, and afterwards became a willing citizen of a republic; for he embraced the liberties and independence of America in his withered arms, and triumphed in the last years of his life in the freedom of his country.

It might have been said of him also, that he was in spirit and politics a real whig of the Revolution, and liked to get the King's proclamations and make them into kites for the use of his grand and great-grandchildren. The late Joseph Sansom, who used to often see him at his father's, described him to me as a little withered old man, leaning heavily upon his staff, whilst Mr. Sansom's father, to please the ancient man, searched, his clock-case for old tobacco pipes to serve him. When Dr. Franklin was asked in England to what age we lived in this country, he said he could not tell till Drinker died!

Alice—a black woman—

Was a slave, born in Philadelphia, of parents who came from Barbadoes, and lived in that city until she was ten years old, when her master removed her to Dunk's Ferry, in which neighbourhood she continued to the end of her days. She remembered the ground on which Philadelphia stands when it was a wilderness, and when the Indians (its chief inhabitants) hunted wild game in the woods, while the panther, the wolf, and the beast of the forests were

prowling about the wigwams and cabins in which they lived. Being a sensible, intelligent woman, and having a good memory, which she retained to the last, she would often make judicious remarks on the population and improvements of the city and country: hence her conversation became peculiarly interesting, especially to the immediate descendants of the first settlers, of whose ancestors she often related acceptable anecdotes.

She remembered William Penn, Thomas Story, James Logan, and several other distinguished characters of that day. During a short visit which she paid to Philadelphia in her last days, many respectable persons called to see her, who were all pleased with her innocent cheerfulness. In observing the increase of the city, she pointed out the house next to the Episcopal church, to the southward in Second street, as the first brick building that was erected in it. The first church, she said, was a small frame of wood that stood within the present walls, the ceiling of which she could reach with her hands. She was a worthy member of Christ church; used to visit it on horseback at 95 years of age; loved to hear the Bible read; had a great regard for truth. She died in 1802, and retained her hearing; she lost her sight at from 96 to 100 gradually, but it returned again. When blind she was skilful in catching fish, and would row herself out alone into the stream; at 102 years of age her sight gradually returned, partially. Before she died, her hair became perfectly white; and the last of her teeth dropped sound from her head at the age of 116 years; at this age she died (1802) at Bristol, Pennsylvania. For forty years she received ferriages at Dunk's Ferry. This woman said she remembered that the bell of the church was affixed in the crotch of a tree, then standing on the church alley.

F. D. Pastorius.

Among the primitive population of Philadelphia county there were some very fine scholars—such as Thomas Lloyd, Thomas Story, F. D. Pastorius, James Logan, John Kelpius, and others. Lloyd and Pastorious came over in 1683, in the same ship, and ever after were very great friends. Pastorious was a writer of numerous pieces, during his 36 years' residence in the colony. He left a beautifully written quarto book of about 300 pages, of various selections and original remarks, entitled the Bee. It was with his grandson, Daniel Pastorius, in Germantown, until very lately, and has got lost by the negligence of some of its readers. I have, however, in my possession some of his MSS., from which I shall here make some remarks.

One book, in my possession, is a quarto MS. of 54 pages, entitled "Scripta sunt per Franciscum Danielem Pastorium, Germanopoli, Pennsylvania, 1714. Born in Germany, October 4th, A. D. 1651, at Limpurg." The contents of this book are principally dedicatory

letters, acrostics and poems, to his friends, the three daughters of Thomas Lloyd, being annual compositions, commemorative of his and their safe landing at Philadelphia, on the 20th of 6 mo. 1683.* All his writings embrace much of piety. Those ladies he treats as eminently religious, to wit: Rachel Preston, Hannah Hill, and Mary Norris, each bearing the name of her husband. These papers are not calculated for general interest, or inspection; but to the descendants of the families named they should be very gratifying —even as he himself has remarked; he writes, "that some of your children and the children's children might have a few rhythmical copies to write after," &c. When we consider that Pastorius was a German, it is really surprising he could write so well in English as he did! I extract from his poem, entitled a "Token of Love and Gratitude:"—

"I'm far from flattering! and hope ye read my mind,
Who can't nor dare forget a shipmate true and kind,
As he, your father, was to me, (an alien)—
My lot being newly cast among such English men,
Whose speech I thought was Welsh, their words a canting tune,
Alone with him, I could in Latin then commune;
Which tongue he did pronounce right in our German way,
Hence presently we knew what he or I could say—
Moreover, to the best of my remembrance,
We never disagreed, or were at variance,—
Because God's sacred truth (whereat we both did aim)
To her endeared friends is every where the same—
Therefore 'twas he that made my passage short on sea,
'Twas he, and William Penn, that caused me to stay
In this, then uncouth land, and howling wilderness,
Wherein I saw, that I but little should possess,
And if I would return home to my father's house,†
Perhaps great riches and preferments might espouse, &c.
Howbeit nought in the world could mine affection quench
Towards dear Penn, with whom I did converse in French,‡
The virtues of these two (and three or four beside)
Have been the chiefest charms which forced me to abide."

In his poem of the next year, 1715, he states the name of the ship by which they came:

"When I from Franckenland, and you from Wales set forth—
In order to exile ourselves towards the west;
And there to serve the Lord in stillness, peace, and rest!"
"———————— A matter of eight weeks
Restrained in a ship, America by name,
Into America, [Am♀rica] we came."

This word is formed from two Arabic words, which mean *bitter and sweet*, the qualities of our country *then*.

* It appears he began them *to them* in 1714.

† His father was born at Erfurth ("Erfurti") the 21st of September, 1624.

‡ His conversing with Penn was not in the ship, but at Philadelphia, for Penn came in another vessel.

It appears the Captain's name was Joseph Wasey, "a courteous man, under whose skilful management and God's providence, they were enabled to escape from the cruel enslaving Turks, once supposed to be at our heels." It appears the panic on board was very great, and at frequent times they used to converse of these things—thus on page 28, he says, "Pray what would we have given if Joseph Wasey, at our former crossing of the Atlantic plain had been able to set us ashore, when, (on the 26th of 5 mo. 1683) mistaking a French merchantman for a Turkish caper [Were these then expected on the Atlantic wave!*] we were in a panic fear—every mother's child of us! Or when (the 2d and 12th of the 6 mo.) our ship was covered with a multitude of huge surges, and, as it were, with mountains of terrible and astonishing waves; to which that of the 9th of the 5 mo. was but a gentle forerunner."

In his contribution of the 26th of 6 mo. 1718, to his friends and shipmates, Hannah Hill and Mary Norris, he commemorates their arrival on that day, 1683, by the following remarks, "The fortunate day of our arrival, although blessed with your good father's company on shipboard, I was as glad to land from the vessel every whit as St. Paul's shipmates were to land at Melito. Then Philadelphia consisted of three or four little cottages;† all the residue being only woods, underwoods, timber, and trees, among which I several times have lost myself in travelling no farther than from the water side to the house (now of our friend William Hudson,) then allotted to a Dutch baker, whose name was Cornelius Bom.‡ What my thoughts were of such a renowned city (I not long before having seen London, Paris, Amsterdam, Gandt, &c.) is needless to rehearse unto you here. But what I think now of the same, I dare ingenuously say, viz., that God has made of a desert an enclosed garden, and the plantations about it, a fruitful field."

Thomas Lloyd,

Named with such profound respect and ardent affection by Pastorius in the preceding sketch, was Deputy Governor so long as he would serve—a man of great worth as a scholar, and a religious man. He came to this country in 1683, and died at an early age of a malignant fever, on the 10th of 7 mo. 1694, in the 45th year of his age, leaving behind him three married daughters, very superior women,

* There must have been a common dread of them then, for I perceive that in 1702, John Richardson in his Journal tells of being encountered off Barbadoes by a "Turkish frigate or Sallee man." They were commanded by British and Irish renegades, who in fact, *about this time*, had forced the Algerine sailors into their service, and had learned them to become future Pirates for their own account.

† These cottages were those of the Swedes, &c., before settled there, of which Drinker's was one.

‡ This house of William Hudson was standing 50 years ago in the rear of C. C. Watson's house, No. 92 Chestnut street. Its front was to Third street, with a Court yard, and great trees in it, and a way out to Chestnut street also.

to wit: Rachael Preston, Hannah Hill, and Mary Norris. His family was respectable and ancient in Wales; he was himself educated at the University; talked Latin fluently on ship-board with Pastorius. He exercised as a public minister among Friends in this country, and in his own country suffered imprisonment for truth's sake.

Norris Family.

The first Isaac Norris came to our city as a respectable merchant, from Jamaica, beginning the fortunes of his family here in the earliest settlement of this city. He was of the Society of Friends, was always of great influence there and in the public Councils, as a member of the Council, of the Assembly, &c.

The name of Norris has been remarkable for its long continuance in public life, from the origin of the city to the period of the Revolution. In September, 1759, Isaac Norris, who had been almost perpetual speaker, resolved to resign his public employ, and in declining his re-election remarked thus: "You were pleased to make choice of me to succeed my father in the Assembly at the Election of the year 1735." Thus showing the latter had been in the Assembly more than 24 years. He adds, "I never sought emolument for myself or family, and I remained at disadvantage to my private interest, only to oppose the measures of unreasonable men."—A true patriot in motive, surely.

An anecdote is related of the Speaker Norris, about the time of his resignation, when opposing the measures of Governor Morris's administration; he, having left the chair, concluded his speech with all the fire of youthful patriotism and the dignity of venerable old age combined, saying, "No man shall ever stamp his foot on my grave and say, Curse him! or, here lies he who basely betrayed the liberties of his country."

Jonathan Dickinson—

A name often mentioned in these Annals—was a merchant and a Friend, who came with his family to our city about the year 1697. They had been shipwrecked in their voyage, with other passengers, in the Gulf of Florida, and suffered great hardships among the Indians there; particulars of which have been published in a small book entitled "God's protecting Providence—man's surest help in time of need." He possessed a large estate in Jamaica, from whence he emigrated, as well as landed property near our city. He purchased of the proprietaries 1230 acres of part of the manor of Spingetsbury, being the chief part of the north end of the Northern Liberties, extending across from Second street to Bush hill, and since growing into an immense estate. He lived on that part of it called the Vineyard. One of his daughters married Thomas Masters, to whom the estate descended. Such as it is, it cost originally but 26s. 8d. an acre! He, directly after his purchase, which seemed a reluctant one

his part, sold out a part to Richard Hill, at a good advance, and soon afterwards the whole property bore a nominal great advance in value. As he increased in wealth, he was enabled to live in a style of generous hospitality and elegance, keeping his coach when but eight four-wheeled carriages were owned in the province. He died in 1722, leaving as his issue three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, though married, died in 1727 without issue; his brothers also had no families. The daughter, Mary, married in Rhode Island, and to her heirs went the Point no Point estate of several hundred acres, sold out in 1740 and '50, to Oldman, Linn, Roberts, &c. The daughter, Hannah, married Thomas Masters, and by her came a large part of "the Masters estate" in the Northern Liberties, above the Fourth street road, now the property of Penn and Camac, by marriage of Masters' daughters.

The Dickinson family of the present name in Philadelphia and Trenton came from Delaware, and were no connexion of the above.

Samuel Carpenter

Was one of the greatest improvers and builders in Philadelphia, dwelling among us at the same time as a merchant. He was probably at one time, if we except the Founder, the wealthiest man in the province. There is extant a letter of his of the year 1705 to Jonathan Dickinson, offering for sale part of his estate, wherein he says, "I would sell my house and granary on the wharf (above Walnut street) where I lived last, and the wharves and warehouses; also the globe and long vault adjacent. I have three-sixteenths of 5000 acres of land and a mine, called Pickering's mine. I have sold my house over against David Lloyd's [the site of the present Bank of Pennsylvania] to William Trent, and the scales to Henry Babcock, and the Coffee House [at or near Walnut street and Front street] to Captain Finney, also my half of Darby mills, to John Bethell, and a half of Chester mills, to Caleb Pussey." Besides the foregoing, he was known to own the estate called Bristol mills, worth £5000; the island against Burlington of 350 acres; at Poquessing creek, 15 miles from the city, he had 5000 acres; he owned about 380 acres at Sepviser plantation, a part of Fairhill, where he died in 1714.

Male descendants of his name, or of his brother Joshua, are not now known in our city; but numbers of his race and name are said to be settled near Salem, in New Jersey. The Whartons, Merediths, Clymers, and Fishbournes, are his descendants in the female line.

James Logan, in writing to the proprietaries respecting him, says, 'He lost by the war of 1703, because the profitable trade he before carried on almost entirely failed, and his debts coming upon him, while his mills and other estate sunk in value, he could by no means

clear himself, and from the wealthiest man in the province in 1701, he became much embarrassed."

Isaac Norris, in his letter of the 10th of 6 mo. 1705, to Jonathan Dickinson, says of him, to wit: "That honest and valuable man, whose industry and improvements have been the stock whereon much of the labours and successes of this country have been grafted, is now weary of it all, and is resolved, I think prudently, to wind up and clear his incumbrances."

He was of the Society of Friends—was one of Penn's commissioners of property—was the chief cause of inducing Penn to abandon the original beautiful design of keeping a Front street open view to the river. His name will appear in numerous places connected with other facts told in these pages.

David Lloyd

Was by profession a lawyer, who emigrated to Philadelphia at the time of the early settlement, from Wales. He had been a captain under Cromwell in the army. In 1690, while still in England, he was one of those included in Queen Mary's proclamation as a supposed conspirator at the time King William was in Ireland. Whether the imputation was just or not, he seemed prone, when here, to dabble in *troubled waters*, and was not, it's likely, made welcome to remain in his own country, as one suspected—"*d'etre suspect.*"

In the year 1700, James Logan speaks of David Lloyd as the then Attorney General, and as then defending the measures of Penn's administration against the faction, headed by Colonel Quarry, the Judge, and John Moore the Advocate of the Admiralty—the two ringleaders.

Proud, in his History, appears to have been afraid to touch upon his character, but says "his political talents seem to have been rather to divide than unite,—a policy that may suit the crafty politician, but must ever be disclaimed by the Christian statesman."

Mrs. Logan, in her MS. Selections, has given the following facts concerning him, to wit:

His opposition to William Penn appears to have commenced about the year 1701, and had its rise in *resentment*, which he continued till Penn's death, in 1718. He had the faculty of leading the members of the Assembly out of their depth, and causing them to drown all others with their clamour. Afterwards, when he exerted himself to thwart the ambitious designs of Sir William Keith, whom he wished to supplant as a troublesome political rival, he readily succeeded. In this, such was his management and success, that although Sir William aimed for the Speaker's chair, and had his support out-doors in a cavalcade of 80 mounted horsemen, and the resounding of many guns fired, David Lloyd got every vote in the Assembly but three, calling himself at the same time the avowed friend of Gov. Gordon, in opposition to the wishes of Sir William

David Lloyd was accounted an able lawyer, and always well able

> "————————to perplex and dark
> Maturest counsels, and to make the worst
> Appear the better reason."

He was, however, believed to be an upright Judge, and in private life was acknowledged to have been a good husband, a kind neighbour, and steady friend.

He married, after he came to Pennsylvania, Grace Growden, a dignified woman, of superior understanding, and great worth of character. They had but one child—a son—who died at an early age, by a distressing accident. He lived for above twenty years at Chester, in the same house since known as Commodore Porter's. His city house was on the site of the present Bank of Pennsylvania; holding, while he lived there, the office of Register and Recorder for the county, and being, at the time of his death, in 1731, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. The ashes of himself and wife repose in Friends' ground in Chester, each having a small headstone, with their names and ages attached, he dying at the age of 75, and she surviving him 29 years—to the year 1760—when she died, aged 80 years.

James Logan, in 1704, in writing to William Penn, says, "Were *one* man from amongst us we might perhaps be happy; but he is truly a promoter of discord, with the deepest artifice under the smoothest language and pretences, yet cannot sometimes conceal his resentment of thy taking, as he calls it, his bread from him." This expression he has several times dropped, overlooking his politics through the heat of his indignation.

In 1705, William Penn accuses D. Lloyd of acting as Master of the Rolls without a commission—of his forgery of the Sessions' orders, and of the Assembly's remonstrance of 1704; as also, when Master of the Rolls, suffering encroachments on his lots in the city, and manors in the country—having recorded them without one caveat entered in favour of his master and patron.

James Logan, in 1707, writing of him, says he is "a close member among friends, a discordant in their meetings of business, so much so, he expects a separation and purging; the young push for rash measures—the old for Penn's interest."

Logan's "Justification," addressed to the Assembly in 1709, contains much of D. Lloyd's portrait, drawn out before him, wherein he shows that much of his hostility and perverseness was induced by his personal pique against Penn.

Thomas Story

Was a distinguished preacher among Friends, who came out from England to Philadelphia in 1699. He there became Master of the Rolls, and keeper of the great seal. He married, in 1706, Anne, daughter of Edward Shippen, the elder, and received, as a part of her



Benj. Franklin



James Logan

Google

portion, the large house in south Second street, afterwards sold to James Logan, which was pulled down to afford the site, in part, of the present Bank of Pennsylvania. After the death of his wife, which occurred in a few years, he returned to England, where he died in 1742. His Journal, containing notices of our country, and the yellow fever, which he witnessed in Philadelphia in 1699, is among the published works of Friends. In 1706, he was chosen Mayor of the city, but refusing to accept, he was fined £20 by the Common Council.

Edward Shippen

Was chosen first Mayor under the city charter of 1701. Tradition says he was distinguished for three things:—the biggest man—the biggest house—and the biggest carriage. His house "was the great and famous house and orchard outside the town," situate on the site now "Waln's Row," in south Second street, below the present Custom House.

He came early into the province from Boston, whither he had gone from England in 1675. There he was persecuted for his religion as a Friend, and actually received, from the zealots in power, a public whipping! He was very successful in business as a merchant in our infant city, and amassed a large fortune. He was grandfather to our late Chief Justice Shippen, and ancestor of the first medical lecturer, Doctor Shippen.

I have seen a letter of 1706 to young William Penn, wherein is given a humorous description of his then late marriage to Wilcox's daughter—then his second or third wife; it was conducted, out of Meeting, in a private way, as he had previously made a breach of discipline. He had certainly, about this time, laid aside his former submissive spirit; for in 1709, his name appears on the minutes of the Common Council, as petitioning for a remission of £7 10s. before imposed on him, as a fine for an assault and battery on the body of Thomas Clark, Esq. They agreed, however, to remit the half, in consideration of his paying the other half.

James Logan.

I once had the privilege to see an original MS., of four pages, at Stenton, in the handwriting of James Logan, wherein he gave "his parentage and early life." It appeared that his father, Patrick, was born in Scotland, and there educated as a clergyman. For some time he served as a chaplain, but turning Quaker by convincement, was obliged to go over to Ireland, and there to teach a Latin school; afterwards he taught at Bristol in England. While yet in Scotland, he married Isabel Hume; her family was related to the Laird of Dundas, and the Earl of Panmar.

Besides these facts, related by James Logan, I have met with

other facts of the early antiquity and distinction of his family, which, as they are but little known, I shall inscribe in part from the Scotsman's Library, and from the Memoirs of the Somervilles, to wit:

"The name of Logan is one of those derived from locality, and hence deemed the more honourable. It appears in Scotch history at the early period of William the Lion, and throughout subsequent ages is connected with important national transactions. The Chief was Baron of Restalrig, and this house was connected by various intermarriages with most of the noble families in the kingdom, and even with royalty itself, one of them having married a daughter of Robert II., who granted him the lands of Grugar, by a charter addressed "militi dilecto fratri suo."

James Logan had several brothers and sisters, but none of them lived long, save his brother William, who became a physician of eminence in Bristol. James Logan was born at Lurgan in Ireland, on the 20th of October, 1674; he had learned Latin, Greek, and some Hebrew, even before he was thirteen years of age. While in Bristol he assisted his father as a teacher. In his sixteenth year he instructed himself in the mathematics, a science in which he afterwards showed much ability in our country, as a scientific correspondent. At nineteen years of age he had studied French, Italian and Spanish.

In the year 1699, then in his twenty-fifth year, he was solicited by William Penn to accompany him to Pennsylvania as his Secretary, &c., where, in time, he fell into the general charge of all his business; but from motives of tenderness to his harassed principal, he never charged but £100 a year for all his numerous services, for many years. This was itself a lively proof of his liberality and disinterested zeal for a good man, and showed him at once a faithful and a generous friend. Steadfast as he was to his honoured principal, it is hardly possible to conceive how irksome and perplexing his duties, so moderately charged, always were. In his MS. book of letters to the proprietaries is preserved a long detail of them, such as they were in general, drawn up by him about the year 1729, as reasons to show why he so earnestly prayed to be excused from further servitude, saying it injured his health, and much trespassed upon the time due to his proper business as a merchant, &c.

When James Logan first consented to come to this country with Penn, he came to it as a place to hide himself from the cares of life, and with no wish or expectation to advance his fortune among us; but the reasons which he gives, in more advanced years, for changing his mind, are instructive, as they show that a religious man may moderately desire a measure of wealth with sincere purposes to make himself a better man, by attaining the proper means of becoming most useful. His words strike me as sufficiently sensible and very impressive, to wit: "When he was a young man, and secretary to Penn, he felt an indifference to money, and deemed this a happy retirement for cultivating the Christian graces; but after he had some experience in life, finding how little respect and influence could be

usefully exerted without such competency as could give man a ready access to good society, he thenceforward set himself seriously to endeavour, by engagements in commerce, (a new track to him,) to attain that consequence and weight which property so readily confers." In the same connexion he adds, "he never had the wish to leave any large possessions to his posterity, from the belief that moderate fortunes were more beneficial legacies than large ones." It was probably from these views of moderate bequests to heirs, that he was so liberal to bestow his large library and other gifts to public purposes, rather than to his immediate heirs.

In personal appearance James Logan was tall and well-proportioned, with a graceful yet grave demeanour. He had a good complexion, and was quite florid, even in old age; nor did his hair, which was brown, turn gray in the decline of life, nor his eyes require spectacles. According to the fashion of the times he wore a powdered wig. His whole manner was dignified, so as to abash impertinence; yet he was kind, and strictly just in all the minor duties of acquaintance and society. The engraved portrait is taken from a family piece now in the Loganian Library.

As a man of learning, he stood pre-eminent. His business never led him off from his affection to the muses. He maintained a correspondence with several of the literati in Europe, and fostered science at home. His aid to Godfrey, the inventor of the quadrant, is in proof to this point; and his literary intercourse with Governor Hunter, Dr. Colden, Col. Morris, Dr. Johnstone, Dr. Jenny, Governor Burnet, and others, at New York and elsewhere in our country, shows how much his mind was turned to the love of science, and to its disciples wherever found.

As he advanced in life, he much desired to give up the cares of business. He retired altogether to his country place at Stenton, hoping there to enjoy himself *otium cum dignitate.* Still, however, Penn's business and official employs were occasionally pressed upon him; especially in cases of Indian affairs; because in them he had merited the peculiar affection and confidence of the Indian tribes, they often visiting his grounds and remaining there some time under his hospitality. The celebrated Mingo chief, "Logan," whose eloquent speech has been preserved by Mr. Jefferson, was so named by his father Shickallemy, because of his regard to James Logan. As he grew in years, he met with the injury of a limb, which confined him long to his home. He there endeavoured to fortify his mind, like Cicero before him, in cultivating the best feelings of old age, by keeping his mind and attachments young and cheerful. To this cause he translated Cicero de Senectute into English, a work which when published was imputed erroneously to Dr. Franklin, who was only the printer. This fact may be seen demonstrated at large in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, page 322. He was also the author of two other works, now in pos-

session of Joshua Fisher, Esq., but not found in any catalogues, to wit:

"Demonstrationes de Rudiorum Lucis in Superfices Sphericas,—Auctore Jacobo Logan, Judice Supremo et Præside Concilii Provincæ Pennsylvaniensis in America."—Also,

"Jacobi Logani Judicis Supremi et Concilii Præsidis Provincæ Pennsylvaniensis, Epistola ad Virum Clarissimum, Joannem Albertum Fabricium, Experimenta et Meletemata de Plantarum," &c.

He died in 1751, aged 77 years, and lies interred at Friends' Arch street ground. Several other facts concerning James Logan having been already distributed through these pages, are omitted in the present article.

James Logan, at different periods of his life, held the offices of Provincial Secretary, Commissioner of Property and Receiver General, Mayor of Philadelphia, Recorder of the city, President Judge of Common Pleas, Chief Justice of the Province, and President of the Council, in which latter office he governed the Province, as Governor, for two years, from 1736 to '38.

