

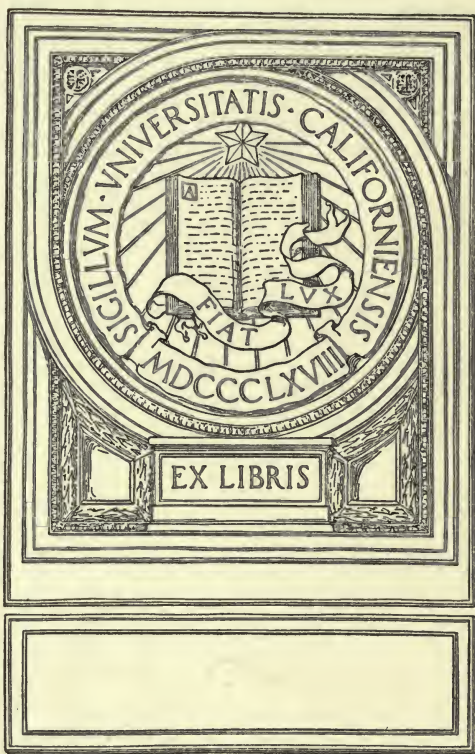
THE
ROMANCE OF OLD
PHILADELPHIA

JOHN T. FARIS



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**THE ROMANCE OF
OLD PHILADELPHIA**

By **THEODORE DE BOOY**
and **JOHN T. FARIS**

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OUR NEW POSSESSIONS AND
THE BRITISH ISLANDS**

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By **JOHN T. FARIS**

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Drawn by W. Birch

OLD PHILADELPHIA REACHING OUT TO THE COUNTRY
(The first Schuylkill bridge, High Street, begun 1799, completed 1804, cost \$275,000)

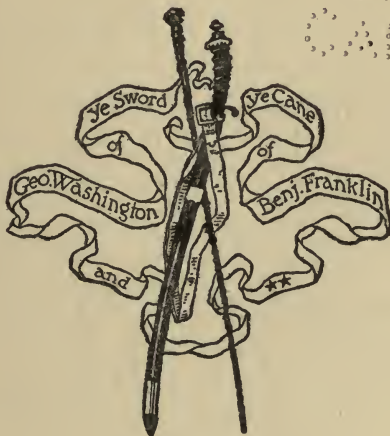
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THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

BY
JOHN T. FARIS

AUTHOR OF "OLD ROADS OUT OF PHILADELPHIA," JOINT AUTHOR OF
"THE VIRGIN ISLANDS: OUR NEW POSSESSIONS AND THE BRITISH ISLANDS"

WITH FRONTISPIECE IN COLOR AND 100 ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES AND FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY PHILIP B. WALLACE



PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

1918

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August 1918

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PREFACE

THERE is no romance like that of the lives of those who, when duty calls, dare to venture in the dark, who are content to lay the foundations on which others may build, who are brave enough to endure present privation for the sake of future good, especially when they realize that the good they hope for may not be seen, except in fleeting shadow, by their own generation.

The emigrants who followed the explorers from Europe to America, who struggled with pioneer conditions in the midst of savages, who, though they knew from experience little of representative government, or of freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, or of education that was free to all, yet made their brave and successful effort to build up government and church and schools, would have appreciated words written centuries later by Robert Louis Stevenson, "Life is a thing to be daringly used and cheerfully hazarded."

Those words tell the truth concerning the life of the pioneer, a life of toil, of sacrifice, of heroic endurance, but to them, a life of real joy and to those who look back on it a life of the richest romance.

We can realize more of the truth of the statement as applied to the brave men and women of pioneer days than they could possibly see for themselves. They knew that they were making a venture into the unknown; we know now what that venture cost them.

PREFACE

They understood that they were lining up with the trail blazers of history who have paved the way for a better civilization, but the modern world's appreciation of this fact is far beyond anything that they could have. There were probably times when many of them thought with a fine glow of the picturesqueness and glamour of a life that had in it so much of conflict with hard reality, but it was not possible for them to measure truly the relieving features of their daily struggles and triumphs.

It is given to us who can have the perspective supplied by the lapse of decades and centuries to see the romance in the determination to break with home and associations in the home land, to face the stormy Atlantic, to carve out a new home in a country which had never known the tread of civilized man, to build up a civilization that would, in many ways, surpass any that other countries have ever had, to stand for liberty when that stand would certainly involve all in fearful hardship and would just as certainly lead many to death.

The study of the romantic element in such pioneer struggles has an appeal that is universal; it is of absorbing interest to every American who loves his country, whether it is based on the experience of those who lived in New England, or those who settled in the Southland, or those who made their homes on the shores of the Delaware or the Hudson.

Because of the unique part played by Philadelphia in the history of the nation, the appeal made by the records of those who lived and labored, who loved and struggled there, has even more of general interest than

PREFACE

a similar study of the pioneers of many other portions of the country. Not only was Philadelphia the city of the Declaration of Independence, but it was the center for a long period of activity during the Revolution, it was the city of the Constitution, it was the capital of the country during ten of the formative years of the nation's life, it was the home of Washington, the place where he liked to be better than any other except his own beloved Mount Vernon.

These facts have been constantly in the mind of the author in planning *The Romance of Old Philadelphia*. It has been the effort to picture the romance of early American life.

Much of the material for the volume has been gathered from manuscripts and genealogical records in the matchless collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, from the files of the Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, which is a vast treasure-house of curious and interesting facts about the early history of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, and from other rare books, all found in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society and on the shelves of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

The author has resisted the temptation to examine Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, though realizing that he was thus depriving himself of the use of a compilation that has been for many years a source of inspiration and a mine of information to the students of Philadelphia history.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia, publishers of "*Historic Dress in America*" (copyright, 1903), and to the artist,

PREFACE

Miss Sophie B. Steele, for permission to copy the illustrations of Colonial dress reproduced on pages 137, 157 and 212; to Messrs. Ferris & Leach, Philadelphia, publishers of "The Quaker" (copyright, 1901), for the use of the illustrations on pages 181, 202 and 213; to the Macmillan Company, New York, publishers of "Two Centuries of Costume in America," copyright, 1903, by Alice Morse Earle, for permission to use the illustrations on pages 128, 136 and 231; to Miss Clara E. Graff, for permission to use the photographs from "The Claypoole Family" (copyright, 1893), which are reproduced on pages 27 and 36; to Simon Castner, of Philadelphia, who, from his priceless collection of prints of old Philadelphia, lent the beautiful print from which the Frontispiece was made; to Ernest Spofford, Assistant Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and George Maurice Abbot, Librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the courteous members of his staff; to Philip B. Wallace, photographer, 711 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, who made the photographs reproduced in the volume; and to E. S. Holloway, of J. B. Lippincott Company, whose skill and patience have helped to give form to these records drawn from the history of Old Philadelphia.

J. T. F.

Philadelphia,
August, 1918

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC.....	19
THE SUBLIME COURAGE OF THE PIONEERS—"NEITHER HOUSE NOR SHELTER"—A "TUNN OF GOODS"—CAPTURED BY A PRIVATEER—A MARRIAGEABLE YOUNG MAN—SELLING THEIR TIME TO PAY THEIR PASSAGE—SQUALLS AND PRIVATEERS AND AN UNEXPECTED DELIVERANCE—THE RAT AND THE WATERSPOUT—FAMINE ON SHIPBOARD—"THOSE WERE GREAT DAYS."	
II. HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING.....	42
THE HOUSE JAMES CLAYPOOLE WANTED—DEALING WITH CAVE HOUSES THAT BECAME PUBLIC NUISANCES—THE GOODS PAID FOR THREE HUNDRED SQUARE MILES OF LAND—PIONEER HARDSHIPS—A THIEF AND A CROWDED HOUSE—THE LUXURY OF WINDOW PANES—WHAT WAS BOUGHT AT THE VENDUE—DINNER-GIVING AND DINNER MANNERS—THE WOES OF HOUSECLEANING.	
III. THE BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT.....	66
WILLIAM PENN FAR IN ADVANCE OF HIS AGE—WHY THE TREES OFFENDED—A BRUTAL SHIP CAPTAIN—PENNSYLVANIA'S ONLY WITCHCRAFT PROSECUTION—HUMPHREY MORREY, FIRST MAYOR, AND THE BLUE ANCHOR WHARF—"TO PRISON HE MUST GO"—SHEEP RAISING IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE—STUFFING THE BALLOT BOX IN 1705—"BLACK-BEARD'S" CHARMED LIFE—FORBIDDEN AMUSEMENTS—THE ELECTION RIOT OF 1742—AN UNWILLING MAYOR-ELECT.	
IV. GLIMPSES OF BUSINESS LIFE.....	94
WHALING AND WHALEMEN—HE WANTED HIS SHIP INSURED—STEPHEN GIRARD'S RISE TO POWER—A PHYSICIAN WHO CURED ALL HIS PATIENTS—THE GOLDSMITH'S ACCOUNT—WHY BRYAN OHARA INCREASED HIS CHARGES—DIFFICULTIES OF TRADE DURING THE REVOLUTION—ROBERT MORRIS IN FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES—HUMOR IN THE PRISON.	
V. SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATIONS.....	110
THE CHARMING WOMEN OF OLD PHILADELPHIA—JOSEPH SHIPPEN'S TRIBUTE TO SOCIAL LEADERS—WHAT A YOUNG MAN REQUIRED OF HIS SISTER—A MOUSE IN HER NIGHT CAP—WHY THE KISS WAS DISAGREEABLE—RULES OF THE DANCE—THE GOVERNOR'S PREDICAMENT—THE CEREMONY OF THE SPOON—THE JOYS OF SLEIGH-RIDING AND SERENADING—A DINNER AT PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S MANSION.	

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
<p>VI. MORE WAYS OF COLONIAL DAYS.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">THE LIBERALITY OF THE POOR—"SOMETHING PRETTY" WANTED BY AN ALMHOUSE INMATE—NO HAYSTACKS ALLOWED IN MULBERRY STREET—CUT SILVER AND GOOD-NATURED "PRETTY CREATURES" IN THE MARKETS—AN ENTHUSIAST IN DYES—THE BEGINNINGS OF STREET PAVING—STEPHEN GIRARD TO THE RESCUE—SLAVERY AND SLAVERS.</p>	<p>130</p>
<p>VII. EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">THE FIRST SCHOOLMASTER—WHY ISRAEL PEMBERTON WAS SORE—THE ORIGIN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA— "NOT A DOVE, BUT A HAWK OR A FALCON"—LANTERN AND BELL, THE PENALTY FOR TARDINESS—HAZING THE MASTER— SCHOOL ORDINARY—DEAD ON HIS KNEES—HE TAUGHT SCHOOL IN GAOL—POOR TEN-YEAR-OLD GEORGE!—THE DAWN- ING OF A BETTER DAY.</p>	<p>150</p>
<p>VIII. WISE AND OTHERWISE.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">SUPERSTITION IN 1716—THE LIFE OF A WOMAN WHO MINDS HER OWN BUSINESS—BETWEEN NOSE AND CHIN—"NOT JOHN, BUT THE DEMIJOHN"—TIME TO BURY WEST PHILADELPHIA— "MISS KITTY CUT-A-DASH"—ODE TO A MARKETSTREET GUTTER.</p>	<p>171</p>
<p>IX. THE QUAIN'T CHURCH CUSTOMS OF LONG AGO.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">WHEN STEEPLES WERE SCARCE—TROUBLESOME CHAINS AND CANDLE LIGHT—A PEW FOR PRESIDENT ADAMS—THE COMING OF GEORGE WHITEFIELD—THEY WANTED HIM TO "CINDLE A DEAD COAL"—ALL THIS FOR \$300 PER YEAR!—A BUSY SEXTON —AN INVITATION TO A FUNERAL—"PRANCING IT THROUGH THE STREETS."</p>	<p>183</p>
<p>X. COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">GIVING NOTICE IN A "PUBLICK PLACE"—WHY SALLY WAS SAD—SHE DID NOT KEEP HER PROMISE—A BABY "OF THE WORST SEX"—AN ELOPEMENT AND ITS PAINFUL SEQUEL— A PEEP AT A BRIDE'S TROUSSEAU—SHE MARRIED A WIDOWER —SOME HUMORS OF COLONIAL COURTSHIP—THE AWFUL PENALTY OF ATTRACTING MEN.</p>	<p>201</p>
<p>XI. PEEPS INTO THE POST BAG.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">TWO POUNDS FOR CARRYING ONE LETTER—WHY PEGGY SHIPPEN SIGHED—HOW PETER MUHLENBERG PLAYED PRODIGAL— THE CLEVER LADIES OF PHILADELPHIA—A DUN FOR A DEER—PROVING A FISH STORY—CONGRESS A "MOST RESPECT- ABLE BODY"—WHY FRANKLIN WAS SARCASTIC.</p>	<p>227</p>
<p>XII. WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">PROUD OF THIRTY CARTS—WHY THE CHAIR WAS DELAYED— A MAKESHIFT FOR SHEETS—THE LANDLADY WHOSE EYES WERE "NONE OF THE PRETTIEST"—A VAIN FLIGHT FOR SAFETY—TO LONG BRANCH UNDER DIFFICULTIES—SHE "ONLY OVERSET TWISTE"—THE STEAMBOAT A PHILADELPHIA INVENTION—WHY THE EAGLE DID NOT BEAT THE PHENIX.</p>	<p>246</p>

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
XIII. THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION.....	270
THE DEATH OF TEA—HOMEMADE MUSKETS—"PROCLAIM LIBERTY"—WHAT IT MEANT TO HAVE AN INVADER IN THE CITY—HE WOULD NOT HAVE PENN'S COLONY AS A FREE GIFT—INFLATED CURRENCY AND HIGH PRICES—TO MAKE LACE OUT OF CAMBRIC—THE BEGINNING OF THE DAYBREAK—WHY FRANKLIN WAS NEEDED TO "HOOP THE BARREL."	
XIV. UNTIL THE CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON.....	299
A TREMENDOUS SOCIAL STRAIN—A SPECTACULAR FOURTH OF JULY—WOES AT BUSH HILL—MARTHA WASHINGTON'S "CHICKEN FRYKECY"—PUMPS AND OPEN HYDRANTS—THE FIRST BALLOON ASCENSION—WASHINGTON OUT AND ADAMS IN—WASHINGTON AT LAST FINDS REST—A NEW CENTURY, A NEW CAPITAL, AND RENEWED YOUTH FOR PHILADELPHIA.	

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
OLD PHILADELPHIA REACHING OUT TO THE COUNTRY... <i>Frontispiece.</i>	
SPANISH GALLEONS.....	26
TYPE OF WILLIAM PENN'S SHIP WELCOME.....	26
JAMES CLAYPOOLE.....	27
MARY CHAMBERS CLAYPOOLE.....	27
THE DUEL BETWEEN BLACKBEARD AND MAYNARD.....	36
THE HOME IN ENGLAND FROM WHICH JAMES CLAYPOOLE CAME....	36
PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.....	37
RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT FOR LAND, GIVEN BY THE INDIANS TO THOMAS AND RICHARD PENN.....	50
WILLIAM HUDSON'S CLOCK.....	51
WILLIAM PENN'S DESK AND BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S CLOCK.....	51
AN ATTRACTIVE VIEW OF WHITBY HALL.....	58
WILLIAM PENN'S SILVER TEA SERVICE.....	59
THE OLD SIDEBOARD.....	64
A CORNER OF AN OLD DINING ROOM.....	65
DRAFT OF UPPER FERRY, SCHUYLKILL RIVER.....	65
PLAN OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.....	70
THE SOUTHEAST PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.....	71
SIR WILLIAM KEITH.....	84
HANNAH CALLOWHILL PENN.....	84
STAIRWAY AT 247 SOUTH SIXTH STREET.....	85
A BIT OF THE OLD LANTERN, CAMAC HOUSE, 320 SOUTH THIRD STREET	85
KRIDER'S GUN STORE.....	96
239 PINE STREET.....	96
CURRENCY OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1759.....	97
STEPHEN GIRARD AT HIS DESK.....	97
ROBERTS'S MILL.....	102
HIGH STREET MARKET.....	102

ILLUSTRATIONS

A BIT OF OLD PHILADELPHIA (CAMAC STREET, "THE LITTLE STREET OF CLUBS").....	103
THE QUAKER MEETING.....	118
ROBERT MORRIS.....	119
MRS. ROBERT MORRIS.....	119
SOFT BROCADE GOWN, 1685.....	128
MARTHA WASHINGTON, WEARING THE CAP CALLED "THE QUEEN'S NIGHT CAP".....	128
BISHOP WILLIAM WHITE.....	129
PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S COACH.....	129
DOCTOR BENJAMIN RUSH.....	136
ESTHER DUCHÉ.....	136
A WEDDING GOWN, A GOWN OF 1760, A SUIT OF VELVET, A WATTEAU GOWN.....	137
EMPIRE GOWN.....	137
IN AN OLD KITCHEN.....	140
STATE HOUSE, WITH A VIEW OF CHESTNUT STREET.....	141
DILIGENT FIRE ENGINE.....	141
DAVID JAMES DOVE, SCHOOLMASTER.....	156
ROBERT PROUD, SCHOOLMASTER.....	156
GIRL'S RED STUFF GOWN, 1730; PRINT GOWN OF 1710; WHITE DAMASK LINEN GOWN OF 1720; SUIT OF BLUE SILK, 1740; BROWN VELVET SUIT, 1760.....	157
BROWN VELVET SUIT OF 1760; BUFF PRINTED CAMBRIC DRESS, ABOUT 1760; SHEER MUSLIN GOWN, ABOUT 1790; CLOAK, MUFF AND HAT AFTER SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, 1780; MUSLIN GOWN OF 1790.....	157
TIMOTHY MATLACK, SCHOOLMASTER.....	166
BENCH AND TABLE USED BY CHRISTOPHER DOCK, IN HIS SCHOOL IN GERMANTOWN.....	166
ALEXANDER WILSON.....	167
JAMES WILSON, TEACHER OF LATIN AND SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION.....	167
THE CHILDREN OF THOMAS AND JULIANA PENN.....	174
SWEETBRIER, THE HOME OF SAMUEL BRECK.....	175
PROFILES CUT BY MAJOR ANDRÉ.....	180
THE CALASH.....	181

ILLUSTRATIONS

WEATHER VANE AND SCARECROW AT CHAMPLOST	181
REV. GEORGE DUFFIELD, D.D.....	184
CHAIN USED DURING SERVICE TO PROTECT OLD PINE STREET CHURCH FROM STREET TRAFFIC.....	184
THE COMMUNION SERVICE WHICH QUEEN ANNE PRESENTED TO CHRIST CHURCH, 1708.....	185
ARCH STREET, WITH THE SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.....	185
GLORIA DEI CHURCH.....	192
INTERIOR OF OLD ST. DAVID'S CHURCH.....	192
ORIGINAL GABLE WINDOW IN OLD PINE STREET CHURCH.....	193
INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.....	193
THE QUAKER WEDDING.....	202
JULLANA PENN.....	203
MARGARET (PEGGY) SHIPPEN.....	212
COLONIAL WEDDING GOWN; CRIMSON BROCADE OF 1752; GREEN GOWN OVER SATIN HOOPED PETTICOAT; BACK VIEW OF SAME.....	212
FOUR OLD-TIME PENNSYLVANIA WORTHIES: JOHN PEMBERTON, JAMES PEMBERTON, HENRY DRINKER, JOHN PARRISH.....	213
WILLIAM HAMILTON OF "THE WOODLANDS" AND HIS NIECE.....	230
MRS. BENEDICT ARNOLD AND HER DAUGHTER.....	231
GENERAL CADWALADER, WIFE AND CHILD.....	231
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.....	244
MRS. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.....	244
IN OLD CLINTON STREET, BETWEEN NINTH AND TENTH, LOOKING EAST.....	245
STAGE COACH ADVERTISEMENTS.....	252
BRIDGE OVER THE PENNYPACK.....	253
MODEL OF JOHN FITCH'S STEAM ENGINE.....	260
PLAN OF JOHN FITCH'S STEAMBOAT.....	260
JOHN FITCH'S STEAMBOAT, 1786.....	261
ROBERT FULTON'S DOUBLE INCLINED PLANE FOR CANALS.....	264
TO THE DELAWARE PILOTS.....	265
IN MOURNING BECAUSE OF THE STAMP ACT.....	272
SARAH FRANKLIN BACHE.....	272
THE LIBERTY BELL.....	273
THE DESK OF THE DECLARATION.....	278

ILLUSTRATIONS

THE CONGRESS VOTING INDEPENDENCE.....	279
IN INDEPENDENCE HALL.....	282
LOOKING TOWARD THE LIBERTY BELL, INDEPENDENCE HALL.....	283
THE PLANTATION, PEMBERTON'S.....	288
TICKET FOR THE MESCHIANZA.....	288
MT. PLEASANT, EAST FRONT, THE HOME OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.....	289
AMERICAN UNIFORMS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.....	294
GEORGE WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE.....	295
THE DECLARATION INKSTAND.....	295
SIGNING OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.....	300
CONGRESS HALL AND THE NEW THEATRE.....	310
THE HOUSE INTENDED FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES..	310
DOORWAY OF 244 SOUTH EIGHTH STREET.....	311
THE OLD PUMP AT THE CHEW HOUSE, GERMANTOWN.....	311
WILLIAM COBBETT, THE EDITOR OF "PETER PORCUPINE".....	315
ROBERT MORRIS'S UNFINISHED HOUSE.....	319

The clock shown in cover design was owned
by Thomas Jefferson and is now in the
Historical Society of Pennsylvania

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his Wife.....Edited by C. F. Adams, Boston, 1841.
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chapter by the author.)
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Own Times.....Harrisburg, 1811.
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Diary of.....Edited by Jacob Cox Parsons, Phila-
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THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

I

FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC

THE SUBLIME COURAGE OF THE PIONEERS—"NEITHER HOUSE NOR SHELTER"—A "TUNN OF GOODS"—CAPTURED BY A PRIVATEER—A MARRIAGEABLE YOUNG MAN—SELLING THEIR TIME TO PAY THEIR PASSAGE—SQUALLS AND PRIVATEERS AND AN UNEXPECTED DELIVERANCE—THE RAT AND THE WATERSPOUT—FAMINE ON SHIPBOARD—"THOSE WERE GREAT DAYS"

THEY were sturdy heroes, those men and women who left home and friends in "Merrie England" to seek they knew not what in the distant lands which had been placed under William Penn's control. Possibly some of them were visionaries who did not count the cost, but most of them were people of practical common sense who realized what the breaking of home ties meant. Though they did not know exactly what was before them, they did know that they could not expect to see again their friends and loved ones in the home land; they had heard enough of the terrors of a long ocean voyage to understand that there were before them weeks, perhaps months, of tossing in what seems to us a mere toy of a boat; they knew that there were some who had set out on the long voyage who had never reached their destination; they knew that in the land they sought there were savages who had slain hundreds of emigrants from England; they under-

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

stood well that when they reached the distant shores they would have to live for perhaps a year or two in a makeshift hut with only the barest necessities.

But they did not hesitate, for theirs was the high courage that was willing to face the unknown for the sake of what the future might bring to them and to their children, and for the sake of the part they might have in carving out a new state that would make life brighter for those who were to come after them.

Theirs was the courage of the pioneer who has been characterized by sturdy faith from the days of Abraham, who "went out, not knowing whither he went," to the days of Christopher Columbus and Hendrick Hudson and John Winthrop and William Penn—the faith that enabled them not only to brave the Atlantic, but also to keep sweet while they faced the dark forests, swam swollen rivers or trudged over leagues of uncharted country where Indians might be lurking at every step.

Their courage was not less because they could know little of these things, and therefore went blindly ahead. There was something sublime in their readiness to drive into the unknown, and to go not as those who were under compulsion to do something they did not wish to do, but willingly, eagerly, devotedly.

It was in this spirit that Thomas Sion Evan, an emigrant of 1682, came to Pennsylvania. On a day in July, 1681, he was attending St. Peter's Fair at Bala, Wales. He had left his comfortable farm home with no thought but of mingling at the fair with acquaintances and friends, as he had done many times before, and of returning home in the evening prepared to take up once more his accustomed duties.

FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC

But one of those to whom he talked that day had something to tell him that was to change the course of his whole life. This friend talked of a far-away land which he called Pennsylvania—a fair land, well watered, well wooded, where flowers bloomed freely and abundant crops were to be had for little labor. He was assured that there was room in that land for anyone who would cross the Atlantic.

These things took hold of Evan's imagination. He thought how fine it would be to trade his Welsh home for the splendors of the wooded lands by the Delaware. Evidently he was a bold spirit, for his mind was soon made up: he would go himself to that far-away country and see for himself if the things of which he had been told were so.

With a promptness more characteristic of the twentieth century than the seventeenth century he put aside all the discouraging arguments of friends and relatives, and within three weeks he was on his way to London where he planned to take passage for America. But in the city by the Thames his impatient spirit was checked. Though he searched the waterfront, he could find no vessel bound for Pennsylvania. For weeks he waited, filling up the time as best he could by making inquiries concerning the land of his dreams. He was compelled to be satisfied with very meagre information, since William Penn had not then arranged for the publicity material that later led hundreds and thousands of others to follow in Evan's footsteps.

At length, after three months' delay, the eager Welshman was able to stow his possessions and himself

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

in a small ship whose captain assured him that the voyage would not be too great an adventure.

But the emigrant soon learned the uncertainties of ocean travel. After a stormy passage he was in sight of the Delaware when adverse winds and boisterous waves drove them out to sea. The sails were torn and the rudder was injured. Reluctantly the captain turned his back on the promised land and made his way to Barbadoes. There three weeks were spent in refitting the ship.

The second attempt was successful; the Delaware was entered on April 16, 1682. The voyage of thirty weeks had given Evan ample time to learn to speak and read English tolerably well.

Eagerly the passengers looked for a town on the banks of the Delaware, but when they reached the site of the present city of Philadelphia they found "neither house nor shelter," nothing but the wild woods. Nor was there anyone to welcome them. "A poor lookout this, for persons who had been so long at sea, many of whom had spent their little all," Evan's son John wrote to a friend in 1708.

But the Welsh settler had neither time nor inclination to repine. In the spirit of the true pioneer he left the ship which had been his home for so long and began to carve out the home on the banks of the Delaware of which he had been dreaming since the day at the Bala fair, more than nine months before. And soon he was able to write to his stay-at-home neighbors an account of his experiences that must have helped some of them to follow in his steps.

By this time, however, Penn had prepared a pam-

FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC

phlet of "Information and Direction to Such Persons as are Inclined to America." This was written in a convincing, personal manner. It began:

"Say I have 100£ sterl. If I am but six in Family, I will pay my Passage with the advance upon my Money, and find my hundred pounds good in the Country at last. Upon Goods, well bought and sorted, there is more profit: but some Money is very requisite for Trade sake."

An estimate was made of the expense of transporting an ordinary family. For the husband, his wife and two men servants, twenty pounds would be required. A ten-year-old child would pay half as much as an adult. Each passenger would be entitled to a chest, but a "Tunn of Goods" additional would be required, and for these the freight charge would be two pounds. The ship's doctor would cost 2 shillings 6 pence per person. Four gallons of brandy and twenty-four pounds of sugar would be needed for the voyage, and these supplies would cost one pound. The next important item in the equipment was put down thus: "For Cloaths for my Servants, each 6 Shirts, 2 Waist-coats, a Summer and a Winter Shute, one Hat, 2 pair of Shoes, Stokins and Drawyers, twelve pounds."

In arranging for supplies to be included in the "Tunn of Goods," advice was given not to forget Building Material, Householdstuff, Husbandry, Fowling and Fishing, English Woollen, and German Linnen, Broad-Clothes Kereseys, Searges, Norwich-Stuffs, Duffels, Cottons, White and Blew Ozenburgs, Shoes, and Stockins, Buttons, Silk, Thread, Iron ware, especially

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Axes, Indian Hows, Saws, Drawing Knives, Nailes, Powder and Lead.

In a later document the Proprietor argued the advantages of sailing so as to reach Pennsylvania in the spring or the fall, "for the Summer may be of the hottest, for fresh Commers, and in the Winter the wind that prevails, is the North West, and that blows off the Coast, so that sometimes it is difficult to enter the Capes."

The length of the passage was put down as between six and nine weeks, though the honest statement was made that "the passage is not to be set by any man; for ships will be quicker and slower, some have been four moneths, and some but one, and as often." During one year twenty-four ships made the voyage, and only three of these required more than nine weeks for the trip, while one or two consumed less than six weeks.

Passengers were urged to spend as much time as possible on deck, "for the Air helps against the offensive smells of a Crowd, and a close place." Advice was given to carry store of Rue and Wormwood and some Rosemary. Vinegar and Pitch were to be used as disinfectants.

The modern promoter could learn from the closing word of advice to the emigrants to "be moderate in Expectation," to "count on Labour before a Crop, and Cost before Gain," that thus they might be ready to "endure difficulties, if they come, and bear the Success as well as find the Comfort, that usually follows such considerate undertakings."

Possibly some were deterred from making the venture by the appeal to be neither "Hasty" nor "Pre-

FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC

sumptuous." "The even humble Temper will best endure the Change either way," was the assurance. "A Wilderness must want some things improv'd Countries enjoy, but Time and Labour will reprice, where Industry sooner makes an Inheritance. And tho we have not the Ornaments of Life, we want not the Conveniences; and if their Cost were put in Ballance with their Benefit, the World would be greatly debtor on Account."

Perhaps some of this information was available for the forty friends of John Ap Thomas who planned to go with him to Pennsylvania in 1682. But Thomas' health was poor. At first the company thought of waiting for him and his family, but he urged them to go without him, promising to follow as soon as possible. So they took passage in August, 1682, on the ship *Lyon*, taking with them some of Thomas' household goods. One of the advance company was Edd Jones, who wrote to the sick man an interesting account of the voyage:

"This shall lett thee know that we have been aboard eleaven weeks before we made the land (it was not for want of art but contrary winds) and one we were in coming to Upland, ye town is to be buylded 15 or 16 miles miles up ye River. And in all this time we wanted neither meate, drink or water though several hogsheds of water run out. Our ordinary allowance of beere was 3 pints a day for each whole head and a quart of water; 3 biskedd a day & some times more. We laid in about half hundred of biskedd, one barrell of beere, one hogshed of water—the quantity for each whole head, & 3 barrels of beefe for the whole number—40—and we had one to come ashoare. A great many could eat little or no beefe though it was good. Butter and chesse eats

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

well upon ye sea. Ye remainder of our cheese & butter is little or no worster; butter & cheese is at 6^d per lb. here if not more. We have oatmeal to spare, but it is well, yt we have it, for here is little or no corn till they begin to sow their corn."

Of the forty who set out on the voyage one only, a child, died. This fact led Jones to add:

"Let no friends tell that they are either too old or too young, for the Lord is sufficient to preserve both to the uttermost. Here is an old man about 80 years of age; he is rather better yn when he sett out, likewise here are young babes doing very well considering sea diet."

John Ap Thomas did not live to reach Pennsylvania. But his family made their mark in the new land. An interesting record has been left by his son, Thomas Ap John (the father's name reversed, or Thomas Jones, as he wrote it in America) in the shape of a letter which he wrote in 1709 to his cousin in Wales. In this he told of difficulties worse than storms which were experienced by Owen Roberts and his company, friends of his, on the way to America.

"They were taken [by the French] . . . within a few days' sail (less than a week) good wind, of the Capes or mouth of the Delaware, being all alive and pretty well and hearty, and were carried by them, some to Martinico, and the rest to Guardalupa, islands belonging to the French. And so from thence to Monsterat and Antigo, islands belonging to the English, and so from thence here, where they arrived at Philadelphia about ye 7th of 8th month last, excepting nine of the servants that were pressed on board a ship (or man of war) at Monsterat."

The delays and dangers of some of those who made



SPANISH GALLEONS



TYPE OF WILLIAM PENN'S SHIP WELCOME
(From an engraving of the period)



James Claypoole



Mary Chambers Claypoole

TWO PIONEERS OF 1683

FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC

the venture to America in 1682 did not discourage other adventurous home-seekers. From London James Claypoole wrote in 1682 that he was thinking seriously of removing with his family to Pennsylvania, and that he was trying to arrange his "busyness" so as to leave in the spring of 1683. "I have 100 acres where our Capitall City is to be upon ye River near Schoolkill and Peter Cooks," he wrote. "There I intend to plan & build my first house . . . We are in treaty for a good vessel to carry us. I am in Treaty wth one Jeffries Mr. of a shipp of 500 Tunn, w^{ch} will require 2 mos. time to gett ready in." Though Jeffries had not yet made a voyage to the Delaware he had been several times to Virginia, and Claypoole felt confident he would be able to take passengers and goods safely. There would be room for "80 Passingirs and 50 Ton of goods," so the anxious man, hoping to secure the load as soon as possible, recommended him highly to any friends in Ireland who had "a purpose of going to Pennsylvania or New Jarsy." He assured intending passengers that late news from Pennsylvania was good, and he offered to write to any who might apply for information. He would be ready to tell how the country on the Delaware was "liked for Pleasantness."

At length the complement of passengers and freight was made up and Claypoole began his voyage to America. Late in 1683 he wrote from Philadelphia the assurance that all had gone well:

"We went on board the *Concord* at Gravesend the 24 5 mo. and after we lost sight of England w^{ch} was in about 3 weeks time, we were 49 days before we saw land in America, and the 18 mo. some of us went ashore

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

in Pennsylvania: the blessing of the Lord did attend us so that we had a verry comfortable passage, and had our health all the way."

Another of the venturesome pilgrims of 1683 was William Hudson, Junior, a young man of twenty-one. When he learned of the advantages of Penn's Plantation he asked his father's approval of the journey. The father was not only glad to give his permission, but he added capital to the sum the young man had inherited from his mother.

In company with James Marshall, of York, and others, Hudson set out for Philadelphia, and when he landed he made haste to file for record the following curious record:

"James Marshall and Rachell his wife are now determined, through God's assistance, to Transport themselves wth their family into ye Province of Pensilvania in America, as also Will^m Hudson, ye younger of ye said City of W^{ch} they have acquainted Many friends . . . and further, touching the aforesaid W^m Hudson, he being in an unmarried state, we know nothing but that he is clear from all p'sons w^tsoever, in relation to marriage. And if it shall please God y^t he shall find Inclination in himself to alter his state with respect to Marry in America, his ffather hath freely given him up to the exercise of Truth in his own Spirit wth the advice and satisfaction of the Church of God there, In relation thereunto."

Five years after the arrival of young Hudson in Pennsylvania he took advantage of his father's permission and married Mary, daughter of Samuel Richardson, Provisional Councillor, and a justice, one of the most prominent of the settlers.

FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC

Not long after William Hudson began his voyage in search of a wife John Chapman and his family closed the doors of the farmhouse in Yorkshire where they had lived joyfully together and went to New Castle upon the river Tyne. There they embarked for America.

A few weeks after the beginning of the voyage "they had a mighty Storm which blew so tempestuously that in short it carried away" much of the rigging. "It likewise took their awnings above the Quarter Deck and left not as much as a Yard of rope above their heads. All which was done in the space of half an hour and they lay thus distressed by a pitfull wreck all that night (they having lost their Masts about 12 °Clock in the Day)."

Two days later they were lying "without hopes of recovery, being then about 200 Leagues from the Land of America but through God's mercy they Got in Sight of the Capes of Virginia."

The time from Aberdeen to the Capes was about nine weeks. The remainder of the voyage was without special event.

George Haworth was not so fortunate when he set out from Liverpool in 1699. After he had recovered from the effects of his fourteen week's voyage, he wrote to members of his family in Yorkshire:

"A long and tedious journey we had, for we being over many throng'd in the Ship, I believe hurt many, for we had many distempers among us, as Fever, Flux and Jaundice, and many died at Sea about 56 and at Shore there died about 20."

One of the dying passengers asked that his goods be

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

returned to kindred at Liverpool. The writer's sister did not live to reach land, and she left her household goods to a sister who was also among the passengers.

These trying experiences did not lead Haworth to urge kindred at home not to follow him, though he took opportunity to warn them to be careful not to come "too many in the Ship as we did." Then he added that the crowding in the hot weather of midsummer increased the mortality and made provisions short. "We wanted Water and Beer to drink," he wrote, "for having salt Beef, we were much athirst . . . the seamen stowed the Hold so full of Goods that they had not room for Water and Beer. But if any come, let them bring for themselves over and besides the Ships allowance Spices and Brandy and Cheese let the Seamen pretend what they will; or else victual themselves and bargain for being carried over and goods and then bring for yourselves but a little Beef and some bacon, and wheat flour is very good."

Two years later, in the light of experience gained in the new country, Haworth wrote:

"Be sure to come free, but if you come servants, they must be sold for 4 or 5 years and work hard."

Evidently he had been in touch with many who, unable to pay their passage, had engaged to the captain to sell their services on landing. To have to work four or five years in return for the advance of five pounds of passage money would seem a hardship; but there were hundreds and, later, thousands who made their beginning in the new land thus.

This would seem an especially bad bargain to those

FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC

whose passage was as hard as that of Abel Morgan, a Baptist minister who sailed from Bristol with his family on June 28, 1711. At once after leaving port they were compelled to put back to Milford Haven, and three weeks passed before they could resume the voyage. Then they were driven by a storm to Cork, Ireland. Here they remained five weeks. At last they started on the voyage for the third time. In December Mrs. Morgan died, as well as her little son. Not until February 12, 1712, was the voyage completed. But in a letter to his old congregation in Wales, Morgan had no word of complaint to offer, but said, merely, "The will of God must be done." The passengers were hungry, "but all this is ended, and we arrived in the land of bread," was the message.

Samuel Sansom had a trying experience in 1732. On September 9 he set sail from England on the ship *John*. There were many tempests during the voyage, but the worst of these came on November 13, when the vessel was within sight of land. The passenger whose account of the hazards of the voyage is still treasured by his descendants, said:

"We were beat off the coast by a terrible N. W. wind, . . . On the ninth of December about eleven O'Clock in the forenoon, we made the Capes, and got in good anchoring ground. The next business was to get a Pilot. For which purpose our Captain sent his boat with Samuel Neave¹, Anthony Duché, and Robert Best, passengers, and three sailors. The wind blew fresh when they went off, and in the evening blew hard,

¹Samuel Neave was for more than twenty-five years a prominent merchant of Philadelphia. He was one of the signers of the Non-Importation Agreement.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

so we could not expect them that night; but the next morning being pretty still we fully expected them, with a pilot; not knowing that the Creek they were to go over was frozen so hard occasioned their stay. So we lay four days in expectation of a pilot, but none came off to us, nor was there but one in the place, and he was engaged to another ship."

For this reason the captain thought it best to accept the offer made by a passing ship captain of his boatswain, who, he said, could serve as a pilot, since he had made two trips up the Delaware to Philadelphia.

"Orders were given to weigh anchor and make sail directly, our sails were set, our top-sails unreefed, and away we went at the rate of ten miles or knots an hour," the account continued. "The tide being strong drew us very fast . . . we had not sailed above 7 or 8 leagues before we found to our very great surprise our ship fast aground, . . . everybody was very eager to save their lives which we had no hopes of but our long boat . . . everybody being willing to save some clothes, as well as their lives, the captain himself setting an example, he permitted every person to put in a bundle, which was no sooner done but the women, and those that could not so readily help themselves, were ordered to get in first . . . before the boat was hoisted along side it was almost half full of bundles, and seven people went in, but . . . she went down headforemost, and stood right on end. The water flowed in immediately and the boat stove along side. Seven people went in, but four came up alive, and one of the four died presently after."

The boat being lost, the remainder of the ship's company had to depend on the "cracked ship" for safety. So they did their best to lighten ship, throwing overboard about twenty tons of ballast. The main-

FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC

mast, too, was cut away. But it was still impossible to free the vessel from the shoal. In despair, a lookout was kept for ships. No less than six approached. Distress signals were made, but "they would take no notice of us," the author of the account wrote sorrowfully. Then he went on:

"We contrived at last to make a little boat, though we had no tools fit for it, for the carpenter's tools were lost in the long-boat; however, they nailed a few boards together, and three people were appointed to go in it—two sailors and a clergyman, who went purely to serve the company and to get relief with a letter from our captain of my writing. These poor creatures were twenty-two hours upon the open sea, in this small thing, and the weather being excessive cold froze the sailors' legs to the boat, and the clergyman, who was not used to such hardships, was froze to death soon after he got to shore. . . . I with many more, although our number was now reduced, was five days and nights on a wreck in the coldest time in the hard winter, which has been so severe that the inhabitants here say they scarcely ever saw the like, and to be in a cold wrecked ship in the open sea surely it was the greatest of mercies we perished not with cold.

"On the sixth day of our calamities, when we had given over all thoughts of being saved, . . . a sloop came into the bay, which the inhabitants of Lewestown forced to come and save us."

The survivors were landed at Lewestown, where they remained twelve days. At the end of that time "Nath^l Palmer, starch maker, in Philadelphia," helped Mr. Neave and the annalist to reach the city where he lived, promising to care for them in his house.

"It may not be amiss to give thee some account of

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

our travel by land," the story went on. "Lewestown is 150 or as some say 160 miles from this place. So N. Palmer bought S. Neave & I each a horse to ride to this town, which we accomplished in three days, and about three hours, which was very hard traveling indeed, being short days, and the roads deep with snow, and through woods that for a great many miles we could see no house."

Ten years after Samuel Sansom's experience there was begun the adventurous voyage of the first Moravian colony, which came to Philadelphia in 1742, on the way to make settlement on the estate of the Church in Pennsylvania. The party set sail in the "skow" *Catharine*, which had been bought by Bishop Spangenburg for 600 pounds. The Bishop's experience in fitting out the Georgia Moravian colony, some time before, assured those who were following his guidance that their comfort would be well provided for. But they were doomed to disappointment, for the voyage to America brought them many trials.

First the single men took up their confined quarters in the *Catharine*. After a few days the married couples and the English colonists followed them. In all there were fifty-six passengers on board, as well as the captain, the mate and six sailors. There was much anxiety, for they knew that not only would they have to brave the perils of the Atlantic at a stormy time of the year, but that they ran grave risk of capture by men-of-war of France and Spain, with which countries England was at war. But the passengers were ready to face any necessary danger because of their desire to make their way to Philadelphia and beyond. Courage was renewed when Bishop Spangenburg boarded the vessel

FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC

at Gravesend and commended the little company to God's protection.

John Philip Meurer, one of the pilgrims, told in his journal of the events of the weeks that followed. Graphically he spoke of the mountainous waves of the Bay of Biscay which caught the little bark and tossed it up and down like a nutshell. Of course nearly everybody was seasick. Later, when a sudden squall struck the *Catharine*, the sails and the tackling became entangled. Many of the colonists assisted the sailors at the ropes. The captain was surprised and delighted at the calmness and courage of his passengers.

Twelve days after England had been left behind, a mysterious vessel was discovered standing directly towards the *Catharine*. But suddenly there was a calm, and both vessels became motionless. Darkness fell before the wind rose. During the night the vessels drifted apart. Next day, when the *Catharine* entered the port of Funchal, Madeira, the captain learned that the stranger which they had so providentially escaped was a Spanish privateer.

But a still narrower escape was to follow. One day a privateer approached and it was felt that capture was inevitable. This would mean spoliation at least, perhaps even death. The *Catharine* was unarmed, so resistance was out of the question. When the vessels were so close that all that took place on one could be observed plainly on the other, the captain ordered all male passengers on deck and stationed them so that sails could be lowered in an instant when the demand for surrender should come. For some reason the demand did not come. The Spaniard did not fire a

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

single shot; evidently the preparations on board the *Catharine* were misunderstood. At length the vessels began to draw apart, and in half an hour the enemy was far astern.

The hazards of the voyage were not yet over. When almost within sight of Philadelphia, the watchman one night accidentally disarranged the windlass. The anchor cable began to unwind and the vessel threatened to go ashore. Prompt action by the captain, the crew and the passengers averted the danger, and the voyage was continued to the Schuylkill.

Four years later an emigrant who arrived in the Delaware after an uneventful voyage on the *John Galley*, found that the hardest part of the journey was to come. It was December 22 when Cape Henlopen appeared. The Delaware was closed by ice. After a week the sturdy homeseeker left the vessel in a boat, which landed with difficulty one mile below Lewes. The snow was deep, and the town was reached only after a hard struggle. There a horse and sled were bought and the last stage of the journey to Philadelphia was begun. On December 30 it was possible to make but fourteen miles through the deep snow. At the house of the settler where refuge was found that night, a second horse was bought. But by the next day the snow had become so much deeper that, even with two horses, it was again impossible to make more than fourteen miles. The last night of the year was spent at what the traveler called with disgust "a miserable inn."

On New Year's Day, Dover, Delaware, was reached after many trials. In one of the twenty houses of the settlement the night was spent, and strength was



THE DUEL BETWEEN BLACKBEARD AND MAYNARD



THE HOME IN ENGLAND FROM WHICH JAMES CLAYPOOLE CAME
(Claypoole Manor, Norborough, England)



PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS
(Painting by Benjamin West; original in Independence Hall)

FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC

secured for the next day's struggle—nineteen miles through heavy drifts. Next day it proved impossible to do so well, for the thick crust of the snow cut the legs of the horses.

To Wilmington the traveler came after two days more. There two extra horses were hired and it proved possible to push on to Chester for the last night out of Philadelphia. Finally, on January 6, eight days from Lewes, the emigrant completed his weary progress to the town which he had been seeking since September 27.

Fortunately such tales of hardship did not deter others from following in the steps of the ardent pioneers who conquered the storms of both sea and shore in their eagerness to make a home in the wilderness. Each year there was an increasing number of emigrants until at length, long before the close of the first century of Philadelphia's history, the town of Penn's founding was the leading town of the colonies.

One of the most picturesque accounts of an Atlantic voyage told by an emigrant came from the pen of John Henry Helffrich, who came to Pennsylvania in 1771-72.

The first days out were so stormy that it was impossible to make fire on the ship, and the captain cooked soup for a child "over candle light." The sailors "had to stand in water on the deck up to the calves of their legs." One morning a wave came through a window to a cabin of a passenger and he was nearly drowned in his bed . . . "The waves came rolling like mountains, now we were high up, now deep down, now lying on one side and then again on the other . . . Many chickens and ducks perished on deck because of the quantities of sea water there."

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Other odd entries were made in Helffrich's journal:

"A rat tried to take the comforter away from the child, and, as it did not want to give it up, it was bitten on the finger. . . . The child screamed, the mother awoke and the rat ran off . . . All sails were taken in during a heavy downpour. We passengers helped to haul the sails in . . . Our terror was still more increased when the captain called to us to load our rifles . . . The danger was this, the water around us here and there was drawn up in the form of an arrow. When it falls, it comes down with such force that, if it hits a ship, it breaks it to pieces, and even if it touches the ship but slightly it smashes the deck. It follows the ships. The English call it a water spout . . . The only means to scatter the rising water is to break it up by shooting."

Soon famine was added to the difficulties of the voyagers:

"For eight days we have had no beef, nothing but some sides of bacon and peas. All the flour, which we intended to save up, has been spoiled by the rats. What will become of us. But God will help us . . . This afternoon we caught the first fish with the lines. It was a dolphin, weighing between 40 and 50 pounds . . . This afternoon we saw for over an hour, as far as the eye could reach, everywhere full of fish, now they showed their heads, now their backs above water. They were the kind that eat up people. The English call them porpoises . . . This morning they began doling out the water. Everyone, passenger as well as sailor, gets daily about two and a half pints. Of this he must again give up some for tea and soup. In the forenoon each passenger gets a little glass of wine . . . We have only a small supply of peas. We get them twice a week with bacon. Then we have yet four hams and some pickled beef. Occasionally cold beef, cut into small pieces, together with biscuit and water are cooked

FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC

into a soup . . . We are already suffering hunger and thirst . . . This morning our last hog was washed overboard."

At length, on January 14, 1772, the three months' voyage ended and the hungry, storm-tossed passengers ate heartily and rested in comfort among the hospitable people of Philadelphia.

Most of those who were called upon to endure such privations as these were sustained by the hope that they were about to better their fortunes. There were some, however, for whom the end of the voyage must be the beginning of servitude; for a period of three, four or five years they were to be at the direction of some master who would advance the cost of their transportation. But probably there was not among these redemptioners, as they were called, a heavier heart than that of Richard Annesley, whose story gave Charles Reade the foundation for his novel, "The Wandering Heir." Annesley was spirited away from his English home in 1728, and was carried to the Delaware, where he was sold to a master who made good his passage money. The story of the journey and the later experiences was told in the curious volume, "Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman," published in London in 1743. In this book Annesley told his adventure in the third person, under the name of Baron de Altamont. Unknown to himself, his father had died, and a scheming uncle carried him aboard a ship bound for America, informing him that the captain would take him to school. The knowledge that he was not to be a pampered passenger but a servant came to him with a great shock. The story is told thus:

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“The Hurricane, which had continued Near three Hours, being ceased, and the Waves resuming a More smiling Face, a Cloth was spread in the Captain’s Cabbin for him to take some Refreshment after the late Fatigue. . . . The Chevalier James, who had been there during the Storm, was going to sit down at the Table. ‘Hold, youngster,’ cried one of the rough Tarpaulins, pulling him away, ‘Do you think you are to be a Mess-mate with the Captain?’ ‘The Boy . . . will know his Distance better hereafter,’ the Captain said . . . The Chevalier . . . now began to mutter, and say, that as soon as he got out of the Ship, he would send his Father an account how they used him . . . Then, the unhappy Youth became acquainted with the Treachery of his inhuman Uncle, and that instead of being made an accomplished Nobleman, he was going to the worst kind of Servitude.”

The captain began to fear that the unfortunate young man would throw himself overboard or would starve himself. That the passage money, to be secured from the purchaser of the services of Annesley, might not be lost, the captain did his best to calm his troubled mind, assuring him that there was nothing so terrifying in the name of slave, after all, for this was only another name for an apprentice, and many noblemen’s sons were apprenticed.

But when land was reached Annesley’s worst fears were realized. A master appeared, the first of many who made him toil for thirteen long years, or until a fortunate accident restored him to his English home and estate.

But Annesley’s case was exceptional. For most of the emigrants, even the redemptioners, the landing on Pennsylvania soil was the beginning of better things.

FACING THE STORMY ATLANTIC

The perils of the passage across the Atlantic were forgotten, or were perhaps recalled with reminiscent pleasure during the long evenings after the work of the day was done, when neighbors gathered for gossip about the blazing hearth. "Rememberest that day of the storm when the mast was carried away?" one might ask. "And what of the time when they had to measure out the water and the meal?" another memory would follow, perhaps. So for an hour or two the days of the past would be lived over again, until the signal for breaking up would be given by one who would say, as he lifted back his chair, "Those were great days!"

II

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

THE HOUSE JAMES CLAYPOOLE WANTED—DEALING WITH CAVE HOUSES THAT BECAME PUBLIC NUISANCES—THE GOODS PAID FOR THREE HUNDRED SQUARE MILES OF LAND—PIONEER HARDSHIPS—A THIEF AND A CROWDED HOUSE—THE LUXURY OF WINDOW PANES—WHAT WAS BOUGHT AT THE VENDUE—DINNER-GIVING AND DINNER MANNERS—THE WOES OF HOUSECLEANING.

“**H**EE arriving in health in ye Country I expect he should ent’ upon my land, where ye first City is intended to be built. And there with the advise of Wm. Penn Doct^r Moor Tho: Holmes Ralph Withers and thyselve: I would have him to begin to build a house that may receive us.”

So ran the message sent in 1682 by James Claypoole to John Goodson concerning Edward Cole, a workman who was about to sail from England to America in Goodson’s company. Claypoole, who was one of the wealthiest of the early emigrants, did not propose to reach the new country until a comfortable house had been provided for him.

Cole was an indentured servant, bound to Claypoole for four years. His master described him as “an honest man,” and said he was sent “to build me a slight house and plant an orchard and clear some ground with the help of a Carpent^r that is going with another friend.” He was not only a brick-maker, but he was skilled “in planting and husbandrie, an industrious solid man about 57 yeares old, and one called a Quaker.”

As to his own plans, Claypoole wrote, “If it pleases

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

ye lord wee arrive there in the 2d or 3d month next." Then he went on to discuss details of the house he desired: "If it be but a sleight house like a barne with one floor of two Chambers: and will hold us and our goods and keep us from ye sun & weath^r it may suffice; I would also have some trees planted at ye right season for an orchard between the trees growinge w^{ch} may be either Lowp'd or sawed of near ye toppe or roots as is most advisable: but for Grubbing up, I think that may be left till I com with more help: I need not name the fruite trees but I would have all such sorts as o^r neighbours here do plant. But principally I would have him look out for Earth to make Bricks and prepare as much as he cann in ye Most convenient place to work upon in Spring I would have a sellar und^r ye house if it may bee."

Later in the letter is a passage which was characteristic of the day:

"Truly My desire is y^t we may all have an Eye to y^e Lord in all o^r undertakings who is the great provider for all and y^e preserver of all; that we may soe live in his fear y^t we may honn^r his Name and truth and in our whole conversation answ^r his wittness in all people so shall righteousness establish our Nation, and our habitations be in peace and safety even in Jerusalem, that is a quiet habitation"

That nothing was left undone to provide for the comfort of his family when he should reach the new town of Philadelphia is evident again from a letter sent by Claypoole to his brother in Barbadoes. In this he asked for "2 good stout negroe men, such as are like to be plyable and good natured: and ingenious:

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

I question not but thou knowes better than I doe w^{ch} may be fittest for me. and I hope thou wilt be so kind as to lett me have those w^{ch} are good likely men: for some I hear are so ill natured and surrly, that a man had better keep a Bear, and some again so ingenious dillig^t and good natured that they are a great comfort and Benefitt to a man and his family: And my family is great and I have 3 young children: so that it may be prejudiciall to me to have bad negroes: I would also have a boy and a girle to serve in my house I would not have either of them und^r 10 years or above 20."

With the brickmaker, there went to Philadelphia for Claypoole's house "Ironmongers ware: tools for workinge and some materialls towards ye building of a house."

These goods were probably landed at "that low Sandy Beach since called the Blue Anchor," for this was from the beginning the accepted landing place for all the goods and chattels of the colonists when they left the vessels on which they made their weary passage from England. A court document recorded in 1753 said, "Persons have ever since used it as a Common Free Landing for Stores, Loggs, Hay and all such kind of Lumber and other Goods which can no way be with like ease or safety brought and landed to any other Wharf and place in the City."

It was close to this free landing place that the first house in Philadelphia was built, and it was not far from here that Cole was asked to build Claypoole's house, concerning which the following specific directions were sent to the brickmaker:

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

“I would willingly have a cell^r und^r y^e house for I shall bring wines and other liquors y^t the heat may otherwise spoyle . . . write what things is most wanted for my concernes there, and what kind of land my Lott is, and how it lyes as to y^e River &c and what wat^r and trees and all things needful to be known when thou hast got a hovell to keep thee safe, and provition without much charg for food, thou wert best buy a Cow and a Sow or two for breed, but in all things get good advise.”

By “2 . 10 mo . 1683” the Claypoole “great” family including his “3 young Children” had been for two months snugly placed in the house for which so many plans had been made. Concerning it he wrote on that day to his brother in Barbadoes:

“I found my servant had builded me a house like a barne without a Chimney 40 foot long and 20 broad, with a good dry Cellar under it which proved an extraordinary conveniency for securing our goods and lodging my family, Although it Stood me in very dear, for he had run me up for dyat—& work—near 60 lb. Sturling which I am paying as mony . . . to this I built a kitchen of 20 foot squar where I am to have a double Chimney w^{ch} I hope will be up in 8 or 12 days.”

In a later letter he said:

“My lott proves to be one of the best in the Town, having 102 foot to the River & 396 long and ab^t 1¼-acre in the high street, there is a swamp runs by the side of my lott, that with a small charge might be made navigable, and a brave harbour for sloops and small ships.”

It is likely that until the house was enlarged the household goods brought by Claypoole from England could not be accommodated. Most of the emigrants

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

had a much more modest equipment than his. Probably the average array of furnishings and tools was more like that carefully set down by friends of a traveler who died at sea, as indicated below:

“A True Inventory of the goods and Chattels of George Chandler who Deceased the xiii Day of December 1687, in his passage to pensilvania. Taken and Apprized by us Whose Names are here underwritten The xth Day of the Seaventh mo’ 1688.

“First his wearing apparrell; one feather bed & two bolsters, 2 blankots, 1 Covered, 1 par of Sheets; other beds & Bedding; Pewter, Brass, tools & other Ironware; Nayles, Saws, Aug’rs, Chissells, Gouges, wedges, Locks, Keys, Riphooks, and all other Iron Lumber; 2 gunns & powder & shot & powder Horne; 2 Chests & five Boxes and 2 bedsteds; one Barrell, 1 pare of Bellows, 4 Kevers, 1 Doe trough, 2 pailles, 10 bottles, and all other Lumber; a Sow & 9 piggs, 4 yards & half of Sarge; 1 Ell of holland or Scotch cloth, threed, pins & tapes.”

Many of the first colonists were compelled to put up with rude cave houses, built in the sloping ground above the Delaware. These could not have been very different from the sod houses on the prairies or the potato cellars still to be found on many farms. A bank formed the back of the house, while timbers were driven into the ground for the sides and the front. Earth was heaped against the side timbers, a door and a window or two were cut, and a roof of timbers covered with earth completed the whole. The window aperture contained a sliding board which, when closed, shut out some of the cold as well as the light. Sometimes a bladder or isinglass was stretched across. Those who were able to display a small paned window

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

were proud of the achievement and were looked on with envy by their neighbors.

A letter written in 1708 to Hugh Jones of Bala, Wales, by John Jones, told of conditions as they were in 1682 when the first of the cave houses were in use. He said:

“By this time there was a kind of neighborhood here, although as neighbors they could little benefit each other. They were sometimes employed in making huts beneath some cliff, or under the hollow banks of rivulets, thus sheltering themselves where their fancy dictated. There were neither cows nor horses to be had at any price. ‘If we have bread, we will drink water and be content,’ they said; yet no one was in want, and all were much attached to each other; indeed much more so, perhaps, than many who have every outward comfort this world can afford.

“During this eventful period our governor began to build mansion houses at different intervals, to the distance of fifty miles from the city, although the country appeared a complete wilderness.

“There was, by this time no land to be bought within twelve miles of the city, and my father having purchased a small tract of land married the widow of Thomas Llwyd of Penmaen. He now went to live near the woods. It was now a very rare but pleasing thing to hear a neighbor’s cock crow.”

The crowding of cave houses along the water front of the city was not in accordance with William Penn’s plan. In laying out his checkerboard city he made known his purpose to reserve “the top of the bank as a common exchange, or walk.” He did allow some to build stores here, if they were not raised higher than four feet above the bank. For a time he suc-

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

ceeded fairly well in keeping open the view of the river for those who walked where the ground began to slope toward the water.

Many of the cave houses near the river soon became a nuisance, and the Grand Jury found it necessary to deal summarily with the owners. The records of that body for "2^d 4th Mo 1686" include the following Presentments:

"We present the encroachments on the King's highway following, viz: of John Swift's shop on y^e end of Mulberrie street neer the delaware river, of Y^e widow Blinston's house being an encroachment standing upon Chestnut street neer delaware. The porch of Richard Orme encroaching on y^e third street. John Markome for setting his house or cave encroaching upon delaware front street and John Moone for encroaching on y^e front street by setting his palins upon y^e same."

On another occasion the Grand Jury took similar action:

"We present Joseph Knight for Suffering drunkenness & evill orders in his Cave."

"All caves by the water side as unfit for houses of entertainment or drinking houses A great grievance & an occasion to forestall the Mercat."

Later it was ordered that, "in presence of the Governor's letter read in Court, y^e high & pettie constable, high & undersheriffs, do forthwith view what emptie Caves doe stand in the King's highway, in delaware front street (which way or street is sixty feet wide) and that they forthwith pull down & demolish all emptie caves as they shall find have encroached upon y^e said street, in part or in all, and they shall secure what odd goods they therein find for y^e owners."

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

One owner thereupon asked for "a month's time to pull down his cave in y^e middle of y^e street," and the court "granted him a mo. time to pull it down & ordered him to fill up the hole in y^e strete."

But the day came when Penn's well-laid plans to keep open the view of the river came to nothing. When he was absent in England, a petition was presented to the Commissioner of Property by a number of merchants and landowners who wished to build much higher than the prescribed four feet above the bank, though they promised that they would leave "thirty feet of ground for a cartway under and above the said bank forever." The Commissioner further stipulated that, when necessary, they should "wharf out," in order to preserve the proper breadth, and that those who wished to have steps up into their houses should "leave convenient room to make the same upon their own ground." Between two adjoining streets "there was to be left at least ten feet of ground for a public stairs, clear of all building over the same."

So it was not long until the whole bank was built up, and "not a house as far as Pine Street" had a single foot of yard room.

Before Penn's departure for England he wrote that "the city of Philadelphia now extends in length from River to River two miles and in breadth near a Mile," then he proudly added that it was "Modelled between two Rivers upon a neck of Land and that Ships May ride in Good Anchorage in 6 or 8 fathom Water in Both, close to the City level dry and wholesome, such a Situation is scarce to be paralleled."

All this land Penn bought from the Indians as well

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

as from former settlers. His method of payment to the original owners may be seen from a deed recorded in 1697:

“We Taminy Sachimack and Weheeland, my brother, and Wehequeekhon, *alias* Andrew, who is to be king after my death, Yaquekhon *alias* Nicholas, and Quenamequid *alias* Charles my sons for us our heirs and successors grant . . . land between Pemepack and Neshaminy extending to the length of the River Delaware so far as a horse can travel in two summer days, and to carry its breadth according to the several course of the two said creeks, and when the said creeks do branch, that the main branches granted shall stretch forth upon a direct course on each side and to carry on the full breadth to the extent of the length thereof.”

The consideration for the transfer of this land—about three hundred square miles in all—was made up of the following items:

“5 p. Stockings, 20 Barrs Lead, 10 Tobacco Boxes, 6 Coates, 2 Guns, 8 Shirts, 2 Kettles, 12 Awles, 10 Tobacco Tongs, 6 Axes, 4 yds. Stroud-Water, 100 Needles, 5 Hatts, 25 lbs. powder, 1 Peck Pipes, 28 yards Duffills, 16 Knives, 10 pr Scissors, 2 Blankets, 20 Handfulls of Wampum, 10 Glasses, 5 Capps, 15 Combs, 5 Hoes, 9 Gimblets, 20 Fishhooks, 7 half Gills, 4 Handfull Bells.”


In the light of this bargain the Proprietor's statement concerning the Indians, written in August, 1683, is full of interest:


“I find them a people rude, to Europeans, in dress, gestures, and food; but of a deep natural sagacity. Say little, but what they speak is fervent and elegant, if they please, close to the point, and can be as evasive.


Received from the
 Hon. the Hon. for
 the Hon. for
 10000 Dollars

Received from the honorable Thomas and Richard
 Penn Esq^s true and absolute Proprietors of Pensyl.
 came by the hands of the honorable Mr. William Johnes
 Barret the sum of ten thousand Dollars being the
 full consideration of the Lands lately sold to them by
 the Indians of the six Nations at the late Treaty of
 Fort Stanwix We say received this Twenty fifth
 day of July Anno Domini 1769 from the
 and the other Persons of the six Nations and their confederate
 and dependent Tribes for whom we act and by whom
 we are appointed and empowered —


Witness my hand
 Thomas Penn
 Richard Penn
 Gov. of the Province


 Anahogare


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For the Cayuga Nation
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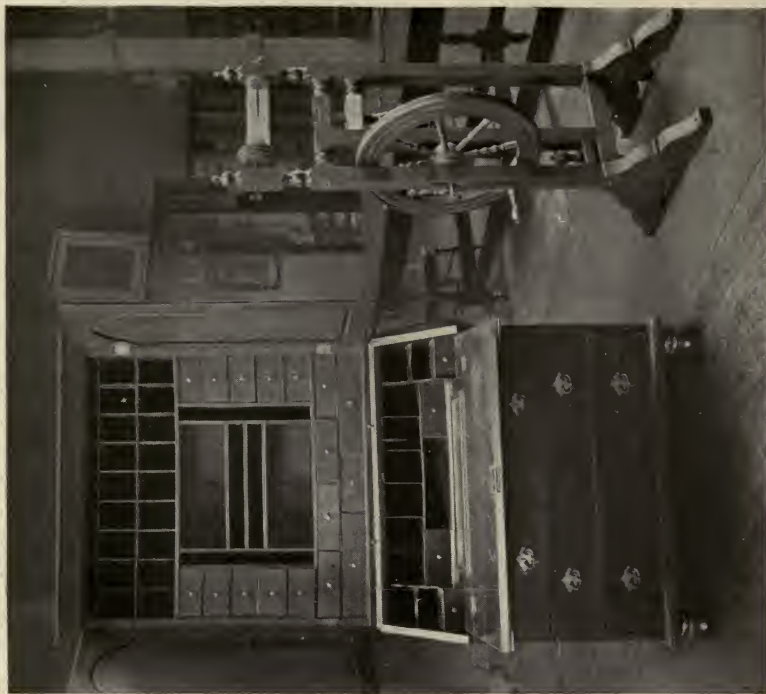
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RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT FOR LAND GIVEN BY THE INDIANS TO THOMAS AND RICHARD PENN



WILLIAM HUDSON'S CLOCK
(Brought from England)



WILLIAM PENN'S DESK AND BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S
ELECTRICAL MACHINE
(In the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia)

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

In treaties, about land or traffick, I find them deliberate in council, and as designing, as I have ever observed among the politest of our Europeans. I have bought two large tracts, and had two presented to me, which cost me alike. They trouble not themselves about bills of lading, or exchange; nor are they molested about chancery suits and exchequer accounts. Their rest is not disturbed for maintenance; they live by their pleasure, fowling and fishing; the sons of providence, better without tradition, unless that they have got had been better; for the Dutch, English, and Swedes have taught them drunkenness. Thus they are the worse for those they should have been the better for; and this they are not so dark as not to see, and say."

Gradually the colonists made themselves comfortable on lands to which the Indians had been persuaded to yield their claims, free from the periodical alarms of Indian raids that distressed the pioneers in other parts of the country because the original owners of the soil had not been treated as Penn treated his dusky neighbors. And it was well that they were freed from such anxieties, for they had enough of those that were inevitable. A glimpse of the burdens that were cheerfully borne for the sake of a home where some day there would be plenty was given by Ann Warder in her diary. Once in 1787 she recorded talking with a friend "who related what Friends' situation was in the first settlement of their country; when the men and women toiled together to clear the land, without being able to procure what we esteem the common necessaries of life. One day a worthy woman returning from her labor to provide something for her own and companions' dinner, and remembering that she had not nor could obtain nothing but very ordinary bread sat down and

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

wept. A favorite cat came to her repeatedly which induced her to follow her into the woods, where she found that the animal had killed a fine fat rabbit, on which all dined."

Pictures of the life in a humble home where father and mother and children lived in loving fellowship are to be secured by the sympathetic reading of the brief but eloquent records in the family Bible of Samuel Powell, the first, who died in 1756. The Bible was printed in 1683.

Samuel Powell's wife was Abigail, the daughter of Benjamin Willcox of Philadelphia.

The entries were as follows:

"Sam^{e1} Powell & Abigail his wife were married the 19th day of the 12th Month 1700 in Philadelphia.

"Anne Powell the Daughter of y^e s'd Sam^{e1} & Abigail was Born the 10th day of the 2^d Month 1702.

"Sam^{e1} Powell the Sonn of y^e s'd Sam^{e1} & Abigail was Born the 26th day of y^e 12th Month 1704.

"Deborah Powell the Daughter of s'd Sam^{e1} & Abigail Powell was born the 24th day of the 8th Month 1706 in the house of my Aunt Ann Parsons.

"Anne Powell the Second of y^t name was born the 24th day of y^e 8th Mo 1708.

"Anne Powell the first of y^t name departed this Life y^e 10th day of y^e 10th Mo 1707.

"Ann Parsons departed this Life y^e 24th y^e 6 Mo 1712.

"Sarah Powell y^e Daughter of Samuel & Abigail Powell was born y^e 29 of y^e 4th M^o 1713.

"My Dear Wife Abigail Powell Departed this Life y^e 4th day of y^e 7th M^o 1713.

"Ann Powell y^e Second of y^e Name Departed this Life y^e 26th day of y^e 8th M^o 1714."

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

The fashion of the houses built by such settlers as those whose humble annals were set down in this family Bible was indicated by Robert Turner in his letter to William Penn, which the Proprietor quotes in "A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania." In this letter, which was dated August, 1685, he said:

"Now as to the Town of Philadelphia it goeth on in Planting and Building to admiration, both in the front & backward, and there are about 600 Houses in 3 years time. And since I built my Brick House, the foundation of which was laid at thy going, which I did design after a good manner to incourage others, and that from 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. Brick are exceeding good, and better than when I built

"I am Building another Brick house by mine, which is three large Stories high, besides a large Brick cellar under it, of two Bricks and a half thickness in the wall, and the next story half under Ground, the cellar hath an Arched Door for a Vault to go [under the Street] to the River, and so to bring in goods, or deliver out. Humphrey Murray, from New York, has built a large Timber house, with Brick Chimnies. John Test has also finished a good Brick House, and a Bake House of Timber. John Day a good house, after the London fashion, most Brick, with a large frame of Wood, in the front, for Shop Windows; all these have Belconies, Lots are much desir'd in the town, great buying one of another."

A full description of a brick house of the period (1690) is given in the biography of Christopher White. Though this house was built in New Jersey, the description would well serve for some of the early brick houses of Philadelphia:

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“The main building was thirty feet by twenty feet, two stories high; the stories were nine feet in height. at the east end of the house was a wing ten feet square in the form of a tower, in that was the stairway leading to the second story and garret. There were overshoots that projected from the eaves of the roof about four feet in middle and extended around the gable ends of the house, which at a distance gave the appearance of having a tower at each corner. The cellar was only three feet under ground. It was paved with pressed brick six inches square, made of the finest clay. The walls from the foundations up to the windows of the first story were eighteen inches in thickness; above they were thirteen inches thick. Six stone steps, six feet in length and one foot in thickness, led up to the main entrance of the building. Two white-oak ties eighteen inches square supported the joist of the floors. The timbers were of white oak, the floor boards of yellow pine clear of sap and knots, eighteen inches in width and one and one half inch in thickness. The partitions and doors were made of heart yellow pine. There were two rooms on the first floor and three on the second floor; the garret was not plastered. There was one chimney in the main building near its centre, the fireplace in the hall or parlor was eight feet in length, the breast-plate of chimney being of heart yellow pine and full of carvings. There were five windows in the front of the house two in the lower story and three in the upper; also two windows in the gable ends of each story. The kitchen part stood on the east side of the main building. It was of brick, one story high; its ceiling was ten feet in height. The yard around the house was paved with square bricks similar to those in the cellar floor.”

In the first chapter of this volume the story is told of William Hudson, the emigrant who came to Philadelphia bearing his father's permission to marry.

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

Probably at once after his marriage, in 1688, he erected the house to which he led his wife and in which he spent the rest of his life. Thomas Allen Glenn has described the house in the following clear fashion:

“It stood on a large lot of ground facing the southeast corner of Third and Chestnut streets. It was built of red and black glazed brick, and was three stories high, having a sloping roof. A brick portico extended from the front entrance . . . The house was surrounded by a paved courtyard, shut in from the street by a high wall, there being a coachway on Third street and another entrance gate on Chestnut street. The place was shaded by several old trees, and a charming view of the Delaware could be obtained from the garden sloping away on the southeast towards Dock Creek. The stable and servants quarters were built in the rear of the courtyard. This typical colonial dwelling contained on the first floor the hall room, ‘dining room, Great Kitchen, and Outer Kitchen.’ On the second floor the ‘great chamber’ and two other large rooms, besides smaller ones. The third floor is described simply as ‘the Garrett,’ and probably consisted of but one apartment.

“The furniture was in keeping with the best style of the time; black walnut was the principal wood used, with an occasional oak or mahogany piece. There were two tall clocks, one in the hall room and one in the dining room. One of these old timepieces, said to have been purchased by Hudson’s father at a sale in London . . . is now in the Philadelphia Library.”

In many of these houses the old half-door was a cherished institution. The beauty and convenience of such a door can be appreciated by one who reads Townsend Ward’s description: “Quaint it was, but how appropriate for a single minded, hearty people

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

among whom no depredation was ever known, until there came upon them the evil days of single doors and locks and bolts. . . While the lower half of the door was closed no quadruped could enter the dwelling house, but the refreshing air of heaven could, while the rest it afforded a leisure loving people was most agreeable." How many pleasant hours were spent by the householders at such half opened doors, talking with a neighbor, or with a passer-by!

Perhaps it was because so little was feared from thieves that the first settlers were careless about securing their property. Sometimes this confidence was not justified, as in the case of one who, in 1686, complained to the Court that a man had climbed to his roof, displaced a loose board, and dropped to the garret bedroom where three members of the family were sleeping in one bed.

In the pioneer homes there was frequently necessity for such crowding. Probably many early Philadelphians could duplicate the description of the make-shifts humorously described by a later pioneer hundreds of miles away:

"It remained to sub-divide two hundred and eighty nine square feet of internal cabin into all the apartments of a commodious mansion . . . And first, the punched area was separated into two grand parts, by an honest Scotch carpet hung over a stout pole that ran across with ends rested on the opposite wall plates; the woollen portion having two-thirds of the space on one side and the remaining third on the other.

"Secondly, the larger space was then itself subdivided by other carpets . . . into chambers, each containing one bed and twelve nominal inches to fix

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

and unfixed in; while trunks, boxes and the like plunder were stationed under the bed. Articles intended by nature to be hung, frocks, hats, coats, &c, were pendent from hooks and pegs of wood inserted into the wall. To move or turn around in such a chamber without mischief done or got was difficult; and yet we came at last to the skill of a conjuror that can dance blindfolded among eggs—we could in the day without light and at night in double darkness, get along and without displacing, knocking down, kicking over, or tearing!

“The chambers were, one for Uncle John and his nephew; one for the widow ladies and Miss Emily, who, being the pet, nestled at night in a trundle bed, partly under the large one; and one very small room for the help, which was separated from the Mistress’ chamber by pendulous petticoats. Our apprentices slept in an out-house. These chambers were all south of the grand hall of eighteen inches wide between the suites; on the north, being first our room and next it the strangers’—a room into which at a pinch were several times packed three guests. Beyond the hospitality chamber was the toilette room, fitted with glasses, combs, hair brushes, &c., and after our arrival, furnished with the first glass window in that part . . . The window was of domestic manufacture, being one fixed sash containing four panes, each eight by ten’s, by whose light in warm weather we could not only fix but also read in retirement.”

Gradually larger houses took their place by the side of more humble neighbors. In these were single rooms, many of them as large as the one entire house of the first settlers. And what striking improvements the builders of the larger houses insisted on introducing! Large paned windows were long considered a wonderful luxury, and many builders awed the observers by the

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

use of these daylight savers. Governor John Penn's use of such windows led his sister-in-law to write:

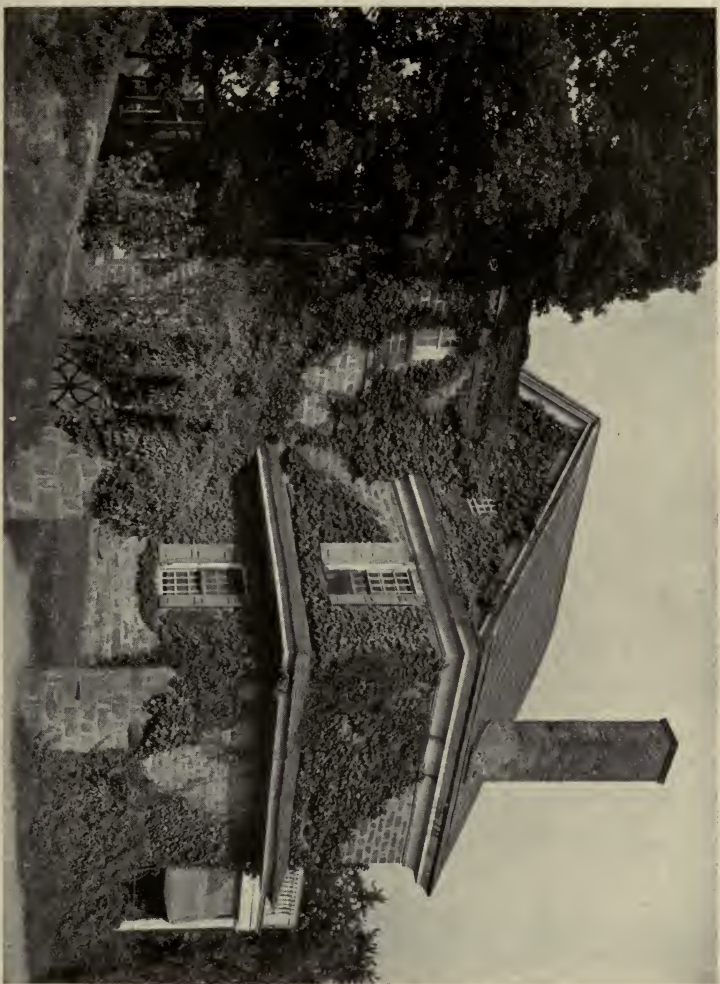
“Happy the man, in such a treasure,
Whose greatest panes afford him pleasure.”

The number of houses erected, both large and small, was so great that in 1712 Rev. Abel Morgan wrote to his former congregation at Blaenewent, Wales:

“I am surprised to see the extent of the city in so short a time. It is about a mile long and of medium width with wide streets and high and beautiful buildings. The inhabitants are numerous; ships laden lie at the side of the town. There is a Court here, and the wagons continually are going with flour and wheat to the ships. The Country is exceedingly level as far as I have seen for about sixty miles; mostly good ground without much stone, so that a man may ride a hundred miles without a shoe under his horse. There is an orchard by every house of various fruits, very productive, they say.”

Twenty-nine years after Mr. Morgan wrote this wondering letter, Count Zinzendorf visited the city. During a part of his residence he lived in a house on the east side of Second street, a few doors north of Race street. This house was “built of brick, alternate red- and black-headers, three stories high, with pitch roof and dormer windows, with ten rooms, and kitchen and laundry detached in the rear. Glass ‘bulls-eyes’ in the front door and half moons in the window shutters afforded light to entry and rooms.”

During the same year Colonel James Coultas built for his family a stone house that is still one of the marvels of West Philadelphia, on a lane leading from the road to Darby to the road to West Chester.



AN ATTRACTIVE VIEW OF WHITBY HALL, AS IT STANDS TO-DAY IN WEST PHILADELPHIA

William Penn's silver Tea Service.

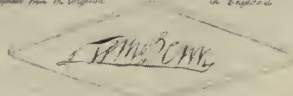


W^m Penn's Seal & Signature to the Pennsylvania Charter.

WITH THE WITNESSES

Copied from the Original

in England



James Claypoole
 James P. Plunkett
 Thomas Barker
 Oliver Ford
 Edward Perichard
 Andrew Soble



Christopher Taylor
 Charles Lord
 William Gibson
 Robert Dawson
 W. M. O'Connell
 Geo. Rudyard
 H. M. Kingzett

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

To this he added a wing in 1754. The mansion, which became known as Whitby Hall, appears to-day much as it did when first built, for the alterations made in 1754 and 1819 were so harmoniously contrived that it is difficult to tell the old part from the new.

The women who were at the head of old Philadelphia homes were usually good housewives, whether they presided over a little brick tenement like that in Mulberry street which Ann Newall entered in 1745, and for which she paid four pounds per year, or over such a house as that Ann Warder described in 1788 as "exceedingly convenient, though larger than I wished, it having four rooms on a floor—Kitchen, counting house and two parlors on the first floor, eight bedrooms and two garrets. Many handy closets. A small yard and beyond it another with grass plot, good stable and chaise house."

For in that day more attention was paid to educating a girl in housework and home-making than in the studies of the schools. It was considered of greater value that she should know how to spin, knit, sew and cook than that she should be familiar with literature or be able to scan a line of Latin verse. The average mother took great pride in having her floors spotless, in making the clothing for her children as well as for her husband, and in collecting china, brass, pewter, or possibly silver for her pantry shelves.

In many homes silver was unknown. Even some of the wealthier colonists had only a few pieces, though what they had was apt to be handsome. An interesting glimpse of the silver in the home of Thomas Penn is afforded by a study of the inventory of the pieces he planned to send to England in 1763. These were:

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“1 pair of low candlesticks for a writing table, 1 pair of small do, 2 old Square salts with my Crest, a silver pig tail box, a silver beaker, a small nutmeg grater, a silver peak for a saddle, 1 large Sauce pan, 1 small do, 1 Gilt Challice, 4 Table Spoons with my Crest, 2 large do, marked T. P., 1 Teapot, 1 silver plate.”

But while not so much silver was found on the pantry shelves, the metal was used for many other purposes. On the day book of a silversmith between 1745 and 1748 appeared charges for silverware that included such items as “14 silver buttons, 1 pair shoe buckels, garter buckels, knee buckels, a ring to be made with the posey,

‘I pray love well and ever
Not the gift, but the giver,’

double jointed tea-tongs, silver seal, topping thimble, shovels for salts, spur, hoop and chain, locket and bells.”

The ordinary kitchen was apt to contain some such modest supply of furnishings as that sold in 1760 to Thomas Potts, owner of the house in which Washington later made his headquarters at Valley Forge:

“A large copper sauce pann, 15 shillings; a small do, 8 shillings; a pair Brass Candlesticks, 15 shillings; a pair Rose Blanketts, 46 shillings; 6 china bowls, 23 shillings 6 pence; a pr. of Snuffers, 2 shillings 6 pence; a Brush, 2 shillings 9 pence; a pr. Iron Candlesticks, 2 shillings; 2 China bowles, 5 shillings; 3 Saucers, 2 shillings 3 pence; a Looking Glass, 54 shillings; a dozen Knives and Forks, 7 shillings; 6 yards of Draper, 11 shillings; a Blankett, 14 shillings; 6 pewter Dishes, 52 shillings; a dozen Plates, 32 shillings; 6 hardmettle porringers, 15 shillings; a dozen spoons, 6 shillings; a trunck, 18 shillings; a Cotton Counterpane, 57 shillings; ½ dozen Chairs, 40 shillings; 3 galls. of Spirit, 22 shillings; 3 silver spoons, 66 shillings 10 pence; a Bedsted 40 shillings; Fire shovel and Tongs, 10 shillings.”

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

In 1771, at a Philadelphia home, there was a vendue of household furnishings when bidders carried away:

“1 Wine cask, 1 Tub and Old Barrel, Wheel Firkin and Chair; Rake & pitch Fork; Real and Winding Blades; Neck Yok & Strap; Hay Knife and Weeding Hoe; Saw and Horse, Side Saddle & 2 Trusels, Rabbit Box; Bed Cornish &c; Parcel Wooden Ware & 2 Mouse Traps; 1 Horse Brush, 2 Brass Candlesticks, 2 Iron Spits, pair Tobacco Tongs, High Walnut Corner Cupboard, Large Copper Fish Kettle, half dozen Walnut Chairs with Damisk Bottoms, a Bald Faced Bay Horse, Black Cow with White Belly, Shagreen case with Knives & Forks; Eight-Day Clock; pair of Hand Bellows Brass Nozel; 10 Hard Mettle Plates; Mahogeny Server; 2 pair Snuffers & Callander & Toaster; Old Tin Lanthorne; 1 pair of double flint Beer Glasses; 1 Doz. Large & ½ Doz. small Patterpans; a Draw & Parcel Galley Pots; a Large Lignum Whity Morter and pestel; Warm^s Pan with Copper Bottom; Jack & Gears; Old Fashion High Case Draws; Curled Maple Case of High Draws; 1 pr old Blankets, 1 pr Homespun Ditto; 1 Dieper Table Cloth; 1 Ditto Homespun; 16 Bottles of Beer; 3 Gall Kag of Grape Wine; 5 Gall Ditto of White Currant Wine; 10 Gall Kag of Prick't Wine; 2 Brass Sconsances; 1 pr Saddle Bags; 1 pr Fire Buckets, tin Jack or Mug; 1 Hard Mettle pot; 1 Lead Tobacco Box; 2 N. England Leather Bottom Chairs; 1 pr Gold Seals & Weights.”

When—about the year 1786—a housewife went to the manufacturer of furniture she was asked to pay prices like the following for fine pieces:

	£. s. d.
Desk, Winged.	10.0.0
Desk, with scalloped drawer below and shell drawer above.	13.10.0
Book case with scroll pediment.	12.0.0
High Chest of Drawers on a frame, head and corners, plain feet.	13.0.0

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

	£. s. d.
A Table to suit.....	4.10.0
Low Chest of Drawers, with three long and five small.....	4.10.0
Chair with plain Crooked feet & bannister leather seat.....	1.14.0
Arm Chair to suit.....	2.18.0
Corner chair plain feet and bannister.....	2.10.0
Sofa, fret on feet and rails, carved mouldings.....	10.10.0
Dining Table, plain feet crooked or Marlborough.....	3.5.0
Table 5 ft 6 inches, with 6 legs.....	8.0.0
Breakfast table, plain.....	2.15.0
Side Board Table, 6 feet, by 2 feet 6 in.....	5.0.0
Writing Table, with one top to raise on the side only, front to draw out.....	7.0.0
Dumb Waiter, 4 tops, plain feet.....	5.0.0
Clock Case, Square head and Corners.....	6.0.0
Bedstead, Mahogany Field Bed with canopy, rails.....	6.0.0

When the housewife succeeded in storing in her house a lot of such furniture she was eager to give a grand dinner. The expenses for such a meal, in 1761, may be seen from a bill from John Lawrence to Mary Bidle:

	£. s. d.
To 1 Piece of Beef 7/, Gamon, 6/6, Calves head 2/6.....	0.16.0
To Veal 2/11, fish 7/, Ducks 5/, Lamb 4/....	0.18.11
To Chickens 12/, Tongues 3/, Cabage 2/, Turnips 1/.....	0.18.0
To Tarts 6/, Jellys 8/, Custard 3/, Whips 4/.	1.01.0
To Cucumbers 4/, Potatos 9d, Peas 3/6, Butter 9/.....	0.17.6
To Strawberys 2/6, Cherries 2/, Pudings 12/, Bread 1/4.....	0.17.10
Dressing.....	2.10.0
4 Bottles of wine at 4/6.....	18
3 bottles Claret, 15/, Bristol Beer 8/, Punch 12/	1.15

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

But where there was given one such court dinner there were hundreds of quiet home meals like that of which Ann Warder told in 1786:

“Dined with Anne Giles, daughter to Friend Clifford, her father and Mother, with Tommy, John and wife, and brother and sister Warder. First rock fish, next Mock turtle, ducks, ham and boiled turkey, with plenty of vegetables, and after these were removed, we had floating island, several kinds of pie with oranges and preserves. When we were well satisfied, left the men to their pipes and went upstairs to our chat.”

Two days later the diarist wrote:

“Most of the family busy preparing for a great dinner, two green turtles having been sent . . . We concluded to dress them together here and invite the whole family in . . . We had a black woman to cook and an elegant entertainment it was—having three tureens of soup, the two shells baked besides several dishes of stew, with boned turkey, roast ducks, veal and beef. After these were served the table was filled with two kinds of jellies and various kinds of puddings, pie and preserves; and then almonds, raisins, nuts, apples and oranges. Twenty four sat down at the table. I admired the activity of the lusty cook, who prepared everything herself, and charged for a day and a half but three dollars.”

In the same hospitable home the bill of fare for a much simpler meal included roast turkey, mashed potatoes, whip'd sally bubs, oyster pie, boiled leg of pork, bread pudding and tarts. Then followed “an early dish of tea for the old folks.”

In the days of Ann Warder, as to-day, there was a part of home-making that men did not like as much as they enjoyed these appetizing meals, though it

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

was just as necessary to the welfare of the well-ordered home—house cleaning. The very year that Ann Warder wrote her charming diary a mere man wrote an article for *The American Museum* in which he told facetiously of the tearing up of the house that comes inevitably in the spring:

“When a young couple are about to enter on the matrimonial state, a never-failing article in the marriage treaty is that the young lady shall have and enjoy the free and unmolested exercise of the right of white-washing . . . A young woman would forego the most advantageous connexion, and even disappoint the warmest wish of her heart, rather than forego this invaluable right.”

The magazine writer then spoke of the possibility of covering the walls of the house with paper, in order to make unnecessary much of the spring housecleaning and whitewashing. He said that though this “cannot abolish, it at least shortens the period of female dominion.” He explained that “the paper is decorated with flowers of various fancies and made so ornamental, that the woman has admitted the fashion, without perceiving the design.”

The man who professed to believe that wall paper was invented to circumvent the housewife, then went on to tell of a second evidence of the cleanliness of the Philadelphia homemakers:

“There is also another cherished custom peculiar to the city of Philadelphia and nearly allied to the former. I mean that of washing the pavement before the doorway every Saturday evening. I at first took this to be a regulation of the police, but, on further enquiry, find it to be a religious rite preparatory to the Sabbath,



THE OLD SIDEBOARD



A CORNER OF AN OLD DINING-ROOM



DRAFT OF UPPER FERRY, SCHUYLKILL RIVER, PHILADELPHIA
 (Original in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

HOUSE BUILDING AND HOME MAKING

and is, I believe, the only religious rite in which the numerous sectarians of the city profoundly agree.

“The ceremony begins about sunset, and continues till about ten or eleven at night. It is very difficult for a stranger to walk the streets on these evenings. He runs a continual risk of having a bucket of water thrown against his legs, but a Philadelphian born is so accustomed to the danger that he avoids it with surprising dexterity. It is from this circumstance that a Philadelphian is known anywhere by his gait.”

But whether this is told in jest or in earnest, the fact remains that Philadelphia houses have ever been noted for cleanliness, and the typical homemaker has always been a model of efficiency.

III

THE BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

WILLIAM PENN FAR IN ADVANCE OF HIS AGE—WHY THE TREES OFFENDED
—A BRUTAL SHIP CAPTAIN—PENNSYLVANIA'S ONLY WITCHCRAFT
PROSECUTION—HUMPHREY MORREY, FIRST MAYOR, AND THE BLUE
ANCHOR WHARF—"TO PRISON HE MUST GO"—SHEEP RAISING IN
THE PUBLIC SQUARE—STUFFING THE BALLOT BOX IN 1705—"BLACK-
BEARD'S" CHARMED LIFE—FORBIDDEN AMUSEMENTS—THE ELECTION
RIOT OF 1742—AN UNWILLING MAYOR-ELECT.

WHEN William Penn planned his colony on the Delaware he had the amazing notion that he wanted his people to be governed in such a way that they would be happy. He had had enough of rulers who cared nothing for the people except as they ministered to the satisfaction and comfort of those in authority. It was his purpose, on the contrary, to do righteously, to show mercy, and to make it evident in all things that government's sole excuse for existence was to add to the sum of human happiness.

His own bitter experience of persecution and imprisonment because of his religious convictions convinced him that it was time to make a fight for civil liberty, and that it was his duty to take a leading part in the contest.

In 1679, when Charles I called for the election of a new Parliament, Penn prepared and circulated a pamphlet which he called "England's Great Interest in the Choice of this Parliament." In this were many declarations that sound like a prophecy of the Declaration of Independence, issued nearly a century later

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

from the city for whose founding he had not then made any preparation. He spoke of three rights of the individual that could not be altered or abrogated:

“The first of these fundamentals is right and title to your house, liberties and estates. In this every man is a sort of little sovereign in himself . . . Only your own transgression of the laws (and those of your own making too) lays you open to loss, which is but the punishment due to offences, and should be in proportion to the fault committed.

“The second fundamental that is your birthright, is legislation. No law can be made or abrogated without you.

“Your third great right and privilege is executive; that is, your share in the application of those laws that you agree to be made.”

Though this apostle of human liberty and of reform in government had been interested for many years in the colonization of New Jersey, he had not had a full opportunity to put into practice these principles. But when, in 1680, he asked Charles I to give to him a tract on the Delaware, in payment of a claim for sixteen thousand pounds, the sum advanced to the crown by Penn's father, he dreamed of inviting to these lands men and women to whom would be presented the opportunity of tasting the delights of real liberty. He had in mind not only those of the Society of Friends who had shared persecution with him, but also “the good and oppressed of every nation.” For them he wanted “to found an empire where the pure and peaceable principles of Christianity might be carried out in practice.”

His object was absolutely unselfish. It was not even his wish that his name should be connected with

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

the colony. At first he proposed that the name should be New Wales. When this was rejected by those in authority, he proposed Sylvania. But, as he wrote to his friend, Robert Turner, "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 it was past, and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under secretary to vary the name; for I feared lest it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not a respect in the King, as it truly was, to my father."

A few weeks after the granting of the charter for Pennsylvania, Penn wrote to those who were already living within the bounds of the new colony:

"I wish you all happiness . . . You are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great; you shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live as free, and, if you will, as sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person . . . In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire, for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with . . ."

His purpose was even more clearly set forth in a letter written in 1681, in which he said:

"As my understanding and inclination have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, 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 no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country."

Penn's remarkable frame of government, which was dated April 25, 1682, was so far in advance of the

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

age that, as Bancroft says, "its essential principles remain to this day without change," while another competent critic has said that in it was "the germ, if not the development of every valuable improvement in government or legislation, which has been introduced into the political systems of more modern epochs."

The government was to consist of the governor, a Provincial Council, and a General Assembly. These bodies, which were to make laws, create courts, choose officers, and transact public affairs, were to be elected by the freemen, by ballot. By freemen were meant not only landholders, but "every inhabitant, artificer, or other resident, that pays scot or lot to the government."

Regulations as to taxes, trials, prisons, and marriage were clearly set forth in a code of laws enacted in England on May 6, 1682. It was also arranged that every child of twelve should be taught some useful trade. Members of the council and assembly, as well as judges, were to be professing Christians. Everyone was to be allowed to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and this not as a mere matter of toleration, but because it was an inherent right.

The penalty of death was to be inflicted sparingly; some two hundred offenses which were named as capital by English law were to be punished in a lighter manner. Provision was made for the freeing of "black servants" at the end of fourteen years.

In the attempt to give a human touch to the government of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, Penn may have made mistakes, but he succeeded in laying the foundations of many of the institutions that have helped to

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

bring to the people the happiness he sought for them. One of his biographers calls attention to the fact that for the greatest mistake of all, the attempt to combine in himself feudal sovereignty and democratic leadership, he was not responsible. Yet somehow he managed to make this seem a possible combination, so long as he remained in power. Janney says that his success was due to his "sweetness of temper and weight of character." During his absence however, and in the days of his successors, there was clashing, dissension, and tumult.

If Penn could have kept his hand on the government for a generation, there would have been a wonderful difference in the results attained, in spite of the fact that he had a most heterogeneous crowd to deal with, who were much more ready to yield to the spirit of the age than to be influenced by a leader's beneficent vision.

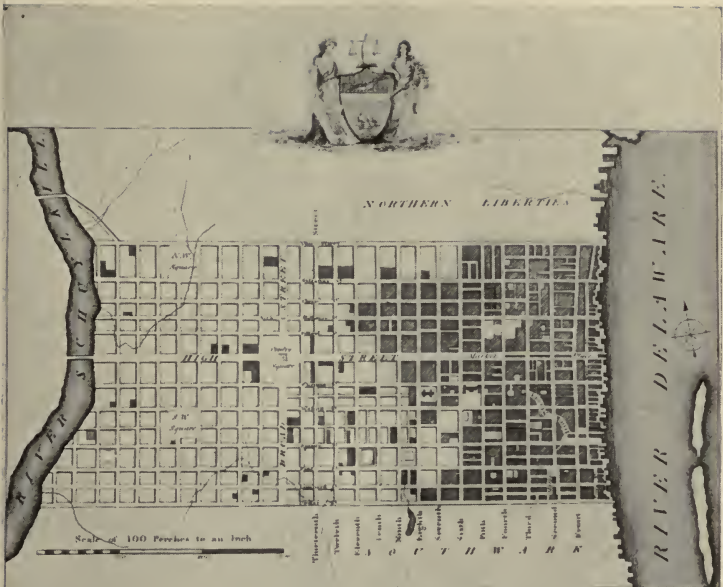
A few kaleidoscopic glimpses of some of the crude first attempts at government, as well as some of the incidents of a later day, are illuminating.

There is little record of Philadelphia's form of government from 1682 to 1691, but it is known that the Proprietors' Provincial Court exercised all sorts of powers over the lives and property of the citizens.

Then there are curious records of the Grand Jury, which seems to have had jurisdiction over matters civil as well as criminal, small as well as large. Witness these Presentments of the Grand Jury to the First Court in 1683:

"Wee the Grand Jurie &c Present

"That the Swamp coming into the Blue anchor be forthwith made passible for footmen.



Plan
 OF THE
 City of Philadelphia



THE SOUTHEAST PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA
(From the painting by Peter Cooper in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia)

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

“That Coquenakar Creek att ye Northend of the City of Philadelphia be made also forthwith passable for footmen.

“That the Creek att Tankanney & Cunner Rambos be bridged or Cannowed.

“I Nicholas More present to the grand Inquest all the trees that are amongst the houses in the City that do Imperforat the prospect of the houses.

“Itam the roade betwixt the blew Anker and the Society’s Land which is now for the most part Impassable.”

To the Second Court presentment was made:

“That Stumps in the City Streets be removed.

“That men to pass upon ye grand & petit Inquests are snapt up without a previous Summons, & made to pay for their entertainment to boot.”

During the same year, 1683, a case was tried before the Council sitting as a Court of Admiralty which tells eloquently of the difficulties encountered by those who took passage on the emigrant vessels of the day, and the extent of the captain’s authority. Complaint was made by March and others against Kilmer, Master of the ship *Levee* of Liverpool that Kilmer had “trod upon” one of the complainants, and that when objection was made the Master beat him and made his mouth bleed. The captain owned that he had done so.

John Fox complained that the Master bid him clean the Deck. “He answered that it was clean already. Whereupon ye Master beat him.” The Captain admitted the truth of this charge also.

Again it was charged that the Captain, noting that a cask of water was leaking, ordered Nicholas Newton to “put a pegg into it, which he did, but still

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

it runn out, whereupon the Mr. struck him several blows." The Captain owned that he had done these things.

Yet the Governor and Council contented themselves with reprimanding the Captain, "and advised him to go with the Passengers and make up the business w^{ch} accordingly he did."

The first case against counterfeiters was on the docket of the grand jury in 1683. The testimony showed that the defendants had indeed coined money, but that to quote the account by S. W. Pennypacker in "Colonial Pennsylvania Cases," they had merely tried to supply the colony with a medium of exchange of an intrinsic value at least equal to that of the Spanish coin and the New England shilling. But for this "Heinous and Greivous Crime" Pickering, the coiner, was sentenced to make full satisfaction to all who had received money from him, and to "pay a fine of forty pounds into this court towards ye building of a Court house in the Towne." To Samuel Buckley, who helped Pickering, the Court said, "Considering thee to have ben more Engenious than he that went before thee, hath thought fitt to fine thee, and doe fine thee ten pounds toward a Public Court house." Robert fenton, the third defendant, because he confessed, and because he was acting as a servant, was sentenced to "Sitt an hour in the Stocks."

Before the days of taxation it was a common thing to apply the fines to certain crying public needs, as was done in the case of the counterfeiters.

During the year 1683 was recorded also Pennsylvania's sole witchcraft prosecution. On the 27th of

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

12th month Margaret Mattson appeared before William Penn and the Council to answer to charges made in a true bill found by the Grand Jury. To the charge she pleaded "Not guilty."

Henry Drystreet testified: "He was tould 20 years ago that the person at the Barr was a Witch & that Several Cows were bewitcht by her. Also that James Saunderling's mother tould him that she bewitcht her cow, but afterwards said that it was a mistake, and that her Cow would do well againe, for it was not her Cow but another Person's that should dye."

After hearing two other witnesses whose testimony was no more convincing, the Jury "brought her in guilty of haveing the Comon fame of a witch, but not guilty in manner and form as She stands indicted."

In 1693 Elinor Arme was ordered to "stand at the whipping post for a quarter of an hour with a paper upon her breast reciting her wicked and notorious sin."

At that time the whipping post was at Second and Market streets. Here also were the stocks and the pillory. They remained until October 1, 1726, when they were burned by some of those who were opposed to them. But they were soon rebuilt and were in use for a long time afterward.

Six years before the burning of the pillory it was used for the punishment of three mariners who were tried by Judge William Asheton, of the Court of the Province of Pennsylvania, in November, 1720, on the charge of mutiny. It was proved that the defendants did "barbarously misuse, bind and turn adrift in a small Boat," the owner of the schooner on which the mariners had shipped, a relative of the owner, and the mate.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

The court decided that "it would not amount to piracy, yet it was committed with much excess of cruelty, and was a Fact of so Horrid and black a nature, as would justify the greatest severity which could be us'd upon them. Therefore the sentence was that the men "stand in the Pillory with their Ears Nail'd thereto, in the Market Place, for the Space of two Hours, on the Market Days; and afterwards, on the said days . . . whipped it on their bare backs, and have Twenty One Lashes at Eight several Places of the city," where the court should direct.

Earlier candidates for punishment at the whipping post were named by the Court of Quarter Sessions on July 4, 1693. The "Constable of Philadelphia or annie other person whatsoever," was given "power to take up negroes, male or female, whom they should find gadding abroad on the first dayes of the week, without a tickett from their Mr. or Mrs., or not in their Company, or to carry them to gaole, there to remain that night, & that without meat or drink, & to cause them to be publickly whipt next morning with 39 lashes well laid on, on their bare back, for which their said Mr. or Mrs. should pay 15^d to the whipper att his deliverae of ym to their Mr. or Mrs."

A petition was made to the Court by Philip England, who stated that he had been authorized to keep an "Ordinarie and Ferrie att Schuilkill" by the Proprietor, October 16, 1683, and that it was then ordered that he should have the sole right there to transport passengers for "monie or reward." For this right he paid seven pounds a year. But after he had gone to great expense William Powell had begun to ferry people over the

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

river near him. William Powell was called before Court for contempt, and soon after had pretended to sell his boat "to certain people who doe employ Nathaniel Mullinax to ferrie them over."

Mullinax, being called, said that most of the people of "Harford & Marion & some of Darbie hired him and that he knew no reason why he might not work for his living as well as others."

But the Court ordered that he be committed to the common jail till he give sufficient security that "hee shall ferrie no more persons horses or cattle over Skuilkill att Wm. Powell's for gift or hyre or reward directlie or indirectlie and that his boat be forthwith seized and secured by the sheriff."

Two somewhat similar cases, one in 1685, the other in 1686, throw light on the peculiar custom of service that sometimes was almost slavery. Eleazer Cossett was petitioner in one of these cases. He owned that he was indentured servant of a man named Scot, that he was willing to serve his master anywhere in the province, but that Scot planned to sell him out of the province, into foreign parts (Virginia), and had even taken him on board ship for the purpose, though he had managed to escape. His appeal was that he be allowed to remain in the province. The petition was granted.

Elizabeth Day's complaint was that she had served her "Mr., Griffith Jones, 4 years according to Indenture," but that he refused to grant to her the freedom she claimed was hers by right. John Busbie and Jeremias Osborn thereupon deposed "y^t about the 3^d instant 4 years agone ye petr and ye deponents being

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

shipmates arrived at Upland in ship *Amity*,—Richard diamond, master.”

But Griffith Jones “alidged y^t she was bound for 5 years and y^t on shipboard she consented to it.”

Evidently the Court had reason to doubt Jones’ word, for it ordered the petitioner discharged from her Indenture.

Probably Captain Jones felt like expressing his opinion of the Court, but there was known to be an order “against speaking in or Interrupting the said Court without leave first asked and then given by the bench.” That this order was not to be looked on as a dead letter was shown by the Court’s action when Thomas Howard was “for breach of the rule fined by the Court one shilling.” But it is stated that he “saulcie answered Let the Court get it how they can.” The record does not tell what happened!

Not many years after this order was issued, Philadelphia was able to boast a charter and a regular form of government. It was long thought that the city’s first charter was dated in 1701, but in 1887 Colonel Alexander Biddle found among the papers of his grandfather, Colonel Clement Biddle, a charter which bore the date 1691. Humphrey Morrey, who was named mayor in this document, was therefore the first mayor of the city. Morrey came to Philadelphia in 1683, and at once built for himself the “large Timber House, with brick Chimnies,” of which Robert Turner wrote to William Penn, as is related in Chapter II. No one has yet found the papers which tell of his service, though fortunately a document filed more than sixty years later makes the following quotation from the minutes of the Provincial Council of 1691:

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

“August 3, 1691.

“Present, Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor and six Councillors, Humphrey Morrey the present Mayor of the city of Philadelphia, on behalf of the said city, moves the Governor and Council to lay out and regulate the landing-place near the Blue Anchor Wharf, whereupon it was ordered that the said Mayor and the aldermen of Philadelphia have noticed to attend the Governor and Council about the 8th hour in order to view the said landing.”

It was in consequence of the petition that quoted this bit from the records of 1691 that the Blue Anchor Wharf was continued free for the use of the public, as described in the preceding chapter.

No one knows how long the original charter remained in force. At the time William Penn was absent in England, and before government under its terms had been in operation one year Governor Fletcher appeared in the Colony and took Penn's place. Though he suggested that Morrey continue as mayor, that friend of Penn refused to be continued.

In 1694 Morrey was in opposition to the authorities, for he joined with Isaac Norris, Edward Shippen and others in presenting to the Assembly a memorial asking that the grievances of the people be adjusted by putting in office “men of good repute and Christian conversation, without any respect to any profession or persuasion in religion.”

Yet less than two years before this Morrey had ranged himself on the side of intolerance by taking part with those who caused the arrest of John MacComb, tavern keeper, and William Bradford, the first printer in the colony, for daring to print and circulate a paper

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

in which an attack was made on certain leaders and teachings of the Quakers. As a result these men were condemned for "publishing, uttering and spreading a malicious and seditious paper."

That Morrey's heart must have failed him in the prosecution is indicated by a curious passage in "News of a Trumpet Sounding in the Wilderness," printed by Bradford in 1697. Bitterly Bradford spoke "of the fact that MacComb, his co-defendant, when his Wife was in danger of Death by a Flux, and another of his Family Sick also, that dyed a short time after, . . . could not prevail so much as to go home to take leave of his Wife, or set his house in order, tho' earnestly desired by him, promising to appear at any time they should require him; No, that favour could not be granted, but to Prison he must go, altho Humphrey Morrey, the Mayor and Chief Magistrate of the place, offered to be bayl for him, at which Sam Jenings raged and bitterly reflected upon him, for that he knew his place no better. And what was all this for? surely some heinous Crime one would think, why, 'twas nor more nor less than for letting a person have two of the printed Appeals to the yearly Meeting . . . for 2^d piece, as they cost him."

This difficulty was only an incident in Bradford's stirring relations with the authorities. On "20th 7 mo. 1692," at a Council held in "ye Council Room at Philadelphia," a message of warning was made ready for the printer of independent views and fearless behavior:

"Wm. Bradford a professed printer here though under severall obligations of fidelity to the Government

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

and severall tymes cautioned not to publish any paper or book which might either reflect on our authority, or contain personal reflections to the promoting of feuds & animosities among the Inhabitants here, yet through his Enmity & officiousness he hath prostrated the use & service of his press to gratify a troublous member of a disaffected Society."

Next day "the Board intending to caution the printer concerning the Order of yesterday's sitting Did send for Wm. Bradford & his servant. But the Sheriff returned Answer That the S^d Bradford is gone out of Town to stay for a week. And his man is gone to Mr. Salvys plantacon."

Morrey, who came into conflict with Bradford because of the printer's failure to heed the warning, ended his days in a pursuit that was in great contrast to his rather belligerent attitude in this case. In 1701 he retired to his country estate and became a breeder of sheep. Evidently he was interested in this pursuit even before his selection as mayor, since it is recorded that in 1690 there was presented to the Commissioner of Property "the Petition of Humphrey Morrey and James Fox for themselves and in behalf of those concerned in a flock of sheep in Philadelphia." This petition requested "a convenient piece of land somewhere about the town for keeping them." It was "ordered that about sixty acres be laid out in Square between the Broad Street and so far towards Dellaware as Conveniently may be so that it be near Dock Street and Walnut Street."

Evidently sheep raising in the public land was a profitable occupation, for in 1693 Morrey's property was rated at £600, his being the seventh largest estate in the Province.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Although the taxes imposed on property holders at this period were quite small, taxation was as unpopular as it has always been. When the law of 1692, which fixed the rate was passed, a petition of various citizens was sent to the Assembly couched in words as follows:

“The Thing therfor touching which we at present give you the trouble of these Lines, is a certain Bill, promulgated for the Assessing and Leavying One Penny per Pound out of the supposed Value of every Man’s Estate, either Real or Personal, and two Shillings per Head for those not otherwise Rated which Great Tax on it will doubtless Amount to a great Sum of Money, for which we know no present Necessity, neither is there any particularly alledged in the said Bill; so the deep Impression it will make on our Estates . . . is very grievous and very discouraging to us. . . .

“If it be so heavy and grievous, when there is no Necessity for (as we are sensible of at present) what may we expect will come on us, when there is any Colour or Pretence of a Necessity indeed?”

The charter of the city, dated October 25, 1701, made easier the administration of city affairs, including the levying of taxes and the enforcement of the laws. Some of the local regulations were quite odd. An action of a Grand Jury of 1702 called attention to a number of matters that seem strange to modern citizens:

“Wee the Grand Inquest for the Corporation do present George Robinson, Butcher, for being a person of ievill fame as a Common swarer and a Common Drunker and particularly upon the twenty-third day of this instant for swaring three oaths in the market place and also for uttering two very bad curses the twenty-sixth day of this instant.

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

“Wee . . . present John Smith of this Citty living in Strabery Alley for being Maskt or Disgised in women’s aparell; walking openly through ye streets of this Citty, and from house to house . . . it being against ye Law of God, ye Law of this province, and ye Law of nature, to ye staining of holy profession, and Incoridging of wickednes in this place.

“We, the Grand Jury for the body of the citty, hauing through Severall Informations, and by our owne knol’dge Seriously Considered these following particulars which are common Nuciencies and Aggreuiances to the Inhabitants of this Corporation, which we humbly offer to the Maior and Commonalty of the Citty to redress, as they in their wisdom shall see meete.

“first. we the said Grand Jury doe present to your consideration the great abuse the Inhabitants of this city doe receive by the great liberty of Mens sons and servants taking lecentious liberty in robbing of orchards and committing many unruly Actions especially on the first day of the week, Commonly Called the lord’s Day.

“2ndly. The great abuse and the Ill Consiquence of the great multitudes of Negroes who Commonly meete together in a Riott and Tumultious manner on the first days of the week above said.

“3dly. We also present to your consideration the great damage the Inhabitants of the Citty Do Dayly sustaine by the great loss of their sheepe and other Dammage by Reason of the Unnecessary Multitude of Doggs that are needlessly kept in the Citty which we humbly desire you will Speedily Redress.

“4thly. We Desire that some speedy care may be taken of the prevention of hay and Reed stacks being placed in close yards and in fences among the Throngs of Buildings which may, if not prevented, prove very detrimental to the Citty by Reason of the Causilty of fire.

“5thly. we also present to your consideration, the

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

great Anoyance that Inhabitants of this Citty doe Dayly Receive by Reason of butchers killing their meat in the street, and Throughing the blood, Dung and Gargdish in the streets, which is very hurtful to the health of the said Inhabitants.

“Also to prevent Negroes from working on the first day of the week.”

The Grand Jury of 1703 also had its grist of strange presentments.

“We, of ye Grand Jury for this Citty, Do present Alex. Sander paxton and his wife, for Letting a house to John Lovet, he being a stranger, and have not Given security for the In Damnifeing of the Corporation.

“We doe also present John Furnis and Thomas McCarty, and Thomas Anderson and henery Flower, barbers, for Trimming people on first Days of the week, commonly called Sunday, contrary to the law in that case made and provided.

“We present John Joyce, Jr., for haveing of to wifes at once, which is boath against ye Law of God and Man.”

In 1714 the Grand Jury called attention to the fact that Peter Evans had sent to Francis Phillips a “certain callenge in writing”:

“Sir You have basely slandered a Gentlewoman that I have a profound respect for, And for my part shall give you a fair opportunity to defend your self to-morrow Morning, on the west side of Jos. Carpenters Garden, between seven and 8, where I shall expect to meet you Gladio cinctus, in failure whereof depend upon the Usage you deserve.”

This document was laid before the Jury, and a strange verdict was given:

“If, upon the whole, the Court do Judge the words contained in the said letter to be a challenge, Then we do find the said Peter Evans guilty. But if the Court do

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

Judge the words contained in the said letter are no challenge. Then we do find the sd Peter Evans not guilty."

Evidently Francis Phillips did not like the attitude of city officials in the matter, or in some other matter, for the records show that soon afterwards he was indicted for attempting to "deprive, annihilate and contemn" the Mayor and Recorder by uttering "those English words following openly and publicly: 'Tell the Mayor and Robert Assheton, that they are no better than Rogues, Villains and scoundrels; for they have not done me justice, and might as well have sent a man to pick my pockett or rob my house, as to have taken away my serv't.'"

By 1717 the Grand Jury, out of patience with such scurrilous language, proposed a remedy:

"Whereas it has been frequently and often presented by severall former Grand Jurys for the City, The Necessity of a Ducking Stool and house of Correction, for the just punishment of scolding, Drunken women, as well as Divers other profligate and Unruly persons in this place . . . we . . . Do Earnestly again present the same . . . That those publick Conveni-ances may not be longer Delay'd . . ."

The new city was not allowed to wait long for the appearance of the ballot stuffer who operated in a truly modern way. The date, 1705, and the form of the report of the heinous proceeding are archaic, but the thing described does not seem so very ancient. The record is taken from a petition presented to the Provincial Council by Peter Evans, who was the candidate of the Country party at the election in question:

"Having spent the whole day in the Election of Representatives, The Sherriff would and did adjourn

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

till ye next morning, w^{ch} not being condescended to, the Election of Sherriffe came on and upon a view a Candidate was Chosen . . . and the two were put up, one whereof was undoubtedly elected and so generally cryd out, Whereupon the Country party (among whom lay the interests of the last Elected), it being very late, withdrew for their severall habitations. After which the Townsparty began to be eager for the Box, knowing that then they were able to carry on their Clandestine Designs (The Sheriffe having long before withdrawn), and accordingly amongst themselves they hatched it; permitting Serv^{ts} and all that went for their Cause to have their Vote, and objecting against and denying others y^t had Competent Estates to have any; beside, the Method of Electing was contrary to the positive Agreem^t had, and the Practices used in such cases before on that day of . . . nominating only one at a time.”

A more serious problem confronted the City Fathers within a few years. In 1708 there was anxiety in Philadelphia because of the activity along the North Atlantic coast of privateers and pirates. It was a favorite practice of the freebooters of the sea to lurk without the Delaware Capes and pounce on ships from Philadelphia as they entered the open ocean. Governor John Evans appealed to Lord Cornbury to supply a man-of-war to be stationed at Philadelphia, but without success.

A French privateer attempted, in 1709, to land a force at Lewes, Delaware. The Governor of the state, who was there at the time, fearing that unwary captains would sail their vessels into the lion's jaws, sent a messenger up the river in a boat, pulled by four sturdy rowers. They were instructed to warn every vessel



SIR WILLIAM KEITH
(From the portrait by Albert Rosenthal, in Independence Hall)



HANNAH CALLOWHILL PENN, SECOND WIFE OF WILLIAM PENN
(From a painting by Henry G. Wright)



STAIRWAY AT 247 SOUTH SIXTH STREET



A BIT OF THE OLD LANTERN, CAMAC HOUSE, 320 SOUTH THIRD STREET

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

they met and not to pause until they reached Philadelphia. To-day such a long pull at the oars, at high speed, would cause comment, but in those heroic days the journey was looked on as a matter of course.

Four years later there was news that supplied the text for many excited conversations in the taverns, on the streets, and in the houses. Eight seamen arrived with a strange story. They said that while they were on the way to Jamaica, their captain died. Soon after they fell in with another sloop, whose commander persuaded them to mutiny. In one of the sloops the combined company started on a career of piracy. After capturing a ship the eight men deserted and hurried to Philadelphia. There they gave themselves up, but after hearing their story the Council not only commended them for their course in yielding themselves, but released them from custody. There was a law against piracy, but it was felt that in this case justice should be tempered with mercy.

The famous John Teach, or Blackbeard, as he was popularly known, was in or near Philadelphia at about this time. With bated breath the men on the water front told tales of his prowess, only to turn pale when they realized, perhaps, that they had been speaking to the dreaded man himself. He managed to appear and disappear in the most uncanny fashion. He seemed to bear a charmed life. No one knew when he would be on land again after one of his cruises, and no one could tell when disaster might come to the city's shipping through him. There was therefore great relief when finally he was captured and punished.

The readers of *The American Weekly Mercury* of

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

March 17, 1720, were treated to a startling story of piracy which Andrew Bradford served up for them:

“The beginning of last Month Arrived in the Capes of Virginia, Capt. Knot in a Ship of 150 Tons and 12 Men from London, the said Capt. within 200 Leagues of the Capes, was taken by a Pyrate Ship that was lately come from the Coast of Guiney, but last from Brasil, man’d with 148 bold Fellows; they took from Knot some provision, but restored him the Ship and Cargo. The Capt. of the Pyrates Obliged Knot to take 8 of his Men on board his Ship, and made him give an Obligation under his Hand, that he shiped them on Passengers from London, to Virginia. The Pyrates Captain gave those Men a Boat, which Boat, Capt. Knot was Obliged to let any of them have, when they requested, to go from his ship. The pyrates also put two Portuguese Prisoners on Board which they had taken on the Coast of Brasil, to be set on Shore in Virginia. When Knot arrived within the Capes, the wind turning Westerly, he came to an Anchor, upon which 4 of the Pyrates came to him and required him to hoist their boat out.”

The men rowed up the Bay and into “Black River.” Then they sought a Tavern, “where they might ease themselves of their Golden Luggage.”

At the tavern they spent money lavishly, one purchasing the freedom of a number of indentured English women servants. The price paid was £30. Later their extravagance brought them under observation, and they were “committed on Suspicion” of being pirates “to the County Gaol.”

The other four pirates landed at Hampton on James River, where they too, came under suspicion, and were arrested.

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

The Portuguese captives later told their story to a ship captain who understood the language. He immediately took them to the Governor. On their information the eight men were arrested, but at the trial they insisted that they had been taken from the coast of Guinea and had been forced to become pirates. The Portuguese testified that "they appeared as forward in Action and were as busy in Plundering as any of the Crew."

The eight men were thereupon sentenced to death. Six were executed, but two were reprieved. "They died as they lived," the account went on, "nor shewing any Sign of Repentance; their Bodies were afterwards hanged in Chains. They brought on shore with them in Spanish Gold and Gold Dust upward of 1500 Pounds sterling. Seven of the Pirates were English Men, the other a Mulatto."

The danger from pirates was at its height in 1722. One day in July of that year it was reported that the only vessel that had entered the port of Philadelphia for a whole week was a sloop that had been plundered by a pirate on the outward voyage. All other vessels sought safety either by remaining in the port or by scurrying away from the Cape, near which lay a pirate vessel.

The vessel owners and captains soon became so wary that the pirates would adopt the ruse of entering the Capes, flying the English flag. A pilot boat would then be signalled and later captured. Pirates would then board the pilot boat and, when inbound vessels would signal for assistance in entering the river, their capture became easy.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Later Philadelphia took a hand herself in the privateering game. A number of vessels were fitted out and sent to sea to prey on the commerce of the enemies of England. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 21, 1746, contained an appeal to those who were ready to help in one of these ventures:

“Now fitting out for a Cruizing Voyage against his Majesty’s Enemies and will Sail in Two Weeks, the Ship *Pandour*, William Dowell, Commander; Burthen about 300 Tons; to carry 24 Carriage Guns, nine and six pounders 24 Swivels, and 30 Brass Blundersbusses, with 150 Men, is a new Ship, built for a Privateer, and every way completely fitted out for that purpose.

“All Gentlemen Sailors, and others, inclin’d to enter on board . . . may repair to the Commander aforesaid, or to the Sign of the Boatswain and Call, near the Draw-Bridge, Philadelphia, [originally the Blue Anchor] where the Articles are to be seen and sign’d by those who are willing to go the Cruize.”

In 1748 a Spanish brigantine managed to enter the Capes by the use of the pilot boat ruse. A sailor of one of the captured vessels, learning of the plan to take New Castle that night, swam ashore and gave warning. The town was saved, but several sloops were captured at Reedy Island.

Word was taken to Philadelphia of the coming of the terrible enemy, and the inhabitants decided that they could not escape pillage. To be sure, they had the sloop-of-war *Otter*, which had been sent for their defence in just such emergencies. But the *Otter* was undergoing repairs. The batteries were taken from the sloop and planted near what is now Lombard Street,

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

below Old Swedes Church. Fortunately the enemy took warning, and the city heaved a sigh of relief.

But Philadelphia lawmakers had to contend with predatory gentry nearer home. The days when a man could safely go to bed leaving valuable property on the porch where he had been spending the evening were long since past. Burglaries were common, and sneak thieves were everywhere. One day in January, 1767, Neddy Burd, a student at the college in Philadelphia, wrote to his family in Lancaster:

“There is a nest of Robbers here which make People More careful about their Houses. Two Fellowes Hagarty & Morrison at Noon Day went into the Street Door of the Gov’rs House & stole two Silver Candlesticks out of the Pantry at the other End of the House they were happily detected & have received their punishment. The same Morrison went into a Tavern-keeper’s House (before the other thefts) & bore off a Man’s great Coat from the Back of his Chair while He warmed himself at the Fire, but was not catched. The same two Fellowes & Consiglio & Bowman went into a Tavernkeeper’s House & Carried off a Mahogany Chest full of Player’s cloathes from a Room up two Pair of Stairs while the Family were at Supper.”

In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 31, 1765, a householder whose premises had been violated, advertised:

“Three Pounds Reward.

“Whereas in the Night, between Sunday and Monday last, the 27th and 28th instant, the House of Robert Moore, Cabinet Maker, was broken open, by cutting a Pannel out of the Kitchen Door, whereby they came at the Bolt, but this Noise awakening one of the Family, who perceiving a Man in the Room, cried out, when he immediately ran down Stairs, out of Doors, and over the Yard Fence. Then were more men heard below

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Stairs, who, as it appeared, were attempting to force open a Desk, but had not Time enough, they carried off a lightish coloured superfine Cloth coat, about half worn, with white Lining, a fine Beaver Hat, little the worse for Wear, Maker's Name John Test, Philadelphia, two new Womens Shifts, and a white Apron. The Man that was seen had on a Sailor's Jacket and Trowsers. Whoever will give Information of the above Things, with the Thief or Thieves, so that he or they may be convicted, and the Things, recovered, shall receive from the subscriber, Three Pounds Reward.

“Robert Moore.”