From his steadfast and known attachment to the Penn family, he became occasionally exposed to the shafts of obloquy,—from those who had adverse purposes and sinister designs to answer. This led to one instance of his impeachment by the Assembly, urged on by David Lloyd. His defence was able and sufficient in the opinion of Governors Evans and Gordon. To them succeeded Sir Wm. Keith, who from his needy circumstances and his desire to gain popularity with the people, renewed the excitements against James Logan and deprived him of his place in the Council and of the seals of the Province. When Governor Gordon came into power, the power and influence of James Logan was regained. Not long after he retired from his public employments with the respect of all the colonists, and to the great regret of the proprietary family.

When retired to his country seat at Stenton, he seems to have occupied himself in agriculture and literature. He there made out a large collection of mathematical papers. Treatises on History, Archaiology, Criticism, Theology, Ethics, Natural Philosophy, Anatomy, Law, severally engaged his mind and occupied his pen. His MS. remains and printed pamphlets are numerous, and ought to be deemed worthy of being gathered and placed in the Loganian library, as papers characteristic of the generous founder, and also as an evidence that he personally understood the valuable scientific works which he had so munificently accumulated for the use of others.

Some among Friends have been surprised to have heard that James Logan should have been an advocate for placing the city and country in a state of defence;—but it was really so. In the year 1741, he actually wrote a paper to dissuade Friends from serving in the Legislature, unless they could feel free to contribute to the cost of defence. He actually gave £500 towards the erection of the town battery at the South End.

John S. Hutton, aged 109 *years.*

John S. Hutton, silversmith of Philadelphia, as he related the particulars of his life to the late C. W. Peale, was born in New York, in 1684. He was originally bound apprentice to a sea captain, who put him to school to learn the art of navigation. At that time he became intimate with a boy who worked at the white-smith trade, with whom he amused himself in acquiring the use of the hammer, by which means he obtained a facility in working at plate-work in the silversmith's business. He followed the seafaring life for thirty years, and then commenced the silversmith's trade. He was long esteemed in Philadelphia one of the best workmen at hollow work; and there are still pieces of his work in much esteem. He made a tumbler in silver when he was 94 years of age.

Through the course of a long and hazardous life in various climes, he was always plain and temperate in his eating and drinking, and particularly avoided spirituous liquors, except in one instance, while he was serving as lieutenant of a privateer in Queen Anne's war. That occasion gave him a lasting lesson of future restraint; for having made a descent on the Spanish main and pillaged a village, while they had all given themselves to mirth and revelry, they were intercepted in their return to their boats, and all killed save himself and one other, who were made prisoners and held in long confinement.

His first wife was Catharine Cheeseman, of New York, by whom he had eight children, 25 grandchildren, 23 great grandchildren and great great grandchildren.

At the age of 51 he married his second wife in Philadelphia, Ann Vanlear, 19 years of age, by whom he had 17 children, 41 grandchildren, and 15 great grandchildren—forming in all a grand total of 132 descendants, of whom 45 were then dead. Those who survived were generally dwelling in Philadelphia. His last wife died in 1788, at the age of 72. Mr. Hutton deemed himself in the prime of his life when 60 years of age. He never had a headach.

He was always fond of fishing and fowling, and till his 81st year used to carry a heavy English musket in his hunting excursions. He was ever a quiet, temperate, and hard-working man, and even in the year of his death was quite cheerful and good humoured. He could then see, hear, and walk about; had a good appetite, and no complaints whatever, except from the mere debility of old age. When shall "we behold his like again!"

In his early life he was on two scouts against the Indians; he used to tell, that in one of these excursions they went out in the night, that they took a squaw prisoner, who led them to where the Indians lay, of whom they killed the most, before they could get to their arms. The circumstance induced the Indians to come in and make their peace.

He knew the noted pirate, Teach, called Blackbeard; he saw him at Barbadoes after he had come in under the Act of Oblivion to him and other pirates. This was a short time before that pirate made his last cruise and was killed in Carolina.

The father of Hutton was John Hutton, of Bermuda in Scotland, where many of the family reside. His grandfather, by his mother's side, was Arthur Strangeways, who died at Boston, at the age of 101 years, while sitting in his chair.

J. S. Hutton died at Philadelphia, on the 20th of December, 1792, in the 109th year of his age. His long life, and numerous children, made him a patriarch indeed! "In children's lives feels his resurrection, and grows immortal in his children's children!" He was deemed so rare an instance of *lusty old age*, that Mr. C. W. Peale was induced to take his portrait as now seen in the Museum, as he appeared in the last year of his life. He was borne to his grave by his fellow craftsmen—all silversmiths.

Thomas Godfrey,

The inventor of the quadrant, was born in Bristol township, about one mile from Germantown, in the year 1704, on a farm adjoining to Lukens' mill, on the Church lane. His grandfather, Thomas Godfrey, a farmer, had purchased the place of 153 acres from Samuel Carpenter, merchant of Philadelphia, on the 24th of August, 1697. His father, Joseph, a farmer and malster, died in 1705, when he was but one year old. His mother afterwards married one Wood, of Philadelphia, and put her son out to learn the business of a glazier. The glaziers then did not paint as now; they only soldered the glasses into leaden frames. He did such work for the State house in 1732–3. He also did the same for £6 10s. for Andrew Hamilton's house at Bush hill, in 1740—and I saw his bills. His father's estate became his when he was of age. He appears to have sold it to John Lukens on the 1st of January, 1735. The same premises sold in 1812 for $30,600.

While engaged at his business on the premises at Stenton—J. Logan's place—accidently observing a piece of fallen glass, an idea presented to his reflecting mind, which caused him to quit his scaffold and to go into Mr. Logan's library, where he took down a volume of Newton. Mr. Logan entering at this time and seeing the book in his hand, inquired into the motive of his search, when he was exceedingly pleased with Godfrey's ingenuity, and from that time became his zealous friend. He procured for him a skilful person to try his quadrant at sea; and finding it fully answered every wish, he endeavoured to serve him by writing to his friends in England, especially to Sir Hans Sloane, so as to get for him the reward offered by the Royal Society. This was intended to be a measure in opposition to the claim of Hadley, who it was supposed had obtained the description of the instrument from

his nephew, who it was recollected had seen it in the West Indies. Such is the tradition of the matter in the Logan family as preserved by Mrs. Logan. James Logan asserts in a letter to one of his friends, that Godfrey's discovery was two years prior to Hadley's.

"Joshua Fisher, of Lewistown, afterwards of Philadelphia, merchant, first tried the quadrant in the bay of Delaware." Afterwards Captain Wright carried it to Jamaica, where, unsuspicious of the piracy, he showed and explained it to several Englishmen, among whom was a nephew of Hadley's.

Godfrey's affections for mathematical science occurred at an early period, from a chance opportunity of reading a book on that study. Finding the subject perplexed with Latin terms, he applied himself to that language with such diligence as to be able to read the occasional Latin he found. Optics and astronomy became his favourite studies, and the exercise of his thoughts led him on to conceive at length the instrument which should enlarge his fame. Further particulars, in print, on this subject may be found in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 435, and also in Bradford's American Magazine for July 1758, and in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, p. 566.

The grave-stones of some of the family still remained upon the farm. Two of them, of soapstone, were out in the field close to a partition fence, and the letters much effaced; but Mr. Nathan Spencer, near there, who once owned the place, and honoured the inventor, had procured the inscriptions as they once stood, being told by Ann Nedrow to Spencer's father, and from him to Nathan, my informant, to wit:

East side:—

Here lyeth the body of *Joseph*, son of Thomas
and Frances Godfrey, aged thirty-and-two years, who died
the 14th of 2nd mo., in the year 1705,—

As by grace comes election,
So the end of our hope is resurrection.

West side:—

Death ends man's worke
And labour here.
The man is blest
Whose labour's just and pure.
'Tis vain for man
This life for to adore,
For our dear son
Is dead and gone before;
We hope our Saviour
Him hath justified
Though of his being present
We are now deprived.

On the south side of the above described stone were placed the bodies of his father (Thomas) and mother, and on the north side, the

bodies of his son Thomas, the inventor, and his wife Mrs. Nedrow said she saw Thomas, the inventor, there buried in December, 1749. There never was any separate stone placed for him. Thus he, who had benefited naval science and commerce with millions, had not had the requital of a stone itself to mark his memory! Like Washington's, it may live without it—without "storied urn or monumental bust!"

I have since taken the headstone and the remains of the whole Godfrey family to the Cemetery at Laurel Hill, where, beside the old stone, valuable for its antiquity, they have generously placed a new marble tombstone with this inscription, to wit:

Here repose the remains
of
Thomas Godfrey,
The Inventor of the
Quadrant.
Born 1704, died 1749.
Also,
The remains of his father and mother,
Joseph Godfrey and wife,
They were removed from the
Old homestead by Townsend's first Mill,
October 6, 1838,
By John F. Watson
Viam navitæ complanavit.•

I deem it a general mistake to suppose that Thomas Godfrey was either poor or uneducated. His trade as *a plumber*, who glazed window panes in leaden frames, (the latter of which he made, and of which I have seen some remains of his matrices, &c.,) must have been a good one, when he made such for the State House, Hamilton's place at Bush Hill, and probably for Christ Church and other respectable buildings. It was a mistake to suppose he was a common house-painter because he was *a glazier*. I know, also, that he was *a measurer of superfices*, by profession, for I have in my possession his original MS. certificate, in good handwriting and spelling, of the quantity of ground dug and carted from the State House premises, on the 29th September, 1738, from which I here give his signature, viz.



Some persons seem to have wished to magnify his discoveries by affecting to lower his attainments. But truth is truth; and so I have given it, as I have found it.

• There has since been a monument placed there.

Thomas Godfrey, Junior.

This was the second son of Godfrey the inventor. He had learned, in Philadelphia, the business of watchmaking, but became a lieutenant of the royal Americans raised for the expedition to Fort du Quesne in 1758. After their disbandment, he went to Wilmington, North Carolina, where he became a factor. He died there, after three years' residence, the 3d August, 1763, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, in consequence of over exercise on a very warm day. His remains were designated there by a tombstone, in the ground of St. James' church. He was much of a reader,—well versed in the English poets, and was himself a poet of no mean rank. He wrote several pieces descriptive of the vicinity where he dwelt. His principal poem was called the Court of Fancy. Some of his pastorals and elegies possess beauty. His Epistle from Fort Henry has been admired. He is principally, however, to be distinguished as the author of *the first American drama.* He called it the Prince of Parthia,—a tragedy of some merit. He had also some taste for music and painting. Genius was in him and stirred.

It is scarcely known to the public that the inventor had another and an elder son, Joseph, brought up in the trade of his father, as a glazier; but about himself or family we know nothing, save that when his mother Ann died, in 1752, (only three years after the death of her husband, the inventor,) letters of administration were granted to him on the estate, and in that estate it appears they had an interest in the house now standing at the north-west corner of Strawberry alley and Chestnut street.

There seems some reason to believe that there were some other branches of the Godfrey family in Philadelphia. For instance, Philip Godfrey of Cape May, born about the year 1721, was a respectable landholder and shipbuilder there, with a large family, and I chance to know that, about the year 1743, his sons and daughters became heirs of family estate left to them in Philadelphia.* And upon looking over the records of Philadelphia, we find there a Thomas Godfrey, who died in 1756, and his wife Jane, in 1771, leaving a large family of children, whose names are on the record, and connected with the book of Wills, &c.

We mention the facts without presuming to settle any inferences.

* A descendant of theirs, Thomas Godfrey, a plasterer, aged about thirty years, is now a resident of Kensington.

Dr. Franklin.

It is but little known, or set down to the commendation of Franklin, that when he was young in business, and stood in need of sundry articles in the line of his profession as a printer, he had the ingenuity to make them for himself. In this way he founded letters of lead, engraved various printing ornaments, cut wood-cuts, made printer's ink, engraved copperplate vignettes, and made his plate press. Sower, an ingenious German printer, did something in the same way at Germantown.

Not long after Benjamin Franklin had commenced editor of a newspaper, he noticed with considerable freedom the public conduct of one or two influential persons in Philadelphia. This circumstance was regarded by some of his patrons with disapprobation, and induced one of them to convey to Franklin the opinion of his friends in regard to it. The doctor listened with patience to the reproof, and begged the favour of his friend's company at supper on an evening which he named; at the same time requesting that the other gentlemen who were dissatisfied with him should also attend. The invitation was accepted by Philip Syng, Hugh Roberts, and several others. The doctor received them cordially, and his editorial conduct was canvassed, and some advice given. Supper was at last announced, and the guests invited to an adjoining room. The doctor begged the party to be seated, and urged them to help themselves; but the table was only supplied with *two puddings and a stone pitcher filled with water!* Each guest had a plate, a spoon, and a penny porringer; they were all helped; but none but the doctor could eat; he partook freely of the pudding, and urged his friends to do the same; but it was out of the question—they tasted and tried in vain. When their facetious host saw the difficulty was unconquerable, he rose and addressed them thus: "My friends, any one who can subsist upon saw-dust pudding and water, as I can, needs no man's patronage!"

The house, No. 141 High street, on the north side, between Third and Fourth streets, (now the property of the heirs of Daniel Wister) was originally the residence of Dr. Franklin, and was the first house in Philadelphia which ever had a lightning rod affixed to it. This was put up by Dr. Franklin. The rod came into the bedchamber in the second story on the gable end, eastern side, and there being cut off from its communication with the rod descending to the ground, the intermediate space of about one yard was filled up with a range or chime of bells, which whenever an electric cloud passed over the place were set to ringing and throwing out sparks of electricity. These bells remained some time after Daniel Wister occupied the house, and were at last reluctantly taken down, to quiet the fears of his wife. Mr. C. J. Wister, who told me of this, told me they even played and conducted electricity sometimes in the winter.

In 1750, Benjamin Franklin owned and dwelt in the house at the south-east corner of Race and Second streets. The same house was afterwards made the Franklin Inn.

I had the pleasure to see several original letters from Dr. Franklin, when province agent in England, to Hugh Roberts in Philadelphia. He speaks in strong terms of affection for the members of the Junto —speaks of the club then existing 40 years. The letters from each of them express their mutual love of punning, and both give good examples of their skill therein.

When I visited the house of Edward Duffield, in Byberry, the executor of Franklin's will, I there saw in the possession of his son, a portrait of Franklin's bust, done for him when apparently about 38 to 40 years of age. It was a present from Franklin, supposed to have been done by West, and would be quite a new face to the public.* There was also there a miniature profile done by Wedgewood in white china, finely delineated, also one as a medal done in France. Edward Duffield, the son, told me that Franklin told his father, that when he was in France, and travelling, he sometimes made a temporary Æolian harp by stretching a silken cord across some crevice where air passed. On one such occasion, in repassing such a house after an elapse of years, he found it deserted because of their hearing strange but melodious sounds, which they deemed good evidence of its being haunted. On entering the house he found vestiges of the silk remaining—the creator of all the mischief.

Dr. Franklin's person, as seen at the period of the Revolution, was square built and fat; he wore his own hair, thin and gray; his head was remarkably large in proportion to his figure, and his countenance mild, firm and expressive—looked healthy and vigorous. He was friendly and agreeable in conversation, which he readily suited to his company—with a seeming wish to benefit his hearers; and at the same time possessing a rare talent of himself profiting by the conversation of others, and turning their hints to such purposes as he desired.

He once told Dr. Logan that the celebrated Adam Smith, when writing his "Wealth of Nations," was in the habit of bringing chapter after chapter, as he composed it, to himself, Dr. Price and others of the literati; then patiently hear their observations, and profit by their discussions and criticism—even sometimes submitting to write whole chapters anew, and even to reverse some of his propositions.

On page 170 of my MS. Annals in the City Library, I have preserved a fragment of Dr. Franklin's black silk velvet coat with the pile uncut—such as was his dress coat.

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* I have since procured the present engraving from it. The leading features and general aspect have so many agreements with his older portraits already known to the public, that this may be readily received as his true likeness in middle life.

In 1764 Dr. Franklin is sent to England to act as agent for the province. He is sent in consequence of the difference with Governor John Penn concerning taxing the proprietary estates.

In consequence of his thus going abroad, his interest in the Pennsylvania Gazette ceases, and is continued by D. Hall first, and by Hall and Sellers afterwards.

My aged friend, Samuel Preston, tells some anecdotes of Dr. Franklin when he was at the Indian treaty at Easton, in 1756. Preston's father, then there, much admired Franklin's ready wit. When the old Indians came in their file to speak to the Governor he would ask their names; then the Governor would ask Ben, as he called him, what he must think of to remember them by. He was always answered promptly. At last one Indian came whose name was Tocarededhogan. Such a name! How shall it be remembered? The answer was prompt:—Think of a wheelbarrow—to carry a dead hog on. Note—One of the Indian names for Governor of Maryland was much like the above long name, "Tocarry-Hogan." Vide Douglass, 1749.

"The Historical Review of Pennsylvania," of 1759, was generally imputed to Dr. Franklin; but his grandson, Bache, declared in court that it was not so. Some extracts from a MS. of twenty pages, found among Governor Hamilton's papers, treats it as the production of Franklin, and says of him, "he certainly will not pretend to a disinterested or undesigning combat in this dispute," &c. There is, however, much reason to believe that he had much hand in its production; there is so much of his acumen in it, although it too often violates truth and candour, to present false glosses, &c. More may be seen in my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, page 110, at some length.

On page 344, of the same Annals, is an autograph letter of Dr. Franklin to Charles Thomson, of the 13th of May, 1784, saying, "Yesterday evening Mr. Hartley met with Mr. Jay and myself, when the ratifications of the Definitive Treaty were exchanged. God be praised!—an event I hardly expected I should live to see," &c. The advice which he proceeds to give I have told in another place.

When Franklin came from London in 1786, in a ship commanded by Captain Truxton, he was landed at High street wharf, where half the population came to hail his welcome, and to salute him with a discharge of artillery. What a change in *his* circumstances since he first landed at *the same place*—when he first landed there as an unfriended boy!

Franklin and his daughter Mrs. Bache were both very remarkable for their very large exhibition of the organ of "philo-progenitiveness" —or bumps upon the back of the head. In Franklin's time, when people spoke of it, they said it was a mark of wisdom; but now it goes for love of children, of which Dr. F. gave sufficient proofs in his care of his natural children.

The original electrical apparatus of Franklin is preserved in the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia. The same by which he experimented to bring "fire from heaven!"

The printing press on which he worked when in London is also there as a gift, lately brought here as a relic.

The suit which he wore in France at the time he signed the Treaty, is now in the Historical Society of Massachusetts—it is of silky fabric—striped.

There is some reason to suppose that Dr. Franklin was not originally thorough-going for the Revolution; there were reasons enough to keep him moderate; such as that he held valuable offices for years of the crown, and enjoyed the confidence of its officers at the time of the Stamp Act, so much so, that he readily procured the commissions for its offices, &c., in Philadelphia—procuring thus the office of stamp master for his friend Hughes, and having at the same time his natural son, William Franklin in the office of Governor of New Jersey. It was insinuated at the time, that he was too indifferent to the operation of the Stamp Act; and the family of Hughes afterwards got offended at his after measures, and preserved some correspondence on those points. Some hints of these things I saw also in the MS. of Charles Thomson, and a letter from Franklin's son, exculpating him; copies of which, with other papers, are in my manuscript book, given to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Finally, after Franklin's return, and he in Congress, he was supposed by some to have been unsettled in his mind respecting the signing of the Declaration of Independence. John Adams, speaking of Franklin, in his letter to his wife, says, "his conduct has been *composed* and *grave*, and, in the opinion of many, *very reserved*—yet entirely *American.*" Indeed it was a perplexing point, for so wary a man.

Since my publication of the foregoing, I have learned that there are better reasons for believing that Dr. Franklin had stronger resolutions for the Revolution than I had then supposed; because it is a fact capable of proof, that he was one of the committee of five who actually assisted in the preparation of the Declaration of Independence,—that he also joined in the report of it to Congress, and voted for its adoption with two others of the Pennsylvania delegation, on the 1st and 4th July. On this matter, see Gov. McKean's letter.

At the time of the Stamp Act in 1765, and while he was abroad in England, as agent for the interests of the colony, electioneering strife ran very high. The adverse parties got up caricatures: in one of these, Franklin is made conspicuous among the electors, accompanied by *the Devil*, who is made to ejaculate his suggestions in the ear of Franklin, and saying, "Thee shall be agent Ben for all my realms." The same caricature, the "Medley," says of him—

"All his designs concentre in himself,
For building castles and amassing pelf—
The *public* 'tis his wit to sell for gain
Whom *private* property did ne'er maintain."

As a proof that the rancour of modern politics has had its equal even in the days of olden time, we shall here add some exemplifications from the pen of Mrs. Franklin herself, which, while they show the characteristic feelings of a public spirited woman, will also tend to preserve something to the memory of a lady otherwise but little known to the public. They are additionally interesting as being family letters, and showing the living relation of those two individuals, who now mingle their remains in Christ Church ground, under the simple monumental inscription of "Benjamin and Deborah Franklin."

In her letter of 21st February, 1765, written to him in London, from Philadelphia, she says—"The Southern mail has not come in, nor has the Virginia mail, for more than *two months!*"—Little intercourse then!

In her letter of September 22, 1765, from *near* Philadelphia, she says:

"You will see by the papers what work has happened *in other places*, and something has been said relative to raising a mob here. I was *for five days* kept in one continued hurry *to remove*, and was persuaded to go to Burlington for safety, [probably to Franklin's son, Governor of New Jersey,] but on Monday last we had very great rejoicings, on account of the change of the ministry, and a preparation for bonfires at night, and several houses threatened *to be pulled down*. Cousin Davenport came and told me that more than twenty people had told him it was his duty to be with me. I said I was pleased to receive civility from any body; so he stayed with me some time. Towards night I said he should *fetch a gun or two*, as we had none. I sent to ask my brother to come and *bring his gun also*; so we made our room into *a magazine*. I ordered some sort of defence up stairs, such as I *could manage myself*. I said, when I was advised to remove, that I was very sure you had done nothing to hurt any body, nor had I given any offence to any person at all, neither would I be made uneasy by any body—*nor would I stir* or show the least uneasiness;—but if any one came to disturb me, I would show a proper resentment, and I should be very much affronted with any body to hinder me. I was told that there were *eight hundred men* ready to assist any one that should be molested. * * * ——— came down to ask us up to Burlington—I consented to ———'s going; *but I will not stir*, as I really don't think it would be right in me to show the least uneasiness. * * * It is past three o'clock. I have only to tell you who was so good as to visit me last Monday night,—Cousin Davenport, my brother, F. Foxcrafte, Mr. Wharton, Sen. He came past eight o'clock on horseback; also his son Sammy, Mr. Baynton, Mr. S. Rhodes. They offered to stay all night, but I

begged they would not, lest they should get sick. My three cousins Lacock, and Mr. Hall, neighbour Shoemaker's sons, neighbour Wister's son, and more of the neighbours came. Young Dr. Tennent, who came home in Friend's vessel, came and offered me all assistance in his power; I thanked him. I should not forget Mr. John Rose and brother Swan.

"It is Mr. S. S. that is setting the people mad, by telling them *it was you* that *had planned the Stamp Act*, and that *you* are endeavouring to get *the Test Act brought over here;* but as I don't go much *to town*, I maybe shall be easy for a while after the election is over; but till that, I must be disturbed."

Her letter of 3d November, 1765, says—"The dreadful first of November is over, and not so much disorder as was dreaded. I am ashamed of many of our citizens; but I think you are informed by better hands than mine. * * * I saw a letter from Mr. Colden, [Lieutenant Governor of New York,] wherein he says, they had a mob the night before last, and there was one threatened to be that night, to pull down his office, (they burnt his coach,) and his wife and children were gone to the Fort in order to escape the insults of the mob; but I hope it will blow over without any damage, as the threatenings of the tools have done here. So you see, my dear, how ready we are to follow the fashion of the *English folks.* I have often thought what a mercy it was that it is only those here, that seem dissatisfied, which think and call themselves *the better sort;*—and that *we* can turn out six or seven hundred honest good tradesmen to convince them that they are but mere botchers. The head of the mob is about three persons, two or three doctors, your countryman S. S., whom I really pity, as I believe he will kill himself with his own ill-nature. Mr. T. has been very active, and got himself heartily despised, for which I can't help being pleased in some measure."

Some other facts in relation to the foregoing period and the excitement produced, may be consulted under the chapter "Stamp Act resisted."

Rev. George Whitfield.