Elizabeth Drinker told in her diary for 1781 of the operation of another sneak thief:

“On ye second day of ye yearly meeting as Sally and Mary were about dressing, they missed 6 silk gowns, all nearly as good as new, which had been taken out of a Drawer in ye blue Room, by whom we could give no guess, but before night Wm Rush, who is a Magistrate, informed us, that six such gowns as we described were at Benj'n Paschalls, who is also a Magistrate, they were found on first day morning, thrown over a fence, and taken to Paschall's by the Constables, who had taken up a woman, who had got privately out of Jail on seventh day afternoon, where she had been confined many months. She had not been above three hours at liberty, before she was taken up and sent back for her old misdemeanor.”

Among breaches of the law at this period were reckoned bull-baiting, bear-baiting, cock-fighting, bowls, billiards and quoits. Stage plays also were prohibited. Keith, in “Chronicles of Pennsylvania”, tells of a wandering showman who arrived in Philadelphia and set up a stage just below South Street. As this was outside the jurisdiction of the city, the Lieutenant Governor

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

was asked to put a stop to the scandalous performance. The request was refused, and the play was produced for sometime, to the distress of the staid Quakers of the city.

For many years the Quakers were supreme in city political affairs. Most of the early officeholders were Friends. One of the most prominent of the Quaker mayors was William Hudson, whose political career began soon after his marriage to the daughter of one who was a leader in city and Provincial life. His service as Mayor for the years 1725-26 was remarkable for his efforts to alleviate suffering. Thomas Allen Glenn gives a pleasing description of him:

“He was one of the first Philadelphians to work for prison reform. He made almost daily visits to the prison, endeavoring to lessen the sufferings of the wretched inmates, and create in them an ambition towards a future useful life. He delighted in hospital work and in visiting the sick poor . . . In his dress he was rather inclined to be as fashionable as a consistent Quaker could well be. He was usually clad in a black velvet suit with large silver buttons, and silver shoe-buckles, and carried a long gilt-headed cane, with a leather loop and tassel. He appeared in public, except when he went to Meeting on First Days, in a fine Coach which was valued after his death—although then ancient—at £14, being a rare luxury at that time . . . He was a stout and successful defender of the rights of Quakers to remain with heads covered in the courts of justice, and while on the bench kept his own fashionable beaver firmly upon his head.”

The peaceful William Hudson, during whose term everything seemed to go smoothly, would have held up his hands in horror at conditions which led to riot the year of his death, 1742. The letter of a friend to

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

William Penn tells the sad story of what was the first grave election disorder in the city's history:

“The law for Chusing Inspectors by the Constables in the different Wards being elaps'd, and the Partys Not agreeing amongst themselves, tho that of the Governours made some fair Offers to the other, the Inspectors were to be chosen the old way, of that by view, on the day of Election a great number of Dutch appear'd for the Quakers, said not to be properly qualified they carried all the Inspectors to a man, upon this a number of Sailors in all I believe sixty came up to the Markett Street with clubs in their hands knock'd down all that stood in their way or did not fly before them and blood flew plentifully about. M^r Norris as a Magistrate went to make peace, and he was knock'd down had two severe Wounds on his head & had he not crept under the stalls I believe he would have been kill'd; old M^r Pemberton had several smart blows that lamed his hand for some time. Tom Lloyd, young Fishbourne, Rakestraw, Shad the barber and one Evans of North Wales an old Quaker of upwards of 60 years were all knock'd down and the last has lost his Senses as I am informed by the wounds he rec'd on his head, and number of other persons to me unknown shared the same Fate, I never saw such havock in my life before the Streets & Court house stairs were clear'd in a few Minutes, and none but the Sailors crying out down with the plain Coats & broad Brims then they took up great Stones & Bricks from the Lott you sold by the Meeting where the people had begun to bild and broke the Court house Windows all to pieces and those that were in the house got several Smart blows, at last the Dutch and other Country people being intraged return'd in a Body with Clubbs, and the Dutch were for getting guns but were prevented drove the Sailors before them they took to the Shipping and with the assistance of M^r Lawrence who was very active and Charles Willing they took 40 of them and sent 'em to Gaol.”

BEGINNINGS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

Five years after this riot, stirred up in the interest of some one who wanted an office, the chief office in the city's gift went begging. On October 6, 1747, Alderman Morris was chosen mayor by the Common Council. He was not present, so a committee made up of Charles Willing and Samuel Rhoads was appointed to tell him of his election. The committee reported that, when they went to Mr. Morris's house they were told by his daughter that he was not in the city. Thereupon the Council adjourned until afternoon, when they would decide what it was best to do. At the afternoon meeting "the Recorder informed the Board that he had consulted the Attorney General, and it was His opinion that a written notice should be sent to Alderman Morris's House, signifying he was so elected as aforesaid; and likewise that a Messenger should be dispatched into the Country where it was said he was gone, with a like notice, and endeavour to procure his assurance whether he would serve in the office or not."

A notice was therefore sent to Mrs. Morris, but she refused to receive it. The bearer of the second notice reported that he had not succeeded in finding the truant Mayor-elect.

So the Council proceeded to make a second choice, and William Atwood was elected Mayor for the next year.

Possibly the fact that the mayor was expected to serve without salary made Alderman Morris choose to pay a fine rather than serve in an office that took time and brought nothing but expense.

That year the salary of the mayor was fixed at £100. In 1796 this was raised to \$1000, and in 1805 to \$2000.

IV

GLIMPSES OF BUSINESS LIFE

WHALING AND WHALEMEN—HE WANTED HIS SHIP INSURED—STEPHEN GIRARD'S RISE TO POWER—A PHYSICIAN WHO CURED ALL HIS PATIENTS—THE GOLDSMITH'S ACCOUNTS—WHY BRYAN O'HARA INCREASED HIS CHARGES—DIFFICULTIES OF TRADE DURING THE REVOLUTION—ROBERT MORRIS IN FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES—HUMOR IN THE PRISON

ONE is startled to find in William Penn's "Further Account of Pennsylvania" a paragraph that speaks of an industry that in the minds of most people could not be connected with Philadelphia. He said:

"Mighty Whales roll upon the Coast, near the mouth of the Bay of Delaware. Eleven caught and workt into Oyl one season. We justly hope a considerable profit by a Whalery, they being so numerous and the Shore so suitable."

Later in the same document he quotes from a letter written to him in August, 1685, by one of the residents of Philadelphia:

"I do understand three Companies for Whale Catching are designed to fish in the River Mouth this season."

For many years whaling was a profitable pursuit, and even as late as 1814, the unwieldy denizen of the deep was not a stranger to Philadelphia. On December 3 of that year an announcement was given publicly, which told the people of the city by the Delaware:

GLIMPSES OF BUSINESS LIFE

“The Whale which was harpooned and taken by four barges after an arduous chase of three days, in the river Delaware, near Trenton Bridge, will for a few days be exhibited near the High Bridge, Kensington. This whale is believed to be of the familiar species called the Spermacetti Whale. It has been viewed by several efficient Whale Fishers, and all agreed that notwithstanding his great size and extraordinary strength of frame and muscle, he is a young Whale. . . . It may never occur that the present generation may have an opportunity of gratifying a laudable curiosity at so little trouble, and so trifling an expense as they now can. The Whale is pickled, and in as pure a state, as the day it was caught.”

The business acumen that led some of the early colonists to go after whales and taught a later resident of the city to make capital out of a “pickled whale,” was a characteristic of Philadelphia’s merchants from the beginning of the city’s history. They knew how to turn their hands to anything and to make profit wherever they turned.

The ledger of Judge William Trent—for whom Trenton was named—shows that he was “a shipping merchant and a ship owner, a dealer in or handler of cord-wood, wine, brandy, rum, pottery, flour, bran, tobacco, bread, salt, molasses, tallow, cordage, powder, servants, corn, butter, negroes staves, blankets, ‘oyl,’ wampum, yarn, insurance, exchange notes, ‘orders,’ real estate, ships, horses, cows, knives, anchors, and dry goods. In 1703 he handled 282,018 hundred-weight of tobacco and 2579 skins, besides the furs and skins of 48 elk, 1269 deer, 101 beaver, 104 otter, 1381 raccoon, 1209 bear, 752 fox and wolf, 687 mink and marten, 738 muskrats and 330 “sundries.”

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Most of these goods were sent out of the country, for his chief business was supplying cargoes from Philadelphia and receiving cargoes sent to the city in return. It is said that he had an interest varying from one-sixth to the whole in every "voyage" or "venture" that came to or went out of that part of Philadelphia in 1703.

An associate of Judge Trent was the William Hudson who became mayor in 1725. To his work as a tanner—he owned a number of tanneries in and near the city—he added that of the ship owner and shipping merchant. For nearly fifty years he was one of the city's leaders in business.

As early as 1710 Philadelphia's water front was a busy place. Richard Castleman, "Gent.," who came to town during that year, said:

"There are several coves and docks where large ships are built; and by a moderate computation there have been loaded from the stocks of the city . . . more than 300 sail of ships, besides small craft, which may in some sort give us an idea of the opulency of the place."

For many years much of the wealth was tied up in vessels and their cargoes. At one time one merchant controlled or owned twenty vessels, ships, brigantines, schooners, and sloops. In these vessels he received rum and sugar from Barbadoes, linen from Liverpool, rice from South Carolina, wine from Madeira, and spirits from Jamaica; and he sent muskets, pistols, cutlasses and gunpowder to Jamaica, onions to Antigua, and chocolate to Virginia.

A letter sent to "Mr. Wharton" from New York,



KIDDER'S GUN STORE, SECOND AND WALNUT STREETS



239 PINE STREET



CURRENCY OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1759



STEPHEN GIRARD AT HIS DESK

GLIMPSES OF BUSINESS LIFE

dated January 28, 1756, indicates that a large business in ship insurance must have been done here. The letter was written by a vessel owner who wished to make a better bargain in insuring a ship that had been a long time on its way than he had any right to expect to make. He asked Mr. Wharton to advise him what "Insheurence" could be made on "ye Schooner *Margret*" From hence to ye Coast of Affrica & From thence for Barbados, for advice, if no warr from Barbados to Charlestown, S^o Carolina—If a warr to sell at Barbados, or proceede to Jamaca." He added the information that the vessel sailed on November 16, 1755, that she was "mounted with 4 Carege Gunns & 5 Swival^d Blunderbuses, a Sofishent quantity of muskets & Ammonisen." He wanted £1000 Inshuerence made on Vessel and Cargoe—but he was unwilling to pay more than a modest premium.

Ship builders as well as ship owners had an eye to the main chance. An early advertisement offered for sale "the ship *Ocean*, copper fastened and copper sheathed to the bends, and ready for an Indian voyage or any other voyage." To this announcement was added the information that the vender had for sale "a few pipes of old high-flavored 4th proof Charante brandy."

The story of a ship of that day from the stocks through the various voyages that helped to fill the coffers of its owner is suggestive. There is, for instance, the record of Stephen Girard's ship *Good Friends*.¹

¹An illustration in color of this vessel will be found in the second volume of "The Life and Times of Stephen Girard" by John Bach McMaster, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1918.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

She was bought, a wreck, in 1792. When rebuilt she was of 246 tons and carried twenty guns. In 1793 she went to Bordeaux where she was held because of the embargo. In 1795 she was again at Philadelphia. Later voyages were made to Hamburg, Amsterdam, Bordeaux, Isle of France, and Leghorn. In 1806 she was boarded by a British privateer. In 1808 she was laid up on account of the Long Embargo. In 1809 she sailed for Gothenburg but was captured by a Danish privateer. She was released a year later. In 1811 Girard sent her to England. In 1812 she put in at Amelia Island, off the coast of Florida. Later she was seized by United States Customs authorities for violation of the Non-Importation law. Suit was entered against the owner for \$915,000. Then she went to Charleston for cotton destined for Europe. On her capture by the British she was sold to Barings for £3000, but after the close of the war they offered to resell her to Girard. He was unable to buy "that favorite vessel," because of the impossibility of obtaining register

But the story of Stephen Girard himself is far more interesting than that of any of his ships. In May, 1776, while on his way home to France, in a ship of which he was master as well as part owner, a storm drove him into Delaware Bay. A pilot was secured, and the vessel was taken to safety just in time to escape the British fleet. Captain Girard had no money then current in Philadelphia, so he borrowed from a stranger the amount of the pilot's fee. Thus the future philanthropist came on borrowed money to the city which was later to benefit by his gifts.

GLIMPSES OF BUSINESS LIFE

Disposing of his vessel, he engaged in commerce. On October 27, 1778, he took the oath of allegiance to the country that had received him so graciously. At the time he was living at Mt. Holly, New Jersey. Return to the city became possible in 1779. A vessel was built for him and sea ventures were once more undertaken.

In 1791 and 1792 he built six new ships, marvels of speed, which were at once employed in trade to all parts of the world. The extent of the commerce is indicated thus by Ingram in his biography of Girard:

“A ship would sail with a cargo of cotton and grain for Bordeaux, where it would reload with fruit and wine for Saint Petersburg, and there discharge this cargo, replacing it with hemp and iron. In turn this would be sold in Amsterdam for specie, laden with which the ship would sail for Calcutta and Canton, where tea, silks, and East India goods would be bought for the return voyage to Philadelphia.”

The list of exports from Philadelphia in the years following 1765 is surprising. They included wheat, flour, bread, stoves and beading, corn, iron, soap, flax seed, furs, lard, butter, beef, pork, walnut logs, deer-skins, potash, brown sugar, loaf sugar, “melasses,” wine, oil, rum, fish, candles, chocolate, salt, cotton, wool, leather, rice, coaches, chariots, chaises, sulkys, wagons, wheelbarrows, drays, ploughs, barrows, pumps, boats, carts, saddletrees, cartridges, stoves, bricks, lime, tobacco, indigo, turpentine, paper, pasteboard. Of course the quantity of some of the products was quite small. Before the Revolutionary War many things were shipped as raw material to foreign markets, and

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

were later returned in a manufactured state. But after the war much of the raw material was manufactured at home, and the finished production sent abroad.

Philadelphia merchants did a large business with the country districts, in spite of the fact that transportation arrangements were of the crudest. Frequently a visitor to the city was entrusted with all sorts of commissions to the stores, or a resident would be asked by some country cousins to give freely the benefit of his leisure for a trip to the markets. Before the Revolution Neddy Burd, of Lancaster, who was attending the college which later became part of the University of Pennsylvania, sometimes had so many commissions given to him that his studies must have suffered. Once he was asked to get for Granny yarn, "as near the color of the sample as could be got." Then he was asked to secure lemons and a Gloucester cheese. He succeeded in buying the last cheese on sale in the city, so he wrote home, "Unless this had been secured you must have waited for English cheese until the agreement of our merchants about Non-Importation should be dissolved by a Repeal of the Revenue Act." His grandfather took his turn by asking him to procure such necessary things as a bottle of red ink, twenty-five gallons of molasses and a lot of salmon.

Among the records of business and professional life in the city some of the most curious are the bills of physicians. One of these, dated 1717, and made out by Doctor Jones to John Russell, was remarkable for the fact that all the charges were for cures. There were eight of these charges, some of them being: "To

GLIMPSES OF BUSINESS LIFE

curing his Seruant's knee, £1;" "To curing his mans foot," 4 shillings; "To curing his daughter's foot," 3 shillings; "To curing his Sons sore Eye," 3 Shillings. Surely no man could object to paying a bill like that!

Dr. Benjamin Rush presented to the estate of John Lukens a bill whose greatest peculiarity was that it covered items for three years, from 1773 to 1776. The charge of a goldsmith in 1734 included a silver thimble and topping another, making a milk pot, "Soydering a Tankard and Beading out ye Bruises," a set of Breeches Buttons, a chain and strainer for Tea Pot, a Soup Spoon, making and mending a Scizzor Chain.

Unless the goldsmith was an exception, bills ran a long time and were very seldom paid in full. Remnants of the charge remained for years.

There were not lacking in the city men who felt that training and experience in London was a great recommendation. In 1746 a stone mason advertised thus:

"At the new Marble Shop, at the sign of the Mason's Arms in Arch Street, Philadelphia, are sold Chimney-Pieces, Slabs for Hearths, Monuments, Fonts for Churches, Tombstones and Head-stones, with all sorts of Marble Work, by George Harrison, who serv'd a regular Apprenticeship to that Business and followed it for several years in London."

To this advertisement was appended an "N.B."

"The said George Harrison was employ'd by several Gentlemen in England as a Surveyor, in the Designing, Making Draughts of, and superintending their Buildings: and having had very considerable Practice there, is also desirous to serve any Gentlemen in these Parts, that may have Occasion for any Thing in that Way."

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Those who made out the bills for goods sold a hundred and fifty years ago and more must have had ample leisure as well as a rich fund of good humor. Thomas Livezey, on June 29, 1764, sent to Thomas Wharton a message that ought to have brought a prompt remittance, and without any claim for abatement:

“Respected Friend I’ve Sent thee bran
As Neat & Clean as any Man
I’ve took Great Pains for fear of Loss
to thee in foundering of thy Horse
It’s ground With Bur, and Ground so nice
it Looks as if ’twas bolted twice
But that’s Nomatter Since it’s such
thy man can’t ever feed tomuch
I mean Can’t founder it he wou’d.
I’ve took Such pains to Make it Good
Nor will it Ever Dust his Cloaths
Nor give the Horse a Mealy Nose
And further in its praise I’le say
t’will Never Make him Runaway
but if on this alone he’s fed
a Child may hold him with a thread.
feed freely then Nor be in Doubt
I’le send thee More when this is out.”

“It is thirty bushells I have sent thee, and Notwithstanding the Labour and Care I have taken to oblige thee which the bran itself will testify to anyone Who is a Judge I have charged only 15 pr. bushel—Lower than Can Wellbe afforded; but I shall not regard that as it is to a friend—it May appear to thee perhaps that I have Said Rather tomuch in praise of the bran yet upon Examination I think it will appear [illegible] for if it Don’t fully answer the Description I



ROBERTS'S MILL



HIGH STREET MARKET
(From the engraving by Birch)



A BIT OF OLD PHILADELPHIA
(Camae Street, "the Little Street of Clubs")

GLIMPSES OF BUSINESS LIFE

have Given it I should Not be unwilling to make some abatement in price—this from thy Most Respectfull & Sincere friend Thomas Livezey.”

A bill of another sort was sent to Thomas Wharton by Bryan O'Hara, who, instead of talking of an abatement in charge, gave notice of an increase. Perhaps this was due to the troubled politics of the day, for the bill was sent in 1774. It was for “one year's Sheaving and dressing your Wigs,” and the amount was £2.0.0. To the bill was appended this note:

“Sir I take this method of informing you, that I think the above too little for doing your business $\frac{2}{3}^d$ of my customers pays me three pounds a year and does not get quite so much done, for instance Messrs John Reyne & John Bringhurst pays it, wou'd be much obliged to you to consider it, for the Ensuing Year, I am Sir your H'ble Serv^t BRYAN O HARA.”

Elliott Duncan, who, in 1767, had a shop “nearly opposite Christ Church, ” was as brief in advertising his goods as Livezey was verbose in his bill. He contented himself with stating that he carried “a neat and General Assortment of both Wet and Dry Goods,” including Muslin, Cambrick, Lawn, Chintzes, Poplins, Shalloons, Calicoes, Calimancoes, Durants and Tasumies, Oznabrigs, Sattin, Peelong, Figured, and Plain Scarcenet and Modes Taffaties.”

The day book of David Evans is exceedingly interesting because of the variety of his goods, the amount of his charges, and the character of his customers. Here are some sample items:

1774, Sept. 12. Clement Biddle, 1 Mahogany Sofa, £5.
1776, July 20. United States of America, 161 sets of

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

- Tent Poles 4/6 each. August 12, Charles Thomson, a Reading Desk for Congress, £1.5.
November 29. Making Benches for the Jew Synagogue.
- 1777, Jany 16. Ornamenting Brig. Gen. Mercer's Coffin with plate and handles and attendance at funeral, £5.
July 4. Charles Thomson, 1 large writing Table, £2.1.3.
- 1778, Feb. 26. Lieut. Hoysted 64th Regt., making a box for camp equipage.
- 1779, July 14. Estate George Ross, Esqr. Mahogany Coffin, inscription plate, handles & case, £175 (continental currency).
- 1781, May 12. Library Company of Philadelphia. Making and Staining a frame.
- 1781, July 19. Capt. Audubon. Making a house for his Squirrels.
- 1785, April 4. State Lottery. Making 6 boxes.
- 1786, January 9. Dr. Boss, Making a Walnut Medicine Chest. £5.12.
April 8. Ordered by Michael Gratz small planed boards on which to make cakes for the Passover for Jewish Congregation.
- 1787, May 27. Made a sign for a man at corner Market and Sixth street—the sign of y^e Greyhound.
Sept. 4. Hon. John Penn. Making a Walnut Coffin for Sabina Francis, a servant of his Uncle Thomas Penn, late Proprietor, £6.
- 1789, June 29. Dr. Ewing, Made a large Mahogany clock Case for the University of Pennsylvania, £11.
- 1790, December 9. Philadelphia County Commissioners—6 Venetian Blinds for Congress, with plain fronts in Senate Chamber and Committee Room in County Court House, at £4.10 each. 9 ditto for Arch windows down stairs in the House of Representatives of U. S. at £6 each.

GLIMPSES OF BUSINESS LIFE

- 1791, October 31. John Adams, Vice President, 2 Mahogany Boards, to fix Chesters, repairing Dining Table. £10.0.
- 1791, December 9. Bank of the United States. Making a Clock case for the Directors Room, £4.
- 1792, April 18. Spanish Minister. Repairing a Card table.
1796. United States of America, making platform in Congress Hall larger and hanging 2 Doors, £3.15.
- 1799, November 9. Dr. Benjamin Rush, to making 1 Mahogany Bureau Table, £7.1 as a compensation for my son Evan Evans' ticket of admission attending his lectures for 1798.
- 1801, July 21. Shipped on the sloop *Highland*, for Gen. Dearborn, 16 Venetian Blinds for the War Office, Washington, D. C. \$9¹ pr. Blind.
- 1803, June 30, United States. 6 Venetian Blinds for the Captain's Cabin of frigate *Philadelphia*. Capt. Bainbridge, \$48.

It will be seen that several of the charges made above are for the making of furniture, a craft for which Philadelphia was noted. Museums and private collections testify today that elaborate and beautifully carved pieces were made for the discriminating and appreciative as culture and worth increased, as well as large quantities of rather simpler but handsome furniture for those of lesser means but equal taste.

In those days, too, architecture was accounted a necessary part of a liberal education, and that such knowledge was deeply grounded will be realized when it is remembered that the State House, Christ Church and

¹ In November 1800, John Inskeep, who was elected mayor on October 21, 1800, put in operation in Philadelphia the new method of computation in dollars and cents.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

St. Peter's were all designed by Philadelphia men and executed by its master-carpenters.

The difficulties of merchants during the Revolution are illustrated by the experiences of J. Peters, as revealed in a letter written to Francis Oberlin, a Bethlehem merchant, on August 24, 1779:

"The blind way of trade puts me at a stand. I cannot purchase any Coffee without taking to one bill a tierce of Claret & sour, & at £6.8 per gall. Sugar I may purchase at about the limited price, & that is the only article that can be brought. I have been trying day for day, & never could get a grain of Coffee so as to sell it at the limited price these six weeks. It may be bought, but at about 25/ per lb. Then it is very dangerous to get it out of town; for the least triple you must produce your bill, & swear that you have given no more, & made no presents, neither that you intend to make any presents after you have a certificate or permit. Some time ago I might have sent wagons out of town, & never have been stopped, but that time is over. Should you want sugar, I will buy for you, but I think you'd better wait till this Committee is broke. It cannot last long, for we must all very soon shut up stores and starve."

But after the signing of the treaty of peace business improved. One of the evidences was the increased demand for conveyance. Quarrier & Hunter, the city's leading carriage builders, had a shop on Filbert Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets. Not only did they have many local patrons, but they numbered among their customers the ministers of France and Holland, as well as officers of the navy and army. They were manufacturers of coaches, chariots, chaises, phaetons, sulkies, "sociables." These were

GLIMPSES OF BUSINESS LIFE

finished in olive, black, yellow, drab, green, brown, or purple.

On the day books of the firm the following charges were made:

1780. The French Minister: Painting body of phaeton, borders, and moulding, cypher and flowers; painting Coach.

John Adams: Painting phaeton and coach, and three cyphers in gilt.

1781. John Adams: Painting chair, phaeton and carriage and ornaments.

1782. President of Congress: Painting arms on coach, cleaning and varnishing.

1783. Thomas Jefferson: Painting phaeton green, crests on the back.

Robert Morris: Painting chariot olive green, cheek vermilion, and gilding.

Robert Morris was at the time of this charge at the height of his prosperity. But a few years later he became involved in financial difficulties through too sanguine investments in real estate. After struggling for years to extricate himself he was arrested for debt on February 15, 1798. George Eddy made the complaint against him that led to the crisis. Of him Morris spoke in a letter to a friend:

“I am here in the custody of a sheriff’s officer. George Eddy is the most hardened villain God ever made. I believe if I had bank bills to pay him with he would refuse them on the ground of their not being legal tender.”

The next day the writer was taken to the debtor’s apartment of the old Prune Street Prison, where he was confined until August 26, 1801.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

But the imprisonment did not crush the man to whom the country owed so much and was repaying so little. On March 13, less than a month after his arrest, in a letter to his unfortunate partner, John Nicholson, after speaking of Dr. Benjamin Say, whose notes to him had not been paid, he wrote:

“When Doctors of Physick instead of their pills
Become dealers in Paper, not Bank notes or Bills,
Intent on their gains they lie without fear.
That Morris or Nicholson caught by the ear
Can by this Touch Stone on any one day
Detect lying Lusty, or, unconscionable, Say.”

Charles Henry Hart says of the patriot, who lay for long months in the debtors' prison:

“The country for whose independence, safety and salvation he had pledged and given his private fortune in the hour of its deepest depression and most desperate need, forgot him when adversity crowded upon him, and neither by word, act, or deed, helped to alleviate the burden of his unfortunate situation. The Congress which, without his aid, never would have had an existence to hold a session, sat within the shadow of his prison walls but lifted not a voice or a hand to save him.”

It is pleasant to know that in 1798 Washington called on his old associate in the prison, and that when Mrs. Morris and her daughter were visiting in Virginia he and Mrs. Washington sent to them a joint letter inviting them to go to Mt. Vernon. In this letter they asked her to “be assured we ever have and still do retain the most affectionate regard for you, and Mr. Morris and the family.”

On April 4, 1800, Congress passed the first bankruptcy act of the United States, and on July 28, 1801,

GLIMPSES OF BUSINESS LIFE

a commission of bankruptcy was issued, upon the petition of John H. Huston, a creditor of Robert Morris. Four weeks later proof was made of debts amounting to \$3,000,000. At once Morris was released. Next day he wrote, "I obtained my liberty last evening, and had the inexpressible satisfaction to find myself again returned to my own home and family."

Early in December following the proceedings of Bankruptcy were concluded. "I now find myself a free citizen of the United States," he said, "without one cent that I can call my own."

Not a stain rests on the name of Robert Morris. He was unfortunate but he conducted himself throughout his misfortune in such a way that the honor in which he was held even increased. In spite of his failure for a sum that was large for those days his record adds to the glory of Philadelphia business life.

V

SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATIONS

THE CHARMING WOMEN OF OLD PHILADELPHIA—JOSEPH SHIPPEN'S TRIBUTE TO SOCIAL LEADERS—WHAT A YOUNG MAN REQUIRED OF HIS SISTER—A MOUSE IN HER NIGHT CAP—WHY THE KISS WAS DISAGREEABLE—RULES OF THE DANCE—THE GOVERNOR'S PREDICAMENT—THE CEREMONY OF THE SPOON—THE JOYS OF SLEIGH-RIDING AND SERENADING—A DINNER AT PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S MANSION

PHILADELPHIA'S social life has long been famous for its unusual combination of exclusiveness and warmth, conservatism and open-mindedness, self-sufficiency and generous hospitality. And the women who for generations have given tone to this social life have helped to give the city a good name and have added to its fame.

Even early travelers and visitors spoke with enthusiasm of the charming women of the city; in fact, some of them found difficulty in expressing their gratification and delight in the presence of the fair daughters of the city.

Witness William Black's extravagant language, from a letter written in 1744:

“In the Evening I made haste to the Rendezvous of the Fair, much Elated with the Thoughts of Spending a few hours so agreeably as I propos'd in the Company I was going to make one in: On coming to the Place I found the Lady had been punctual to the Appointment: I was lucky enough not to be Engaged with any more but the young Lady of the House, and her Acquaintance my Favorite; In a very little time I found

SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATIONS

my self alone with the latter. On which to improve my Acquaintance and the Opportunity, I broached a Serious Discourse with her which was not carried on long before I found her a person to whom Nature had been as bountifull in Regard to her Mind, as I before observ'd she had been Carefull of her Body; to be short, What with her Wit and Quickness of Expression, Join'd to the Influence of her Beauty and manner of Behaviour, I was Possess'd with a Pleasure much easier felt than Describ'd, and can only be Imagin'd by those, who know what it is to Enjoy the Company of a Woman Every Way Agreeable."

On another occasion he said:

"I am no Painter, Neither do I pretend to any thing that way, yet I cannot pass by this Lady, without giving you a Rough Draught of her. I cannot say that she was a Regular Beauty, but she was such that few cou'd find any fault with what Dame Nature had done for her. She was of the Middle Size (which I think is the Stature that best becomes the sex), very well Shap'd: her Eyes were Black, full of fire, and well Slit, they had something in them Remarkably Languishing, and seem'd to Speak the Softness of a Soul Replete with Goodness, her Eye-brows black and finely Arch'd, her Nose was well turn'd, and of a Just Bigness, and her Mouth was Neither wide nor very little, with Lips of a fine Red, and when they moved discovered two Rows of Teeth white as Ivory and Regularly well Set; her Forehead round and Smooth, as for her Hair, it was a Shining black, but noways harsh. Her Neck, her Arms, and Hands seem to have been made and fitted for her Face, which was of a Complexion made up of the Lilly and the Rose."

A quieter description, but one fully as pleasing, was given by John H. B. Latrobe, of his mother, the wife of Benjamin H. Latrobe, the architect of the

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Capitol at Washington, and the daughter of Isaac Hazlehurst, the partner of Robert Morris. The occasion of the description was a social function where Mrs. Latrobe had attracted great attention. The loyal son said:

“She was a very tall woman, five feet, eight inches, and had always been celebrated for the beauty of her figure. Her face was in no ways remarkable. She had been a leading belle in Philadelphia, and had the air of a woman of fashion of that day. On this occasion, she was dressed in white satin with a long train, and wore a turban of spangled muslin with a gold crescent, fastening a heron’s upright plume.”

But perhaps one of the most pleasing pictures of some of the belles of old Philadelphia was penned by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Shippen. After looking at some of the sparkling faces before him at the Dancing Assembly of 1769 he wrote, while yet in the Assembly room:

“In lovely White’s most pleasing form,
What various graces meet!
How blest with every striking charm!
How languishingly sweet!

“With just such elegance and ease
Fair, Charming Swift appears;
Thus Willing, while she lives, can please,
Thus Polly Franks endears.

“A female softness, manly sense,
And conduct free from art,
With every pleasing excellence,
In Inglis charm the heart.

SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATIONS

“But see! Another fair advance,
With love commanding all;
See! happy in the sprightly dance,
Sweet, smiling fair M’Call.

“Each blessing which indulgent Heaven
On mortals can bestow,
To thee enchanting maid is given,
Its masterpiece below.

“In Sally Coxe’s form and face,
True index of her mind,
The most exact of human race
Not one defect can find.

“Thy beauty every breast alarms,
And many a swain can prove
That he who views your conquering charms,
Must soon submit to love.

“With either Chew such beauties dwell
Such charms by each are shared,
No critic’s judging eye can tell
Which merits most regard.

“’Tis far beyond the painter’s skill
To set their charms to view;
As far beyond the poet’s quill,
To give the praise that’s due.”

Thomas Willing Balch, in quoting this tribute in rhyme in his history of the Philadelphia Assembly, explains that the references in the stanzas are to Mary White, sister of Bishop White, who became the wife of Robert Morris; Alice Swift; Abigail Willing, daughter of Charles Willing; Polly Franks, daughter of David Franks; Katherine Inglis, who lived for fifty years on

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Pine Street, opposite St. Peter's Church; Mary McCall; Sally Coxe, who married Andrew Allen, Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province of Pennsylvania; and the three oldest daughters of Benjamin Chew, Mary, Anna Maria, and Elizabeth.

The picture of a belle who flourished years later was given in form far less attractive by Miss Margaret Cary, of Boston. After a visit to Woodlands in 1815 she said:

"But Molly Hamilton—I will say it though I should have the whole sisterhood at my ears—is a complete old maid. She is, however, a very energetic character. After the death of a married sister, she took upon herself the entire care of her nieces, who are now, I am told, fine girls. . . . She was very civil, and pressed me to come again. She goes out every morning and stays till three o'clock, walks about without any regard to the weather, and presents as plain an appearance as one of us going into the garden to pick peas. It rained all the time we were there, but she used no umbrella, and seemed to defy the weather. Do you think we brought home any of the beautiful flowers which were growing in great abundance? Not a leaf."

The ideas of the day as to what constituted charm in a young woman were sometimes startling. In a number of *The American Museum* for 1798 there is quoted a letter which a young man wrote to his sister in 1788. His rather exacting requirements were set forth in the stilted language of the day:

"Be, my dear girl, as assiduous to cultivate your understanding, to improve your mind, to acquire every truly female and elegant accomplishment, as you would be, if you had not one single recommendation to our favour besides. Beauty of person may catch us

SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATIONS

at first; but the beauties of the mind can alone secure any conquest worth making. . . . Neatness and elegance is what you ought principally to have in view; everything beyond that must be left in a great measure to your own taste, and the fashions of the day, which as long as they are not inconsistent with decency, ought in some measure to be regarded. . . . If a girl devotes that time which ought to be employed in more important concerns to the care of her person, . . . she then becomes the just object of our ridicule and contempt, be her dress what it will. But from this folly, I am confident, my lovely girl is secure: she will always have too just an opinion of her own merit, to think it depends on those external appendages which she puts on and off every day at pleasure: . . . nor will she ever forget that 'True loveliness needs not the foreign aid of ornament, but is when unadorned, adorned the most.' . . .

"I would wish you possessed of undefiled and benevolent religion, which descends from heaven, and refines and purifies the human heart . . . I would wish you to be unaffectedly modest, without prudery, cheerful, easy, and forcible, . . . affable and frank, without ever forgetting that delicate reserve, absolutely necessary to support the dignity of your character, . . . well acquainted with books, without a pedantic display of your knowledge, sensible, without aiming at the character of a wit . . . all these blended and intermingled with that softness, that gentleness, and that tenderness peculiar to your sex."

But such a delineation of an ideal character is certainly far preferable to the sarcastic "Instruction to Fine Ladies" which a contributor sent to a number of the same magazine:

"Let a young lady, who is looking for a husband, be very careful not to promise or deny any suitor—it

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

is vastly delightful to keep a company of admirers, fawning, flattering, swearing, kneeling, and so forth—a blush is requisite now and then to prevent any false insinuations of those envious maidens who may call you a coquette; and dear sir may be said once or twice in the day, to remove the disgusting title of a prude. . . . When invited to a card party you must declare yourself a very bad player; . . . should they be very cross to you during the evening effect a laugh now and then; . . .

“If kind nature has bestowed its enchanting gift of voice, and that you can sing prettily, you may assume some airs—let the company press till they are almost weary, and whenever it is affirmed by any person that you can sing you may insist upon it that you cannot—this is a great proof of good manners.

“If nature has denied you that harmonious gift, never give the company the trouble of asking twice. . . .

“Are you to see your lover? never take notice of him. Speak to every gentleman but him. . . .

“To go to church every Sunday morning and evening, is very necessary: to old ladies and gentlemen it conveys good ideas . . .

“It is necessary that you get by heart a few lines of poetry, out of Pope or Dryden, to introduce upon any subject . . . it will convince the company that you have read these fine bards.”

In the effort to make themselves attractive, the belles of the city, in the days following the Revolution, imitated the women of France in their method of fixing their hair. Timothy Pickering in a letter to his wife written about 1778, told of what seemed to him a great enormity:

“I mentioned to you the enormous head-dresses of the ladies here. The more I see, the more I am displeased with them. ’Tis surprising how they fix such loads of trumpery on their polls; and not less so that

SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATIONS

they are by any one deemed ornamental. The Whig ladies seem as fond of them as others. I am told by a French gentleman they are in the true French taste, only that they want a very few long feathers. The married ladies, however, are not all infected. One of the handsomest (General Mifflin's lady) I have seen in the State does not dress her head higher than was common in Salem a year ago. But you know, my dear, I have odd, old fashioned notions. Neither powder nor pomatum has touched my head this twelve month, not even to cover my baldness. The latter I find a very common thing, now men have left off their wigs."

In like manner John H. B. Latrobe, in 1796, told of the ladies of his day who on their heads built up magnificent structures, works of art, which could not be done away with, but remained so built for some time, with dire results in some cases, as, for instance, when a mouse got into the nightcap of one belle, giving her a dreadful fright. Evidently the mouse was attracted by the pomatum used in building the headdress.

It is hardly fair to say that the custom of having such stately headdresses was due entirely to French influence, for in 1773 Sarah Eve wrote:

"In the morning Dr. Shippen came to see us. What a pity it is that the Doctor is so fond of kissing; he really would be much more agreeable if he were less fond. One hates to be always kissed, especially as it is attended with so many inconveniences, it decomposes the economy of one's handkerchief, it disorders one's high Roll, and it ruffles the serenity of one's countenance; in short the Doctor or a sociable kiss is many times worse than a formal salute with bowing and curtsying to 'this is Mr. Such-an-one and this Miss What-do-you-call-her.' 'Tis true this confuses one no little but one gets the better of that, sooner than to readjust one's dress."

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

But long before the days of Sarah Eve there was earnest discussion in and around Philadelphia as to the evil of just such adornments as were disarranged by Dr. Shippen's polite salutes. In 1726 the Friends in Burlington, New Jersey, sent to the "Women friends" a communication on the evils of overadornment of which copies reached women in Philadelphia. And this is the earnest appeal they read:

"A weighty concern Coming upon many faithfull friends at the Meeting in relation to dress undue Liberties that are too frequently taken by some that Walk among us and are accounted of us. We are willing in the pure love of Truth which hath mercifully visited our souls Tenderly to Caution and to advise our friends against these things which wee think inconsistent with our Ancient Christian Testimony of plainness in Apparel &c. Some of which we think proper to particularize.

"As first that immodest fashion of hooped Petty-coats or the imitation of them either by something put in to their petticoats to make them set full or wearing more than is necessary or any other imitations whatsoever which was taken to be but a Branch springing from the same corrupt Root of Pride. And also that none of our friends accustom themselves to wear their Gowns with superfluous folds behind but plain and decent nor to go without Aprons nor to wear superfluous Gathers or Pleats in the Cap or pinders nor to wear their Heads dressed High behind neither to cut or lay their hair on the foreheads or Temples.

"And that friends are carefull to avoid Wearing of stript shoes or red or white heeled shoes or Clogs or shoes trimmed with gawdy colors . . .

"And also that friends do not accustom themselves to go with bare Neck."



THE QUAKER MEETING
(From the collection of the Rev. J. Paul)



ROBERT MORRIS



MRS. ROBERT MORRIS
(From the painting by Charles W. Peale, in Independence Hall)

SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATIONS

It is a question if some of the men did not set the example of such headdresses as the "ffriends" deprecated. At any rate Sarah Eve, in her Journal on March 12, 1773, recorded with displeasure her observation concerning the hair dressing of a famous minister:

"I never once thought before I heard Mr. Clifford mention it why such an exemplary man as Mr. Duché [Rev. Jacob Duché, senior assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's] should sit every day and have his hair curl'd and powder'd by a barber. Since, I have thought about it greatly, and would like to have *his* sentiments on this subject. But, my dear Ma'am, What would a Parson be without powder, it is as necessary to him as to a *soldier*, for it gives a more significant shake to his head, and is as *priming* to his words and looks. As to having his hair curled, he perhaps thinks it of little consequence, since curled or uncurled locks will turn to gray, or perhaps he may look upon it as more humiliating to wear his own hair than a wig, as then his head must serve as a *block* on which the barber must dress it."

If Mr. Duché had not been a clergyman he would probably have been called a *macaroni*, for this was the term applied to the dandies of the days before the Revolution. Miss Eve refers to this term in another part of her Journal. Her father was in business in Jamaica. The family longed for news of him, and when, in January, 1773, Dr. Curry reached Philadelphia from Jamaica, they were angered and hurt because three days passed without a message or a call. Miss Eve resolved not to forgive his slight, until she learned that "he had entertained so high an idea of our quality, that the poor Doctor thought his cloathes were not good enough to wait upon us in, therefore delayed the

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

visit until he gets fitted up in the 'Macaronia' taste, I suppose."

The strange name "Macaroni" came to be applied to dandies when a company of young men, during the reign of George III, after their return from a tour in Italy, founded a club which they called "The Macaroni." They had many fads, but one of the most pronounced was an extreme modishness in dress. Naturally, then, a dude came to be known as a "Macaroni." One of the popular songs of the day employed the term:

"Ye belles and beaux of London town,
Come listen to my ditty;
The muse in prancing up and down
Has found out something pretty.
With little hat, and hair dress'd high,
And whip to ride a pony;
If you but take a right survey,
Denotes a macaroni.

"Along the street to see them walk,
With tail of monstrous size, sir,
You'll often hear the graver ones talk,
And wish their sons were wiser.
With consequence they strut and grin,
And fool away their money:
Advice they care for not a pin—
Ay—that's a macaroni.

"Five pounds of hair they wear behind,
The ladies to delight, O;
Their senses give unto the wind,
To make themselves a fright, O;
This fashion who does e'er pursue,
I think a simple-tony;
For he's a fool, say what you will,
Who is a Macaroni."

SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATIONS

Another instance of the use of the word is the familiar one in Yankee Doodle:

“Yankee Doodle came to town,
A-riding on a pony,
Stuck a feather in his cap,
And called it Macaroni.”

Both the belles and the beaux of early Philadelphia were devoted to the annual Assemblies, a distinctively Philadelphian institution. They date from 1748 and are still making social history.

Among the subscribers to the first assembly was Charles Willing, the mayor of the city, who married Ann Shippen, daughter of Edward Shippen, and of whom Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, later wrote an extremely complimentary epitaph:

“If to be all the wise and good commend,
The tender husband, father and the friend;
At home beloved and blest, esteemed abroad,
Studious to serve mankind, and please his God;
If this from death one useful life could save,
Thou hadst not read that Willing fills this grave.”

The rules for the regulation of the first Assembly were made known with great care. Some of them were:

“1. The Assembly to be held every Thursday Night from the first Jan’y 1748/9 to the first Day of May in every Year, and begin precisely at six in the Evening, and not by any Means to exceed twelve the same Night.

“2d. The Subscribers consisting of Gentlemen to Chuse by a Majority four of their Number to act as Directors under whose Management the whole Assembly is to be during the Season.

“3d. The Directors are to furnish the Ladies with

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Tickets for the Season, which must admit only the Lady whose Name is first wrote on the ticket by one of the Directors.

“4th. On Application made to the Directors by any Subscriber, for the Admission of any Stranger, A Ticket is to be given out for every such Stranger particularly the Subscriber who shall apply for such Ticket paying immediately on the Delivery of it for a strange Gentleman Seven Shillings and six pence, for a Lady nothing.”

A curious letter dated at New Castle, May 3, 1749, addressed to Thomas Penn, by Richard Peters, told of an incident of the first Assembly:

“By the Governors encouragement there has been a very handsome Assembly near a fortnight at Andrew Hamiltons House & Stores which are tenanted by Mr. Inglis—make a Set of good Rooms for such a purpose: It consists of Eighty Ladies and as many Gentlemen, one half appearing every Assembly night. Mr. Inglis had the Conduct of the whole and managed exceeding well. There happened a little mistake at the beginning which at some other times might have produced disturbance. The Governor would have opened the Assembly with Mrs. — but she refused him, I suppose because he had not been to visit her. After Mrs. — refusal, two or three Ladies out of modesty & from no manner of ill design excused themselves so that the Governor was put a little to his Shifts; when Mrs. Willing now Mrs. Mayoress in a most genteel manner put herself into his way & on the Governor seeing this instance of her good nature he jumped at the Occasion and they danced the first Minuet.”

Concerning the Assembly of 1755 an anecdote is related in a letter from “Trent Town,” New Jersey, dated April 18, 1755:

SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATIONS

“The ancient King of the Mohawks, (the same who was in England in Queen Anne’s Time) came down with some of his Warriors this Winter to Philadelphia, and assured them of his friendship, though he owned many of the young Mohawks were gone over to the Enemy; they were entertain’d at the Stadthouse and made their Appearance also among the Ladies on the Assembly night, where they dance the Scalping Dance with all its Horrors, and almost terrified the Company out of their Wits. I must tell you they brought with them a beautiful young Lady, who in publick made the Indian Compliment, a Tender of her Person to the Governor; as gallant a Man as he is, he was quite confounded at the Time; I know not if he accepted her.”

The Assemblies were interrupted during the Revolution, but they were resumed in 1786, and during the closing years of the century they were more brilliant than ever.

Perhaps it was the Assembly patrons whom an advertiser in 1810 had especially in mind when he called attention to his “Patent Anatomical Dancing Shoes,” which were described in such glowing terms as the following:

“Corns, twisted heels and lacerated insteps shall no more agonize human nature, no more shall the aged witness the aid of a crutch, the middle aged shall walk certain sure and easy step, the young shall step as an heart, and never know their accumulated horrors, this shall deserve more of our country than all the celebrated corn plaster physicians; . . . the foot looses in its appearance one third of its size, as to a side view thereof, making it to appear exceedingly near.”

The advertiser insisted that “every Lady and Gentleman must have a pair of lasts . . . reserved solely for their own use.” They would then be asked

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

to pay five dollars for each pair. The alluring bait was held out, "No please no pay."

Dancing was by no means the most popular social employment in the city. Tea-drinking must have exceeded it in an immeasurable degree; both men and women seemed unable to get through a day without tea, and no social call was complete without the cup—or usually cups—of the pleasant drink. The reader of the *Journal of Elizabeth Drinker* smiles as he notes the frequent references to tea. Sarah Eve follows her example. One day she wrote:

"In the afternoon Mama and I drank Tea at Capt. Stainforth's, met a good deal of Company there, among therest Major Edmonson, just returned from the Illinois."

And again:

"In the afternoon Anna and I went out to look for some Calico for Mrs. Smith, we were to return immediately, but instead of that, we staid and drank Tea with Betsy Guest,—sad girls, sad girls!—but we really could not help it, our cloaks and bonnets were taken off by force, and locked up—but that was from our desire, as we found they were determined to keep us, we begged they would secure them, which they accordingly did; worse and worse! worse and worse! . . .

"In the afternoon we received a formal invitation from Mrs. Stretch to drink Tea with her at her new house, to which Hannah and myself comply'd with cheerfulness. . . . We were much pleased with our visit to her new house, that here one may see elegance in miniature—I don't mean the elegance of a palace, but of simplicity which is preferable—the one pleases the eye but flatters vanity, the other pleases the judgment and cherishes nature. As I walked through this home I could not help saying this surely might be taken for the habitation of Happiness!"

SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATIONS

When Alexander Mackraby visited the city he was much impressed with the hospitality of the people which showed itself so often over the tea cup. On March 5, 1768, he wrote a letter to Sir Philip Francis in which he said:

“I have mentioned before how very agreeable the reception I have met with from your cousins here, more particularly so, as it has introduced me to that kind of acquaintance which is the most difficult for a stranger to obtain; but which is at the same time absolutely necessary to his comfort, where there are no public places of diversions; I mean that of a few agreeable families for a dish of tea, and a dish of chat, without ceremony.”

In 1782 the Chevalier de la Luzerne took the Prince de Broglie to call on Mrs. Robert Morris. The record of the visit is delightful:

“The house is simple but well furnished and very neat. The doors and tables are of superb mahogany and polished. The locks and hinges in brass curiously bright. The porcelain cups were arranged with great precision. The mistress of the house had an agreeable expression and was dressed altogether in white; in fact, everything appeared charming to me. I partook of most excellent tea, and I should be even now still drinking it, I believe, if the ambassador had not charitably notified me at the twelfth cup that I must put my spoon across it when I wished to finish with this sort of warm water. He said to me: it is almost as ill-bred to refuse a cup of tea when it is offered to you, as it would be indiscreet for the mistress of the house to propose a fresh one, when the ceremony of the spoon has notified her that we no longer wish to partake of it.”

Another French visitor, the Marquis de Chastellux, noted not only the tea-drinking, but other forms of diversion:

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“In the afternoon we drank tea with Miss Shippen. This was the first time, since my arrival in America, that I have seen music introduced into society, and mix with its amusements. Miss Rutledge played on the harpsichord, and played very well. Miss Shippen sang with timidity, but with a pretty voice. Mr. Ottaw, secretary to M. de la Luzerne, sent for his harp: he accompanied Miss Shippen and played several pieces. Music naturally leads to dancing; the Vicomte de Noailles took down a violin, which was mounted with harp strings, and he made the young ladies dance, whilst their Mother, and other grave personages, chatted in another room.”

In 1769 a visitor to the city told of a very popular diversion:

“Seven sleighs with two ladies and two men in each, preceded by fiddlers on horseback, set out together upon a snow of about a foot deep on the roads, to a public house a few miles from town, where we danced, sung, and romped and eat and drank, and kicked away care from morning till night, and finished our frolic in two or three side-boxes at the play.”

Serenading also was popular. A man in a letter to his sister tells of the pleasures of an evening devoted to this amusement, and also tells of other diversions:

“We, with four or five young officers of the regiment in barracks, . . . about midnight sally forth, attended by the band, . . . and play under the window of any lady you choose to distinguish; which they esteem a high compliment. In about an hour all the blackguards who sleep upon bulks, . . . are collected round, . . . and altogether make it extremely agreeable on a fine frosty morning. . . . We have no plays or public diversions of any kind; not so much as a walk for the ladies, that there is no opportunity of

SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATIONS

seeing them but at church, or their own houses, or once a fortnight at the assembly. I have been to some of their assemblies, and have danced once with a charming girl, a cousin of yours; but you never saw her, nor in all likelihood ever will. I shall therefore only tell you I was very happy, and very much envied."

Fortunately there have been preserved for us a few pictures of life in some of the hospitable homes for which the city was famous. Dr. Manasseh Cutler, after visiting William Hamilton at Woodlands, in 1803, wrote his impressions:

"We . . . arrived about an hour before sun-set. This seat is on an eminence which forms on its summit an extended plain, at the junction of two large rivers. Near the point of land a superb, but ancient house is situated. In the front, . . . is a piazza supported on large pillars, and furnished with chairs and sofas like an elegant room. . . . We then walked over the pleasure grounds, in front, and a little back of the house. It is formed into walks, . . . with borders of flowering shrubs and trees. Between are lawns of green grass, frequently mowed, and at different distances numerous copse of the native trees, interspersed with artificial groves, which are of trees collected from all parts of the world. . . . The green houses which occupy a large space of ground, I cannot pretend to describe. Every part was crowded with trees and plants, from the hot climates. . . .

" . . . We retired to the house. The table was spread and tea was served. . . . Between ten and eleven, an elegant table was spread, with, I believe, not less than twenty covers. . . . At one, we retired to bed. . . . In the morning, as we had informed him we must do, we rose as soon as daylight appeared. When we came down we found him up and the servants getting breakfast. We assured him we must be excused,

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

for the stage would leave us, if we were not in season, and the passengers would breakfast at Chester. . . . At parting with our hospitable friend, he extorted from us . . . a promise never to pass again without calling."

President and Mrs. Washington were the social lions of Philadelphia. Their simple, gracious manners made them welcome guests wherever they went. At first they were at the house of Robert Morris, as appears from a letter written by the host on June 25, 1787:

"General Washington is now our guest, having taken up his abode at my house during the time he is to remain in this city. He is President of a convention of Delegates from the Thirteen States of America, who have met here for the purpose of revising, amending, and altering the Federal Government."

During his service as President Washington lived in a handsome house where he entertained lavishly. Of one of his dinners Theophilus Bradbury, of Essex County, Massachusetts, wrote:

"Last Thursday I had the honor of dining with the President, in company with the Vice-President, the Senators and Delegates of Massachusetts, and some other members of Congress, about 20 in all. In the middle of the table was placed a piece of table furniture about six feet long and two feet wide, rounded at the ends. It was either of wood gilded, or polished metal, raised only about an inch, with a silver rim round it like that round a tea board; in the centre was a pedestal of plaster of Paris with images upon it, and on each end figures, male and female, of the same. It was very elegant and used for ornament only. The dishes were placed all around, and there was an elegant variety of roast beef, veal, turkeys, ducks, fowls, hams, &c.; puddings, jellies, oranges, apples, nuts, almonds,



SOFT BROCADE GOWN, LOOPED BACK OVER A SATIN PETTICOAT
(Brought from England to the Barbados in 1685)



MARTHA WASHINGTON WEARING THE CAP CALLED
"THE QUEEN'S NIGHT CAP"



BISHOP WILLIAM WHITE
(From the portrait by Charles W. Peale in Independence Hall)



Washington's Coach

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S COACH

SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATIONS

figs, raisins, and a variety of wines and punch. We took our leave at six, more than an hour after the candles were introduced. No lady but Mrs. Washington dined with us. We were waited on by four or five men servants dressed in livery."

The farewell dinner given by Washington was an event that made a deep impression. Concerning the President's reception of his guests that day an eye-witness wrote:

"Washington received his guests, standing between the windows in his back dining-room. The company, entering a front room and passing through an unfolding door, made their salutations to the President, and turning off, stood on one side. His manner was courteous, of course, but always on these occasions somewhat reserved. He did not give his hand, but merely bowed, which was the mode for that day. Mr. Morris came in, and when the President saw him entering the room, he advanced to meet him, and shook him heartily by the hand: Mr. Morris, in allusion partly, perhaps, to the day which may have been cloudy, but more to the event, repeating as he came forward the lines:—

'The day is overcast, the morning lowers,
And heavily in clouds brings on the day—
The great, the important day.'"

After that day Mr. and Mrs. Washington ceased to be social factors in Philadelphia, but their home life and their hospitality became a part of the social traditions of the city.

VI

MORE WAYS OF COLONIAL DAYS

THE LIBERALITY OF THE POOR—"SOMETHING PRETTY" WANTED BY AN ALMSHOUSE INMATE—NO HAYSTACKS ALLOWED IN MULBERRY STREET—CUT SILVER AND GOOD-NATURED "PRETTY CREATURES" IN THE MARKETS—AN ENTHUSIAST IN DYES—THE BEGINNINGS OF STREET PAVING—STEPHEN GIRARD TO THE RESCUE—SLAVERY AND SLAVERS

IT is a characteristic of many of those who are themselves struggling with trying conditions to be thoughtful of the needs of others. Those who give most liberally, according to their means, are not as a rule the rich, nor even those who have an average amount of property, but those who, knowing what poverty is, are able to sympathize with others in want.

So it proved in colonial days. The very fact that life was a struggle with untoward conditions opened the purse strings of more fortunate citizens to supply wants of their neighbors. They did not take so much time to ask the question, "Who is my neighbor?" that they delayed help until it was too late.

In the records of the eighteenth century there are many hints of this widespread spirit of charity. There was much private giving and there was also public provision for caring for the unfortunate.

Not long after Braddock's defeat William Plumstead sent a letter to the Overseer of the Poor calling attention to the fact that "there is several wife's and widdows I understand in town whose husbands are wounded or

MORE WAYS OF COLONIAL DAYS

killed in the late defeat, they are destitute of all necessaries and many unable to support themselves & children." An appropriation to relieve the distress thus brought to the attention of the authorities was soon made, probably at the suggestion of Benjamin Franklin.

Stephen Girard, one of the most generous men in the city, was a leader in organized charitable work of many kinds. One of his favorite charities was naturally, the "Society Formed for the Relief of Poor and Distressed Masters of Ships, Their Widows and Children." The organization began its long and helpful history on July 4, 1765, and is still at work. Its object was stated in the following terms:

"Charity not only desires the happiness of mankind, rejoices at their prosperity, grieves at their adversity, but, being an active virtue, it prompts the mind to form with prudence and execute with vigor that plan that bids fairest for a happy attainment of the most generous and benevolent ends. To relieve our fellow-creatures in distress, and promote their welfare, is a most beneficent work, but few even of the most distinguished abilities can act in this respect beyond the limits of a narrow sphere. Numerous wants are neither readily nor easily supplied; hence, individuals, unequal of themselves apart to the noble task, combine together in societies, gain strength by their adherence, and stretch the hand of charity to a more extended distance."

Naturally some of those who depended on the aid given by others provided diversion for exasperated agents of beneficence. It is not likely that any modern relief worker can find a plea that for unadulterated "gall" goes ahead of the complaint of a pauper which

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

led to the writing of the following letter to the Overseers of the Poor:

“Mary Marriot alledging to us That altho she is very thankful that herself and Daughter are so well provided with all the Necessarys of Life, and in so plentiful a manner, Yet, as they were both brought up in a delicate way, begs leave to Assure us, that the Provisions of the Almshouse are generally too gross for their nice Stomachs, and especially at Breakfast, and Supper Times; neither is the care taken to provide any thing pretty for them, to sup, in the Afternoons; they therefore beg the favour of us to desire you to take this Important Affair into your serious consideration and if you find the Case fairly Represented, you may allow them Tea, Coffee, Chocolate or any thing else that you verily believe will be more agreeable to their palates.”

The plea of another poverty-stricken individual was somewhat different, but the reader is apt to have even less patience with his arguments in favor of a sort of relief that would be of doubtful value not only to himself but to others. In a petition “To the Worshipful Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen of the City of Philadelphia,” William DeWees “respectfully sheweth”:

“That your Petitioner is by Trade a Shoemaker, and that his Eyesight is so much impair'd that he is incapable of Maintaining his Family by following that occupation. That your petitioner hath taken the Premises No. 7 Grey's Alley between Second and Front Street which he now keeps as a Boarding house, but finding the emolument arising therefrom insufficient to defray the expense of his Family He is desirous of obtaining a License to keep the same as a Tavern by which means he hopes to obtain a sufficient livelihood.”

MORE WAYS OF COLONIAL DAYS

One has much more sympathy with the eighteen women who made their mark, and the one woman who signed her name, at the close of a much later petition to the city authorities that read:

“Rendered helpless by the infirmities of age—enfeebled by sickness or oppressed by the Cares of Widowhood—have for some years past, endeavoured to gain a livelihood for themselves and their children, by vending in the market places fruit, nuts, and other small articles, more in demand for the tables of the rich, than for those in the middle walk of life.

“Your petitioners were not led to this mode of life from choice, but, being incapable of hard labour, they have pursued it rather than increase the burthen with which private and publick charity are already so severely tasked, by casting themselves and their families on the public for support . . .

“It would not become your petitioners to direct the manner in which your benevolent intention toward them might be accomplished; but they beg leave to suggest a practical mode of alleviating their distress, with the least possible infraction of the present system, that some particular and distinct stands, in or near the market house, should by ordinance be assigned to them, for which they should individually pay a reasonable rent; that from those stands all should be excluded, except your petitioners & those who like them labor under the infirmities of age or sickness, or are reduced by misfortune and have families depending on them.”

Evidently some one had complained of the needy women because they were obstructing the market by their appeals to the public to buy their wares.

It is interesting to read that similar pressure was brought to bear on a prosperous citizen in 1703. The records of the Grand Jury for that year show that

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Alderman John Jones was presented for "encoachment on Mulberry Street, by setting a great Reed or hay Stack in the said Street for these two years last past & making a close fence about ye same."

During the same year a number of citizens asked the General Assembly to take action against neighbors who were just as thoughtless as the proprietor of the haystack. They were "Desirous to Clear Drain & Make other Improvements on Meadow Ground and Marshes in the Neck (between Delaware and Skookill below Philadelphia)," and they were bothered by straying swine. "Therefore your Petitioners do humbly Desire That a Law be Made either to Prohibit Swine to Run at large in the said Neck Or Else to Oblige the Owners of them to Ring and Yoke them Under such Penalties as you in Your Wisdom shall see meet."

To see that laws were obeyed by night as well as by day it was the duty at this time for Philadelphia's one night watchman to go through the town ringing a bell, crying out the time of night and the state of the weather, and, in case he noted a fire or any disaster, to inform the constable. In 1704 the single watchman to one constable became ten, and every citizen was made liable to serve his term on watch or to furnish a substitute. The first paid night watchmen were not provided until 1758.

The watchmen on their routes always paid particular attention to the market houses, in which disorderly persons were wont to gather. Those who lived in the neighborhood of the markets frequently had bitter cause for complaint by reason of the presence of these disturbers of the peace.

MORE WAYS OF COLONIAL DAYS

But there was no thought of doing away with the market houses that furnished lodging places for these night prowlers. For the markets were too important a factor in Philadelphia's life and comfort. They dated from the beginning of the city.

One of the earliest references to these useful institutions is in the Regulations adopted for the markets in 1693. This curious document read:

“That The place ffor y^e Markett be in y^e High Street where y^e Second street Crosses it and in no other place

“That y^e Markett be kept There Two days in y^e week weekly viz Wednesday and Saterdag

“That all sorts of Provision brought to this towne to sale, viz fflesh, ffish, tame fowl Eggs butter Cheese herbs, ffruits roots &c: shall be sold in y^e aforesaid Markett place, and in Case any of the aforesd Provisions should Come to the Towne of Philadelphia on other days that are not Markett days yett that they be sold in y^e Market under the Same Circumstances regulation and forfeitures as upon y^e Days on w^{ch} the Markett is appoynted.

“That y^e Markett begin and be open'd at y^e ringing of the bell, which shall be Rung ffrom the ffirst day of y^e 2^d Month Appl to y^e ffirst day of 7ber between the Hours of Six and seven and ffrom y^e ffirst day of 7ber to y^e ffirst day of Appl between y^e Hours of Eight and Nine, and in Case any of the aforesd provision or any sort of Marketting be sold, fflesh Excepted before y^e Ringing of y^e bell unless it be for his Excell^{ty} Gover^r in Cheife, or L^t Gover^r y^e same shall be forfeited one halfe to y^e poor y^e other to y^e Clark of the Markett . . .

“That no hucksters or persons to sell againe shall buy or Cheapen any of the afore Mentioned provision until it hath been two hours in y^e Markett after the ringing of The bell . . .

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“That y^e Clark of y^e Markett shall and may Receive for all Cattle Kil’d ffor y^e Markett Six pence per head— for Every sheepe, Calfe or lamb two pence ³/₄ head for Every hogg or Shoat brought to y^e Markett or Cutt out for saile there Three pence, and that nothing shall be paid ffor what y^e Country people bring to Towne ready Kil’d.

“That y^e Clark of y^e Markett shal and may receive for sealing of weights and measures one penny for Each both great and small.”

The Sealer of Measures was an important officer. An early notice concerning him was published so that no one could have an excuse for ignorance of the facts:

“PUBLICK NOTICE is hereby given, That *Benjamin Morgan* at the *Still and Blue Ball* in *King-Street, Philadelphia*, is by the Mayor and Council of the said City, appointed sole keeper of the Standard for Corn Measure, and Sizer and Sealer of Measures, to whom all who want Measures ready Sealed, or have Measures to be rectify’d, may repair, and be well served, he only being duly authorized and qualify’d for that office.”

In 1786 Dr. Benjamin Rush said that a friend told him how in 1723 “people went to Market with cut silver, those who had it not procured provisions by taking the country people to two Stalls in the Market & giving their goods for them, which goods were charg’d to the Accts & paid for once or twice a year.”

William Black in 1744 told of something that attracted him far more than cut silver or charge accounts. He “had no small Satisfaction in seeing the pretty Creatures, the young ladies, traversing the place from Stall to Stall where they cou’d make the best Market, some with their maid behind them with a Basket to carry home the Purchase, Others that were



DOCTOR BENJAMIN RUSH
(From the portrait by Thomas Sully in Independence Hall)



ESTHER DUCHÉ
(From the painting by Thomas Duché)



(1) A WEDDING GOWN, (2) A GOWN OF 1760, (3) A SUIT OF VELVET,
(4) A WATTEAU GOWN



EMPIRE GOWN, WORN IN PHILADELPHIA
(Original in Memorial Hall, Fairmount Park)

MORE WAYS OF COLONIAL DAYS

designed to buy but trifles, as a little fresh Butter, a Dish of Green Peas, or the like, had Good Nature and Humility enough to be their own Porters.”

David Fisher, an English visitor in 1755, was much more practical in his observations. After a careful inspection of the market he wrote:

“There seems to be a good supply of most kinds of Provisions and a vast concourse of People, Buyers as well as sellers. Meat in the Shambles (some at least) of each sort, very good and might well vie with the best in the Leadenhall Market; Fish and Poultry, the market don't seem over well supplied with, tho' in the cool weather a fine sort of large Sea Pearch of about six pounds, called the Sheeps' Head, from its teeth resembling those of a sheep . . . Butter is quite plenty and very good at about 8d. a pound; vegetables plenty enough tho' not so many good or handsome Gardens about Philadelphia as one might expect, and with all my enquiry I could not find a Plant deserving the name of Cauliflower.”

So much complaint was made that traffic interfered with the market houses—which stretched along the middle of the street for some blocks, with breaks at the cross streets—that in July, 1768, the Council “agreed that chains be made and put up across Market Street and Second Street, about sixty feet from the intersection of the streets, so as to prevent carts and other carriages passing thro' the market on Market days, to be taken down at nine o'clock in the morning in Summer and ten in Winter.”

In early days the markets were supplemented by two fairs each year. The charter of 1701 provided that these fairs should be opened with all due solemnity. The form of the Proclamation adopted ran as follows:

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“O Yes and Silence is Commanded while the Fair proclaiming upon Pain of Imprisonment.

“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 with this Fair to keep the King’s peace.

“And that no person or persons whatsoever presume to set up any Booth or Stall for the vending of Strong Liquors within this Fair.

“And that no Person or Persons presume to bear or carry any unlawful Weapon to the Terrour or Annoyance of his Majesty’s subjects, or to gallop or strain Horses within the Built parts of this City.

“And if any person shall receive Hurt or Injury from Another let him repair to the Mayor, here present, and his wrongs shall be redressed.

“This Fair to continue Three Days and no longer. God save the King.”

These semi-annual fairs continued until the Revolution.

The people who attended the fairs and markets did not have to purchase many of the things that to-day one feels must be bought; they were independent enough to make many articles for themselves. For one thing the housewives did their own spinning and weaving. And they were much at home in dyeing the products of their own looms. Witness the interesting letter from Mrs. Moore to Susanna Wright, dated in 1771:

“I took the opportunity of sending . . . some samples of the little success that has attended my attempts in the manufacturing way and particularly in the art of dyeing . . . a p^r of silk garters rais’d, dyed and wove in our own House, of which I request thy acceptance . . . I must also desire Sammy

MORE WAYS OF COLONIAL DAYS

Wright to accept of a pair of Worsted of my own spinning . . .

“Since my last I have been trying my Hand at Shades for working with, and have sent thee a sample, but cannot promise that they will stand, they have all had several rincings in warm water, the scarlet (if I may so call it) and the Purple are both dyed with Brazillette Salt Tartar and Allum, a very small matter of pot Ash dissolved in a cup of Water changed the scarlet when dip'd in it to a Purple—some of the same colour wash'd with hard soap turn'd to a pretty Crimson—the yellow is dyed with Barberry root, I never heard of its being made use of for this purpose, but as I was planting a Root of it last Summer I observed it to be of a very bright pritty Yellow, upon which I boil'd some of it with a little Allum, and was much pleased with the colour it produced, I have sent thee a few of these Chips, also a small Phial of my blue dye—two or three drops in a Wine Glass of Water will be sufficient for dyeing a small skein of silk of a light colour—it may be rinced out in a few minutes, but if its wanted dark, must stay in a q^r of an hour, I am not sure that this will stand any more than the rest, and shall now give thee the History of it—thee must know the Ladies make use of Something of this kind to dye their old White Ribbons, shades, &^{ct} that are soil'd—it is brought from N. York and sold in some of our Shops here at a great price, I had seen some of it, & had a very great inclination to know of what it was made, ('tis pritty lucky for me that I have a Doctors shop so handy) I try'd almost everything I could think of—at last hit upon some Sp^t Salt or Vitriol I'm not sure which and mix'd it very well with Prussian blue finely powder'd, this I found to have exactly y^e appearance of that I bought and seems to answer the purpose quite as well, it must be carefully used, as a single drop without Water will eat a hole in Silk or Linnen,

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

but does not seem to rot the silk in the least when mix'd with Water, after the silk is dyed with this if dip'd in the yellow it turns to a beautiful Green."

The housewives of colonial days were proud to carry their home-dyed homespun to the fairs and markets, which were popular meeting places for friends who did not have other opportunity to see one another frequently.

Perhaps the markets were all the more popular because for a long time they were supported by voluntary subscriptions. Later, however, the tax budget included items for their maintenance.

Almost everything was done by voluntary subscription in those early days. The pumps from which water was supplied to the citizens were erected by private enterprise. A law of 1713 authorized one who dug a well and placed a pump to charge the neighbors who made use of it. In 1715 an annual rent of one shilling for pumps was levied by the city on the pump holders. Not until 1756 were the pumps placed in the hands of a warden. He had power to sink new wells and to buy up private pumps.

This public ownership was a step in the direction of community fire protection. Fire had always been a problem in Philadelphia. As early as 1701 chimney fires became so frequent that an order was provided for fining anyone who allowed his chimney to catch on fire. It was ordered also that every householder should keep a swab, at least twelve feet long, and four leather buckets, which should always be ready for use in case of fire. No one was allowed to smoke tobacco in the streets by day or by night.



IN AN OLD KITCHEN



STATE HOUSE, WITH A VIEW OF CHESTNUT STREET
(Note the typical wooden pump)
(From an engraving by Birch)



DILIGENT FIRE ENGINE

MORE WAYS OF COLONIAL DAYS

In 1718 the first fire engine was bought for £50. In 1730 three engines, two hundred leather buckets, twenty ladders, and twenty-five hooks with axes, were secured. One of these engines was made in Philadelphia but the others came from London.

The first volunteer fire company was organized in 1736, largely through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin. Each member agreed to furnish, at his own expense, six leather buckets and two stout linen bags. Each bag was to be marked with his own name as well as the name of the company. These he was to take to every fire, for use in holding property in danger of destruction.

The Fellowship Fire Company followed in 1738, the Hand in Hand in 1742, the Heart in Hand in 1743, and the Friendship Fire Company in 1747. Then the rivalry between the companies which became one of the features of Philadelphia's life, was on in earnest.

For many years the care of the streets was as voluntary as the fire service. Many of the inhabitants of 1718 paved the streets at their own charges, "from y^e Kennel to the middle of the streets before their respective tenements with pebblestones." But there were of course many who refused to do their part, so an ordinance was passed compelling all property owners to pave in front of the lots owned by them or have it done at their expense. They were likewise obliged to sweep the sidewalk in front of the property every Friday. There was a penalty for throwing rubbish or ashes into the streets. A public scavenger was appointed to collect the rubbish and ashes once a week.

When Peter Kalm wrote of the city in 1748 he said of the streets:

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“Some of them are paved, other not, and it seems less necessary, since the ground is sandy, and therefore absorbs the wet. But in most of the streets is a pavement of flags, a fathom or more broad, laid before the houses and posts put on the outside three or four fathoms asunder.”

Benjamin Franklin did not like to think of this inadequate paving, much of it being confined to a narrow space before the doors. In his autobiography he wrote:

“Our city, though laid out with a beautiful regularity, the streets large, straight and crossing each other at right angles, had the disgrace of suffering those streets to remain long unpaved, and in wet weather the wheels of heavy carriages plowed them into a quagmire, so that it was difficult to cross them; and in dry weather the dust was offensive.”

When Franklin made up his mind that something was to be done it was not long until the thing was done or at least begun. So it was with street paving. As he himself wrote:

“I had lived near what was called the Jersey market, and saw with pain the inhabitants wading in mud while purchasing their provisions. A strip of ground down the middle of that market was at length paved with brick, so that, being once in the market, they had firm footing; but they were often over shoes in dirt to get there. By talking and writing on the subject I was at length instrumental in getting the street paved with stone between the market and the foot pavement that was on the side next to their houses.”

But progress was not rapid. By the close of the Revolution not many streets were paved. In 1783 a petition went to the Board of Street Commissioners

MORE WAYS OF COLONIAL DAYS

from property owners on "Lombard Street, between third and fourth streets," who urged that they had "cheerfully paid their proportion of the street taxes, in full confidence, however, that as soon as the situation of our public affairs would admit, they should be relieved in the premises." They reminded the commissioners that "every other of the east and west Streets except two, have been paved westward, as far at least as fifth street," and that "these two Streets referred to have scarcely any houses erected between third and fourth Streets." They argued that because "Street is become a public outlet to the lower ferries over Schuylkill, and from them into the city," the street should be paved.

In 1785 "a number of citizens who have taken up lots on Race Street above Fifth Street" urged that the said street, for want of pavement, "became almost impassable in Wet Weather, and especially in the winter season, to the great Inconvenience of the Citizens residing on said Street, and frequenting the same." A later plea was for "the opening and repairing of Sassafras Street, commonly called Race Street, and if possible Vine Street also, from the paved parts of the city towards Schuylkill until these streets shall intersect the Road from Vine Street to the Bridge" at the upper ferry.

As late as 1802 conditions on Vine Street continued unfavorable. In January of that year a petition called attention to the fact "that Vine Street from First to Second Streets hath for this long time past waited a new regulation and paving. That owing to the Gutter or Water Course being in the Middle and

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

other causes, that part of said Street especially in Winter is rendered dangerous for Carriage passing and repassing." It was argued that "it is the Street of the Public as well as the Street of the Inhabitants of that part of said Street that Vine Street should be so regulated and paved it being the Avenue or High Road from the Country to the City, no Street being more used by Carts and Carriages."

One of the unanswerable arguments in favor of street paving and cleaning was the prevalence of epidemics in the city, beginning with the small pox of 1736 and continuing to the many yellow fever scourges, the worst of which were in 1793 and 1798.

The story of the early smallpox scare was told vividly by Margaret Freame in a letter to John Penn, dated December 10, 1736. She wrote:

"The Smal-pox has and doth rage Very much in this Citty, Numbers of Persons Dying of it. at last Seeing it Prove so fatal in the Common way, that by a computation one dy'd in four, and not one in fifty by inoculation, Mr. Till concluded to have his wife and his 2 children, Mr. Taylor his little Boy, and divers others that has succeeded very well. Poor Tom had it full, but is now, I thank God Bravely recover'd, they are all turn'd, and most shell'd off. he begins to call for a Cook instead of a Doctor . . . Too many in this Citty are under the same Affliction; the Church bell is not suffer'd to ring but once for six [deaths] and it has wrung twice a day sometimes. I hope the Cold Weather will Put a Stop to this Contagion."

Samuel Breck told in his Recollections of the yellow fever of 1797 which "obliged all the citizens who could remove to seek safety in the country." His father

MORE WAYS OF COLONIAL DAYS

took his family to Bristol. Mr. Breck himself was in the city early in September. "My business took me down to the Swedes' Church and up Front Street to Walnut Street Wharf, where I had my country house," he wrote. "Every thing looked gloomy, and fifty-five deaths were reported on the 9th. In the afternoon when I was about retiring to the country, I passed by the lodging of the Vicomte de Noailles, who had fled from the Revolutionists of France. He . . . asked me what I was doing in town. 'Fly,' said he, 'as soon as you can, for pestilence is all around you.'"

A writer of the day told of the yellow fever as it impressed him:

"In the beginning of August 1793 it pleased the wise Disposer of human events, to visit Philadelphia with a disease, which in many of its symptoms so resembled the Plague, that the Physicians were at a loss for a name, less alarming, to the afflicted citizens . . . It was a time of deep trial, and caused great searching of heart, none knowing what instant the contagion would reach them. Our friends and neighbors were hourly carried to their silent habitations, and dismay so seized the people that there were but very few, who had sufficient resolution to attend their nearest relations, either during their illness, or to their graves. Persons of the first distinction were without attendance except a black man who led the hearse, there were none to see that they were decently committed to the earth, and those who possessed the means to procure every comfort, suffered for want of a glass of water. There was a serious desertion of parents from children, children from parents, husbands from wives, and wives from husbands, thousands fled into the country for safety."

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

The epidemic was made memorable by the heroic conduct of Stephen Girard. When the city was all but deserted and little attention was given to the care of the sick, he was appointed one of a committee to devise means of relief. One of the chief difficulties was that the Bush Hill Hospital was without adequate superintendence. Two men, of whom Stephen Girard was one, offered their services.

Philadelphians, who had been reserved in their treatment of the Frenchman, were amazed. "Before him stood probable death in its most repulsive form," says Arey, in his biography of Girard. "Certain and heavy losses were to be entailed in the highest of his private interests; the most loathsome and the most menial duties were to be performed in person; and the possible reward of all this was a nameless grave upon the height of Bush Hill." Soon after the beginning of his work Girard wrote to a friend in France, "The mortality is so great and the fever so general that it is no longer possible to find nurses for the sick or men to bury the dead."

In three months one sixth of the twenty-five thousand inhabitants died.

There were returns of the disease in 1794, 1795, 1796, and 1797. In 1798 there were nearly as many deaths as in 1793. One of the dramatic incidents of 1798 occurred when the fever broke out in the Walnut Street Prison, where several hundred prisoners were confined. The jailer resigned, as well as several deputy jailers. One who has told of what followed says:

"While the fever raged within the prison walls, some of the more desperate of its inmates planned an

MORE WAYS OF COLONIAL DAYS

insurrection, in order to escape from confinement and the much dreaded pestilence. There was a meeting in the yard during the physician's visit when some convicts escaped from their cells. The volunteer jailer conquered by force of arms after two rebels were mortally wounded. One of them said to the jailer: 'It is well for you that you conquered us, for if successful, we intended to plunder and burn the city.'"

Many theories were advised for the periodical appearance of the yellow fever in Philadelphia. Some contended that it was brought by immigrant vessels. As early as 1754 physicians were appointed to investigate the ships as they arrived, but they were not always successful in preventing the landing of those who brought contagion.

During the earlier years of the eighteenth century the heavily laden slavers brought disease and death with them.

Slavery was abolished in Pennsylvania in 1780, but slavers continued to be fitted out in the port. Accordingly, a petition was presented to the General Assembly asking that "such addition be made to the Said law as shall efficiently put a stop to the Slave Trade being carried on directly or indirectly in the Commonwealth, and to assure other purposes of benevolence and justice to an oppressed part of the human species."

Opposition to the coming of the slaves to Philadelphia and the fitting out of slavers in the port was based, not on the desire to protect from disease, but on the higher desire to prevent wrong.

Pennsylvania was a leader in the antislavery agitation. The first formal protest against slavery was

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

made in this colony, as well as the first organized agitation against it, the first and greatest of the abolition societies was formed here, and the first law to bring slavery to an end was written into the statutes of the colony.

Fourteen years before the passage of the law, in 1766, a legal document was filed in which freedom was given to a slave who had long been the property of one of the leading men in the colony. This early deed of manumission read as follows:

KNOW ALL MEN by these presents that we Mary and Sarah Norris joint administratrices of the Estate of Isaac Norris late of Fairhill in the county of Philadelphia Esq^r deceased, have granted and agreed that a certain Negro man named Samuel late the property of their dear Parent the before mention'd Isaac Norris, upon Conditions shall be free, these therefore Witnesseth that for and in Consideration of his faithfull Services to his late honoured Master they do jointly agree that he the said Samuel shall from and after the thirteenth day of July next be free and discharg'd from his Servitude and shall have a bill of Manumission for that purpose in due form of Law. Provided Nevertheless that in the meanwhile the said Samuel doth faithfully and honestly serve them the said Mary and Sarah Norris on the same Conditions and in the same manner he has hitherto done otherwise this Obligation to be void and of no effect."

Another method of setting a slave free was adopted by Charles Brockden in 1752, who had deeded his wife's slave, Beulah, to the Moravian Church. Of her purchase he told thus:

"The cause of which purchase of her was not with any intention of worldly gain by continuing her in

MORE WAYS OF COLONIAL DAYS

slavery all the days of her life, but partly for the service of my dear wife Susannah, who is since deceased, and partly in mercy to prevent others from buying her for filthy lucre's sake."

A custom that at times, for a season at least, brought almost as many hardships to the voluntary victims as the institution of slavery was the system of the sale of redemptioners. An agreement between Captain Osborne and his passengers, now in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, tells how those redemptioners began a sort of slavery:

"We whose Names are hereunto annexed do hereby acknowledge that we have agreed with Capt. Peter Osborne, Commander of the good Ship called the *Pennsylvania Packett* to Pay him for our Passage from London to Philadelphia in North America Fourteen Days after our safe arrival at the said place, (the said Capt. Osborne finding us in sufficient meat and drink during the said passage) at and after the rate of eight pounds eight shillings Sterling per Head—& in case of nonperformance of the said payment by any of us, that then the said Captain, Peter Osborne or the Owners of the said ship shall have full Power to dispose of us for the said money, or any of us that shall not make good the said Payment within the said fourteen Days above limited Witness our Hands in London the 16th day of February in the year of our Lord 1773."

But the days of the redemptioner, like the days of the slave, were finally ended, and the way was open for every citizen of Philadelphia to enjoy life and liberty.

VII

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

THE FIRST SCHOOLMASTER—WHY ISRAEL PEMBERTON WAS SORE—THE ORIGIN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA—"NOT A DOVE, BUT A HAWK OR A FALCON"—LANTERN AND BELL, THE PENALTY FOR TARDINESS—HAZING THE MASTER—DEAD ON HIS KNEES—HE TAUGHT SCHOOL IN GAOL—POOR TEN-YEAR-OLD GEORGE!—THE DAWNING OF A BETTER DAY

A PART of the vision of William Penn was a free education for all the boys and girls of all the people, and this was not the least element in the lure that drew the colonists from Old England to the new land.

According to Penn's original plan for his colony the laws of the Province were to be "one of the books taught in the schools of the Province."

This, the first mention of schools in the colony, was followed in 1683 by the order of the Assembly in Philadelphia that "all persons having children and all the guardians and masters of orphans, shall cause such to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the Scriptures and to write by the time they attain to twelve years of age, and that then they be taught some useful trade or skill, that the poor may work to live, and the rich if they become poor may not want." The provision made to enforce the law was "the first compulsory education law in Pennsylvania."

That this early law was not a dead letter is clear from the fact that when an apprentice asked the court

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

to see that his master John Crosby teach him to read, "which he hath not freely performed," it was ordered that the master "put said servant to school one month, and . . . instruct him another month."

The first schoolmaster was provided, by official action, on "the 26th of y^e 10th Month, 1683."

"The Gov^r and Prov^l Council having taken into their Serious Consideration the great necessity there is of a School Master for y^e instruction & Sober Education of youth in the towne of Philadelphia, sent for Enoch fflower an Inhabitant of the said Towne, who for twenty years past hath been exercised in that care and Imployment in England, to whom having Communicated their Minds, they Embraced it upon the following terms: to Learne to read English 4s by the Quarter, to Learne to read and write 6s by y^e Quarter, to learn to read, Write and Cast accot 8s by y^e Quarter, for Boarding a Scholler, that is to say, dyet, washing, Lodging & Schooling, Tenn pounds for an whole year."

Before the close of the year the proposed school was opened in a dwelling which was "built of pine & cedar planks."

The elementary school was good so far as it went, but more was desired, so later, in 1683, the Council proposed "That Care be Takenn about the Learning and Instruction of Youth, to Witt: a School of Arts and Sciences." At the same meeting it was proposed by those who had charge of the city's welfare to provide by law "for Makeing of Severall Sorts of Books, for the use of Persons in this Province."

The first "public Grammar School" was opened in 1689 by Thomas Lloyd, at the request of William

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Penn. This, it is thought, was the beginning of the William Penn Charter School, which was long known as the Friends' Public School. The formal charter was granted in 1701. There has been no interruption in this school from the beginning. Wickersham calls attention to the fact that it "ranks with the Parochial School of the Dutch Church in New York and the Latin School in Boston as one of the oldest schools in the country."

At first the annual salary of the first master, George Keith, was £50, in addition to the use of a house for his family and all the profits of the school. He was to teach the poor without charge. He was promised £120 and perquisites for the second year; but he was not a success, and Thomas Makin was given the position.

Makin must have taught several years without a license, judging from the action of the Provincial Council taken on August 1, 1693:

"Thomas Meaking, Keeper of the Free School in the town of Philadelphia, being called before the Lieutenant Governor and Council, and told that he must not keep school Without a license...Was therefore ordered to procure a certificate of his ability, learning and diligence from the inhabitants of note in this town by the sixteenth instant, in order to the obtaining of a license, which he promised to do."

Many illuminating glimpses of Tutor Makin are given in two letters concerning one of his pupils, Israel Pemberton, who did not get along so well with Makin's assistant or with the master himself. The first of these epistles was dated "5 Mo 22, 1698:

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

“DEAR MASTER

“THOMAS MEAKIN

“lest through mistake the abuse I Received at the schoole being noised abroad should be taken to be thee I made bold to write these few lines for the clearing of thee thy Instructions were so mild and gentle as that I never received one blow or strike from thy hand during my stay there tho my dullness at times might have given thee occasion for if I wanted Information with boldness I cold always come to thee being always friendly Received but from another, I always found Rough answers where I quickly left to trouble him not finding the Kindness as from thee & Indeed what he did for me from first to last is to be seen in that little Lattin book I write at his first Coming which I have forgot at schoole behind me if thee would be pleased to send it by some of the boatmen to be left at Sam¹¹ Jennings when thou meets with it I shall take it a kindness I do say it was not my Intent to have let it be Known but the anguish of the blows and being Inwardly opprest with greife to think how I was used without having the liberty to spake one word in my defense did so change my Countenance that my sister promptly perceived it who was restless untill I had uncovered the occasion who rested not then but would see & when she saw was also so griev'd that she would show me to some others tho I Indeavored much to diswade her but she would not but did cause me to be seen by H: carpenter and Tho: whartons wife, but conterary to my mind tho he never showed any respect to me as a scholar but still frowned upon me the Reason I know not for I never Intended to vex him & therefore never made use of him & thou being out of school he took that oppertunity so to Thrash me. . . I desire not to injure him I would willingly have stayed longer at the Schoole but my sister having told my father how things were & the tokens of his Correction still remaining upon

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

me tho almost five weeks since & are still to be seen & so sore as that I cannot endure anything to press against it. . . but I love thee & desire to be with thee & to spend the rest of my schooling under thee, but whether it may be so or no I Know not yet I desire it with my love and send these lines who am thy scholar,

“ISRAEL PEMBERTON.”

Early in the year 1699 Makin wrote to Phineas Pemberton about the difficulty that had arisen between Israel and the assistant tutor. He was troubled because he had learned that the father proposed to put the boy in another school. In the letter he said:

“I cannot but resent it as some diminition to my Credit, since thee first committed him to my Pedagogie, now to putt him to another who I suppose will sett him to learn all Arithmetick de novo. . . As for thy great Resentment for F. D. P., I have spoken to him to write to thee also, if possible all we can may prevail to reclaim thee from thy s^d Intentions: w^d that it may prove successful is y^e earnest desire of thy respectful friend & Countryman

“THO: MAKIN.”

The relations between the master and his former pupil continued good, for in 1728 Makin wrote to Israel Pemberton, addressing him as “Honored Fr^d”:

“Having alreadie sent thee a description of Pennsylvania writt in Latin verse, especially for y^e use of thy Son, now considering thy self may not understand y^e same, therefore now present thee with y^e same in English, for w^{ch}, being in want, I humbly pray some small reward, for w^{ch} I shall be thy thankfull fr^d”

Enclosed with the letter was a Description of Pennsylvania whose style may be judged from an extract:

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

“On Delaware does Philadelphia stand,
And does her stately buildings far extend.
The Streets laid out directly by a line
And house to house contigiously does joyn.
The Govern^r here keeps his residence,
One grave in years & long experience.
Four sacred houses in this city are,
And one not distant from y^e city far.
To this long known and well-frequented port
From sundry places many shipp^s resort.
In Merchandizing most men are here employ’d:
All useful artists too are occupied.
The frugal farmer, like y^e careful Ant,
In Summer ’gainst cold Winter is provident,
His barn, well cover’d to keep out y^e rain,
Fills wth good hay & divers sorts of grain.
Neglecting costly cloathes & dainty food,
His own unbought provisions sweet & good.
Weary wth labour takes his ease & rest:
His homespun cloathing pleasing him y^e best.
O that such were my happy lot at last,
Then all my trouble past would be forgott.”

But poverty continued to be the lot of the former school teacher. Finally the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of November 29, 1733, told how “on Monday evening last Mr. Thomas Meakine fell off a wharf into the Delaware, and before he could be taken out again, he was drowned.” The *Weekly Mercury*, in its brief account of the accident, called him an “Ancient Schoolmaster,” and added that he was trying to fill a pail of water from the river when he fell from the pier.

The main building of the Friends’ school in which Makin taught was long located on Fourth street, near the Friends’ meeting house. Branches for charity were in different parts of the city. The Penn Charter

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

School, its successor, is now located on Twelfth street, between Chestnut and Market streets.

In 1743 Benjamin Franklin began to talk about an Academy. Six years later he wrote his pamphlet "Proposals Relative to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania." In this the proposition was made "that the house for the Academy should be located not far from a river, and have connected with it a garden . . . and be furnished with a library, maps of all countries, globes, some mathematical instruments, an apparatus for experiments in natural philosophy and mechanics." The pupils were to be "frequently exercised in running, leaping, wrestling and swimming."

The Academy was opened in 1751 in a building constructed in 1740 for use as a "Charity School" and as a "House of Publick Worship." In 1753 the institution was chartered, Franklin being President of the board of Trustees. Two years later it was chartered as a college. The attendance increased rapidly. In 1763 there were more than four hundred students in attendance. The academy and college were merged in the University of the State of Pennsylvania in 1779, and in 1791 the University of Pennsylvania absorbed the earlier institution.

David James Dove, the first English teacher in Franklin's Academy, was one of the most famous characters in old Philadelphia. In a letter to Dr. Samuel Johnson, Franklin said that he was "a gentleman about your age, who formerly taught grammar sixteen years at Chichester, in England. He is an excellent master and his scholars have made a surprising progress."

Dove's salary for his first probationary year was



DAVID JAMES DOVE, SCHOOLMASTER
(Drawn by Benjamin West)



ROBERT PROUD, SCHOOLMASTER
(Original in the possession of the Library Company of Pennsylvania)



(1) GIRL'S RED STUFF GOWN, 1730; (2) PRINT GOWN OF 1710; (3) WHITE DAMASK LINEN GOWN OF 1720; (4) SUIT OF BLUE SILK, 1740; (5) BROWN VELVET SUIT, 1760
 (The originals of 2 and 3 may be seen at Stenton, Philadelphia)



(1) BROWN VELVET SUIT OF 1760 (ORIGINAL IN INDEPENDENCE HALL);
 (2) BUFF PRINTED CAMBRIC DRESS, ABOUT 1760; (3) SHEER MUSLIN GOWN, ABOUT 1790; (4) CLOAK, MUFF AND HAT, AFTER SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, 1780; MUSLIN GOWN OF 1790

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

£150, Dr. William Smith, later Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, being the only one connected with the school who had a higher salary. He added to his income by taking boarders into his home. Charles Thomson, later Secretary of Congress, was one of the first boarders. The story is told that when Thomson decided to seek another boarding place he first took the precaution to secure from Mr. and Mrs. Dove a statement that he had been a satisfactory boarder, for he feared that the master would say unpleasant things about him if care was not taken to stop his ceaseless tongue.

Another scheme to add to the Dove income was made by the founding of a school for young ladies, in connection with the academy. The announcement indicated that those who came would be carefully taught the "English grammar; the true way of spelling, and pronouncing properly; together with fair writing, arithmetick and accounts . . ."

Before long Dove was giving so much time to the young ladies—whose tuition payments went into his own pocket—that he had to have two assistants. Accordingly, Franklin and Judge Peters were appointed a Committee of the Trustees to make him see the error of his ways. But the committee soon had to report that they were unable to make Dove appreciate the point of their complaint. "He seemed desirous of being indulged in the practice," they said. Of course he could not be retained under the circumstances.

The difficulty of dealing with Dove was shown by one of his pupils, a nephew of Judge Peters, who said that he was "a sarcastic and ill-tempered doggerelizer,

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

who was but ironically Dove, for his temper was that of a hawk, and his pen the beak of a falcon pouncing on his prey."

The later history of this unruly schoolmaster was what might have been expected. After teaching for a time in a school of his own in Videll's Alley, now Ionic Street, he became English master at the German-town Academy, where his ungovernable temper drove two assistants from the school and terrorized the friends and the Trustees. Once again he opened a boarding school on the side, and he refused to give this up at the request of the trustees. Finally, in 1763, his overbearing ways became too much for the patrons of the school, and they memorialized the trustees concerning his habit of sending boys on errands and his spending time on private boarders that belonged to the students of the Academy.

When the trustees tried to remove him, he refused to be removed, even though Pelatiah Webster had already been appointed as his successor. Dove held possession of the schoolhouse, and declared that he would not retire. Eight of the contributors to the academy thereupon addressed a letter to the trustees, which came into the hands of James Galloway, who, with Thomas Wharton, was charged with the duty of dealing with Dove. On the letter, which was dated September 26, 1763, Galloway endorsed a reply in which he promised action that would disprove the charge of cowardice made in the letter:

"Gentlemen—

"After meeting this Morning at Seven o'clock we sent a Letter Requesting your Meeting us at Three in the afternoon When our Messenger Inform'd us one

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

was gone out of town and the others so Engaged in their own privet affairs that they Could not attend. Therefore wee take this second Oppertunety (in one Day) to Let you Know that wee have Done Nothing, but adjurn'd till tomorrow at Ten o'clock at which time wee Ernestly Request you will Meet us to Take Possession of the Schoolhouse that Webster may Enter Agreeable to our contract with him. Wee pay so much Respect to you Cityzens that wee are Determined to Do Nothing in the present affairs without you Except you Which wee Cannot Suspect Should prove Cowards in the Day of Battle Untill which time wee Shall Subscribe our Selves your Real friends

“My fr^d

“I will waite on Thos
Wharton tomorrow
Morning 8 o'clock,
if he goes in a
Chair I'll take a
Seat, if not attend
him on Horseback,
& Convince those
Gent. at Germt. we
are not cowards
“J. G.”

“George Absetnz,

“Christopher Sower,

“John Jones,

“Rich. Johnson,

“Jacob Nagles,

“Niclaus Rittinghouse,

“John Vandiren,

“Tho Livezey.”

Of course Dove made way after a time for his successor, but for many years he continued to teach a private school in Germantown. Later he advertised that at the “repeated solicitation of many gentlemen and ladies, whom Mr. Dove had formerly had the honor of instructing,” he proposed, “God willing, to open a school at his house in Front street, near the corner of Arch street . . . where youth of both sexes in separate apartments would be taught to read, cypher, and speak our language according to the exact rules of grammar.”

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

In this school he taught until his death, in 1769.

Alexander Graydon, who was a pupil of Dove in Philadelphia, told in his *Memoirs of the master's methods of discipline*:

"His birch was rarely used in canonical method, but was generally stuck into the back part of the collar of the unfortunate culprit, who, with this badge of disgrace towering from his nape like a broom at the mast-head of a vessel for sale, was compelled to take his stand upon the top of the form for such a period of time, as his offense was thought to deserve.

"He had another contrivance for boys who were late in their morning attendance. This was to despatch a committee of five or six scholars for them, with a bell and lighted lantern, and in this odd equipage, in broad day light, the bell all the while tinkling, were they escorted through the streets to the school. As Dove affected a strict regard to justice in his punishments, and always professed a willingness to have an equal measure of it meted out to himself in case of his transgressing, the boys took him at his word; and one morning when he had overstaid his time, either through laziness, inattention, or design, he found himself waited upon in the usual form. He immediately admitted the justice of the procedure, and putting himself behind the lantern and bell, marched with great solemnity to school, to the no small gratification of the boys and the entertainment of the spectators."

Graydon gives further delightful pictures of early school life. At one time he was a pupil of John Beveridge, a Scotchman, who was an exceedingly poor disciplinarian. The boys took advantage of his weakness.

In the afternoon Mr. B. was apt to be late. The bell rang, the ushers were at their posts, and the scholars were arranged in their classes. Three or four con-

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

spirators concealed themselves without, to watch for the teacher. "He arrives," Graydon wrote, "enters the school, and is permitted to proceed until he is supposed to have nearly reached his chair at the upper end of the room, when instantly the door and every window shutter is closed. Now, shrouded in utter darkness, the most hideous yells that can be conceived are sent forth from at least three-score of throats, and Ovids, and Virgils, and Horaces, together with the more heavy metal of dictionaries . . . are hurled without remorse at the head of the astonished preceptor—who, on his side, groping and crawling under cover of the forms, makes the best of his way to the door. When attained and light restored, a deathlike silence ensues. Every boy is at his lesson, no one has had a hand or a voice in the recent atrocity. What then is to be done, and who shall be chastised?"

For several days this method of hazing the master was continued. Then the authorities interfered, and there was peace—until the boys thought up some new scheme to plague poor Beveridge.

When Graydon began his school career in Philadelphia he stayed at his grandfather's house, but later—on the death of his father—his mother moved to the city from Bristol, and Alexander went to school from her house. This was a boarding house, where boys lived who went to the academy, "of which there were generally a number from the southern province and the West India Islands," Graydon explained.

Through the change of residence from his grandfather's house to that of his mother he was accustomed to pass many points of interest. "My course," he

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

said, "generally led me through what is now called Dock street, then a filthy, uncovered sewer, bordered on either side by shabby stable-yards and tan-yards. To these succeeded the more agreeable object of Israel Pemberton's garden (now covered in part by the Bank of the United States) laid out in the old-fashioned style. Thence turning Chestnut street corner, to the left, and passing a row of dingy two-story houses, I came to the Whale bones, which gave name to the alley, at the corner of which they stood. These never ceased to be occasionally an object of some curiosity and might be called my second stage, beyond which there was but one general object of attention, and this was to get a peep at the race horses, which in sporting seasons were kept in the widow Nichol's stable, which from her house, (the Indian Queen at the corner of Market street), extended perhaps two-thirds or more of the way to Chestnut street. In fact, throughout the whole of my route, the intervals took up as much as the buildings, and with the exception of here and there a straggling house, Fifth street might have been called the Western extremity of the city."

It is difficult to turn away from Graydon and his pictures of boy life at school. One more story he told must be repeated:

"The enthusiasm of the turf had pervaded the academy, and the most extravagant transports of that theatre of triumph of a favorite horse, were not more zealous and impassioned, than were the acclamations which followed the victor in a foot-race round a square. Stripped to the shirt, and accoutred for the heat by a handkerchief bound round the head, another round the middle, with loosened knee-bands, without shoes,

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

or with moccasins instead of them, the racers were started, and, bearing to the left round the corner of Arch street they encompassed the square in which the academy stands, while the most eager spectators . . . scampered over the church burying ground to Fifth street in order to see the state of the runners as they passed . . . The four sides of this square cannot be much less than three-quarters of a mile(?); wherefore, bottom in the courses, was no less essential than swiftness, and in both, Lewis bore away the palm from everyone that dared enter against him. After having in a great number of matches completely triumphed over the academy, other schools were resorted to for racers, but all in vain."

Some of the earlier students at the Academy found sport in baiting Robert Proud, an interesting character who taught Greek and Latin in the institution until the early seventies. His name appears in the catalogue of books published in 1798 in connection with his History of Pennsylvania from 1681 to 1742. The book has been called the most confused and tedious composition that ever tormented human patience. It is easy to imagine how popular he was as an instructor.

Andrew Porter was another of the celebrated school teachers of the eighteenth century. His boyhood was spent on the farm of his father, an elder in Norriton Presbyterian Church, and if his father had been given his way the schoolmaster would have been lost in a very mediocre farmer or a poor carpenter. Whenever he had a chance he would read a borrowed book, and when a neighboring schoolmaster took an interest in him he was in his element. He had a special genius for mathematics. In one of the books borrowed from

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

the friendly schoolmaster he became interested in the draft of a sun-dial, and he wondered if he could not make one. At a quarry on the Schuylkill near Spring Mill he found a stone which he thought would answer his purpose. This he carried eight or ten miles to his home. In his brother's carpenter shop, during the proprietor's absence, he reduced the stone to proper size and shape by the use of saws, planes and chisels. Of course the tools were ruined; but the sun-dial was finished satisfactorily.

Next he opened a school near his home, and while there he attracted the attention of David Rittenhouse, by his application for a book on conic sections. The astronomer, amazed to learn that the boy had studied mathematics but a few months, persuaded him that one of his talents was needed in Philadelphia.

The name of Christopher Dock must not be omitted from a list of early Philadelphia school teachers of genius. While he did not teach in the city itself, his influence on education in the city was large.

His first school was opened on the Skippack, in an old log meeting house of the Mennonites. Here the son of Christopher Saur, the printer, was one of his pupils. Through his son, Saur became interested in Dock's methods, and he finally persuaded the schoolmaster to write a treatise telling of these. The manuscript of "Schul-ordnung" was the result. The author stipulated, however, that the book must not be published until after his death.

The elder Saur died in 1758, and the son, who had been Dock's pupil, succeeded to the business. He finally secured Dock's consent, and the book appeared

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

in 1770, the first educational book published in Pennsylvania.

Martin C. Brumbaugh, in the edition of Dock's book which he has edited, says that Dock has given by indirection the only adequate picture of a colonial school. "It is not difficult to construct from his writings a picture of life among the people of Penn's colony," he says. "One can vision the children living at home preparing for the day's duties; their march over hill and valley to the school; their entrance, the routine of the day's work with the teacher and the hearty 'good-night' as they turn again to their home; the round of evening duties, and their weary footsteps as they move half asleep to their rest."

One evening in 1771 Dock did not return from his school at the usual hour. A search was made, and he was found in his schoolroom on his knees—dead. "Thus ended in prayer for his pupils a life singularly sweet and unselfishly given to the welfare of those whom he believed God had divinely appointed him to teach."

Anthony Benezet has a place of peculiar honor among Philadelphia schoolmasters because he first gave instruction to the negroes. In 1770 he was instrumental in establishing a school for them, and from 1782 until his death in 1784 he was in charge of this. In his will he gave his house and lot, as well as the remainder of his estate, to the support of "a religious-minded person, or persons, to teach a number of negro, mulatto, or Indian children to read, write, arithmetic, plain accounts, needle work, etc."

Dr. William Smith first attracted the serious attention of the friends of education in Philadelphia by

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

a treatise he published in 1753, in which he gave his views of education and the requirements of an institution of learning in a new country. Some of those who read it invited him to become teacher of Natural Philosophy, Logic, etc., in the Academy which later became the University of Pennsylvania. His strangest schoolroom was the gaol into which he was thrust in 1758 because of his opposition to the non-resistance policy of the legislature of Pennsylvania. For a time his classes resorted to him there.

A picturesque schoolmaster of the early days was Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist, who taught first in Frankford and then at Gray's Ferry. On February 14, 1802, he wrote:

"On the 25th. of this month I remove to the school-house beyond Gray's Ferry to succeed the present teacher there. I shall recommence that painful profession once more with the same gloomy, sullen resignation that a prisoner re-enters his dungeon or a malefactor mounts the scaffold; fate urges him, necessity me. The agreement between us is to make the school equal to 100 dollars per quarter, but not more than 50 are to be admitted. The present pedagogue is a noisy, outrageous fat old captain of a ship, who has taught these ten years in different places. You may hear him bawling 300 yards off. The boys seem to pay as little regard to him as a duck to the rumbling of a stream under them. I shall have many difficulties to overcome in establishing my own rule and authority."

Wilson was of unhappy disposition. No wonder, then, that he wrote, in July, 1802, of Philadelphia:

"Leave that cursed town at least one day. It is the most striking emblem of purgatory, at least to me, that exists. No poor soul is happier to escape from



TIMOTHY MATLACK, SCHOOLMASTER
(From the portrait by Charles W. Peale in Independence Hall)



BENCH AND TABLE USED BY CHRISTOPHER DOCK IN HIS SCHOOL IN
GERMANTOWN



ALEXANDER WILSON, SCHOOLMASTER



JAMES WILSON, TEACHER OF LATIN IN THE COLLEGE OF
PHILADELPHIA AND SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION
OF INDEPENDENCE
(From the painting by James Wharton in Independence Hall)

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

Bridewell than I am to smell the fresh air and gaze over the green fields after a day or two's residence in Philadelphia."

It has been pointed out that it was an odd coincidence that in 1803 John J. Audubon, a young man who was destined to share with Wilson fame as one of the greatest naturalists America has produced, also took up his residence near the banks of the Schuylkill, not twenty-five miles away, just across from Valley Forge.

One of the great disappointments of Wilson's life was the failure of his suit for the hand of Annie Bartram, daughter of John Bartram, Jr., and niece of William, who was in charge of "Kingsess Gardens," as Bartram's Garden was then called. To her the schoolmaster wrote poems and sent gifts of drawing materials; but she would not accept him as her husband.

If all parents were as exacting of a schoolmaster as was Thomas Chalkley, the Quaker minister who was active during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, there would be more who would share in Alexander Wilson's pessimism concerning the calling. When, in 1727, Mr. Chalkley was about to send his children to school in Frankford, he wrote the teacher the following letter:

"Loving friend, Nathaniel Walton, I hope thou wilt excuse the freedom I take with thee in writing this on account of my children in these particulars, viz. Respecting the compliment of the hat and courtesying, the practice thereof being against my professes principles; 1st, because I find nothing like it in the bible, but, as I think, the contrary. Thou know'st the passage of the Three children of God, who stood covered before a mighty monarch; and Mordecai, who stood covered

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

before great Haman: and, 2dly, I believe those practices derived from vain, proud man.

“And as to language, I desire my children may not be permitted to use the plural language to a single person, but I pray thee to learn to say thee, and thou, and thy, and to speak it properly, (divers using it improperly) and the rather I desire it because it is all along used in the divine inspired holy writings . . .

“The same care I would have them take, about the names of the days of the months, which are derived from the names of the Gods of the heathen, and are not found in the bible . . .

“As to the school learning of my children, I leave to thy management, not questioning thy ability therein, and if they want correction spare not the rod.”

The result of the training given to his children by Chalkley in his home and by the schoolmaster who was compelled to follow the minister's directions was seen in George Chalkley, who died in 1733, at the age of ten years and seven days. His father said of him after his death that it was the boy's custom to write out anything that appealed to him in the books he read or in the Bible. Then he would learn it by heart.

“One piece he wrote and got by heart,” the father said, “was this:

“As one day goes another comes,
And some times shows us dismal dooms;
As time rowls on, new things we see,
Which seldom to us do agree:
Tho' now and then's a pleasant day,
'Tis long in coming, soon away;
Wherefore the everlasting truth,
Is good for aged and for youth.
For them to set their hearts upon:
For that will last till time is done.”

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

Poor ten-year-old George! His father somehow managed to crush all the joy out of his life.

A student of a different sort was Neddy Burd, of Lancaster, later the husband of Elizabeth Shippen, sister of Margaret Shippen, who became the bride of Benedict Arnold. On April 28, 1765, he wrote a letter in which he told of his entrance to college:

“About three weeks ago our Class was alarmed with the news of being examined by the Trustees. Luckily we had three days to prepare for it all which time we were much afraid of the Issue. I sat up until eleven o'clock & rose before five studying very hard. At length the much dreaded day arrived. We were conducted into the Electricity room, where the Revd. Mr. Duchee, Mr. Stedman, Dr. Alison & Mr. Beveridge were assembled. You may inform Grandpapa that we were first desired to translate a piece out of English into Latin, then we were examined in Horace lastly in Homer . . . The public Examination of the Senior Class was next day; When we were again desired to attend at the Electricity Room. Mr. Stedman spoke as follows, viz on account of your yesterday's Extraordinary performance you are admitted to Colledge.”

On November 17, 1816, William Irvin Wilson sent to his father, Hugh Wilson, of Deerstown, Pennsylvania, a letter telling of his entrance at the University of Pennsylvania Medical School:

“After a very pleasant but rather expensive journey I arrived here and have succeeded in getting excellent lodging at the rate of Five dollars per week. I could obtain none on more reasonable terms within a proper distance of the University . . . There are about seven others in the house besides. There are between four and five hundred students who, when crowded into one room make a pretty respectable appearance. We

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

attend six Professors in the day . . . I have attended the Hospital and Almshouse each once; but I shall not be able to take the ticket of either for want of money; this will be something against me but I must put up with it.

“I will now give you an account of my expenses since I left home. For the journey I expended \$15 Dollars including stage hire. For ticket \$120. For boarding \$10. For wood and candles \$6.60. Discount \$11. Expenses before I came to my lodging \$3. Washing and shoe blacking, &c, \$2 . . . Which leaving me a very light purse. I expect I shall need some money. . .

“To be here without money is not very pleasant. But I need not speak of this, I know you will do what you can.

Pupils with light purses had little chance to get an education on equal terms with the rich until the passage of the school law of 1818, but until this was amended in 1836 there was still much to be desired. Since that time, however, the schools of Pennsylvania have become noted for their excellence and thoroughness.

VIII

WISE AND OTHERWISE

SUPERSTITION IN 1716—THE LIFE OF A WOMAN WHO MINDS HER OWN BUSINESS—BETWEEN NOSE AND CHIN—"NOT JOHN, BUT THE DEMI-JOHN"—TIME TO BURY WEST PHILADELPHIA—"MISS KITTY CUT-A-DASH"—ODE TO A MARKET STREET GUTTER

AN incident that shows how far away are the early days of Philadelphia was related in the Journal of Rev. Andreas Sandel on January 12, 1716. It is evident that he really believed the things of which he told, and that he was ready to encourage the ignorant husband and wife in a delusion that savored of the Middle Ages. The story should be read as he told it:

"A dreadful thing happened in Philadelphia, to the wife of a butcher, who had quarreled with her husband. He asked her to make their bed, but she refused. Continuing to refuse, he told her he would turn her out of the house, but she told him if he did so, she would break every window pane, and invoked the Devil to come for her if she did not do it. The husband led her out of the house, she became highly excited, broke some of the panes, and through the kitchen made her way up to the attic, with a candle, and laid down on the bed greatly disturbed on account of her promise. Then she heard somebody coming up the stairs, but saw no one—this was repeated for half an hour. Becoming more and more agitated, fearing her awful invocation was about to be realized, she went down to her husband, telling him of her anguish and asking him to aid her. Laying down on a bench near the hearth she perceived a

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

dark human face, making horrid grimaces with mouth wide open and the teeth gnashing. Then she became thoroughly terrified, and asked her husband to read to her Psalm XXI, which he did, and the face disappeared. Soon afterwards she perceived at the window, one of which she had broken panes, that some one was standing there with both arms extended through the window, by which her fright was made greater. Then the figure approached and passed her . . . Her husband then clasped his arms around her, when the fumes of brimstone became so strong they could not remain in doors. At one o'clock she sent for the minister, who also came and prayed with her the next day. Many persons visited her, but she had to hold her hands over her knees to keep from trembling."

Writers of journals in colonial days usually showed more sense than Mr. Sandel, though often they were quite bombastic in their effusions, as when Sarah Eve, in 1773, wrote:

"Will fortune never cease to persecute us? but why complain! for at the worst what is poverty! it is living more according to nature—luxury is not nature but art—does not poverty always bring dependence? No, a person that is poor could they divest themselves of opinions is more independent than one that is not so, as the one limits his wants and expectations to his circumstances, the other knows no bounds therefore is more dependent in many senses of the word—'happy is the man that expects nothing, for he shall not be disappointed.' Poverty without pride is nothing, but with it is the very deuce! But surely there must be something more dreadful in it than I can see, when a former acquaintance and one that pretended a friendship for another, such as Nancy T—— did . . . will always run from you as though poverty were really infectious. The lady I mentioned will cut down an

WISE AND OTHERWISE

alley or walk herself into a perspiration rather than acknowledge she has ever seen you before, or if it so happen she cannot help speaking to you, it is done in so slight a manner and with so much confusion, that, were it not for this plague 'Pride' I should enjoy it above all things. However, I have the satisfaction to feel myself in many respects as much superior to her as she is to me in point of fortune yet for years, I may say, we were almost inseparable, there was scarce a wish or thought that one of us had, that was not as ardently desired by the other; if we were eight and forty hours apart, it was looked upon as an age, two or three messages and as many letters passed between us in that time. And will it be credited, when I say, that without one word of difference we have not been ten minutes together or at each other's house in two years and upwards."

Once again the fair journalist moralized when she wrote, on the fifth anniversary of her father's departure to Jamaica, a departure made necessary by business reverses:

"Happy mortals are we, that we cannot dive into futurity! if we could how pleasure would be anticipated until it become tasteless, and the knowledge of distant evil make us utterly insensible to the joys of present good."

Elizabeth Drinker also was fond of moralizing. A favorite subject was the habit of keeping a journal. In 1799 she wrote:

"With respect to keeping a Diary—when I began this year I intended this book for memorandums, nor is it anything else. Y^e habit of scribbling something every night led me on—as what I write answers no other purpose than to help y^e memory. I have seen Diaries of different complexions—some were amusing, others instructive, and others replete with what might much better be left alone.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“My simple Diary comes under none of those descriptions. The first I never aimed at, for y^e second I am not qualified, y^e third may I ever avoid. Tho’ I have had opportunities and incitements, sometimes, to say severe things, and perhaps with strict justice, yet I was never prone to speak my mind, much less to write or record anything that might at a future day give pain to any one. The children, or y^e children’s children of the present day, may be quite innocent of their parents’ duplicity: how wrong it is to put on record anything to wound y^e feelings of innocent persons, to gratify present resentment. I have seen frequent instances of people, in the course of time, change their opinions of men and things—and sometimes be astonished by pique or prejudice; yet perhaps, tho’ convinced that they have been wrong, unwilling to tear or spoil what they have wrote, and leave it to do future mischief.”

In verse the author of the diary once expressed her hatred of gossip:

“I stay much at home, and my business I mind,
Take note of y^e weather, and how blows the wind,
The changes of Seasons, Sun, Moon, and Stars,
The setting of Venus, and rising of Mars.
Birds, Beasts, and Insects, and more I could mention,
That pleases my leisure, and draws my attention.
But respecting my neighbors, their egress and regress,
Their Coaches and Horses, their dress and their address,
What matches are making, who’s plain, and who’s gay,
I leave to their Parents or Guardians to say:
For most of these things are out of my way.
But to those, where my love and my duty doth bind,
More than most other subjects engages my mind.”

Several times she meditated on the passage of time and the loss of opportunities. On these occasions she dropped into rhyme, a thing she did not find it difficult to do. On August 31, 1794, she penned the feeling lines:



THE CHILDREN OF THOMAS AND JULIANA PENN
(From the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in the possession of the Historical Society
of Pennsylvania)



SWETBRIER, THE HOME OF SAMUEL BRECK
(East Fairmount Park)

WISE AND OTHERWISE

“Who could have thought that y^e season was past,
Or that time rolled so swiftly away,
When on a review from the first to the last,
Finds this is the last summer’s day.”

And on January 31, 1795, she said:

“More than one twelfth of the New year gone and
passed,
The other elevenths will certainly fly away as fast,
Then let us daily keep in mind what we at school
were taught,
That every moment of our time is still with mercy
fraught.”

Mrs. Drinker needed a little of the sense of humor possessed by Jacob Longstreth who, so the story is told, one day met in his counting house Joseph Crukshank, a Quaker friend, Edward Sheepshank, and Maltby John Littleboy. The thought of this collection of incongruous names was too much for the business man, and he began to laugh and to ring the changes on them until the staid Quaker was out of patience.

How Mr. Longstreth would have enjoyed talking with Judge Richard Peters, of Belmont, of whom the wittiest men Philadelphia ever produced. Some of Samuel Breck tells in his Memoirs, certainly one of the Judge’s sallies have become famous.

Mr. Breck says that Judge Peters was once at supper in Philadelphia in company with Judge Bushrod Washington, who presided over the United States Circuit Court, in which Judge Peters sat as a Junior Judge. The host repeatedly urged Judge Peters to eat some duck, but he constantly refused. At length,

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

being again pressed, he said, "Give the duck to my brother Washington, for he is the mouthpiece of the Court."

Another story told of Judge Peters has to do with his sharp nose and chin. As he grew old these approached each other. A friend observed to him that his chin and nose would soon be at loggerheads. "Very likely," was the reply; "hard words often pass between them."

Judge Peters was once Speaker of the House of Assembly. One of the members in crossing the room tripped on the carpet and fell flat. The House burst into laughter; but the Judge, with the utmost gravity, cried, "Order, order, gentlemen; do you not see that a member is on the floor?"

The genial Judge was seated one day at the fish club [The State in Schuylkill]. At his side was General Wharton, the President of the Club. When the wine gave out, the General called, "We want more wine; please to call John." But the wit of the Philadelphia bar put in, instantly, "If you want more wine, you had better call for the demijohn."

Another opportunity came soon after "a gentleman by the name of Vaux" was stopped by two footpads near Philadelphia. He had no money with him, so he was allowed to pass. Three days after, the Judge's son, in company with another wayfarer, was stopped by the same highwaymen and robbed of a gold watch and forty dollars. When the Judge heard of this, he exclaimed, "Oh, I know too well the luck of my family to suppose it would be with one of its members as it was the other day—*Vox et praeterea nihil*"

Mr. Breck told also of a day when a very fat and a

WISE AND OTHERWISE

very slim man stood at the entrance of a bar into which the Judge wished to pass. He stopped for a moment that they might make way, but, perceiving that they were not planning to move, and being urged by the master of the house to come in, he pushed between them, exclaiming, "Here I go, then, through thick and thin."

One more story of this wit of Belmont. Some time after he laid out the town of Mantua (West Philadelphia) the project languished. Suddenly some improvement in the neighborhood renewed his hope. One of his acquaintances remarked that he had better now complete the laying out of the town. "Yes, yes," replied the Judge; "it is high time indeed to lay it out, for it has been dead these two years."

Another Philadelphia worthy who flourished during Judge Peters' younger days, was Edward Shippen. He, too, had a spark of humor. Once for his grandson, Allen Burd, he wrote lines in Latin which were translated thus:

"From food when it is hash,
From a young doctor when he is rash,
From foe reconciled,
And from woman wild,
Lord, keep this child."

Francis Hopkinson, too, was ready to drop into rhyme on occasion. Once, in imitation of *Il Penseroso*, he contributed to *The American Magazine* a poem dedicated to Dr. William Smith, first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. The closing lines referred to Dr. Smith's house at Falls of Schuylkill, which is still standing:

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“And thou, O Smith! my more than friend
To whom these artless lines I send,
Once more thy wonted candor bring,
And hear the muse you taught to sing;

“The muse that strives to win your ear,
By themes your soul delights to hear,
And loves, like you, in sober mood,
To meditate of *just* and *good*.

“Exalted themes! divinest maid!
Sweet melancholy, raise thy head;
With languid look, oh, quickly come,
And lead me to thy Hermit home.

“Then let my frequent feet be seen
On yonder steep romantic green
Along whose yellow gravelly side
Schuylkill sweeps his gentle tide.

“Rude, rough and rugged rocks surrounding,
And clash of broken waves resounding,
Where waters fall with loud’ning roar
Rebillowing down the hilly shore.”

In 1782 Dr. Smith was made the excuse of lines by some poetaster whose name is not known to fame. A proposition had been made to Dr. Smith in the Committee Room of the General Assembly, to add a rider to the bill for restoring the charter and property of the College of Philadelphia. To this proposition he made reply. The following extempore lines referred to the reply:

“On mischief bent, by Ew-ng sent,
With Rider in his hands,
Came Doctor Guts, with mighty struts,
And then of Smith demands:

WISE AND OTHERWISE

“This Rider, Sir, to save all stir,
By Mister Ew-ng’s will,
I bring in haste, pray get some paste
And tack it to your bill.

“Smith lifts his eyes—‘Hoot mun,’ he cries,
‘Take back your stupid stuff;
Our answer’s brief—the crafty thief
Has ridden long enough.’”

Alexander Wilson, also, loved the Schuylkill. His residence at Gray’s Ferry, where he taught school, gave him opportunity for many walks along the banks of the fair stream. In 1804 he told of some of his thoughts in “The Rural Walk.” Four stanzas of the poem may be quoted:

“Down to the left was seen afar
The whitened spire of sacred name,
And Ars’nal, where the god of war
Has hung his spears of bloody fame.

“Then upward where it gently bends,
And Say’s red fortress tow’rs in view,
The floating bridge its length extends—
A lovely scene forever new.

“There market-maids in lovely row,
With wallets white, were riding home,
And thund’ring gigs, with powdered beaux,
Through Gray’s green festive shade to roam.

“Sweet flows the Scuhylkill’s winding tide
By Bartram’s emblossomed bowers,
Where nature sports in all her pride
Of choicest plants and fruit and flowers.”

The references in these lines were of course, to Christ Church, the Schuylkill, Dr. Benjamin Say’s house at Gray’s Ferry, and Gray’s Garden.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Other local touches were given in "The Philadelphiad," an odd collection of all sorts of verses, published in 1784. In this volume rhyme seemed more important than either meter or sense, as is evident from this extract:

"Sweet Philadelphia! lov'liest of the lawn,
Where rising greatness opes its pleasing dawn,
Where daring commerce spreads the adventurous sail,
Cleaves thro' the wave, and drives before the gale,
Where genius yields her kind conducting lore,
And learning spreads its inexhaustible store:—
Kind seat of industry, where art may see
Its labours fostered to its due degree,
Where merit meets the due regard it claims,
Tho' envy dictates and tho' malice flames:—
Thou fairest daughter of Columbia's train
The great Emporium of western plain:—
Best seat of science, friend to ev'ry art,
That mends, improves, or dignifies the heart."

A gem from the miscellany in the second volume of *The Philadelphiad*, is "Miss Kitty Cut-a-Dash, or the Arch Street Flirt":

"Observe that foot, how nice the shoe it fits,
Her waist how slender, how her gown it fits,
How bold she walks, what fierceness in her air,
And how the crowd submissively do stare,
And hail her goddess of the beaut'ous throng;
But cease, good folks, your high opinion's wrong.
First at her toilet Kitty spends the morn,
To curl and patch, and face & neck adorn;
She studies fashions with religious care,
And scoffs religion with a scornful air,
Thinks that the ways to heaven are laid with gauze,
And that religion has no modern laws:
When full equipt she rambles through the town,
Or with her aunt some character runs down,



Captain Cutler: 1778
afterwards Earl Cathcart



Sir John Westcott
1778



M^{rs} Wilson's Band
afterwards British Consul



Captⁿ Bantwell



Major Dr Joc

PROFILES

cut by Major André
for
Miss Rebecca Hedman.
1778

PROFILES CUT BY MAJOR ANDRÉ
(From the original in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia)



THE CALASH
(Invented 1765; worn till about 1830)



WEATHER VANE AND SCARECROW AT CHAMPLOST
(House built 1742)

WISE AND OTHERWISE

Or with an air important through the shops,
She cheapens fans and talks with ruffled fops:
The young apprentice knows her tricks full well,
For tossing goods without the hopes to sell;
And spruce young milliners do often curse
Her wanton taste and coin unsulli'd purse:
Sweethearts by dozens in her train appears,
Altho' the nymph is falling into years;
They come like seasons and like seasons go,
This one forgets her, that one answers no;
And all despise and seek some happier dame
Less fond of dress and more unknown to fame."