Great was the religious excitement in his day; and the consequence was that some fanaticism prevailed—where preachers and people "carried high sail," and spoke and acted "too often from fires of their own kindling," as some of those concerned afterwards made their confessions. I give the following facts as I found them, to wit:

1739—Mr. Whitfield preached to fifteen thousand people "on Society Hill, near to the flag staff," somewhere near Front and Pine streets. The Gazette of the time says, that since his preaching among us, the dancing school, assembly and concert room have been shut up as inconsistent with the Gospel; and although the gentle-

men concerned broke open the doors, no company went the last assembly night.

During the session of the Presbyterian Synod of one week, there were fourteen sermons preached on Society Hill, (meaning in the open air,) to large audiences, by the Tennants, Davenport, Rowland and Blair. The change to religion here (says the Gazette) is altogether surprising, through the influence of Whitfield. No books sell but religious, and such is the general conversation. Benjamin Franklin proposes to publish Whitfield's journal and sermons, by his permission. His paper, No. 606, contains a long letter from the Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley, the Professor, against the violent and extravagant preachings of Rowland and others; and the Rev. Mr. Cummings of the Episcopal Church, publishes sermons against the manner of the awakenings and tumults.

Whitfield publishes a letter to southern planters in favour of their blacks, and against slavery; and it is said he takes up five thousand acres of land in the Forks of Delaware, (since Bethlehem, &c.,) in order to erect a negro school, &c. Whitfield's letters, to prove that Tillotson was not a Christian believer, are given in the Gazettes at large.

In December, 1739, Mr. Whitfield left the city, and was accompanied to Chester by about 150 horsemen, and preached there to about 7000 people. At White-clay creek he preached to 8000; of whom as many as 3000 were on horseback. Many complimetary effusions to him appear in the Gazettes.

The very tones of his voice had witchery in it; it was both powerful and sweet. Colonel Morris, when 90 years of age, told me he was distinctly heard by persons at Gloucester Point, when he was preaching on Society Hill, making a distance, by water, of 2 miles; and old Mr. Dupuy told me, that when he preached from the balcony of the court house on Second street by the market, he could be readily heard by people in boats on the river—not perhaps to make out the sense, but to hear the sound. However, the words "he taught them saying" were said to have been heard even at Gloucester Point!

A letter from James Pemberton, a Friend, of the 11th of 9 mo., 1739, which I have seen, speaks thus of him, saying, "He preaches here every day to numerous people. Some of our curious IF youths of rash judgment, who looked at words more than substance, are very constant in attending, and are much pleased. He preached three nights successively upon our court house steps, (in Second street) where he exceedingly takes with the people. He aims much at priest-craft,* and speaks very satirically of the Papists, whom he incenses much. Last night he had the greatest multitude I ever saw, and

* There is ambiguity in this sentence, but which I understand to mean, that he attacks such craft,—for he says of him further on, "He has not much of the priest in his conversation," &c.

some accident happened which greatly frightened many. Some thought it was an earthquake, others that it was fire, others that the Spaniards were come, &c. Many were much hurt by falling and being trod upon; many lost their hats, cloaks, &c. The preacher had to leave off speaking till they recovered their senses, which some did and others did not. His intentions are good; but he has not arrived at such perfection as to see so far as he yet may. In his conversation he is very agreeable, and has not much of the priest; he frequents no set company."

This sober judgment of Friend Pemberton, given to his friend John Smith of Burlington, came to have a singular verification in Whitfield's own confession, later in life. His friendly biographer has published of him, that as he grew older he thought and acted differently; and of himself he said, "I have carried high sail whilst running through a torrent of popularity and contempt. I may have mistaken nature for grace, imagination for revelation, and the fire of my own temper for the flame of holy zeal; and I find I have frequently written and spoken in my own spirit, when I thought I was assisted entirely by God."

Here was at least a redeeming penitence and candour; he did not "see so far as he may" in several of his most sanguine projects; indeed, generally, they failed. He built the old academy overlarge, and for itinerants for ever,—and behold how soon it passed for other purposes; he took up lands for freed negroes at Bethlehem, and it went to the Moravians; his orphan house and scheme in Georgia was quite a failure.

1742—The Gazettes contain much controversy on religious topics, excited by the success of Whitfield, and his friends Rowland, Davenport, Dickinson, and the two Tennants. There are letters to and from G. Tennant, from Evans, from Samuel Finley, and the Querists. Mr. Cummings and others publish pamphlets against the religious excitement. Dr. Kinnersley's letter in the Gazette, against them, goes upon sensible ground.

James Logan in a letter he wrote in 1742, calls Whitfield a whimsical enthusiast, "who, through his companion Seward, bought the 5000 acres (at Bethlehem) to form a school for negroes; but the purchaser dying soon after, his wiser executors turned it into money again by a sale, by which it is now the property of Zindzendorf, for his Moravians."

"None can be long a stranger to George Whitfield; his journals letters, &c., are so industriously printed here. His life, written by himself, and first printed here, is scandalously plain. All I have to say of him is, that by good language, a better utterance, and an engaging manner, and powerful voice, he gained much at first, on most sorts of people; but on his falling foul of Bishop Tillotson, and the most unexceptionable author of the Whole Duty of Man, &c., the more judicious fell from him; yet he still gained on the multitude, in so much, that they have begun for him a great brick build-

ing, (the present old academy) in which, though not yet covered, he a great many times preached when last here. It must be confessed his preaching has a good effect in reclaiming many dissolute people; but from his countenancing so very much the most hot-headed predestinarians, and those of them principally who had been accounted by the more sober as little better than madmen, he and they have actually driven divers into despair, and some into perfect madness! in short, it is apprehended by the more judicious, that the whole will end in confusion, to the great prejudice of the cause of virtue and solid religion—his doctrine wholly turning on the danger of good works, without such a degree of sanctifying faith as comes up to his gauge."

A MS. Journal of John Smith, Esq. which I have seen, writes under date of the 21st of 2nd mo. 1746, saying, "George Whitfield came to town last Seventh-day and preaches daily; but people's curiosity about him now seems so well satisfied that there is very little talk of him."

In 1750, the foundation of the Rev. Gilbert Tennant's "New Meeting house" was laid at the north-west corner of Third and Arch streets; at the same time, the former used church of Whitfield, in Fourth street, is in its new hands partitioned across for "the academy." This church was formed of the Presbyterians who went off from the first church in High street as seceders—receiving the name of "New Lights," and their minister "Hell-fire Tennant," in the common parlance of the day. Mr. Tennant was eccentric. He affected to wear a kind of great coat drawn round him by a girdle, and to wear no wig—a great oddity then for a preacher. He at length came to see he had gone beyond sober Christianity, and made his confession in a letter printed in the Gazettes—Vide Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 713,—year 1741–2; saying "My soul is grieved with such enthusiastic fooleries and perilous *ignis-fatuus*," &c.

In these cases of over-zeal in Tennant and Whitfield, &c., we see the usual retractions which maturer age and observation are usually destined to effect in honest hearts—such as occur with like natures where other themes engross the minds of ardent spirits—as Dr. Johnson says of Lyttleton and others in their headstrong ardour for liberty:—"It is what a man of ardour always catches when he enters upon his career, and always suffers to cool as he passes forward." It is the common fate of enthusiasm, when most excited, to ascend and flame like a rocket, but to go out and fall like its stick.

On page 300 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, there is for the inspection of the curious an autograph letter of G. Whitfield, of the year 1754, written from Boston to Dr. William Shippen, the elder, saying he intends to hasten back to Philadelphia soon after. This branch of the Shippen family became his ardent admirers. I have seen a letter of October, 1774, from Edward Shippen, Esq., to this William, his brother, wherein he speaks of an

intended *Doctorate* for Mr. Whitfield, saying, "I thank you for Wesley's funeral sermon upon our deceased, heavenly, mutual friend, G. W. I am sorry you had not an opportunity of presenting him with the proposed Doctorate from our Nassau Hall. Such a thing would have been a great honour to him."

Count Zinzendorf.

This founder of the Moravians showed himself an eccentric and strange person in his deportment in this country. I give the facts in his case as I find them—"nothing extenuate nor aught set down in malice," to wit:

In 1742, came to Philadelphia Count Zinzendorf and daughter, and Peter Bohler—names often noticed in ecclesiastical history. The Count while in Germantown stayed at John Wister's house; and in the same house to this day are two great chairs and a tea table, left there a present from the Count. They sometimes in those days of religious excitement put their theology into the Gazettes. In the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 753, may be seen an article of the Count's, and a rejoinder in Nos. 759 and 760, by the Rev. Gilbert Tennant.

On page 244½ of my MS. Annals in the City Library are two autograph letters of the Count and of his daughter Benigna, of the year 1742-3—written in German on religious subjects. The Count's letter is one of reproof and pardon to a dear spiritual sister who had been slandered by Beckey. He thinks the sister has talked unadvisedly before Beckey, and he cautions her to set a future watch on her words; he signs himself Nicholas Ludewig. His daughter writes from Bethlehem to her spiritual sister Magdalene Fende, in Germantown, to whom she commends the blood of Christ in strange metaphysical epithets.

I have seen in the hands of the late Benjamin Lehman of Germantown, a curious autograph letter of Count Zinzendorf to Frederick Fende, (i. e. Vende,) being the same which was also published in Bradford's Mercury, No. 1214, on the 14th of August, 1743, together with one to Mr. Neuman. These letters of 1741-2, are addressed to parents who complained to the Count of his taking off their young and maiden daughters to Germany as members of his congregation. The MS. letter which I have mentioned above is dated Philadelphia, December 26th, 1742, and reads in extract translation thus: "To the cooper, F. Vende, in Germantown—I take you both—man and wife—to be notorious children of the devil,* and you, the woman, to be a twofold child of hell. Yet I would have your damnation as tolerable as possible. The laws provide against such unreasonable parents, and will not suffer you to keep your daughter against her consent. Yet you may vex her soul. If that

* They bore excellent moral characters; and he used to preach in their house, where now J. Bowman's house is.

sevenfold devil which possesseth you will permit—then consider and leave your daughter peaceably with the congregation," &c. To Neuman, he wrote, "In case you die without forcing your daughter away, your former sin shall be forgiven you, but if you resume your murdering spirit against her soul, by her consent or not, I recall my peace, and you I leave to the devil, and the curse of your child, thereby lost, shall rest on you till she is redeemed—*Amen!*" This is really very curious supremacy as well as theology. Miss Lehman and Miss Vende, much against the will of their families, went off to Germany.

Kalm, the Swedish traveller, here in 1748, says, "his uncommon behaviour here persuaded many Englishmen of rank that he was disordered in his head."

A MS. letter of James Logan of the year 1743, written in confidential frankness to a friend, speaks of the Count as follows, to wit: "I have had frequent intercourse with him, and heartily wish I could say any thing concerning him to satisfaction; but his conduct lost him all credit here, being now only regarded by his own few Moravians. He sent to the Friend's Meeting a letter signed *Anne the Elder*, written in an odd French style, which it was difficult to put into any consistent meaning or sense. About the same time he framed an instrument of resignation of all his honours and dignities to some relative. This was done in Latin, but still more odd than his French —in some parts carrying a show of elegance, but in other parts mere nonsense; in other places plain enough, and in others perfectly unintelligible. This he desired of me to put into English. As I could not, he had it printed as it was, and invited the governor and all who understood Latin to meet him. Several met, when he read off his instrument, giving each of them a printed copy; but after all this parade, he withdrew his papers and himself too, saying, on reflection, he must first advise with some of his friends in Germany. This conduct much astonished the company, who generally concluded him insane. He has lately been visiting the Iroquois. In short, he appears a mere knight-errant in religion, scarce less than Don Quixote was in chivalry!" Other facts of his singular behaviour are mentioned by Logan. I have preserved some other facts respecting his strange conduct in Germantown. Very wild notions are imputed to him too, and told in detail by Rimius, of Prussia, who printed a book of it in London in 1753. The decree of George III. as Elector of Hanover against them, and which induced them to come to Pennsylvania, see in Pennsylvania Journal of the 20th of December, 1750.

Bethlehem, where the Count settled his sect, was said to have received its name from his purpose of adding all the other names of the Holy Land. Secretary Peters' MS. letter to the Penn family says, "The Count desired to name his villages after all the names in the Holy Land, and to settle there ten thousand people on sixteen miles square of land.

Bradford Family.

William Bradford was the first printer who settled in this colony—(Pa.) He was the son of William and Anne Bradford, of Leicester, England, at which place he was born. He served his apprenticeship in London with Andrew Sowles, printer, in Grace Church street, and married his daughter Elizabeth. Sowles was intimately acquainted with George Fox, the founder of the English sect of Quakers. Sowles was one of his sect, and printed for the society. Bradford adopted the principles of the Quakers, and was among the first emigrants from England to Pennsylvania in 1682, and landed at the spot where Philadelphia was soon after laid out, before a house was built. The next year his wife arrived.

At what place he first settled is rather uncertain; but it was, as he expresses it, "near Philadelphia." As the general assembly was holden at Chester, and this borough became, for a time, a place of consequence, it is probable that Bradford resided there until Philadelphia assumed the appearance of a city; he might, however, have set up his press at Burlington, which is but eighteen miles distant from Philadelphia, and was then the capital of New Jersey; or even at Kensington, then a small village. The first work printed by Bradford, which has reached us with a date, is "An Almanac for the year of the Christian account 1687, particularly respecting the meridian and latitude of Burlington, but may indifferently serve all places adjacent. By Daniel Leeds, student in agriculture. Printed and sold by William Bradford, near *Philadelphia* in *Pennsylvania*, pro Anno 1687."

In 1689, Bradford lived in the city. A quarto pamphlet by George Keith, respecting the New England churches, printed by Bradford in Philadelphia in that year, is the oldest book I have seen, printed in the city.

In the year 1692, much contention prevailed among the Quakers in Philadelphia, and Bradford took an active part in the quarrel. George Keith, by birth a Scotchman, a man of good abilities and well educated, was surveyor general in New Jersey; and the Society of Friends in this city employed him in 1689, as the superintendent of their schools. Keith, having attended this duty nearly two years, became a public speaker in their religious assemblies; but being, as the Quakers asserted, of a turbulent and overbearing spirit, he gave them much trouble; they forbade him speaking as a teacher or minister in their meetings; this, and some other irritating circumstances, caused a division among the Friends, and the parties were greatly hostile to each other. Bradford was of the party which was attached to Keith, and supported him; their opponents were the majority. Among them were the Lieutenant Governor Lloyd, and most of the Quaker magistrates. Keith and Thomas Budd wrote against the majority, and Bradford published their writings.

Keith was condemned in the city meetings, but he appealed to the

general meeting of the Friends; and, in order that his case might be generally known and understood, he wrote an address to the Quakers, which he caused to be printed, and copies of it to be dispersed among the Friends, previous to their general meeting. This conduct was highly resented by his opponents; the address was denominated seditious, and Bradford was arrested and imprisoned for printing it. The sheriff seized a form containing four quarto pages of the types of the address; he also took into his custody a quantity of paper, and a number of books, which were in Bradford's shop, with all the copies of the address which he could find. The civil authority took up the business; and as Keith and Bradford stated the facts, they who opposed them in the religious assemblies, condemned and imprisoned them by civil process—the judges of the courts being the leading characters in the meetings. Several of Keith's party were apprehended and imprisoned with Bradford; and, among them, Thomas Budd and John Macomb. The offence of the latter consisted in his having two copies of the address, which he gave to two friends in compliance with their request.

The following was the warrant for committing Bradford and Macomb:

"Whereas William Bradford, printer, and John Macomb, tailor, being brought before us upon an information of publishing, uttering and spreading a malicious and seditions paper, entitled, an Appeal from the twenty-eight judges* to the Spirit of the Truth, &c. Tending to the disturbance of the peace and the subversion of the present government, and the said persons being required to give securitie to answer it at the next court, but they refused so to do. These are therefore by the King and Queen's authoritie and in our proprietary's name, to require you to take into your custody the bodies of William Bradford and John Macomb, and them safely keep till they shall be discharged by due course of law. Whereof fail not at your peril; and for your so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given under our hands and seals this 24th of August, 1692.

"These to John White, Sheriff of Philadelphia, or his deputies."
Signed by Arthur Cook and four others.

The day after the imprisonment of Bradford and his friends, a "Private Sessions," as it was called, of the county court was holden by six Justices, all Quakers, who, to put a just complexion on their proceedings, requested the attendance of two magistrates who were not Quakers.

This court assembled, it seems, for the purpose of convicting Keith, Budd, and their connexions, of seditious conduct; but the two magistrates who were not Quakers, if we credit Keith and Bradford, reprobated the measure, and refused to have any concern in it, declaring,

* "Twenty-eight," meaning those who condemned Keith, in what he called "their spiritual court."

that the whole transaction was a mere dispute among the Quakers respecting their religion, in which the government had no concern. They, however, advised that Keith and others accused should be sent for, and allowed to defend themselves, and affirmed that if any thing like sedition appeared in their practice, they would join heart and hand in their prosecution. To this the Quaker magistrates would not consent, and the others in consequence left the court. The court then, as is stated in a pamphlet,* "proceeded in their work, and as they judged George Keith in their spiritual court without all hearing or trial, so in like manner they prosecuted him in their temporal court without all hearing." The pamphlet further states that "one of the judges declared that the court could judge of matter of fact without evidence, and therefore, without more to do, proclaimed George Keith by the common cryer, in the market place, to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the King and Queen's government."

Bradford and Macomb, who had been imprisoned, appeared at this court, and requested that they might be brought to trial; pleading that it was very injurious to them and their families to remain in confinement. They claimed, as free-born English subjects, the rights secured by Magna Charta, among which was the prompt administration of justice; and Bradford, in particular, desired that his trial might then take place, "because, not only his person was restrained, but his working tools, and the paper and books from his shop were taken from him, and without these he could not work and maintain his family."

Soon after this session of the court, Bradford was, by some indulgence, released from his confinement. It is said, that in the examination of the 'frame,' the jury not being acquainted with reading backwards, attempted to raise it from the plank on which it was placed, and to put it in a more favorable situation for inspection; and that one of them, assisting with his cane, pushed against the bottom of the types as the form was placed perpendicularly, when, like magic, this evidence against Bradford instantly vanished, the types fell from the frame, or chase, as it is termed by printers, formed a confused heap, and prevented further investigation.

Bradford having incurred the displeasure of the dominant party in Pennsylvania, and receiving encouragement to settle in New York, he, in 1693, removed to that city; but it is supposed he had a concern in the press which was continued in Philadelphia, by Reinier Johnson, from that time until Andrew Bradford took charge of it in 1712.

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* This pamphlet is entitled, "New England Spirit of persecution transmitted to Pennsylvania, and the Pretended Quaker found Persecuting the True Christian Quaker, in the Tryal of Peter Boss, George Keith, Thomas Budd and William Bradford, at the Sessyons held at Philadelphia, the Ninth, Tenth, and Twelfth days of December, 1692. Giving an account of the most Arbitrary Proceedings of that Court."

Bradford continued to print for the government of New York, and during thirty years was the only printer in the province.

On the 16th of October, 1725, he began the publication of the first newspaper printed in that colony.

He continued his residence in that city, and enjoyed a long life, without experiencing sickness or the usual infirmities of age. Several years before his death he retired from business, and lived with his son William in Hanover Square.

On the morning of the day which closed his life, he walked over a great part of the city. He died May 23d, 1752, aged ninety-four. The New York Gazette, which announced his death on the Monday following, mentions that "he came to America seventy years ago; was printer to the government upwards of fifty years; and was a man of great sobriety and industry; a real friend to the poor and needy, and kind and affable to all. His temperance was exceedingly conspicuous; and he was almost a stranger to sickness all his life. He had left off business several years past, and being quite worn out with old age and labour, his lamp of life went out for want of oil." There is at Trinity church, N. Y., a grave stone, inscribed to the memory of himself and wife, making himself ninety-two years of age, and his wife Elizabeth, who died in 1731, sixty-eight years of age.

The whole of the curious trial he encountered at Philadelphia in 1692, before the court of justice, (all Friends like himself,) may be seen in Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, vol. 2, page 55.

In 1702, William Bradford is spoken of in Samuel Bonas' Journal, as having combined with George Keith to have said Bonas prosecuted and imprisoned on Long Island. Bonas says he was dispossessed of his place as printer for Friends, and was disowned because of his contentions among them at Philadelphia.

Andrew Bradford, his son, began "the Weekly Mercury," the first city gazette, in 1719, in conjunction with John Copson. In 1725, he was arraigned before the Council, concerning a late pamphlet, entitled "Some Remedies proposed for restoring the sunk credit of the province;" and also for printing a certain paragraph in his Mercury of the second of January. The Governor informed him he must not thereafter publish any thing relating to affairs of this government without permission from him or his Secretary; to which he promising submission, the subject was dismissed. About this time he held the place of Postmaster. The father (William) and the son (Andrew) are thus spoken of in Keimer's poetic effusion of the year 1734, saying—

> "In Penn's wooden country Type feels no disaster,
> The Printers grow rich; one is made their Post Master;
> His father, a Printer, is paid for his work,
> And wallows in plenty, just now, at New York,
> Though quite past his labour, and old as my Grannum,
> The Government pays him, pounds sixty per annum."

Andrew Bradford died 23d November, 1742.

About the year 1754, William Bradford, probably the son of Andrew, with whom he was once a partner in the Mercury, opened "the London Coffee House," for the first time, at the south-west corner of High and Front streets. The peculiar terms under which he engaged to manage it as a place for the refreshing beverage of coffee, served up daily from a "hissing urn," and the after terms of 1780, by his successor Gifford Dally, to keep it without games, or sales on the Sabbath, &c., may be seen under the article "Old London Coffee House." The same William had, however, then a Gazette under publication, called the "Pennsylvania Journal," begun directly after the death of his father, Andrew, in 1742. In 1766, he united to his imprint the name of his son Thomas Bradford, lately alive at the age of 88. William Bradford lived till the year 1791, leaving his paper in the hands of his son Thomas, who finally merged it into the "True American," a daily paper of modern times.

In the year 1757, an "American Magazine" was started by William Bradford, to continue monthly, but it was soon discontinued, probably for want of sufficient support.

The sons of Thomas Bradford also became printers and publishers, thus continuing this ancient family in the line of printers and publishers, even to the present day.

The Hudson Family.

Mrs. Deborah Logan told me that she was informed by one of the daughters of the Hudson family of Philadelphia, which came here from Jamaica at the time of the first settlement, that they were the kinsfolk of the celebrated Captain Henry Hudson, the discoverer of our country. That lady was respectable and intelligent, and if now alive would be past one hundred years of age. Her brother, Samuel Hudson, was the last male of the family, the descendants by the female line are now respectable members of society. A table of family descent is now in possession of William Howell, a descendant. The original William Hudson, who first came here, had been an Episcopal clergyman, and became a Friend by convincement; while he lived he was honoured with several offices. The house which he built and dwelt in, in Philadelphia, was of very respectable and venerable appearance, having a brick portico before the door, and a court yard on Third street, and another as an outlet in Chestnut street—thus placing his house on the premises now of Charles C. Watson, near the corner of Third and Chestnut streets; he had property also on the line of Hudson's alley, which gave rise to that name.

John Bartram.

John Bartram was a most accurate observer of nature, and one of the first botanists this country ever produced, a self-taught genius, whom Linnæus called "the greatest natural botanist in the world." He seated himself on the bank of the Schuylkill, below Gray's Ferry, where he built a comfortable stone house and formed his botanic garden, in which there still remain some of the most rare and curious specimens of our plants and trees, collected by him in Florida, Canada, &c. The garden is still kept up with much skill by Colonel Carr, who married his grandaughter, and is always worthy of a visit. He enjoyed, for many years preceding the Revolution, a salary as botanist to the royal family of England.

In the year 1741, a subscription was made, to enable him to travel through Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, to observe and collect plants and fossils.

In 1729, James Logan, in a letter to his friend in England, thus writes respecting him, saying, "Please to procure me Parkinson's Herbal; I shall make it a present to a worthy person, worthy of a heavier purse than fortune has yet allowed him. John Bartram has a genius perfectly well turned for botany; no man in these parts is so capable of serving you, but none can worse bear the loss of his time without a due consideration."

Hector St. John, of Carlisle, has left a picturesque description of things seen and observed of John Bartram and his garden, &c., as they appeared on a visit made to him before the Revolution. There Mr. Bartram, with his visiter, his family and slaves, all sat down to one large table, well stored with wholesome fare. The blacks were placed at the foot—the guest near the host; there was kindness from the master to them, and in return they gave him affection and fidelity. The whole group and manner reminds one of the patriarchal manner of the Old Testament. Some whom he freed still chose to remain with him until their death. Bartram described his low grounds as at first a putrid swampy soil, which he succeeded to reclaim by draining and ditching.* Although he was a Friend he had a picture of family arms, which he preserved as a memorial of his forefather's having been French. In this visit he particularly speaks of noticing the abundance of red clover sowed in his upland fields—an improvement in agriculture, since thought to have not been so early cultivated among us. He spoke of his first passion for the study of botany, as excited by his contemplating a simple daisy, as he rested from his ploughing, under a tree; then it was he first thought it

* This was then deemed a novel experiment, the first then made in our country. He also led waters from higher grounds through his higher lands which were before worthless; and in both cases succeeded to form artificial grass pastures, by means now common enough,—but then deemed wonderful.

much his shame to have been so long the means of destroying many flowers and plants, without ever before stopping to consider their nature and uses. This thought, thus originated, often revived, until at last it inspired real efforts to study their character, &c., both from observation and reading.

John Bartram was born in the year 1701, in Chester county, in Pennsylvania, being of the second line of descent from his grandfather, John Bartram, who, with his family, came from Derbyshire, England, with the adherents of the justly famed William Penn, proprietor, when he established the colony, and founded the city of Philadelphia, Anno Domini 1682.

Thus being born in a newly settled country, at so vast a distance from the old world, the seat of arts and sciences, it cannot be supposed that he could have acquired great advantage from the aids of literature; having acquired, however, the best instruction that country schools at that early time could afford, and at every possible opportunity, by associating with the most learned and respectable characters, with difficulty he obtained the rudiments of the learned languages which he studied with extraordinary application and success. He had a very early inclination and relish for the study of the Materia Medica and Surgery, and acquired so much knowledge in these sciences as to administer great relief to the indigent and distressed. And as the vegetable kingdom afforded him most of his medicines, it seems extremely probable this might have excited a desire and pointed out to him the necessity of the study of botany. Although bred a husbandman and cultivator, as the principal means of providing subsistence for supporting a large family, yet he pursued his studies as a philosopher, being attentive to the economy of nature and observant of her most minute operations. When ploughing and sowing his fields, or mowing the meadows, his inquisitive mind was exercised in contemplating the vegetable system, and of animated nature.

He was perhaps the first Anglo-American who imagined the design, or at least carried into operation a botanic garden for the reception of American vegetables as well as exotics, and for travelling for the discovery and acquisition of them. He purchased a convenient place on the banks of the Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, where, after building a house of hewn stone with his own hands, he laid out a large garden, containing six or seven acres of ground, that comprehended a variety of soils and situations, and soon replenished it with a variety of curious and beautiful vegetables, the fruits of his distant excursions; but though highly gratified and delighted with beholding the success of his labours, yet his benevolent mind contemplated more extensive plans, which was to communicate his discoveries and collections to Europe and other parts of the earth, that the whole world might participate in his enjoyments. Fortunate in the society and friendship of many literary and eminent characters of America, namely, Dr. B. Franklin, Dr. Colden, J. Logan, Esq., and several others, who, observing his genius and industry, liberally assisted him

in establishing a correspondence with the great men of science in England, particularly P. Collinson, whose intimate friendship and correspondence continued unabated nearly fifty years, and terminated only with life, through whose patronage and philosophy his collections, relating to Natural History, Physiological and Philosophical investigations, were communicated to men of science in Europe, and annually laid before their Societies, of which he was in fellowship.

He employed much of his time in travelling abroad through the provinces then subject to England, during the autumn, when his agricultural avocations least required his presence at home; the object of the peregrination was collecting curious and nondescript vegetables, fossils, and the investigation and economy of nature; his ardour in these pursuits was so vigorous and lively that few obstacles opposed or confined his progress. The summits of our highest mountains are monuments of his indefatigable labours and inquisitive mind. The shores of Lake Ontario and Cayuga contributed through his hands to embellish the gardens and enrich the forests of Europe with elegant flowering shrubs, plants, and useful ornamental trees. The banks and sources of the rivers Delaware, Susquehanna, Allegheny, and Schuylkill, received his visits at a very early date, when it was difficult and truly perilous travelling in the territories of the aborigines He travelled many thousand miles into Virginia, Carolina, East and West Florida, in search of materials for natural history, and to enrich the funds of human economy. At the advanced age of near seventy years he performed an arduous and dangerous task—a tour into East Florida. Arriving at St. Augustine, he embarked on board of a boat at Picolota, on the River St. Juan, navigated with three oars and a sail, with a hunter to provide flesh meats. From Picolota he proceeded up the east bank to its source—originating from immense inundated marsh meadows, the great nursery of the nations of fish and reptiles, the winter asylum of the northern fowl, ducks and the Anser tribes, in their annual festive visits to their southern friends, but held in awe by the thunder of the devouring alligator; and returning down the west bank to the capes, noting the width, depth and courses of its winding flood, the vast dilatations of the river with its tributary streams, at the same time remarking the soil and situation of the country and natural productions.

His stature was rather above the middle size, erect and slender, visage long, his countenance cheerful and gay, regulated with a due degree of solemnity. His manners modest and gentle, yet his disposition active and of the greatest good nature. A lover and practiser of justice and equity. Such a lover of philanthropy, charity and social order, that he was never known to enter into litigious contest with his neighbours, or any one, but would rather relinquish his rights than distress his neighbours. He was through life a rare example of temperance, particulary in the use of vinous and spirituous liquors, as well as other gratifications; not from a passion of parsimony but in

respect to morality; nevertheless he always maintained a generous and plentiful table—annually on a New Year's day he made liberal entertainment at his own house, consecrated to friendship and philosophy.

He was industrious and active, indulging repose only when nature required it, observing that he could never find more time than he could with pleasure employ, either intellectually or in some useful manual exercise, and was astonished when people complained that they were tired of time, not knowing how to employ it, or what they should do.

In observing the characters of illustrious men, it is generally an object of inquiry of what religion they were. He was born and educated in the Society of Friends, (called Quakers,) devoutly worshipped the Supreme Deity, the Creator and Soul of all existence, all goodness and perfection. His religious creed may be seen by any one, sculptured by himself in large characters on a stone in the wall over the front window of his apartment where he usually slept, and which was dedicated to study and philosophical retirement. This pious distich runs thus:—

'Tis God alone, the Almighty Lord,
The Holy One by me adored.

JOHN BARTRAM—1770.

He was an early and firm advocate for maintaining the natural and equal rights of man, particularly for the abolition of negro slavery, and confirmed his zeal in these great virtues by giving freedom to a very excellent young man of the African race, at the age of between 20 and 30, whom he had reared in his house from a young child; and this man afterwards manifested in return the highest gratitude and affection, for he continued constantly in the family to the end of his life, receiving full wages as long as he was able to perform a day's work.

William Bartram, his son, another distinguished florist and botanist, who succeeded in the same place, died in July, 1823, at his garden, at the advanced age of 85 years. His travels, in search of botanical subjects, in the Floridas, &c., were published in 1791;—he preceded Wilson as an ornithologist, and gave his assistance to that gentleman in his celebrated work.

Eccentric Persons.

1736—Michael Welfare, one of the Christian philosophers of Conestogoe, appeared in full market in the habit of a pilgrim,—his hat of linen,—his beard full, and a long staff in his hand. He declared himself sent of God to denounce vengeance against the citizens of the province without speedy repentance. The earnestness of the man, and his vehemence of action commanded much attention. This "Warning" was afterwards announced for sale at four pence.

Directly afterwards appeared one Abel Noble, preaching on a Monday from the Court-house stairs, (in Second street,) to a large congregation standing in Market street, on the subject of keeping the Sabbath.

1742—Benjamin Lay, "the singular Pythagorean, cynical, Christian philosopher," in the time of the Friends' general meeting (where he usually worshipped,) stood in the market place, with a large box of his deceased wife's China, to bear his testimony against the use of tea! There with a hammer he began to break his ware piece by piece; but the populace, unwilling to lose what might profit them, overset him, scrambled for the China, and bore it off whole!

1744—"A young man from old England" appoints a day to hold a meeting in the market house; but the Mayor and Council determine it is improper, and require him to desist.

In the year 1770, a number of white men confederated, under the name of black boys, to rob, plunder and destroy, were to be always secretly armed, and to rescue prisoners, &c. They were to have their faces blacked when acting. They did considerable mischief; and actually assaulted a neighbouring gaol, and rescued the prisoners. An act of assembly was made respecting them, and to punish them, when taken, with death.

Rare Persons

In the year 1739 *Sheick Sidi*, the Eastern prince, arrived here (the same probably spoken of in Smith's History of New Jersey) with his attendants, and is treated with great respect. 'Tis said he is recommended by his Majesty to the charity of all good Christians.

Sheick Shedid Allhazar, Emir (or prince) of Syria, was introduced to James Logan's notice by a letter from Governor Clarke of New York, who says "he appeared to us here to be a gentleman, whatever else he might be besides. As he spoke nothing but Arabic and a little Syriac, he put me on scouring up what I had formerly gotten and forgotten of these, and we exchanged some little in writing. He was well treated, and accepted the bounty of the charitable, having received from the Meeting of Friends one hundred pistoles, but not quite so much from all others." He went from us to Barbadoes, and John Fothergill speaks of meeting him there, with approbation. —Vide his Journal. On the whole, it was certainly a very strange expedition for such a personage, and inclines one to fear he may have been some *Chevalier d'Industrie*, after all!

In the year 1746, the "infamous *Tom Bell*" is advertised in Philadelphia as having gone on board Captain Charles Dingee's vessel at New Castle as a merchant, and while there made out to steal sundry clothing, and among others the Captain's *red* breeches. He says he is well known for frauds in many of the provinces, and at different times pretends to be a parson, doctor, lawyer, merchant, seaman, &c. I see him in another place advertised as being part of

a gang of counterfeiters of province-bills, at their log house in New Jersey. I refer to this Tom Bell thus, because he once made such a strange figure in once personating the Rev. Mr. Rowland, and stealing a horse from the house where he had lodged in the name of said Rowland, and affecting to be going to meeting, with the horse, to preach there. See the facts in William Tennant's Life.

In 1757 (March) Lord Loudon, as general-in-chief of all his Majesty's troops in America, being in Philadelphia, is feasted by the corporation at the State-house, together with the officers of the royal Americans, sundry gentlemen strangers, &c. General Forbes is also present as commander at Philadelphia and Southward. At or about the same time Colonel Montgomery arrives with the Highlanders, and they are provided for at the new barracks in the Northern Liberties.

Among the truly strange people who visited our city was "Jemima Wilkinson," a female—winning the regard and deeply imposing on the credulity of sundry religionists. Habited partially as a man, she came preaching what she called the Last Gospel which would be preached to mankind. By her own testimony, as recorded in Buck's Theological Dictionary, she had died, and her soul had gone to heaven, where it then remained; but that "The Christ" had reanimated her dead body, whereby he had come again, for the last time, in the flesh.

As it hath invariably happened, to the many bubbles of "Lo here and Lo there," which, from the beginning of Church History, have arisen from its surface,

> "The earth hath bubbles as the water has,
> And these are of them."

She also had her votaries, and followers; some of whom separated themselves from the closest ties nearest the heart, and went out after her into "the desert" of Goshen, state of New York, where, after a term of delusion, (in the mouths of every one,) and in consequence of an unexpected discovery, accidentally made by one of her most ardent votaries, the whole concern of fanaticism exploded and collapsed at once, like the balloon from whence the gas had escaped, suddenly precipitating itself to the earth. Laughter succeeded the consequent amazement, and the disconcerted followers separated immediately from her, every one their own way through "by-roads" home.

Lang Syne, who had seen her in Philadelphia, describes her thus, to wit:—One Saturday of the time she held forth in this city, seeing a crowd at the door of the meeting house, at the south-west corner of Fifth and Arch streets, a few of us, who had been just liberated from a neighbouring school, animated by the curiosity of extreme youth, and the want of deference to the opinions of others, usual at that period of life, insinuated our way into the throng, until we stood in the full view of Jemima Wilkinson, as we learned afterwards, standing up and speaking from the south end of the gallery to a staring audi-

ence. What she said, or of the subject matter, nothing is remembered; but her person, dress and manner is as palpable " to the mind's eye," as though she thus looked and spake but yesterday.

As she stood there, she appeared beautifully erect, and tall for a woman, although at the same time the masculine appearance predominated; which, together with her strange habit, caused every eye to be rivetted upon her. Her glossy black hair was parted evenly on her pale round forehead, and smoothed back beyond the ears, from whence it fell in profusion about her neck and shoulders, seemingly without art or contrivance—arched black eyebrows and fierce looking black eyes, darting here and there with penetrating glances, throughout the assembly, as though she read the thoughts of people; beautiful aqueline nose, handsome mouth and chin, all supported by a neck conformable to the line of beauty and proportion; that is to say, the proportion of it visible at the time, being partly hidden by her plain habit of coloured stuff, drawn closely round above the shoulders, by a drawing string knotted in front, without handkerchief or female ornament of any kind. Although in her personal appearance she exhibited nothing which could realize the idea of

> "A sibyl, that had numbered in the world,
> Of the sun's courses, *two hundred* compasses;"

And although she spoke deliberately, not " startingly and rash," but resting with one hand on the banister before her, and using but occasional action with the other, nevertheless she seemed as one moved by that " prophetic fury" which " sewed the web," while she stood uttering words of wondrous import, with a masculine-feminine tone of voice, or kind of croak, unearthly and sepulchral.

A few days afterwards, a carriage having stopped at the next door, south of the Golden Swan, in north Third street, she was seen slowly to descend from it, and remain a short time stationary on the pavement, waiting, it seems, the descent of her followers, which gave to the quick assembled crowd one more opportunity to behold the person and strange habiliments of this, at the time, very extraordinary character.

She was clothed as before; her worsted robe, or mantle, having the appearance of one whole piece, descending from her neck to the ground, covering her feet. Her head was surmounted by a shining black beaver hat, with a broad brim, and low flattened crown, such as worn at the time by young men, of no particular age or fashion, and (seemingly in accordance with the display of her superb hair,) was placed upon her head, erect and square, showing to the best advantage the profusion of nature's ringlets, bountifully bestowed upon her, and floating elegantly about her neck and shoulders, and the more remarkable, as the fashion of the day for ladies' head-dress consisted in frizzled hair, long wire pins, powder and pomatum. Nowadays, her beautiful Absalom curls, as then exhibited, would be considered as being from the manufactory of Daix, (rue de Chesnut,) from Paris:

"The skull that bred them, in the sepulchre."

She waited with composure and in silence the descent of her followers, with whom, when they had formed, in solemn order, in the rear, she entered the house; when, to keep out the pressing crowd, the door was suddenly clapped to, by the person who lodged them, causing the curious ones, who stood gazing after the preacher, first to look foolishly, then laughingly and sillily at one another, a few moments on the outside.

The present Louis Philippe, King of France, was once in our country. In Philadelphia he lived at the north-west corner of Prune and Fourth streets, with Count de Tilly, &c., at "a Pension Francaise." There was a story that he taught a school *in Jersey*, but that was not so; but I believe he did so in Canada. 'Tis said he preserves a picture of that school of his! He certainly made a tour from Pittsburg by the lakes, round by Niagara, (with his two brothers,) and they were entertained some little time at Canandaigua, in the family of Mr. Thomas Morris there, in July 1792 or 1793. Their journey had been very rough and on horseback, and much through the Indian settlements. Mr. Egalité (Orleans) was rather tall, with a dark intelligent eye and complexion—his second brother had sandy hair—the third and youngest was a beautiful youth, and spoke the least English. At one time the Duke lived humbly at Boston, with one Amblard, a tailor, with whom he boarded.

He arrived in Philadelphia about the year 1790. His whole conduct here was devoid of pride or discontent. The times seemed to indicate a total loss of rank and fortune; yet he was cheerful and resigned; nothing, indeed, could be more unpresuming and gentlemanly than his demeanour here. Intercourse with him was frequent. He came to Philadelphia from Hamburg in the ship America, commanded by Captain Ewing. On landing, he was invited by David Coningham, Esquire, to lodge at his house in Front street, where he was visited by many gentlemen of the city, and entertained very hospitably for several weeks. Mr. Coningham, as one of the house of Coningham and Nesbitt, was consignee and owner of the ship.

Not long after his arrival in Philadelphia, he was joined by his two brothers, the Dukes de Monpensier and Beaujolois. These young princes had been confined by the authorities of France in the Chateau d'If, situate on an island in the Mediterranean, opposite to Marseilles, and obtained their liberty on condition of going to America. For want of a better conveyance, they took their passage in a brig that had on board upwards of a hundred of our countrymen, just released from slavery at Algiers. They bore their exile with becoming fortitude, appearing, like their elder brother, submissive and cheerful, and were often in society. On one occasion, my informant meeting the three brothers in the street, Mr. d'Orleans (for so the elder brother

was always called) told him that he had just heard that his good friend Captain Ewing, of the ship America, was at the wharf, on his return from Hamburg, and that he wished to take him by the hand, and introduce his brothers to him. He accompanied them to Ross' wharf, where the America had that moment hauled in.

Captain Ewing came on shore, and was received by Mr. d'Orleans with the warmest cordiality, and presented to the brothers. This evidence of kind feeling on the part of the princes, and total absence of all pride or notion of superiority, showed that in them exalted birth and royal education were no obstacles to the adoption of our own plain republican manners.

Shortly after, they travelled all three on horseback to Pittsburg. They passed out Market street, equipped as western traders then used to ride—having a blanket over the saddle, and their saddlebags on each side. When they returned, Mr. d'Orleans hired a very humble apartment in Fourth near Prune street, where being visited by my informant, he did him the favour to trace the route he had just taken, on a map that hung in his room, and told him that they managed very well along the road; taking care of themselves at the taverns, and leaving their horses to be groomed by the *only* servant they had with them. "We could have done very well," said he, "without any servant, had we not been anxious about our horses."

These distinguished exiles afterwards descended the Mississippi, and went to the Havana, and from thence to Cadiz; and subsequently having made their peace with the brothers of Louis XVI., the present King Philippe married a princess of the reigning Bourbons of Naples.

We had in Philadelphia, at the time they were here, Talleyrand, the Duke de Liancourt, Volney, De Noailles, Talon, and many others; most of whom returned to France, and played a part in the post-republican scenes of the revolutionary drama.

It is worthy of remark, that the late king of England and the king of France have both been in Philadelphia.

In the year 1828, there came to Philadelphia, a native prince of Timbuctoo. It being a rare circumstance to find in this country a chieftain of so mysterious a city and country, so long the *terra incognita* of modern travellers, I have been curious to preserve some token of his visit in an autograph of his pen.—Vide page 130 of my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It was done by him in Arabic, at the writing table of our late Mayor, Joseph Watson, Esq. It reads—"Abdyhl Rahaman, Prince of Timboo." Was written with ready facility, in the Arabic manner, from right to left; which was the more remarkable, as he had been for forty years out of practice, toiling with his hands as a slave at field labour at Natchez.

Samuel Keimer,

The printer, whose name so often occurs in the early history of Benjamin Franklin, appears to have been of a singular turn of mind. In 1728 he started the Pennsylvania Gazette in opposition to Brad ford's Weekly Mercury. It was announced in strange braggart style, and in one year failed of its object—success, and thence fell into the hands of Franklin, who conducted it to advantage many years,—poor Keimer in the mean time getting into a prison.

In the year 1723,came out a paper from the Friends' Monthly Meeting, setting forth that Samuel Keimer, who had then lately arrived, had printed divers papers, particularly one styled "The Parable," wherein he assumes the style and language of Friends: wherefore they certify that he is not of their society, nor countenanced by them. This was rather an awkward introduction for one so sedulous to make his *debut* to his personal advantage.

In the year 1734, he appears to have secured his establishment as a publisher and printer at Barbadoes. In his poetic appeal to his patrons, he gives some facts respecting the then compensation of American colonial printers, which may elucidate the reward of type setters then—to wit:

> "What a pity it is that some modern bravadoes,
> Who dub themselves gentlemen, here in Barbadoes,
> Should time after time run in debt to their printer,
> And care not to pay him in summer or winter!
> In Penn's wooden country Type feels no disaster—
> The printers grow rich—one is made their postmaster," &c.

In further pursuing the subject, he shows that old William Bradford, of New York, has £60 a year from the king. In Maryland and Virginia, each province allows £200 a year; for, he adds, "by law he is paid 50,000 weight country produce"—meaning tobacco.

> "But, alas! your poor Type prints no figure like *nullo;*
> Cursed, cheated, abused by each pitiful fellow—
> Tho' working like slave, with zeal and true courage,
> He can scarce get as yet even salt to his porridge!"

His paper, however, continued, and must have produced some good articles, as I remember to have seen, in the Stenton Library, a London edition, 8vo. in 2 vols., of Extracts from it.

Virgil and Wife.

These were black people, whose surname was Warder. They had been house servants to the Penn family, and because of their long service, were provided for by them, living in the kitchen part of the house at Springetsbury. Virgil was born in 1713, and was

very old when he died. He was purchased by Thomas Penn of J. Warder, of Bucks county, in 1733, when he was twenty years of age. His wife died in 1782: and there is something concerning both of them to be seen published in Bradford's Gazette of that time. The aged Timothy Matlack told me he remembered talking with Virgil often about the year 1745, and that he was then gray-headed, but very active. When Matlack saw him there he was under charge of James Alexander, the gardener. Near there he remembered a spring, which on one occasion was made into grog, to please the whim of some sailors.

The Claypole Family.

Miss Claypole, when about seventy-five years of age, whom I saw at T. Matlack's, Esq., told me she was a direct descendant of Oliver Cromwell's daughter, who married Lord General Claypole. Her ancestor in this country came out with Penn, and is often mentioned among the earliest officers in the government. His name was James Claypole—was a merchant, a partner in the Free Traders' Company, and a public character in Friends' Meeting. I once saw the certificates for himself and three daughters from Friends' Meeting at Bull and Mouth, England. He passed his first winter in a cave in the bank of Front street, with his family and servants. In the spring following, he built his house, the same afterwards known as the Rattle Snake Inn, No. 37, Walnut street, north side, a few doors east of Second street. It was a double two-story brick house, had four leaden framed windows in front, and the same in the rear. The late Miss Claypole was born in that house, and her grandmother, Deborah Claypole, told her that when that house was built, their dogs used to go up to the woods, at and about the Second street court house, (built in 1707,) and there catch rabbits and bring them home. Their house long had a beautiful south exposure, down a descending green bank into the pleasant Dock creek.

The late Mrs. Logan possessed a lively recollection of this Deborah Claypole; she was the wife of George Claypole, and daughter of Abraham Hardiman. She lived to be upwards of ninety years of age, had told Mrs. L. of the original arborescent state of Market street, &c. Her history was remarkable for having buried her husband and five children in the course of a few weeks, of the very mortal smallpox of the year 1730. Mrs. Logan said, it was well understood that her husband, George Claypole, was descended from the protector, Oliver Cromwell. Dr. Franklin, too, has said something; he has said, she had one child which survived the mortality, but as that also died, she was left a lone widow. There is, however, another branch of the family name still among us in Philadelphia.

I perceive by William Penn's letter of 1684, to his steward, J. H., that he thus speaks of James Claypole, whom he had made register,

to wit: "Tell me how he does; watch over him, his wife and family," &c. Penn also speaks of sending to his lot near the creek for red gravel, to form his garden walks at Pennsbury, if they found none nearer.

Hannah Griffeths,

A maiden lady of the Society of Friends, died in 1817, at the advanced age of ninety-one years—born and bred in Philadelphia—was a very fine poetess. She wrote only fugitive pieces. I have seen several in MS., in the possession of her cousin, Mrs. Deborah Logan. Her satires were very keen and spirited; she was a very humane and pious woman. Had she written for fame, and made her productions public, she might have been allured to write more. She wrote a keen satire on the celebrated Meschianza; she was a grandaughter of Isaac Norris, and a great grandaughter of Thomas Lloyd. The goodness of her heart was very great, her wit lively and ever ready, and her talents of a high order; but her modesty and aversion to display always caused her to seek the shade.

The French Neutrals,

Were numerous French families transported from Acadia, in Nova Scotia, and distributed in the colonies, as a measure of state policy, the readier to make the new population there of English character and loyalty. The American general, who had orders to execute it, deemed it an unfeeling and rigorous command. These poor people became completely dispirited; they used to weep over the story of their wrongs, and described the comfortable settlements and farms, from which they had been dragged, with very bitter regret. The humane and pious Anthony Benezet was their kind friend, and did whatever he could to ameliorate their situation. He educated many of their daughters. His charities to them were constant and unremitting.

For further particulars of this cruel business of the removal of these poor, inoffensive people, see Walsh's Appeal, Part I., p. 88.