There was far more of humor and certainly as much poetry in the parody which *The Portfolio* printed with the title, "Ode to a Market Street Gutter":

"O sweetest gutter! though a clown,
I love to see thee running down:
Or mark thee stop awhile, then free
From ice, jog on again, like me;
Or like the lasses whom I meet,
Who, rambling, stray along the street,
As if they had nowhere to go!
At times, so rapid is thy flow,
That did the cits not wish in vain
Thou woould'st be in the pump again;
But like a pig, whose fates deny
To find again his wonted sty,
You turn, and stop, and run, and turn,
Yet ne'er shall find your 'native urn.'

.....
Last Thursday morn, so very cold,
A morn *not* better felt than told,
Then first in all its bright array
Did I thy frozen form survey;
And goodness! what a great big steeple,
What sights of houses, and such people!

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

And then I thought, did I not stutter,
But verse could, like some poets, utter,
How much I'd praise thee, sweetest gutter!"

That ability to enjoy such doggerel, at proper times, is never a hindrance to serious thought and earnest expression was proved by the experiences of early Philadelphians, whose minds stood just as much in need of a vacation as do the minds of thoughtful men and women of the present day.

IX THE QUAIN'T CHURCH CUSTOMS OF LONG AGO

WHEN STEEPLES WERE SCARCE—TROUBLESOME CHAINS AND CANDLE LIGHT
—A PEW FOR PRESIDENT ADAMS—THE COMING OF GEORGE WHITE-
FIELD—THEY WANTED HIM TO "CINDLE A DEAD COAL"—ALL THIS
FOR \$300 PER YEAR!—A BUSY SEXTON—AN INVITATION TO A FUNERAL
—"PRANCING IT THROUGH THE STREETS"

IF there had been such a thing as an airship during the first half of the eighteenth century, and if an aeronaut flying over Philadelphia had formed his opinion of the city's ecclesiastical progress by the presence or absence of church steeples, he would have been compelled to decide that it was a most irreligious city. But the truth was that many of the earlier buildings set apart for God's worship were Meeting Houses, and those who worshiped in them did not believe in steeples any more than they believed in monuments in their burying grounds, and those who built churches for the various denominations found it so difficult to raise funds for the absolutely essential parts of the structures that the building of steeples was left until a more convenient season.

The first steeple of any size was that of Christ Church. This was not built until 1752-3, nearly fifty years after the beginning of the building. When the decision was reached to complete the church by the addition of the steeple, subscriptions were invited. Three hundred citizens of Philadelphia made liberal

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

response, but the amount raised was not sufficient. Accordingly, the vestry met to see how best to raise the remaining funds "for finishing the steeple and purchasing a ring of bells." It was decided to do this by a lottery, a scheme for raising the sum of one thousand and twelve pounds, ten shillings, by a deduction of fifteen pounds per cent. on eighteen thousand Spanish dollars, commonly called pieces of eight, to be raised by the sale of four thousand five hundred tickets, at four pieces of eight each ticket.

"The Philadelphia Steeple Lottery" was advertised at once. Thirteen men were appointed managers; of these Benjamin Franklin was one. These men were to sell tickets to all who came to the houses of the vendors. The drawing did not complete the fund, and a second drawing was held in 1753. The tickets read:

Christ Church Lottery
(1) Class. No. (7493)
This intitles the Bearer to
such Prize as shall be
drawn Against the
Number

In 1754, soon after the completion of the steeple, Captain Budden brought over from England a chime of eight bells for which the bill was £560 7s. With the bells came a man who had assisted in making them. He had asked for the privilege of coming over to hang them in the steeple. Captain Budden refused to accept payment for bringing the chimes. Because of his generosity it was arranged that the bells should be rung whenever his ship, the *Myrtella*, should come up the Delaware.



REV. GEORGE DUFFIELD, D.D., PASTOR OF OLD PINE STREET CHURCH
AND CHAPLAIN IN THE REVOLUTION, ON WHOSE HEAD
THE BRITISH SET A PRICE
(From the painting by George Polk in Independence Hall)



CHAIN USED DURING SERVICES TO PROTECT OLD PINE STREET CHURCH
FROM STREET TRAFFIC
(The original is in the collection of the Presbyterian Historical Society)



THE COMMUNION SERVICE WHICH QUEEN ANNE
 PRESENTED TO CHRIST CHURCH, 1708



ARCH STREET, WITH THE SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
 (From an engraving by Birch)

CHURCH CUSTOMS OF LONG AGO

The steeple and the bells are valued by those who love old Christ Church more than perhaps any other possession, unless it be the flagon and the chalice which Queen Anne gave to the congregation in 1708.

When the Second Presbyterian Church was built, at Third and Arch Streets, a wooden steeple, which was also paid for by a lottery, crowned the structure. The appearance of this rival steeple caused a good deal of jealousy. The feeling found expression in a bit of doggerel:

“The Presbyterians built a church,
And fain would have a steeple;
We think it may become the church,
But not become the people.”

The Second Presbyterian Church not long afterwards lost its steeple, because this was decreed unsafe and was taken down. But the day came when the church had another distinction. The noise at Third and Arch Streets during the hours of service became so great that a petition was presented to the city authorities asking for relief. While nothing was done by the city, the state legislature stepped in and gave permission for the stretching of chains across the streets on which the church abutted. This was in 1799. Thereafter traffic had to avoid the church during service. Not only the Second Church but a number of other churches took advantage of the permission. The chains were stretched from iron posts in which they were set in iron sockets.

These chains caused so much trouble that eventually they were removed. The records of the First Presbyterian Church, dated June 4, 1804, show that “Mr. William Page’s Horse and Carriage had on the

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

last Sabbath run foul of the chain placed across the street and injured it so much as to render it unfit for use." Mr. Fullerton was therefore requested to call on Mr. Page and procure payment for the damage.

On another Sunday George F. Harrison "drove into town to obtain a physician for some dying member of his father's family. In attempting to return home, street after street was found to be closed against them, and much precious time was consequently lost." John Moss, who witnessed the efforts of the frantic driver to get free from the maze of chains, was so excited that he took the law into his own hands, and took down the chain at Locust and Seventh Streets, which guarded the First Presbyterian Church. Then he talked and wrote so vigorously against the custom that the chain was never replaced.

A few years later there was still another change that led many of the staid old Philadelphians to shake their heads. All lighting of churches was by candles, even after other means of illumination were used elsewhere. It was not until 1819 that a committee in one of the oldest churches of the city proposed to substitute lamps for candles. There was much opposition to the innovation. But the committee was not ready to yield. The calculation was made that it would save \$19.35 over candles, even when candles were bought by the box. There was the additional advantage that with lamps it would not be necessary longer to "line out the hymns." "But oil will leak on the people," the determined opponents replied.

The objection managed to stand in the way of progress for three years, but in 1822 it was resolved to place

CHURCH CUSTOMS OF LONG AGO

oil lamps in the north aisle of this church as a sample. The experiment succeeded so well that in 1824, in this church, candles made way for oil lamps altogether.

In the days when candles were still the unquestioned source of light there was spirited rivalry among some of the churches for the presence of lights of another kind—the shining lights of Congress and the higher officers of government. A large number of the brightest men who were prominent in the early history of the nation were earnest Christians, and on Sunday they made their way regularly to the churches of their choice.

The pew set apart in Christ Church as the governor's pew was later known as the President's pew. There Washington sat Sunday after Sunday. Dr. William White, Bishop of Pennsylvania, once wrote to an inquirer of the habit of church attendance of the first President of the nation:

“The father of our country, whenever in the city, as well as during the revolutionary war as in his Presidency, attended divine service in Christ Church of this city, excepting during one winter 1781-82, when, being here for the taking of Measures with Congress towards the opening of the next campaign, he rented a house near St. Peter's Church, then in parochial union with Christ Church. During that season he attended regularly St. Peter's. His behavior was always serious and attentive; but as your letter seems to intend an inquiry on the point of kneeling during the service, I owe it to the truth to disclose, that I never saw him in the said attitude. During his Presidency, our vestry provided him with a pew, ten yards in front of the reading-desk. It was habitually occupied by himself, by Mrs. Washington, who was regularly a communicant and by his secretaries.”

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

In the minutes of the session of the First Presby-Church, whose organization dates from 1698, is an interesting record concerning Washington's successor:

"Monday, February 6, 1797

"The following arrangement was made to accommodate John Adams, who will shortly be the President of the United States, with a Pew in the church, during the time he shall be President, viz. At the request of the Corporation Henry Keppele and the family of the late Mr. Andrew Caldwell very politely agreed to give up their pew No. 92 for that purpose & to accommodate themselves in other parts of the Church; the corporation therefore ordered the pew No. 92 to be fitted up in a decent Manner and an offer thereof made to Mr. Adams President Elect for the accommodation of himself and family during the time he shall be President of the United States."

On February 8, 1797, John Adams wrote to the secretary of the corporation, saying:

"I accept with pleasure the handsome accommodation they have been pleased to offer me, and . . . I shall always be ready to make any compensation, that is expected of the possessors of pews in that elegant church."

From the beginning of the city's history numbers of the wealthy and prominent as well as many of the poorer and more obscure citizens attended church with at least a degree of faithfulness. But there were always those who felt that the city was well on the road to awful destruction. One of these was Thomas Chalkley, the Quaker preacher who spent many years in going up and down the country and in making voyages to the Quaker colony in Barbados. Early in

CHURCH CUSTOMS OF LONG AGO

1727, while making one of these voyages, he wrote out the story of his dire forebodings. He told of a wakeful night just before he left Philadelphia. It was then borne in upon him—

“That the Lord was angry with the people of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, because of the great sins and wickedness which was committed by the inhabitants, in public houses, and elsewhere: and that the Lord was angry with the magistrates also, because they use not their power as they might do, in order to suppress wickedness; and do not so much as they ought, put the laws already made in execution against profaneness and immorality: and the Lord is angry with the representatives of the people of the land, because they take not so much care to suppress vice and wickedness, . . . and it was shewed me, that the anger of the Most High would still be against us, until there was a greater reformation in these things.”

After penning this jeremiad Chalkley said:

“It is worthy of commendation, that our governor, Thomas Lloyd, sometimes in the evening before he went to rest, us't to go in person to public houses, and order the people he found there to their own houses, till at length, he was instrumental to promote better order, and did in a great measure, suppress vice and immorality in the city.”

Thirteen years after the date of the Chalkley indictment there was tremendous excitement in the city because of the coming of George Whitefield, the great evangelist, who drew enormous crowds wherever he preached. The people were attracted by his eloquence and his earnestness, and thousands of them were persuaded to change their manner of life.

A striking picture of the impression made in the

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

city by the evangelist was given by Richard Hockley in a letter to Bernard Hannington, Charleston, South Carolina. In the middle of a business message he passed to the subject that was so profoundly interesting the entire city:

“I cant pass over in Silence to you the surprizing Change and alteration I see in the People of this Place since that Shining Light the Rev^d M^r Whitefield has been amongst 'em who no doubt you have heard of, Religion is the Topick of Conversation and they all have it much in their mouths pray God it may sink deep into their Hearts so as to Influence their Actions and Conversation, make them good Neighbours and sincere Friends, which I know you will say Amen to, I have heard him several times here & in So Carolina and had several private Conversations with him, he appears to me to be a very sincere person Zealous for his Masters Cause, and justly admired for his Elegant though plain Language and easy to be understood, and for the Serious Vein of Piety that runs through all his Exhortations crowded after by Multitudes tho much traduced by some who have no true sense of Religion, he is endeavouring to reclaim a wicked Vicious and Sinfull Age, and that with great authority and Courage, and . . . I never heard or saw his Fellow.”

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of May 1, 1740, made an announcement concerning Mr. Whitefield that later stirred up some controversy:

“Since Mr. Whitefield's Preaching here the Dancing School Assembly and Concert Room have been shut up as inconsistent with the Doctrine of the Gospel: And though the gentlemen concern'd caus'd the door to be broke open again, we are informed that no company came the last Assembly Night.”

CHURCH CUSTOMS OF LONG AGO

In the next issue, the editor, Benjamin Franklin, said that offense had been given by the notice to "the Gentlemen concerned in the Entertainments." They insisted that Whitefield was deceiving the people, that he was using unfair means, that he had bought up all the printers so that nothing could be printed against him. They insisted that his "Doctrine and Practice" should be exposed and the people undeceived. Though Franklin did not like the tone of the letter, he printed it as he received it.

The letter charged that William Seward, "who came into the Place as an Attendant and intimate Companion of Mr. Whitefield's inconsistently . . . with the Doctrine of the Gospel, took upon him to invade other Men's Property." Contrary to law and justice he had "shut up the Doors of the Concert Room without any previous Application to or consent had of any of the members." It further intimated that the doors remained closed that night because the members thought it was "below them to take any Notice of it." They "met the night after according to Custom; and the Tuesday following the Company met to Dance as they used to do; but the Assembly being only for the Winter Season is now discontinued of Course and the Concert being for the whole year still goes on as usual."

The writer felt that this account of Seward's behavior was in keeping with "his low craft in getting this Paragraph foisted into the News-Paper just before his Departure for England in order to carry it along with him and spread his Master's Fame as tho' he had met with Great Success among the better Sort of People

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

in Penna. when at the same Time to his highest mortification he can't but be sensible that he has been neglected by them; and were they to deliver their Sentiments of him with the same Freedom he takes with others he wou'd presently discover they had both him and his mischievous Tenets in the utmost contempt."

They went on to declare that this was not the only misrepresentation of Mr. Whitefield's success, "for^rin of all those Articles of News which give an account the vast Crowds who compose his Audience the Numbers are always exaggerated being often doubled and sometimes trebled," The accounts being put in the papers by themselves, were frequently held to be evidence of their "little Regard to Truth."

But Whitefield went on his way serenely, doing his work and securing wonderful results. Several times he returned to Philadelphia, but always there were those who opposed him. In 1764 the Rector of Trinity Church, Oxford, wrote:

"I have the pleasure to acquaint the Society that my congregation appeared to be more steady than formerly and better fixed in their principles, notwithstanding the powerful efforts that Mr. Whitefield is now making in Philadelphia . . . St. Paul's the college and Presbyterian Meeting Houses were open to him; but the salutary admonitions of His Grace of Canterbury to the Rector etc of Christ Church and St. Peter's have prevented his preaching at this time, in either of them."

In spite of the new earnestness which possessed the church by reason of Whitefield's preaching funds for church support were sadly lacking. In 1772, when



GLORIA DEI CHURCH
(Drawn by Thomas Sully)



INTERIOR OF OLD ST. DAVID'S CHURCH, RADNOR



ORIGINAL GABLE WINDOW IN OLD PINE STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
(May be seen by ascending to the loft)



INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BUILT 1742

CHURCH CUSTOMS OF LONG AGO

a minister was called to be pastor of the First Baptist Church, it was officially stated to him:

“Our Funds for the support of a Minister are the parsonage, or £40 p. ann. in lieu thereof if more agreeable, the money arising from the pews wch if all let as we doubt not they soon wo^d be on your settlement amongst us amount to upwards of Two hun^d and thirty pounds a Year.”

Seven years later the same church in issuing a call to Rev. Stephen Gano, who was doing work among the soldiers, said: -

“You may Remember that Last year, you Rec^d a Call from this Church and Congregation—In Consequence of which you paid us a visit—But your Stay was too Short to Cindle the Dead Coal in a flaine—we are sensible at that time things had a gloomy Apearance which had no Doubt a Tendency to Discourage you from settling amongst us—But we Can with pleasure Informe you, things ware a Different Aspect, with us at present . . . We have frequent Application for Pews, and the Subscription fills up so fast So that with those and the several Donations left for the Suporte of a minister we doubt not but we Shall be able to Raise a Cumfortable Suport for your Selve and family.”

But Mr. Gano did not see his way to leave the army for the pastorate; he did not feel that service to be rendered or support assured in the city field could be compared to the service and support in the work he was doing.

His fear of the church's ability and readiness to pay a living salary seemed justified when, in 1780, the church paid a minister, for preaching four Sundays, at least eight services, eight silver dollars. The church historian in recording this says that “the four Sundays

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

he spent here were not calculated to encourage extravagance in his family."

The standard of payment offered to a minister in that day and the requirements made of him cannot be better shown than by quoting a letter received in 1789 by Benjamin Chew of Philadelphia, from his son, Sam Chew, in Chestertown, Maryland:

"As you have once more embarked in public Business for the good of your Fellow Citizens, in their temporal Concerns, I take it for granted you will excuse the Trouble I am about to give you, in a matter of greater Importance We are in immediate want of a Parson. I could describe the Kind of Man who would suit us in few words; as for Instance, he must be unlike some others we have had, in everything but abilities. He must be a good Preacher, a sound Divine and if a zealous High Church Man, so much the better. We want one, who will not only preach, but live down the Methodists. One who will think it his Duty, to lead the Asses to water, you know what I allude to, and not one who thinks of the Stipend only. In short, we want a Man who has a great deal of the church in his heart and a good deal of the Gentleman in his behavior. A person whose name is Behn, has been strongly recommended to us, and I wish you to make some inquiries about him of Doctor White. If the Doctor hesitates, I shall govern myself accordingly, without bringing him into View, in the least. If he can venture to write in his Favour, an application will be made directly. The living including Perquisites, will I apprehend not fall much, if any, short of \$300 per Ann. Be pleased to let me have an answer soon, as I suspect another Person, who is by no means the Thing, is Thought of by some People."

If Elizabeth Fergusson could have read require-

CHURCH CUSTOMS OF LONG AGO

ments like these would she have felt like writing her parody of Pope in which she spoke of the joys of the man who was called to have oversight of such a church? This was her idea of his life:

“How happy is the country parson’s lot!
Forgetting bishops, as by them forgot;
Fragrant of spirit, with an easy mind,
To all his vestry’s votes he sits resigned.
Of manners gentle and of temper even,
He jogs his flock, with easy pace, to heaven.
In Greek and Latin pious books he keeps,
And, while his clerk says psalms, he soundly sleeps.
His garden fronts the sun’s sweet orient beams,
And fat church wardens prompt his golden dreams.
The earliest fruit in his fair orchard blooms,
And cleanly pipes pour out tobacco fumes.
From rustic bridegroom oft he takes the ring,
And hears the milkmaid plaintive ballads sing.
Back-gammon cheats whole winter nights away,
And Pilgrim’s Progress helps a rainy day.”

The pastor was not the only officer of the church who was expected to do much work and receive a very meager living. The sexton, too, had a hard time of it. One Philadelphia church in 1806 adopted rules for the government of this important personage that bring a smile to the face of the reader:

“In consideration of the sum of One Hundred Dollars, annually to be paid to me by the Trustees . . . I the subscriber do agree and covenant . . . to Act as Sexton . . . and perform the following Services—I will Keep a Register of all the Burials, noting the Age and Disease of the deceased which shall be annually rendered to the Trustees and to commence from May 1806—I engage to open the Doors and Windows of the Church every Sabbath Day and such other seasons as

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

may be required, attentively show strangers to seats, dust the pews every Saturday and Sweep the House entire—Also to arrange the Sacramental Tables before every Communion Season—attentively make and take care of the Fires in the Stoves—Also to suspend the Chain before the Church and across Elbow Lane every Sabbath both fore and afternoon—Also to take care that the Burial Ground Gates be kept secured, and the Ground preserved from the Incession of Cows, Dogs or other animals, and in general I consent to perform all the duties which shall be required of me by the Trustees as Sexton.”

The files of the early Philadelphia newspapers give interesting facts concerning many of those for whom some sexton opened the gates of the burying ground. There was, for instance, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of August 24, 1774, with the notice:

“On Sunday evening last, after five days illness, died, in the prime of life, Miss Polly Franks, second daughter of David Franks, Esq.; of this city—a young lady whose sweetness of temper, elegance of manners, cheerful conversation and unblemished virtue, endeared her to all her connexions, and especially to her now mournful parents, who found her in every part of life a shining example of filial duty and affection—Her remains were interred, Monday forenoon, in Christ-Church burying ground, amid the tears of her numerous acquaintances and relatives.”

Again the gates of Christ Church opened for the widow of one whom the church had ever delighted to honor. *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* of October 17, 1801, told the story:

“On Wednesday last, in the 88th year of her age, Mrs. Susannah Budden, the relict of capt. Richard

CHURCH CUSTOMS OF LONG AGO

Budden, a native of old England, so well known for many years by the frequency and safety of his voyages between London and Philadelphia, that his ship was called the *bridge* between those two ports; when a young sailor he accompanied Wm. Penn on his last visit to Pennsylvania, and was introduced when a man by his son, Thomas Penn, to King George the 2^d; who supposing him, from the plainness of his dress to be a quaker, pleasantly addressed him in the language of that religious society, and directed him to cover his head. The widow of this venerable sea captain, survived him five and thirty years, and passed the long evening of her life in a peaceful retirement from the eyes and bustle of the world. Her death and funeral were announced by the ringing of the bells of Christ Church (muffled) as a tribute of respect to her worth, and of gratitude to her husband, who presented the church with the freight of those Bells from London, forty or fifty years ago.

“Eight days before she died she requested to be interred in the same grave with her husband in Christ Church burying ground (which was accordingly done last evening) and that the following lines should be added, with her name, to the words ‘prepare to follow’ which are inscribed upon his tombstone,

“I am prepar’d—God called me,
My Soul I hope, doth rest in thee.”

Two obituary notices of the year 1766 are of unusual interest not only because of the relationship of the subject to Benjamin Franklin, but because they told of husband and wife who, after a long life together, died within a few weeks of one another. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 3, 1766, told of the husband’s death:

“On Tuesday morning last died suddenly, at his House in Market-street, in the Seventy-fourth Year of his age, Peter Franklin, Esq; Deputy Postmaster of

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

this City, only brother to Benjamin Franklin, Esq. He was an affectionate Husband, a kind Master, a generous Benefactor, and a sincere Friend."

And on August 21, 1766, the same paper gave tidings of the wife's departure to join her husband:

"On Thursday Night last died, after a short illness, in the 70th Year of her age, Mrs. Mary Franklin, the Virtuous and Amiable Consort of the late Peter Franklin, Esq; of this City. She was a Gentlewoman who, from Principles of Christianity, discharged the duties of a long Life with unblemished Integrity; which, added to a sound Understanding, and a happy Disposition, rendered her beloved by all those who had the Pleasure of her Acquaintance."

Newspaper notices of funerals were in Germantown supplemented by a method described by Townsend Ward:

"Every door was what was called a half door, and usually the upper half was open. Along the road, up one side of it and down the other, would stalk the self-important herald, who, standing at the threshold of each in turn would proclaim in a loud voice, 'Thyself and family are bidden to the funeral of Dirck Hogermoed at three o'clock to-morrow.' And so he went from house to house. At the appointed time the citizens would gather at the house and each as he entered would take from the table that stood by the door, a glass of spirits, which it was considered an affront not to do. After a time of solemn communing they would mount their horses, the wife on a pillion behind her husband, and thus would they ride to the Burying Ground to see the ancient

'Each in his narrow cell forever laid.'"

Another strange funeral custom was commented on by Sarah Eve in her journal. On July 12, 1773,

CHURCH CUSTOMS OF LONG AGO

she wrote of taking part in the funeral of a child, as pall bearer. "Foolish custom for Girls to prance it through the streets without hats or bonnets," she wrote.

The custom persisted for many years. Hannah M. White wrote on December 19, 1813, after attending Fanny Durden's funeral: "Six young ladies of her intimate acquaintance, of which I was one, were asked to be pall bearers. We were all dressed in white with long white veils." And Arthur Singleton, an English writer, reported in 1814: "I saw in Chestnut street the funeral of a youth of about ten years, whose bier was borne in the hands of four young friends . . . dressed all in white, with the curls of long hair dropping aloose down the shoulders. There was an agreeable melancholy about it, which interested me. It is a relick of an ancient custom, now rare, that the deceased youth should be supported to the grave by the opposite sex."

The writing of elegies for a dead friend was, in the eighteenth century a popular method of showing grief and respect. One of the best of these elegies was that by Elizabeth Waring in 1760, after the death of John Wagstaffe, Quaker preacher, one of two brothers, singularly gifted, who made their living by selling hats and gloves:

"Two Brothers, who, amid the Bloom of Youth,
Bid sin adieu, and nobly clos'd with truth;
Took up the Cross, obey'd the Spirit's Lore,
And, rich in Faith, submitted to be Poor.
To God devoted, offer'd earliest Hours,
And in his Cause, exerted all their Powers;
The sacred text with Energy convey'd,
Humbled the Proud, the Hypocrite dismay'd

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Cheer'd the Penitent, confirm'd the Weak,
Who could be unconcerned while they speak?
Powerful their Words as Moses' Rod of old,
Which struck the Rock, and plentious Torrents roll'd.'

.....
But ah, they're gone! No more we see their Face,
That did so oft our annual meeting grace,
No more they dress the Hand, or cloath the Head,
But lie interr'd amongst the silent Dead."

The eighteenth century gave way to the nineteenth, and the nineteenth century has become the twentieth, but the hearts of those who live in Philadelphia are as appreciative as ever of the good to be found in others.

X

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

GIVING NOTICE IN A "PUBLIC PLACE"—WHY SALLY WAS SAD—SHE DID NOT KEEP HER PROMISE—A BABY "OF THE WORST SEX"—AN ELOPEMENT AND ITS PAINFUL SEQUEL—A PEEP AT A BRIDE'S TROUSSEAU—SHE MARRIED A WIDOWER—SOME HUMORS OF COLONIAL COURTSHIP—THE AWFUL PENALTY OF ATTRACTING MEN

ON November 28, 1917, one who was privileged to be a spectator at a marriage service in a Quaker Meeting House in Philadelphia was telling in detail what had been done and said. One of the listeners, who, during the hour of the wedding, had been at the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, copying some old documents, thereupon read from one of the copies he had made, as it happened the account of a Meeting House wedding which took place November 28, 1686, two hundred and thirty one years to a day earlier.

The hearers were amazed. "But for the archaic language and spelling, and the difference in names, this might be the account of the marriage we have just witnessed," was the comment of one of them.

The document of 1686 read as follows:

"Whereas Thomas Duckett of Skulkill in the County of Philadelphia Bricklayer hath according to law Published his Intention of Mariage with Ruth Wood Wid of Rich Wood Deceased and likewise both of them having declared their said Intentions before severall Mens and Womens Meetings of y^e People of God called Quakers according to the good order used

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

amongst them, whose proceedings therein after due consideration was approved by y^e said meetings. Now these are to certifie all whom it may concerne that for the full determination of their intentions aforesaid this 28th day of y^e 11 Month 1686 they the said Thomas Duckett and Ruth Wood in a publick solemn assembly of y^e aforesaid People Met together for that purpose at their Publike Meeting house at Philadelphia according to y^e Example of y^e Holy Men of God recorded in the scriptures of truth did then and there take each y^e other as husband and Wife in Manner and forme as followeth viz Tho Duckett taking Ruth Wood by y^e hand, said, friends in the fear of the Lord and presence of you his People I take this my friend Ruth Wood to be my Wife promising to be to her a faithfull and loveing husband till death separate and then immediately after did Ruth Wood declare and say I Ruth Wood doo in the Presence of y^e Lord and you his People take Tho Duckett to be my husband promising to be to him a faithfull and obedient Wife so long as it please y^e Lord we shall live together and the sd Tho Duckett & Ruth Wood as father confirmation thereof did then and there to these presents sett their hands, and we whose names are hereunto subscribed are witnesses of the same the Day and year above written."

Another form of certificate, which was filed early the same year by John Moon and Martha Wilkins, read:

"These are to satisfie whom it may concern that Whereas John Moon of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania Merchant and Martha Wilkins of the same Spinster for the fullfulling a Law of the Province in that case made & Provided did Post or set a Paper upon a Certain noted publick Place in the County where they lived showing their intentions of taking each other as husband and Wife and nothing being



THE QUAKER WEDDING

(From the painting by Percy Bigland, in possession of Isaac H. Clothier, Wynnewood, Pennsylvania)



JULIANA PENN
(The wife of Thomas Penn)

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

since objected to the Contrary which said time being since expired and sufficient proof thereof made of it to the Register of the County in which they lived they the said John Moon and Martha Wilkins did since solemnly take each other as husband & Wife at the House of John Moon in y^e town & County of Philadelphia aforesaid before us whose names are hereunto subscribed the three & twentieth Day of the 3d Month being y^e first Day of the Week 1686 by taking each other by y^e hand, and promising to be loving and faithful each to other as husband & Wife till Death should part them the Parties themselves having also subscribed their Names.”

Later it was not sufficient to “Post or set a Paper upon a Certian noted Publick Place,” but a license was required of all those who wished to be married. The license used in 1777 was a formidable document:

“Know all Men by these Presents, That we
. are held and firmly bound unto
. Esquire, President of the Supreme Executive
Council of the Commonwealth of *Pennsylvania*, Captain
General and Commander in Chief in and over the
Same, in the Sum of . . . Pounds, to be paid to the said
. Esquire, his certain Attorney,
Executors, Administrators or Assigns, or his Successors
in the said Office: to the which Payment well and truly
to be made, we bind ourselves jointly and severally for
and in the Whole, our Heirs, Executors, and Adminis-
trators, firmly by these Presents—Sealed with our Seals
Dated the Day of in the Year of our
Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and

“The Condition of this Obligation is such, That if there shall not hereafter appear any lawful Let or Impediment, by reason of any Pre-contract, Consanguinity, Affinity, or any other cause whatsoever, but that the above-mentioned may lawfully

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

marry; and there is not any Suit depending before any Judge, for or concerning any such Pre-contract; and also if the said Parties, and each of them are of the full Age of Twenty-one Years, and are not under the Tuition of his or her Parents, or have the full Consent of his or her Parents or Guardians respectively to the said Marriage; and if they, or either of them, are not indentured Servants, and do and shall save harmless and keep indemnified the above-mentioned..... Esquire, his Heirs, Executors and Administrators, or his Successors in the said Office, for and concerning the Premises; and shall likewise save harmless and keep indemnified the Clergyman, Minister, or Person who shall join the said Parties in Matrimony, for, or by Reason of, his doing so; then this Obligation to be Void, and of none Effect, or else to stand in full Force and Virtue.

Sealed and Delivered
in the Presence of

“The Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

“To any Protestant Minister

“Whereas Application has been made to Us byto be joined together in holy Matrimony, and there appearing no lawful Let or Impediment by Reason of Pre-contract, Consanguinity, Affinity, or any just Cause whatsoever, to hinder the said Marriage: These are therefore to license and authorize you to, join the said.....in the holy Bonds of Matrimony, and them to pronounce Man and Wife.”

But the license and the certificate were not always the only legal documents passed on these interesting occasions. Sometimes there was also an ante-nuptial agreement, and this was carefully signed and sealed. Such an agreement was made between Jacob Spicer

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

and Deborah Leaming in 1751. Only six of the twenty-one particulars named are here quoted:

“To Mrs. Deborah Leaming,

“Madam:

“Seeing I Jacob Spicer have addressed myself to you upon the design of Marriage, I therefore esteem it necessary to Submit to your consideration some particulars before we enter upon the Solemn Enterprize which may either establish our happiness, or Occasion our Inquietude during life.....

“I conceive the following Rules and particulars ought to be steadily observed and kept, viz.

“1st. That we keep but one purse, a Severance of Interest bespeaking diffidence, mistrust, and disunity of mind.

“2d. That we avoid anger as much as possible, especially with each other, but if either should be overtaken therewith, the other to treat the angry Party with Temper and moderation.....

“9th. That if any misunderstanding shou'd arise the same to be calmy Canvassed and accommodated between ourselves without admitting the Interposition of any other, or seeking a Confident to either reveal our mind unto, or Sympathize withall upon the Occasion.....

“13th. That in Matters of Religious Concernment we be at liberty to Exercise our Sentiments freely without Controul.....

“15th. That we use the Relatives of each other with Friendly Kindness.....

“21st. That if anything be omitted in the foregoing rules and Particulars that may Conduce to our future Happiness and welfare, the same to be hereafter Supplied by reason and discretion as often as Occasion shall require.

“I Deborah Leaming in Case I marry with Jacob Spicer do hereby Promise to Observe and Perform the

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

before going rules and Particulars... As Witness my hand the 16th day of December 1751.

“Deborah Leaming.”

“I Jacob Spicer in Case I marry with Deborah Leaming do hereby promise to observe and Conform to the before going rules and particulars...as Witness my hand the 16th day of December 1751.

“Jacob Spicer.”

Not all documents that passed between those who planned to marry were so formal and businesslike. Men wrote love letters to young women in early days just as they write them to-day, and as they will write them to the end of time.

Perhaps Rev. Elias Keach was not so young as some swains, and possibly his inamorata, Mrs. Mary Helm, had passed her first youth, but this was no reason for lack of ardor in their love letters. On August 24, 1696, the minister was in his “studdy at Christeena Creek.” Some may say that he ought to have been studying his sermon for the next Sunday, but the thought of the fair Mary in Philadelphia was too much for him, and he could not study until he prepared for her a warm message that was far more important to him, just then, than any sermon could be. And this is what he wrote:

“Dearest Ladie;

“My boldness in Rushing these Rude and unpolished lines into your Heroick & most Excelent Presence, doth cause me to suspect your amazement & may justly cause you to suspect my unmannerliness...But Lady let me crave the mantle of your Virtue the which noble & generouse favour will hide my naked and deformed fault...ever since I saw thee sun-rise of your comly & gracious presence the sun beams of your countenance

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

& your discreet & virtuous behaviour, hath by degrees wroat such virtuouse heat & such Ammorouse Effects in my disconsolate heart; that that which I must at present disclose in words, in your graciouse presence; I am forct (altho far distant from you) to discover in Ink & paper; trusting in God that this may be a Key to open the door of your virtuous & tender heart against the time I do appear in person, Dear Mistress;...I must need say that this is not a common practice of mine to write letters of this nature; But Love hath made that proper which is not common; Mrs. Mary If I had foreseen when I saw you what I have since experienced I would have foreshown a more Ample and courteous behaviour than I then did...I know it is folly to speak in my own Praise, seeing I have learnt this Lesson Long Ago wise is that man that speaks few words in his own praise; again as for a Portion; I would have you have as favourable a construction concerning me as I have concerning you,...this is the earnest (yet Languishing) Desire of his Soul, who hath sent his heart with his Letter; and Remains your Cordiall friend earnest suitor faithfull Lover & most Obligeing Servant,

“Elias Keach pastor
& Minister in
Newcastle County.”

The records tell of another minister the story of whose courtship and marriage would take the prize for brevity. His name was Andreas Sandel, and he was pastor of Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia, from 1702 to 1719. On February 1, 1704, he told in his journal the first chapter of his love story:

“In the name of the Lord, I set out to offer myself in marriage, (on the other side of the river) to Maria, a daughter of the late Per. Matson (a Swede), and arrived there after dark.”

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Chapter 2 followed promptly, thus:

"February 2—In the morning I told the object of my visit, and she said *yes*, as did her Mother."

Chapter 3:

"February 9—Arrived here the New Governor, Jean Evans, a Churchman. The banns were published the first time of me and Maria, Matson's daughter."

Chapter 4:

"February 22—To Maria, Per's daughter, I was married in the Lord's name at Wicacoa... The Governor and a great many people present."

There is a little more romance about the story of Sarah Plumly and Edward Shippen. On August 2, 1725, he set out for Boston, and a few days later his Sarah sent the following message hurrying after him:

"Dear Neddy:

"As soon as you left me I went up stairs with a sorrowful heart & laid me down endeavouring to sleep but could not for you was so deep in my thoughts that I could not do any thing all that day, but think of you and the dear parting experience, & the next day I went and sat with Cousin Baynton all day to divert myself. Wednesday night I sent billy to see if the post was come he was not come then and I sent him up next morning and the post was come but there was no letter. Saturday when your father was out of town John Kearsey brought the letters & Josey was here & I could not be easy till he had opened it, & I took mine out with abundance of joy & am glad to hear you are well & that you like your horse & the opinion I have of your sincere love makes me easy & nothing but Death shall put an end to it & dont forget her who shall ever continue to be your most sincere and affectionate friend

"Sarah Plumly."

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

“Neddy” in Boston very properly got up at five in the morning to prepare a letter for Sarah, and this is a part of what he sent:

“...My dear soul I beg you to be choice of your health. I am not (as I told you at parting) at all afraid of my Father’s slighting you, for I know he always respected you, and will show it more in my absence than presence. I desire earnestly that you may provide some of the necessary things for our settling...”

“What signifies fretting my dear pretty soul at things that can not be helped, You and I love one another dearly and I hope as it hath pleased God to conduct me safely here, so He will extend His love further by guarding me safe home again...”

“Lett me beg of you honey to take as much care of your health as I do of mine. So conclude with dear love to my Dearest Sally,

“her sincere friend
“Edwd Shippen.”

Evidently health was preserved, the home coming was without accident and “Sally” was prospered in getting things together for the wedding, for the very next month the ardent young people were married.

A few years later love letters were sent by William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin, to Elizabeth Graeme which were not followed by marriage. The inexorable records show that the recipient of the letters later married a man named Fergusson.

Parts of two letters were as follows:

“Thou dear Tormentor!

“Your most agreeable vexatious little Billet occasioned me more Pleasure and Uneasiness than I chuse to oblige you with the Pain of Hearing at present...”

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“Is this possible! Can such dire Revenge dwell in so fair a Breast? Two Posts, and three gentlemen from Philad^a and not a single Iota from my Betsy!... But I won't complain...Should she know what I suffer it would only serve as an additional Motive for persevering in her late extraordinary Conduct;...

“Thanks to my Stars the Post is just agoing, and now stands at my Elbow impatiently waiting for this Letter. I might otherwise, perhaps, have fill'd the whole Sheet with earnest Intreaties that you would once more oblige me with the Pleasure of hearing from you. But as That in all Probability would have been a sufficient inducement for your not writing at all, remember I do not say I desire you to send one Scrape of a Pen to

“Your too fond
“Franklin.”

There was a more fortunate issue to the love affair of John Smith, whose letter of “12 mo 5th, 1747-8” to Hannah Logan was followed by the marriage of the young people on December 7, 1748. But the lover was by no means sure of the daughter of the owner of Stenton, even for several months after the penning of the ardent missive in which he said:

“It is now some years since first I conceived a very great Esteem for thy person...Soon after I had some opportunities for Converse when thee was in Company, which much Enhanced my Esteem. I plainly saw that though the Cabinet was Exquisitely framed, the Mind lodged in it was Excellent; and this as it renewed and strengthened my former Regard so it increased the difficulty...Many were the Racking thoughts occasioned by the different sensations of desire and doubt...

“When in any degree favoured with Access to the Throne of Grace I spread my case there, and with the

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Utmost Submission and Reverence, desired to be led aright in so weighty an Affair. Many and frequent were my applications of that sort, and I often found return of satisfaction and peace in these Addresses, and sometimes a Nearness and Sympathy with they Exercises, in such an Affecting Manner, that words cannot convey any Adequate Idea of . . .

“I have acted with a great deal of fear and Caution, lest I should do anything that would disoblige thee, and should propitious heaven Incline a tender Sentiment in thee in my favour, I should think no pains too great to take to Convince thee of the Sincerity of my Love, My dear Hannah; I ask not any hasty Conclusion, I only Beg that thou would weigh my proposal in the Most Serious Manner, and I trust thou wilt find a freedom to permit my frequent Visits, and that all Objections and difficulties will in time be removed—and we shall know the Encrease of our Esteem for each other by mutual Good Offices . . .

“I conclude with Observing that Marriage is a solemn thing, but when undertaken with upright, honest intention, and the Blessing of the Almighty Solemnly sought and had therein, it must certainly be the happiest State of Life . . . I pray God to pour down his choicest Blessings upon thy head—and with the Salutation of the Tenderest Regard, I remain

“Thy Truly Affectionate Friend
“John Smith.”

Mr and Mrs. John Smith were staid and sober married people when another lover, who can be known only as “J. S.,” wrote to the girl he left behind him at Lewes, Delaware, when he went off to fight under Washington. From Philadelphia he sent his greetings to one whom he addressed as “My Dearest Girl:”

“ . . . this is the forth Time I have Wrote to Lewes since I left it but have not received one Line

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

from any friend in that Quarter . . . weekly Letters were mutually promised mine has not failed but no Return makes me unhappy . . . I shall leave this Place immediately and can not expect to hear from you God knows when As soon as I arrive at Camp I shall embrace the first opportunity of informing you of my Situation—God send a Speedy & honorable End to our Troubles; Believe me, my dearest Girl, I am often almost ready to leave every Engagement and fly to the Arms of her who I flatter my wishes to make me happy, which none else can do. . . ”

Another soldier of the Revolution whose name, unfortunately became only too well known, on September 25, 1778, sent a letter to Margaret (Peggy) Shippen in Philadelphia which it would have been well if she had never received, for her later marriage to the writer brought her little but sorrow. However, the letter promised great things:

“Dear Madam;—

“Twenty times have I taken up my pen to write to you, and as often has my trembling hand refused to obey the dictates of my heart—a heart which, though calm and serene amidst the clashing of arms . . . trembles with diffidence and the fear of giving offence when it attempts to address you on a subject so important to its happiness . . .

“My passion is not founded on personal charms only; that sweetness of disposition and goodness of heart, that sentiment and sensibility which so strongly mark the character of the lovely Miss P. Shippen, renders her amiable beyond expression, . . . On you alone my happiness depends, and will you doom me to languish in despair? . . . Do you feel no pity in your gentle bosom for the man who would die to make you happy? . . . Friendship and esteem . . . is the most certain basis to build a lasting happiness upon;



MARGARET (PEGGY) SHIPPEN



- (1) COLONIAL GOWN IN WEDDING OUTFIT OF MARY HODGE OF HOPE LODGE, WHITEMARSH; (2) CRIMSON BROCADE OF 1752; (3) GREEN GOWN OVER SATIN HOOPED PETTICOAT; (4) BACK VIEW OF (3)



JOHN PEMBERTON.



HENRY DRINKER.



JAMES PEMBERTON.



JOHN PARRISH.

FOUR OLD-TIME PENNSYLVANIA WORTHIES

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

and where there is a tender and ardent passion on one side, and friendship and esteem on the other, the heart (unlike yours) must be callous to every tender sentiment if the taper of love is not lighted up at the flame.

“ . . . Pardon me, Dear Madame, for disclosing a passion I could no longer confine in my tortured bosom. I have presumed to write to your Papa, and have requested his sanction to my addresses. Suffer me to hope for your approbation. . . . Whatever my fate may be, my most ardent wish is for your happiness, and my latest breath will be to implore the blessing of heaven on the idol and only wish of my soul.

“Adieu, dear Madame, and believe me unalterably, your sincere admirer and devoted humble servant,

“B. Arnold.”

One who has told the story of Peggy Shippen's life says that her father “was opposed to the match because Arnold was over twice her age, a widower with three children, and notoriously extravagant; though when he saw that her heart was fixed and that her health had failed in consequence, he reluctantly gave his consent.”

But there were also happy marriages in the Shippen family. On June 8, 1750, Edward Shippen, Jr., addressed his father on the subject of his love for Peggy Francis:

“Hon'd Sir:

“My Mind has been much employed for about a Twelve-month past about an affair, which, tho' often mentioned to you by others, has never been revealed by myself, . . . Miss Peggy Francis has for a long time appeared to me the most amiable of her sex, and tho' I might have paid my Addresses, possibly with success, when it would have been non-agreeable to you, yet as Our Affections are not always in our Power to command,

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

ever since my Acquaintance with this young Lady I have been utterly incapable of entertaining a thought of any other. . . . If I had obtained a girl with a considerable Fortune, no doubt the world would have pronounced me happier, but, as in my own Notion, Happiness does not consist in being thought happy by the World, but in the internal Satisfaction and Content of the Mind, I must beg leave to say I am a better Judge for myself of what will procure it than they: yet I am not so carried away by my Passion as to exclude the consideration of money matters altogether . . . With a little Assistance in setting out, my Business, with Frugality, cant fail to maintain me, and a bare support with one I love is to me a much preferable state to great affluence with a Person one regards with indifference. Be pleased, Sir, to let me know your sentiments of this affair as soon as possible. For tho' I might not press a very speedy conclusion of it, yet I am anxious to know my Fate. I am Dear Sir

“Your Very affectionate and
dutiful Son

“Edward Shippen Junr.”

In connection with this letter it is of interest to read one written ten years later, by the same son to his father:

“Hon'd Sir:

“ . . . My Peggy this morning made me a Present of a fine Baby, which tho' of the worst Sex, is yet entirely welcome; You see my Family encreases apace; I am however in no fear by the Blessing of God but I shall be able to do them all tolerable Justice. . . .”

Sometimes a prospective bride is in much anxiety as to the way in which the parents of the man she has promised to marry will receive her, but there was no possibility of doubt in the case of Mary Rhodes of

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Philadelphia when she was looking forward to becoming the wife of Thomas Franklin, Jr., His parents forever set at rest any doubts that may have existed by their assurance of welcome:

“Newyork, 12 m^o, 20th, 1763.

“Samuel Rhodes & Wife

“Dear Friends as our Son Thomas has for Some time past acquainted us of his Love and Good Esteem for your Daughter Mary and we Conceiving a Good Opinion of her & Family was Well Pleased with his Choice but hearing it was a Strait with you to part with her to Come to this Place we Could but Sympathize with you in the affair . . . However he informs us you have left her to her Liberty and she has Turned the Scale for Comeing . . . and hope we shall allways have a Parental Care for her and Conclude you are Sensible there is that attracting Power of Love in all Parts that Can make one in the best part, if adhered to . . .

“Tho we have thus far exprest our minds we know not what may happen between the Cup and the Lip . . . but shall contentedly Submit all to that Great Director of all Good—and subscribe with Love unfeigned to you all & to your Dear Daughter Mary in Particular—

“Thomas Franklin

“Mary Franklin.”

There were strict rules in the Philadelphia of long ago as to when a young man might speak and might not speak to a young woman about marriage, and woe to the swain who dared transgress. So George Robinson found to his sorrow. In 1732 it was necessary for him to go before the Meeting and confess his dereliction, which he did in words as follows:

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“Whereas I have made my mind known to Mary McKay upon ye account of Marriage before I had her parents’ Consent Contrary to ye order of friends for which I am sorry.”

A Philadelphia Quakeress in 1796 brought herself into still more serious difficulty because she chose to disregard her parents. Molly Drinker and Samuel Rhoads made up their minds to marry. Molly’s parents, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Drinker, were astonished on the evening of August 8 by the coming of a messenger who bore a letter addressed to Henry and Eliza Drinker. In her journal Mrs. Drinker related the sad story of their heart-break:

“William handed it to me—I wondered from whom it came, directed to us both . . . but upon opening it and reading the address on ye top, ‘My dear parents,’ I cast my eyes down, and to my unspeakable astonishment saw it was signed, ‘Mary Rhoads’ . . . We had not the least suspicion of anything of the kind occurring. My husband was much displeased and angry, and when I wished to know where she was at present, he charged me not to stir in the affair by any means . . .

“The next day William and I stai’d upstairs, both of us very unwell. Sister went over to R. Waln to enquire if she had heard where Molly was. She informed her that Pattison Hartshorn had been told in ye morning by Sally Large that they would have trouble in the neighborhood to-day—that Molly Drinker was married last night to S. R. at the widow Pemberton’s house in Chestnut St—the family were all, her son Joe excepted, out of town. Robt Wharton, being a Magistrate, had married them according to friendly order. That immediately after the ceremony, they, with several others . . . set off for Newington;

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

James Fisher's place, about two miles from the City . . . This was some little alleviation of the matter, as we did not know before where she was, or how she had been married, whether by a Priest, or what Priest. James Pemberton came here in the afternoon, and had a talk with my husband. He said that Sammy was a lad of a very good moral character, and those whom he had heard speak of the matter, made light of it. 'So do not I,' said H. D. . . .

"J. Logan said he thought it a very suitable match; Sam being a worthy young fellow; and as they thought H. D. would never consent [because Samuel Rhoads 'did not dress plain,' or as they expressed it, was a gay young man, while Henry Drinker was a staunch Quaker] was the reason they took the way they had, . . . Nancy Pemberton said that she and all her family, her son Joe excepted, were out and knew nothing of the matter, or she would not have suffered a runaway marriage to have taken place in her house."

Thirteen days after the elopement the young people sent a letter to the parents "expressive of their uneasiness at the pain they had caused," and saying that they hoped to be taken into favor. On October 9, nine weeks after the marriage, Mary came to see her mother. "I was pleased to see her," the mother wrote, "and heartily wish an amicable meeting would take place between her and her father." On October 15, Mrs. Drinker went to S. R.'s, "without leave."—"I feel best pleased that I went," she wrote. On November 1 Mary called at her old home after meeting, and stayed until her father came—"the first time they have seen each other since her marriage," the anxious mother confided to her diary. "He talked to her plainly, and at the same time kindly. She wiped her eyes and made

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

a speech which I did not attend to, having feelings of my own at y^e time. He promised to call and see her mother Rhoads, whom he said, he valued. I hope matters are getting in a fair train, which I think will be a great favor."

Then came the record of February 21, 1797:

"Molly . . . is going to attend our Monthly meeting with a paper of condemnation for her outgoing in marriage. The receiving of her paper was delayed, and another appointment made, M. Hart, S. Scattergood and Molly Smith are to visit her. Sammy's case also put off, and another visit appointed."

The conference with the repentant Molly took place on March 24, nearly five weeks later:

"Her outgoing in marriage ought to have been the subject in question. but M. H. took upon himself to talk of things wide of the mark, and I believe they intend to lengthen out the business as long as they can. If innocent young women are so treated, I fear it will drive them further from the Society, instead of bringing them nearer."

On April 12, the mother talked with one of the men who had been appointed to deal with Sammy Rhoads. "He is, or appears to be, an innocent, well minded man," was her opinion. "If they were all so, men and women, the affair would not be so long in hand. He said there was a good deal of outdoors talk, which he disapproved of."

The case was still undecided on April 20, for on that day Molly told her mother that she expected a visit next day from those whom the mother called "the curious impertinents."

On May 23 came the joyful news that the daughter's

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

paper "was received without one dissenting voice." From this day husband and wife were restored to favor.

And all this trouble might have been avoided if Samuel Rhoads and Mary Drinker had been as open in their plans as was the writer of a wedding invitation that was dated October 19, 1746:

"Mysweetheart as well as myself desire (if it may suit thy convenience and freedom), that thou wilt favor us with thy company at our marriage, which is intended to be at Burlington the 4th of next month.

"I am thy respectful friend,

"Aaron Ashbridge."

One of the many drawbacks to an elopement—at least in the bride's eyes—was the inability to prepare a trousseau like that of Molly Burd, who married Peter Grubb. She spent £31, 5s. 8d, and the items were as follows:

14 Yards Mantua Silk.....	£8 8 0
1 Ps. Irish Linnen 25 yds at 5/9.....	7 3 9
1 silk Cloak.....	3 6 6
3 yds. Cambrick at 16.....	2 8 0
A necklace.....	9 0
For a laced Cap, Ruffles, Tippet & tucker..	9 10 5

A much more elaborate outfit was purchased for a bride of 1768. It is not possible to name all the items. The following are selected:

"1 Bedstead with curtain, £15; 8 Chamber and 1 Arm Chair, £13.10; 1 Chest of Drawers, £10; 1 Sconce Glass, £4; 1 Damask Table Cloth and 12 Napkins, £4.15; 1 Silver Cup, £4.4.4; 1 pair Silver Castors, £4.15.7; 1 Silver Cream Jug, £2.19.6; Silver Tea Tags and Strainer, £ 11s. 4d; 1 Black Gown, £5; Damask do, £5; 1 Taffety do, £3; 1 Silverett do, £2; 1 Persian do,

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

£2; 1 Poplin do, £2; 1 Velvet Cloak, £2; 1 Broadcloth Cloak, £4; 1 Black Petticoat, £2; 1 Serge do, £1; 1 Persian do, £1; 1 Poplin do, £1.5; 1 Blue do, £1; 1 Dimity do, 7s.6d; 1 Camblet Cloak, 10s; 4 Cambric and Linen Handkerchiefs, £1; 1 pair Stockings, 3s. 4d.”

As became a staid Quaker preacher, Thomas Chalkley did everything decently and in order, when he was married, but he did not want any frills or fur-belowes. In 1714, he wrote:

“About this time I had an inclination to alter my condition of being a widower, for a married state, and the most suitable person that I (with some of my good friends) could think upon was Martha, the widow of Joseph Brown; and on the 15th of the second month, 1714, we were joined together in marriage, . . . We had a large meeting at our marriage, the solemnization thereof being attended with the grace and the goodness of God . . . We made but little provision for our guests, for great entertainments at marriages and funerals began to be a growing thing among us, which was attended with divers inconveniences.”

Ann Warder was a worthy follower of Thomas Chalkley, for she was quite severe in the remarks she made on dress in connection with the marriage of two of her friends. The first reference was made in her diary on Nov. 27, 1786:

“A sweet looking young woman called to see the girls, who in a few days is to be married out of the Society to the great Dr Hutchinson, many years older than herself, and a widower with one son. Evident it is here that girls feel the scarcity of men or they would not sacrifice themselves. . . .”

Five days later she wrote that three of her family, Jerry, Lydia and Sally were invited to dine with Dr.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Hutchinson and wife, "which as they had been married by a priest would be hardly orthodox with us, but here much too many make no distinction, paying them just the same respect—calling the first three mornings to drink punch with the groom and the next week drinking tea with the bride. I think the evil consequences of mixed marriages are reduced in the view of some young minds who perhaps become entangled in this improper way at some of these places. They had a large company and stylish entertainment. In the evening sister M— came in when we had a long conversation on this subject, to which dress was introduced I told her if my husband's circumstances would not afford me a good long gown, I had rather wear a worsted one always, than like her sit at home not fit to be seen by man sometimes

There was much state on the occasion of Edward Burd's marriage to Elizabeth Shippen. The groom told of the wedding in a letter to Jasper Yeates, dated at Philadelphia on December 22, 1778:

"On Thursday Evening last, I formed the most pleasing connexion with my most amiable Girl. We had none that lived out of the Family except Aunt Willing, Mr. Tilghman, & the Bride's Man & Maids present at the Ceremony. My dear Betsy went thro' it with tolerable Courage considering the very important Change it will make in her life:—We saw Company for three days & one Friday Evening had a little Hop for our unmarried Acquaintances Betsy joins me in her kind Love to yourself, Mrs. Yeates & Family. I have a prospect of getting Mrs. Francis's House with the use of her Furniture. . . . I have got some Linnen at my father's both fine and coarse. It

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

will be proper I should use my own Sheeting & Table Linnen; I wish that I could get that & my Table Linnen sent down as soon as is convenient."

Eight days after the groom wrote the letter that told of his happiness, the wife of the recipient sent a message to the bride:

"Permit me, my dear Betsy to congratulate you on your Change of Condition. Our new Connection gives me the highest Joy & Satisfaction . . .

"We flatter ourselves we shall have the Pleasure of your Company here, whenever the weather will permit your travelling. . . .

"You will greatly oblige me by presenting my Duty to your Papa & Mama & Love to your Sisters & Brothers. That you & Neddy may experience every Felicity the married State is capable of, are the ardent wishes of, Dear Betsy,

"Your most affectionate
"Sister."

And in the following January Elizabeth Tilghman, the bride's cousin, sent her congratulatory epistle, in which she makes mention of Margaret Shippen and Benedict Arnold:

"Well my dear young Matron how is it with your highness now, have you got over all your little pal-pitations, and settled yourself as a sober discreet wife. . . . and is it really possible that you are married, and have received the golden Pledge before the Cassock and Twenty Five . . . give my best love to Coun-sellor Burd, you have some slight knowledge of the youth I presume, but at your peril don't let him peep at this elegant scrawl of mine tell the girls they have my best wishes . . . oh! all ye powers of love I had like to have forgot the gentle Arnold, where is he . . . and when is he like to convert our little Peggy. They

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

say she intends to surrender soon. I thought the fort would not hold out long well after all there is nothing like perseverance, and a regular attack. Adieu, my dear, supper waits. let me hear from you soon."

January 9, 1787, witnessed the marriage of Elliston Perot and Sarah Sansom, at the Bank Meeting House. On the day of the wedding, Ann Warder wrote in her diary a sprightly account of the event:

"On entering found most of the wedding company present, among whom I sat. Cousin Betsy Roberts first said a few words, then honest Robert Willis, soon after which Betsy appeared in supplication and William Savery followed with a long and fine testimony. The bride and groom performed, the latter exceedingly well, and the former very bad. Meeting closed early when the couple signed the certificate, the woman taking upon her the husband's name. We then proceeded to Elliston's house but a short distance from the Meeting, where about fifty-eight friends were assembled. We were ushered upstairs where cake and wine were served, and Joey Sansom in helping with two decanters of Bitters, and glasses on a waiter, spilt the wine over his visitor's wedding garments, much to her embarrassment. The next disaster was that some of the fresh paint ruined a number of gowns.

"At two o'clock we were summoned to dinner and all were seated at a horse-shoe shaped table except Cousin John Head, Jacob Downing and Billy Sansom, who were groomsmen and waited on us. The bridesmaids were Sally Drinker, her Cousin Polly Drinker, and a young woman named Sykes Jacob Downing has long courted Sally Drinker and it is now likely to be a match in the spring report says.—She is a cheerful, clever girl and he an agreeable young man.

"We had an abundant entertainment—almost everything that the season produced. After dinner

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

we adjourned upstairs, and chatted away the afternoon, the young folks innocently cheerful and the old not less so.

“Tea was made in another room and sent to us. At nine o’clock we were called to supper, after which the guests prepared to return to their homes.”

That sounds like a long time for the bride to be on exhibition. But that day was only the beginning. A whole week passed before the festivities connected with the wedding were at an end.

The papers of June 18, 1823, told of a marriage that is of special interest because of the description of the dress of the bride, Elizabeth M. Morris, and of the wedding supper:

“The bride was dressed in white satin covered with tulle, and had what I believe you call a skeleton bonnet . . . two sermons from O. Alsop and a woman named Leeds, both in a gloomy and foreboding style. The thermometer being at 93! and the house hemmed in on all sides . . . the bride spoke so very low at meeting that no one I have inquired of heard a syllable. Having had the honor of an invitation, found a company of about sixty-four, chiefly employed in seeking the coolest situations. The supper tables at a little after nine was elegantly furnished—tea and coffee, cakes, blanc-mange, calves-foot jellies, oranges, pineapples, raisins and sugared almonds, strawberries and cream, strawberry and lemon ice creams and large pound cakes.

The Colonial records of courtship and marriage are rich in humor. Sarah Eve was humorous, though she did not realize it, when she, who was at the time engaged to Dr. Benjamin Rush, wrote on March 30, 1773:

“In the morning I went to Mr. Rush’s where I

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

spent the day and night. In the evening I had the pleasure of seeing Capt. Bethell for the first time. About ten o'clock I went to bed and left Miss Bets up. Query, which was the happier, that lady sitting up with her—, or myself lying in a fine soft bed, reading the 'Adventures of the renowned Don Quixote,' and in a most excellent humor to enjoy it?"¹

A humorist of 1729, Hugh Roberts, wrote to his "Respected Fr'd T. Fenton:"

" . . . My sister Jenny entered likely into the matrimonial Band wth William Fishbourn who I believe will make her a loving Husband . . . Sister Susan is much dejected by the parting with a sister, altho, but at a small Distance so that I am apt to believe nothing short of a Nupteal tye will support her Drooping spirits at this melancholly Juncture" . . .

Humor came from one of the Revolutionary camps in a letter sent by a captain to his wife. In a post-script he gave a message for his sisters that must have made them smile and blush:

"To Miss Aby Miss Rachel & Miss Jenny my kind sisters I hoped you will take special care not to get married to any cowardly fellow till I return with some of my Brave fellows which will be before you spoil with old age there are some of them who would wish to see you very much I flatter them to behave like men and you will be the redier to receive them."

Fortunately the Act of Parliament of 1770, concerning marriage, which applied to Pennsylvania as

¹Robert Bethell later married Betsy Rush, but Sarah Eve died on December 4, 1774, two weeks before the day appointed for her marriage to Dr. Rush.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

well as the other colonies, could not be enforced at this time, for it proposed dire penalties on those who dared set their caps for men, as the captain urged his sisters to do. This awful Act declared:

“All women, of whatever age, rank, professional degree, whether virgins, maids or widows, that shall from and after such Act impose upon, seduce or betray into Matrimony, any of his Majesty’s Male subjects by the secrets, cosmetics, washes, artificial teeth, false hair, Spanish wool, iron-stays, hoops, high-heeled shoes, etc. shall incur the penalty of the law now in force against witchcraft, and like misdemeanours, and that the marriage upon conviction shall be null and void.”