The part which came to Philadelphia were provided with quarters in a long range of one-story wooden houses, built on the north side of Pine street, and extending from Fifth to Sixth street. Mr. Samuel Powell, the owner, who originally bought the whole square for £50, permitted the houses to be tenanted rent free, after the neutrals left them. As he never made any repairs, they fell into ruins about sixty years ago. The last of them remembered, at the corner of Sixth street, got overturned by a pair of timber wheels. At one time mean plays were shown in them, such as Mr. Punch exhibits. Those neutrals remained there several years, showing very little disposition to amalgamate and settle with our society, or attempting any good for themselves. They made a French town in

the midst of our society, and were content to live spiritless and poor. Finally they made themselves burdensome; so that the authorities, to awaken them to more sensibility, determined, in the year 1757, to have their children bound out by the overseers of the poor, alleging, as their reason, that the parents had lived long enough at the public expense. It soon after occurred that they all went off in a body, to the banks of the Mississippi, near New Orleans, where their descendants may be still found, under the general name of Acadians, an easy, gentle, happy, but lowly people.

Lieutenant Bruluman,

Of the British American army, a Philadelphian by birth, was executed at Philadelphia in the year 1760, for the murder of Mr. Scull. The case was a strange one, and excited great interest at the time. The Lieutenant had gotten a wish to die, and instead of helping himself "with a bare bodkin," he coveted to have it done by another, and therefore hit upon the expedient of killing some one. He sallied forth with his gun, to take the first good subject he should fancy; he met Doctor Cadwallader, (grandfather of the late General C.) and intended him as his victim; but the doctor, who had remarkably courteous manners, saluted him so gently and kindly as he drew near, that his will was subdued, and he, pursuing his way out High street, came to the bowling green at the Centre square,—there he saw Scull playing; and as he and his company were about to retire into the inn to play billiards, he deliberately took his aim and killed him; he then calmly gave himself up, with the explanation above expressed. Some persons have since thought he might have been acquitted in the present day, as a case of mona insanity.

Colonel Frank Richardson

Was a person of great personal beauty and address, born of Quaker parentage at Chester. As he grew up, and mixed with the British officers in Philadelphia, he acquired a passion for their profession,—went to London, got a commission, and became at length a Colonel of the king's life guards. This was about the year 1770.

Susanna Wright

Was usually called a "celebrated" or an "extraordinary" woman in her "day and generation." She was a woman of rare endowment of mind—had a fine genius, and a virtuous and excellent heart. She made herself honoured and beloved wherever she went, or her communications were known. She came with her parents from England when she was about 17 years of age; they settled some time at Chester, much beloved, and then removed up to Wright's Ferry, now Columbia, on the Susquehanna, in the year

1726. At that time the country was all a forest, and the Indians all around them as neighbours; so that the family were all there in the midst of the alarm of the Indian massacre by the Paxtang boys.

She wrote poetry with a ready facility; her epistolary correspondence was very superior. She was indeed the most literary lady of the province, without sacrificing a single domestic duty to its pursuit. Her nursery of silkworms surpassed all others, and at one time she had 60 yards of silk mantua of her own production.

David I. Dove

Came to this country in 1758–9. He became a teacher of the languages in the Academy. He was made chiefly conspicuous for the part he took in the politics of the day, and by the caustic and satirical poetry he wrote to traduce his political enemies. Although he never obtained and perhaps never sought any office himself, yet he seemed only in his best element when active in the commotions around him; he promoted the caricatures, and wrote some of the poetry for them, which were published in his time, and was himself caricatured in turn.

The late Judge R. Peters, who had been his Latin pupil, said of him, "he was a sarcastical and ill-tempered doggereliser, and 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."

At one time he opened a private academy in Germantown—in the house now Chancellor's, and there used a rare manner in sending for truant boys, by a committee who carried a lighted lantern—a sad exposure for a juvenile culprit!

Joseph Galloway

Was a lawyer of talents and wealth, of Philadelphia, a speaker of the Assembly, who took the royal side in the Revolution—joined the British when in Philadelphia, and became the general superintendent of the city under their sanction. He was at first favourable to some show of resistance, but never to independence or arms. His estates became confiscate; he joined the British at New York, became secretary to the commander-in-chief, and finally settled in London. There he wrote and published against his patron, Sir William Howe, as having lost the conquest of our country by his love of entertainment and pleasure, rather than the sturdy self-denial of arms. Galloway owned and dwelt in the house now the Schuylkill Bank, at the south-east corner of High and Sixth streets. He had an only daughter, whom he found about to elope with a gentleman, afterwards Judge Griffin, whom, for that reason, he shot at in his own house.

The Rev. Morgan Edwards,

Minister to the First Baptist church, arrived in this country in the year 1758. In 1770, he published a history of the Baptists of Pennsylvania—a work which is made curiously instructive as history, because it is chiefly limited to their proper civil history, their first settlements in various parts of the country. On these points it contains facts to be found nowhere else. His book embraces notices of all those Germans, &c., who used adult baptism as essential parts of their system. He thus gives the history of George Keith's schism—an account of the Tunkers and Mennonists, &c.

The same gentleman became himself a curiosity of our city. President Smith, of Princeton college, has noticed the aberrations of his mind in his Nassau Lectures. Edwards was persuaded he was foretold the precise time of his death. He announced it from his pulpit, and took a solemn leave of all his people. His general sanity and correct mental deportment created a great confidence in very many people. At the time his house was crowded—all on tiptoe of expectation; every moment was watched. He himself breathed with great concern and anxiety, thinking each action of his lungs his last; but a good constitution surmounted the power of his imagination, and he could not die! Could a better subject be devised for the exercise of the painter's skill, as a work, showing the strongest workings of the human mind, both in the sufferer and in the beholders—properly forming two pictures:—the first that of anxious credulity in all; and the latter, their disappointment and mortification! He lived twenty years afterwards; and the delusion made him so unpopular that he withdrew into the country. A good lesson to those who lean to supposed divine impressions, without the balance of right reason, and the written testimony of revelation.

Dusimitiere

Was a collector of the scraps and fragments of our history. He was a Swiss-French gentleman, who wrote and spoke our language readily, and being without family, and his mind turned to the curiosities of literature and the facts of natural history, he spent much time in forming collections. He has left five volumes quarto, in the City Library, of his curious MSS. and rare fugitive printed papers. To be properly explored and usefully improved would require a mind as peculiar as his own. As he advanced in life he became more needy, and occupied himself, when he could, in drawing portraits and pictures in water colours. He lived in Philadelphia before and about the time of the Revolution; and before that in New York and the West Indies. I have preserved an autograph letter of his in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, p. 306, of the year 1766.

There is not much in his books respecting Pennsylvania, being

only about half of one of his volumes. He has about fifty pages concerning the revolt of the Pennsylvania line, and most of the papers are original. Bound up in his book are autographs of distinguished personages—such as Hume, Smollet, Gray, &c. His first volume is about the West India islands, with drawings neatly executed; sometimes he gives caricatures. He gives letters respecting the change of the post office from British to colonial, and how Mr. Goddard travelled as agent to collect subscriptions. [An account of the original post office may be gathered from Douglass.] There is also a strange account called "Life and character of a strange he-monster lately arrived in London from America,"—intended probably to satirize one of our public functionaries. There are also minutes of the Congress convention—some intercepted letters—a brief account of Pennsylvania, by Lewis Evans—a deed from under the Duke of York to the Swensons for Philadelphia. His whole collections, on the whole, may be deemed the curious gleanings of a curious mind, and among some rubbish may be found, some day, some useful and unexpected elucidations of difficult points in our history.

Robert Proud.

I ought to feel and express respect for a fellow annalist who has preceded me. I felt a natural desire to become acquainted with the personal history of a gentleman and scholar, who gave so much of his time to seeking out the early history of our state. Without his diligence and procurement, much that we now know must have been lost.

He was born in Yorkshire, England, the 10th of May, 1728. His father was a farmer, who rented an old mansion house and a large farm, called Wood End, from the Talbot family. He received his education under a Mr. David Hall, a man well versed in the languages, and with whom he maintained for many years "a friendly and agreeable correspondence."

"In his young days, (he says,) he had a strong inclination for learning, virtue and true wisdom, before or in preference to all mere worldly considerations." Thus expressing, as I understand him, a lively religious sense, at this early age, of what "the true riches" consisted. Wherefore, says he, "I afterwards rejected on that account those things, when I had it in my power to have appeared in a much superior character and station in the world, than I am since known to be in."

About the year 1750 he went to London, and became an inmate and preceptor in the families of Sylvanus and Timothy Bevan—gentlemen, of the Society of Friends, of fortune, and the former distinguished for his skill in carving (as a skilful amateur) the only likeness from which we have the busts of Penn, the founder. While with this family, and from his intimacy with Doctor Fothergill, (his kinsman,) he turned his leisure time to the study of medicine, in

which he made much proficiency; but to which, as he said, he took afterwards strong disgust, from its opening to him "a very glaring view of the chief causes of those diseases, (not to say vices,) which occasioned the greatest emoluments to the profession of medicine." There was something in his mind of moody melancholy against the world, for he did not like "the hurry of much employment, or the crowds of large cities;" and as to money, so useful to all, he deemed the aim at riches "as the most despicable of worldly objects." He was therefore soon ripe to put in practice his project of seeking fewer friends, and more retirement in the American wilds. He therefore came, in 1759, among us, and lived long enough and needy enough to see that a better provision for his comforts would not have diminished any of his religious enjoyments. Samuel Preston, Esq., an aged gentleman lately living, says disappointed love was the moving cause of R. Proud's demurs to the commonly received affections to life, that he had told him as much as that "the wind had always blown in his face, that he was mortified in love in England, and frustrated in some projects of business here"—ills enough, with the lasting loss of a desired mate, to make "earth's bright hopes" look dreary to him.

In 1761, he became teacher of the Greek and Latin languages in the Friend's academy. There he continued till the time of our Revolution, when he entered into an unfortunate concern with his brother, losing, as he said, "by the confusion and the iniquities of the times." The non-success was imputable to his high tory feelings not permitting him to deal in any way to avail himself of the chances of the times. At the time of the peace he again resumed his school. Besides the Latin and Greek which he taught, he had considerable acquaintance with the French and the Hebrew. He relinquished his duties as a teacher in 1790 or '91, and lived very retired in the family of Samuel Clark, till the year 1813, when he died at the age of 86 years.

He had turned his mind to the collection of some facts of our history before our Revolution, but it was only on his resignation of his school, in 1790–1, that he fully devoted his mind, at the request of some Friends, to the accomplishment of his task, which he ushered into the world, in 1797–8, deeming it, as he said, "a laborious and important work." In a pecuniary point of view, this, like his other projects, was also a failure. It realized no profits.

I quote from his biographer (C. W. Thomson) thus, to wit: Of his history—"as a succinct collection of historical facts, it undoubtedly deserves the most respectful attention; but its style is too dry, and its diction too inelegant ever to render it a classical work. It is exactly that stately old-fashioned article, that its author himself was." Feelingly I can appreciate his further remark, when he adds, "He who has never undertaken so arduous a task, knows little of the persevering patience it requires to thus go before and gather up the segregated materials, or to sort, select and arrange the scattered

fragments of broken facts, the body and essence of such a composition."

"He was in person tall—his nose of the Roman order, and overhung with most impending brows—his head covered with a curled gray wig, and surmounted with the half-cocked patriarchal hat, and in his hand a long ivory-headed cane. He possessed gentleness and kindness of manner in society, and in his school he was mild, commanding and affectionate."

I am indebted to J. P. Norris, Esq., one of his executors, and once one of his pupils, for access to several of his private papers, which will help to a better illustration of his character.

He says in his written memoranda—"Before and after this time, (1790,) I was frequently in a very infirm state of health, notwithstanding which I revised and published my History of Pennsylvania, though imperfect and deficient; the necessary and authentic materials being very defective, and my declining health not permitting me to finish it entirely to my mind, and I had reason to apprehend, if it was not then published, nothing of the kind so complete, even with all its defects, would be likely to be published at all; and which publication, though the best extant of the kind, as a true and faithful record, was not patronised as I expected, not even by the offspring and lineal successors of the first and early settlers, and for whose sake it was particularly undertaken by me—to my great loss and disappointment. A performance intended both for public and private information and benefit, and to prevent future publishing and farther spreading false accounts or misrepresentations. My former friends and acquaintance, (except some of my quondam pupils,) being nearly gone, removed, or deceased, and their successors become more and more strangers, unacquainted with and alien to me, renders my final removal or departure from my present state of existence so much the more welcome and desirable—

> Taught half by reason, half by mere decay,
> To welcome death, and calmly pass away.

"For which I am now waiting, and thus according to the words of the aged person, I may say, 'Few and evil have been the years of my life,' yet in part according to my desire, I seem not to have so much anxiety and concern about the conclusion and consequence thereof, as I have had at times for the propriety of my future conduct, and advancement in the way of truth and righteousness in said state, so as to insure the continued favour of a sensible enjoyment of the divine presence and preservation while here, in order for a happy futurity and eternal life."

In publishing his History of Pennsylvania, he was aided by several of his former pupils, who, under the name of a loan, advanced a sum sufficient for the purpose. He left a number of MSS., principally poetry, of which he was fond; and being what was called a

tory, allusions are often made in many of them to the conduct of the colonists, which are pretty severe. I add one or two as a specimen, though his translation of Makin's Latin poems may give a pretty good idea of what was his talent. Well versed in the Latin and Greek languages, and with the authors who wrote in them, reading and translating parts of them was his solace and comfort in the evening of life.

He suffered much in his circumstances by the paper money, especially by that issued by the provincial government prior to the Revolution, and as he had no doubt of the issue of the contest, he thought Great Britain would make it all good, and therefore retained it in his hands, till it became worse than nothing. In fact, he was never calculated for the storms and turmoil of life, but rather for the retirement of the academic grove, in converse with Plato, Seneca, Socrates, and other ancient worthies.

He died in 1813, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He left nine of his former pupils his executors, viz.: O. Jones, Mier Fisher, Dr. Parke, J. P. Norris, B. R. Morgan, Dr. James, Joshua Ash, Joseph Sansom, and J. E. Cresson; all of whom renounced but B. R. Morgan, Esq., and J. P. Norris, who at the request of the others undertook the office.

None of Proud's name or family remain among us. He died a bachelor, and, as he called himself, "a decayed gentleman." He was full six feet high—rather slender. In winter he wore a drab cloak, which gave to his personal appearance the similitude of one in West's Indian treaty picture. His brother, who was once here, a single man, went back to England.

I here add two specimens of his poetry, which also show his tory feelings, vexed with the ardour of the times, to wit:

FORBIDDEN FRUIT.

The source of human misery—A reflection. Philadelphia, 1775.

Forbidden fruit's in every state
The source of human wo;
Forbidden fruit our fathers ate
And sadly found it so.

Forbidden fruit's rebellion's cause,
In ev'ry sense and time:
Forbidden fruit's the fatal growth
Of ev'ry age and clime.

Forbidden fruit's New England's choice;
She claims it as her due;
Forbidden fruit, with heart and voice,
The colonies pursue.

Forbidden fruit our parents chose
Instead of life and peace;
Forbidden fruit to be the choice
Of men will never cease.

THE CONTRAST.

(" *Refused a place in the newspaper, Philadelphia, 1775—the printer not daring to insert it at that time of much boasted liberty.*")

No greater bliss doth God on man bestow,
Than sacred peace; from which all blessings flow:
In peace the city reaps the merchant's gains,
In peace flows plenty from the rural plains;
In peace through foreign lands the stranger may
Fearless and safely travel on his way.

No greater curse invades the world below,
Than civil war, the source of ev'ry wo
In war the city wastes in dire distress;
In war the rural plains, a wilderness;
In war, the road, the city and the plain
Are scenes of wo, of blood and dying men.
Nulla salus bello.—VIRG.

I also add a little of his poetry concerning his age and country, the autographs of which may be seen, by the curious, on page 346 of my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to wit:

Now seventy-seven years at last
Of my declining life are past;
Painful and weak my body's grown,
My flesh is wasted to the bone.
As ev'ry other thing we see,
Which hath beginning, so must we
Dissolve into the state we were
Before our present being here;
From which 'tis plain to ev'ry eye,
Men die to live, and live to die.

" Ubi amicus, ibi patria."—MARTIAL.
Where my friend is, there is my country.

You ask me when I shall again
My country see, my native plain?
'Tis not alone the soil nor air,
Where I was born, I most prefer;
Among my friends, where'er I come,
There is my country, there my home.

Charles Thomson.

This venerable, pious and meritorious public servant, whose name is associated with all the leading measures of the war of Independence, came from Ireland to this country in his boyhood, at only ten years of age. His father was a respectable man, a widower, emigrating to this country, but was so preyed upon by sickness at sea, as to die when just within sight of our capes; there young Thomson and

his brother had to endure the appalling sight of seeing their honoured parent cast into the deep—a prey to voracious fishes, and themselves, as orphans, exposed to the neglect or wiles of man. The captain, in the opinion of the lads, was unfaithful, and took possession of their father's property to their exclusion. They were landed at Newcastle, among strangers; but for a time were placed by the captain with the family of a blacksmith. There Charles Thomson greatly endeared himself to the family—so much so, that they thought of getting him bound to them, and to be brought up to the trade.* He chanced to overhear them speaking on this design one night, and determining, from the vigour of his mind, that he should devote himself to better business, he arose in the night and made his escape with his little all packed upon his back. As he trudged the road, not knowing whither he went, it was his chance or providence in the case, to be overtaken by a travelling lady of the neighbourhood, who, entering into conversation with him, asked him "what he would like to be in future life." He promptly answered, he should like to be a scholar, or to gain his support by his mind and pen. This so much pleased her that she took him home and placed him at school. He was afterwards, as I have understood, aided in his education by his brother, who was older than himself. Through him he was educated by that classical scholar, the Rev. Dr. Allison, who taught at Thunder hill. Grateful for the help of this brother, he in after life rewarded the favour by making him the gift of a farm not far from Newcastle. The son of that brother, (a very gentlemanly man,) my friend and correspondent, John Thomson, Esq., now dwells at Newark, in Delaware, and has possession of all the MSS. of his uncle, Charles Thomson. With him dwells Charles Thomson's sister, an ancient maiden lady, who came out to this country some years ago. Charles Thomson himself, although many years married, never had any children to live.

Charles Thomson in early life became one of the early teachers of the languages in the academy; as much to serve the cause of literature, to which he was solicited by Dr. Franklin, as for his personal gain. Later in life he entered into business of the mercantile nature, and was at one time concerned in the Batsto furnace—still retaining his residence at Philadelphia.

He told me that he was first induced to study Greek from having bought a part of the Septuagint at an auction in this city. He bought it for a mere trifle, and without knowing what it was, save that the crier said it was outlandish letters. When he had mastered it enough to understand it, his anxiety became great to see the whole; but he could find no copy. Strange to tell—in the interval of two years, passing the same store, and chancing to look in, he then saw the remainder actually crying off for a few pence, and he bought it! I

* He went to the forge and made a nail so well himself, after once seeing it done, that they augured favourably of his future ingenuity.

used to tell him that the translation which he afterwards made should have had these facts set to the front of that work as a preface; for that great work, the first of the kind in the English language, strangely enough, was ushered into the world without any preface! For want of some introductory explanation to the common English reader, it was not known to be of great value in Biblical elucidation, and therefore was but seldom sold or read. Yet Dr. A. Clarke, who is good authority in this matter, says it is a treasure in itself, absolutely indispensable to Bible truth. He told me that such was his passion for Greek study, that he actually walked, when young, to Amboy, for the purpose of seeing and conversing there with a stranger, a British officer, the first rate Greek scholar then in our country.

When Charles Thomson first saw Philadelphia, the whole of the ground between the house, afterwards his, at the corner of Spruce and Fourth streets, and the river, was all open and covered with whortleberry bushes, and much of it of a miry soil towards the Little Dock creek and river shore.

His appointment as Secretary to Congress was singular. He had lately married Miss Harrison, who inherited the estate of Harriton, where he afterwards lived and died. Coming with her to Philadelphia, he had scarcely alighted from his carriage when a message came to him from the President of Congress—when first in session, in 1774—to say he wished to see him immediately. He went forthwith, not conceiving what could be purposed, and was told he was wished to take their minutes. He set to it as for a temporary affair; but in fact became their Secretary thereby for several years! As no compensation was received for that first service, the Congress presented him with a silver urn (still in the family) inscribed as their gift; and as a compliment to his lady, whom they had so divested of his attentions, she was asked by the committee to say what vessel it should be, and she chose an urn.

He was after the peace much urged to write a history of the Revolution, and after the year 1789, when he first settled at Harriton, actually gathered many curious and valuable papers, and wrote many pages of the work; but at length, as his nephew told me, he resolved to destroy the whole, giving as his chief reason, that he was unwilling to blast the reputation of families rising into repute, whose progenitors must have had a bad character in such a work. A letter from John Jay, which I saw, stimulated him to execute it "as the best qualified man in the country."

Many facts concerning Mr. Thomson and his measures in the period of the Revolution will be found connected with my facts under that article, and therefore not to be usefully repeated here.

Mr. Thomson was made an adopted son in the Delaware tribe at the treaty at Easton, in 1756. He had been invited by sundry Friends, members of the Peace Association, to attend for them, and take minutes in short hand. It was the proper business of the secretary of the Governor, the Rev. Mr. Peters; but his minutes were

so often disputed in the reading of them, by the Indian Chief Tedeuscund, that Mr. Thomson's inofficial minutes were called for, and they, in the opinion of the Indians, were true. From their respect to this fact, they forthwith solemnly adopted him into their family, under the appropriate name of "the man who tells the truth,"—in Indian sounds thus, to wit: "Wegh-wu-law-mo-end." It is not a little curious that this name, in substance, became his usual appellation during the war of the Revolution, for, as secretary of Congress, credence was given to his official reports, which always were looked for to settle doubtful news and flying reports, saying on such occasions, "Here comes the truth; here is Charles Thomson!"

He once related an incident of his life to Mrs. Logan, which strongly marked the integrity of his feelings. When young he became an inmate in the house of David I. Dove, the doggerel satirist, whom he soon found, as well as his wife, addicted to the most unpitying scandal; this was altogether irksome to his honest nature. Wishing to leave them, and still dreading their reproach when he should be gone, he hit upon an expedient to exempt himself: he gravely asked them one evening if his behaviour, since he had been their boarder, had been satisfactory to them? They readily answered, "O yes." Would you then be willing to give me a certificate to that effect? "O certainly," was the reply. A certificate was given, and the next day he parted from them in peace.

Charles Thomson, was favoured by Divine Providence with a long and peaceful life—as if in reward for his generous services for his country, as the honoured instrument for translating the Scriptures, and for his exalted *love of truth.* He was indeed the Caleb of the war of the Revolution; and while he prolonged his life, he might exclaim like the spy of Israel—as he sometimes did,—"As yet I am strong this day as I was in the day that Moses sent me; as my strength was then, even so is my strength now—both to go out and to come in!"

In April, 1824, I visited Charles Thomson, then in his 95th year. I found him still the erect, tall man he had ever been; his countenance very little changed, but his mental faculties in ruins. He could not remember me although formerly an occasional visiter. He appeared cheerful, and with many smiles expressed thankfulness for the usual expressions of kindness extended to him. He was then under the surveillance of his nephew, John Thomson, who, with his family, lived on the Harriton farm, and managed its concerns.

Charles Thomson passed the most of his time reposing and slumbering on a settee in the common parlour. A circumstance occurred at the dinner table, at the head of which he was usually placed, which sufficiently marked the abberration of his mind, even while it showed that "his very failings leaned to virtue's side." While the grace was saying by a clergyman present, he began in an elevated and audible voice to say the Lord's prayer, and he did not desist, nor regard the other, although his grace was also saying at the same

time! It was remarkable that his prayer was all said in the words of his own translation, and with entire correctness. He made no remarks at the table, and ate without discrimination whatever was set before him. In his rooms I observed, besides the silver urn before mentioned, a portrait of himself and second wife, Miss Harrison—a colossal bust of J. P. Jones, the celebrated naval commander, a small man—a large print of William Tell, and an engraved likeness of the Count de Vergennes, and of C. J. Fox.

He employed many years of his life in making his translation of the Septuagint; nor could he be drawn from it into public life, although solicited by the letters of Washington himself, which I have seen. He looked to be useful; and he deemed, as he said, that he had a call of Providence to that pursuit. He improved it with most sedulous anxiety and care for its perfection—writing it over and over again six or seven times. His original printed Septuagint has been given to the Theological Library at Allegheny College, since his death. Some others of his relics are in my possession; and the chief of them are with his nephew, at Newark, Delaware.

He died the 16th of August, 1824, in the 95th year of his age, and was interred in the private burial ground on the Harriton farm. In the year 1838, however, his remains were exhumed at the instance of his nephew, and conveyed to the Laurel Hill Cemetery, both as an honour to that place, and as a duty due to the honoured individual himself. The monument is in the form of Cleopatra's needle—16 feet in height, and placed in a conspicuous position on the river side. It bears an inscription which I was honoured to compose, and which was formed for four divisions, to be placed severally on the four sides of the basement, but owing to the spalling of the granite it could not be so engraved, and was therefore set on a side marble slab in *one* entire inscription, thus:—

This monument
Covers the remains of the
Honourable
Charles Thomson,
The first, and long
The confidential Secretary of the
Continental Congress,
And the
Enlightened benefactor of his country
In its day of peril and need.
Born Nov., 1729,
Died Aug. 16, 1824.
Full of honours and of years

As a Patriot,
His memorial and just honours
Are inscribed on the pages
Of his country's history

As a Christian,
His piety was sincere and enduring,
His Biblical learning was profound,
As is shown by his translation of the Septuagint.
As a man,
He was honoured, loved and wept.

Erected
To the memory of an honoured
Uncle and Benefactor,
By his nephew,
John Thomson of Delaware.
Hic jacet
Homo veritatis et gratiæ.

I give the following lines of poetry, as marking the feelings which the visit to such a man inspired. "In his commendation I am fed."

There one I saw
Who in this wilderness had trod, till life
Retreated from the bloodless veins, and made
Faint stand at her last fortress. His wan brow
Was lightly furrow'd, and his lofty form*
Unbent by time, while dignified, erect,
And passionless, he made his narrow round
From couch to casement, and his eye beheld
This world of shadowy things unmoved, as one
Who was about to cast his vesture off
In weariness to sleep. Sly memory slipt
Her treacherous cable from the reeling mind,†
Blotting the chart whereon it loved to gaze
Amid the sea of years. His course had been
On those high places, where the dazzling ray
Of honour shines; and when men's souls were tried,
As in a furnace, his came forth like gold.

To his dull ear
I spake the message of a friend who walked
With him in glory's path, and nobly shared
That fellowship in danger and in toil
Which knits pure souls together. But the name
Restored no image of the cherish'd form
So long beloved. I should have said farewell,
In brokenness of heart,—but up he rose
And, with a seerlike majesty, poured forth
His holy adjuration to the God
Who o'er life's broken wave had borne his bark
Safe toward the haven. Deep that thrilling prayer‡
Sank down into my bosom, like a spring
Of comfort and of joy.

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* His "lofty form, unbent by time," was remarkable.
† His memory of all, save his religion, was gone.
‡ His prevailing thoughts were all devotional.

Deborah Logan.

I cannot presume to offer, in this place, any thing like a biographical notice of this eminent lady, who did me the honour to be my steadfast friend, and to whom I was so usefully indebted for many facts of the olden times; but it seems not wholly out of place to set her name in close connexion with her much esteemed cousin, Charles Thomson, the name preceding; besides, Mrs. Logan was a diligent and judicious compiler of historical events of Pennsylvania, and had received, as she deserved, the appellation of "the female historian of the colonial times." How I valued and appreciated her character and memory may be here expressed in the obituary which I published at the time of her lamented decease, on the 2d February, 1839, in the 78th year of her age—to wit:

"Mrs. Deborah Logan, the refined, the enlightened and the good, now sleeps in death! She died at the family seat, at Stenton, near Germantown, on the 2d instant, in the 78th year of her age.

"It is not often that a person descends to the tomb, leaving so wide, so deep a void. Matured and fitted as she was for eternity, she is, nevertheless, painfully missed from the circle which she adorned: a general gloom affects and saddens her numerous friends.

"All ranks and classes among us know something of her peculiar excellence,—the poor and the ignorant, as well as the cultivated and refined. Her manners possessed a peculiarly winning grace and ease, —strongly expressive of benevolence and polished politeness combined. Her ability to adapt herself to all circumstances, and to all and every occasion of life, shone in her actions with all the grace and purity of Christian love and gentleness, for she was deeply imbued with Christian affections and graces.

"To love such a lovely woman was instinctive in all who approached her—she was the delight of the young, and the beloved of the aged. Rarely indeed does it fall to the lot of humanity, in old age, to possess so many points of attraction, so many traits of loveliness and goodness, worthy to be admired in life, and fondly remembered in death.

"That she was of a superior order of female excellence and intelligence, may be inferred from her fine talent as a composuist, both in prose and verse. Her modesty and unwillingness to meet the public gaze did not allow her to come before the world in her proper name; but it is known to some that she has received the emphatic name of "the female historian of Pennsylvania," as due to her for the large manuscript collections of historical papers which she had compiled and elucidated for future public instruction. She delighted to live in the memory of the past, and her mind was therefore rich in imagery of other times—

> "You might have asked her, and she could have told
> How, step by step, her native place threw off

Its rude colonial vestments, for the garb
That cities wear.
And she could give recitals of a race
Now rooted up and perished. Many a date
And legend, slumbers in that ample breast,
Which History coveted."

Edward Duffield

Was a very respectable inhabitant of Philadelphia—very intelligent as a reading man; and as a watch and clock maker, at the head of his profession in the city. He was the particular friend, and, finally, executor of Dr. Franklin. He made the first medals ever executed in the province—such as the destruction of the Indians at Kittataning, in 1756, by Colonel Armstrong, &c.

When he kept his shop at the north-west corner of Second and Arch streets, he used to be so annoyed by frequent applications of passing persons to inquire the time of day—for in early days the gentry only carried watches—that he hit upon the expedient of making a clock with a double face, so as to show north and south at once; and projecting this out from the second story, it became the first standard of the town. That same olden clock is the same now in use at the lower Dublin academy; near to which place his son Edward now lives. He is a curious preserver of the relics of his father's day.

Lindley Murray,

So celebrated for his English Grammar and other elementary works on English education, was a Pennsylvanian by birth—born in the year 1745, and died at York, in England, in 1826. He was the eldest son of Robert Murray, who established in New York the mercantile houses of Robert and John Murray, and of Murray and Sansom—houses of eminence in their day. Lindley Murray studied law in New York, in the same office with John Jay. He afterwards went into mercantile business there, but on account of his declining health, said to have been occasioned by a strain in springing across Burling's slip—a great distance—he went to England and settled at York, at the place called Holdgate, where he died, full of years and in love with God and man. His mother, who was Mary Lindley, was also born in Philadelphia—was the same lady who so ingeniously and patriotically entertained General Howe and his staff at her mansion after their landing at Kip's bay, near New York—thus giving to General Putnam, who would otherwise have been caught in New York, the chance of getting off with his command of 3000 men and their stores. The fact is admitted by Stedman, in his History of the War—himself a British officer and a native of Philadelphia.

Benjamin West.

Our distinguished countryman from Chester county, when he was yet a lad without reputation, boarded, when in Philadelphia, at a house (now down) in Strawberry alley. To indulge his favourite passion for the pencil, he painted in that house, while there, two pictures upon the two large cedar panels—usual in old houses—over the mantel-pieces. One of them was a sea piece. There they remained, smoked and neglected, until the year 1825, when Thomas Rogers, the proprietor, had them taken out and cleansed, and since they have been given to the hospital, to show, by way of contrast to his finished production of Christ healing the sick. Samuel R. Wood told me that Benjamin West bid him to seek out and preserve those early efforts of his mind.

William Rush.

Few citizens of Philadelphia are more deserving of commendation for their excellence in their profession than this gentleman, as a ship carver. In his skill in his art he surpasses any other American, and probably any other ship carver in the world! He gives more grace and character to his figures than are to be found in any other wooden designs. He ought to have been encouraged to leave specimens of his best skill for posterity, by receiving an order to that effect from some of the learned societies. I have heard him say his genius would be most displayed in carving the three great divisions of the human face —the negro, the American Indian, and the white man. The contour or profile of these run diametrically opposite; because the features of a white man, which stand in relief, all proceed from a perfect perpendicular line, thus | . A negro's has a projecting forehead and lips, precisely the reverse of those of the Indian, thus (; but an Indian's, thus).*

I made it my business to become acquainted with Mr. Rush, because I have admired his remarkable talents. He was born in Philadelphia; his father was a ship carpenter. From his youth he was fond of ships, and used, when a boy, to pass his time in the garret in cutting out ships from blocks of wood, and to exercise himself in drawing figures in chalk and paints. When of a proper age he followed his inclination in engaging his term of apprenticeship with Edward Cutbush, from London, the then best carver of his day. He was a man of spirited execution, but inharmonious proportions. Walking attitudes were then unknown; but all rested astride the cutwater. When Rush first saw, on a foreign vessel, a walking figure, he instantly conceived the design of more tasteful and graceful figures than had been before executed. He instantly

* To these might be added the features of a Jew, if an artist could express them.

surpassed his master; and having once opened his mind to the contemplation and study of such attitudes and figures as he saw in nature, he was very soon enabled to surpass all his former performances. Then his figures began to excite admiration in foreign ports. The figure of the "Indian Trader" to the ship William Penn (the Trader was dressed in Indian habiliments) excited great observation in London. The carvers there would come in boats and lay near the ship, and sketch designs from it. They even came to take casts, of plaster of Paris, from the head. This was directly after the Revolution, when she was commanded by Captain Josiah. When he carved a river god as the figure for the ship Ganges, the Hindoos came off in numerous boats to pay their admiration and perhaps reverence to the various emblems in the trail of the image. On one occasion, the house of Nicklin and Griffeth actually had orders from England, to Rush, (nearly forty years ago,) to carve two figures for two ships building there. One was a female personation of commerce. The duties in that case cost more than the first cost of the images themselves! A fine Indian figure, in Rush's best style, might be preserved in some public edifice for many centuries to come; even as he carved the full statue of Washington for the Academy of Arts—making the figure hollow in the trunk and limbs, to add to its durability.

Isaac Hunt, Esq.

This gentleman was the author of many poetic squibs against Dove and his party; they were often affixed to caricatures. This Hunt, a Philadelphian, was educated a lawyer, and proving a strong loyalist at the Revolution, he was carted round the city to be tarred and feathered at the same time with Dr. Kearsley. He then fled to England, and became a clergyman of the established church. He was the father of the present celebrated Leigh Hunt, on the side of the Radicals in England. So different do father and son sometimes walk! One of Hunt's satires thus spoke of Dove, to wit:

> "See Lilliput, in beehive wig,
> A most abandon'd sinner!
> Would vote for boar, or sow, or pig,
> To gain thereby a dinner."

James Pellar Malcom, F. S. A.

An artist of celebrity in England, who died there about the year 1815, was born of the Pellar family, of Solesbury township, Bucks county. He was an only son, and his mother, to enable him to prosecute his studies in England, sold her patrimonial estate on the banks of the Delaware. The ancestor of the family, James Pellar, was a Friend, who came out with Penn. In 1689, he built his house here, which remained in the family till sold out and taken down in

1793. Mr. Malcom appears to have visited this country in 1806, and to have been much gratified in finding numerous rich farmers of the name of Pellar, members of the Society of Friends—"descendants (he says) of original settlers—*the old Castilians* of the place." A pre-eminence we are ever willing to accord to all families of original settlers. Thus constituting such, by courtesy and respect, the proper *primores* of our country. Particulars concerning him may be seen in the Gentlemen's Magazine, vol. 85—year 1815. Much concerning old James Pellar, of Solesbury, Bucks county, as given by my aged friend, Samuel Preston, Esq., as his recollections of him, is given at some length in my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, p. 491. He is there described as of great natural genius, a wit—fond of poetry, and sub-surveyor.

Andrew Wallace.

There is now alive, (March, 1833,) in Chester county, near West Chester, Andrew Wallace, in the one hundred and fourth year of his age—a pensioner of the United States,—has a wife and two children—his youngest about fifteen years of age! Retains a fine intelligent countenance, and is in full possession of his faculties—his body shakes with paralysis. He was born at Inverness, in Scotland, 14th March, 1730. Was at the battle of Culloden, on the side of the Stuarts. He came to America in 1752; joined soon after Captain Hannum's company at Chester, as a sergeant, in the French war; was with Forbes' division at the time of Braddock's defeat. At the Revolutionary war, joined Colonel Anthony Wayne's 4th regiment, and served in it through all the war; was in many of our battles, and was one who escaped at the Paoli massacre; was a sergeant in the Forlorn Hope, at Stony Point, and finally, at the surrender of Cornwallis. In 1791, he served with Captain Doyle, in St. Clair's defeat by the Indians; was finally discharged as disabled, at the age of *eighty*, at New Orleans, in 1812, from the regiment of Colonel Cushing. He always had a bias for military life; never sought a place above a sergeant. Wonderful that such a man should have so long survived "the haps and ills of life." Charles Miner described him to me, as a man he much desired me to see! There has been made a likeness of him in Philadelphia.

William Butler,

Another aged wonder I visited at Philadelphia, at his son's house in south Ninth street, below Locust street, aged 103–4 years; he being born in Merion, on the 15th February, 1730, at the Gulf; he died in May, 1833, in his 108th year. Butler's father died at 89 years; had in his 84th year worked fifteen days in harvesting. My visit to him was on the 14th May, 1833; he had been rambling about the city, a walk of two miles, *out and in!* At my salutation

of, "Sir, how do you do, this warm day?" "Do, sir!" he replied, "why *like* a young man! I have been walking up one street and down another, looking about, *for several hours*, visiting where I chose." All this he spoke with strong, full utterance, and with a lively, good-natured cheerfulness. He had no aches, no pains, to annoy him; ate well; his hair but half gray; a man of middle stature and weight; one eye seemingly blind and covered with green silk, and the other small, and of defective vision. He had some time before a paralytic affection, which now caused some tremulous motions to his head occasionally. When a young man, of about twenty-four years of age, he became a provincial in the Pennsylvania Greens; was with them at Braddock's defeat; well remembered Washington's services there. At one time he made several voyages to sea; when on shore, he worked as a ship-carpenter. He joined Gen. Wayne in the Revolution, and served till he saw Cornwallis surrender at Yorktown. He seemed to have full recollection of Governor James Hamilton, who was governor from 1748 to '54; spoke also of Governor Morris and Governor Denny, who were here in 1754 and '56.

General Washington,

While he lived in Philadelphia, as President, had his formal *levee* visits every two weeks, on Tuesday afternoon, and were understood by himself, to be as *President* of the United States, and not on his own account. He was therefore not to be seen by any and every body, but required that every one should be introduced by his secretary, or by some gentlemen whom he knew himself. The place of reception was the dining room in the rear—a room of about 30 feet in length. Mrs. Washington received her visiters in the two rooms on the second floor from front to rear.

At 3 o'clock the visiter was introduced to this dining room, from which all seats had been removed for the time. On entering, he saw the tall manly figure of Washington, clad in black silk velvet, his hair in full dress; powdered and gathered behind in a large silk bag; yellow gloves on his hands, holding a cocked hat with a black cockade in it, and the edges adorned with a black feather about an inch deep. He wore knee and shoe buckles, and a long sword. He stood always in front of the fire place, with his face towards the door of entrance. The visiter was conducted to him, and his name distinctly announced. He received his visiter with a dignified bow, in a manner *avoiding* to shake hands,—even with best friends. As visiters came they formed a circle round the room; and at a quarter past three the door was closed, and the circle was formed for that day. He then began on the right, and spake to each visiter, calling him by name, and exchanging a few words. When he had completed his circuit, he resumed his first position, and the visiters approaching him in succession, bowed and retired. By 4 o'clock this



GENERAL WASHINGTON.

A Remarkable Likeness, by Folwell.

Vol. I. p. 578.

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ceremony was over. These facts have been learned in general from the reminiscences of Gen. Sullivan.

Mrs. Washington's *levees* were every Friday evening, at which occasion the General was always present. It was an occasion for emulous and aspiring belles to essay to win his attention; but he was never familiar; his countenance uniformly, even there, preserved its habitual gravity. A lady of his family said it was his habit also when without company; and that she only remembered him to have *once* made a hearty laugh in a narrative and incident in which she was a party. The truth was, his deportment was unavoidably grave —it was sobriety—stopping short of sadness. His presence inspired a veneration and a feeling of awe, rarely experienced in the presence of any man. His mode of speaking was slow and deliberate; not as though he was in search of fine words, but that he might utter those only adapted to his purposes.

Having by one means or other picked up a few scraps concerning this great man, I will at least gratify myself by their record and preservation, to wit:

Governeur Morris, at Philadelphia, once made a bet that he could treat Gen. Washington *familiarly*. He undertook it at the dinner table, by taking occasion to pat the General on the shoulder and say, "old gentleman do you believe that?" The silent look of Washington made him feel the repulse in the presence of the betters. At Alexandria, on occasion of Washington's dining there as a farmer among farmers, it was agreed before hand not to rise on his entrance, but they all rose involuntarily. These facts were told to me by Dr. Thomas C. James, who had it from persons present.

The late Dr. Joseph Priestley, when he resided at Northumberland town, in Pennsylvania, speaking of Gen. Washington, said that he heard the celebrated Edmund Burke, then a member of the English parliament, say, he was one of the wisest men in the world.

The late Isaac Potts, well known for his good sense, hospitality and urbanity, who resided at the Valley Forge, near Schuylkill river, a preacher to Friends, and with whom my informant spent a few days in March, 1788, informed him that at the time our army was encamped there, he one day took a walk up Valley Creek, and not far from his dam he heard a solemn voice, and walked quietly towards it, he observed Gen. Washington's horse tied to a small sapling, and in a thicket he saw the General on his knees, praying most fervently. He halted, as he did not wish to disturb him at his devotions, and as the General spoke in a low voice, he could only now and then understand a word, but not enough to connect what he said, but he saw the tears flowing copiously down his cheeks.

He retired quietly and unobserved. Mr. Potts informed him he was very much surprised, and considerably agitated, and on returning to his house, the moment he entered the room where his wife was sitting, he burst into tears, and upon her inquiring the cause, he

informed her what he had seen, adding, that if there was any one on this earth that the Lord will listen to, it is George Washington;—that now, *he had or felt a presentiment*, that under such a commander, there could be no doubt of our eventually establishing our independence, and that God in his providence had willed it to be so. This he told my informant in the presence of his amiable family, and though some years had intervened, he was much agitated,—there was something in his manner of relating it, and expatiating on the General's morals, and other good qualities, that all present were in tears. Rev. J. Eastburn saw him so at prayer near Princeton battle.

I have the hair of Washington in a gold locket, which is embellished with Washington at the battle of Trenton, it consists of two parcels; the principal body was cut off in 1781, by Martin Perrie, his hairdresser, and was given to me in 1830, by his son John, in Philadelphia. The small circle of two long gray hairs, tied together by a silk thread, was a part of that preserved by Gen. Mifflin, and was given to me in 1828, by Samuel Chew, Esq.

I have also a button taken off of Gen. Washington's military coat, received from P. A. Brown, Esq., in 1834. It was taken off the coat in 1802, by Mr. Fields, a portrait painter, in the District of Columbia. It was on his coat of the 22d Regiment, and is so marked.

When Congress agreed by law to rest at Philadelphia *ten years*, the Legislature of Pennsylvania voted a large edifice for Gen. Washington as President, in South Ninth street, (the site of present University,) but the President, when he saw it, would not occupy it, because of the great expense to furnish it at *his own cost;* for then the nation never thought of *that* charge to their account. His dinner parties were given every *Thursday* at four o'clock *precisely*, never *waiting* for any guests; his company usually assembled 15 to 20 minutes before dinner in the drawing room. He always dressed in a suit of black, sword by his side, and hair powdered. Mrs. Washington often, but not always, dined with the company; and if there were ladies present, they sat on each side of her. Mr. Lear, his private secretary, sat at the foot of the table, and was expected to be specially attentive to all the guests. The President himself, sat half way from the head to the foot of the table, and on that side which would place Mrs. Washington, though distant from him, on his right hand. He always asked a blessing at his own table, and in a standing posture. If a clergyman was present he asked him to do it. The dishes were always without covers; a small roll of bread enclosed in a napkin was on the side of each plate. The President generally dined on *one* dish, and that of a very simple kind. He avoided the first or second course, as "too rich for me!" He had a silver pint cup or mug of beer placed by his plate, of which he drank; he took but *one* glass of wine at dinner, and commonly *one* after. He then retired, (the ladies having gone a little before) leaving his secretary to tarry with the wine-bibbers, while they might further remain. There were placed upon his table, as ornaments, sundry alabaster mytholo-

gical figures of about two feet high. The centre of the table contained five or six large silver or plated waiters. The table itself was of an oval shape; at the end were also some silver waiters of an oval form.

It was the habit of Gen. Washington to go every day at 12 o'clock to set his watch at Clark's standard, south-east corner of Front and High streets. There all the porters took off their hats and stood uncovered, till he turned and went back again. He always bowed to such salutation, and lifted his hat in turn.

It was a singular thing in the *death* of this great man, that he died in the last *hour*, last *day* of the *week*, last *month* of the year, and last *year* of the *century*, viz.:—Saturday night at 12 o'clock, December, 1799.

In Dec. 1837, the remains of this great father of our nation, after a slumber of 38 years, were once more exposed "to be seen of men," by the circumstance of placing his body once and for ever within the *Sarcophagus* of marble, made and presented by Mr. Struthers of Philadelphia. The body, as Mr. S. related, was still in wonderful preservation; the high pale brow wore a calm and serene expression, and the lips pressed together, had a grave and solemn smile. A piece of his coffin has been given to me by a lady.

The New York Mirror, of May 1834, has a couple of columns of well told tales, showing that Washington once got benighted in a town near the Hudson and the Highlands, and sought a shelter in a poor man's house, and that they heard him *pray*, at length, for himself and his country. The account adds, the family retain with fond regard a token which he left. The difficulty in this story is, that *names and places* are avoided. It ought not to have been so, *if true.*

Gen. Sullivan, in his late publication, states that it was considered, by all his military family, that he had a time every day, set apart for retirement and devotion.

Rev. Dr. Jones, of the Presbyterian church at Morristown, has declared that he administered the communion to Gen. Washington, by *his request*, while he was there, in command of the American army, —at the public table.

Gen. Washington was born on a plantation called *Wakefield*, lying on Pope's creek, in Westmoreland county, Va. The house was about 300 yards from the creek, at half a mile from its entrance into the Potomac. The mansion was long since in ruins; but in 1815, W. Custis and S. Lewis went there and gathered from the remains a pedestal, and they placed on the top an inscribed stone which they took with them, bearing the words, "Here, the 22nd. Feb., 1732, Washington was born." The situation of this, his *solum natale*, is said to be verdant and beautiful, and might be readily visited by steamboat parties, laying in the Potomac. The place now belongs to John Gray, Esq.

Washington's coach was presented to him, it is said, by Louis XVI., King of France, as a mark of personal esteem and regard. Others

have said it had been brought out for the late Governor Penn. It was cream-colored, globular in its shape, and capacious within; ornamented in the French style, with Cupids supporting festoons, and wreaths of flowers, emblematically arranged along the pannel work; the figures and flowers beautifully covered with fine glass, very white and dazzling to the eye of youth and simplicity in such matters. It was drawn sometimes by four, but in common by two, very elegant Virginia bays, with long switch tails, and splendid harness, and driven by a German, tall and muscular, possessing an aqueline nose; he wore a cocked hat, square to the front, seemingly, in imitation of his principal, but thrown a little back upon his long *cue*, and presenting to the memory a figure not unlike the one of Frederick of Prussia, upon the sign in Race street: he exhibited an important air, and was evidently proud of his charge. On the death of Washington, this coach found its way to New Orleans, after the purchase of Louisiana, and there being found at a plantation in the time of Packenham's invasion, got riddled with shot and destroyed. The chief of its iron work has since been used in the palisade to H. Milne's grave.

On Sunday mornings, at the gate of Christ Church, the appearance of this coach, awaiting the breaking up of the service, never failed in drawing a crowd of persons, eager, when he came forth, for another view of this *nobleman of nature*—and stamping with their feet in freezing weather upon the pavement to keep them warm the while. The indistinct sounds of the concluding voluntary upon the organ within was no sooner heard by them than the press became formidable, considering the place and the day. During the slow movement of the dense crowd of worshippers issuing from the opened door, and the increased volume of sound from the organ, it was not necessary for the stranger visiting the city, and straining his vision to behold the General for the first time, to inquire of his jostled neighbour—which is he? There could be no mistake in this matter, Washington was to be known at once.