XI

PEEPS INTO THE POST BAG

TWO POUNDS FOR CARRYING ONE LETTER—WHY PEGGY SHIPPEN SIGHED
—HOW PETER MUHLENBERG PLAYED PRODIGAL—THE CLEVER
LADIES OF PHILADELPHIA—A DUN FOR A DEER—PROVING A FISH
STORY—CONGRESS A “MOST RESPECTABLE BODY”—WHY FRANKLIN
WAS SARCASTIC

IN these days of efficient mail service and cheap postage it is difficult to realize that these blessings are comparatively modern. The early residents of Philadelphia were forced to be content with infrequent, uncertain, expensive transportation of letters. It is matter of remark, then, that they made such good use of their limited opportunities. They paid gladly the cost of sending a message to England or to other colonies. Of course the writing of a letter was far more of a ceremony than it is to-day. Frequently the spare time of days was given to the composition of one letter, and usually the recipient had something worthy of examination.

As late as 1755 the rate for a letter to England was, for a single sheet, one shilling; for two sheets, two shillings; for three sheets, three shillings, and for an ounce, four shillings. In addition local postage had to be paid to the port city. Mails were sent once each month.

A hint of the great expense of the local transport of letters for even a comparatively short distance is afforded by a message sent by Thomas James to James

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Steele, from Philadelphia, in November, 1735. He asked for seven pounds for "my Trouble of coming up from the Capes"; then he added, "and for my Going down to New Castle I am sure is not worth less than three Pounds." This opinion as to the proper charge he based on the fact that he "had from a Certain Merch^t in this town Seven Pounds for Coming up from the Capes with only a Bare Packet of letters—and from Geo. Claypoole Five Pounds for Carrying one Single letter down to y^e Capes."

In spite of the plea for the ten pounds, but seven pounds were paid for the service. Perhaps this was because funds were scarce in the pockets of the man for whom the service in question was rendered.

Financial stringency was a common complaint among the settlers on the Delaware. Even the leader of the community, William Penn himself, was compelled more than once to postpone the payment of just debts. A letter written by him in August, 1683, was occasioned by a difficulty of this sort. This letter, as it has come down to us, is addressed simply; "Kind friend."

It read:

"I was not willing to lett the Bearer W^m Lloyd goe without a Letter directed to my Friend West for though I am a Man of Noe Cerimony, I vallue my Self a little upon sence and Gratitude. I had a very Civill Letter from y^e which Adds to my Obligations, but having to doe wth a man neither Cruell nor Indigent, I hope he will trust tell I am able to pay; and to doe this Noe Occation shall Slipp me and Indeed I had not bin soe Long Silent, If my own Expectations of Seeing York had not by your Govern^{ts} delay bin frustrated Pray

PEEPS INTO THE POST BAG

lett me have y^e Continuance of thy friendship, & give me Reason to believe in by favouring my Commissioners wth y^e Mawhawks and Simicar Indians about some backe Lands on y^e Susquehannash River there may be many y^t better tell there tayle, but None more Sincerely & affectionately esteems y^e y^r thy Verry True Friend-

W. P.”

The next plunge into the Colonial post-bag brings to light a letter written in 1742 to a junior member of the Penn family connection, “Master Freame,” who was a grandson of William Penn. Richard Hockley was the writer, and he clothed some good wholesome advice with a good deal of humility:

“I hope you will bear with me if I take it upon me to give you a little advice in the best manner I am capable, & that is as you are at y^e same school wth your Cozen Jackey Penn & will I hope have the same Education you will on your part endeavour to live in Strict Unity & Friendship wth him & desire a Spirit of Emulation may arise in your Breast to equal him in all his study's & Exercises. I have a very good regard to you Both as decendants of a Worthy Honourable Family to whom I am under the greatest Obligations & hope you will Both Endeavour to imitate their Worthy Examples, but you must claim a greater Share of my Affections as I have pass'd away a many pleasing Hours in your Innocent Company; & I cant bear to think that you Shou'd be Eclipsed in any one Virtue or Qualification that becomes a Gentleman & a Decendant of the Family to which you belong.”

One of the Philadelphia homes to which descendants of the “Worthy Honourable Family” delighted to go was Stenton, where James Logan welcomed all comers. whether rich or poor, high or low, civilized or savage.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

In the home were his two grown daughters, Hannah and Sarah. The lover of Hannah and a friend of Sarah was John Smith, who evidently was appreciative of everything his friends did for him. In 1747 he wrote to Sarah to thank her for a kindness she had done him. We are not told what that kindness was, but there are so many glimpses of the writer's nature in his letter that it is worth while to read what he wrote:

“My Dear Friend

“I am not very well to-day otherwise should have waited upon thee, which I hope will apologize for my writing. I have lately heard of an Instance of thy Friendship for me, which hath made a very deep Impression on my mind. The kind and good natured manner with which thou was pleased to speak of me to an Antient Friend of ours in the Country [her father], as it was at a time when such a Character did me the most Service that it ever could, So it gives me an opportunity to know that true friendship may subsist without much outward show of it, and will manifest itself ready & willing to do service, when Occasion offers, Even when there is no probability of its coming to the Knowledge of the person so obliged. I thought I had my friends at Stenton, but cannot find that any ever gave such Testimonies of their Regard, as the Instance I am now speaking of. I wish I may have it in my power to shew thee by Actions as well as words, how much I esteem myself in thy debt.

“I am dear Sally Thy Loving & obliged Friend.”

By no means all the letters the postman carried were of the stately nature affected by John Smith. Some of them were full of the gossip of the town. In fact, invaluable aid is given to those who study the everyday life of the people in Colonial days by many



WILLIAM HAMILTON OF "THE WOODLANDS" AND HIS NIECE,
MRS. ANNA HAMILTON LYLE
(Painted by Benjamin West; original in the possession of the Historical
Society of Pennsylvania)



MRS. BENEDICT ARNOLD AND HER DAUGHTER
(From the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence)



GENERAL CADWALADER, WIFE AND CHILD

PEEPS INTO THE POST BAG

letters like that sent in 1748 by John Ross to Dr. Cadwalader Evans. The bits of news he wrote would have satisfied anyone who was hungering for a word as to how old neighbors were getting along. After mentioning the fact that one common acquaintance was to be married to "the young widow that lived at Harriet Clay," and that "Old Doctor Kearsley is to be married this week to Mrs. Bland Mrs. Usher's niece that lives near the Burying ground," he went on to say:

"Doctor Bond is gone to spend the winter at Barbadoes in a low state of health; it is thought he will continue there if the climate agrees with him—Last week Judah Foulke had a son born—no small joy—About 20 of us baptized it last Monday at John Biddle's in hot arrack punch—and his name is called Cadwalader—John Smith has passed our meeting with Miss Hannah Logan—I would give you more, now my hand is in, if I could recollect . . ."

Nowadays the complaint is made that a man cannot read any real news in a letter. Evidently the race has deteriorated in this respect since the days of John Ross. At any rate he makes a better success as a disseminator of gossip than Peggy Shippen Arnold who wrote, just after the British evacuated Philadelphia:

"Joesy must have looked perfectly cha'ming in the Character of Father. I wish he'd pay us a Vis as I make no doubt he's much improv'd by being so long in Maryland. Mr White tells me his present flame is a Miss Peggy Spear of Baltimore you may remember her she lived at Mrs. Smith's a pretty little girl enough. What think you of the Weather, wont it be a bar to our hopes? I much fear it will Hi Ho I cant hlp sighing when I think of it. Oh! the Ball, not a lady there the Committee of real Whigs met in the afternoon &

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

frightened the Beaux so much that they went around to all the ladies that meant to go to desire they'd stay at home, tho' it seems the Committee had no thoughts of molesting being all of their own Kidney. I'm delighted that it came to nothing as they had the impudence to laugh at US."

Not all the writers of the old-time letters were light-hearted. There were times when the carefully written message was put together by one whose heart was breaking. The story of one such heartbreak began with a letter written by Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg to his friend the court chaplain Ziegenhagen in London. To him he said:

"Your Reverence will kindly permit me . . . to make a humble inquiry and request of you. My oldest son, Peter, is entering his sixteenth year. I have had him taught to read and write German and English, and, after the necessary instruction, he had been confirmed in our Evangelical Church; moreover, since I have been in Philadelphia, I have sent him to the Academy to learn the *rudimenta linguae latinae*. But now I write in great anxiety on account of the corruption among the impudent and emancipated youth of this city, and I am not able to provide for his welfare any longer. It would be a great scandal and offense in my position, and to the ruin of his own soul, if he should fall into wild ways. Is there not an opportunity . . . for him to learn surgery, or even an honest trade? Or will the blessed Institution in Glaucha by the power of God, reach so far as to provide for him? Next spring I shall have a good opportunity to send him hence to London."

So to London Peter was sent in 1763, and with him were the two brothers nearest to him in age, Friedrich and Heinrich. Peter soon after entered the prepara-

PEEPS INTO THE POST BAG

tory school of the University of Halle. Here all went well for a time, but about a year later a tutor reproved him in a way that the high-spirited Peter thought was insulting. So the boy boxed the tutor's ears. Fearing the inevitable punishment he fled and enlisted in a passing regiment.

When the news of the disaster came to Philadelphia, the tortured father wrote a pitiful letter to G. A. Francke at Halle:

“Dearest Benefactor:

“ . . . I see . . . with sorrow that my eldest boy has allowed himself to be overcome by the world, the flesh, and the devil, and gone headlong to destruction, and that the youngest son is not far behind. . . . It mortifies and bows me to the ground with shame to find that your Reverence and other children of God have been caused so much care, anxiety, and vexation by the sending abroad of my perverse offspring, all of which I am in no condition to make amends for . . . Lest the cause of God should suffer harm or injury through me and mine, I am obliged to sever my connection with the church, and to leave it, after God, to be cared for in the future by those revered ones in authority . . . and betake myself to a place where I can bring up my children rightly, and devote the rest of my strength to the most abandoned of mankind.

“ . . . According to the English law, the parents have this advantage, that a son cannot engage in anything before his majority without his father's consent. If, before this time, a boy enlists or contracts marriage without his father's consent, such action is void, and the father can either put him in the House of Correction, or sell him until his Majority. . . . If my boy had played me this trick here . . . I would have sold him as a servant until his majority.”

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

A friend of the Muhlenberg family, a British Colonel, discovered Peter in a garrison in Hanover. After securing his release, he sent him to America, where he arrived in 1766. It is recorded that, in spite of his harsh letter, Dr. Muhlenberg received the prodigal with open arms. Peter thereupon asked to go into the army, but he was persuaded instead to receive training at home for the Church. So careful and wise was his father's training that the son was ready for ordination in 1768.

In 1772 Dr. Muhlenberg had further evidence of the wisdom of his course in devoting himself so assiduously to the welfare of his sons, for on February 23 of that year he was able to write:

“My son Friedrich, a stricter Lutheran than Peter, lets me have a distant hope, that if God, in His great mercy and grace, preserves him, strengthens him by His spirit, and promotes his growth, he may become in the future a fellow worker in the Philadelphia Church. He has by nature an honest heart, some experience of God's grace, a tolerably clear head, a sound stomach and moderate bodily organs. He can endure hardship and is more accustomed to the American climate than a born European; he has a fine, clear, penetrating voice for Zion, and family connections by means of which he can by Divine grace be settled. He has already made one or two trials in his poor little congregations, which pleased me well, and has been overhasty once or twice, with good intentions, however, and I willingly overlooked it and endeavoured to show him the right way, for young soldiers sometimes want to discharge their guns before they are loaded, from a courageous anxiety to kill the enemy before they can hit him.”

PEEPS INTO THE POST BAG

William Penn would have been delighted with these letters of a father eager for his children's welfare, for the great founder was himself a loving father, as specimens of his letters to his children show. One of his fatherly letters was written to

"My dear Springet

"Be good, learn to fear god, avoide evil, love thy books, be Kind to thy Brother & Sister & god will bless thee & I will exceedingly love thee. farewell Dear Child. My love to all y^e Famely & to Friends. Thy Dear Father."

Again he wrote to his daughter:

"Dear Letitia

"I dearly love y^e, & would have thee sober, learn thy book & love thy Brothers. I will Send thee a pretty Book to learn in. Y^e Lord bless thee & make a good woman of thee. fare well.

"Thy Dear Father."

A third letter in the series:

"Dear Bille

"I love thee much, therefore be Sober & quiet, and learn his book, I will send him one. so y^e lord bless y^e. Amen.

"Thy Dr. Fa^r:"

One hundred years later there lived in Philadelphia a father who knew how to win the confidence of his daughter. This man was General "Mad Anthony" Wayne. In 1786 he wrote to his daughter Margarita a letter that must have brought great joy to her loyal heart:

"Pardon me my dear Girl for so long a Silence Occasioned by a variety of disagreeable circumstances all of which I supported with steady fortitude—except

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

the death of my long tried nearest & dearest friend & Neighbour Major General Greene.

“. . . Pray write without reserve make me your friend & confident & be assured that nothing in the power of a fond Parent will be wanting to constitute the true happiness of a Daughter who I am confident will prove herself worthy of it.

“. . . Believe me my Dear Girl yours most sincerely

“Anty Wayne.”

And the father in his turn had the joy of receiving from his daughter a warm and tender letter:

“My Dear and Honoured Papa

“. . . I thank my Dear Papa for the good advice he gives me in every letter respecting my conduct in this life; I shall in every respect behave myself in such a manner as to gain the good opinion of all my friends and acquaintances; and hope at a later day to resign myself without fear. I hope my Dear Papa will not be displeas'd with me in being so long absent from Mrs. Kearney's. It was with friends advice. You write me Papa to speak my sentiments therefore shall informe you that every persone thinks M^{rs}. K—— board is very expensive, and I thought I wou'd have Papa's opinion it is a Guinea a week.

“. . . I have seen my Brother, he is very hearty & comes on fast in his learning he is at present studying Greek. I think your letter Papa will encourage him to learn, as he often wish'd he cou'd receive a letter from you.

“Before a conclusion I must once again show Papa how greatly I am in gratitude & in duty bound to thank him for his kind protection and how void of understanding shou'd I be if I was not to follow his advice and example and try to make myself worthy of his paternal Friendship . . . It makes me look back

PEEPS INTO THE POST BAG

with sorrow, when I think what a great loss a Father is, for example Aunt Sally's family what a loss as these poor orphans met with, to loose a Father just when they had come to know the good of one. Papa we Can't prize health too much, it is a very valuable Blessing, & I hope you have a reasonable share of it . . .

"With every mark of respect I am my dear Papa's Dutiful & affectionate Daughter."

It is fitting that these letters exchanged between father and daughter should be followed by a message sent in 1813 by General Andrew Porter of Harrisburg to his son James, who was attending school in Philadelphia:

"Dear James

". . . Let your purchases of books be of those of the law, and your studies confined to that profession, until your acquirements become conspicuous. Your services will then be sought after, and your talents appreciated. If you pay attention to various things and your pursuits are diversified, you will never rise to the head of your profession, and to be a pettifogger would be more disgraceful than to be a poor day laborer. You have talents and acquirements that promise fair to raise you to eminence, and no doubt will, if you confine them to the profession of the Law. A good character, amiable disposition, and superior acquirements, with your talents, will no doubt raise you to the height of your ambition. . . .

"I am now grown old. A very few years more, and the anxiety and advice of your father will cease forever. Be not too credulous, and trust not the plausible profession of men too far, lest you purchase experience too dearly. Think for yourself and mark out your line of conduct with wisdom and prudence."

The fortunate son of such a father profited by the advice so earnestly given, for he lived to become one

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

of the state's ablest lawyers. He was later a member of President Tyler's cabinet, where, it was said, Webster alone was superior to him.

Wisdom of a different sort is to be seen in another family letter, that sent in 1781 by Miss Rebecca Franks to her sister Abigail, Mrs. Andrew Hamilton. At the time of writing she was in Flatbush, Long Island, from where she made frequent visits to New York. She was a loyal Philadelphian, however, and New York's charm could not wean her from her love for the city on the Delaware. She said:

“ . . . I will do our ladies, that is Philadelphians, the justice to say they have more cleverness in the turn of an eye than the N. Y. girls have in their whole composition. With what ease, have I seen a Chew, a Penn, Oswald, Allen and a thousand others, entertain a large circle of both sexes, and the conversation without the aid of cards not flag or seem the least bit strain'd or stupid, Here, or more properly speaking in N. Y. you enter the room with a formal set curtsey and after the how do's, 'tis a fine, or a bad day, and those trifling nothings are finished all's a dead calm till the cards are introduced, when you see pleasure dancing in the eyes of all the matrons and they seem to gain new life. The misses, if they have a favourite swain, frequently decline playing for the pleasure of making love—for to all appearances 'tis the ladies and not the gentlemen that show a preference nowadays. 'Tis here, I fancy, always leap year. For my part that am used to quite another mode of behaviour, I cannot help shewing my surprise, perhaps they call it ignorance, when I see a lady single out her pet to lean almost in his arms at an Assembly or play-house, (which I give my honour I have too often seen both in married and in single),

PEEPS INTO THE POST BAG

and to hear a lady confess a partiality for a man who perhaps she has not seen three times . . .

“ . . . I shall send a pattern of the newest bonnet, there is no crown, but guaze raised on wire, and quite pinched to a sugar loaf at top,—the lighter the trimming the more fashionable . . . ”

Probably the sprightly Miss Franks had commissions to execute for her Philadelphia friends. It would be difficult to find a post-bag that does not contain requests to buy something or a message from one who has tried more or less conscientiously to satisfy the friend who has made the request.

Away back in 1702, Robert Carter, of Philadelphia, sent to Jonathan Dickinson a letter of the latter sort:

“I received thine wherein thee requested to buy a Deer of me by Tom pryor and he not having oppertunity to send desired me to convey it to Robert Barber, I considering it might be hazardous of the loss of him in a straing place am willing to acquaint thee that it will be best to convey it at once to Towne or into the vessel, as to the price if through divine providence thou arrive at thy desiered port thou mayest make me some small returne according to thy pleasure, so with dear love to thee & thy wife

“I am thy very Loveing Friend.”

To the same Jonathan Dickinson Rachel Preston, sent from Philadelphia, in 1707, a supply of goods of which she wrote:

“Sum accident haping which brought pattrick back after he left this plaace with Intentions to proced his viage which has given me an oppertunity to put on borde a small box deredcted to be left with your brother Gomersell wherein is four botells of Syrup of Cloves three of Rose watter three Rose Cakes two

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

dear skins which I got thomais griffith to chuse as ye best to be had in ye town. . . . I . . . am not out of hopes of having a litell more to send with ye huney as soon as any new comes in, which with Indeared love conclude this . . . shall subscribe your affectional friend tho much disordered at present."

From Burlington, New Jersey, in 1781, John Cox had a delicate mission to perform, in a letter to Hannah Pemberton of Philadelphia. He began, very diplomatically, as far as possible from the main purpose of the letter:

"Dear Cousin

"It was a fortunate Circumstance that thy sweet little form was not deposited in our Sleigh, for we never reach'd the habitation of Fidelia till Nine O'clock, very cold & wet. I have not time now to expatiate on the manifold wretchedness of our calamitous situation in crossing Ankokas Creek, and other et ceteras, that shall be the subject of a future letter. In this, I take the liberty of trespasing on thy time to request on behalf of a lady—a genteel Stranger in this Town—that thee will be good enough to speak for a pair of the *very best* and most fashionable Stays, and get them finish'd as soon as may be. I have been often press'd to take this Commission, and as often evaded it, lest I should not execute it to satisfaction—but she insists on my taking it under my Care, & I promised to write to some lady of my acquaintance in the City, on the subject. I should have made some enquiry when in Town, but it escaped my Memory. If thee can recollect the size of Kitty Lawrence, it will be a guide to thee in the form &c. perhaps thy own size will be as good a model." . . .

It was a different sort of commission that Judge Richard Peters sent to Jonathan Jones from Belmont

PEEPS INTO THE POST BAG

in 1814, but it was in its way quite as delicate; only a brave man will attempt to get the truth of a fish story. Yet such a request the genial judge made:

“At our last meeting you were so good as to promise you would see Mr. Hayes & procure his Account of the Shad caught in Schuylkill after having been marked in a preceding Season. The fact is singular—, & I had it well ascertained to me, that similar Facts had before happened. I wish to be fortified in my Communication of it to the Philadelphia Society, by Testimony so reputable as that of Mr. Hayes, who perhaps is reluctant at writing; tho’ I only want a plain narrative. I must beg of you to take an early opportunity of calling on him and in a letter communicate to me the Facts. I think 35 were marked & 25 caught—so I understood him to say.

“Relate all circumstances—how marked—where and at what time caught.

“Mr. Hughes was to inform me about the 3 Bushels of Chimney Swallows, which were smothered . . . at a Mr. J. William’s near the Gulph. Can you get the Facts on the Subject? But one at a time you will think enough.”

For many years there were more important things than fish stories to investigate or commissions to fill at the city markets. During the generation from 1755 to the close of the Revolution the subject of letters was apt to be the troubled state of the times. Thus Sally Armitt wrote in 1755 to Susanna Wright, pleading with her to seek safety by coming from the country to the hospitable Armitt home in Philadelphia:

“It is impossible to express the uneasiness that I am under on the account of your Family, I wish you would come to town, as it must be more dangerous on the river, dear Susy we have Several Spare rooms

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

which you shall be very welcome to and we shall take it as a favour. I know thee would not chuse to be in a Family were thee could not make free, dear Susy, the shall be as if at home in our House, but if you chuse not to be with Your Friends, and would take a house, we have a great deal of new furniture that was made before my daddy dye'd, which you shall be exceeding welcome to while you are in town."

In 1766 Lambert Cadwalader of Philadelphia, wrote to George Morgan, of Pittsburgh, a brief message that showed the intensity of feeling in the colony because of the opposition of the mother country:

"I have now the pleasure of communicating to you the joyful news of the repeal of the Stamp Act, news that almost calls back youth to the aged, gives health and vigour to the sick and infirm . . . America is again free! God bless her; long may she remain so."

In 1774 there came out of Philadelphia the tidings, written by William Redwood to William Ellery, that freedom seemed nearer than ever:

". . . I have had an opportunity of hearing the sentiments of all the Gentlemen Delegates from the Several Provinces now in the city, Respecting the unhappy Differences between G. Britain and the Colonies, and they appear to be firm in the Cause of Liberty, they are all very free and conversable as the Congress will be held in Carpenter's Hall which is directly opposite my House, I shall have an opportunity of hearing from time to time how they go on, I apprehend they will be the Most Respectable Body that ever met together in North America."

The day came when the Revolutionary army was in camp. Then Edward Tilghman, Jr., sent to Benjamin

PEEPS INTO THE POST BAG

Chew a requisition for some of the things he needed for his health and the better service of his country:

“Some time ago I wrote for severall Things—The Hunting Shirt I do not now want—would write for all the other Things . . . A Horse I must have . . . My Leather Breeches must be washed and sent . . . & with them my Boot-Buckles . . . a buff Waist-coat with a narrow Lace & a Scrub Coat to ride in rain with, Two 30 Dollar Bills in a Letter well secured. My Cutteau and Belt. The Waist Coat should have the lace taken off I think and cut so as to make a bell regimental Waist coat & Lace sold for Epilets . . . I have six shirts, two more would not be amiss & Handkfs 2 pr Stockings fit for Boots . . .”

In an old chest, bought at auction in Philadelphia a few years ago, the purchaser discovered under a false bottom two commissions to officers who served in the Revolution as well as half a dozen letters from one of these officers, Captain William Steel, to his wife in Lancaster. One of these letters, dated in Philadelphia, July 30, 1776, was addressed to “My Dear and Loving Companion,” The message she read was as follows:

“I wrote to you the other day But it rejoices me to have this opportunity to write to you this evening tide or the morning tide we set sail for Trenton and from that to Amboy at headquarters the people are flocking in here like bees . . . My dear wife rejoice that you have your dear father and mother to live with there is many men here left their Wives in a poor situation and must go on there is no help for them Dear wife I thought you would not miss any good opportunity to write to an absent friend to let me know how you and my little son is in particular and all the rest of the family . . . I would not forget you so soon, but I ascribe it to your grief y^t you aint

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

in a capacity to write or else you would not have neglected me My dear let the fear of God be always before your eyes, pray to him for supporting grace and his kind protection over you that both may enjoy peace and tranquility until I see you both . . . this from your loving husband."

A final dip into the post-bag brings to light two letters which are in great contrast. One of them was written by Benjamin Franklin, though one would not readily ascribe it to him if it did not carry his name. It was written in the third person to an artist who had grievously disappointed the philosopher:

"Dr. Franklin presents his Compliments to Mr. Meyer, and prays him not to detain any longer the Picture from which he was to make a Miniature, but return it by the Bearer. Hopes Mr. Meyer will not think him impatient, as he has waited full Five Years, and seen many of his Acquaintance, tho' applying later, served before him. Wishes Mr. Meyer not to give himself the trouble of making any more Apologies, or to feel the least Pain on Act. of his disappointing Dr. Franklin, who assures him, he never was disappointed by him but once, not having for several Years past since he has known the Character of his Veracity, had the smallest dependence upon it."

Charles Norris was the writer of the final letter. His heart must have been very light. Evidently the winter of 1753 had been mild, for he wrote on February 15, and spring must then have been well on the way. At least the letter was so full of spring that there was little room for anything else. The letter, which was sent to James Wright, began:

"My Good friend

"It gave me pleasure to hear you got home well, and as thee mentions the Weath' I shall observe, When



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
(From the portrait by George Eker in Independence Hall)



MRS. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN



IN OLD CLINTON STREET
Between Ninth and Tenth, looking East
(Pennsylvania Hospital, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1751, in distance)

PEEPS INTO THE POST BAG

Froggs and Flys the Land possess, To moderate the
Colds Excess, By croaking throats and Humming Wing,
Gladly to welcome the approaching Spring, When
these their Watry Council hold, and These Salute
with bussings Bold, we may conclude the winter's
past, and Geneal Spring approaches fast—which
brings to mind the Gardiner's Care, To plant and Soe
all things rare, and first we think of Colliflowers tast,
To Soe its Seed with utmost hast, for fear the Season
sh'd relaps and we not regale our Watry Chaps, with
Its delicious tast & food, wth sure wo'd put in Dudgeon
mood, Then how shall I the sequell tell, when those
Possest with seed, won't sell. However to be a little
more serious Debby bids me tell thee that she's in hopes
to prevale on Dubree to spare a little & this was a
good Day to have sent a Messenger, wo^d not have post-
poned it till another . . .

“Please To Tender my Grateful Acceptances of
the Muffatees to my kind friend Sukey Taylor, & tell
her were I a young Fellow, from whose Mouth or Pen
such return wo^d be suitable & apropo, wo^d say, was the
Weath^r as Cold as Green Lands Air, Its utmost Rigour
I wo^d not fear, but Proud to Breathe the Frigid Land,
while arm'd wth Shield from thy fair hand, I'd think
the Region not too Cool, but warm my heart by Buf-
falo's wool. But in more moderate Terms may, And
perhaps with greater Sincerity, acquaint her wth my
obligations for her warm pres^{nt} Truly Debby tells me
she intends to Borrow them on Extraordinary Occa-
sions, to Draw over her Gloves, and wth a Muff to
Defend her arms from any Cold our Clymat has in petto.”

Surely Charles Norris could give pointers to the
writers of weird lines that modern versifiers have the
temerity to call poetry. At any rate it is easy to gather
his meaning, and that is something that cannot be
done with the average writer of what one critic has
called the Charlie Chaplin school of poetry.

XII

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

PROUD OF THIRTY CARTS—WHY THE CHAIR WAS DELAYED—A MAKESHIFT FOR SHEETS—THE LANDLADY WHOSE EYES WERE “NONE OF THE PRETTIEST”—A VAIN FLIGHT FOR SAFETY—TO LONG BRANCH UNDER DIFFICULTIES—SHE “ONLY OVERSET TWISTE”—THE STEAMBOAT A PHILADELPHIA INVENTION—WHY THE EAGLE DID NOT BEAT THE PHENIX

IN 1697, fourteen years after the founding of Philadelphia, it was a matter of local pride that there were “thirty carts and other wheeled vehicles” in the town. It can well be imagined, then, that there was little travel to the outer regions, and that when a trip was absolutely necessary it had to be made, usually either on horseback, or on foot. Travel on foot was apt to be preferable, since there were at that time few roads, though there were trails which had been made by Indian travellers during many years. These were so narrow that wheeled vehicles could not use them.

Yet there was more or less travel, even at an early date, especially across the Schuylkill to the west and northwest and across the Delaware toward Burlington, or even on toward New York.

In 1704 Lord Cornbury granted to John Reeve the privilege of keeping a ferry between Philadelphia and Burlington, New Jersey. The curious document which told of the privilege read:

“Edward Viscount Cornbury, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over her Majesties provinces

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

of New Jersey, New York, and all the territories and tracts of land depending thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same. To Jeremiah Bass, Esq., Secretary of New Jersey—greeting. You are hereby required that you forthwith prepare a bill to pass under the Great Seale of this province, containing a grant or license to John Reeve, to keep the ferry betwixt the town of Burlington and city of Philadelphia, upon the river Delaware, and you are to insert therein the prices allowed him to take for ferriage of either goods, passengers, or any other carriage, viz.: for each passenger in company from the feast of our lady to the feast of St. Michael; the arch angle, for the summer half year—one shilling, if single, to hire the boat, six shillings from the feast of St. Michael the arch angle to the feast of our lady in the winter, half year, single, seven and eight pence; in company fifteen pence for every tun of flower; ten shillings and six pence for every tun of bread; ten shillings for every hogshead of rum; three shillings and the same for molasses and sugar; for every pipe of wine five shillings; for all barrels one shilling per piece; for lead and iron six pence per hundred; for the beef ten pence per quarter; for every hogg ten pence; for every bushel of meale and salt three pence; sheep and calves at the same rate with the hogs dead. And you are to take security for the due performance of the same.”

The ferry provided was “an open boat with sails, giving neither comfort nor convenience to its patrons, and when the tide and wind were favorable had some pretensions to speed.”

Those who wished to go from Philadelphia to New York made use of the ferry, which, at least after April, 1706, connected with a stage for Perth Amboy. At that time an exclusive grant was made to Hugh Huddy, Gent, of Burlington, to conduct the stage. According

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

to the terms of the grant he was to have "full power, license, and authority by himself, his servants or deputy, to sett up, keep use and imploy one or more stagecoach or stage coaches, and one or more waggon or waggons, or any other, and soe many carriage or carriages as he shall see convenient for the carrying or transportation of goods and passengers." The grant was to continue for a period of fourteen years, and he was to pay for the privilege, "one shilling current money . . . to be paid . . . upon the Feast-day of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, yearly if demanded."

A line of packets from Perth Amboy to New York enabled the traveler to make the third stage of his arduous journey to the town of Manhattan.

The small amount of the annual rental is perhaps to be explained by the fact that roads were hardly worthy the name. It was a long, long way from Burlington to Perth Amboy, for the early road builders sought to pass around the head of streams, rather than to cross them, and the difficulty was increased by the necessity of avoiding hills and marshes.

Generally the well-to-do among the Colonists or those who wanted to put on style secured either a chair or a chariot for use in the streets of the town and, on occasion, on journeys into the country. It was not always an easy matter to secure the vehicle, however, as John Wragg discovered in 1741. On April 18 Richard Hockley wrote to him telling the reason for delay in delivering his chair:

"The Chair is all finish'd except the Guilding and I have sent to New York for some gold leaf we having none in town here and you may depend on it in a short

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

time. I am willing it shou'd look like the other part and should be finished in the best manner it can be done here and I heartily wish the young Ladies health to use it."

In 1761 twenty-nine Philadelphians were the proud possessors of chairs, chariots, or other wheeled vehicles for passenger transport. The list compiled at the time included the names of the Proprietor, who owned one chariot, the Governour, who had one chariot; the Widow Francis, David Franks, William Logan, Thomas Willing, one chariot each; David Franks, William Logan, Samuel Mifflin, Charles Norris, Isaac Pemberton, John Ross, a chaise each, while there was in the city one Landau—capitalized, evidently out of respect for the vehicle, as was also the single "4 wheel post Chaise." In addition to the vehicles named in the list there were others of a minor character which the compiler said were beyond his "attempt at reckoning."

Elizabeth Drinker told in her diary in some detail of a journey which she made to New York in September, 1769, in company with her husband and two other men. At Bristol they took dinner and were glad to meet at the inn two other Philadelphians who, with their wives, were returning home from New York. Supper was eaten at Trenton, Breakfast next day was taken at Prince-Town, while Brunswick was reached in time for dinner. At Brunswick Mrs. Drinker wrote in her journal telling of the damage done by a storm, "Bridge carried away by y^e force of y^e water, and the Roads greatly hurt by it."

The second day's breakfast was eaten at Elizabeth-Town, and after the meal they "walked thro' part of

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

y^e town, and then continued the journey through New Ark and Bergen to Powle's Hook, opposite New York. Saw about 1500 sheep belonging to that place and Elizabeth-Town, attended by one old shepherd. We crossed in the Stage, Hackensack or Second river, and Newark River." At about five o'clock the North River was crossed, and the adventurers were in New York—two full days from Philadelphia.

After six days in and around New York, the party went to Rockaway Beach. There Mr. Drinker wished to go into the surf, but this was opposed, "it being very high, and T. P. apprehending it dangerous from the undersuck of the Waves which break on the Beach." On the way back to the Inn, the party "stopped at an Indian Wig-Wam, and had some talk with the master and mistress—two old Indians."

In 1771 the Drinkers took a summer trip to Lancaster and Reading, using their own conveyance. Between dinner and supper of August 22 they rode "23 long miles." Two days more were required to complete the round-about trip to Lancaster, during which they forded the Schuylkill and branches of the Brandywine and Conestoga Creeks.

From Lancaster the journey was continued toward Reading. At Dunkers Town the travelers ate "a hearty supper of fried Beefsteaks and Chocolate, and lodged all in one room very comfortably." At Reading, in company with friends who escorted them, "some on horseback and some in carriages," they climbed a high hill, "one of the Oley hills." After a time they deserted the carriage and horses, and with great fatigue and labor, with several stops to rest," they overcame

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

all obstructions and found themselves in triumph on the summit.

“This evening,” Mrs. Drinker wrote, “our Landlady, a dirty, old, Dutch woman, refused changing very dirty, for clean sheets; tho’ after much entreaty she pretended to comply—but we found to our mortification she had taken the same sheets, sprinkled them, and then ironed and hung them by the fire, and placed them again on the bed; so that we were Necessitated to use our Cloaks, &c., and this night slept without sheets. With the assistance of our two servants cooking, we supped pretty well, and slept better than we had any reason to expect, all in one room.”

After passing through the Town of Northampton, commonly called Allentown, they forded a creek called Jordan, and soon after forded the Lehigh—“first from the shore to an Island, and from thence over the broad and stony part to y^e other shore.”

On the way to Nazareth Hall, the journal of the trip went on, “Our Horse stumbled badly in a rut; I jumped out of y^e chaise and strained my foot badly, so that it soon swelled much, and proved very painful.”

Philadelphia was reached just in time to set off on a business trip to Coryell’s Tavern, on the York Road, where Mr. Drinker was to meet the “commissioners appointed for improving and clearing the navigation of the river Delaware.”

June 27, 1772, saw the beginning of another journey, when Mr. and Mrs. Drinker set out “in y^e Chaise.” “We stopped a little time at Fair-Hill, at Wm. Hill’s, where Rachel Drinker and her son Henry joined us in their chaise,” Mrs. Drinker wrote, “and then pro-

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

ceeded on the Old York road until we came to Moses Sheppards, about 11 miles from Philada, where we stopped and visited the Mineral waters opposite his house, where one French has contrived a Bath. The water tastes pretty strong. At Lloyd's Tavern, at y^e Forks of the road leading to Horsham and y^e Billet, we stopped and dined with John Drinker, who came soon after us; his son returning to Town on our young Horse which his father had ridden up. Came to the widow Jemmison's where we supped and lodged."

June 28 was First day, so the party went to Buckingham Meeting, "said to be the largest House, and Body of Friends belonging to it, of any country meeting in the Province." After dinner the journey was continued to Quakertown, in Jersey.

The return trip was varied by a turning off from the Old York Road towards Abingdon, Oxford Church and Frankford.

A more satisfactory account of a trip is given by Sarah Eve, because she takes the time to dwell on the views along the wayside. On May 4, 1773, the journey began. The story is quoted from her Journal:

"Between eight and nine o'clock this morning, Mrs. Smith, Mr. Clifford, and I in the carriage, and Mr. Smith on horseback, set off for Rocky Point, about seventeen miles distant [opposite Burlington]. The morning was as fine as ever shone in May, and the roads exceeding good. We passed through Frankford . . . The prospect from the hill after crossing the bridge, is really pleasing; one has a fine view of several houses on the Point side, and on the other is the County road; the church stands on the right, and is a good-looking country church enough! From the What Sheff I

ADVERTISEMENTS.

The Post lets out from *New York and Boston* the 14th Day of this Infant *March*, and are to perform their Stages Weekly till *December*. Which alteration of the Post will occasion this News Paper to come forth every *Thursday*, on which Day the Post lets out from *Philadelphia*.

Weekly Mercury, Philadelphia.

March 8th, 1719,

Philadelphia, November 30, 1732.

On *Monday* next the Northern Post lets out from *New York*, in order to perform his Stage but once a Fortnight, during the Winter Quarter; the Southern Post changes also, which will cause this Paper to come out on *Tuesdays* during that Time. The Colds which have infested the Northern Colonies have also been troublesome here, few Families having escaped the same, several have been carry'd off by the Cold, among whom was *Daniel Brinfield*; in the 71th Year of his Age, he was the first Man that had a Brick House in the City of *Philadelphia*, and was much esteem'd for his just and upright dealing. There goes a Report here, that the Lord *Baltimore* and his Lady are arriv'd in *Maryland*, but the Southern Post being not yet come in, the said Report wants Confirmation.

Weekly Mercury.

Philadelphia, November 6, 1736.

Philadelphia and Perth-Amboy Stages.

NOTICE is hereby given, that we

the Subscribers, *John Butler*, of *Philadelphia*, at the Sign of the Death of the Fox, in *Strawberry Alley*, begins his Stage on *Tuesday*, the Ninth of this Infant *November*, from his House and will proceed with his Wagon to the House of *Nathanial Parker*, at *Trenton Ferry*; and from thence the Goods and Passengers to be carry'd over the Ferry to the House kept by *George Mosdel*, where *Francis Holman* will meet the above *John Butler*, and exchange their Passengers, &c. and then proceed on *Wednesday* through *Princeton* and *New Brunswick*, to the House of *Obadiah Airdes*, in *Perth Amboy*, where will be a good Boat, with all Conveniences necessary, kept by *John Thomson* and *William Walter*, for the Reception of Passengers, &c. who will proceed on *Thursday Morning*, without Delay, for *New York*, and there land at *Whitehall*, where the said *Walter* and *Thompson* will give Attendance at the House of *Abraham Bockers*, until *Monday Morning* following, and then will return to *Perth-Amboy*, where *Francis Holman* on *Tuesday Morning* following will attend, and return with his Wagon to *Trenton Ferry*, to meet *John Butler*, of *Philadelphia*, and there exchange their Passengers, &c. for *New York* and *Philadelphia*.

It is hoped, that as these Stages are attended with a considerable Expence, for the better accommodating Passengers, that they will merit the Favour of the Publick; and whoever will be pleas'd to favour them with their Custom, shall be kindly us'd, and have due Attendance given them by their humble Servants, *JOHN BUTLER*, *FRANCIS HOLMAN*, *JOHN THOMPSON*, and *WILLIAM WALTER*.

Penn Journal

Philadelphia, November 21, 1726.

BORDENTOWN Stage Continued

Joseph Borden's stage boat, **Joseph Canida** master, attends at the crooked-billet wharf every *Monday* and *Tuesday*, and his Shallop, **Daniel Horison Miller**, at the same place every *Friday* and *Saturday*, stage waggons attend the said boats, the stage boat at *Amoy* commanded by *Abraham*. As to the owners of the *Burington* stage boasting of their advantages being superior to mine, I shall not take the trouble to make reply here, because the publick by this time is the best judge of our stages and their advertisements, that is, they say we are one side more upon the water, than they are, which in fact, is saying we are always two tides upon our passage. We'll don't brocher adventurers, that is a large one. All gentlemen and ladies, that please to favour me with their business, may depend upon the utmost care and dispatch, of their humble servant

Weekly Mercury.

JOSEPH BORDEN.



Philadelphia STAGE-WAGGON, and *New York* STAGE BOAT performs their Stages twice Weekly.

JOHN BUTLER, with his wagon, sets out on *Monday* from his House, at the Sign of the Death of the Fox, in *Strawberry Alley*, and drives the same day to *Trenton Ferry*, where *Francis Holman* meets him, and proceeds on *Tuesday* to *Brunswick*, and the passengers and goods being shifted into the wagon of *Isaac Fitzrandolph*, he takes them to the *New Blazing Star*; *Jacob Fitzrandolph's* the same day, where *Robin Fitzrandolph*, with a boat well fitted, will receive them, and take them to *New York* that night. *John Butler* returning to *Philadelphia* on *Tuesday* with the passengers and goods delivered to him by *Francis Holman*, will again set out for *Trenton Ferry* on *Thursday*, and *Francis Holman*, &c. will carry his passengers and goods, with the same expedition as above to *New York*.

Tocti.

Weekly Mercury.

March 8, 1738.

WHEREAS the Stage Boats imploy'd between *Philadelphia* and *New York* are found very Advantageous to the Publick. Therefore the Subscribers have erected a Stage from *Philadelphia* to *Amoy* in *Maryland* for which Purpose *Jemathan Jordan* sets off from *Lady's Wharf* every *Saturday* and proceeds to *Reedy Island* to *Carnalio Curt*, where the Wagon attends and proceeds to *Fredrick Town* to a wagon which proceeds to *Amoy* and so to continue weekly. And as this Undertaking will be considerably expensive it is hoped the Publick will give it proper Encouragement and it shall be performed, at moderate Rates by *JOHN HUGHES*, and Comp.

N. B. The Land Carriage is 21 Miles and the said *Jordan* leaves *Reedy Island* on *Tuesday's*.

June 27, 1747.

Penn Journal

STAGE COACH ADVERTISEMENTS FROM PHILADELPHIA PAPERS



BRIDGE OVER THE PENNYPACK, BUILT 1698

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

was an entire stranger to that part of the world, as here were the bounds of my travels eastward . . .

“The prospects on each side are beautiful, and you are every now and then agreeably surprised by a sight of the Delaware. We are now on Penne Pack Bridge; you will say I am but a poor traveler when I tell you it is the best bridge I ever went over, although it has but three arches. I wish it was in my power to describe the beauties of this place; stop and look at it! on the left side you see the waters tumbling down the rocks prattling and sparkling as it goes; at the bottom it runs rippling over stones and then through the bridge where it soon seems to forget its late rapidity and gently murmurs on. The creek is not very wide, so that the trees on each side might almost shake hands, and what adds much to the beauty of the whole, are the shrubs and bushes all along in bloom the banks. But it won't do to stay here all day . . .

“I have forgotten to mention before that we passed the place upon which it was first designed by man, but not by the author of nature, to have built Philadelphia; it is a fine, high, delightful spot, and much pleasanter than where it now stands; after some time they discovered a riff of rocks near the harbour, which was the natural cause of their quitting that sweet spot; it still goes by the name of ‘Old Philadelphia’ and there are many good Plantations upon it, the distance from the present city being about twelve miles . . .

“The way from this to Poquestion Bridge is pleasantly diversified by hills and agreeable looking farms, and at this season is beautiful indeed; the sheep feeding upon the sides of the hills, the birds hopping from bough to bough, the cattle grazing in the meadows, or lying at their ease under the shade of a spreading oak or poplar, serves to put one in mind of that age so celebrated by the Poets.

“I remember nothing remarkable from here to

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Shameney [Neshaminy]; we crossed the ferry in a scow rowed by one man. I wonder they don't have ropes as they have at the Schuylkill, but I suppose they know best.

"We now left the York road and turned to the right, the way very pleasant, and we soon entered the confines of Rockey Point, our first Salutation was from the sweet birds perched upon the boughs that we almost touched from the sides of the fence; the violets were blown in quantities, and the houses began to open to our view; then such a prospect! but what shall I say of it the most luxuriant fancy cannot imagine a finer one.

"It was after twelve that we alighted, much pleased with our ride, and a most excellent appetite for dinner, which Betsy soon obliged us with, and we convinced her in a much more expressive manner than by words how good it was.

"There are two neat pretty houses here, with two handsome rooms upon a floor, and kitchens behind them; the descent is gradual to the river, and the distance a quarter of a mile, the avenue, which is over two hundred feet wide is planted with different kinds of cherry-trees. The plan of this place is really elegant. . .

"You likewise see Burlington. Between three and four o'clock Mr. Smith went don to look for a boat, as we intended to lodge in Burlington. Luckily at that time there happened to pass a negro fellow going there in a boat very proper for our purpose, and he was good enough to wait until Mr. Smith came up for us."

In August, 1773, when a company of travelers went from Philadelphia to Bethlehem and other places conditions were much the same as when Mr. and Mrs. Drinker made the trip. At one house where they were entertained it was noted that the house was "neat and handsome," and that the people were obliging. A few days later, in Allentown, they tried to stop at

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

the King of Prussia, but it was impossible to remain in the house. Fortunately they were asked to take breakfast at a private house. At Levans they ate "such a Dinner as Travellers must often put up with." The historian of the party ungallantly said that they might have enjoyed the meal better if the landlady had come in without her eyes, "which were none of the prittiest to behold." Again, after spending the night in a disagreeable house, the statement was made, "the fellow who keeps it is an impertinant Scoundrel, having the impudence to charge in his Bill five shillings for his attendance (non-attendance he ought to have said,) as he came not near us. On the contrary, Wilkinson's house at Reading was designated a "good House, victuals good & well dressed, wine exceeding good, and the people obliging."

The party set out from Lancaster for Philadelphia in good spirits. "But alas! a sad accident had like to have turned our Mirth to Mourning, for W., driving Careless, and being hapily engaged with the Lady he had the pleasure of riding with, and not mindful enough of his charge, drove full against a large stump which stood in the way, by which the Chaise was overturned and the Lady thrown out to a considerable distance, but happily received no hurt."

That night the supper was "pretty tolerable," but the beds were indifferent, "being short of Sheets for the beds, the Woman was good enough to let W. have a table cloth, in lieu of one."

At last the journey was ended, and the party was once more safe in Philadelphia, "to the great joy of all concerned, after having escaped many perils by

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Land and by Watter such as already recited in this true and faithful Journal, and by being abroad from Families and Kindred so long a time as twelve days, and further this Journal sayeth not," (The total distance covered was about 210 miles).

During the days of the Revolution many Philadelphians sought safety by flight into the country. Mrs. Eliza Farmar in 1783 wrote to a cousin, telling of an experience on the road one day when she tried to go to the country, in accordance with her husband's desires:

"Sally and I did go Near 40 Miles up the country in a Waggon loaded with some of our goods in the midst of Decr Just before the battel at Trenton I cannot give you a full description of the distress and Confution that apeared in every face for they gave out that the Souldiers was to have their days plunder that terified people to that degree that they were happy who got carriages to carry their goods and familys off tho some knew not where to go I saw one family of ten persons one of which a young woman and her child six weeks old with their household goods in two opin waggons and tho it had frose hard in the night and then snowd hard they were obliged to goe through it and had no place to go to but had preswad[ed] the Waggoner to take them to his house tho an utter stranger . . . The roads were so bad that we were 3 days on our journey and suffered so much . . ."

After the war was over Philadelphians had time to think of a trip to the seashore. And what a trip it was in those days! Elizabeth Drinker tells of one outing to the Atlantic Coast, which was taken in July and August, 1785.

The start was made on July 28. "Left home after dinner, H. D. and E. D. in y^e Chaise, Nancy and Henry

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

in another; baited at Martins', arrived at Josey Smith's in y^e evening near Burlington; lodged there, and staid till after dinner next day."

The record of July 29 was:

"Came to Richard Waln's before dark; should have got there sooner, but were delayed sometime on ye road, about 3 miles from R. Ws. by the oversetting of ye Chaise Henry drove, occasioned by Nancy and himself carelessly talking, instead of minding a stump in ye way."

Next day Betsy Waln and her daughter set off with the party for "Shrewsberry." Four of the enlarged company rode in Richard Waln's waggon, while two rode in the Chaise.

Shrewsberry was reached in three days from Philadelphia, and the members of the party went on to Black Point in the evening and at once sought comfort in "y^e water."

After four days at the shore, with daily experience of "y^e bath," which gradually became "rather more easy," the party started for Long Branch on y^e Seashore," some in the waggon, some in a Boat. From Long Branch two of the men went to New York by water, returning in three days.

The journey back to Philadelphia was made without incident, by way of Monmouth, Richard Waln's, and Dunk's Ferry, which is not far from the present Eddington on the Bristol road.

In a letter to her aunt, Mrs. Jasper Yeates, Miss Kitty Ewing told of an adventure of hers in a Chair which resulted no more seriously than the accident of Henry Drinker on the way to the sea coast. She said:

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“I am grown a great traveller . . . Mr. Johnston took us up to Carlile & whe had a very pleasant ride of it. Mr. anders & I whare in one Chair Fanny and her dady in the other. our Chare only overset twiste the first place that Mr. anders overset in was as even as the flower I now stand on Fanny & I whaire oblig'd to walk the fore miles as that was all whe had to go. our Chare was broke all to peaces & Mr. Johnstons hors whas forst to carry all the burden that whas in our Chaire whe took pittty on the poor hors & would walk.”

In 1791 the welcome announcement was made that a stage would run during the summer season between Philadelphia and Bethlehem. The journey from Philadelphia would begin on Thursday, and from Bethlehem the start would be on Monday. The Philadelphia starting point was from the house of George Lester, at the sign of the Spread Eagle, in Third Street. The trip in either direction would require at least twenty-four hours; the start was to be at five o'clock and the destination was to be reached, if all was well, some time in the forenoon of the next day. Each passenger was to pay fifteen shillings, and was to be allowed fourteen pounds of baggage. “150 lbs. weight of goods” were to be reckoned for one passenger. Letters would cost two cents each, and way passengers were to be charged four pence per mile.

Such a stage was used by Benjamin Henry Latrobe in parts of his trip from Philadelphia to Richmond in 1798. Of this trip he wrote:

“The weather was very bad again, the roads, however, were better than when I came up. Between Philadelphia and Chester we lamed a horse, which accident delayed us near two hours. Got very late to

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

the Head of Elk, and through the most horrid of roads from thence to the Susquehannah at half-past twelve. It was very calm, but a strong fresh in the river rendered crossing tedious. At Barney's, where we arrived at half past one, there was neither fire nor supper provided. After much grumbling we procured both, and got to bed about half past two. At four we were again in the stage . . . and arrived in Baltimore at eleven o'clock. The weather cleared up, but the roads were as bad as ever."

Soon after Washington was left behind, the splinter bar was broken. "Mr. Rogers and I therefore resolved to walk on," Mr. Latrobe wrote. "It was soon dark and began to rain, and we trudged up to our knees in mud a great part of the way to Alexandria. The stage overtook us just as we entered the town."

Three days later Richmond was reached. The expenses of the trip was as follows:

To Baltimore.....	\$8 00
To Georgetown.....	4 75
To Fredericksburg.....	3 50
To Richmond.....	3 50
Meals & lodging five days.....	11 25
	<hr/>
	31 00

One of the heavy expenses involved in almost any trip was due to the ferries, which were convenient but expensive. At Cooper's Ferry between Philadelphia and Camden the charges in 1782 were ninepence for a single passenger, two shillings and sixpence for a man and horse, and one shilling and sixpence per wheel for an empty carriage. When an appeal was made to have the rate lowered the proprietor protested,

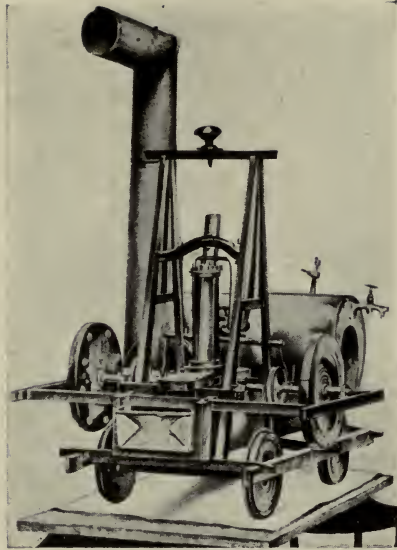
THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

urging that though ferry charges had been advanced some fifty per cent. within a certain length of time, his bills had considerably more than doubled. For instance, he paid a ferry man, per month, £5, while a new Horse Boat cost £60, a new Wherry £40, a Suit of Sails for the Horse Boat, £18, and a Boat Builder, per day, fifteen shillings.

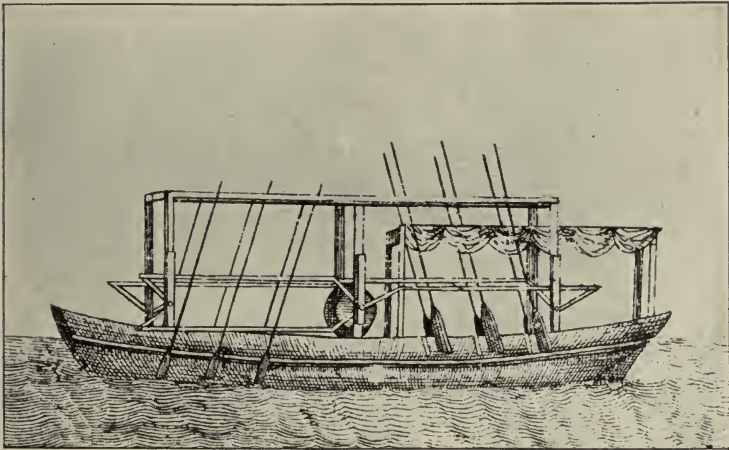
A few years after this appeal to maintain the charges was made, a curious contrivance appeared in the Delaware River that was a prophecy of the end of the old-fashioned method of ferry boat transportation as well as the forerunner of all steamboats and steamships. This was the first crude steamboat built by John Fitch.

Early in 1784, the sight of a carriage drawn by horses led Fitch to think of the possibility of a carriage propelled by steam. He had never seen a steam engine. He declared that he did not know that such a thing was in existence. A winter's thought led him to decide that steam carriages were impracticable, because of the roughness of the roads. Then he began to think of a boat propelled by steam. The first model was built with paddle wheels. The machinery was made of brass, while the paddle wheels were made of wood. Trial was made of this first paddle boat during the spring of 1785, the trip beginning at the High street bridge over the Schuylkill.

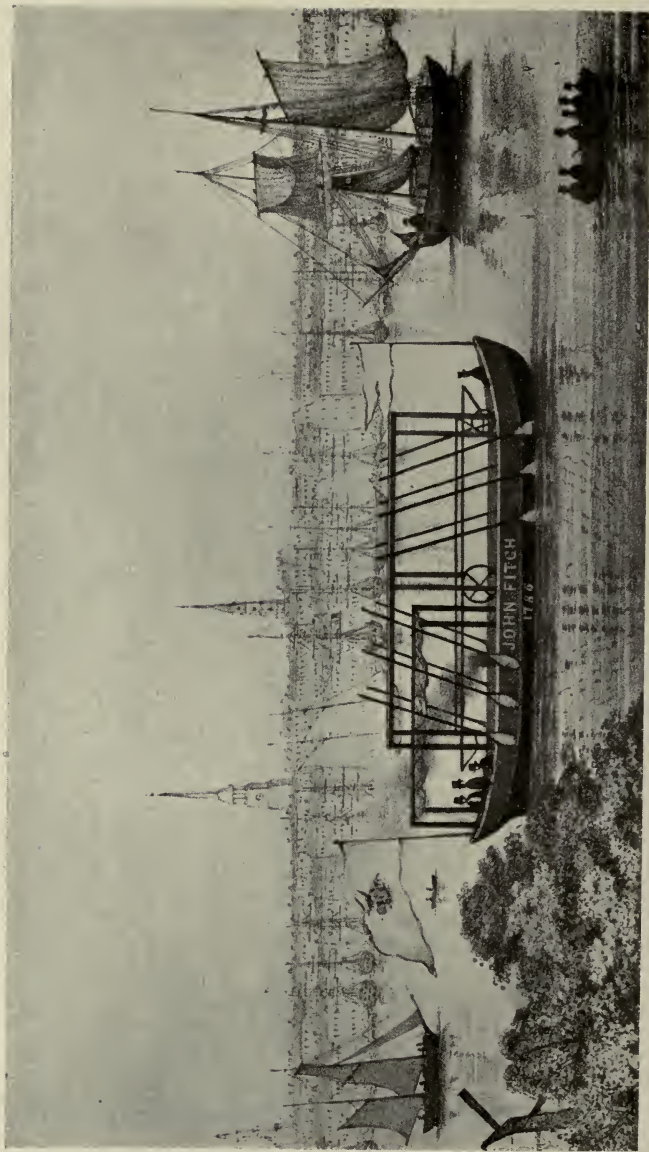
Because of the mechanical difficulties in the crude paddle wheels, it was resolved to abandon them in favor of oars or paddles to be arranged as in a boat propelled by man power, but moved in this case by steam. A boat on this principle was built in 1787, and was comparatively successful.



MODEL OF JOHN FITCH'S STEAM ENGINE



PLAN OF JOHN FITCH'S STEAMBOAT



JOHN FITCH'S STEAMBOAT, 1786
(Philadelphia in the background)

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

The boat was repaired and altered, and a new trial was made in the autumn of 1788. "A mile was measured in Front street, (or Water-street), Philadelphia, and the bounds projected at right angles, as exactly as could be to the wharves, where a flag was placed at each end, and also a stop watch," William Thornton, one of the spectators, wrote in 1810. "The boat was ordered under way at dead water, or when the tide was found to be without movement; as the boat passed one flag it was struck, and the watches instantly stopped. Every precaution was taken, before witnesses, the time was shewn to all; the experiment declared to be fairly made, and the boat was found to go at a rate of eight miles an hour, or one mile within the eighth of an hour . . . It afterward went eighty miles in a day! The Governor and Council of Pennsylvania were so highly gratified with our labours, that without their intention being previously known to us, Governor Mifflin, attended by the Council in procession, presented to the company, and placed in the boat, a superb silk flag."

The success of the trial led the inventor to invite a company of ladies and gentlemen to take a trip on the *Perseverance* from Philadelphia to Burlington and return. They accepted, and on October 12, 1788, the journey was made, "against the current of the Delaware, twenty miles, in three hours and ten minutes, which gave a speed of six miles and one third an hour, having thirty passengers on board at the time," Charles Whittlesey wrote in his life of John Fitch. "As the boat approached the city on the return, the inventor, too much elated by his triumphant success, directed the

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

fire to be crowded, and the speed increased. Within a couple of miles of the wharf, a joint in the boiler gave way, and the steam issuing out, scalded one of the firemen severely, as might be expected, the passengers were in consternation, and some even insisted upon being put on shore, when they struggled into town on foot."

In 1790 an improved model, with paddles in the stern, was so successful that it became a regular passenger and freight boat on the Delaware, running a total of between two and three thousand miles at a speed of from seven to eight miles an hour, whereas Fulton's *Clermont*, seventeen years later, could accomplish little more than six miles an hour.

Soon there appeared in the Philadelphia papers the following announcement:

"THE STEAMBOAT is now ready to take passengers, and is intended to set off from Arch street Ferry in Philadelphia, every Monday, Wednesday and Friday from Burlington, Bristol, Bordentown & Trenton, to return on Tuesdays, Thursdays & Saturdays. Price for Passengers 2/6 to Burlington and Bristol, 3/9 to Bordentown, 5s. to Trenton."

Plans were immediately made to build a larger boat, so that two boats might be sent to Virginia, in time to take advantage of the state grant of exclusive rights to transportation on the Ohio River and its tributaries. Pennsylvania had already granted without condition a similar right for waters under her control. The United States patent, signed by Washington, was not granted until August 26, 1791.

Vexatious delays hindered the work on the new boat. Enemies attacked Fitch, friends forsook him,

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

rivals interfered with him, dire poverty added to his difficulties. It became impossible for him to complete the vessel in season to comply with the Virginia statutes. Finally the inventor abandoned the enterprise. He still believed in it, but he was too much discouraged to go on. He insisted, however:

“The day will come when some more powerful man will get fame and riches from my invention, but nobody will believe that poor John Fitch can do anything worthy of attention.”

How far John Fitch was ahead of Robert Fulton, who is popularly thought of as the inventor of the steamboat, is shown by an enthusiastic letter which Fulton sent to Thomas Mifflin, governor of Pennsylvania, in March, 1796, ten years after Fitch wrote his account of the steamboat. In this letter Fulton stated his belief that “canals are the only effectual means of producing land communications.” It was his hope that each state would supervise its own canals in such a manner “that all future canals may be constructed on much a scale and principle, in order that when the various branches meet the boats of one may navigate the other wherever canals extend.” He was convinced that lock canals could never be satisfactory, but urged the use of his own invention wherever the levels of a canal changed, a double inclined plane on which the boats, upon wheeled carriages, “were to be dragged out of the upper and lower canals by means of ropes working on the axles of water-wheels.”

He dreamed of a canal from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt, of which the first portion, possibly to Lancaster, was to be built at a cost of £150,000. The tolls for the

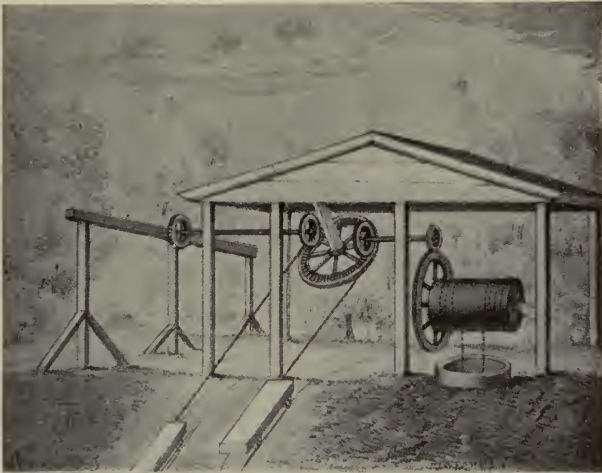
THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

use of the completed section should be used to extend the canal, he said, "the tolls on such extensions being appropriated in like manner to further extensions, and so on,—the toll to be continually devoted to finishing more canals, till canals would pervade the whole country."