His noble height and commanding air, his person enveloped, in what was not very common in those days, a rich blue Spanish cloak, faced with red silk velvet, thrown over the left shoulder; his easy unconstrained movement; his inimitable expression of countenance, on such occasions beaming with mild dignity and beneficence combined; his patient demeanour in the crowd, emerging from it, to the eye of the beholder, like the bright silvery moon, at night, from the edge of a dark cloud; his gentle bendings of the neck, to the right and to the left, parentally, and expressive of delighted feelings on his part: these, with the appearance of the awed, and charmed, and silent crowd of spectators, gently falling back, on each side, as he approached, unequivocally announced to the gazing stranger, as with the voice of one "trumpet tongued"—behold the man!

One day in summer, passing up Market street on a message, the reminiscent was struck with the novel spectacle of this splendid coach, with *six* elegant bays attached, postilions and outrider in livery, in

waiting at the President's door, and although charged to make haste back, was determined to see the end of it. Presently the door opened, when the "beheld of all beholders," in a suit of dark silk velvet of the old cut, silver or steel hilted small sword at left side, hair full powdered, black silk rose and bag, accompanied by "Lady Washington," also in full dress, appeared standing upon the marble steps—presenting her his hand he led her down to the coach, with that ease and grace peculiar to him in every thing, and as remembered, with the attentive assiduity of an ardent youthful lover;—having also handed in a young lady, and the door clapped to, Fritz, the coachman, gave a rustling flourish with his lash, which produced a plunging motion in the leading horses, reined in by the postilions, and striking flakes of fire between their heels and the pebbles beneath—when

> "Crack went the whip, round went the wheels,
> As though *High street* were mad."

The President's house, of which I give a picture in this work, came in time to be occupied the one half as a boarding house, and the other half as a confectionery; but at that time it was considered as the only house, obtainable in the city, suitable for the residence of General George Washington, the first President of the United States. It stood on High street, one door east from the south-east corner of Sixth street. Now N. Burts' three houses, 192 to 194.

John Fitch.

Among the wonderful things of this wonderful age, must be mentioned the oblivious neglect of this extraordinary man! The only parallel case among us has been the long oblivion resting upon the name and fame of Godfrey. Scarcely any seem to have acquainted themselves with the individual history of Mr. Fitch. They only seem to know him, as being like "the man who the longitude *missed on*"—and as he, *who failed* to make *his profits* out of the invention of *the steamboat!* The fame, and the rewards, have fallen into later hands:—not unlike the labours of the late Captain Edmund Fanning, who first suggested and urged all the measures, means and benefits, for an exploration of the polar regions of the South Pole, whilst other names and persons are likely to engross the glory.

> "There are insects that prey
> On the brains of the Elk, till his very last sigh;
> Oh, Genius! thy patrons, more cruel than they,
> First *feed on thy brains*, and then *leave thee to die!*"

Finding that none—so far, will interest themselves to exalt, or preserve the name and merits of "poor John Fitch," as he feelingly called himself, I shall herein endeavour to set down sundry facts belonging to his personal history. He went astray in the opinion of many in his religious faith; but so far as we know, he lived cor-

rectly; and in general conduct was much better than many who have juster theories to help their actions and morals.

The ancestors of John Fitch—for he had respectable ancestors—with a vellum of pedigree and a coat of arms, were originally Saxon, and emigrated to Essex, in England; from thence, they went out to Windsor, Connecticut; where his great grandfather purchased one-twentieth of the original settlement, and left it to three sons—Joseph, Nathaniel, and Samuel.

John Fitch, the inventor, was born on the line, between Hartford and Windsor, on the 21st January, 1743. He served his time, after he was eighteen years of age, at clockmaking, with Benjamin Cheaney, in East Windsor. He had two brothers, namely, Joseph and Augustus, and three sisters, Sarah, Anne, and Chloe. He said of himself, that "take him all and all, he was the most singular man of his age,—he having the winds and the fates against him through all his life!" He met with harsh treatment in early life from several, and especially from an elder brother with whom he lived—(his "good mother," Sarah Shaler, having died when he was only four years of age,) and he embraced infidel opinions when he was but seventeen years of age—superinduced, as he himself thought, by some certain slights inflicted upon him about the building of a certain meeting house in his neighbourhood. He was in his earliest youth fond of books and study, which he probably inherited from his father, John Fitch—(the son of Joseph,) "who had a genius for astronomy, mathematics and natural philosophy, and was a truly honest and good man."

John Fitch, the subject of this memoir, was married in the twenty-fifth year of his age, to Lucy Roberts, his elder, on the 29th December, 1767, and had a son, born the 3d November, 1768; but he only lived with his wife, with whom he dwelt in continual dissatisfaction, until the 18th January, 1769; when, as he says in his MS. book, he could endure it no longer, and so left his home, to seek more contentment in Trenton, N. J. There he remained and pursued the business of a silversmith and the repairing of clocks, until the breaking out of the revolutionary war—when he estimated his property acquired to be worth £800. He then took to gunsmithing for furthering on the war; employed twenty hands at it, until the entry of the British, when they destroyed his tools and furniture. He then fled into Bucks county, to the house of John Mitchell, in Attleborough, and afterwards went to Charles Garrison's, in Warminster township. While there, his 4000 dollars in continental money depreciated to 100 dollars. After this, he went to the west in 1780, as surveyor in Kentucky, and in 1782, intending a voyage to New Orleans with flour, he was made prisoner by the Indians, near the mouth of the Muskingum, on the Ohio. He was then carried, or rather driven, twelve hundred miles bare-headed, to Detroit and Prison Island, where he was given up to the British as a prisoner of war. He and his party were the first whites who were cap-

tured after Wilkinson's massacre of the Moravian Indians; and they had just reasons to fear every evil from their revenge. Of that captivity, he used to relate many very stirring and affecting anecdotes.

It ought to be here mentioned, that many facts of himself are related with much apparent frankness, in his MS. books bequeathed to the Philadelphia Library, and which being sealed, were not to be opened until thirty years after his death, and never to be lent out of the institution without a pledge of £500 for their safe return. Thus quitting his own age, and appealing to another, as if to say, that *he foresaw* that the next age could alone *do justice* to his memory. It may seem strange, that in such a reading community as Philadelphia affords, there should be found so many, so long indifferent to their examination and reading! Who, even to this day, can say that they have read them? There is however, I am assured, for I have not closely inspected them, much of deep instruction to be found in many of his observations. Speaking of himself while at Trenton, he says, that he had *proved* the fact, that "the best way to make the world believe him honest, was to be the thing itself,"—and to his sedulous practice therein he ascribes his rapid advancement in property. He had while there a greater run of business than any silversmith, even in Philadelphia itself: and his tools were certainly the best set then in America.

A gentleman, (D. L.,) who entertains warm feelings for John Fitch—regarding him as an unduly neglected and injured man, has kindly made me acquainted with many facts concerning him, and among other means of information which he possessed, he had made considerable examination of the MS. remains found in the first volume in the City Library. He speaks of the work as being "essentially a part and parcel of the man, and as exhibiting him in bold relief every how, and in every way; in his shop, in his thoughts, and in fine, in his very self." "You may *there* see a full portrait of the man as he was in his sympathies and in his aversions; there you may see the elaborate workings of an original and inventive mind." Will any consider?

There were two individuals of Bucks county,—women who were the neighbours and frequent observers of John Fitch, whilst he was a resident at Garrison's, and whilst he was working for himself, at his inventions in Jacobus Scouter's wheelwright shop; they were named Mary McDowell and Mrs. Jonathan Delany. From Mary, I have learned some facts of Fitch's lands and property in Kentucky. He owned there 1600 acres,—and whilst he was engaged with his favourite object, the steam enterprise, others settled the land and built thereon a fine mill and sundry dwellings and outhouses. Being possessed of capital, and having possession, they were enabled to suspend and defer any legal action. She thinks that his friends, Joseph Buda and Doctor Say, were in partnership with Fitch, about its recovery. Fitch, while in Kentucky, was a deputy surveyor, and seems to have been intimate with Colonel Todd and Colonel Harrod, then men of

consideration and consequence there. He had one of the best requisites of an efficient surveyor, in that he was a great walker; being tall, slender and sinewy. He told Mary that he had sold 800 of his Maps of the north-western parts of the United States, in the western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, making all his journey on foot; and on such occasions, he could always out-travel a horse. In walking he pitched forward, and went onward with a great swing. On one occasion, when he was robbed of his silver and gold, to the amount of £200, which he had buried for its better security, at Warminster, he walked to Spring Mill and back, before sunset,—making forty miles in the journey. One of his Maps is now at Warminster, preserved as a relic of the genius of the man. It is inscribed as, "Engraved and printed by the author;" and with equal truth it might have been imprinted thus:—"Engraved in Cobe Scout's wheelwright shop, and printed on Charles Garrison's cider press, by the author,"—for such were the facts in the case. All these efforts of the man were specially designed to raise funds, *whereby* to push forward to completion and success the absorbing subject of his steam invention. *That* was the theme and the purpose of all his thoughts and wishes.

"Slow rises worth by poverty depressed!"

It was observed of Mr. Fitch, that frequently when engaged at his work in the shop aforesaid, he would suddenly let fall his tools, and sit in an inclined posture, meditating for two hours at a time. The "worthy Nathaniel Irwin," the Presbyterian minister at Neshamany, was a frequent visiter of Fitch while employed at Cobe Scout's, (i. e. Jacobus Scouter's,) and would often stay examining the mechanical operations, and holding conversations with the inventor, for half a day at a time. Fitch deemed his visiter a "worthy man," and would frequently attend his sermons at the Neshamany church. His friend Cobe Scout lived to the year 1829, and died at the age of ninety years.

I am indebted to Mary McDowell for the fact, that Fitch had a daughter by his wife, born not long after he left his home. She (Mary) says, that the cause of his leaving his wife was an unfounded jealousy, and coupled with the fact, that she united herself with the Methodists against his will and expressed desire. This last may seem a small offence in the eyes of those who now understand and respect that sect: but when they were "the sect every where spoken against," and who went about every where "turning the world upside down" in their progress of proselyting, who can now appreciate the measure of offence to Fitch's hopes and wishes! Besides, he was, as I learned, a man of quick temper—easily provoked—not "slow to anger"—and in the case of his wife, hard to reconcile. We understood it to be a fact, that Mrs. Fitch, after the death of her father,—who left her a good estate—to herself and her two children,

sent her brother-in-law, Burnham, with a letter to her husband, urging his return again to Connecticut, and offering "to maintain him like a gentleman for life"—but he was inflexible, and peremptorily refused the proffered benefit. His spirit was entirely unbroken, though the winds and the fates were adverse in so many other things. He sent a pair of silver shoe-buckles to his son, and a gold ring to his daughter; but to his wife he refused to send any token of regard, or remembrance,—although he was much importuned thereto at the time, by Garrison's wife.

When I first became acquainted with the fact of John Fitch having left a son and a daughter to inherit his name and fame, and yet knew not that any could say who they were, or where they dwelt, I felt a strong desire to find out the facts in their cases. The result has been, that I have ascertained, after much inquiry, that his son was Shaler Fitch, a farmer of respectable character and circumstances, settled at Hartford, Trumbull county, Ohio; where he died in 1842, leaving six children; and his eldest son, John B. Fitch, is a respectable and intelligent gentleman, in the same vicinity, and has a family.

The daughter of John Fitch, named Lucy, married Colonel James Kilbourne, of Worthington, Franklin county, Ohio; he is a gentleman of respectability and influence, and has a family of six children, all married, and having children. The wife of John Fitch is buried at Hartford, Ohio. I have other facts concerning other members of the other branches of the family, not needful to be mentioned here. Some of the original stock still remain about Windsor, Connecticut; but the most of them have emigrated to Ohio. Colonel Luther Fitch, postmaster, at Sharon, Ohio, who died there in 1841, and left a family, was the son of John Fitch's brother Joseph.

The writer, in his boyhood, has himself seen the inventor, and feels prepared to endorse the personal description which he now gives from Mary McDowell's recollection. It agrees substantially with what I have understood from Miss E. Leslie's recollections of him as seen by her, when visiting her father's house in London; for it seems, though doubted by some, that in his wanderings for patrons, he actually visited that metropolis, and there published two of his pamphlets in 1793, now in the Philosophical Library, in Philadelphia, numbered 330. He was in person upright and "straight as an arrow," and stood six feet two inches in his stocking feet; was what was called, "thin and spare;" face slim; complexion tawny; hair very black; and a dark eye, peculiarly piercing; his temper was sensitive and quick, *but soon over*—the case of his wife to the contrary notwithstanding. His general character in Bucks county, among his immediate friends was, that "he bore anger as the flint bears fire, which being much enforced, shows a hasty spark and quick is cold again." His countenance was pleasing and somewhat smiling. "In point of morals and conduct, he was perfectly up-

right; sincere and honourable in all his dealings; and was never known to tell a wilful falsehood, or indeed to use any guile." This was certainly a good character, and makes us remember how Mr. Jefferson rested his reputation among his neighbours, by quoting from the Prophet Samuel, his challenge, and saying in effect, "let my religion be appreciated by my life."

We avoid *here*, purposely, to say any thing of the peculiarities or merits of Fitch's invention, because the little we have to say on that subject will be told under the head and chapter of our notice of steam operations generally. We may, however, remark that it was at this place he received the first impulse to consider and investigate the subject. It was also here, in Southampton run, on Garrison's farm, that *he first tried his model.*

I ought to add in conclusion, that the first person who ever stimulated my mind *to consider again*, and *to think better* of the character and worth of "poor John Fitch," as he called himself, when seeing the oppositions he was called to encounter,—was himself a Christian man of the Society of Friends, of the same neighbourhood of Warminster, and that he told me *feelingly*, that he deemed it his Christian and civic duty, to endeavour to see some *justice* done to the name and character of the deceased. He became first concerned, as he assured me, in this matter, "when he first read the insinuations and sometimes open slanders of Colden and others." They had the effect to stimulate his inquiry and research, and the result was, at the end of several years, that the inventor was either a misunderstood, or a neglected, rejected and injured man. Whatever the mass of the public may have considered or believed, it was a fact, that John Fitch had, in Warminster and thereabout, a worthy band of warm admirers and enthusiastic friends; and the few of them who still survive, are at this moment heartily desirous to give reminiscences and anecdotes in confirmation of their steadfast attachment to the name and memory of the injured benefactor of his race. In all this,

"I tell the tale as I've been told!"

A second thought, inclines me to add a few supplemental facts, to wit:

The MSS. books of John Fitch, in the Philadelphia Library, consist of five volumes. Volumes 1 to 3 contain the memoirs of his life brought down to the 26th October, 1792; the other two, contain the history of his steam invention, with diagrams, &c. They occupy about 550 folio pages of cap, and are dedicated "to the *worthy* Nathaniel Irwin, of Neshamany," the minister before named.

Mr. Fitch was a ready writer with his pen, although careless as a composuist. He wrote much as he would have talked, and seems to have resorted, on many occasions, to writing rather than speaking, as if preferring to present himself for consideration in that way, in

his intercourse with men in his business concerns, rather than by conversation. He wrote his name thus:



In a power of attorney given by him to Jonathan Longstreth, in 1786, he speaks of his lands as lying in Jefferson, Lincoln and Fayette counties, Kentucky; and mention is made, in a letter to J. Fitch, of Thomas Speed and John Rogers, on Salt river, Mercer county. In another letter, dated from Madison county, mention is made, that Wilson, who lived on Fitch's land, had a lawsuit, with one Kite, about it. I mention these facts to elicit, if possible, some future inquiry by others.

All things considered, it appears probable that Fitch must have died about the year 1798, at or near Bardstown, Nelson county, Kentucky. This inference is made, because he would be likely to be called there to prosecute his claims. These he was earnest to make good for his son, to whom he thus manifested parental fondness and regard.

At this crisis of his affairs, feeling "impatient of the law's delays," he is said to have said at the court, "I'll wait no longer," and feigning illness, he told a physician that he could not sleep, (very probably, very truly,) and wished to take an anodyne. This he received from time to time, in the form of opium, without using it, till he had enough to take at once, and wrapt himself in eternal sleep! Thus perished the man, as the Longstreth family have been informed, whose sensitive and disappointed mind could not brook the cold apathy of the world, which was sneeringly looking upon his darling project as the impulse of a diseased and deranged mind. It has also been said by his host, one McCown, an innkeeper, at Bardstown, who managed to take to himself a parcel of Fitch's land after his death, that he had, in a fit of desperation, drunk to excess and died. The truth in these matters may be hereafter investigated; in the mean time, it is ascertained that he made a will in June, 1798, in favour of some of his creditors, who had been before known as assisting him with funds for his steamboat experiments, &c. He died in a few days after. * * * He had often been heard to say, before this catastrophe, that if he failed to attain his legal rights, he should not choose to survive his disappointment.

We have been thus particular as to names and places, on purpose to awaken some inquiry, even yet, in the minds of others, who may have chances to elicit future facts for the benefit of his family. His patents of 1782, from Virginia, for 1600 acres, we have seen. If he, in mistaken faith, took a Roman's remedy for "the ills of life,"

which a Christian may "keep beneath his feet," what must be "the recompense of reward," to those who "by covetousness," took the sin of his desperation, and their own injustice too, upon their own souls!

How mortifying to contemplate, that the man who should have had the whole civilized world as his willing admirers, and willing contributors to his due reward, should nevertheless have died, and have been so little inquired after in the time of his disappearance, as to have left *me* the frequent occasion of asking the American public where is his grave and where are his lands!

One published account says he died of the yellow fever at Philadelphia, in 1793; another printed account says he drowned himself at Pittsburg, in the same year; both setting the time when he was actually in London, printing two of his publications! In truth, he was allowed to come and go, without notice and without observation! It was only after much search and much inquiry, that I lately found out his remains at Bardstown, interred there in June or July, 1798; and now I purpose to stimulate a few of the right kind of men, to have a suitable monument erected to his memory, and *over his* remains, somewhere on the banks of the Ohio, and within sight and sound of the steamers, which owe their existence to his invention.

I ought here to add, that I have been well assured, from those who knew the fact, that Fitch was *wholly* original in his conceptions; none of them in the beginning were deduced from books. The over boiling of a tea-kettle first suggested to his mind the power of vapour. It is known from his friend, the Rev. Mr. Irwin, that when he brought him some engraved specimens of a steam apparatus of some kind, found in some European work, that he showed much chagrin and mortification, to have found himself not so wholly *unique* as he had before presumed himself to be. It is known also, that his first idea, told at the time, of propelling *land carriages* by steam, was suggested to his mind in April, 1785, while walking from meeting with James Ogilbee, and was caused by his noticing the motion of *a wheel* in a passing chaise. This fact has been certified by James Ogilbee and James Scout, in 1788. The thought of steam *carriages* he entertained for a few weeks, and then gave up that for steam-*boats*. In June, 1785, after making the drafts of his boat scheme, he went to Philadelphia and showed them to Doctor Ewing, Professor Patterson, and others. In August, he laid his models before Congress. John Fitch, in his MSS., makes this admission, to wit:—"Although I knew that the thought of applying steam to boats had been *before known*, yet *I was the first* that ever exhibited *a plan to the public*—when, therefore, I had shown it to General Washington, I felt all the elation of hope and expectation." He admits that William Henry, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in conversation with Andrew Ellicott, in 1775, had intimated *the thought* that steam might be applied to the navigation of boats. Fitch was an honest dealer to others, and admitted in his certificate to Henry Voight, of

May 9th, 1789, that the said H. Voight "had invented a *new boiler* for creating steam in a cheap and expeditious manner," and in another paper of 23d December, 1789, he certifies, that "H. Voight is a great genius, and that except in a few instances, Fitch had given up his opinion to Voight." "Honour to whom honour is due!"

One account which I have seen, says, that his friends helped him to a fund to go to France, at the request of Mr. Vail, our consul, who wished to introduce the invention into France; but the progress of the Revolution there prevented any sufficient attention to his schemes and his interest. It is added, that Mr. Vail afterwards subjected to the examination of *Mr. Fulton*, when in France, the *papers and designs*. It is certain that Mr. Vail is one of the legatees in Mr. Fitch's will. If Mr. Fitch was in France, it probably furnished the occasion and the cause of his also visiting England about the same time. Captain Wood, of East Windsor, says he went to France before the Revolution, (the French,) and came away so poor that he had to work his passage to Boston.

In June, 1792, Mr. Fitch addressed a letter to Mr. Rittenhouse, in which he said emphatically, "This, sir, will be the mode of crossing the Atlantic in time, whether *I* shall bring it to perfection or not." At the same time he urges Mr. R. to assist him, by buying his lands in Kentucky. To a smith, who had worked upon his boat, he said, "If I shall not live to see it, you may, when steamboats will be preferred to all other means of conveyance, and especially *for passengers;* and they will be particularly *useful* in the navigation of *the Ohio and Mississippi.*" Jacob Graff was his smith; Boyer Brooks was his boat-builder.

When the project first presented to his mind of propelling by force of condensed vapour, "he had not, (as he himself affirmed) ever heard of such a thing as a steam engine in existence." The Hon. N. Boileau, then of Bucks county, remembers well, that Mr. Fitch had, besides his *paddles*, the conception of using *wheels* also, for he actually engaged him, as an ingenious boy, to cut out small ones from drafts, to serve as models, to direct in the construction of larger ones; some of the models were made in brass.

Mr. Fitch did not admit that James Rumsey, though *before* him in *his* schemes of a boat *without* steam, had preceded him in any of his proper inventions for a boat *with* steam. This is tested by a publication of May, 1778, printed by Z. Poulson, Philadelphia, entitled, "The original Steamboat supported, or a Reply to Mr. James Rumsey's pamphlet, showing *the true priority* of John Fitch, and the false datings, &c., of James Rumsey," in 34 pages, 8vo. The particulars of this will be seen under the article, in this work, *on steamboats.*

John Fitch's pamphlet, which he published in London, in 1793, entitled "An Explanation for the keeping a ship's traverse at sea, by the Columbian Ready Reckoner," is another manifest

proof of the inventive and ingenious faculties of his mind; such as was never idle! In crossing the Atlantic, in his voyage to Europe, he had observed the navigators using a round board with the points of the compass cut on it, with holes in the points, into which they put a peg as often as they had run an hour, and thus marking the point they had run. Meditating upon this as his text, he, although no mariner, soon formed his idea of a plate to be made of paper, skin, wood or metal, to be so inscribed, "as might reduce the art of navigation to the comprehension of the smallest capacity, and greatly simplify it, so as to save much trouble in their reckonings." "I have (says he) endeavoured to bring the art of navigation into one focal point, and to make it unnecessary to tease themselves with logarithims, signs, tangents, and trigonometry. So that he believes that the use of the plate and the keeping of the ship's traverse can be resolved in much less time than in the common way now used." It might be learned, says he, in six hours' teaching, and the possession of a moderate share of arithmetic; nay more, "a person who has not the use of a pen may cross the Atlantic, without the necessity of making a figure!"

To those who are curious in this matter, the pamphlet, in 20 pages, may be seen in the Library of the Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia. It certainly manifests a very generous spirit in the inventor, to have thus offered his services *gratis* to the use of the mariner.

Mr. Fitch, while in Indian captivity, made himself a great favourite with the Buffalo chief, by making for him metal ornaments, and engraving his powder horn, &c. Before this adoption of him, he had to run the usual gauntlet, and received many blows. At one time, when he was descending the Ohio with flour for New Orleans, when it was bringing forty dollars per barrel, it was all captured by the Indians, and thus all his prospects were frustrated. When he exchanged Indian captivity, for the place of a prisoner of war, to the British at Detroit, he fell into money making, by making metal ornaments for the officers. After eight or ten months as a prisoner, he got from Quebec, round by sea, and arrived again in Bucks county, at the house of his old friend Cobe Scout; where they rushed into each other's arms, like warm-hearted brothers. Next day they went to meeting, and public thanks were offered there, by his reverend friend Irwin. At one time he was a lieutenant in the army at Valley Forge. At another time he was sutler to the army in the west, and made money. Often he was out on foot expeditions with articles of silver made by him, and to be sold through the country. He was, in a word, essentially "a universal Yankee."

As soon as I had ascertained the place in Kentucky where rest the remains of John Fitch, I took measures to have them brought thence, to be deposited at the Laurel Hill Cemetery, where they might have a suitable monument erected to their memory. But it has been deferred from the interference of sundry gentlemen

there, who have solicited to have them remain in that state, with a view to have them deposited under a monument, to be erected on the margin of the river Ohio, below Louisville; in sight of passengers passing in the steamboats. This, in accordance with his known expressed wishes,—and therefore to be inscribed on the tablet, to wit:

"His darling wish (he said) was to be buried
On the margin of the Ohio,
Where the song of the boatmen might penetrate
The stillness of his resting place;
And where the sound of the steam engine
Might send its echoes abroad."

Nihil mihi optatius accidere poterat!

Another inscription, with equal fitness, might be inscribed on another side of his monument, equally forcible, from his own pen,—to wit:

While living, he declared,—
"This will be the mode of crossing the Atlantic in time,
Whether I shall bring it to perfection or not."

"Steamboats will be preferred to all other conveyance,
And they will be particularly useful
In the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi."

"The day will come, when some more potent man
Will get fame and riches *for my invention.*"

Should the Kentuckians be faithful to themselves, they will of course see to the execution of this monument; but if not, we know of another disposal of his remains, which will give them perpetuity of honour at Laurel Hill,—where they will be equally near the scenes of his early operations and associations.

In fine, from what we have gleaned of John Fitch, and his perils, adventures, and adversities of life, we feel satisfied, that he has left enough of his written facts to make a lively work of romance and tale; even if none should be found "to do him reverence," by making a true book of his memoirs and biography. Will any take the hint?

William Logan.

William Logan, eldest son of James Logan, was born at the family seat at Stenton. His education was conducted under the eye of his father, and completed in England. Commerce was selected as his profession, and after the death of his father he moved to Stenton, and devoted himself chiefly to agriculture.

He occupied a seat at the Provincial Council, and took a part in the passing public affairs. Like his father, he became at same time a warm friend of the proprietary interests, and a decided protector of the Indian race. He received the Indians cordially at his place,—gave the aged a settlement (called the Indian field) on his land, and educated their young at his own expense. When the fierce and inflamed spirits from Paxton, sought the blood of the unoffending Indians, even to Philadelphia,—he, notwithstanding his union with Friends, joined others in taking measures to defend their lives by force.

He travelled extensively in this country, and his Journal from Philadelphia to Georgia is still preserved, and might, if published, show a different state of society and country from what is now seen. During the revolutionary war he was in England. With the same spirit of his father *he executed* the conveyance of the Loganian Library to the city of Philadelphia, as well as the estates, which have since served to augment the catalogue and the income.

James Hamilton.

The Hamilton family, the owners and occupants of the elegant seat near the city, called Bush Hill, always moved in a style of elegance and distinction.

The first of the name settled among us was Andrew Hamilton, from Scotland,—he was an eminent lawyer—was made attorney general, and was for many years speaker of the provincial assembly.

His city residence was the large house on Chesnut street near Third street, called Clarke's Hall, and in that house was born his son James Hamilton, the subject of the present short notice.

The education of James Hamilton was begun in Philadelphia and completed in England. At the death of his father, in 1741, he was left in possession of a handsome estate, and in the appointment of prothonotary, then the most lucrative office in the province.

In 1747 he was appointed lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, and being the *first* native governor, and having much of that integrity, wisdom and dignity which best fitted his station, he became a very popular officer. It was against the wishes of all parties that he resigned his commission in 1754, and still more against his own inclinations that, when in England in 1759, he was prevailed upon again to accept the office. In 1763 he yielded his place to John



James Pemberton.—Page 594.

KIMBER & SHARPLESS, PHILA.

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Penn, retaining, however, his place at the council board, but otherwise retiring from public life.

He was always a liberal supporter of all public and useful measures and improvements. He gave a strong impulse to the college—assisted Benjamin West in his early efforts, and had his own full length portrait executed by him. He had inherited from his father a strong attachment to the Penn family and their interests, strengthened also by the marriage of his neice to John Penn, the governor. He had also loyal feelings to the crown. It consequently followed that he was unfriendly to the Revolution, but quietly submitted for a season to what he could not control. He died soon after the peace, an aged gentleman.

James Pemberton.

This gentleman, born, educated, and reared in Philadelphia, in the bosom of Friends, possesses in his personal characteristics the *beau ideal* of a genuine Quaker of the old school, and it is because that we have had a favourable opportunity of sketching the individual from the life, that we here annex a portrait of himself in *propria persona*—such as it once was, as a walking figure in the streets of Philadelphia. His whole figure, garb and air are primitive, and serve to show and perpetuate the Quaker characteristics, as shown down to the year 1800. When shall we look upon his like again? I have spoken a little about the dress of Friends, under the head of "Friends," and this portrait may serve to exemplify more fully what was intended to be there described.

He was born at Philadelphia the 26th of August, 1723—son of Israel, and grandson of Phineas Pemberton, one of the early and distinguished settlers of Pennsylvania.

His education was conducted at the Friends' school. From his youth he was distinguished for diligence, integrity and benevolence. In 1745 he travelled to Carolina, and in 1748 he visited Europe and travelled much in England. On his return he engaged extensively in commerce, in which he received successful returns, and always by prescribed rules of the most punctilious probity—some instances of which are remembered to his honor. He was an ardent agent in all measures of decided good. He was a liberal contributor and useful manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital—an active member in the Friendly association for preserving peace with the Indians—one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. He was a leading member of his own religious society—always loved and always respected. He was averse to war, and to our revolutionary movements, because he was a Friend, and besides this, he did not suppose that differences could *only* be settled by arms. The consequence was, venerable and peace-loving as he looks in his portrait, he was included in the sixteen or seventeen other citizens of Philadelphia who were banished to Virginia in 1777, "to keep the peace." There he spent a couple

of years and wrote out a journal, some of which has been published in the Friends' Miscellany, volume 7. He died, a patriarch, at Philadelphia, February, 1809, in his 87th year—almost the last of the race of the "cocked hats" and certainly one of the very best pictorial illustrations of by-gone times and primitive men.

The Rev. Jacob Duche.

He was the son of a respectable merchant of the same name, and grandson of Andrew Duché, a worthy Huguenot, who fled from France and came to this country with William Penn.

The reverend subject of this notice, Jacob Duché, was born about the year 1740. He was educated in the Philadelphia College, where he often distinguished himself. He was a good orator, and a ready versifier. In time he studied theology—went to England for holy orders, and after his return became an assistant and afterwards, in 1755, a rector in Christ Church and St. Peter's. As a preacher he enjoyed great popularity. His appearance and manners were imposing—his voice was full and musical—his elocution uncommonly graceful, and his sermons oratorical.

But what made his name and fame most conspicuous was his attempt, by letter to General Washington, to bring him over to the British side in the Revolution! It was of course an abortive effort, and had the effect to drive himself away, by flight, from his country and home,—so that he remained abroad—in England, till after the peace: then he returned and died among us, repentant and humbled at the course he had taken. His conduct was not so much the result of defection as discouragement. He had at the beginning of the struggle set out as an ardent whig—he had preached on public occasions sermons full of patriotic ardour, and had been elected chaplain of the American Congress, in July, 1776: and while he held this office he had appropriated his salary to the relief of the families whose members had been slain in battle. But alarmed and terrified, at length, by the increasing gloom and despondency of the period, when the British marched successfully through the Jerseys, and at length occupied Philadelphia, he forsook his former principles and bias,—went over to the stronger side, and then wrote his well known letter to General Washington, to urge *him* to make the same peace for himself and country!

AGED PERSONS.

"The hands of yore
That danced our infancy upon their knee
And told our marvelling boyhood, legends' store,
Of their strange ventures, happ'd by land and sea,—
How they are blotted from the things that be!"

THERE is something grateful, and perhaps sublime, in contemplating instances of prolonged life,—to see persons escaped the numerous ills of life unscathed. They stand like venerable oaks, steadfast among the minor trees, e'en wondered at because they fell no sooner. We instinctively regard them as a privileged order, especially when they bear their years with vigour, "like a lusty winter," they being alone able to preserve unbroken the link which binds us to the remotest past. While they remain, they serve to strangely diminish our conceptions of time past, which never seems fully gone while any of its proper generation remains among us.

These thoughts will be illustrated and sustained by introducing to consideration the names and persons who have been the familiars of the present generation, and yet saw and conversed with Penn, the founder, and his primitive cotemporaries! How such conceptions stride over time! All the long, long years of our nation seem diminished to a narrow span!—For instance:

Samuel R. Fisher, a merchant, late in this city, in his 84th year, told me he well remembered to have seen, at Kendall Meeting, James Wilson, a public Friend, who said he perfectly remembered seeing both George Fox, the founder of Friends, and William Penn, the founder of our city!

Often, too, I have seen and conversed with the late venerable Charles Thomson, the secretary of the first Congress, who often spoke of his being curious to find out, and to converse with the primitive settlers, which still remained in his youth.

Every person who has been familiar with Dr. Franklin, who died in 1790, and saw Philadelphia from the year 1723, had the chance of hearing him tell of his seeing and conversing with numerous first settlers. Still better was their chance who knew old Hutton, who died in 1793, at the prolonged age of 108 years, and had seen Penn in his second visit to Philadelphia, in 1700,—and better still were the means of those now alive, who knew old Drinker, who died as late as the year 1782, at the age of 102 years, and had seen Philadelphia, where he was born, in 1680, even at the time of the primitive landing and settlement in caves! Nor were they alone in this rare opportunity, for there was also the still rarer instance of old black Alice, who died as late as the year 1802, and might have been readily seen by me,—she then being 116 years of age, with a sound memory to the last, distinctly remembered William Penn, whose pipe she often

lighted, (to use her own words,) and Thomas Story, James Logan, and several other personages of fame in our annals. The late Mrs. Logan has told me, that much of her known affection for the recitals of the olden time were generated in her youth, by her frequent conversations with old Deborah Claypole, who lived to the age of 95 years, and had seen all the primitive race of the city,—knew Penn—knew the place of his cottage in Lætitia court, when the whole area was tangled with a luxurious growth of blackberries. Her regrets now are, that she did not avail herself more of the recollections of such a chronicle, than she then did. The common inconsideracy of youth was the cause.

It may amuse and interest to extend the list a little further, to wit: The late aged Sarah Shoemaker, who died in 1825 at the age of 95 years, told me she often had conversed with aged persons in her young days, who had seen and talked with Penn and his companions. In May, 1824, I conversed with Israel Reynolds, Esq., of Nottingham, Maryland, then in his 66th year, a hale and newly married man, who told me he often saw and conversed with his grandfather, Henry Reynolds, a public Friend, who lived to be 94 years of age, and had been familiar with Penn, both in Philadelphia and in England; he had also cultivated corn in the city near the Dock creek, and caught fish there.

Mrs. Hannah Speakman,who died in 1833, aged 80 years, has told me that she has often talked with aged persons who saw or conversed with Penn, but being then in giddy youth, she made no advantage of her means to have inquired. Her grandfather, Townsend, whom she had seen, had come out with Penn, the founder.

But now all those who still remain, who have seen or talked with black Alice, with Drinker, with Hutton, with John Key, the first born, are fast receding from the things that be. What they can relate of their communications must be told quickly, or it is gone!

"Gone! glimmering through the dream of things that were."

We shall now pursue the more direct object of this article, in giving the names and personal notices of those instances of grandevity, which have occasionally occurred among us,—of those who,

"Like a clock, worn out with eating time,
The wheels of weary life at last stood still!"

1727.—This year dies Grace Townsend, aged 98 years, well known among the first settlers, and who lived many years on the property nigh the Chesnut street bridge over Dock creek, at the Broad Axe Inn.

1730—January 5, died at Philadelphia, Mary Broadway, aged 100 years, a noted midwife; her constitution wore well to the last, and she could read without spectacles.

1731—May 19, John Evet, aged 100, was interred in Christ

Church ground. He had seen King Charles the First's head held up by the executioner, being then about 16 years old.

1739—May 30, Richard Buffington, of the parish of Chester, a patriarch indeed, had assembled in his own house 115 persons of his own descendants, consisting of children, and grand and great grandchildren, he being then in his 85th year, in good health, and doubtless in fine spirits among so many of his own race. His eldest son, then present at 60 years of age, was said to have been the first Englishman born in *Pennsylvania* region, and appears to have been three or four years older than the first born of *Philadelphia*, or than Emanuel Grubb, the first born of the *province*.

Speaking of this great collection of children in one house, reminds one of a more extended race, in the same year, being the case of Mrs. Maria Hazard, of South Kingston, New England, and mother of the governor; she died in 1739, at the age of 100 years, and could count up 500 children, grandchildren, great grandchildren, and great great grandchildren; 205 of them were then alive. A grandaughter of hers had already been a grandmother 15 years! Probably, this instance of Rhode Island fruitfulness may match against the world.

1761—Died, Nicholas Meers, in his 111th year; he was buried in Friend's ground at Wilmington. He was born in the year 1650, under the government of Cromwell, and about the time of the rise of the society of which he became a member. He lived through eventful periods, had been the subject of ten successive sovereigns, including the two Cromwells. He saw Pennsylvania and Delaware one great forest,—a range for the deer, buffalo, and panther; and there he lived to see a fruitful field. If those who were conversant with him in his last days, had conversed with him on his recollections of the primitive days of our country, what a treasure of facts might have been set down from his lips! So we often find occasions to lament the loss of opportunities with very aged persons, of whom we hear but little until after their death.

"First in the race, they won, and pass'd away!"

1763—Miss Mary Eldrington, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, died at the age of 109 years. "She still looked for a husband, and did not like to be thought old."

1767—Mrs. Lydia Warder died this year, aged 87 years; she was born in 1680, came out with Penn's colony, had lived in a cave, and had a lively memory of all the incidents of the primitive settlement.

This same year, 1767, was fruitful in passing off the primitive remains from among us; thus showing, that in the deaths of those named in this year, of the first settlers, there were inhabitants lately alive, who must have had good opportunities of making olden time inquiries.

"Of no distemper, of no blast they died,
But fell like autumn fruit that mellow'd long,
E'en wonder'd at, because they fell no sooner."

1767—July—Died at Chester county, John Key, aged 85 years, the first-born in Philadelphia, at a cave named Penny Pot, at Vine street; and in August 10, (same year,) died at Brandywine Hundred, Emanuel Grubb, aged 86 years, also born in a cave, by the side of the Delaware river, and the first-born child in the province of English parents. Both these first-borns died near each other, and their deaths, in the same year, was not unlike the coincident deaths of Jefferson and Adams, as the signers of Independence!

1767—Died at Philadelphia, Mrs. Elizabeth Morris, aged 94 years.

1768—September—Died at Philadelphia, Peter Hunt, aged 101 years.

1769—July—Hannah Milner died, aged 101 years; she was the mother of 14 children, grandmother of 82 children, and great grandmother to 110 children—making 206 children!

1770—This year died Rebecca Coleman, aged 92 years. She came to Philadelphia with the first settlers. Some of her posterity at her death were of the fifth generation. She could recount much of ancient Philadelphia—for she remembered it when it consisted of but three houses, and the other dwellings were caves. Some now alive must remember her conversation, and might even yet communicate something.

1770—January—Died, Sarah Meredith, aged 90 years. She was born in a little log house, where now the city stands, where she continued until she changed her maiden name of Rush to become the wife of David Meredith, and to settle in the Great Valley, in Chester county, 28 miles from Philadelphia—then the frontier settlement, and six miles beyond any neighbours, save Indians, who were then numerous, kind and inoffensive. There she continued all her days; becoming the mother of 11 children, grandmother to 66, and great grandmother of 31.

1770—June 30th, died at Merion, Jonathan Jones, aged 91 years, having been 90 years in the country, he coming here from Wales, when an infant.

1770—This year died John Ange, at the extraordinary age of 140 years, as declared by himself, and as fully believed by all his neighbours, from the opinions of their fathers before them. He was settled as a planter between Broad creek and the head of Wicomoco river, in Pennsylvania. He had been blind some years from age. His food was always simple and sparing, and himself of lean habit. He left a son of about 80 years of age a great grandfather, hale, active and lively, and without gray hairs.

1774—14th of February, died in Bucks county, Mrs. Preston, at the advanced age of 100 years and upwards. She had seen Penn and his colonists at Philadelphia; had acted as his interpreter occa-

sionally with the Indians. She possessed her memory and understanding till her last.

1782—17th of November, died Edward Drinker, aged 102 years, having been born on the 24th of December, 1680, in a cabin near the corner of Second and Walnut streets—the triangular block. When Doctor Franklin was questioned in England to what age we lived in this country, he wittily said, he could not tell until Drinker should die and settle it!

1792—December 20th, died John S. Hutton, aged 109 years, having been born in 1684; he was cheerful, good humoured, and temperate all his life. He deemed himself in his prime at 60 years of age. He was very fond of fishing and fowling, and could be seen, when past 80, carrying his duck gun.

1802—This year died Alice, a black woman, aged 116 years. She had known the city from its origin. When she was 115, she travelled from Dunk's Ferry to the city, and there told Samuel Coates, and others, of numerous early recollections of the early days. See facts concerning her under her proper name.

1810—Died at Philadelphia, George Warner, aged 99 years. This patriarch was one of many emigrants that came out from England as farmers and mechanics, in 1726—a time when he saw our city in its green age, when all was young. He often described things as he then found them, and contrasted them with their subsequent changes.

The aged Barbara Niebuhr, a German by birth, who came to this country with some Swedes, is named by Miss Leslie, as known by her in her childhood, as a real centenarian. She had, for all the period of Miss Leslie's girlish days, been a vender of cakes and fruits from a table set in Chestnut street, near the entrance of the Bank of North America. She was so old that she had seen Penn at his landing, at the Dock creek mouth! She described Penn as a stout, well-looking man, dressed in dark plain clothes, with a short wig. A few years before her death, (which occurred at her little house in Apple-tree alley,) her white hair all came out and was replaced by a *new* growth of black hair, as seen by Miss Leslie. The old woman was visited by Dr. Priestley, as a curiosity—and she much pleased him with her intelligent answers to his inquiries, about incidents of the olden time. It was a matter of much self-gratulation to Miss Leslie (in 1838) to say, that *she* had *seen* and *conversed* with a person who had *seen* Penn!

1823—Died at Philadelphia, Mrs. Mary Elton, at the advanced age of 97 years.

1825—Died at Philadelphia, Mrs. Hannah Till, a black woman, who had been cook to General Washington and General La Fayette, in all their campaigns during the war of Independence. The latter at my instance went to see her, at No. 182 South Fourth street, when he was here in 1825, and made her a present to be remembered.

1825—Died at Philadelphia Almshouse, Margaret or Angela Mil-

let, in the 112th year of her age. She was born and lived in Canada —said she was nearly forty when General Wolfe was slain—remembered him well—remembers and tells much of the Indian barbarities.

1825—Billy Brown, a black man, of Frankford, was seen by me in his 93d year of age—he lived about two years afterwards. He was of the African race, taken a prisoner when a lad, leaving his parents and five brethren; and was two years before reaching the coast and being sold. I found him quite intelligent, his memory good, and himself a pious, good man. He was then the husband of a young wife, by whom he had children, the youngest then 16 years old. What made him most interesting, he had been at Braddock's defeat, as servant to Colonel Brown of the Irish regiment. There he remembered and described to me the conduct of Washington in that action—how he implored Braddock for leave to fight the Indians in their own way, with 300 of his own men, and how he was repulsed with disdain.* He was afterwards at the death of General Wolfe, and near his person, still with Colonel Brown; thence went to the attack of Havana; thence, at the peace, to Ireland, with his master, who there set him free by a vessel going to Philadelphia. There he was fraudulently conveyed to Virginia and sold—became the slave of one Wiley, who was extremely cruel to him—lost some of his fingers and toes by severe exposure—was bought by General Washington, and was his slave during all the Revolution, at his estate at the Long Meadows. Finally, free at Frankford; since died, and made happy in a better world.

1825—This year died Isaac Parrish, in his 92d year, a respectable inhabitant of Philadelphia, father of the late Dr. Parrish. It was remarkable concerning him, that although there were 87 signers to his marriage certificate when they passed Meeting, yet both he and his wife survived every one of them. I could never see the aged couple abroad in the streets, without thinking that they who had the best claims to be quite at home, by their familiarity with every nook and corner of the city, were in fact so perplexed and surprised with the daily changes and novelties, as to be among the strangers and wonderers of the city. "The generation to which they had belonged had run away from them!"—Or, as Young strikingly expresses it, to wit:

> "My world is dead;
> A new world rises and new manners reign:
> The strangers gaze,
> And I at them,—my neighbour is unknown!"

About this time I saw Miss Sarah Patterson, of Philadelphia, then well, in her 90th year. Robert Paul, an ancient Friend, still going to Pine street Meeting, I saw at the age of 95 years. Thomas Hopkins, another Friend, going to the same Meeting, I saw and talked with when he was past 90 years.

* The detail of Billy's narrative of the defeat, &c., was given by me to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in my MS. book of "Historical Collections," in 1827.

There was lately alive at St. Thomas, seven miles from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, a man named John Hill, who was probably the oldest man then alive in North America, deemed to be 135 or 6 years of age!—he having been a soldier in the time of Queen Anne, and served 28 years. His faculties of body and mind were still good, as good as most men of 60 to 70 years. He was born in England.

CHILDHOOD AND ITS JOYS.

We cannot but believe that it is a part and parcel of our nature; wisely appointed by the Creator, of set purpose, that we should fervently love the *days of our childhood*, and delight to look back upon them, through all the wanderings and perplexities of our manhood. It is intended for our good, and purposed to give a moral flow to our affections and thoughts. There we see the innocency and purity of our first career. Most beautifully we are supported in these our thoughts, by a writer in Tait's Magazine. "See," says that Journal, "that young urchin, with red cheeks and flaxen curls, paddling in the runnel that rustles along the hedge side! How he loves to feel the cool water dance over his toes! How eagerly he pounces upon the minnow that darts from beneath the mossy stone before him, or comes flitting down the stream! How he flogs the tall weeds with his stick, and delights in making a puddle of the crystal brooklet! Observe that pretty black-eyed girl in the blue frock, with the toddling youngster by her side! She is making a garden in the dust, with twigs of trees, flowers plucked from the hedge row, white pebbles, and bits of broken crockery picked up in the lane. And how pleased is little Davie with the contrivance! Now he fetches a stone and stops up a gap in the border; now a blade of grass, or an unmeaning straw, sticking it with profound judgment in the middle of the miniature walk, or exactly in the place where it should not be. With the spirit of mischief he now runs over the laboured work, and destroys their little Eden, trampling under foot its flowrets and its bowers.

"Does not every parent *feel* the force of this picture? and does not every reader *remember* his own delighted participations in scenes like these?

"Now see him again! he is astride the grazing ass, supported by his sister. How he kicks and jumps, and opens wide his eyes, and fancies himself going to market! Now he is unsupported; his sister has withdrawn her arm. How grave, how motionless! His tiny faculties seem to be busily questioning the danger. The ass innocently lifts a leg; Davie's courage fails him; he makes a comical wry face, and begins to whimper; and Davie, stretching out his little arm, asks for help!"

Such is the picture fresh from our own recollections and observ

ances; as full of nature and ingenuous simplicity as are the dear little creatures whose liknesses are portrayed. The associations it calls up are like the strains of Caryl's music—"sweet and mournful to the soul." As the mind dwells upon it, charmed into a forgetfulness of the present, how does the remembrance of our own childhood spread freshly o'er the thoughts, while the image of the distant scene beams in the fancy as a vision far off, illuminated by a heavenly light; a glimpse, bright and beautiful, of some "loved island of the blest;" whence come ethereal notes of harmony, rather felt than heard. . . .

It is something more than poetical phantasy which causes persons to revert with feelings of tranquil pleasure to the period of childhood *long gone by*, and to regret that it has passed away never to return. The days then of those years *are* the happiest of our lives; and for this reason the mind loves to recur to them: they *are* the happiest of our lives, *because the most innocent.*

> "How sweet to every feeling heart
> *The memory of the past;*
> To think of days when love and joy
> Around our hearts were cast;—
> To let our thoughts swift take their flight
> O'er days when life was new—
> Roam through the haunts of pleasant youth,
> *Those scenes again renew.*"

Children may teach us one blessed, one enviable art: *the art of being easily happy.* Kind nature has given them that useful power of *accommodation to circumstances*, which compensates for so many external disadvantages; and it is only by injudicious management that it is lost. Give but a moderate portion of food and kindness, and the peasant's child is happier than the lord's: free from artificial wants, unsatiated by indulgence, all nature ministers to his pleasures; *he can carve out felicity from a bit of hazel twig, or fish it successfully in a puddle!* I love to hear the boisterous joy of a troop of young urchins whose cheap playthings are nothing more than mud, snow, sticks; or to watch the quiet enjoyment of a half-clothed, half-washed boy, who sits crunching his brown bread and bacon at his father's door. These the gentry may overlook or despise, as they dust them in gilded equipages, seeking their pleasures, but they cannot be happier, and seldom as innocent.

> "In my poor mind it is most sweet to muse
> Upon the days gone by—to act in thought
> Past seasons o'er, and be again a child!"

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