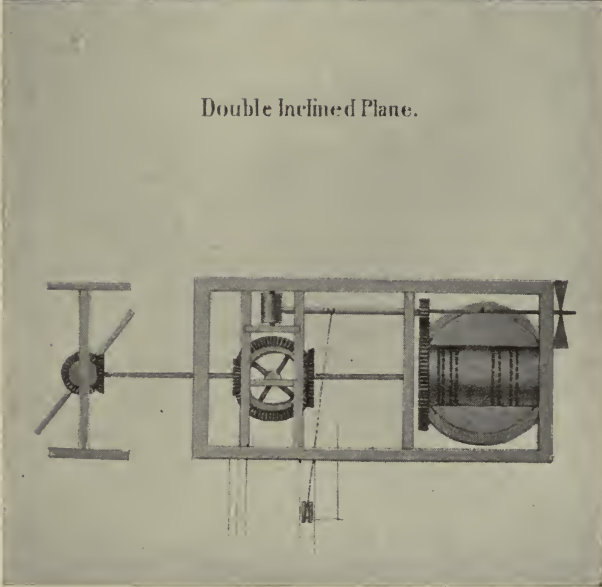
When at length the canal to Fort Pitt should be completed, he calculated that "on such a canal a man, boy, and horse, would convey 40 tons 20 miles per day and arrive in Philadelphia in eighteen days, at ten shillings per day amounting to 180 shillings for forty tons, or 4s.6d. per ton, the expense of boating, independent of tolls."

On September 12, 1796, Fulton sent to President Washington, at Philadelphia, a presentation copy of his enthusiastically written "Treatise on the Improvement of Canal Navigation." On a blank page of the volume he called Washington's attention to his belief that as "the discovery of the Mariner's compass Gave Commerce to the World," as "the Invention of printing is dissipating darkness and giving a Polish to the Mass of Men," so "the Introduction of the Creative System of Canals" is "as certain in their Effects: will Give an Agricultural Polish To every Acre of America."

Before he completed his prophecy, he declared that he "would propose to make the horsepath of the Leading Canals Sufficiently wide for a Road, which would Indeed be of Little use but for horsemen or Light Carriages: and this union of the Canal and Road would produce numerous Advantages. First the Canal would Convey materials to mend the Road at Little expense; second, In the Winter Season part might be



Double Inclined Plane.



ROBERT FULTON'S DOUBLE INCLINED PLANE FOR CANALS

TO THE
DELAWARE
PILOTS.

THE Regard we have for your Characters, and our Desire to promote your future Peace and Safety, are the Occasion of this Third Address to you

IN our second Letter we acquainted you, that the Tea Ship was a Three Decker; We are now informed by good Authority, she is not a Three Decker, but an *old black Ship, without a Head, or any Ornament.*

THE Captain is a *short fat Fellow*, and a little *obstinate* withal.---So much the worse for him.---For, so sure as he *rides rusty*, We shall leave him Keel out, and see that his Bottom be well fired, scrubb'd and paid.---His Upper-Works too, will have an Overhawling.---and as it is said, he has a good deal of *Quick Work* about him, We will take particular Care that such Part of him undergoes a thorough Rummaging

We have a still worse Account of his Owner;---for it is said, the Ship POLLY was bought by him on Purpose, to make a Penny of us; and that he and Captain AYRES were well advised, of the Risque they would run, in thus daring to insult and abuse us.

Captain AYRES was here in the Time of the Stamp-Act, and ought to have known our People better, than to have expected we would be so mean as to suffer his rotten TEA to be funnel'd down our Throats, with the *Parliament's Duty* mixed with it.

We know him well, and have calculated to a Gill and a Feather, how much it will require to fit him for an *American Exhibition*. And we hope, not one of your Body will behave so ill, as to oblige us to clap him in the Cart along Side of the Captain.

We must repeat, that the SHIP POLLY is an *old black Ship*, of about Two Hundred and Fifty Tons burthen, *without a Head*, and *without Ornaments*.---and, that CAPTAIN AYRES is a *thick chunky Fellow*.---As such, TAKE CARE TO AVOID THEM.

YOUR OLD FRIENDS,
THE COMMITTEE FOR TARRING AND FEATHERING.

Philadelphia, December 7, 1773.

Monday Morning, December 27, 1773.
THE TEA-SHIP being arrived, every Inhabitant, who wilhes to preserve the Liberty of America, is desired to meet at the STATE-HOUSE, This Morning, precisely at TEN o'Clock, to advise what is best to be done on this alarming Crisis.

J. M.

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

frozen and another open. And as the Inns would be on the banks of the Canals, the Inhabitants would learn of the various travelers, the State of the Stages of Canal; hence the traveler might take either Canal or Road, whichever the weather and his time Rendered most Convenient: And thus he would be accommodated with an easy passage through the Country"—at the rate of six miles an hour!

The day came, however, when Robert Fulton ceased to talk of canals because his attention was taken up by the steamboat. He succeeded where John Fitch had failed. In 1807 the *Clermont* was making regular trips on the Hudson, and within five years there appeared the first steam ferry boat, of which an impressionable Philadelphian wrote in 1812:

"The once formidable Hudson has ceased to present a barrier between the two great cities of the U. S. . . . it can now be passed over with as much ease as Frankford Creek or the High Bridge at Kensington. The Steam Ferry boat, which moves with all the Majesty of a floating Island is certainly the greatest masterpiece of human ingenuity that I have ever witnessed. You drive from a floating wharf which is always exactly of the height, on to its noble deck, and by magic, as it were, are transported to the other side of the river. The machinery is all enclosed, and there is nothing to alarm the most timid horse. The helmsman is stationed 8 or 10 feet above the common deck, on the octagon case that incloses the works; there is a frame of floating timbers on either side of the dock, so that the boat cannot miss coming to the exact spot to land, and even the jar occasioned by so large a body striking full against the wharf, is completely prevented by a frame of timbers that slide out from the wharf 10 or 12

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

feet to receive the first shock, but present but little resistance, *at first*, as the weights are casks of water under the surface of the river, but being gradually hoisted out by the force which the boat applies to the sliding frame, become much heavier when they get into the air. Grappling irons immediately seize the boat and hold her close to the wharf, so that you may instantly drive ashore, and as there are two rudders she is immediately ready to perform her voyage back again without turning . . . this wonder . . . certainly presents a new epoch in the art of transportation, which will not be excelled until the art of flying shall have been brought to perfection . . . ”

The writer was right. There has been little real improvement in the basic principles of either the ferry boat itself or the method of effecting a landing since the first steam ferry was put in operation.

The day came when the steamboat was for many people a recognized feature of the trip from Philadelphia to New York. There were those who preferred to continue to make use of the stage coach for the entire distance, but there were others to whom such advertisements as the following made insistent appeal:

NEW YORK STEAMBOATS

Only twenty-five miles by land

Passage through, Four Dollars and Fifty Cents

The Philadelphia and Rariton Steam Boats, connected by Stages, form a line to New York. Passengers leave the foot of Market Street in Philadelphia, every Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning at 7 o'clock, sleep at Brunswick, and arrive at New York the next morning at 12 o'clock. The mode of conveyance to be preferred to any other, as the distance by land by the Bristol and Elizabeth town boats is fifty-six miles, by the common stage eighty-six miles, but by this route only twenty-five miles.

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

James Morrell, in his trip from Philadelphia to Saratoga Springs, taken in 1813, made use of the alternative land and water route between Philadelphia and New York which the advertisement mentioned. His own account of the journey has been preserved:

“Left Philadelphia on Wednesday morning, August 11th, 1813, at 7 o'clock, on board the Steam Boat ‘Eagle,’ Captain Rodgers. The company very numerous, about one hundred and thirty, some for different parts situated upon the River Delaware and others for the Eastern States. After having stopped at several places to land passengers, we unfortunately, and much to the disappointment of all on board, found that one of the wheels composing a part of the Steam Engine was broken. This unfortunate circumstance, unfortunate, I must call it, as we were all anxious to beat the ‘Phoenix’ Steam Boat which had started about twenty minutes before us, and on which we were gaining very fast, took place nearly abreast of what is called the old Bake House, about 13 miles from Philadelphia. I could not but remark the sorrowful aspect and dreadful long faces caused by the affair. *Poor creatures*, the various opinions of our future fate was really amusing, having among us not a few old maids, I was much diverted with their anxiety . . . however, fortune favored us, and after an hour and a half detention, they succeeded in repairing the work so as to proceed and we finally arrived at Bordentown, about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 o'clock. Here we were crammed ten into one Stage with all our baggage.

“Before I proceeded further upon my journey, I shall beg leave to make mention of the superior style in which the accommodations of the ‘Eagle’ Steam Boat is fitted up. The cabins both for Ladies and Gentlemen surpass anything of the kind I have met with in all my travels heretofore. We dined on board,

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

the table was elegantly laid out, and the best kind, equal to any table in the best Hotels . . .

“The road from Trenton to Gulic’s Mill and from thence to within a mile or two of Brunswick was such as to disgrace any state or country, and more particularly as it is termed a turnpike and obliged to pay toll. God preserve me from such a mode of accumulating wealth!”

The night was spent at Brunswick. In the morning the journey was continued:

“Was called at 5 o’clock to prepare for the Steam Boat to New York, called the ‘*Raritan*’; left the town at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 o’clock on a Stage for the boat which lay about a mile down the River. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 o’clock, the company on board, we departed for New York a distance of 45 miles, and the company on board was about fifty.

“The River Raritan from New Brunswick to New York is very serpentine, affording some very fine prospects, . . .”

From New York City the journey up the Hudson was made on the “*Paragon*,” on which the fare was seven dollars. During the trip Mr. Morrell observed with wonder the process of landing and receiving passengers at all hours of the night:

“They attached a line to a small boat about midship and when cast off from the Steam Boat, she would immediately shear off, and the line is payed out to any length they wish, a man being at the helm of the boat she would be conducted to any part they wished and as soon as the passengers were landed and the others taken on board, she would be hauled up to the Steam Boat by steam, and all this done without stopping the wheels of the Steam Boat.”

WHEN TRAVEL WAS DIFFICULT

The remainder of the trip was made by stage. Two days were spent at Ballston and Saratoga. The first stage of the return journey from New York to Philadelphia was made by stage, "a ride of 90 miles in 13 hours." The entire trip required twelve days.

Frankly, how much better off are we who can take the journey to New York in two hours, and to Saratoga Springs between breakfast and dinner?

XIII

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

THE DEATH OF TEA—HOMEMADE MUSKETS—"PROCLAIM LIBERTY"—
WHAT IT MEANT TO HAVE AN INVADER IN THE CITY—HE WOULD
NOT HAVE PENN'S COLONY AS A FREE GIFT—INFLATED CURRENCY
AND HIGH PRICES—TO MAKE LACE OUT OF CAMBRIC—THE BEGIN-
NING OF THE DAYBREAK—WHY FRANKLIN WAS NEEDED TO "HOOP
THE BARREL"

THE years from 1765 to 1783 were the most heroic years of Philadelphia's early history. Many of the men and women of the generation then on the scene had been prepared by their ancestors' eighty years of struggle with the sternest sort of pioneer conditions to face the tormenting difficulties that confronted them. Already the city had the traditions of the stormy Atlantic voyage, of carving out a home in the wilderness, of enduring cold and hunger, of fashioning an enduring government out of nothing, of extending a helping hand to others. Boys and girls who had listened to parents and grandparents as they told of the deeds that ennobled the past were made ready for the time when they, too, would be called upon to do, to dare, and to bear for their country far more than even the most devoted of them could have thought beforehand would be either demanded or possible.

There were of course those who were ready to yield without a struggle to the requirements of their oppressors; there are always people of that stamp. There were also those whose profound religious conviction

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

was that resistance to oppression is sin; they were representatives of that staunch, conservative body of Friends who had helped to make Philadelphia what it was and who are to-day among the city's most devoted people. But fortunately there were also heroic men like Franklin and Morris and Matlack, Rittenhouse, Muhlenberg, and Rush, as well as loyal women like Deborah Franklin and Mrs. Morris, who would not yield an inch in their determination to stand back of the colonies, and later the states, in the long struggle for freedom.

There were weeks and months and years of utter darkness when reason told them that their struggle was hopeless. But their hearts told them to press on with grim determination even when prospects were most gloomy and when a disastrous end seemed certain. They were true to the best that was in them, these hundreds of men and women who stood by the country even when General Washington himself felt compelled to say, "I think the game is pretty nearly up." The women bade their sons and their husbands godspeed as they went to join the army, they economized in wonderful ways that there might be supplies for the absent, they were proud to wear homespun and home-dyed clothing so as to help relieve the destitution of the army. The men toiled and planned and suffered, persisting in a course that seemed to promise nothing but disaster, always hoping against hope that gloom would yield to glorious daybreak.

And they had their reward. They won the freedom that has been treasured by those who have followed after, and they have transmitted to a later generation

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

the spirit of self-sacrificing determination that nothing shall stand in the way of freedom for America and the world.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 31, 1765, printed, between heavy black rules, an announcement that indicated the depth of feeling over the Stamp Act; one of the most trying of the long series of oppressive measures that stirred the colonies to anger against Great Britain:

“We are sorry to be obliged to acquaint our Readers, that as the most UNCONSTITUTIONAL ACT that ever these Colonies could have imagined, to wit, the Stamp Act, is feared to be obligatory upon us, after the First of November ensuing (the FATAL TO-MORROW) the Publishers of this Paper, unable to bear the burthen, have thought it expedient to stop a While, in order to deliberate, whether any methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for them, and escape the insupportable Slavery, which, it is hoped, from the just Representations now made against the Act, may be effected. —Mean while, we most earnestly request every Individual of our Subscribers, many of whom have been long behind hand, that they would immediately discharge their respective Arrears, that we may be able not only to support ourselves during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with the Paper, whenever an opening appears for that Purpose, which we hope will be soon.”

No one was so active as was Benjamin Franklin in efforts to bring about the repeal of the Stamp Act, yet he was compelled to know that he was misunderstood and suspected by the patriots of his home city when he was doing his best for them. While he was in England working day and night in the interest of his

25 April 1765

The TIMES are
Dreadful,
Difmal
Doleful,
Dolorous, and
DOLLAR-LESS.



Thursday, October 31, 1765.

THE

NUMB. 1195.

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL; AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Resurrection to LIFE again.

1

AM sorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as the Taxer, is fear'd to be obligatory upon us after the First of November ensuing, (the fatal Term)

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IN MOURNING BECAUSE OF THE STAMP ACT



SARAH FRANKLIN BACHE



THE LIBERTY BELL

"Proclaim Liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."—
Leviticus xxv, 10)

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

friends at home, there were hot heads in Philadelphia who accused him of being too friendly with England, and who even declared at times that they would visit their wrath on his wife. A letter written to him by Mrs. Franklin on September 22, 1765, told of their threatenings:

“Something has been said relative to raising a mob in this place. I was for nine days kept in a continual hurry by people to remove, and Sally was persuaded to go to Burlington for safety; 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 anybody, so he staid 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 . . . I said when I was advised to remove, that I was very sure you had done nothing to hurt anybody, nor had I given offense to any person at all, nor would I be made uneasy by anybody, nor would I stir or show the least uneasiness; but if anyone came to disturb me I would show a proper resentment.

“. . . It is Mr. Saml. Smith that is setting the people mad by telling them that it was you that had planned the Stamp Act, and that you are endeavouring to get the Test Act brought over here . . .”

A few weeks later the loyal wife sent to Franklin the message, “Numbers of your good friends desire their love to you, almost all Philadelphia, for it is but a very few that don’t like you.”

All Philadelphia was aroused. “The subject now is the Stamp Act,” Sarah Franklin, later Mrs. Bache,

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

wrote . . . "The Dutch talk of the stampd ack, the negroes of the tamp; in short, everybody has something to say."

During the height of the excitement Robert Morris was one of a committee appointed to learn from the shopkeeper who had been asked to sell the stamped paper whether he intended to offer it to the citizens. After some pressure the man replied that he would not do the work until the people asked him to do so.

The agitation and the excitement lasted many months. On October 31, 1765, Jacob Hiltzheimer said in his diary, "My newspaper was delivered this morning, being the last before the Stamp Act goes into force."

And it was May 20, 1766, before he was able to record the repeal, "To-night the citizens in general illuminated their houses for the repeal of the Stamp Act."

Opposition to the Stamp Act brought about unity of effort and purpose between colonies which had long been pulling in different directions. In 1765, New York joined Philadelphia in the Non-Importation agreement, which was one of the first of the acts of protest against the attitude of the mother country's measures of oppression. For five years New York and Pennsylvania alike were faithful to the pledge, but in July, 1770, there was resentment among the merchants of Philadelphia because New York importers had written urging Philadelphia to join them in ordering goods from London. At a town meeting a letter was ordered sent to the New York merchants, expressing sorrow that they had taken a measure that could not

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

but be prejudicial to their own liberties as well as the liberties of all America. Warning was given:

“To posterity and to your country you must answer for the step you have now taken. . . . You have certainly wrecked that union of the colonies on which their safety depends, and will thereby strengthen the hands of our enemies, and encourage them to prosecute their designs against our common liberty. We cannot forbear telling you, that however you may colour your proceedings, we think you have, in the day of trial, deserted the cause of liberty and your country.”

A third outstanding series of events of the days preceding the outbreak of the Revolution had to do with the tea ships whose cargoes were looked upon as messengers of oppression, because of the tax. Indignation was bitter, and plans were laid to see that no tea was unloaded on the docks, and that, if possible, no tea ship should be brought by the pilots within the Capes or up the Delaware. When, in December, 1773, one ship did manage to reach Chester, a meeting was held at the State House, and it was agreed that the vessel should be required to return forthwith to England. And on March 1, 1775, Christopher Marshall referred to another incident in the campaign:

“Early this morning departed these parts, universally lamented by the friends of slavery, but to the joy and satisfaction of the lover of freedom, that baneful and detested weed, East India TEA, whose return is never desired or wished for by the true sons of American liberty.”

The tea tempest was still going on when the First Continental Congress met in Carpenter's Hall in Sep-

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

tember, 1774. On the second day of the session Jacob Duché, assistant rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's, then looked upon as one of the most ardent of the patriots, entered the hall by invitation and read the morning service of the Church of England, while his clerk read the responses. Later he made an extemporary prayer, of which John Adams wrote to his wife, "Dr. Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such earnestness, and pathos, and in a language so elegant and sublime."

This was the first of Duché's many outstanding services in the cause of liberty which led to his selection as chaplain by the congress of 1776. In this position he served with acceptance until October, when he resigned, giving the excuse of ill health, though some of his friends felt that the real reason was the growing influence of Lord Howe. At any rate, when the British troops entered Philadelphia in 1777, he prayed for the king in Christ Church, in spite of the resolution of the vestry, taken when he himself was present, that such prayers should be omitted. Unfortunately his faint-heartedness went still further. He wrote a letter to Washington, urging him to renew his allegiance to England. Washington showed his fine spirit when he wrote concerning the message to Francis Hopkinson, whose sister was Mrs. Duché, "I am still willing to suppose that it was rather dictated by his fears than by his real sentiments."

Not long afterward Duché went to England, and the country never saw him again.

The intensity of the feeling against England in the city was shown in the July following the session of the

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

Congress at which Duché made his famous prayer, by a letter which Franklin sent to William Strahan of London, whom he had been accustomed to address affectionately as "Straney." This famous letter read:

"Mr. Strahan,

"You are a member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction. You have begun to burn our towns, and murder our People. Look upon your hands! They are stained with the Blood of your Relations. You and I were long Friends. You are now my Enemy, and

I am

Yours,

"B. Franklin."

By this time hundreds of loyal Philadelphians had banded together to resist the British forces that must inevitably come against them. They were not disturbed by the thought that their numbers were comparatively few, or that their equipment was woefully inadequate. With the same high courage that had led their ancestors to leave their comfortable homes in England to brave the unknown perils of the new land, they quickly decided to be ready for any emergency. The spirit that animated them is illustrated by the experience of David Claypoole, descendant of John Claypoole, emigrant of 1683, and brother of the third husband of Betsy Ross, who is said to have made the first American flag at her house in Arch Street. He wrote in 1826:

"An elder Brother and myself, then 19 years old, Converted our fowling Pieces into Muskets, by the addition of bayonets and iron ram-rods; and providing ourselves with the necessary accoutrements, &c, at our

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

own expence,—were amongst the first to enrol ourselves as Privates in Captain [afterwards General] Mifflin's Company of Infantry in the city of Philadelphia."

Now that war seemed inevitable, Congress turned to another of the Philadelphians on whom that body never called in vain, Robert Morris. He was asked to suggest methods of procuring money for war purposes. This was the beginning of the task that occupied him to the close of the war. Neglecting his own business he devoted himself to the country, advancing funds of his own, securing loans, responding to the clamorous calls of General Washington, to whom the state refused to send the sums for which they were asked. All this he did though Congress had persisted in taking a step that he thought was not the wisest possible. But he was ready to serve his country, and the reason he gave himself:

"I think the individual who declines the service of his country because its Councils are not conformable to his ideas, makes but a bad subject; a good man can follow, if he cannot lead."

There were many who, like Robert Morris, did not vote for the Declaration of Independence, but who, like him, signed the document when it was passed against their better judgment.

The adoption of the Declaration at a time when everything looked favorable to the Colonies would have been a brave deed. But it must always be remembered, to the eternal honor of the heroic signers, that the stand was taken when disaster after disaster had overtaken the arms of the Colonists. Abraham Clark, a member of Congress, realized the force of this fact



THE DESK OF THE DECLARATION, IN INDEPENDENCE HALL



THE CONGRESS VOTING INDEPENDENCE
(From a painting by Robert Edge Pine and Edward Savage, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

when he said, in a letter written on July 4, 1776, "In times of danger and under misfortune true Courage and Magnanimity can only be ascertained."

Four days after the signing of the Declaration on August 2, 1776, Mr. Clark wrote another letter which showed his devotion:

"As to my title, I know not yet whether it will be honourable or dishonourable; the issue of the war must settle it. Perhaps our Congress will be exalted on a high gallows. We were truly brought to the case of the three lepers; if we continued in the state we were in, it was evident we must perish; if we declared Independence we might be saved—we could but perish . . . Nothing short of the power of God can save us. . . . I think an interposing Providence hath been evident in all the events that necessarily led us to what we are . . . independent states."

John Adams was another of that little body of brave men who made Independence Hall and Philadelphia famous by their stand for the Declaration. To his wife he told of his feelings:

"The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epocha in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore.

". . . I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure it will cost to maintain this Declaration and support and defend these States. Yet, through all the gloom, I can see the rays of ravishing light and

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

glory. I can see that the end is more than worth all the means. And that posterity will triumph in that day's transaction, even although we should rue it, which I trust in God we shall not."

William Ellery, one of the heroes of that day, showed his realization of the seriousness of the step taken when he wrote to his brother that it was "One Thing for Colonies to declare themselves independent, and another to establish themselves in Independency."

With what joy loyal residents of Philadelphia heard the pealing of the State House bell as it sent out the tidings that the Declaration was a fact. This bell bore the prophetic inscription, written in 1751 by Isaac Norris speaker of the Assembly, when he ordered it from England:

"Proclaim Liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. Levit. xxv. 10."

The man who ordered the bell did not live to see his unconscious prophecy fulfilled; he died ten years before the glorious day.

More than a year passed before the average resident of Philadelphia realized the seriousness of the step taken by Congress, for the theater of war was in other sections of the country. There were so many disasters elsewhere that Thomas Paine spoke the famous words: "These are the times that try men's souls."

When, later in 1776, the near approach of the enemy to the city caused a panic not only among the people but in Congress—which voted to adjourn to Baltimore—there were those who tried to say, "Steady!" John Adams was not ready to yield to panic; he pleaded,

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

“Let America exert her own strength, let her depend on God’s blessing.”

Many of the people fled to the country. Society was disorganized. One woman who is known only by the initials “H. T.” told of her experiences at the time:

“Where shall we go; how shall we ever get out of town? was the universal cry. Carriages of every description were few, and all were anxiously sought . . . Wealthy residents kept a one-horse chaise, but what was this to the conveyance of a whole household? A coach was here and there kept by the high order, but these were not in requisition; they belonged chiefly to the officers of the royal government who, fearing no violence from their brethren had determined to abide the result.

“But great was the scramble among the scanty state of means. Happy was he, who could procure a market wagon, or a milk cart, to bear off his little ones; my family, together with that of a friend . . . were stowed, women, children and servants . . . more than a score, into a small river craft called a wood-flat, whose smoky cabin did not permit the ladies with infants in their arms, to sit quite upright. The smoke, however, was intolerable, and we girls, whose young hearts shrank from no inconvenience or danger, made our beds with blankets upon the deck; from this enviable station we were driven by a heavy fall of snow, into the hold of the boat, where we slept soundly on the few tables and chairs which our hurry had enabled us to carry with us. Innumerable were the hardships, and much would you wonder, could I tell you what the scattered Philadelphians endured at this trying season; thankful if they could find a hut or a barn in any region of security. Sometimes, those who had never spoken together in the city would meet in their wanderings, and then all distinctions of rank were forgotten, and they were a band of brothers . . .”

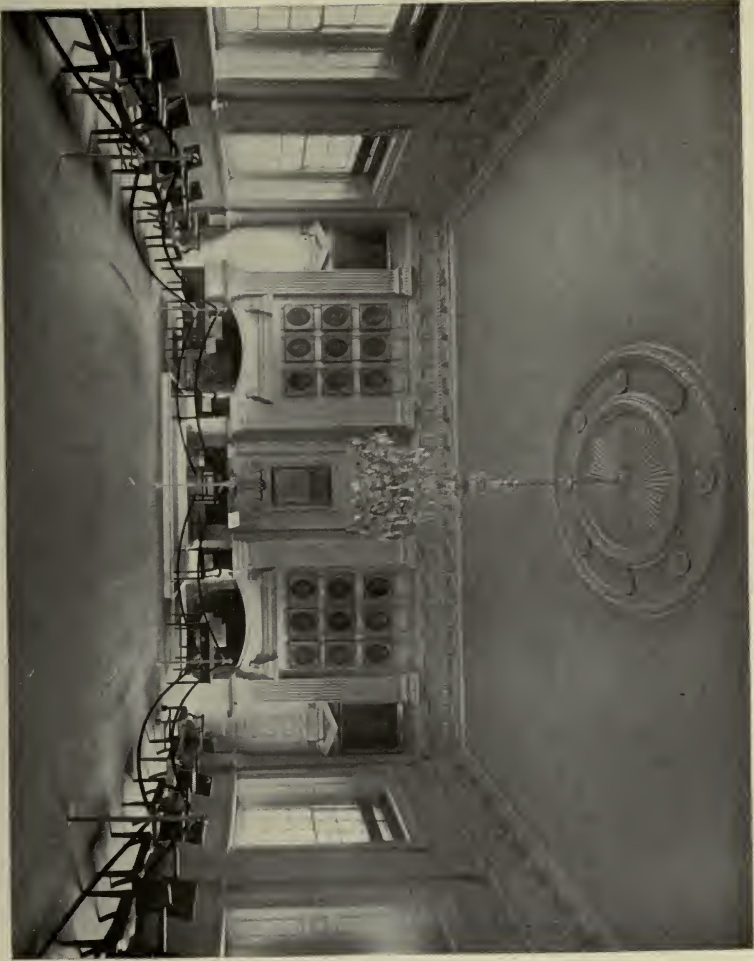
THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Of course there were those who were too patriotic to leave the city. They were on hand to heed the call of the Council of Safety made on December 2, 1776, that "the shops be shut up, that the schools be broken up, and the Inhabitants engaged solely in providing for the defence of the City, at this time of extra Danger."

Fortunately Washington was able to drive back across New Jersey the British whose approach had put the city in a panic. His operations, however, would have been impossible if Robert Morris had not responded to his frantic appeal for money by sending fifty thousand dollars of his own funds.

The first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was one of the notable days in Philadelphia during the Revolution. Thanksgiving for the freedom of the city from invasion found expression in a great festival. George Bryan, member of Congress, gave another reason for the extent of the celebration as encouraged by the authorities. In a letter to his wife—whom by the way, he called his "lover, partner and friend"—he said, "We were willing to give the idea of rejoicing full swing; the spirits of the Whigs must be kept up." Congress adjourned in order to dine together at the City Tavern. The armed vessels and guard boats on the Delaware were dressed in the colors of all nations, and in the afternoon the crews manned the rigging, and many salutes of thirteen guns were fired. The wharves were lined by great crowds of shouting people. A military parade followed. In the evening the windows of most of the houses were illuminated with candles, though, as John Adams remarked, a "few surly houses were dark." The almost

IN INDEPENDENCE HALL.





LOOKING TOWARD THE LIBERTY BELL, INDEPENDENCE HALL

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

continual ringing of the bells, bonfires and fireworks, were other features of a celebration that led Adams to say, "Had General Howe been here in disguise, or his Master, this show would have given them the heartache."

Not many days passed, however, before General Howe was heard from in such a way that the Tories took heart and the Whigs began to tremble for the safety of the city. The British commander had sailed from Sandy Hook and an invasion was feared. Anxiety increased when word came that the army had been landed at Head of Elk, not one hundred miles from the city.

September 10 brought an urgent appeal from the Supreme Executive Council, signed by President Thomas Wharton, Jr., and Timothy Matlack, secretary, in which all persons were told of the necessity of exerting themselves to crush the foe, "now in the bowels of our Country." By the help of heaven, the proclamation said further, it was hoped that the insulting foe would be cut off from all means of escape.

Reluctantly the Council, whose secretary was one of the "Fighting Quakers" who were among the country's stoutest defenders, took other measures that they had considered before but had postponed. There were many residents in the city who were lukewarm in their devotion to the cause of liberty, and it was feared that they might give aid and comfort to the enemy. David Rittenhouse was asked to make out a list of these. Of the forty whose names appeared in the list, some were warned not to communicate with the enemy, and not to go far from their homes. About twenty-seven were sent to the Masonic Lodge for safekeeping.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

From this place of confinement the prisoners, most of whom were Friends, wrote a protest against their detention as "illegal, unjust, arbitrary and contrary to the rights of mankind." At the same time they applied for a writ of habeas corpus. The writ was granted when the party was on the way to Virginia, under guard, but, by authority of the Assembly, the writ was disregarded, and the journey to Virginia was resumed, though the prisoners had been informed that they could have their liberty if they would take the oath of allegiance and make certain promises.

In the diary of Robert Morton, a sixteen-year-old Friend, was recorded a lament that shows the intensity of feeling at this deportation that the Council deemed necessary:

"O Philada. my Native City, thou that hast heretofore been so remarkable for the preservation of thy Rights, now sufferest those who were the Guardians, Protectors, and Defenders of thy Youth and who contributed their share in raising thee to thy present state of Grandeur and magnificence with a rapidity not to be paralleled in the World, to be dragged by a licentious mob from their near and dear connections, and by the hands of lawless power, banished from the country unheard, perhaps nevermore to return, for the sole suspicion of being enemies of that cause in which thou art now engaged . . . Alas, the day must come when the Avenger's hand shall make thee suffer for thy guilt, and thy rulers shall defer thy fate."

The attitude of many of those who remained in the city may be seen from the entry in Morton's diary on September 26, 1777:

"Lord Cornwallis . . . marched into this city . . . to the great relief of the inhabitants who have

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

too long suffered the yoke of arbitrary Power; and who testified their approbation of the arrival of the troops by the loudest acclamations of joy."

On the same day Elizabeth Drinker wrote in her journal:

"Well! here are ye English in earnest; about 2 or 3000 came in through Second street, without opposition or interruption—no plundering on ye one side or ye other. What a satisfaction would it be to our dear absent friends could they but be be informed of it; our end of ye Town has appeared the greater part of this day like ye first day of ye week."

It is interesting to trace the change in the sentiments of those who looked so complacently on the coming of the invaders. To their surprise and indignation they soon found that the presence of the soldiers in the city did not mean comforts for them, with entire freedom from all annoyance. There was quartering in the house and the seizure of property, and there was interference with the customary manner of life that is almost inevitable where an invader has possession, no matter how careful the officers may be to keep discomforts at a minimum.

On December 15, Mrs. Drinker began to open her eyes to the bitter truth. "Ye officers and soldiers are quartering themselves upon ye Families generally," she wrote. "One with his Family is to be fixt at J. Howells. I am in daily expectation of their calling upon us. They were much frightened last night at Isaac Catheralls by a soldier who came into ye House, drew his Bayonet on Isaac, and behaved very disorderly." On December 19 a major came to her,

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

suggesting that he would like to stay at her house. She told him that she and her sister, being lone women, expected to be excused. He said he feared not; that he thought it would be well for her to take him in, since he was conscious that he had some of the qualities that would make him suitable. "I am straitened how to act, and yet determined," she wrote, after his departure. "I may be troubled with others much worse . . . but while I can keep clear of them, I intend to so do. They have markd ye doors of Houses against their consent, and some of ye inhabitants have looked out for officers of reputation (if any such there be), to come into their Families, by way of protection, and to keep off others."

The English sympathizers had further reasons for apprehension. She told how Owen Jones's family had been ill-used, by an officer who wanted to quarter himself, with many others, upon them. "He drew his sword, used every abusive language, and had ye Front door split in pieces." Another neighbor complained that she was no longer allowed to use her own front door; the soldiers made her and her family use the alley.

Mrs. Drinker managed to hold out until December 30, when the officer came to the house, bringing with him a servant, two horses and two cows.

Phoebe Pemberton, who lived at The Plantation, on the Schuylkill, on the present site of the United States Naval Hospital, tried to curry favor with the officers so as to be sure of protection from the men, but in November, 1777, she felt obliged to write to Lord Howe:

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

“ . . . Being possessed of two small farms, near the city, on one of which there is a small piece of wood, Intended for Firing for myself and children, with a few of the Inhabitants, some of whom are not able to pay for it, but have constantly partook of My beloved Husband's bounty, by supplying them in the Winter season with a small quantity, which I shall be rendered incapable of doing, as the soldiers are taking away and say they did by permission of the General's secretary. The Tenants of these places have informed me that they must be obliged to leave their Habitations, being stript of their Hay, Vegetables, &c, on which they depended for a Living.”

In the spring of 1778 there was rivalry among some of the officers as to who should occupy The Plantation as his summer residence. Finally Mrs. Pemberton was constrained to promise it to one of them. But when summer came, he and the entire army, were far away.

Philadelphia was not much more popular with some of the British officers than the invading force was with the people. One of them wrote, on January 18, 1778:

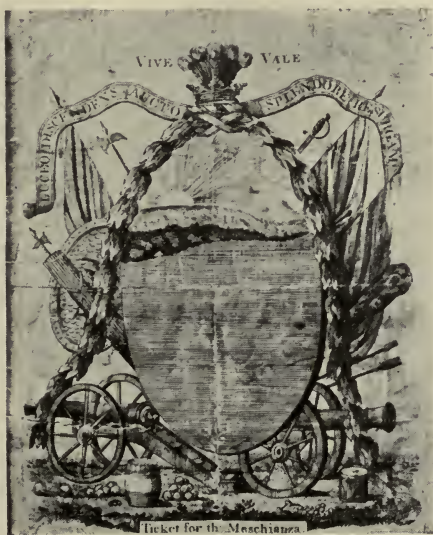
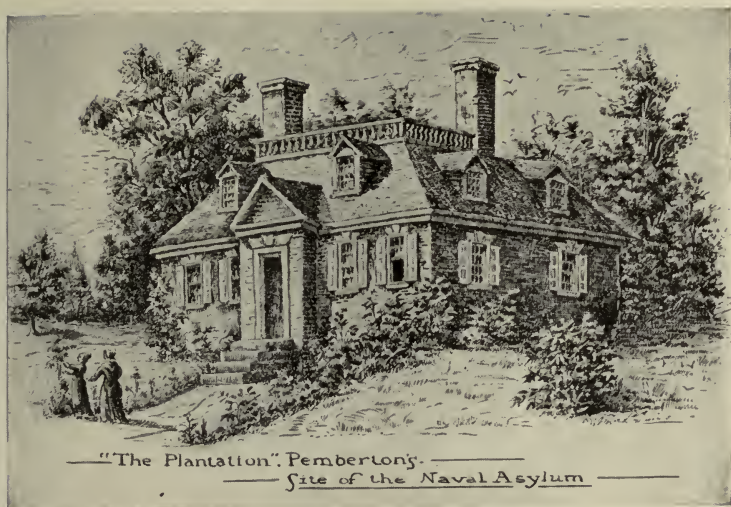
“If the Honourable Count Penn should surrender to me the whole country for my patent, on condition that I should live here during my life, I would scarcely accept it. And this is the promised land, the land flowing with milk and honey, which so many before us have praised.”

While the British were living so comfortably in Philadelphia the Continental troops were freezing and starving at Valley Forge, a day's march from the city. The heroism displayed by Washington and his men during that memorable winter is one of the most glorious things in our history. The efforts to secure supplies to them did not meet with much success, though

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

there were many patriots who were glad to make the greatest sacrifices in their behalf. In these days when the cause of liberty was in temporary shadow, there were women who devoted care and thought to the needs of the soldiers. A paper has been preserved, prepared by one who is known simply as "An American Mother." She wrote her "Idea as to Forwarding Presents of the American Women." Evidently, however, the message was prepared at a more favorable time than when an enemy was at the threshold, for she began:

"If we enjoy any tranquillity, it is the fruit of your watchings, your labours, your dangers. If I live happy in the midst of my family; if my husband cultivates his field, and reaps the harvest in peace; if, surrounded with my children, I myself nourish the youngest, and press it to my bosom, without being afraid of seeing myself separated from it, by a ferocious enemy; if the house in which we dwell . . . is safe at the present time from the hands of these incendiaries, it is to you that we owe it. And shall we hesitate to evidence to you our gratitude? Shall we hesitate to wear a cloathing more simple; hair dressed less elegant, while at the price of this small privation, we shall deserve your benedictions. Who, amongst us, will not renounce with the highest pleasure, those vain ornaments, when she shall consider that the valiant defenders of America will be able to draw some advantage from the money which she may have laid out in these, that they will be better defended from the rigours of the seasons. . . . The time is arrived to display the same sentiments which animated us at the beginning of the Revolution, when we renounced the use of teas . . . rather than receive them from our persecutors . . . when our republican and laborious hands spun the flax, prepared the linen, intended for the use of our soldiers. . . ."



TICKET FOR THE MESCHIANZA
(From the original in the Library Company of Philadelphia)



MT. PLEASANT, EAST FRONT, THE HOME OF BENEDICT ARNOLD
(Fairmount Park)

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

Having said these things, which sound much as if they came from the patriotic heart of a woman of to-day, she outlined her plan for securing and sending money to the camp, which should be used for the purpose of adding extras to the necessary supplies the government was supposed to furnish.

At the very time when, at Valley Forge, there was intense suffering among the American soldiers, the invaders were drawing on Philadelphia for supplies to make a success of the great festival, the Meschianza, in honor of the departure for England of General Howe and some of his associate officers. It has been said that this was the "most elaborate celebration ever held in America up to that time," May 18, 1778. Major André was one of the two men in charge of the wonderful decorations.

Elizabeth Drinker's account is more satisfactory than the elaborate record of Major André:

"This day may be remembered by many from ye scene of Folly and Vanity . . . Ye parade of Coaches and other Carriages, with many Horsemen, thro' the Streets, towards ye Northern Liberties; where great numbers of ye Officers and some women, embarked in three Galleys and a number of boats, and passed down ye River, before ye city, with Colors displayed, and a large Band of Music, and ye ships in ye Harbor decorated with Colors, which were saluted by ye Cannon of some of them. It is said they landed in Southwark, and proceeded from ye waterside to Joseph Wharton's late dwelling, which had been decorated and fitted up for this occasion in an expensive way, for this Company, to Feast, Dance and Revel in. On ye River Sky-Rockets and other Fire-Works were exhibited after night.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

“How insensible do these people appear, while our Land is so greatly desolated, and death and sore destruction has overtaken, and now impends over so many!”

It has been said that Margaret Shippen and her sister danced at the ball which lasted until four o'clock in the morning. But this has been denied. Their father, Edward Shippen, refused to allow them to be present, not for patriotic reasons, but because of the immodesty of the costumes which Major André had planned for them.

A month after the Meschianza, the British departed as swiftly as they had come. “Last night it was said there were 9000 of ye British Troops left in Town; 11,000 in ye Jerseys,” Elizabeth Drinker’s comment began. “This morning when we arose there was not one Red-Coat to be seen in Town, and ye encampment in the Jerseys also vanished. Col. Gordon and some others had not been gone a quarter of an hour before ye American Light Horse entered ye city—not many of them, but they were in and out all day.”

July 4, the second anniversary of Independence, was so close that an early outlet was given to the people for their joy. Most of the city joined in the celebration, though there were many who were not so glad. Elizabeth Drinker, one of them wrote: “A great fuss this evening . . . firing of Guns, Sky-Rockets, &c. Candles were too scarce and dear to have an illumination, which perhaps saved some of our windows.”

General Benedict Arnold, who was placed in charge of the troops in the city immediately on the American re-occupation, took advantage of the opportunity

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

thus presented to press his courtship of Margaret Shippen with great ardor. The extravagance of the establishment he maintained at this time was one of Edward Shippen's reasons for looking with disfavor on him as a son-in-law.

A glance at Arnold's household accounts for 1778-1779 shows that Mr. Shippen's fears were not without cause. Here are a few items:

Steward's bill.....	£ 114.11. 7
Ham.....	41
Cheese.....	4. 9. 4
2 Pipes Wine.....	1000.
20 Loaves Sugar.....	274.
26 lb. Green Tea.....	195.
Table Furniture.....	160.12.0
Almonds & Raisins.....	14. 5. 0
Market expenses, July to February 20....	1363.10.10

Prices were already becoming so high that there was no room for extravagance. The city was flooded with Continental currency, and the evils which Robert Morris had predicted when he opposed the first issue were becoming apparent. On March 1, 1778, one dollar "hard money" brought \$1.75 in bills; on September 1, 1778, the ratio was 1 to 4; on March 1, 1779, 1 to 10; September 1, 1779, 1 to 18; March 18, 1780, 1 to 40; December 1, 1780, 1 to 100; May 1, 1781, 1 to from 200 to 500. No wonder Samuel Adams paid five hundred dollars for a hat, that shoes cost one hundred and twenty-five dollars a pair, that even a fish-hook cost half a dollar, and that William Ellery, member of Congress, during the winter of 1779 and 1780, paid for board to Mrs. Miller on Arch Street, between Fourth

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

and Fifth streets, \$300 per week for himself and his servant, an amount which became much greater in the spring of 1780.

Edward Shippen seriously considered removing to Lancaster because, while "the common articles of life, such as are absolutely necessary for a family," were not much higher in Philadelphia than in Lancaster, the style of life his fashionable daughters had introduced, and their dress, threatened to bankrupt him. "The expense of supporting my family now will not fall short of four or five thousand pounds per annum, an expense insupportable without income," he wrote. But he was able to revise his plan, for his generous fellow citizens, who recognized real worth in spite of the failure to be entirely loyal to the cause of liberty, asked him to take a judicial office which afterwards opened the way for an associate Justiceship of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

A vain attempt to limit prices was proposed. A committee of merchants was to fix the cost of the necessaries of life. These prices were to be reduced every few weeks until they were low enough. On May 25, 1779, a town meeting was held to take the vote of the people as to the plan. This was held in the State House Yard, amid great excitement. There were those who thought the attempt would succeed, and there were many more who scoffed at it. Among the hopeful ones were the "many families . . . without bread" of whom Mrs. Franklin wrote to her husband. One of the doubters, Joseph Stansbury, wrote some satirical verse about the meeting of which stanzas were:

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

“And now the State House yard was full
And orators so fierce, so dull,
 Appeared upon the Stage,
But all was riot, noise, disgrace.
And freedom’s sons through all the place
 In bloody frays engage.

“Sagacious Matlack strove in vain
To pour his sense in Dutchman’s brain
 With every art to please.
Observed, “that as the Money fell
Like Lucifer, to Coward Hell
 Tho’ swift, yet by degrees
So should it rise, and goods should fall,
Month after month, and one and all
 Would be as cheap as ever.”

A committee was appointed to carry out the purpose of the meeting, but it is unnecessary to say that they did not succeed; this was not the way to attack the problem. Eighteen months later, however, they were still persisting in their vain plan. Mrs. Drinker told, on November 23, 1780, of a meeting of merchants, which “came to a resolve that the Continental money (which now passed at upwards of 100 for one) should pass at 75, and that debts &c should be paid at that rate.” They “appointed men to go round the city to y^e Inhabitants with a paper to sign, to y^e above effect—those who refuse are to be held up to y^e Populace as enemies to the country.”

The wiser method of attacking the high cost of living, economy and abstinence, was emphasized by Benjamin Franklin in letters to his daughter, Sarah.

On January 17, 1779, Sarah wrote to her father in France, telling him of her desire to return to the Min-

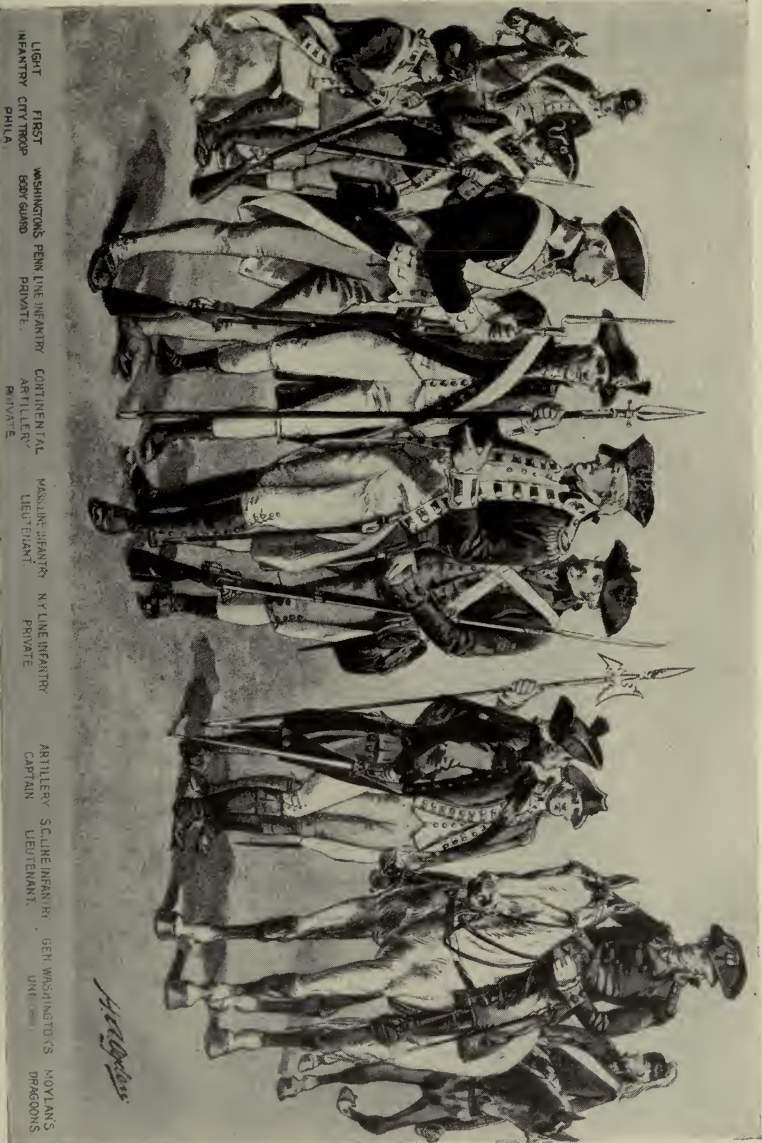
THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

ister [she did not say of what country] eight yards of flannel which he had given her. She suggested further that she would have great pleasure in wearing anything her father chose to send her, and in bragging to others of her father's taste. Then she told of various social affairs which she had been attending.

In his reply, dated in June, the father gently rebuked her for what he felt was lack of patriotism, in sending for "long black pins and lace and feathers."

"This disgusted me as much as if you had put salt on my strawberries . . . The spinning, I see, is laid aside, and you are to be dressed for the ball; you seem not to know, my dear daughter, that of all the dear things in the world idleness is the dearest, except mischief . . . When I began to read your account of the high prices of goods . . . I expected you would conclude with telling me, that everybody as well as yourself was grown frugal and industrious; and I could scarce believe my eyes, in reading forward, that there never was so much pleasure and dressing going on; and that you yourself wanted black pins and feathers from France, to appear, I suppose, in the mode! This leads me to imagine, that perhaps it is not so much that the goods are grown dear as that the money is grown cheap, as everything else will do when excessively plenty . . .

"The war, indeed, may in some degree raise the price of goods, and the high taxes which are necessary to support the war may make our frugality necessary and, as I am always preaching that doctrine, I cannot, in conscience or in decency encourage the contrary by my example, in furnishing my children with foolish modes and luxuries. I, therefore, send all the articles you desire that are useful and necessary, and omit the rest; for, as you say, you should 'have great pride in



LIGHT
INFANTRY
CITY TROOP
PHILA

FIRST
WASHINGTON'S PENN LINE INFANTRY
BOSS GUARD
PRIVATE

CONTINENTAL
ARTILLERY
PRIVATE

MASSACHUSETTS
LEUTENANT

NY LINE INFANTRY
PRIVATE

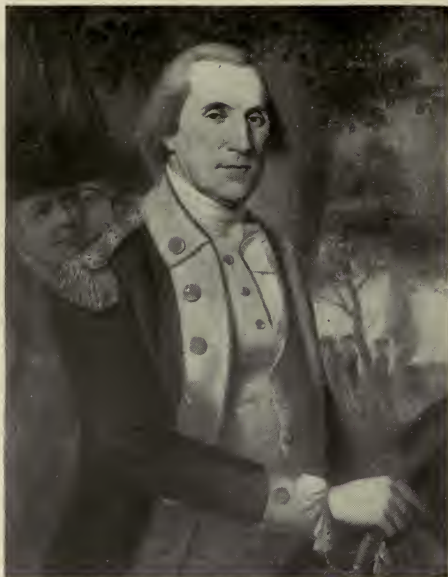
ARTILLERY
CAPTAIN
LEUTENANT

SCOUTS
LEUTENANT

GEN WASHINGTON'S
UNIT

NOVIANS
REGIMENTS

AMERICAN UNIFORMS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR



GEORGE WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE
(From the painting by James Peale, in Independence Hall)



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE INKSTAND

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

wearing anything I send, and showing it as your father's taste! I must avoid giving you an opportunity of doing that with either lace or feathers. If you wear your cambric ruffles as I do, and take care not to mend the holes, they will come in time to be lace; and feathers my dear girl, they may be had in America from every cock's tail."

The man who perhaps was most responsible for the growing love of luxury in Philadelphia led Margaret Shippen to the altar on April 8, 1779. Her dream of happiness did not continue long, for less than eighteen months passed before his messenger, Major André, was caught in the attempt to carry to the British the plans of West Point, of which at the time Arnold was commander. Philadelphia's opinion of the traitor was shown in a parade on September 30. Of this Mrs. Drinker gave spirited account:

"On the seventh day last . . . was exhibited and paraded through the streets of this City a ridiculous figure of Gen^l. Arnold, with two faces, and the Devil standing behind him pushing him with a pitchfork. At y^e front of y^e cart was a large Lanthorn of green paper, with a number of inscriptions setting forth his crime . . . Several hundred men and boys with candles in their hands—All in ranks; many Officers, y^e Infantry, men with Guns and Bayonets, Tag, Rag, &c, somewhere near y^e Coffee House. They burnt y^e Effigy . . ."

Mrs. Arnold was allowed to return to the city for a time, but at the request of the Council she left soon afterward, and went with her husband to England.

The preservation of the city from the results of Arnold's treason must have been in the Council's mind when they called on the people to observe Thurs-

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

day, December 7, 1780, as a day of thanksgiving. On that day they asked that prayer be offered to God "to lead our forces by land and sea to victory, to take our illustrious ally under his special protection, and favour our joint councils and exertions for the establishment of speedy and enduring peace."

At that time the darkness was being dispelled and the heroic men and women of the city who had remained steadfast to the country through failure as well as through success, rejoiced in the prospect of an early peace. On October 22, 1781, the prospect seemed quite rosy, for on that day an express brought the tidings of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. But during the fifteen months that elapsed before the tidings came that the preliminary treaty had been signed there was much call for patient endurance. Finally, on February 13, 1783, a broadside was distributed through the city with the glad announcement:

"By a gentleman just arrived in the city from New Jersey, we have received his Britannic Majesty's Speech to Both Houses of Parliament."

In this speech, which had been brought by the Brigantine *Peggy* in nineteen days from Tortola, the King had made the statement:

"I did not hesitate to go the full length of the power vested in me, and offered to declare them [the American Colonies] FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES."

The joy in Philadelphia was unconfined. Bells rang, boys shouted, people in the streets greeted one another with a hearty handclasp and with shining eyes, and women who had sacrificed more than could be measured for their country met over their tea cups to discuss the glad news which meant that to so many

THE CITY OF THE DECLARATION

of the homes of the city fathers and sons would soon come once more. And those who could not look forward to the return of loved ones whom they had sent to suffer with Washington rejoiced also—they were glad that their sacrifice had not been made in vain.

Later came the word telling of the King's Proclamation, dated February 14, 1783, in which was ordered the cessation of hostilities. This was printed in London by the very William Strahan to whom, in 1775 Franklin had sent the famous "I am yours" letter.

What a Fourth of July they had in 1783! Jacob Hiltzheimer told of one of the events of the day:

"In the afternoon a triumphal car . . . attended by a number of boys and girls dressed in white, was paraded through the streets of the city, this being the memorable day independence was declared."

Less than two months after this historic celebration, on September 3, 1783, the definitive treaty of peace was signed, and as soon as Philadelphians heard of this they breathed a sigh of glad relief. On receipt of the news Mrs. Bache wrote to her father:

"Most earnestly have I wished for the definitive treaty to arrive, and Congress to find a meeting place, that they might then have time to recall you . . . The treaty, I am told, is come, but where Congress will settle, no one can say . . . Your old friend, General Gates, told me they were all splitting and separating, that no man in the world could hoop the barrel but you, and that you were much wanted here."

For more than two years Congress, which was acting under the loosely drawn Articles of Confederation, a temporary document which had not been ratified

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

by ten states until July, 1778, had been a wandering body. It could not compel the states to obey its will, and could not even force the attendance of its own members. Frequently no more than twenty of them were present. The body was losing the respect of the mass of the people.

But there were still patriots in Philadelphia who were sure that the day of better things would dawn, and they were waiting for the opportunity to show their loyalty by helping to usher in America's brighter day.

XIV

UNTIL THE CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

A TREMENDOUS SOCIAL STRAIN—A SPECTACULAR FOURTH OF JULY—WOES AT BUSH HILL—MARTHA WASHINGTON'S "CHICKEN FRYKEY"—PUMPS AND OPEN HYDRANTS—THE FIRST BALLOON ASCENSION—WASHINGTON OUT AND ADAMS IN—WASHINGTON AT LAST FINDS REST—A NEW CENTURY, A NEW CAPITAL, AND RENEWED YOUTH FOR PHILADELPHIA

THE story of Philadelphia during the last decade and a half of the eighteenth century is bound up with the story of George Washington. In 1783 he said farewell to the city with which he had been so closely associated during much of the period of the Revolutionary War, and he thought it was a final farewell. On December 15, the day of the General's departure for his home at Mt. Vernon, Jacob Hiltzheimer wrote in his diary:

"I . . . sincerely congratulate him on the noble resolution he has made, not to accept public office hereafter, but to pass the remainder of his days in private. This is undoubtedly the surest way to preserve the honors he so justly acquired during the late war."

For a brief period Washington was permitted to remain on his estate. During this time Congress was in session first at Annapolis, Maryland, then at Trenton, New Jersey, then at New York City. Pennsylvania's executive authority was still in the Supreme Executive Council of which Benjamin Franklin was president from 1785 to 1787. But both Franklin and Washington

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

were required in 1787 for the sessions of the convention called to form a constitution for the United States, which was to replace the loosely drawn Articles of Confederation in force since 1781. On September 13 of that year Washington reached Gray's Ferry in his chaise. There he was met by a Troop of the City Light Horse and a large crowd of people, who led him into the city. At once he sought quarters in the boarding house kept by Mrs. Mary House at Fifth and Market Streets, but he was not permitted to remain there more than a few minutes, for Mr. and Mrs. Robert Morris called and insisted on his going to their house on High Street, east of Sixth Street. From here, during more than four months, he made almost daily journeys to the State House, where he sought "the consolidation of our Union."

To the arduous political labors of that long summer he was obliged to add about one hundred and twenty social engagements. Almost every day he went out to dinner or tea, or both. Twice during the summer he had the relief of going fishing, once near Valley Forge and once at Trenton. The brief records of his journeys to the homes of friends who were proud to honor him are contained in a small memorandum book of seventy-eight pages, of which thirty-five are devoted to the months in Philadelphia.¹

Twelve days passed before there was a quorum of the delegates. Then, on motion of Robert Morris, Washington was made president of the body. Franklin was a regular attendant. "I attended the Business

¹This book is in the Library of Congress at Washington.

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

of it five Hours every Day from the Beginning," he wrote to his sister.

During the weeks of that summer there was great interest on the part of Philadelphia in the momentous work going on in the State House, and there was great rejoicing on September 17 when the body completed its labors, labors of which Samuel W. Pennypacker said, in his Washington's Birthday address in 1902:

"From that box, drawn, as it were, by unwitting fishermen out of the sea of uncertainties and perplexities, came forth a génie whose stride is from ocean to ocean; whose locks, shaken upon one side by Eurus, on the other by Zephyr, darken the skies; and whose voice is heard in far Cathay and beyond Ultima Thule."

The completion of the constitution and its adoption by ten of the United States was celebrated on July 4, 1788, by what *The American Museum* called "a great federal procession." And it was a great affair, far surpassing in extent and magnificence anything of the kind the city had known.

The dawn of the day was greeted by "a full peal from Christ Church steeple, and a discharge of cannon from the ship *Rising Sun*, which was anchored off Market Street." "Ten vessels, in honor of the ten states of the Union, were dressed and arranged thro' the whole length of the harbor," the contemporary account continued. Each ship flew at the masthead a white flag on which was emblazoned the name of the state represented by that ship.

But the great procession was the event of the day. This was made up of eighty-eight distinct parts or floats. First came twelve axe-men dressed in white

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

frocks, with black girdles, Then there were, at intervals, companies of the City Troop, horsemen who bore banners with the dates of the original Independence Day, of the coming of the French allies, of the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, and of the completion of the Constitution. Richard Bache, on horseback, attended by a herald, proclaimed the new era. The Constitution was represented by Chief Justice McKean, and his associates, in their robes of office, who rode in a car in the form of an eagle, drawn by six horses. The citizens represented the ratifying states. Other United States and city officers followed. A citizen and an Indian chief were seated in a carriage, smoking the calumet of peace together. The new federal edifice was represented by a float drawn by ten white horses, on which was a structure supported by thirteen Corinthian columns, the frieze being decorated with thirteen stars; ten of the columns were complete, while three were imperfect. The Federal ship *Union*, mounting twenty guns, thirty-three feet long, was built up from the barge which formerly belonged to *Serapis* the ship which was defeated by the *Bon Homme Richard* under Captain John Paul Jones. Foreign diplomats and representatives of the trades and professions completed the spectacular pageant.

Immediately after the close of the Constitutional Convention which this pageant celebrated, Washington left Philadelphia for the South, again hoping to enjoy the freedom of the life on his lands on the banks of the Potomac. But the country called him to be the first President under the Constitution which he had helped to formulate, and so, early in 1789, he passed

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

once again through the city by the Delaware. His friends there were reluctant to see him go to New York, which was to be the capital for a year; Robert Morris and Benjamin Franklin, John Penn and General Mifflin, Benjamin Chew and John Ross, Thomas Willing and William Brigham, and scores of others were eager to renew the round of dinners that had made the convention months such a notable time in the city's social history.

Less than three months later Mrs. Washington, or Lady Washington, as many persisted in calling her, followed her husband to New York. On Friday, May 22, the two troops of Light Horse, accompanied by the Governor of the State, the Speaker of the Assembly, and many others went to a point near Darby to meet her. Mrs. Robert Morris with a company of ladies in carriages joined the escort there. When Mrs. Washington arrived all went to Gray's Garden for luncheon. In the party were Governor Thomas Mifflin, Judge Richard Peters, Temple Franklin, Benjamin Chew, Jr., Robert Morris, Jr., William Morris, Richard Bache, John Ross, Robert Hare, George Harrison, Samuel Meredith, Captain Miles, thirty-nine "gentlemen troopers," a number of Continental officers, as well as twenty ladies. The bill of expenses for the luncheon shows that that company consumed ten bottles of Madeira wine, one bottle of champagne, two bottles of claret, forty-five bowls of punch, ten bottles of American porter, one bottle of ale, and two bottles of crab cider.

When the company reached High Street, Mrs. Washington was greeted by the ringing of bells, the

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

discharge of thirteen guns, and the shouts of great crowds of people.

Mrs. Washington remained in Philadelphia over Sunday. Then, accompanied by Mrs. Morris, she proceeded to New York. There, on May 29, at the opening levee, Mrs. Morris occupied first place on the right of the hostess. This position of honor was accorded her whenever she was present at a similar function, either in New York or Philadelphia.

There was joy in Philadelphia when it was learned that the capital was to be removed for a season from New York to the city where the Constitution was born. Eagerly preparations were made for the accommodation of Congress and other bodies. The building at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets was devoted to the use of Congress, and ever since has been known as Congress Hall. The Supreme Court met in a building at Fifth and Chestnut Streets.

Vice President Adams sought quarters at Bush Hill. Mrs. Adams, on November 21, 1790, wrote a letter which gave a delightful picture of conditions as she found them:

“Bush Hill, as it is called, though by the way there remains neither bush nor shrub upon it, and very few trees, except the pine grown behind it,—yet Bush Hill is a very interesting place . . . The house is better furnished within, but when you come to compare the conveniences for storeroom, kitchen closets, etc., there is nothing like it in the whole house . . . When we arrived in the city we proceeded to the house. By accident, the vessel with our furniture had arrived the day before, and Brieslin was taking in the first load into a house all green-painted, the workmen there with

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

their brushes in hand. There was cold comfort in a house, where I suppose no fire had been kindled for several years, except in a back kitchen; but, as I expected many things of this kind, I was not disappointed nor discomfited. As no wood nor fodder had been provided beforehand, we could only turn about and go to the City Tavern for the night.

“The next morning was pleasant, and I ventured to come up and take possession; but what confusion! Boxes, barrels, chairs, tables, trunks, etc.; everything to be arranged, and few hands to accomplish it, for Brieslin was obliged to be at the vessel. The first object was to get fire; the next to get up beds; but the cold, damp rooms, the new paint, etc., proved almost too much for me. On Friday we arrived here, and late on Saturday evening we got our furniture in . . . Every day, the stormy ones excepted, from eleven until three, the house is filled with ladies and gentlemen. As all this is no more nor worse than I expected, I bear it without repining . . .

“I have not yet begun to return visits, as the ladies expect to find me at home, and I have not been in a state of health to do it; nor am I yet in a very eligible state to receive their visits. I, however, endeavoured to have one room decent to receive them, which, with my own chamber, is as much as I can boast of at present being in tolerable order . . . Mrs. Lear was in to see me yesterday and assures me that I am much better off than Mrs. Washington will be when she arrives, for that their house is not likely to be completed this year. And, when all is done, it will not be Broadway. If New York wanted any revenge for the removal, the citizens might be glutted if they would come here, where every article has become almost double in price, and where it is not possible for Congress, and its appendages, to be half so well accommodate for a long time.”

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Soon President and Mrs. Washington began to get settled in the home of Robert Morris, which had been occupied by General Howe while the commander of the Colonial forces was at Valley Forge. Mr. Morris, who had been instrumental in having the seat of government removed from New York to Philadelphia, at once offered his house for the use of the President, and Washington gratefully accepted this further evidence of the devotion of one of his closest friends. Mr. and Mrs. Morris moved to the house which had been confiscated from Joseph Galloway during the Revolution. This had been bought from the Supreme Executive Council since it adjoined the other residence.

The mansion occupied by the President has been described by Charles Henry Hart thus:

“It was built of brick, three stories high, and the main building was fifty-five feet six inches wide by fifty-two feet deep, and the kitchen and wash house were twenty-feet wide by fifty-five deep, while the stables would accommodate the twelve horses. The front of the house had four windows on the second and third floors, two on either side of the main hall, and on the first floor three windows and a single door approached by three heavy grey stone steps. On each side of the house were vacant lots used as a garden and containing shrubbery.”

This property Mr. Morris bought in August, 1785. At once he rebuilt the house, which had been destroyed by fire in 1780. To it he removed in 1786 from the residence he had long occupied on Front Street, below Dock.

In preparation for his removal to his friends' house, Washington wrote to his secretary, Tobias Lear:

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

“The house of Mr. Robert Morris had, previous to my arrival, been taken by the corporation for my residence. It is the best they could get. It is, I believe, the best single house in the city. Yet without addition it is inadequate to the commodious accommodation of my family.”

In another letter he spoke of some household arrangements in a way that showed his intimate knowledge of these things:

“Mr. and Mrs. Morris have insisted upon leaving the two large looking-glasses which are in their best rooms, because they have no place, they say, proper to remove them to, and because they are unwilling to hazzard taking them down. You will therefore let them have, instead, the choice of mine . . . Mrs. Morris has a mangle (I think it is called) for ironing clothes, which, as it is fixed in the place where it is commonly used, she proposes to leave and take mine. To this I have no objection, provided *mine is equally good and convenient*; but if I should obtain any advantage beside that of being up and ready for use, I am not inclined to receive it . . . Mrs. Morris, who is a notable lady in family arrangement, can give you much information on all the conveniences about the house and buildings, and I dare say would rather consider it as a compliment to be consulted in those matters . . . than a trouble to give her opinion of them.”

It was November 27, 1790, when the President and Mrs. Washington reached the city. At the first levee given Mr. and Mrs. Morris were, as usual, honored guests.

During the President's residence in Philadelphia his household accounts were carefully kept in the handwriting of his secretary. These accounts, which are now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, furnish a commentary of unusual interest

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

on the home life of the first man in the nation. A few items selected at random may be quoted. It will be noted that sometimes dollars and cents were used, while sometimes the more familiar pounds, shilling, and pence were employed, the shilling being then about thirteen cents in United States money:

Fred Kitt, deliv'd him to pay his weekly accounts.....	\$123.35
12 lb. hair powder for Mrs. W——n.....	16/
Paid a man for mowing the Garden.....	7/6
Gave G. W. Custis to buy a Greek Grammar.....	.37
8 yds. Chintz and 1¼ yds. Linen.....	4.84
Whitewashing the house.....	33.33
James Green, for five weeks services.....	15.00
Polly Glenn, a mos. wages.....	5.00
C. McKay, 2 weeks working for Mrs. W——n,	2.98
F. Kitt, and wife, wages.....	50.00
Cask of lamp oil.....	54.93
Castor oil for Oney.....	.50
One year's rent of house.....	1333.33
30 cords of wood, cordage, etc.....	321.71
Hauling wood ²	20
Gave a man who had a very sagacious dog, for the family to see his performance.....	\$3.00
2 phials best ink.....	.50
Hats furnished the President's Household.....	31.84
Postage of a letter to printers at Winchester, (Virginia).....	.27
Paid for President to see Elephant.....	1.75

An entry made on April 1, 1793, shows that ten regular servants were employed in the establishment, one at \$75 a month, one at \$33.33, one at \$20, one at \$21, one at \$11, and five at \$10 each.

² This was on October 2; before the close of November fifty more cords of wood were bought.

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

Mrs. Washington was a careful housekeeper. She always kept her hand on the helm. On occasion she could do everything necessary to make a comfortable home. She was a good cook, and one of her treasured possessions was a "Book of Cookery," in manuscript, which contained more than five hundred and fifty recipes, carefully indexed. While most of these were in the handwriting of the great grandmother of Eleanor Parke Custis, to whom the book descended, Mrs. Washington's notes are scattered through the pages. From the manuscript, now in the Historical Library of Pennsylvania, a sample recipe is copied:

TO MAKE A FRYKEYC

"Take 2 Chicken, or a hare, kill & flaw them hot, take out theyr intrills & wipe them within, Cut them in pieces and break theyr bones with a pestle, yⁿ put half a pound of butter into ye frying pan, & fry it till it be browne, yⁿ put in ye chickin & give it a walme or tow, yⁿ put in half a pint of faire water well seasoned with pepper and salt & a little[?] put in a handful of parsley, & time, & an onion, shred all small fry all these together till they be enough, & when it is ready to be dished up put into ye pan ye youlks of 5 or 6 eggs, well beaten and mixed wth a little wine vinegar or joice of Leamons, stir them well together least it curdle yⁿ dish it up without any more frying."

Other recipes told how "To dress a dish of Mushrumps," "To mak a lettis tart," "To mak an Hartichoak Pie," "To mak a Cold Posset or Sullibub."

The home of the President and Mrs. Washington became noted for generous hospitality. One of the guests who was welcomed there, Henry Wansey, an English manufacturer, wrote of his experience on June

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

6, 1794, when, after presenting a letter of introduction to the President, he was invited to take breakfast with the family:

“I was struck with awe and admiration, when I recollected that I was now in the presence of one of the greatest men upon earth, the great Washington, the noble and wise benefactor of the world! As Mirabeau styles him;—the advocate of human nature—the friend of both worlds. Whether we view him as a general in the field, vested with unlimited authority and power, at the head of a victorious army; or in the Cabinet, as the President of the United States; or as a private gentleman, cultivating his own farm; he is still the same great man, anxious only to discharge with propriety the duties of his relative situation. His conduct has always been so uniformly manly, honorable, just, patriotic, and disinterested, that his greatest enemies cannot fix on any one trait of his character that can deserve the least censure. . . .

“Mrs. Washington herself made tea and coffee for us. On the table were two small plates of sliced tongue, dry toast, bread and butter, &c. but no broiled fish, as is the general custom. Miss Custis, her grand-daughter, a very pleasing young lady, of about sixteen, sat next to her, and her brother George Washington Custis, about two years older than herself. There was but little appearance of form; one servant only attended, who had no livery; a silver urn for hot water, was the only article of expense on the table.”

The young people of the President's household, as well as their elders, were fond of going to the theatre. There are many entries in the household account book telling of the purchase of tickets, while more than once there appears the charge for a “box at the New Theatre.”



THE HOUSE INTENDED FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
ON NINTH STREET
(From the engraving by Birch)



CONGRESS HALL AND THE NEW THEATRE IN CHESTNUT STREET
(From an engraving by Birch)



DOORWAY OF 244 SOUTH EIGHTH STREET



THE OLD PUMP AT THE CHEW HOUSE, GERMANTOWN

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

A letter written by Ezekiel Forman to Dr. John Rockhill on March 25, 1793, told of this play house, which was opened on Monday evening, the 17th of February, "with one of the most brilliant and numerous audiences I ever beheld on a similar occasion—the stated days or rather evenings of performance are Monday, Wednesday & Friday Nights in every week and sometimes occasionally Saturday evenings—the doors open at five—the curtain draws up at six, exhibition is commonly finished at twelve O'clock."

Henry Wansey gave a fuller description of the theatre and of the people who went there:

"It is an elegant and convenient theatre, as large as that of Covent Garden, and, to judge from the dress and appearance of the company around me, and the actors and scenery, I should have thought I had still been in England. The ladies wore the small bonnets of the same fashion as those I saw when I left England, some of chequered straw, &c., some with their hair full dressed, without caps, as with us, and very few in the French style. The younger ladies with their hair flowing in ringlets on their shoulders. The gentlemen with round hats, their coats with high collars, and cut quite in the English fashion, and many in silk striped coats. The scenery of the stage excellent, particularly a view on the Skuykill, about two miles from the city . . . The motto over the stage is novel:—"The Eagle suffers little birds to sing." Thereby hangs a tale. When it was in contemplation to build this Theatre, it was strongly opposed by the Quakers, who used all their influence with Congress to prevent it, as tending to corrupt the manners of the people, and increase too much the love of pleasure. It was, however, at length carried, and this motto from Shakspear was chosen. It is applicable in another sense; for the State House,

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

where Congress sits, is directly opposite to it, both being in Chestnut street, and both houses are often performing at the same time. Yet the Eagle (the emblem adopted by the American government) is no way interrupted by the chattering of the mock birds with their minor songs."

The President and his household were especially interested in a performance given for the benefit of seamen from the port of Philadelphia who were in captivity in Algiers, having been taken there by pirates. At this time, and for some years afterward, there was great excitement in the city because of the depredations of the pirates, as well as because of the privateers of Great Britain, which captured vessels on any pretext.

The anger caused by these trying acts of a power with which the country was at peace was very great. Lord Lyndhurst, an Englishman who visited the city in 1796, wrote to his mother that feeling still ran high, and said that he feared a war with England was sure to result, since there was a conflict between the President and the Senate, and the Lower House, which did not wish to see the ratification of the proposed treaty with England. "The Opposition here are a set of villains," the young Englishman insisted.

At this period Philadelphia contained about fifty thousand people. Samuel Breck, who came to the city in 1792, wrote in 1842 that there was at the earlier date as much society of elegant and stylish people as at the later time, when the city had 270,000 population. "There was more attention paid then to the dress of servants and general appearance of equipage," he added.

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

“Dinners were got up in elegance and good taste. General Washington had a stud of twelve or fourteen horses, and occasionally rode out to take the air with six horses to the coach, and always two footmen behind his carriage.”

Another writer of the day says that the inhabitants then “indulged themselves in the gratification of luxury and dissipation . . . The streets were crowded by the gay carriages of pleasure, going and returning in every direction; new and elegant buildings were seen rising in every quarter.” The port “was thronged with shipping from every trading country in Europe, and both the Indies; like Tyre of old “her merchants were princes and her traffickers were the honourable of the earth.”

Perhaps the greatest display of wealth was made by William Bingham, of whom Breck wrote in his Recollections:

“I was often at his parties, at which each guest was announced; first, at the entrance door his name was called aloud, and taken up by a servant on the stairs, who passed it on to the man in waiting at the drawing-room door. In this drawing-room the furniture was superb Gobelin, and the folding doors were covered with mirrors, which reflected the figures of the company so as to deceive an untravelled countryman, who having been paraded up the marble stairway amid the echo of his name . . . would enter the brilliant apartment and salute the looking-glasses instead of the master and mistress of the house and their guests.

“This silly fashion of announcing by name did not last long, and was put a stop to by the following ridiculous occurrence: On a gala-evening an eminent physician, Dr. Kuhn, and his stepdaughter [Miss Peggy Markoe, who soon afterward married Benjamin

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Franklin Bache, grandson of Dr. Franklin] drove up to the door. A servant asked who was in the carriage. "The doctor and Miss Peggy," was the reply. "The doctor and Miss Peggy!" cried out the man stationed at the door. "The doctor and Miss Peggy!" bawled out he of the stairs, which was taken up by the liveried footman at the door of the drawing-room into which Miss Peggy and her papa entered amid the laugh and jokes of the company . . .

"There is too much sobriety in our American common sense to tolerate such pageantry, or indeed any outlandish fashion contrary to the plain, unvarnished manners of the people. Thus have the repeated attempts of our young dandies to introduce the moustache on the upper lip been frustrated, and so with the broadcloth gaiters and other foreign costumes."

Henry Wansey, after paying a visit to the Bingham house, wrote:

"I dined this day with Mr. Bingham. I found a magnificent house and garden in the best English style, with elegant and even superb furniture; the chairs of the drawing room were from Siddon's in London, of the newest fashion; the back in the form of a lyre, adorned with festoons of crimson and yellow silk, the curtain of the room a festoon of the same; the carpet of the Moore's most expensive pattern; the room was papered in the French-taste, after the style of the Vatican at Rome. In the garden was a profusion of lemon, orange and citrus trees; and many aloes, and other exotics . . . Mr. Bingham told me, that in the year 1783, he bought a piece of land adjoining to Philadelphia for eight hundred and fifty pounds, which now yields him eight hundred and fifty pounds per annum, and he has never laid out twenty pounds upon it."

Thomas Twining, another Englishman, who visited the Bingham mansion in 1795, spoke of it as the finest

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

house in the city, and of its owner as "the principal man in Philadelphia and the wealthiest, probably, in the Union."

In great contrast to the stiff formality of the Bingham establishment were the homelike surroundings of the Morrises, who were among the social leaders of the city during the residence of Washington there. "There was a luxury in the kitchen, table, parlor and street equipage of Mr. and Mrs. Morris that was to be found nowhere else in America," Breck wrote, enthusiastically. "Bingham's was more gaudy, but less comfortable. It was the pure and unalloyed which the Morrises sought to place before their friends without the abatements that so frequently accompany the displays of fashionable life. No badly-cooked or cold dinners at their table; no pinched fires upon the hearth; no paucity of waiters; no awkward loons in their drawing rooms. We have no such establishments now."

Gayety was added to Philadelphia's life by the presence of many of the great men of France who had been driven abroad by the Revolution in their own country. Talleyrand, Vicomte de Noailles, the Duc de Liancourt, and the Ducs de Montpensier and Beaujolais, and the Bishop of Autun, were at this time attracted to the city where Lafayette had been welcomed more than fifteen years before, when America was in the midst of its Revolution.

The refugees were received in the city with open arms and hearty sympathy. There were many who longed to see the country take some active part with those in France who were struggling for liberty, though

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

there was great difference of opinion as to what should be done. This fact is illustrated by the minutes of the meeting of the Democratic Society, held on January 9, 1794. Among the members was Citizen David Rittenhouse and Citizen Charles Biddle. The titles given to the members were an indication of strong sympathy with those in France who had deposed their king. That day resolutions were adopted which sound much as if they were the product of some modern society, proposed with the Great War in Europe in mind:

“Resolved, that we view with inexpressible horror the cruel and unjust war carried on by the combined powers of Europe against the french republic—that attached to the french Nation (our only true and Natural ally) by Sentiments of the liveliest gratitude, for the great and generous service she has rendered us, while we were struggling for our liberties, and by that strong conviction which arises from a similarity of government and of political principles, we cannot sit passive and forbear expressing our anxious concern while she is greatly contending against a World, for the same rights which she assisted us to establish . . . We cannot believe that they are making war against that Nation Solely, but against liberty itself. Impressed with this idea we cannot help concluding that if those lawless despots succeed in destroying an enemy in france so formenable to their tyrannicall usurpations, they will not rest satisfied untill they have exterminated it from the earth. . . .

“Resolved, that while America holds out the olive branch, and sincerely wishes to persevere in a pacific line of conduct, the world ought to be convinced, that she knows her rights, and that the same spirit which she has shewn in the acquisition of her Independence will be exerted with double energy in its defence.”

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

President Rittenhouse was absent when the paper was adopted, and when he was asked to sign it he offered his resignation, though he expressed cordial approval.

A different attitude to the French Revolution was taken by "the notorious William Cobbett," an Englishman in the city who kept a bookstore and published a rather scurrilous daily newspaper called *Peter Porcupine*. "The journal was anti-republican in its politics, but, being conducted with extraordinary spirit and ability, was widely circulated," the gossipy Breck wrote. "It was rancorous and malignant in the extreme against the French Revolution and all the enemies of England. . . . The hatred engendered by the long contest for an independence against England was not at all abated, notwithstanding the lapse of ten years, since peace took place, so that the foaming rage of this avowed Englishman who affected to despise us and our institutions, and ridiculed with surprising dexterity most of the leading men of the nation, helped to widen the breach which threatened to end in open war. The English flag was not safe in our river, and when it appeared there was generally the occasion of disturbance which required the influence of government to quiet."

At length Cobbett's pen brought him into the courts. Dr. Benjamin Rush sued him because of an attack on his professional skill, and the Englishman was ordered to pay five thousand dollars damages and costs. English friends in Philadelphia, in Canada and in England raised the money for him and he paid the award in full. Then he left the city and, soon afterward, the country.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia's friendliness for the French did not keep them from sneering at L'Enfant, the French architect who, late in the decade, helped to plunge Robert Morris deeper into the debt that was so soon to overwhelm him, by extravagance in planning and building the new residence of the financier which became known as "Morris's Folly." The architect was called a visionary and Philadelphians seemed to make up their minds that any French architect was to be looked on with suspicion.

One needs but to read the description of the unfinished house, as given by Benjamin Henry Latrobe in his *Journal*, to appreciate the attitude of the people to L'Enfant:

"I suppose the front must be at least one hundred and twenty feet long, and I think the flank cannot be less than sixty . . . The windows, at least some of them . . . are cased in white marble with moldings, entablatures, architraves, and sculpture mixed up in the oddest and most inelegant manner imaginable; all the proportions are bad, all the horizontal and perpendicular lines broken to pieces, the whole mass giving the ideas of the reign of Louis XIII in France or James I in England. . . . There is a recess, across which a colonnade of one-story columns was intended, the two lateral ones being put up, with a piece of their architrave reaching to the wall; I cannot guess what was intended above them. . . . In the south front are two angle porches. The angle porches are irresistibly laughable things, and violently ugly."

The remainder of the account contains such strong expressions as "they look horrible," "such a madness," "wretched sculpture," "of the worst taste." Finally



William Cobbett

Good Master Young,

I cannot send the whole amount
With Christian fort'once watch and wait;
Take fifty dollars on account,
And give the bearer a receipt.

Wm Cobbett.

P.S. Though I know it is very difficult to rhyme
a presbyterian out of his money, yet when, in the
measure of Watts's psalms, rhyme ought to have
some weight. — I will discharge the rest of your
bill as soon as possible which, I hope, will be before
Saturday night.

Monday, 5. Feb. 1798



ROBERT MORRIS'S UNFINISHED HOUSE
(From the engraving by Birch)

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

it was said: "It is impossible to decide which of the two is the madder, the architect or his employer. Both of them have been ruined by it . . . This is the house of which I had frequently been told in Virginia that it was the handsomest thing in America."

In 1798 Latrobe came to Philadelphia from Washington, on the invitation of the president of the Bank of Philadelphia, who desired him to supervise the erection of the new bank building. To the people of the city the name Latrobe seemed French, and they were ready to pounce on him for anything that seemed visionary. This opportunity came, they thought, when the architect, after studying the water supply of the city, began to talk about water works. He looked with disfavor on the range of pumps to be found in every street, close to the footpaths, from which all the water for drinking or cooking was drawn. These, he felt, was largely responsible for the repeated epidemics of yellow fever.

The remedy suggested by Latrobe was the bringing to the city of water from the Schuylkill, by means of pumps, water mains laid under the streets, and hydrants. Naturally, since no other city in America had made trial of this plan, Latrobe was spoken of as a dreamer, another L'Enfant. But he persisted in the face of ridicule, secured his appropriation, built his engine and pumping stations, laid his pipes of hollowed-out cedar logs, planted his hydrants, and made ready to turn on the water.

Then the people learned their mistake. One night in January, 1801, the hydrants were left open. At midnight, in company with three friends, and one of

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

his workmen, Latrobe went to the water works, built a fire under the boiler, and set the machinery in motion. In the morning the surprised citizens found the streets covered deep with water from the hydrants, which were still pouring out the flood from the Schuylkill. Then they owned their error. Latrobe was not a dreamer after all!

Some of the pumps that made Latrobe shudder were outside the city gaol, on Walnut Street, and the inmates were supplied from them with water for the carrying out of the first of the regulations provided for their government:

“The prisoners shall be furnished with suitable bedding, shall be shaved twice a week, their hair cut once a month, change their linen once a week, and regularly wash their face and hands every morning.”

The yard of the gaol was the scene of one of the spectacular incidents of the period of Washington's residence in Philadelphia. On January 9, 1793, the French aëronaut Blanchard made there the first balloon ascension in America. Washington and all the leading men of the city were interested, most of them having contributed to the expense of preparing the balloon. Just before the ascent the President handed to the aëronaut a passport which could be shown to anyone who, being unfamiliar with a balloon, might offer to do the man harm. The document authorized him “to pass in such direction and to descend in such a place as circumstance may render most convenient.” The balloon rose majestically, floated across the Delaware, and came down near Gloucester. Jonathan Penrose, Robert Wharton, and a number of other

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

Philadelphians, followed on their horses and brought the aëronaut in triumph back to the city.

One of those who was most interested in the ascension was David Rittenhouse, the scientist, who, ten years earlier, had persuaded a carpenter to ascend in a balloon. This ascent was unsuccessful, probably more because of the timidity of the carpenter than for any other reason.

Rittenhouse was more successful as a government official than as an aëronaut. As the first director of the United States Mint he conducted the institution with great efficiency and economy. His estimate of expense for the first quarter of 1795 showed that he proposed to run the institution for a little more than six thousand dollars.

As Washington's second term drew toward a close there was some clamour for his election for a third term, and many of the people of Philadelphia hoped he would yield. But the President thought this would be unwise, both for his own sake and for that of the country. One day in September, 1796, he sent for D. C. Claypoole, descendant of the James Claypoole who came to Philadelphia in 1683, the editor of *Claypoole's Daily Advertiser*. Then he told the editor of his intention to retire from public life, and asked him to publish in the paper an address to the people giving some of the President's "Thoughts and Reflections" on the occasion. This document, printed on September 19, 1796, was the Valedictory Address which added to Washington's fame and to the love and reverence of the people for him.

The day came when, in accordance with Washing-

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

ton's wish, the Electoral College chose another to be the head of the nation. John Adams, on whom the choice fell by a close vote, wrote to his wife on the day after his inauguration:

"Your dearest friend never had a more trying day than yesterday. A solemn scene it was indeed, and it was made yet more affecting to me by the presence of the General, whose countenance was as serene and unclouded as the day. He seemed to me to enjoy a triumph over me. Methought I heard him say, 'Ay! I am fairly out and you fairly in! See which of us will be happiest!' When the ceremony was over, he came and made me a visit, and cordially congratulated me, and wish my administration might be happy, successful and honorable."

Just after taking the oath of office, President Adams received from Mrs. Adams a letter of unusual power and tenderness:

"You have this day to declare yourself head of a nation. 'And now, O Lord, my God, thou hast made thy servant ruler over the people. Give unto him an understanding heart, that he may know how to go out and come in before this great people; that he may discern between good and bad. For who is able to judge this thy so great a people?' were the words of a royal sovereign; and not less applicable to him who is invested with the chief magistracy of a nation, though he wear not a crown, nor the robes of royalty.

"My thought and my meditation are with you, though personally absent; and my petitions to Heaven are, that 'the things that make for peace may not be hidden from your eyes.' My feelings are not those of pride or ostentation upon this occasion. They are solemnized by a sense of the obligations, the important trusts, and numerous duties connected with it. That

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

you may be enabled to discharge them with honour to yourself, with justice and impartiality to your country, and with satisfaction to this great people, shall be the daily prayer of your "A. A."

The President-Elect was asked to make his home in the fine house which had been erected by the State of Pennsylvania at the corner of Ninth and Market Streets in the hope that the presentation of this as an Executive Mansion would have weight in reconsidering the plan to move the Capital from Philadelphia to L'Enfant's "City in the Woods." But President Adams preferred to occupy the Morris mansion as Washington had done before him.

The day before the inauguration of his successor Washington gave a farewell dinner. Mr. and Mrs. Morris were present. Bishop White, brother of Mrs. Morris, was also one of the guests. He said afterwards:

"During the dinner much hilarity prevailed; but on the removal of the cloth it was put an end to by the President, certainly without design. Having filled his glass, he addressed the company, with a smile on his countenance, saying; 'Ladies and gentlemen, this is the last time I shall drink your health as a public man; I do it with sincerity, wishing you all possible happiness. There was an end to all pleasantry, and there was not a dry eye among the company.'"

Before Mr. Morris left the house Washington gave him a small profile portrait of himself, as a token of his friendship. This was a prized possession of the unfortunate financier during the days of his failure and imprisonment, disasters which came as a result of the unreliability and rascality of James Greenleaf, a partner in his great land deals.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

In the country's history there is not a parallel to the rapid change in the fortunes of the man who was in 1797 the President's intimate friend and associate, a welcome guest in his house, and within a year was languishing in a debtor's prison, where, instead of the bountiful table for which his home had been famous, he would have had to share the diet laid down in the regulations of the institution but for the care of his friends to make other arrangements for him. The ordinary diet prescribed in a prison of the period was as follows:

"On Sunday, one pound of bread, and one pound of coarse meat made into broth.

"On Monday, one quart of Indian meal, and one quart of potatoes.

"On Tuesday, one quart of Indian meal made into mush.

"On Wednesday, one pound of bread, and one quart of potatoes.

"On Thursday, one quart of Indian meal made into mush.

"On Friday, one pound of bread, and one quart of potatoes.

"On Saturday, one quart of Indian meal made into mush."

And on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday there was given, in addition, to each four prisoners, a half pint of molasses.

As has been indicated in a previous chapter, Washington did not forget his friend, but did what he could to cheer him in his confinement, writing to him, planning for him, encouraging him to look forward to the day of his release.

UNTIL CAPITAL WENT TO WASHINGTON

But Washington did not live to see that day. December 18, 1799, brought to Philadelphia the sorrowful news of the death of the Father of His Country, which occurred on December 14. That evening the Common Council of the city requested the Mayor to have the bells muffled for three days. And on December 26, according to Elizabeth Drinker:

“The Funeral procession in honor of the late Commander in Chief of the armies of the United States, Lieut. Gen. George Washington . . . took place. They assembled at the State-house—went from there in grand procession to ye Dutch Church, called Zion church in Fourth street, where Major Gen. Henry Lee delivered an oration to 4000 persons . . . Ye concourse of people in the streets, and at ye windows, was very numerous . . . So all is over with G. Washington.”

Now that Washington was gone the removal of the capital to the new Federal City on the Potomac did not bring such a wrench to the people of the city that had been the center of the nation's life for nearly a generation. In November, 1800, the president, the cabinet members, the senators and the representatives took their departure. The government archives were packed in “about a dozen large boxes,” and these, together with the office furniture, were taken to Washington by sea, when three thousand people, practically the entire population of the city, cheered to the echo as the vessel made fast at the mouth of Tiber Creek.

Philadelphia quickly readjusted itself to the absence of the government officials and the members of the diplomatic corps who had helped to make the city's social life gayer than ever, and who had stimulated the business life to an extraordinary degree.

THE ROMANCE OF OLD PHILADELPHIA

With the beginning of the nineteenth century Philadelphians set themselves with fresh vigor to the task of developing the rich resources of the community and its surrounding country and preparing for a new era of prosperity. While perhaps no one stopped to formulate the idea, it was realized that the wonderful history of the century just ended put them under obligation to make the future worthy of the past. And this task has been accomplished. In spite of political shortcomings the country has always been proud of Philadelphia's present as well as its past. Throughout the land the city is looked upon as a national possession, and it will always have a peculiar place in the affections, not only of its own people, but also of millions, many of whom perhaps will never enter its borders. For it is the City of the Declaration, whose story is unique, whose romantic records appeal to every loyal American.

INDEX

- Adams, John, 103, 107, 188, 276, 279,
280, 282, 283, 304, 322, 323
Adams, Mrs. John, 304, 322
Adventures on the road, 240, 251,
255, 257, 258, 259
Advice to emigrants, 23, 24, 25, 26,
30
Algiers, entertainment for prisoners
in, 312
Allen, Andrew, 114
Allentown, 251, 254
Alsop, O, 224
"Altamont, Baron de," 39
American Museum, The, 64, 114, 301
Amusements, prohibited, 90
André, Major, 289, 290, 295
Anne, Queen, gift to Christ Church,
185
Annesley, Richard, 39-41
Ante-nuptial agreement, 204
Arch Street, 101, 163, 277, 291
Arch Street Flirt, the, 180
Architecture, study of, part of lib-
eral education, 105
Arne, Elinor, condemned to whip-
ping post, 73
Armitt, Sally, 241
Arnold, Benedict, 169, 212, 213, 222,
290, 291, 295
Arnold, Peggy Shippen, 231
Articles of Confederation, 297, 300,
Artist, Benjamin Franklin and the,
244
Assembly, the Philadelphia, 112,
113, 121-3; dancing assembly
closed by Whitefield, 190
Assheton, Robert, 83
Asheton, Judge William, 73
Atwood, Mayor William, 93
Auction sale of house furnishings, 61
Audubon, John J., 167
Balch, Thomas Willing, 113
Balloon ascension, 320
Ballot stuffing in 1703, 83
Baltimore, 259
Bancroft quoted, 69
Bankruptcy law of 1800, 108
Baptism, "in hot arrack punch," 231
Barber, Robert, 239
Bartram, Annie, 167; William, 167;
John, Jr., 167
Bass, Jeremiah, 247
Belmont, 175, 240
Benezet, Andrew, first schoolmaster
to negroes, 165
Bethlehem, 254, 258
Beveridge, John, schoolmaster, 160,
161
Bible, family, of Samuel Powell, 52
Biddle, Colonel Alexander, 76;
Charles, 316; Clement, 76; John,
231
Bigamy, John Joyce charged with,
having "to wives at once," 82
Bingham, William, 313, 314
Black, William, 110, 111, 136
Blackbeard, the pirate, 85
Blue Anchor Wharf, 44, 70, 71, 77
Bradbury, Theophilus, 128
Bradford, 77, 78; Andrew, 86
Breck, Samuel, 144, 175, 177, 312,
315, 317
Bride's trousseau, 219; dress, 224
Brockden, Charles, deeds a slave to
Moravian Church, 148
Brogie, Prince de, 125
Brown, Martha, 220
Bryan, George, 282
Brumbaugh, Martin C., 165
Buckingham meeting, 252
Buckley, Samuel, coiner, 72
Budden, Captain Richard, 184, 196;
Mrs. Susannah, 196
Burd, Allen, 177; Edward, 221;
Molly, 219; Neddy, 89, 100, 169
Burlington, 246, 254, 257, 261

INDEX

- Busbie, John, 75
 Business: silversmith, 60; furniture maker, 61, 103; shipping merchant 95; marble shop, 101; miller, 102; barber, 103; carriage builder, 106
 Bush Hill, 304
 Bush Hill Hospital, 146

 Cadwalader, Lambert, 242
 Caldwell, Andrew, 188
 Camden, 259
 Canals, Robert Fulton's dream of, 263
 Candle light vs. oil lamps, 186
 Capitol removed to Philadelphia, 304; to Washington, 325
 Carpenter, H., 153
 Carpenter's Hall, 275
 Cary, Margaret, 114
 Carter, Robert, 239
 Castleman, Richard, 96
 Catherall, Isaac, 285
 Cave houses, 46, 47, 48
 Chains blocking streets, 137
 Chalkley, George, 168; Thomas, 188, 189, 220
 Chapman, John, 29
 Charity in early days, 130, 131, 133, 156
 Charter, Philadelphia's first, 76; second (1701), 80
 Chastellux, Marquis de, 125
 Chester, 258
 Chestnut Street, 162
 Chew, Benjamin, 114, 194, 242; Mary, Ann Maria and Elizabeth, 114; Sam, 194
 "Chicken Frykecy," Martha Washington's recipe for, 309
 Chimes of Christ Church, 184
 Chimney swallows and shad, 241
 Christ Church, 103, 105, 183, 184, 185, 192, 196, 197, 276
 "Christeena Creek," 206
 "Chronicles of Pennsylvania," quoted, 90
 Church pew for Washington, 187; for Adams, 188
 Churches: Christ, 103, 105, 183-185, 192, 196, 197, 276; Evangelical, 232; First Baptist, 193; First Presbyterian, 185; Gloria Dei, 207; St. Peter's, 187, 192, 276; Second Presbyterian, 185; Trinity, Oxford, 192; Zion, 325
 Clark, Abraham, 278
 "Clark of ye Markett," 136
 Claypoole, David, 277, 321; George, 228; John, 277; James, 27, 42, 43, 321
 Clermont, Robert Fulton's steamboat, 262, 265
 Cobbett, William, 317
 Cole, Edward, 42
 College of Philadelphia, 89, 178
 Commissions from the country, 239, 240
 Complaint, a pauper's, 132
 Compulsory education, first law for, 150
 Congress Hall, 304
 Congressmen at church, 187
 Constitution, adoption of, 301
 Constitutional Convention, 300
 Continental Congress, 242, 275, 276, 277, 282, 299
 Continental Currency, 291-293
 Conveyances: stage coach, 248; chair, 248; chariot, 249; chaise, 249; waggon, 256; boat, 257; steamboat, 260; canal boats, 263
 Coquenakar Creek, 71
 Cornbury, Lord, 84, 246
 Cornwallis, Lord, 234, 296
 Cossett, Eleazer, 75
 Council, Provisional, of 1691, 76, 77
 Council of Safety, 282
 Counterfeiters in 1683, 72
 Courage of the pioneers, 20
 Court, contempt of, 76
 Court of Admiralty, 71
 Cox, John, 240
 Coxe, Sally, 114
 Crosby, John, 151
 Crukshank, Joseph, 175
 Cutler, Dr. Manasseh, 127
 Curtis, Eleanor Parke, 309; George Washington, 310

 Day, Elizabeth, 75
 Deer, commission to buy, 239

INDEX

- Democratic Society, 316
 DeWees, William, 132
 Diaries, extracts from: Elizabeth
 Drinker, 90, 124, 129, 173, 174,
 175, 216-218, 249, 251, 256, 285,
 289, 290, 293, 295, 325; Sarah Eve,
 117, 119, 124, 172, 173, 198, 224,
 252; John Henry Helffrich, 37-39;
 Jacob Hiltzheimer, 274, 299;
 Christopher Marshall, 275; Robert
 Morton, 284; Samuel Sansom, 31-
 34; Ann Warder, 51, 59, 63, 220,
 223
 Diary, keeping a, 173
 Dickinson, Jonathan, 239
 Dinner: bill for, 62; bill of fare, 63;
 Washington's, 128; wedding, 224;
 William Bingham's, 304
 Dock, Christopher, schoolmaster
 164, 165
 Dock Street, 79, 162
 Dove, David James, schoolmaster,
 156-158, 160
 Dover, Delaware, 36
 Downing, Jacob, 223
 Drinker, Elizabeth, 90, 124, 129, 173,
 174, 175, 216-218, 249-252, 256,
 285, 289, 290, 293, 295, 325;
 Henry, 216; Molly, 216; Polly,
 223; Rachel, 251; Sally, 223
 Dress of women, 117, 221, 239, 292,
 294, 311
 Drystreet, Henry, 73
 Duché, Anthony, 31; Rev. Jacob,
 119, 169, 276; Mrs. Jacob, 276
 Duckett, Thomas, 201
 Ducking stool, 83
 Duel, challenge to, 82
 Duncan, Elliott, 103
 Dunk's Ferry, 257
 Durden, Fanny, 199
 Dyeing at home, 138, 139
 Eddy, George, 107
 Education, provision for in 1683,
 150; "Proposals Relative to Edu-
 cation," by Franklin, 156; Saur's
 treatise on, 165; Dr. William
 Smith's treatise on, 166
 Election, ballot stuffing at, in 1705,
 83, riot in 1742, 92
 Emigrants: advice to, 23, 30; sup-
 plies needed by, 23; inventory of
 goods of, 46
 Emigrants, early, to Pennsylvania:
 Thomas Sion Evan, 21; John Ap
 Thomas, 25; James Claypoole, 27;
 William Hudson, 28; James Mar-
 shall, 28; John Chapman, 29;
 George Haworth, 29; Abel Mor-
 gan, 31; Samuel Sansom, 31; Sam-
 uel Neave, 31; Anthony Duché,
 31; Robert Best, 31; John Henry
 Helffrich, 37; Richard Annesley,
 39; Edward Cole, 42; John Fox,
 71; Nicholas Newton, 71; Richard
 Castleman, 96
 Ellery, William, 242, 280, 291
 Elopement, a colonial, 216-218
 England, Philip, 74
 Epidemics, prevalence of, 144
 Epitaphs, 197, 199
 Estimate of George Washington,
 310
 Evan, John, letter of in 1708, 22
 Evan, Thomas Sion, 20, 21, 22
 Evangelical Church, 232
 Evans, Dr. Cadwalader, 231; David,
 103; Gov. John, 84, 208; Peter, 83
 Eve, Sarah, 117, 119, 124, 172, 173,
 198, 224, 252
 Expenses of travel, 259
 Exports in 1765, 99
 Fairs: provided for in 1701, 137;
 proclamation to open, 138
 Falls of Schuylkill, 177
 Farmar, Mrs. Elizabeth, 256
 Father and children, 213, 214, 216-
 218, 235, 236, 237, 293-295
 Fellowship Fire Company, 141
 Feminine accomplishments, 114
 Fenton, T., 225
 Ferguson, Elizabeth, 194, 209
 Ferry: Schuylkill, 74; to Burlington,
 246; at Neshaminy, 254; to Cam-
 den, 259
 Ferryboat, first steam, 265
 Filbert Street, 106
 Financing the Revolution, 278, 282
 329

INDEX

- Fire: danger of from haystacks in street, 81; watchmen against, 134; regulation to prevent, 140; first fire companies, 141
 First Baptist Church, 193
 First Presbyterian Church, 185, 188
 Fishbourn, William, 225
 Fisher, David, 137
 Fitch, John, 260-263
 Fletcher, Governor, displaces William Penn, 77
 Flower, Enoch, first schoolmaster, 151
 Foot race, described by Alexander Graydon, 162
 Forman, Ezekiel, 311
 Fort Pitt, 263, 264
 Foulke, Judah, 231
 Fourth of July: first celebration of, 282; second, 290; in 1787, 301
 Fox, James, 79
 Frame of Government of William Penn, 68, 69
 Franklin, Benjamin, 131, 142, 156, 184, 190, 197, 198, 209, 244, 272, 293, 297, 299, 300; Mrs. Mary, 214, 292; Peter, 197; Thomas, Jr., 214; William, 209
 Francis, Peggy, 213
 Francke, G. A., 233
 Franks, David, 113, 249; Polly, 113, 196; Rebecca, 238
 French refugees, 315
 Friends Public School, 152
 Friendship Fire Company, 141
 Fulton, Robert, 262, 263
 Funeral customs, 198, 199
 "Further Account of Pennsylvania," William Penn's, 94

 Galloway, James, 158; Joseph, 306
 Gano, Rev. Stephen, 193
Gazette, Pennsylvania Weekly, 89, 190, 196, 197, 272
 Girard, Stephen, 97, 98, 131, 146
 Glenn, Thomas Allen, quoted, 91
 Gloria Dei Church, 207
Good Friends, Story of Girard's ship, 97, 98
 Gossip, hatred of, 174
 Graeme, Elizabeth, 209

 Grand jury, presentments of, 48, 70, 73, 80, 81, 82, 133
 Graydon, Alexander, schoolboy, 160-163
 Gray's Ferry, 166, 179, 300
 Gray's Garden, 179
 Greenleaf, James, 323
 Grubb, Peter, 219
 Guest, Betsy, 124
 Gulph, 241

 Half-door, the pleasures of the, 55, 56
 Hamilton, Mrs. Andrew, 238; Molly, 114
 Hand-in-Hand Fire Company, 141
 Hannington, Bernard, 190
 Hardships of the pioneers, 51; of emigrants on shipboard, 25
 Harrison, George, 101, George F., 186
 Hart, Charles Henry, quoted, 108, 306
 Haworth, George, 29
 Haystack in street, 81, 134
 Hazing the schoolmaster, 161
 Hazlehurst, Isaac, 112
 Head, John, 223
 Head of Elk, 259, 283
 Head dresses, 116, 117, 118, 119
 Heart-in-Hand Fire Company, 141
 "Heir, the Wandering," 39
 Helfrich, John Henry, 37
 Helm, Mrs. Mary, 206
 Hiltzheimer, Jacob, 274, 299
 Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 149, 201, 307
 Hockley, Richard, 190, 229
 Hopkinson, Francis, 177, 276
 Horsham, 252
 Hospitality: in President Washington's house, 309, 310; of William Bingham, 313, of Robert Morris, 315
 House, Mrs. Mary, 300
 Household expenses: of Benedict Arnold, 291; of Edward Shippen, 292
 Housefurnishings, 59, 60, 61, 62, 103-105

INDEX

- Household arrangements and accounts of President Washington, 307, 308
- Housekeeping of Mrs. Washington, 309
- Houses: James Claypoole's, 42-45; cavehouses, 46-48; Robert Turner tells of new houses, 53; Christopher White's described, 53, 54; William Hudson's, 55; of early pioneer described, 56, 57; of Count Zinzendorf, 58; of James Coultas, 58; of Ann Newall, 59; of Humphrey Morrey, 76
- Housewives, early, 59, 62, 63, 64
- Howe, General, 283, 286, 289, 306
- Huddy, Hugh, 247
- Hudson, Mayor William, 28, 54, 91, 96
- Hutchinson, Dr., 220
- Independence, Declaration of, 278, 279; first anniversary of, 282; second anniversary of, 290
- Independence Hall, 279
- Indian trails, 246
- Indians, sell land to Penn, 50; Penn's opinion of, 50; at Philadelphia assembly, 123
- Inglis, Katherine, 113
- Inskeep, Mayor John, changes standard of money, 105
- "Instruction to Fine Ladies," 115
- Jail, Walnut Street, 320
- James, Thomas, 227
- Jefferson, Thomas, 107
- Jennings, Samuel, 153
- John, Thomas Ap, 26
- Johnson, Samuel, 156
- Jones, Edd, 25; Griffith, 75; Hugh, 47; John, 47, 134; Jonathan, 240; Owen, 286
- Journey: to New York, 249; to Rockaway Beach, 249; to Lancaster and Reading, 250; on Old York Road, 251; to Burlington, 252; to Bethlehem, 254; to seashore, 256; to "Carlisle," 258; to Richmond, 258
- Kalm, Peter, 141
- Keach, Rev. Elias, 206
- Kearsley, Dr., 231
- Keith, George, schoolmaster, 152
- Keppele, Henry, 188
- "Kingsess Gardens," 167
- Lace, Franklin's recipe for, 295
- Lafayette, Marquis de, 315
- Lament for Philadelphia, 284
- Lancaster, 250
- Latrobe, Benjamin H., 111, 318, 319; John H. B., 111, 117
- Lawrence, Kitty, 240
- Laws: as to cave houses, 47; code of 1682, 69; bankruptcy act of 1800, 108; of Province to be taught in schools, 150; first compulsory education law, 150; as to school books, 151
- Leaming, Mrs. Deborah, 205
- Lear, Tobias, 306
- L'Enfant, the architect of Morris's Folly, 318
- Lester, George, 258
- Letters: of Edd Jones, 25; of Thomas Ap John, 26; of James Claypoole, 27, 42, 43, 45; of George Haworth, 29, 30; of John Jones, 47; of Robert Turner, 53, 76; of Abel Morgan, 58; of William Penn, 68, 228, 235; to William Penn, 92; to "Mr. Wharton of New York," 96; of J. Peters, 106; of William Black, 110, 111; of Timothy Pickering, 116; of Richard Peters, 122, 241; of Alexander Mackraby, 125; of Theophilus Bradbury, 128; of William Plumstead, 130; of Mrs. Moore, 138; of Margaret Freame, 144; of Israel Pemberton, 152; of Thomas Makin, 154; of Benjamin Franklin 156, 244, 272, 294; of Thomas Galloway, 158; of Thomas Chalkley, 167; of Neddy Burd, 169; of Richard Hockley, 190, 193, 248; of Rev. Elias Keach, 206; of Sarah Plumly, 208; of Edward Shippen, 209; of William Franklin, 209; of John Smith, 210, 230; of Benedict

INDEX

- Arnold, 212; of Edward Shippen, Jr., 214; of Thomas and Mary Franklin, 215; of Edward Burd, 221; of Mrs. Jasper Yeates, 221; of Elizabeth Tilghman, 222; of John Ross, 231; of Peggy Shippen Arnold, 231; of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, 232-234; of General Anthony Wayne, 235; of Margareta Wayne, 236; of General Andrew Porter, 237; of Rebecca Franks, 238; of Robert Carter, 239; of Rachel Preston, 239; of John Cox, 240; of Sally Armitt, 241; of Lambert Cadwalader, 242; of William Redwood, 242; of Edward Tilghman, Jr., 242; of Captain William Steel, 243; of Charles Norris, 244; of Mrs. Elizabeth Farmer, 256; of Kitty Ewing, 257; of Benjamin H. Latrobe, 258; of Robert Fulton, 263; of Mrs. Franklin, 273; of Sarah Franklin Bache, 273, 293, 297; of John Adams, 276, 278, 322; of Abraham Clark, 279; of Phoebe Pemberton, 287; of Mrs. Adams, 304, 322; of Ezekiel Forman, 311
 Lewes, Delaware, 37, 84, 211
 Liancourt, Duc de, 315
 Library Company of Philadelphia, 55, 104
 License to marry, 204
 License to sell liquor applied for, 132
 Littleboy, Maltby John, 175
 Livezey, Thomas, 102, 159
 Lloyd, Thomas, 77, 151, 189; William, 228
 Logan, Hannah, 210, 230, 231; James, 217, 229; Sarah, 230; William, 249
 Lombard Street, 143
 Long Branch, 257
 Longstreth, Jacob, 175
 Lottery, state, 104; for steeple, 184
 Love letters, 206-214
 Luxury in 1792, 313
 Luzerne, Chevalier de la, 125
 Lyndhurst, Lord, 312
 McCall, Mary, 114
 "Macaroni," 119, 120
 MacComb, John, 77, 78
 McKay, Mary, 216
 Mackraby, Alexander, 125
 Mantua (West Philadelphia), 177
 Market houses, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 140
 "Market Street gutter, Ode to a," 181
 Markoe, Peggy, 313
 Marriage of 1686, a, 201; license of 1777, 203; antenuptial agreement, 204; invitation to wedding, 219
 Marriot Mary, 132
 Marshall, Christopher, 275
 Matlack, Timothy, 283
 Matson, Maria, 207
 Mattson, Margaret, 73
 Mayor, salary of, 93
 Mayors, early, of Philadelphia: Humphrey Morrey, 76-79; William Hudson, 91; Alderman Morris refuses election, 93; William Atwood, 93; John Inskeep, 105; Charles Willing, 121, 122
 Menu at wedding dinner, 224
Mercury, American Weekly, (quoted) 85
 Meschianza, the, 289
 Meurer, Philip, 35
 Mifflin, General, 117; Samuel, 249; Governor Thomas, 261, 263
 Mineral Springs, 252
 Minister's support in early days, 193, 194
 Monmouth, 257
 Moon, John, 202
 Moore, Robert, 89
 Moravian Church, 148
 Morgan, Rev. Abel, 31, 58; Benjamin, 136; George, 242
 Morrell, James, 267
 Morrey, Mayor Humphrey, 76, 77, 78, 79
 Morris, Alderman, refuses to be Mayor, 93; Elizabeth M., 224
 Morris house, occupied by George Washington, 306; by John Adams, 323

INDEX

- Morris, Robert, 125, 274, 278, 282, 291, 300, 306, 307, 315, 318, 322, 324; Mrs. Robert, 303, 304, 322
- Morris's "Folly," 318
- Morton, Robert, 284
- Moss, John, 186
- Muhlenberg, Friedrich, 232, 234; Heinrich, 232; Dr. Henry Melchior, 232; Peter, 232-235
- Mullinax, Nathaniel, 75
- "*Museum, The American*," quoted, 64, 114, 301
- Naval Hospital, 286
- Neave, Samuel, 31
- Negroes, 43, 74, 81, 82, 147, 148, 165
- Neshaminy, 254
- Newall, Ann, 59
- "News of a Trumpet Sounding in the Wilderness," quoted, 78
- New Theatre, 310, 311
- New York, route from Philadelphia to, 247, 248, 249, 267
- Noailles, Vicomte de, 126, 145, 315
- Non-importation, 98, 100, 274
- Norris, Charles, 244, 249; Isaac, 77, 148, 280; Robert, 107-109, 112, 113, 128, 129
- Norriton Presbyterian Church, 163
- Officeholders, petition concerning character of, in 1694, 77
- O'Hara, Bryan, 103
- "Old Philadelphia," site first planned for, 253
- Old York Road, 251, 252, 254
- Osborn, Jeremias, 75
- Overseer of poor, letter to, 130
- Page, William, 185
- Paine, Thomas, 280
- Parson, the kind they needed, 194; "the country parson's lot," 195
- Paving, street, 141-144
- Peace, joy in Philadelphia because of, 296
- Pemberton, Isaac, 249; Israel, 152, 154; James, 217; Nancy, 217; Phoebe, 286, 287; Phineas, 154
- Penalties for "betrayal into matrimony," 226
- Penn, Bille, 235; Jackey, 229; Letitia, 235; Springet, 235; Thomas, 59, 122, 197; William, 19, 20, 22, 24, 42, 47, 49, 50, 66-68, 70, 77, 150, 197, 228, 229
- Penrose, Jonathan, 320
- Pennsylvania Gazette, The*, quoted, 89, 190, 196, 197, 198, 272
- Pennsylvania, Court of Province of, 73; description of, in rhyme, 155; frame of government for, 63, 69; name of, 68
- Pennypack bridge, 253
- Perot, Elliston, 223
- Perseverance*, John Fitch's steamboat, 261
- Perth Amboy, 247, 248
- Peters, Judge Richard, 122, 157, 175-177, 240
- Peter Porcupine*, newspaper, 317
- Philadelphia, in 1682, 22; growth of, 37, 49, 53, 58; early government of, of, 70; in 1710, 96; occupied by British, 286, 287; evacuated, 290
- "*Philadelphiad, The*," extract from, 180
- Philosophy, satisfying, 172, 173, 174, 175
- Physician's bill in 1717, 100
- Pickering, the coiner, 72; Timothy, 116
- Pillory, 73, 74
- Pine Street, 114
- Pirates and privateers, 26, 34, 35, 84, 85-188, 312
- Plumly, Sarah, 208
- Plumstead, William, 130
- Poetry, the weird, of Charles Norris, 244
- Poquestion Bridge, 253
- Porter, Andrew, schoolmaster, 163; General Andrew, 237; James, 237
- Postage, expensive, 227; to Bethlehem, 258; to Winchester, Virginia, 308
- Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, quoted, 196
- Poverty and pride, 172
- Powell, Samuel, record in family Bible, 52; William, 74

INDEX

- Preston, Rachel, 239
 Pride and poverty, 172
 Prisons, 107, 146, 166, 324
 Privateers and pirates, 26-34, 35, 85-88, 312
 Procession on adoption of constitution, 301
 Profanity, indictment for, 80
 Prophecy: of John Adams, 279; of Thomas Chalkley, 188; of John Fitch, 263; of Robert Fulton, 263, 264, 266; of Isaac Norris, 280
 "Proposals, Relative to Education in Pennsylvania," 156
 Proud, Robert, schoolmaster, 163
 Provincial Court, 70
 Provisions, cost of, 61, 106
 Pryor, Tom, 239
 Punishments in early days, 73, 74, 83
 Pumps on streets, 140, 319
- Quakers, 78, 91, 118, 167, 197, 199, 201, 215, 216, 218, 271, 283, 284, 311
 Quarrier & Hunter, carriage builders, 106
 Quarter Sessions, Court of, 74
- Race Street, 143
 Reading, 250, 255
 Reception of British in Philadelphia, 285
 Redemptioners, 30, 39, 42, 75, 149
 Redwood, William, 242
 Reeve, John, 246
 Refugees, adventures of, 256, 281
 Religion, early expressions on, 43
 Removal of capital to New York, 303; to Philadelphia, 304; to Washington, 325
 Revolution, French attitude to, 316, 317
 Richardson, Mary, 28
 Richmond, 259
 Rittenhouse, David, 164, 283, 316, 317, 321
 Rhodes, Mary, 214; Mr. and Mrs. Samuel, 215
 Roberts, Betsy, 223; Hugh, 225
 Robinson, George, 215
 Rockhill, Dr. John, 311
- Ross, Betsy, 277; John, 231, 249
 Rush, Dr. Benjamin, 101, 105, 136, 224, 317
 Russell, John, 100
- Sabbath breaking in 1702, 81, 82
 St. Peter's Church, 105, 114, 187, 192, 276
 Sandel, Rev. Andreas, 171, 207
 Sansom, Joseph, 223; Samuel, 31; Sarah, 223
 Saratoga, journey to, 267
 Saur, Christopher, 164
 Savery, William, 223
 Say, Dr. Benjamin, 108, 179
 Schoolboys, 152, 160-163, 168, 169
 Schools: first, 151; William Penn Charter, 152, 155; Friends' Public, 152, 155; Charity, 156; Academy, 156; Germantown Academy, 158; Dove's private, 159; Dr. Smith teaches in jail, 166
 Schoolmasters: first, 151; Enoch Flower, 151; Thomas Lloyd, 151; George Keith, 152; Thomas Makin, 152-155; David James Dove, 156, 160; Dr. William Smith, 157, 166; Pelatiah Webster, 158; John Beveridge, 160; Robert Proud, 163; Andrew Porter, 163; Christopher Dock, 164; Anthony Benezet, 163; Alexander Wilson, 166; Nathaniel Walton, 167
 Schoolbooks, first provision for, 151
 Schoolhouse, first, 151
 "Schul-ordnung," first educational book in Pennsylvania, 164
 Schuylkill, State in, 176
 Sealer of measures, 136
 Seashore, trip to, 250, 256
 Second Presbyterian Church, 185
 Serenading, 126
 Seward, William, 191
 Sexton, rules for the, 195
 Shad and chimney swallows, 241
 Sheep-raising in 1690, 79; Doggs and sheep, 81
 Sheepshank, Edward, 175
 Sheppard, Moses, 252
 Ship "Insheurence," 97

INDEX

- Shippen, Edward, 77, 121, 177, 208, 209, 213, 214, 290, 291, 292; Elizabeth, 169, 221; Joseph, 112; Margaret, 212, 222, 290, 291, 295
 Shipping and shipping merchants, 95-99
 Ships mentioned: *Lyon*, 25; *Concord*, 27; *John*, 31; *Catharine*, 34; *John Galley*, 36; *Levee*, 71; *Amity*, 76; *Pandour*, 88; *Otter*, 88; *Ocean*, 97; *Good Friends*, 97, 98; *Highland*, 105; *Philadelphia*, 105; *Pennsylvania Packitt*, 149; *Myrtella*, 184; *Peggy*, 296; *Rising Sun*, 301
 Shrewsbury, 257
 Silversmith, bill of, 101
 Singleton, Arthur, 199
 Slaves, 43, 74, 81, 82, 147, 148, 165
 Sleigh riding, 126
 Smallpox of 1736, 144
 Smith, John, 210, 230, 231; Samuel, 273; Dr. William, 121, 157, 177, 178
 Social amusements: tea-drinking, 124-126; sleigh-riding, 126; serenading, 126
 Society recreations in New York, 238
 Soldier, supplies for a, 243
 Soldiers, women's work for, 288
 Spangenburg, Bishop, and the Moravian colony, 34
 Spear, Peggy, 231
 Spicer, Jacob, 204
 Stage coaches, 248, 258
 Stage plays prohibited, 90
 Stamp Act, 242, 272, 273, 274
 Stansbury, Joseph, 292
 State House, 105, 275, 292, 300
 State House bell, 280
 Steamboats, the first, 260; *Perseverance*, 261; *Clermont*, 262, 265, 266; *Raritan*, 267; *Phoenix*, 267; *Eagle*, 268; *Paragon*, 268
 Steel, James, 228; Captain William, 243
 Steeples, war of the, 185; lottery for, 184
 Stenton, 210, 229, 230
 Stocks, the, 73
 Strahan, William, 277, 297
 Superstition, 171
 Supreme Executive Council, 283, 299, 306
 Swedes' Church, 145
 Swift, Alice, 113
 Swine, petition for protection from, 134
 Talleyrand, 315
 Taminy, Chief, sells land to William Penn, 50
 Taxes in 1692, 80; in 1702, 80; for markets, 140
 Tea, 275, 288
 Tea-drinking, 124, 125, 126
 Teach, John (Blackbeard), 85
 Test Act, 273
 Thanksgiving in 1780, 296
 Thieves, 56, 89, 90
 Thomas, Howard, 76; John Ap, 25
 Thomson, Charles, 104, 157
 Thornton, William, 261
 Tilghman, Edward, Jr., 242; Elizabeth, 222
 Trails, Indian, 246
 Trees and stumps in 1683, 71
 Trent, Judge William, 95
 Trenton, 249
 Trinity Church, Oxford, 192
 Trousseau, a bride's, 219
 Twining, Thomas, 314
 United States Mint, 321
 University of Pennsylvania, 100, 121, 156, 157
 Valedictory address of Washington, 321
 Valley Forge, 287, 289, 300, 306
 Vine Street, 143
 Virginia, spoken of as "foreign parts," 75
 Voluntary support for markets, 140; for fire service, 140, 141; for street paving, 141
 Voyage, Atlantic, perils of, 19, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38
 Wagstaffe, John, 199
 Waln, Betsy, 257; Richard, 216, 257
 Walnut Street, 79; prison, 146; wharf, 145

INDEX

- Walton, Nathaniel, 167
 Wansey, Henry, 309, 311, 314
 Warder, Ann, 51, 59, 63, 220, 223
 Ward, Townsend, quoted, 55, 198
 Waring, Elizabeth, 199
 Washington, D. C., 322, 325
 Washington, George, 108, 128, 129, 187, 262, 264, 271, 276, 278, 282, 287, 299, 300, 302, 306, 307, 312,, 313, 321, 322, 323, 324; Judge Bushrod, 175; Mrs. Martha, 108, 128, 129, 303, 304, 305, 309
 Watchman, night, 134
 Water works, 319
 Wayne, General Anthony, 235; Margaretta, 235
 Weather, cold, 36
 Webster, Pelatiah, schoolmaster, 158
 Wilkins, Martha, 202
 West Philadelphia (Mantua), 177
 Whaling, 94, 162
 Wharton, Joseph, 289; Robert, 216, 320; Thomas, 102, 103, 153, 158, 159; Thomas, Jr., 283
 Whipping-post, 73, 74
 Whitby Hall, 59
 White, Bishop William, 113, 187, 188, 322; Mary, 113
 Whitefield, George, 189-193
 Whitewashing, 64
 Whittlesey, Charles, 261
 William Penn Charter School, beginning of, 152
 Willing, Abigail, 113; Charles, 73, 113, 121; Thomas, 249
 Willis, Robert, 223
 Wilmington, 37
 Wilson, Alexander, 179
 Windows in houses, 46, 57, 58
 Witchcraft in 1683, 72
 Wood, Ruth, 201
 Woodlands, 114, 127
 Wragg, John, 248
 Wright, James, 244; Susannah, 138, 241
 Yellow fever, 144-147
 Zion Lutheran Church, 325

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